

1992

Legislators and politicians: Iowa's women lawmakers

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Schenken, Suzanne O'Dea, Ph.D.

Iowa State University, 1992

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Legislators and politicians:

Iowa's women lawmakers

by

Suzanne O'Dea Schenken

A Dissertation Submitted to the
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Ames, Iowa

1992

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Some people regularly affect others' lives in both direct and indirect ways. This work owes great debts to Minnette Doderer. She came into my life through newspaper stories about her activities long before I met her. She championed the Iowa Equal Rights Amendment, the campaign which introduced me to politics. I worked for Doderer for three terms, beginning in 1983. In 1987 she asked me to do an oral history project of the women who had served in the Iowa General Assembly and offered to help find financial support for it. Doderer, lobbyist Joe Kelly, and House members Dorothy Carpenter and Johnie Hammond raised most of the expense money for "A Political Dialogue: Iowa's Women Legislators." I am grateful to them for their faith in me and their support for the project.

The women who spent hours narrating their stories, reading them, and correcting them made contributions to Iowa history and women's history, for which I am grateful. Their trust in the process and their generous gifts of their time provided insights that otherwise would not have been available. The forthrightness with which they told their stories allowed fuller and deeper interpretations that otherwise could not have been possible. Knowing the risks that they took in telling their stories, I hope that I have adequately honored their trust.

My thanks to Bonnie Trede who labored over the tape recordings to transcribe them. Her professional standards and her patience have made the transcripts useful tools.

Richard S. Kirkendall defended this project when its validity was questioned. Without his defense it might have died a premature death. When Kirkendall left Iowa State University, John Dobson kindly accepted its oversight. Dobson read early interview transcripts and made helpful and constructive suggestions. Dobson's hand also gently guided the development of the interpretation and construction of this work. He asked the difficult questions and helped form the organization of it. In addition to his scholarly talents, his patience and goodwill would well serve any graduate student's adventures.

When reading acknowledgements in other works, I have wondered why authors thanked their family members for their support. Now I know. A person who is preoccupied with a subject, who monopolizes dinner conversation with stories about the day's research, and who really wants to get back to the chapter on the computer screen can become a tiresome household companion. Thank you John who stayed home from his work some days so that I could continue mine, Maggie who outgrew having someone read bedtime stories to her while waiting for me to finish my graduate studies, and Bill who resigned himself to having a mom who was different from his friends' mothers.

INTRODUCTION

When Jackson County, Iowa, voters elected Carolyn Campbell Pendray to the Iowa House of Representatives in 1928, she became the first of almost eighty women to serve in the Iowa General Assembly over the next six decades. Since Pendray's election, women legislators have introduced, advocated, supported, altered, and defeated legislation affecting every aspect of life in Iowa. Some women concentrated their efforts in specific areas such as railroads, juvenile justice, education, marriage and divorce, child labor, civil rights, tax policy, abortion, and colored oleomargarine. Some women found satisfaction in simply being part of the process by observing and voting.

Iowa's women legislators have many of the same characteristics as their male colleagues. Beyond having the same legal qualifications for serving in the Iowa General Assembly, both women and men have broad and diverse legislative interests.¹ Women and men legislators also share the same variety in levels of activism and leadership. Yet social and cultural differences between women and men suggest that women have somewhat different legislative priorities, perspectives, and opportunities.

¹Dorothy Ashby Moncure also noted this diversity in "Women in Political Life," Current History 29 no. 4 (January 1929): 643; also Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Women in the Twentieth Century: A Study of Their Political, Social and Economic Activities (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc, 1933), pp. 322-332; Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 29.

The only universal commonality among women legislators is their gender. They include political conservatives and liberals, Democrats and Republicans, rural and urban residents, strong-minded women and those less aggressive, party activists and those less partisan, pro-choice advocates and right-to-life advocates, union organizers and women of wealth, and professionals and high school graduates. Iowa's women legislators' personal backgrounds, legislative interests and styles refute any assumptions of their homogeneity, goals, or activities.

This group of legislators offers an opportunity to examine women legislators' roles in their communities and in the Iowa General Assembly. The small number of women elected since 1928 suggests that there is something special about these women. (See Figures 1 and 2.) To put them in perspective, the 77 women elected to the General Assembly since 1928 would not fill the Iowa House of Representatives for one session, as there are currently 100 seats in the Iowa House and 50 members in the Iowa Senate. These women and the voters who elected them made uncommon personal and political choices. An examination of those choices and the climate in which women made their decisions provides an opportunity for understanding some aspects of women's political experience in the state. The roles and methods women chose as most beneficial to achieve political goals suggest other aspects of that experience. Also, over the decades, the number of women legislators serving at the same time, their party affiliations, their motives for running for election, and the issues on which they focused reflect changes in our society, culture, and political life.

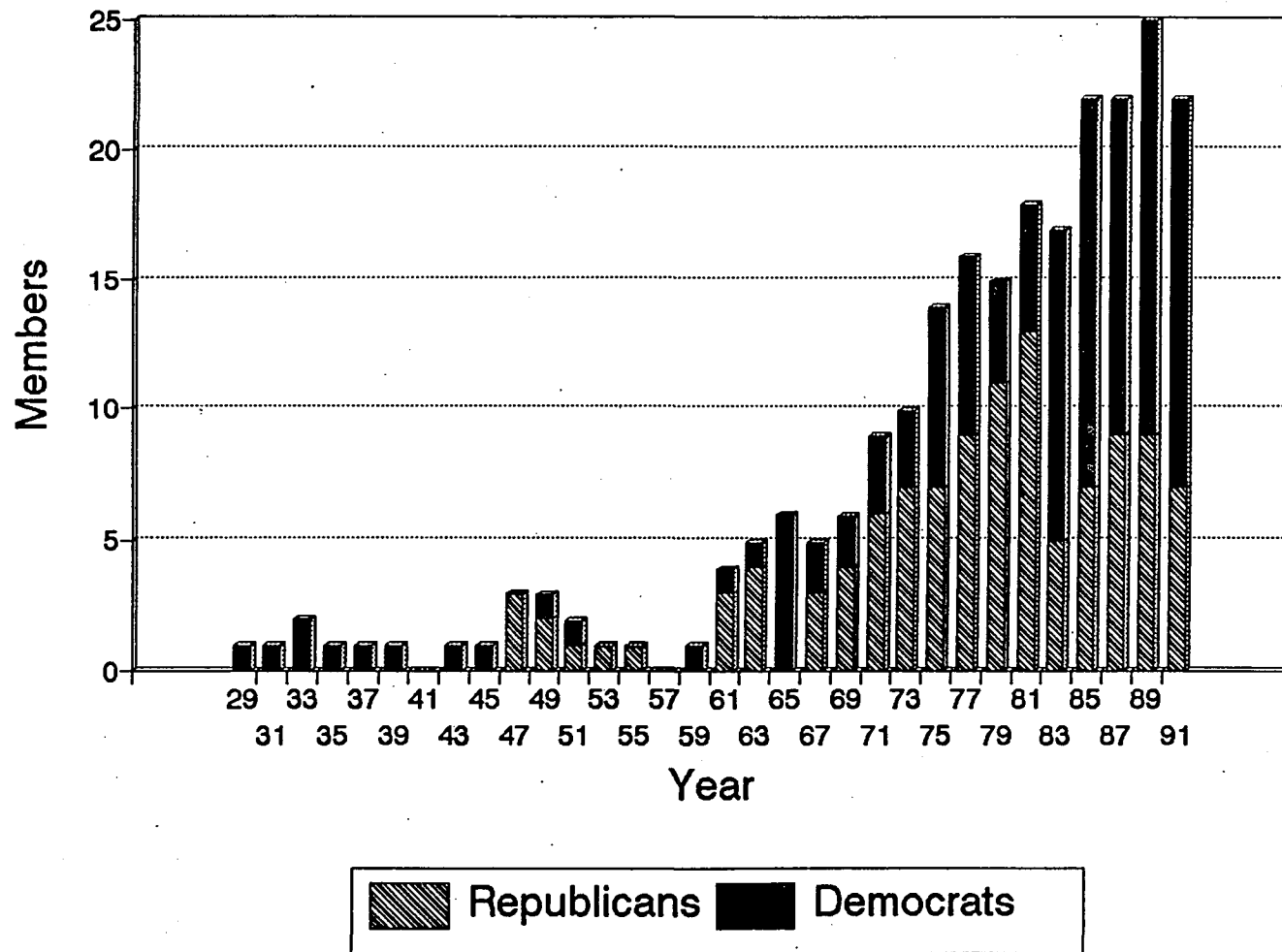


Figure 1. Women in the Iowa General Assembly

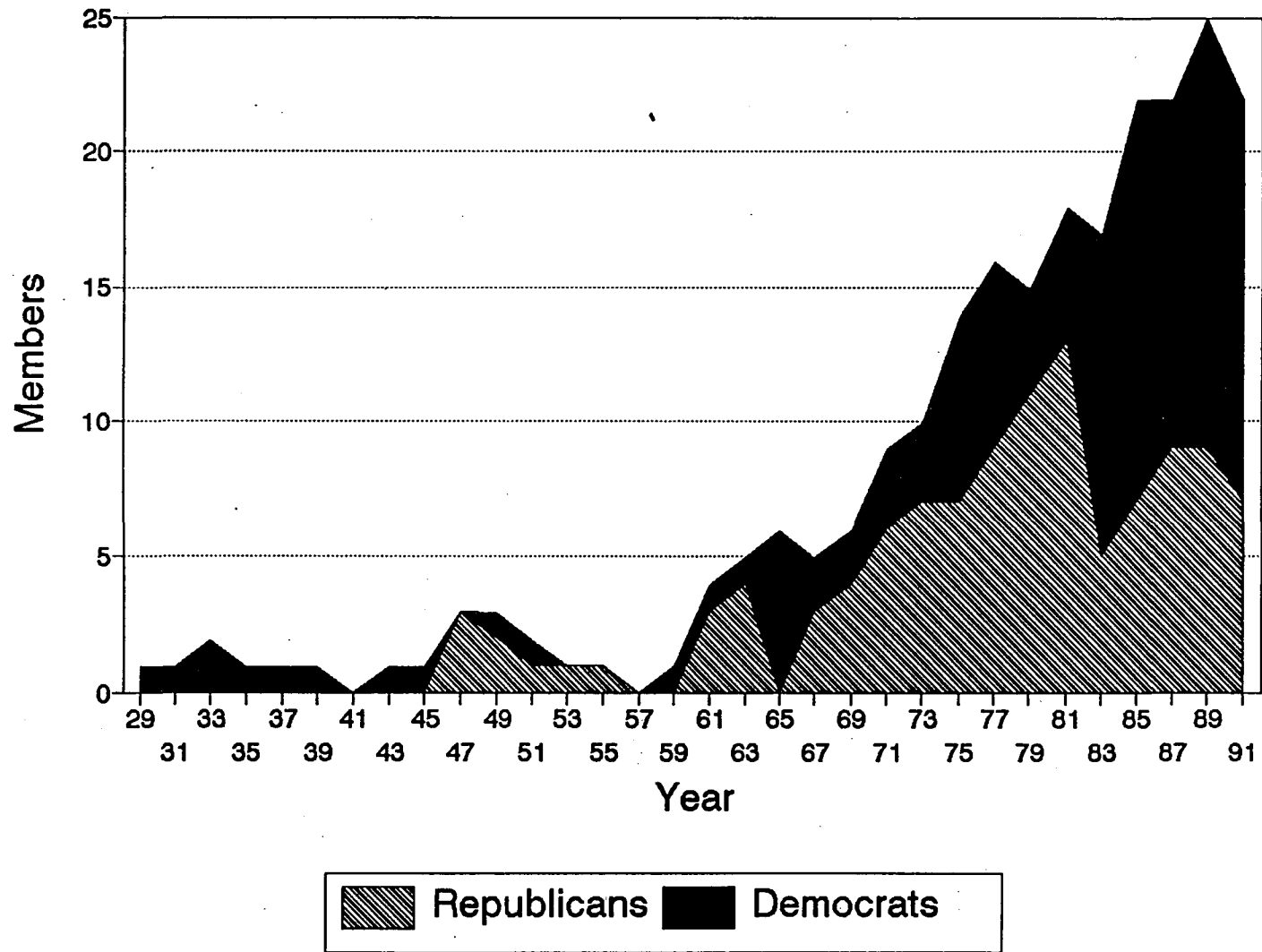


Figure 2. Women in the Iowa General Assembly

A work of this nature demands attention to the idea of separate spheres: women's traditionally private sphere of home and family and men's public sphere of business and politics. Women's experiences involved integrating their persona of public policymaker with their more familiar sphere of home and family. Many of the women in this study had made the transition years before they entered the General Assembly. Some held other public offices before being elected to the legislature. Others had been involved in politics through the League of Women Voters, the Women's Club, local schools, the public library, or their political party organizations. In many instances their primary associates in these activities were other women. In contrast, women entering the legislature moved into traditionally male territory. The methods women used to assimilate themselves into the male culture of legislative politics have taken various forms as each woman ignored, accepted, resisted, or adapted to the culture. The adaptations and activities of individual women legislators in many ways reflected the climate of opinion in the larger culture and society.

Another interesting issue would be assessing women legislators' effectiveness as individuals or as a group. The number, subject, and success of the bills they introduced would seem a reasonable topic to pursue. This avenue of investigation has been resisted for one primary reason. It is easy enough to identify and follow the progress of a specific bill through the legislature. It is far more difficult to track

the progress of an idea. An unsuccessful bill in its original form could become an amendment on another bill, would be included as part of a conference committee report, or could be adopted in a subsequent session of the legislature. A common strategy women legislators used was to convince a male colleague to introduce a bill or to ask him to be the lead sponsor, thus camouflaging the bill's origin.² Also, most legislation becomes a cooperative effort, with several legislators, lobbyists, and the public contributing to the bill's development and passage. Identifying the author of a specific idea or the person behind the eventual legislative acceptance of it is beyond the scope of this paper.

Interviews conducted for an oral history project, "Iowa's Women Legislators: A Political Dialogue," provided significant insight into women legislators' experiences. In interviews varying in length from two and a half to ten hours, legislators described their families of origin, their youth, adult years, marriages and families, and their political experiences and opinions. Other sources included newspapers, magazine articles, journal articles, dissertations and theses, and other published works. The journals of the Iowa House and Senate provided legislators' committee assignments and legislative actions. The Iowa Official Register provided brief biographies of legislators. The pictures of legislators in the Register offered a means for identifying women legislators, necessary

²Minnette Doderer, private conversations with the author; Joan Lipsky, interview with author, 7 July 1989.

because some given names suggest persons of either sex.³ The Register also includes election results for both primary and general elections.

For the period considered here, 1929 to 1992, elections have been held in even-numbered years, with the sessions beginning on the second Monday of January after the general elections. The governor can call the legislature into special session and, since 1974, members can convene themselves in special sessions with the approval of two-thirds of the members in each chamber. Until voters approved a state constitutional amendment in 1968, the legislature only met in odd-numbered years. Since 1969, it has met annually.

The number of members in each chamber has varied over the decades. Between 1870 and 1906, the House had 100 members and the Senate had 50. From 1907 through the 1963 session, the House had an additional eight members. In 1965, the Senate had 59 members, and the House 124; in 1967 and 1969, the Senate had 61 members and the House remained at 124. From 1971 to the present, the Senate has had 50 members and the House 100. Various reapportionment plans have dictated the differences.

For most of Iowa's history, legislative districts were defined by county lines. Senate districts included between one and five counties, depending upon their population, but none of the counties had more than

³Candidates have been identified with less assurance than legislators. Some first names clearly identify women, others are more confusing. Blythe, for instance, was a man's name. He was identified because he won and his picture appeared in the Iowa Official Register. While reasonable attempts were made to identify women candidates, omissions may have occurred. In some reports, only first initials appeared in the Iowa Official Register, making it very difficult to identify women. The most likely omissions would be in the form of missing women candidates, rather than identifying men as women.

one senator. Every county had at least one state representative and the most populous had two. Legislators' districts at the time were identified by the legislator's county. Districts created in the 1970 reapportionment plan and in subsequent ones no longer conformed to county lines, taking on more creative shapes reflecting population distributions and attempts to meet the standards established in U.S. and Iowa Supreme Court decisions. Legislative districts were numbered for identification but the municipality in which a legislator resides is used to give a general location for the districts.

For both women and men, the first step toward legislative service involved making the decision to run. Unlike men who farmed, practiced law, or owned businesses, women candidates more likely had backgrounds in the volunteer community, women's clubs, schools, and other areas that traditionally form parts of women's spheres of work. Like their neighbors in many ways, Iowa's women legislators made the uncommon choices of becoming candidates for political office (see Table 1).

Table 1. List of Iowa's women legislators, their party, and their term

Last name	First name	Party	Entered	Left
Adams	Janet	D	H: 1987	
Baxter	Elaine	D	H: 1983	H: 1986
Beatty	Linda	D	H: 1985	
Bloom	Amy	R	H: 1947	H: 1948
Bock	Lenabelle	R	H: 1961	H: 1964
Bogenrief	Mattie	D	H: 1965	H: 1966
Boyd Shimanek	Nancy	R	H: 1977	H: 1982
Brandt	Diane	D	H: 1975	H: 1982
Buhr	Florence	D	H: 1983 S: 1991	H: 1990
Carl	Janet	D	H: 1981	H: 1986
Carpenter	Dorothy	R	H: 1981	
Chapman	Kathleen	D	H: 1983	
Clark	Betty Jean	R	H: 1977	H: 1990
Cohen	Gertrude	D	H: 1965	H: 1966
Conklin	Charlene	R	H: 1967 S: 1969	H: 1968 S: 1972
Corning	Joy	R	S: 1985	S: 1990
Crabb	Helen	D	H: 1949	H: 1952
Doderer	Minnette	D	H: 1964 S: 1969 H: 1981	H: 1968 S: 1978

Table 1. Continued

Last name	First name	Party	Entered	Left
Duitscher	Lucile	D	H: 1970	H: 1970
Egenes	Sonja	R	H: 1971	H: 1982
Elliott	Isabel	D	H: 1937	H: 1940
Franklin Garman	June Teresa	D R	H: 1967 H: 1987	H: 1972
Garner	Ada	D	H: 1933	H: 1934
Gentleman	Julia	R	H: 1975 S: 1979	H: 1978 S: 1990
Glanton	Willie	D	H: 1965	H: 1966
Gregerson	Mary Pat	D	H: 1965	H: 1966
Gruhn	Josephine	D	H: 1983	H: 1992
Hakes	Frances	R	H: 1961	H: 1964
Hammond	Johnie	D	H: 1983	
Hannon	Beverly	D	S: 1985	
Harper	Mattie	D	H: 1973	H: 1977
Harper	Patricia	D	H: 1987	H: 1990
Hester	Joan	R	H: 1985	
Hoffman- Bright	Betty	R	H: 1977	H: 1984
Kiser	Emma Jean	R	H: 1973	H: 1974
Larsen	Sonja	R	H: 1979	H: 1980
Lawrence	Edna	R	H: 1947	H: 1950
Lipsky	Joan	R	H: 1967	H: 1978

Table 1. Continued

Last name	First name	Party	Entered	Left
Lloyd-Jones	Jean	R	H: 1979 S: 1987	H: 1986
Lonergan	Joyce	D	H: 1975	H: 1986
Loughlin Torrence	Janis	R	H: 1983	H: 1986
Lundby	Mary	R	H: 1987	
Lynch	Mae	D	H: 1943	H: 1946
Mann	Karen	R	H: 1981	H: 1982
McElroy	Lillian	R	H: 1971	H: 1976
McKee Shivvers	Vera	R	S: 1963	S: 1964
Mertz	Dolores	D	H: 1989	
Metcalf	Janet	R	H: 1985	
Metz	Katheryn	R	H: 1949	H: 1952
Miller	Elizabeth	R	H: 1969 S: 1973	H: 1972 S: 1980
Miller	Opal	D	H: 1975	H: 1978
Mullins	Sue	R	H: 1979	H: 1988
Nelson	Gladys	R	H: 1951	H: 1956
Neuhauser	Mary	D	H: 1987	
Nielsen	Joyce	D	H: 1989	
O'Halloran	Mary	D	H: 1973	H: 1978
Orr	Joann	D	S: 1970 S: 1973	S: 1970 S: 1978
Peick	Doris	D	H: 1983	H: 1986

Table 1. Continued

Last name	First name	Party	Entered	Left
Pendray	Carolyn	D	H: 1929 S: 1933	H: 1932 S: 1936
Poffen- berger	Virginia	R	H: 1979	H: 1982
Sargisson	Hallie	D	H: 1971	H: 1972
Shaw	Elizabeth	R	H: 1967 S: 1973	H: 1972 S: 1978
Smith	Jo	R	H: 1981	H: 1982
Svoboda	Jane	D	H: 1987	H: 1992
Svoboda	Linda	D	H: 1975	H: 1978
Szymoniak	Elaine	D	S: 1989	
Teaford	Jane	D	H: 1985	
Thompson	Patricia	R	H: 1977	H: 1980
Tinsman	Maggie	R	S: 1989	
Trucano	JoAnn	R	H: 1981	H: 1982
Van Alstine	Percie	R	H: 1961	H: 1964
Walter	Marcia	D	H: 1981	H: 1982
Wick Kirketeg	Kathlyn	R	S: 1947	S: 1948
Wolcott	Olga	D	H: 1965	H: 1966
Yenger	Sue	R	S: 1979	S: 1982
Zastrow Falvey	Katherine	D	H: 1959	H: 1964
Zimmerman	Jo Ann	D	H: 1983	H: 1986

CANDIDACY

When Carolyn Campbell Pendray (Democrat, Maquoketa) became the first woman elected to the Iowa General Assembly, a local newspaper lauded the event as a tribute to woman suffrage.¹ Pendray saw the event differently. An experienced politician who had been raised in a political family, Pendray saw an opportunity and claimed it. Some women reluctantly decided to become candidates out of a sense of duty to their parties; others ran after being recruited by friends or organizations. Still others saw running for the legislature as a new challenge and direction. And a few ran to change specific state policies.

For most of these women, years of party and community activism and organizational leadership preceded their candidacies for the legislature. Like their neighbors and friends, they served on library boards and school boards, participated in Farm Bureau activities, and held elected offices in the local Women's Club, P.E.O., Order of Eastern Star, or other groups. In addition, many had held various positions within a political party, especially within the women's division, but unlike their neighbors and friends, they moved beyond traditional women's roles to enter elective politics. The people they had met as volunteers became potential supporters, and the leadership and management skills they had developed contributed to their successful legislative campaigns.

¹"Mrs. Pendray is Accorded Signal Honor," Jackson Sentinel, 9 November 1928, p. 1.

The candidacies of the fifteen women elected between 1928 and 1963 offer interesting paradoxes. Of that number, thirteen farmed, owned a farm, or lived in a rural area as defined by the United States Census Bureau.² Some of the women ran farms, while others had less active roles in farm management and decision making. Two studies of rural Iowa women, however, point out the paradox. Anthropologist Deborah Fink characterized rural Iowa women as excluded "from the public nonfamily world of business and politics."³ Historian Dorothy Schwieder found that farm women had too much work to do to leave the farm, even to attend extension classes relating to their farm labors. If farm women did find time for outside interests, their husbands resisted their participation in nonfarm activities.⁴ The women who successfully ran for the legislature belonged to the same organizations as their neighbors and participated in traditional women's and rural organizations. Their participation in rural life, a culture that seemed structured to keep women out of politics, actually became the reason they ran for public office. Campaigning and serving in Des Moines demand dedication to nonfarm activities in time- and

²The thirteen women with rural interests discussed here are: Carolyn Pendray, Ada Garner, Isabel Elliott, Mae Lynch, Amy Bloom, Kathlyn Wick, Helen Crabb, Katheryn Metz, Katherine Zastrow, Lenabelle Bock, Frances Hakes, Percie Van Alstine, and Vera McKee. Also elected between 1928 and 1963, but lacking identifiable rural interests are: Edna Lawrence and Gladys Nelson.

³Deborah Fink, Open Country Iowa: Rural Women, Tradition and Change (Albany: State University of New York, 1986), p. 30.

⁴Dorothy Schwieder, "Education and Change in the Lives of Iowa Farm Women," Agricultural History 60, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 213-214.

energy-consuming ways that required breaking through those barriers to political office.

After 1963, urban women outnumbered rural women by a ratio of 2 to 1 in the legislature. Reapportionment accounts for much of the change. Large urban areas, dramatically underrepresented before redistricting in 1964, had large populations from which to recruit candidates. In contrast, rural districts contained a much smaller pool of hopefuls, so that women were often sought to fill the party ticket. After reapportionment, each district had approximately the same number of people. In the relatively smaller urban districts, women's chances for success increased. Another possible factor in increasing the number of urban women in the legislature after 1963 was the impact of the feminist movement that developed after the mid-1960s and that tended to be more successful in urban areas than in rural.

In addition to sharing a rural background, fourteen of the fifteen early women legislators taught in public schools. Teaching may have prepared these women for public office in ways that other professions generally open to women such as nursing and secretarial work did not.⁵ Nurses and secretaries generally work under the direct supervision of others, while teachers manage their own classrooms more independently, especially in one-room schools. The speaking, decision making, and organizational skills used in the classroom are among those needed to run a successful campaign. Even though these women generally had taught

⁵The first secretary won her seat in the 1970s and the first nurse in the 1980s.

before they married, and several years before they became candidates, their classroom experience may have helped them develop campaign skills and contributed to their ability to perceive of themselves as candidates. Several women in this early group had engaged in other occupations after teaching. Katheryn Metz (Republican, Lamoni) owned a newspaper, Mae Lynch (Democrat, Pocahontas) practiced law, and Katherine Zastrow (Democrat, Monroe) managed a lumberyard.

Teaching continued to dominate women's occupations after 1963, but not to the same extent it had earlier. Reflecting the increasing number of occupational choices available to women, those who served after 1963 included lawyers, a psychologist, a college administrator, a banker, businesswomen, and a politician. Regardless of when they served, however, most women identified themselves as homemakers or housewives.

Homemaker. The word carries connotations of cookies in the oven, children coming home from school, women's club meetings, and friends and neighbors visiting. The images of homemakers do not include the power of public office, or the drive of political ambition. Cleaning closets and developing campaign strategies for winning an election do not seem to belong in the same picture. Yet they do. Many women nurtured tomato plants and cultivated voters.

Recruited for the most part by friends and neighbors, Iowa women candidates' campaigns reflect that heritage. Until recently, candidates ran low-budget campaigns with few politically experienced advisors and certainly no paid staff. The women who have run for the Iowa legislature conducted living room and kitchen table campaigns, meeting with campaign

supporters in those places. None of this suggests that women have run soft campaigns. Organized, diligent, and determined, most women have conducted energetic and ambitious campaigns. Many women have explained that the fact that the odds appeared against their success, instead of discouraging them, motivated them to work harder.

For some women, the decision to run for a seat in the Iowa General Assembly came easily. Others struggled with it. The circumstances that led to a woman's candidacy, her experiences as a candidate, and the role her sex played are all factors that affected the many routes women took to get to the Statehouse.

A few women came from political families or had earlier political experience. For example, Carolyn Pendray's father, Thomas F. Campbell, had been a state representative in 1900 and provided his daughter with her early political education. Pendray recollected that: "For my part I grew up in a political environment and I knew as much about that as teaching school and keeping house."⁶ After teaching in Henry County and Des Moines, Pendray ran for the post of Henry County superintendent of schools in 1910, but failed to campaign and lost. She did campaign for her second try two years later and won. She continued to serve as Henry County superintendent until 1920, when she married William Pendray of Oskaloosa.

⁶"Has Always Lived in Atmosphere of Politics and is Ardent Democrat," Des Moines Tribune-Capital, 11 January 1929, p. 8; "Much Platform, Little Performance," Jackson Sentinel, 15 January 1929, p. 6.

After living in Ottumwa, the couple moved to Maquoketa in 1923 where William was a retail merchant.⁷

In her new home, Pendray participated in the community's political and social life, providing leadership in various volunteer and church organizations. She chaired the Democratic county central committee and, in the summer of 1928, became a member of the state central committee. Although Pendray did not enter the primary race, the Jackson County Democratic convention nominated both her and a senate candidate, George W. Tabor. Her reason for running may have been the same one that motivated many other women legislators: to serve her party by helping fill the ticket.⁸

Pendray's sex arose as an issue in the last month of the campaign. Her Republican opponent in 1928 was landowner J. L. Kinley. His supporters tried to use his sex and his property to his advantage. Without directly attacking Pendray, Kinley's supporters tried to raise doubts about having a woman represent the district. Using this generic approach, they argued that the county needed a man to deal with the other

⁷"Vote for Every Republican," Mt. Pleasant Journal, 4 November 1910, p. 1; "Vote for Elder," Mt. Pleasant Free Press, 24 October 1912, p. 1; "The County Ticket," Mt. Pleasant Free Press, 17 October 1912, p. 1; "The County Ticket," Mt. Pleasant Free Press, 31 October 1912, p. 1; "Has Always Lived in Atmosphere of Politics and is Ardent Democrat," Des Moines Tribune-Capital, 11 January 1929, p. 8; "Much Platform, Little Performance," Jackson Sentinel, 15 January 1929, p. 6; "Weddings," Mt. Pleasant Weekly News, 31 March 1920, p. 2; Ethel W. Hanft and Paula J. Manley, Outstanding Iowa Women: Past and Present (Muscatine: River Bend Publishing, 1980), p. 87.

⁸"Nice Compliment Paid by Des Moines Register," Jackson Sentinel, 1 June 1928, p. 1; "Maquoketa Woman Honored," Jackson Sentinel, 31 July 1928, p. 1; "Jackson County Entitled to Able Representation," Jackson Sentinel, 5 October 1928, p. 1.

men in the legislature, that a man would receive respect, and that a man was a safe choice. By implication, a woman would not have good judgment, would not become part of the legislative decision-making process, and would be a risk.

Pendray's supporters countered the arguments by reminding voters of her tenure as Henry County superintendent of schools and her volunteer work in Maquoketa. According to newspaper reports revealing a covert part of the campaign, Kinley tried to discredit Pendray's candidacy by arguing that she was unsuitable to be a state representative because she did not pay property taxes. But that was incorrect. Through the county's Democratic newspaper, Pendray's supporters rebuffed the allegation, informing readers that Pendray owned a farm on which she paid property taxes. Despite Kinley's attempts, he could not defeat Pendray on the basis of her sex. Moreover, the unwavering support of the county's Democratic newspaper and its aggressive responses to the opposition provided Pendray with a public forum for asserting the legitimacy of her candidacy.⁹ Pendray served two terms in the House of Representatives and

⁹"Kinley Out for Representative," The Maquoketa Excelsior, 2 October 1928, p. 1; "J. L. Kinley for Representative," Maquoketa Excelsior, 21 October 1928, p. 1; "J. L. Kinley is a Farmer Plus," Maquoketa Excelsior, 16 October 1928, p. 1. The Maquoketa Excelsior repeatedly pointed to the need for a man to represent Jackson County. For example, within two paragraphs a reporter wrote "A representative goes from here and mixes with other competent minded men of the state in legislature," "In such places as this there is needed men of good judgment, men who have had experience that show them to be of a weight that they can deal with other men with the assurance of receiving consideration at the hands of those who are helping to frame laws," and "J. L. Kinley, the man who is asking the Republicans to vote their ticket," and "A man of much experience and a man with safe and sound judgment that is what is needed, and this is what you find in the personality of this safe candidate." "J. L. Kinley is a Farmer Plus," Maquoketa Excelsior, 16 October 1928, p. 1. "A Condensed

one term in the Senate before she retired in 1936, the longest any woman would serve until Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Johnson), who began her political career in 1964, surpassed Pendray's record.

In the same year, 1932, that Pendray was elected to the Iowa Senate, Democrat Ada Garner from Butler County won a seat in the Iowa House of Representatives. One of the few women to run a campaign on clearly stated issues, Garner stands alone among the successful women candidates in the power of her rhetoric. Emphasizing her agricultural background and her sex, Garner campaigned as a "farmer's wife." She ran for the legislature to represent rural concerns, believing that city lawyers in the legislature scoffed at bills to modernize farms and rural life.¹⁰

Garner's campaign speeches addressed problems Iowa farmers had faced since the 1920s. In some parts of the state, the economic difficulties confronting farmers had triggered violence and farm strikes. Many of the economic problems required national policy changes for their remedy, but Iowa farmers believed the state could assist them through greater economy in state government.¹¹ Calling herself "a plodding farmer's wife" who

Survey of Our Candidates," Jackson Sentinel, 26 October 1928, p. 1; "Political Pot Boils Merrily as Battle Nears," Jackson Sentinel, 2 November 1928, p. 1.

¹⁰Vernon A. Garner, Interview, phone, 22 February 1988.

¹¹Earle D. Ross, Iowa Agriculture: An Historical Survey (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1951), pp. 164-165. For discussions of agriculture's crisis of the 1920s and 1930s, see Earle D. Ross, Iowa Agriculture: An Historical Survey (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1951), pp. 148-177; Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, "The Farm Strike," in Dorothy Schwieder, ed., Patterns and Perspectives in Iowa History (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1973), pp. 359-378; and John L. Shover, Cornbelt Rebellion: The Farmer's Holiday Association (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

knew "the ills from which the farmer is suffering," she sympathized with problems facing agriculture:

The farmer of today has so many injustices flung at him that it is making him see red, but he is not "too damned dumb to understand." If I am elected I shall use all of my power to help enact laws that will be of relief to the farmer and to reduce government operating expenses in general. I stand for true economy and to keep expenditures within the limits of the income.¹²

Campaigning in Shell Rock, Garner argued that Butler county farmers had "plenty of taxation without representation." She reminded the audience that, in addition to the state's position as the nation's highest producer of corn, horses, and poultry, Iowa also led the nation in farm mortgages. She called for a long-term refinancing plan for farm mortgages with low interest rates. In another speech, Garner used Henry Wallace's statement that the farmers of Iowa had more to revolt against than the colonists of pre-revolutionary times.¹³ Garner accused the University of Iowa and Iowa State College of wasting taxpayers' money by duplicating courses. She criticized the proportion (over 50%) of the state's education appropriation that went to the three state colleges and wanted more of that money to be used in public schools. She ended one speech with the statement that "Agricultural prosperity is the most vital issue

¹²"Wilford Discusses Present Tariff Evils," Iowa Recorder, 12 October 1932, p. 1.

¹³"Democratic Rally at Shell Rock," Iowa Recorder, 19 October 1932, p. 1; "Meeting Well Attended," Shell Rock News, 13 October 1932, p.1.

of this election--as when the farmer is prosperous and contented, everybody else is also."¹⁴

Garner's campaign was among the most clearly issue-oriented campaigns of the successful women legislators. Newspapers reported few issues in legislative campaigns, and women legislators only seldom recollect contests based on issues. An incumbent's actions may have prompted a woman to seek to replace him, but she based her campaign on her experiences and abilities, rarely raising the issues of which she disapproved. Generally, women candidates worked to convince the electorate that they would work hard, study the issues, listen to constituents, by pointing to community activities as evidence of their leadership ability.

In addition to her strongly issue-oriented campaign, Garner differs from other successful women candidates in her use of her sex and marital status. Unlike Pendray, who attempted to overcome the political drawback of her sex by demonstrating that she shared tax-paying responsibility with men, Garner emphasized her gender and marital relationship by calling herself a farmer's wife. She used her marriage to convince voters that she intimately knew the problems confronting farmers, knowledge that equipped her to represent their interests in the legislature. Garner alone used this strategy successfully. With her rhetoric establishing her knowledge, she identified herself with other women and with a role men understood. Even though a friend identifies her as a member of the

¹⁴"Democratic Rally at Shell Rock," Iowa Recorder, 19 October 1932, p. 1.

feminist National Women's Party, she did not argue the validity of her candidacy based on women's political ability. Instead, she presented herself in the traditional women's roles and images. She did win but another factor may well have been far more important than her rhetoric and her self-portrayal. Garner was the only Democrat to represent Butler County between 1888 and 1970, a clear indication that the nationwide Democratic landslide in 1932 significantly contributed to her success at the polls.¹⁵

While Garner became a candidate for clear, issue-oriented reasons and campaigned aggressively, other women ran for less well-defined reasons. In 1936 Isabel Elliott (Democrat, Woodbury) ran for a House seat after her husband died. Elliott believed that "a woman's place is in the home. She'll be happier there. If she has a good husband, a home, children to bring up--that's the finest thing any woman can hope for." At the same time, she believed that women had an obligation to find a place for themselves "even in the legislature." In a straightforward manner, she explained her successful campaign: "The friends I've been making all my life elected me."¹⁶ Elliott's reference to the importance of home, family, and friends emphasizes traditional values. Only after her children were raised and her husband was gone did she look for something to do with her days and a place to be, through seeking a public office.

¹⁵Helen Vandenburg, interview with author, 23 May 1991; Frank J. Stork and Cynthia A. Clingan, The Iowa General Assembly: Our Legislative Heritage, 1846-1980 (Des Moines: Iowa Senate, 1980), pp. 221, 359-360.

¹⁶"Mrs. Frank Elliott, Only Woman Member of Iowa Legislature Turns the Tables," Sioux City Journal, 13 February 1937, p. 1.

Another widow entered the legislature in 1947. Kathlyn Kirketeg Wick (Republican, Bedford and Taylor) was the first woman who sought to fill a vacancy created by her husband's death.¹⁷ O. J. Kirketeg, Wick's first husband, had completed one session of a two session term in the Senate before he died. Wick had returned to teaching to support herself and had little time to campaign. But she was recruited by the local League of Women Voters to run for the balance of Kirketeg's term, and she had no opposition in the primary or general elections.¹⁸ Wick did not run for a full term because the legislature paid poorly; instead she returned to teaching. Republican women had run for legislative seats since 1922, but none succeeded until Wick and two other women, Amy Bloom of Dayton and Edna Lawrence of Ottumwa won their seats.

Serendipity sometimes contributed to a woman's decision to become a candidate. In 1948 a neighbor asked Helen Crabb (Democrat, Guthrie) to run for the legislature not because of her experience or demonstrated leadership but because it would help him get a better job. As she told the story:

There was a young man [Ed McDermott] in Jamaica who was a postmaster, a Democrat postmaster, and he wanted the rural mail carrier job, and he went down to Des Moines to see Jake More (the State Democratic Chairman) to see what he could do about it, and Jake said, "If you can get somebody to run for the House of Representatives, I may consider it." And so Ed McDermott...came to the house and I was ironing... and told me that they just wanted a name on the ticket. That was all they

¹⁷Wick's first husband was O. J. Kirketeg, whose vacated seat she filled. She later married and changed her name to Wick. In this work her last married name is used. In state documents, however, her name was Kirketeg.

¹⁸Kathlyn Wick, interview, Nashua, Iowa, 23 May 1988.

really cared about, if I just let them put my name on the ticket... And, you know, I almost laughed in his face, I thought it was so funny. I was only 31, you know, and here were all these guys in the legislature, old fuddy-duddies I thought. And I stood there a few minutes, and I thought, well, what the heck, I don't have to do anything....And so I said yes; I didn't even consult my husband.¹⁹

During the summer Crabb decided to campaign, not wanting her Republican opponent to win the race by default. Jake More sent fifty dollars for her campaign, which she used to buy penny post cards. McDermott and his wife helped Crabb print the post cards on a hand-turned press, and her bridge club, instead of playing cards, helped her address the post cards.²⁰ She did not make any speeches during her campaign, saying: "You might call it a silent campaign."²¹

Crabb campaigned by going door-to-door in residential areas, and looked for opportunities to shake hands and introduce herself in businesses, but that did not always work out well. After stopping in a machine shop and being treated coldly, she became intimidated at entering men's territory to campaign. She remembers one afternoon:

I drove up to a sale barn one time...to pass out my cards, and I got there and those pickup trucks were lined up, I suppose, two miles at that sale barn. And I drove up to the entrance and stopped the car and I looked around and I thought, Helen Crabb, what are you doing here? And I just turned around and left. I just couldn't face it. I thought those men wouldn't want to talk to me.²²

¹⁹Helen Margaret Crabb, interview with the author, 18 April 1988.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹"Three Women to Serve in the Iowa House of Representatives Next January," Des Moines Sunday Register, 14 November 1948, sec. L, p. 3.

²²Helen Margaret Crabb interview.

Crabb's intimidation by the sale barns and machine shops contrasts with her campaign assertion that she "intended to show that a woman can handle responsibilities in our state government without apology."²³ The sentiments, however, do not contradict each other. Crabb decided to become a candidate while she performed a domestic task and in response to a neighbor's request for help. Active in the community, Crabb did not seek office to further some goal emerging from her volunteer work, nor did McDermott ask her to run to remedy a local problem, other than his employment. After making the choice, however, Crabb acted on it and campaigned for the office. Her traditional domestic and volunteer work defined her status and limited her access to men's gathering places. Seeking ways around the barriers by using a less personal medium to contact voters, she decided to send post cards. Even with these constraints, her women's club and other work helped Crabb believe in herself and her ability to perform responsibly the duties of a state legislator.

In 1948 Democrats Harry S. Truman, U.S. Senator Guy Gillette, and Crabb won in Guthrie County. A Democrat had not represented Guthrie County in the Iowa House since 1917. As in any election, several factors contribute to the outcome. Crabb's work with the women's club was important and the Bagley Gazette credited her with running a strong campaign.²⁴ In addition, Guthrie County considered itself dry, but

²³Advertisement, Bagley Gazette, 26 October 1948, p. 7.

²⁴"Oh! Brother--Guthrie County Goes Democratic," Bagley Gazette, 4 November 1948, p. 1; "Jamaica Club Woman Smashes Tradition," Bagley Gazette, 4 November 1948, p. 1.

Crabb's incumbent opponent had voted to ease liquor restrictions during the 1947 session, alienating many voters. Crabb believes that her victory came on Truman's coattails.

In 1951 Gladys Nelson joined Helen Crabb in the Iowa House of Representatives. The first woman to enter the legislature by way of the League of Women Voters, she served as state president from 1937-1939 and continued to serve on League boards after that. In 1950 she was vice-chair of the Jasper County Republican Party when Ennis McCall, chair of the Jasper County Republicans, asked her to run for the position of state representative. The Democratic incumbent worked for a local newspaper and had union support, so he appeared to have the race won before it began, a fact that discouraged Republican men from running. Nelson ran to fill the ticket and also because of her husband, Ed. When Ed came home for lunch, Nelson told him about the phone call, adding that of course she would not run. He challenged her by questioning the truth of the things she had said about women becoming active in politics and running for public office. Nelson changed her mind and decided to run.²⁵

In addition to using traditional campaign tools, Nelson had another resource available to her: pictures from a summer trip to Alaska. Various groups, such as rural churches, invited the Nelsons to give slide presentations; Nelson narrated the slide show while her husband ran the

²⁵"Leader of 'Margarine Bill' also Founder of Newton LWV in 1934," newspaper article, Gladys Nelson scrapbook, in her possession; Phyllis Yuhas, letter to the author, 12 December 1988.

projector. Nelson could thus meet, greet, and chat with voters while not appearing to campaign actively, which she perceived as an advantage.²⁶

Nelson's belief in the importance of campaigning without appearing to ask for votes and Crabb's self-consciousness at entering a sale barn provide examples of some women's hesitance to campaign aggressively. Women have explained that they easily asked men and women for support for other candidates and causes but found it difficult to do the same for themselves. For both Crabb and Nelson the impetus for running came from others, not from within themselves. Their decisions to become candidates and to run organized campaigns testify to their beliefs in themselves; their reluctance to be more aggressive could have two explanations. While volunteer work helped them develop organizational and leadership skills and introduced them to many members of their communities, they worked in women's groups and in traditional women's roles. As they moved into men's political territory, they left some of the familiarity and security of acting within traditional women's areas. Finding men's campaign strategies uncomfortable and having few female role models available, they sought ways acceptable to them and to their constituencies for attracting voters. Some women who campaigned with and for their husbands had intimate experiences with asking for support and appear to have been more at ease in doing the same for themselves.

An example is Katherine Falvey Zastrow (Democrat, Monroe), who ran "for the same office, but not for his [her deceased husband's] place" in

²⁶Ibid.

1958.²⁷ A partner in several family businesses, she rode in the companies' trucks as they made deliveries, campaigning at the various stops. This process solved another problem for Zastrow: She did not drive. For her and for other widows who followed their husbands in the legislature, campaigning was a familiar task.²⁸

When Zastrow began campaigning for herself, she started with a firm base of activism in the community, but she was aware of ways she differed from others in the county. Although Monroe County was one of the two poorest in the state, Zastrow's partnerships in a lumberyard, a bank, and a farm, gave her considerable financial resources. She tried to minimize how she differed from the bulk of the electorate, but the differences still appeared, sometimes in strange ways. For example, Zastrow was a small woman who ate very little at campaign events if the after-dinner agenda included her making a speech. Her strategy was to play with the food heaped on her plate until she once heard someone say: "She's just too darn pernicky to eat our food."²⁹ After that she always cleaned her

²⁷Katherine Falvey Zastrow first married Lawrence Falvey. She later married Ralph Zastrow. Katherine Falvey Zastrow will be referred to as Katherine Zastrow. For information about Zastrow in state publications, she can be found under the name Katherine Falvey. "Record Number of Women in Legislature," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 February 1963, sec. B, p. 10.

²⁸Katherine Zastrow, interview with the author, 10 June 1988. Zastrow refers to herself as a political accident because she ran for the legislature to fill the ticket for the Democrats in Monroe County as had her husband and his father before him. M. C. Falvey, Zastrow's father-in-law, served in the Iowa House of Representatives in the 45th (1933) and 46th (1935) General Assemblies. Frank J. Stork and Cynthia A. Clingan, The Iowa General Assembly: Our Legislative Heritage, 1846-1980 (Des Moines: Iowa Senate, 1980), p. 471.

²⁹Katherine Zastrow interview.

plate. A small example, but one that points to the scrutiny candidates experience and the sensitivity necessary to win a political office.

Like Zastrow the women elected in 1960 became candidates to fill their parties' tickets. Two of the women came from political families, which helped them decide in favor of running. The mother of Percie Van Alstine (Republican, Humboldt) had been a suffragist and a mayor of Gilmore City; her father had been a state senator. She knew that some voters would not support a woman, but decided to run anyway.³⁰ Her family's political activism led to Van Alstine's political involvement: "The only reason I probably was even president of Republican Women," she confessed, "was because of my mother--she was a political animal and so was my dad."³¹

Frances Hakes (Republican, Pocahontas) had a distinguished political heritage. Her father was Fred Gilchrist who had served in both the Iowa House and Senate and in the U.S. House of Representatives. Hakes enjoyed saying that she grew up on politics and then explaining that she had used the Code of Iowa for a booster seat as a child.³² When no Republican men appeared willing to challenge the Democratic incumbent, friends asked Hakes to declare her candidacy at the last possible moment. She hesitated for half an hour and missed the filing deadline. Even so as a write-in

³⁰Percie Van Alstine's father, H. S. Van Alstine, served in the 37th, 38th, and 39th General Assemblies (1917-1921). Her mother had devoted her life to suffrage efforts, and later the League of Women Voters. Percie Van Alstine, interview with the author, 1 August, 1988.

³¹Percie Van Alstine interview.

³²"Record Number of Women in Legislature," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 February 1963, section B, p. 10.

candidate she won a place in the general election without an opponent.³³ The candidacies of Van Alstine, Hakes, and Lenabelle Bock (Republican, Hancock), who was also elected in 1960, answered a party need. As legislators they joked about it. Running for the legislature to be helpful--one of women's roles--was an honorable calling for them.

In a less direct way, the women who first ran in the 1964 general election also became candidates to fill the ticket. A temporary reapportionment plan passed earlier in the year created several new seats in the state's more populous counties. Filling the new seats posed problems for some political leaders. The 1964 reapportionment plan increased Polk County's House representation from two to eleven and its Senate members from one to three. According to a Des Moines Register article: "Some political observers hold that perhaps not enough qualified men can spare several months every two years from their businesses, jobs, or professions. Many fine women, these watchers say, don't have this kind of problem."³⁴ To find candidates, Republican and Democratic leaders expressed interest in attracting women for the legislature.

The problem of finding candidates was not limited to Polk County and neither was the response: Twenty-six women ran in the 1964 primary and general elections across the state, fourteen more than in 1962. For decades, women had run in Polk County, the state's most populous district, but none had come close to winning. Three Republican and two Democratic

³³"Look Like a Girl, Think Like a Man, Act Like a Lady and Work Like a Dog," Ames Daily Tribune, 19 January 1962, p. 6.

³⁴"Urge Women in Races for Legislature," Des Moines Register, 21 March 1964, p. 1.

women survived the primary; the two Democrats won House seats in Polk County's general election. Polk County voters had chosen Mattie Bogenrief and Willie Glanton to be part of its delegation. Bogenrief and her husband Carl had long been active in the county's Democratic Party. Glanton and her husband Luther had been active in Des Moines' African-American community and in the civil rights movement. Both women ran in the spirit of reform that enveloped much of the state and nation in the 1960s.

In other parts of the state, three women won their races. Olga Wolcott (Democrat, Cerro Gordo) ran because her bishop encouraged her. Mary Pat Gregerson (Democrat, Pottawattomie) was recruited by a legislator who believed that her father's political connections, her Scandinavian married name, and her Roman Catholic religion would help her win. A teacher, Gregerson decided to run because she "wanted to leave the world a better place." Gertrude Cohen ran for the experience, not expecting to win. Family members pointed to three reasons she could not expect a victory: her political inexperience, her sex, and her Jewish religion. Even though they campaigned hard, Gregerson and Cohen believed they won because of the Democratic Party's state and national successes, a valid appraisal for all five of these women.³⁵ They did not include filling the party ticket as a reason for their candidacies, and party recruiters may not have presented the idea to them that way. However, every successful woman ran in a district that had one or more new seats.

³⁵Iowa Official Register, 1965-1966, p. 73; Sister Mary Ramona, letter to author, 31 May 1991; Gertrude Cohen, interview with author, 1 March 1991; Mary Pat Gregerson, interview with author, 26 July 1989.

After the early 1960s, friends, party leaders, and others continued to recruit women to run for the legislature. Filling the ticket became only one of the many reasons for asking a woman to consider becoming a legislator. A potential candidate's experience in the party or her activism in the community brought her to the attention of local and state leaders. Fewer and fewer women ran for seats that appeared to be lost causes. The proportion of women who became legislative candidates because they appeared to be viable in a district with the potential for success grew after the mid-1960s. Of course, both parties continued to recruit women and men to fill their tickets, but the proportion of successful women recruited primarily for that reason diminished.

Since the mid-1960s another factor has become part of women's candidacies. With fewer women candidates being sacrificial lambs, increasing numbers decided on their own to become candidates. Believing that they had substantive contributions to make in the development of state policies, they decided to run for the legislature and then asked party leaders for support.

Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Johnson) is among the group of women who decided that she had the qualifications to be a legislator and sought the position. Doderer's introduction to politics came through the League of Women Voters which she joined "because I just thought it was the greatest organization with all those smart women in it."³⁶ Through the League, Doderer became an advocate for state reapportionment. She became secretary of and a speaker for the Citizen's Committee for Constitutional

³⁶Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 June 1989.

Convention which supported a convention to circumvent the legislature which refused to reapportion itself.³⁷ The effort failed in 1960. After that year's election, Governor Herschel Loveless appointed her to the Commission for Fair Representation, which continued to advocate reapportionment.³⁸

An active Democrat, Doderer was vice-chair of the Johnson County Democratic Party, but did many of the chair's tasks, organizing meetings and preparing agendas. When the chair's position became available, she wanted it, telling the group: "I'm running. I want to be chairman, I've been doing all of the work for these three years." In losing she had her first acknowledged experience of being discriminated against for her sex.

When Governor Harold Hughes called a special session of the legislature to design a reapportionment plan in 1964, Doderer saw an opportunity. Incumbent Scott Swisher was in prison for federal income tax evasion.³⁹ When he resigned, Doderer worked to win the Democratic county committee's nomination for the special election. Like Ada Garner, Doderer believed she had developed expertise in an area and that she should be allowed to use it in direct ways. She also had paid her political dues by working for the party and helping other candidates in their campaigns. The time had come for her to move beyond preparing for meetings someone

³⁷"Reapportionment Plea is Made to 'First Class' Iowa Citizens," Chariton Leader, 3 May 1960, p. 1.

³⁸Minnette Doderer interview.

³⁹"Swisher Sentenced to Six-Month Term in Income Tax Case," undated newspaper article, Minnette Doderer Papers, MsC 457, Box 11, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa.

else would chair and beyond working on campaigns someone else would win. She asked committee members for support, counted the votes, and believed she had the position, until a man told her he had it. She recollects:

A farmer ran against me, and I had counted 27 votes. We were both nominated--my friend Bob Burns nominated me--and somebody else nominated Bernard Campion. We both then had to go out to the hall in the courthouse while they did the voting. And he said, "Well, I'm not worried about this one, but I'm sure worried about the fall." ...And I thought, my God, I thought I had the votes. It never occurred to me to doubt what he was talking about....So I thought, well, he's right, he's counted the votes too. Well, it turned out that I did get my votes, and I was nominated.⁴⁰

Doderer added that her lack of confidence reflects women's unsureness of themselves.⁴¹ It was the same kind of unsureness that kept Helen Crabb out of the sale barn, the self-doubt that women discover as they enter new territory. Unlike the women discussed earlier who ran to help their party and coincidentally became political, Doderer had a political goal and asked the party to help her. The likelihood that the Democratic candidate would win was great. In a district that had generally elected Democrats since 1927, gaining the committee's nomination was tantamount to winning the seat.

Doderer's child-care responsibilities influenced her decision, but the special session was expected to last only three weeks. She explains: "I rationalized that if I was a wealthy woman, I could go off to the Bahamas for three weeks." Voters, though, asked her about what would happen to her husband and children. She told questioners that the

⁴⁰Minnette Doderer interview.

⁴¹Ibid.

children would be fine and "Fred's [her husband] all grown up." She believed that people talked more to each other about her family responsibilities than to her.⁴² Doderer's responses to voters' concerns about her family differ from those of most women candidates with children at home. Earlier women explained the arrangements that had been made with grandmothers or others to prepare meals and provide child care. Doderer believed that she and Fred had made adequate provisions and that only they could judge that. While her responses may appear flip, through them she turned attention away from her personal life and focused it on the campaign.

Her purpose in running was explicit: She wanted to help shape the reapportionment plan that she had advocated for so long. She does not recollect having any long-term political ambitions at the time, but her experience was quite different. In the following twenty-eight years, Doderer served in the House and in the Senate, ran for lieutenant-governor in the 1970 general election and in the 1978 primary, and returned to the House in 1981 where she continues to serve at this writing.⁴³

Another self-confident woman, psychologist Joan Lipsky (Republican, Linn) first entered elective politics by seeking a seat on the Cedar Rapids school board. She knew that board members had a system to limit the membership to those they recruited. Outgoing members resigned during the summer instead of at the end of the term, allowing the board to choose someone for the interim. An incumbent in the seat faced challengers with

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

an additional obstacle. Despite her understanding of the covert process, Lipsky ran and lost. The experience marked the beginning of her political activities.

President of the local American Association of University Women, Lipsky organized that group and others to recruit a candidate. Then they confronted the school board president with the problem and asked for his support of their candidate if a seat became vacant. Lipsky recollected: "The school board president was shocked. First offended, and then as he thought about it, he decided he would use his influence to see that she would be appointed." The president kept his word and the recruit won the appointment and the fall election. Asked if she and her colleagues were a group of outrageous women, Lipsky responded: "No, not at all. We were very traditional women who came wearing hats and gloves....[W]e felt that women had something to contribute, but we were not pushy women at all, and that took a lot of nerve to do what we did." Reflecting on the event, Lipsky identifies it as the beginning of her political life and her feminist beliefs.⁴⁴

Lipsky became active in Republican politics after an evening spent with friends discussing the "debacle of the '64 elections."⁴⁵ They had not liked the choice between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater. She announced to the group that: "If you want to change it, you have to get in there and do it yourself...I think the next thing I'm going to do is work for the Republican Party." When a party leader called, saying he

⁴⁴Joan Lipsky, interview with author, 7 July 1989.

⁴⁵Ibid.

had heard that she wanted to work, she explained: "I don't want to answer the phones and lick stamps." He mentioned some possibilities and said he would get back to her. Some time passed and she thought he had forgotten. But then he called, saying he wanted to talk to her and her husband. He suggested that she run for the Senate but she declined. Later, he successfully recruited her for the House. She ran because:

I couldn't imagine what I was about to do with my life. I was tired of club work, and my children were gone, and I just couldn't imagine what I would do, and I thought that [running for the legislature] sounded like a great challenge. I had done a little lobbying on behalf of mental health and things like that, so I was familiar with the role of the legislature.⁴⁶

A series of events somewhat reminiscent of Joan Lipsky's fight to get a woman on the school board helped Virginia Poffenberger (Republican, Perry) become involved in politics. Instead of the school board, the Perry city council provided the motivation for Poffenberger. When the woman who had been on the city council resigned, Poffenberger called city council members and suggested a woman they might appoint to complete the term. Poffenberger received affirmative responses to her suggestion, but the city council chose a man. Poffenberger was "furious." She asked to be on the next meeting's agenda, intending to express her anger over the decision.⁴⁷

The next city council meeting was also Poffenberger's night to present the program for her church circle. Poffenberger explained the conflict to her circle chair, who decided that the city council meeting

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Virginia Poffenberger, interview with author, 2 August 1989.

would be the circle program. When the group of women filled the council chamber, the council's curiosity about the women was clear. Recollecting that night, Poffenberger describes a hole in the middle of the council table where members stared when confronted with a problem, and which held every member's attention as she spoke. Although she addressed her questions to the council, the city attorney responded until Poffenberger challenged a council member to answer. As she describes it: "...one of the council members swiveled around in his chair and looked at me and said, 'Virginia, you have to understand one thing. Women aren't fit to be on the council.'" When asked to explain the reasons, the council member responded, "They don't understand sewers."⁴⁸

After the council meeting, Poffenberger and her church circle all were angry. The circle convinced Poffenberger that she had to run for the city council and became her campaign committee. She won a seat and served two terms.⁴⁹

In 1976 a friend told Poffenberger that the district's House member, Andrew Varley (Republican, Stuart), intended to retire and that she should run for his seat. A law student at the time, Poffenberger could not see any way to do both. Varley visited her and offered to stay another term if Poffenberger would run in 1978. She agreed. During her campaign, Poffenberger realized that some voters did not want a woman to represent them. She felt that after she had served one term, voters accepted her

⁴⁸Poffenberger relates that if she ever writes a book, the title will be Women Don't Understand Sewers. Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

candidacy more readily. She describes the change: "It was, hey, she's okay, she went down and didn't make an ass out of herself, you know, she did some good things for us. So they were okay the second time, but I had to prove myself over and beyond what a man would have to do."⁵⁰

For two women, Mary O'Halloran (Democrat, Cedar Falls) and Betty Jean Clark (Republican, Cerro Gordo), the decision to become politically active meant making a choice between that and pursuing a religious vocation. As a young woman, O'Halloran joined a teaching order of Roman Catholic nuns, but when she wanted to become active in Robert Kennedy's presidential campaign, her order discouraged her. In 1970 O'Halloran decided in favor of politics as her preferred route to serve people. Teaching in Cedar Falls two years later, she attended her precinct caucus where others encouraged her to run for the legislature. She remembers: "I worked very hard to get elected, even knocked on four thousand doors. And in the end, I think, I ran harder to get elected because I wanted to encourage the women who had encouraged me."⁵¹

A Methodist minister's daughter, Betty Jean Clark's personal and professional life had centered on the Methodist church. In the 1970s she studied to become a lay preacher in the church, the culmination of a life of ministry. But in 1972 Clark began to wonder if she had a calling to serve in the legislature. Believing that the Watergate scandal was keeping good people out of politics, Clark worried that the problems would

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹"Politics for Dinner," Redbook, August 1978, p. 144.

get worse. But also believing that a person could misinterpret divine messages, Clark hesitated.

When a Methodist leader told Clark that he intended to nominate her to be a delegate to the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, she confronted the conflict between her goals of activism in the church and in politics. She consulted with her bishop, explaining that she had completed one year of the program to get a license to preach, that she wanted to run for the legislature, and that she could not do both. The bishop told her that serving in the legislature could be her ministry. Clark remembers: "I walked out of there like I'd had papal dispensation....That was just the thing that decided it for me." She describes it as a religious decision and says: "Now it's almost embarrassing to say that, because when most of the people you hear about going into politics from a religious decision, they are people going into it in order to try to force everybody into their beliefs. That wasn't what I was trying to do."⁵²

Political considerations also affected Clark's decision. Watching the Republican candidate run a poorly organized campaign and go down in defeat, Clark believed that a stronger Republican candidate could win the House seat. Loyal to her party, Clark wanted a Republican in the seat and believed she could fill it. With a blessing from her bishop, loyalty to her party, and belief in herself, she began to prepare herself for legislative service.

⁵²Betty Jean Clark, interview with author, 13 July 1989.

Two years before she became a candidate, Clark subscribed to a legislative newsletter in order to become familiar with the issues before the General Assembly. Discovering that she knew little about many of the issues debated, she researched them at the Mason City library and asked people familiar with specific issues for guidance and sources of information. Her preparation helped her win the election and helped her when she entered the House in 1975. Through the research, she gained a realistic impression of the legislature, its organization, and the lawmaking process.⁵³

Clark's and Poffenberger's candidacy introduced another aspect of women's entrance into politics. They planned for it for two years, carefully arranging their personal and professional lives. While women both before and afterward made thoughtful decisions to run, Clark and Poffenberger stand out for their commitments to run so far in advance of an election. In Poffenberger's case, the incumbent made what would appear to be a significant personal sacrifice and commitment to her candidacy by staying in the legislature two more years than he desired in order to accommodate her candidacy. Clark's two years of research suggest her dedication to winning and her intent to be effective.

Pat Thompson (Republican, West Des Moines) continues the early tradition of women serving on the local school board before entering the legislature. While she was grocery shopping, a school principal asked Thompson to consider running for the school board. They knew each other through Thompson's work as the school's PTA president and other volunteer

⁵³Ibid.

activities. During her campaign, Thompson called for community education programs, and an expansion of the adult education programs in some communities, an effort she would continue in the legislature.

After serving on the school board, Thompson was also recruited for her next public office. Even though two Republicans had already entered the House primary in 1976, retiring incumbent Edgar Bittle asked Thompson to become a candidate. Surprised at the suggestion, she initially had little interest in running, but Bittle invited her to visit the House and observe. The visit convinced her that she wanted to become part of the body. Thompson believes that her name recognition from serving on the school board and her volunteer activities contributed to her success at the polls.⁵⁴

When Thompson decided to retire from the legislature four years later, she continued the tradition of recruiting a replacement. She and Bittle encouraged Dorothy Carpenter (Republican, West Des Moines) to run for the House seat Thompson was leaving. In addition to being an active member of the League of Women Voters and a former president of the local Planned Parenthood affiliate, Carpenter had been Valley High School's band uniform mother-volunteer for four years. She smiles as she recollects how

⁵⁴In addition, Thompson had participated in Republican Party activities for several years. Sonja Egenes' candidacy for Congress also played a role in Thompson's political activities. Egenes' campaign was the first in which Thompson had been active, working in the campaign headquarters and hosting a fundraiser for her. Thompson remembers that "I was interested in electing a woman to Congress and trying to unseat the Democrat to get a Republican elected." Pat Thompson, interview with author, 16 September 1989.

that humble task helped her meet hundreds of students and their parents and, she believes, ultimately contributed to her success at the polls.

Carpenter later recruited Janet Metcalf (Republican, Windsor Heights) to run for a neighboring district. Intimidated by the prospect, Metcalf initially resisted the idea. Carpenter and others convinced Metcalf that she could make a difference, especially in the area of abortion, a commitment the women shared. Carpenter also told Metcalf that she would find the legislature challenging and interesting. Metcalf decided to become a candidate in order to advocate pro-choice issues in the legislature.

Like many candidates, Metcalf walked door to door asking for voters' support. Some people answering the door share their ideas and concerns with candidates, while others give the candidate only a moment or two to make their pitches. Metcalf describes her attempts to tailor her comments to the person who opened the door:

If it was an older man and he looked like a business person, I would say, "I own my own business." If it was an older woman, I'd say, "I think more women need to be in the legislature," or I would say, "I have elderly parents and I'm really concerned about elderly people." If it was a younger woman, I'd say, "I think that government needs to stay out of people's lives," which was the buzz word for the pro-choice thing, if I sensed that she would be acceptable to that. Or I would simply pound on the fact, "You know, there aren't many women in the legislature. I think we need to be represented, too." I said that to one woman who was about 40 years old. She opened up her screen door and jumped out on the porch and said, "Go for it!"⁵⁵

Metcalf's use of her gender as a reason for voters to consider supporting her stands in contrast to some earlier and some contemporary women. While

⁵⁵Janet Metcalf, interview with author, 7 October 1991.

her campaign literature did not encourage voters because she is a woman and emphasized instead her business experience and volunteer activities, she came to believe that for some voters gender was an important and positive factor.

On a much lighter side, Metcalf describes the ways she motivated herself to keep knocking on doors:

At about 7 o'clock [p.m.], when I'd been walking since 4:30 [p.m.] and was just beat, I'd say, "If I go and get a chocolate malt, I bet I can go one more half hour." So I'd go to the Dairy Queen and get a chocolate malt, and I'd go and walk till dark. Or I'd play a little game with myself. I'd be at the end of the street and there would be maybe four houses and then a couple of vacant lots and one house way down at the end. I'd say, "That house way down there is the one vote. I'm going to win by one vote, and that's it."⁵⁶

Metcalf's description suggests the discipline required to get the winning vote. It also illustrates a difference between state legislative campaigns and statewide or congressional races where the media is so important. Iowa legislative candidates seldom use radio or television in their campaigns; the expense prohibits it and the audience cannot be adequately targeted. More important than those factors, though, legislators point to specific advantages of going door to door. They have an opportunity to meet constituents and hear their concerns, developing a familiarity with their constituencies that helps them as legislators. Urban candidates who have compact and dense districts have an easier time door knocking than do rural legislators who have large districts spanning parts of several counties.

⁵⁶Ibid.

The campaign of Janet Carl (Democrat, Grinnell) contrasts with those in which lengthy preparation and deliberation underlay a decision to run for office. In 1980, the House seat in Carl's district was open and two Democrats were in the primary race. When one of the men's son was convicted of murder and bank robbery, the candidate's political future began to evaporate. The other candidate, Mary Hartnett, was a graduating senior at Grinnell College. But she withdrew from the race after receiving a law school scholarship. Three weeks before the primary election Hartnett asked Carl to run, but Carl points out "I wasn't really a very likely candidate. I was not associated with the county party. I had never worked for a candidate."⁵⁷

The next morning, Carl remembers: "I woke up with this huge amount of energy, and I sort of bounded out of bed, and I said, 'I'm going to do it.'" An administrator at Grinnell College, she talked to her boss, who first hesitated and then later agreed that she could run. Carl began a write-in campaign, because the filing deadline had passed. Hartnett publicly withdrew from the race and encouraged voters to support Carl, but Hartnett's name remained on the ballot.⁵⁸

Carl also began calling key Democratic leaders in her area. Her innocence of political issues was apparent in a telephone conversation with the local United Auto Workers contact, Greg Johnson. Nervous before making any of the calls to key Democrats, Carl began by explaining her eagerness to serve and her willingness to learn and work hard. When

⁵⁷Janet Carl, interview with author, 15 June 1990.

⁵⁸Ibid.

Johnson asked her about her position on labor issues such as the right to work, Carl answered: "Well of course I support the right to work." Carl did not know the significance of the words to labor. Under the "right to work law" in Iowa, employees do not have to belong to a union to get a job covered by a union contract, and employees must sign a form before union dues will be deducted from their pay. Labor generally opposes the right to work law. Carl describes her response as a "faux pas." To Johnson's credit he listened to her and helped her.⁵⁹

Carl lost the primary and Mary Hartnett, who had withdrawn, won. The task of choosing a candidate therefore devolved upon the county convention. Having become more sophisticated, Carl began calling convention delegates and asking them for their support. When the convention met in July, Carl was its candidate.⁶⁰

The same year that Carl won (1980), JoAnn Trucano (Republican, Des Moines) waged an aggressive campaign against a popular but frequently absent incumbent, Norman Jesse (Democrat, Des Moines). Trucano maintained that Jesse missed almost one-third of the House's roll call votes. Trucano argued that Jesse's job as head of the Polk County attorney's civil division kept him away from his legislative duties. Jesse countered that he took a leave from his job and worked on an hourly basis for the county attorney during the session. A twelve-year House veteran, Jesse

⁵⁹Leland L. Sage, A History of Iowa (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974), p. 324; Janet Carl, interview with author, 15 June 1990. In addition to working together on Carl's campaign, Johnson and Carl continued their relationship and married.

⁶⁰Janet Carl interview.

said: "I could get things done she couldn't begin to, even as a minority party member."⁶¹ After Trucano defeated him, Jesse did not take it gracefully and accused her of being "dumber than a post."⁶² The first day of the 1981 session, Trucano carried a wooden post into the House chamber. She called it "a listening post."⁶³

A different kind of absenteeism played an important role in a 1984 race in western Iowa. Incumbent Laverne Schroeder (Republican, McClelland), who had served eighteen years in the House, divorced his wife, remarried, and moved to Waukee, near Des Moines. Joan Hester challenged Schroeder in the primary, saying that Schroeder no longer lived in the district he represented. Hester, who had campaign experience and name recognition through her husband Jack's Senate campaigns, won the primary. Schroeder entered the general election as an independent but Hester easily defeated him and the Democratic candidate. When Hester won the race, she and her husband became the first married couple to serve together in the Iowa General Assembly, she in the House, he in the Senate.⁶⁴

⁶¹"Jesse's Challenger Hits His Record of Absences," Des Moines Register, 29 October 1980, sec. A, p. 14.

⁶²"Jesse Says Victor Trucano 'Dumber than a Post,'" Des Moines Register, 6 November 1980, sec. B, p. 6.

⁶³"Political Notes by Ken Sullivan," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 January 1981, sec. A, p. 20.

⁶⁴"Two Incumbents Find Residency Doubts Harmful," Des Moines Register, 6 June 1984, sec. M, p. 1. Joan Hester declined to be interviewed, a regrettable loss. Her insights into serving with her spouse would have contributed another dimension of women's legislative experiences.

Hester enjoyed the luxury of joining her husband in the legislature and did not encounter the conflicts between home and politics that many women feel when they consider candidacy. Party activists who work to recruit candidates report that many women cite professional and family responsibilities and pleasures as reasons for not running. Women with young children find it difficult to arrange adequate care for them; those with older children believe that they need to supervise their teen-agers; and women with adult children or who are near retirement age want to spend time with their husbands traveling and enjoying their newly rediscovered freedom. Others have begun to advance in their jobs and do not want to abandon them. Other women, like Beverly Hannon (Democrat, Anamosa), used their adult years for new adventures.

The day Beverly Hannon put her sixth child on the bus for all-day kindergarten, she registered for classes at Kirkwood Community College. After completing her program at Kirkwood, she enrolled in classes at the University of Iowa. Through her classes, she became friends with Jana Zinzer who served as secretary to Senate Majority Leader Lowell Junkins. One evening early in 1986 Zinzer called Hannon at home saying that she had been talking to people in the Statehouse who wondered if she would consider running for the Senate. Hannon was "dumbfounded." She recollects: "I recited the litany of why I couldn't. 'Well, gee, I'm flattered you ask, BUT I've got six kids, no experience, no money, etc., etc.' But Jana had me figured out." Zinzer ignored Hannon's excuses and said it was okay if Hannon was not interested. Hannon remembers: "I said it wasn't because I wasn't interested, because it sounded exciting...I'd

have to think about it." After vacillating for two weeks, consulting family, friends, and political contacts, Hannon finally decided to try.⁶⁵

Hannon describes the next step:

As soon as I signed the declaration of candidacy, I was told, "Fine, now all you have to do is come up with about \$20,000." I yelled, "What? What do you mean I have to come up with \$20,000; I thought the party raised the money." The answer was they'd help, they'd tell me how to raise it. The last thing in the world I ever wanted to do was to raise money. I hate doing that. They suggested I get my Christmas card list, look over my relatives, neighbors, club colleagues....When I complained about hating to do that, they impressed on me if I can't ask people for money to support me, then I don't have much confidence in myself, and why should anyone else? I did it and hated every minute of it. Asking friends was the hardest. I had a hog roast, bake sales, letter appeal for money; I raised about \$11,000. Some advised me to borrow money for more advertising. I refused. My husband and I had agreed, no borrowing. I'd spend every dime I collected, but I wouldn't go into debt. We knew if I lost, people would be reluctant to contribute to a loser after the election.⁶⁶

Hannon's distaste for asking people for money echoes sentiments expressed by many women who campaigned for seats in the legislature. As Lenabelle Bock (Republican, Hancock), who ran in 1960 explained, men could ask for and receive money for their campaigns more easily than women.⁶⁷ In one study, women legislators in other parts of the country ranked raising money as the primary problem in their campaigns. Iowa women expressed fewer problems, but they expected to work for the contributions. They used entertaining and fun fundraisers such as hog roasts, backyard picnics, and dinners in their homes. These forms of fundraising point

⁶⁵Beverly Hannon, interview with author, 25 February 1991.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Lenabelle Bock, interview with the author, 31 May 1988.

back to traditional women's skills: cooking food and feeding guests. While Iowa's women candidates sent letters asking for contributions, they focused on family-centered events for their campaigns.⁶⁸

One last route to the Statehouse deserves attention. A few women worked as legislative secretaries before they became candidates. Each member of the Iowa House and Senate has a secretary for answering correspondence, keeping bill and committee books current, and related tasks. The secretaries work on the House and Senate floors, sitting next to their legislator. Sitting in the middle of debate, secretaries can listen (although some prefer not). After listening to her State Representative in debate and watching him work, Linda Svoboda (Democrat, Amana), who served in the 1970s, decided that he did not represent her views and that she could do a better job. Other secretaries also believed that they understood the legislative process, knew the issues, and could use their knowledge to serve the state. These observers who became legislators brought a familiarity with the legislature that only a few other women enjoyed before entering the body.

Women's reasons for becoming candidates have changed since Carolyn Pendray won a seat in the Iowa House in 1928. Before 1963, the most common reason that prompted party leaders and others to seek women candidates was to fill the party ticket. Some women had campaigned for their husbands and from that experience understood what was being asked of

⁶⁸Susan J. Carroll, Women as Candidates in American Politics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 56.

them. Others ran because of their party loyalty, and one ran simply to help a neighbor get a better job. After 1963, increasing numbers of women began identifying themselves as candidates, believing that they would be good legislators. Party loyalty continued to be part of the decision, as did filling the ticket, but after 1963 women were more likely to consider legislative service as the goal, rather than duty to the party.

One reason for candidacy, lifelong political ambition, stands out precisely because it was not mentioned in extensive interviews or newspaper articles. None of the women expressed childhood dreams to be a politician holding public office, being a policymaker, or having power. Some women introduced the topic in their interviews, saying they had never expected to run for office. Indeed, some initially laughed at the idea when they were asked to become candidates. Few women had professional aspirations beyond teaching. Several women had participated in or listened to dinner-time political discussion but did not imagine themselves in elective office. Political ambitions did not enter their lives until much later, and then usually after marrying and raising their children. When offered the opportunity to dream bigger dreams, however, these women and others worked to make those dreams a reality. Seventy-seven Iowa women made the transformation.

Many women believed that some voters would not support a woman's candidacy, but even among those who did not feel that it affected their campaigns, they acknowledged that it played a role for them. Lenabelle Bock noted that: "You [as a candidate] were just sort of out there all alone as a woman, and a woman has to work twice as hard as a man to get

elected, that's absolutely true."⁶⁹ A limitation of this study is that it only considers the winners. Women who lost their races may attribute that outcome to sexism, or perhaps not.

The roles women have played in other women's candidacies included recruiting the candidate, working on her campaign, listening to the problems in the campaign, and providing advice and guidance. Candidates regularly mention a friend or a neighbor who contributed time, energy, and resources to the effort. Only infrequently are men's names included among the primary activists in a woman's campaign. A reasonable explanation, beyond sexism, includes the differences between the social and volunteer organizations men and women join.

Women consistently pointed to their community activities as a critical factor in their elections. Dorothy Carpenter believes that her years in the band uniform closet at Valley High School introduced her to many students and their parents. Hallie Sargisson (Democrat, Salix) who served in 1971, met women in her county through her offices in the Order of Eastern Star. The women's clubs, P.E.O, and other women's organizations provided the basis of many women's support. These were groups that men could not or did not join. Stated simply, women, like men, looked for support among the people with whom they had worked, and that group generally included more women than men.

Membership in women's organizations points to another characteristic of successful women candidates. They belonged to the same organizations, helped with the same church suppers, performed the same sort of volunteer

⁶⁹Lenabelle Bock interview.

jobs that occupied their neighbors. These women, especially those elected before 1963 and including most after, were like their neighbors and emphasized their common experiences in their candidacies. Even Ada Garner, with her stirring rhetoric, campaigned as a farmer's wife.

The number of women serving simultaneously has increased since 1928, but at a slow rate. In 1951, three women were in the Iowa legislature, in 1961 four women served, in 1971 nine women, in 1981 eighteen women, and in 1991 twenty-two women. Some of the growth parallels the development of the modern feminist movement. Groups associated with the feminism of the 1960s and 1970s, however, appear to have had little direct effect on the increase. While several women belonged to the Iowa Women's Political Caucus (IWPC) and a few belonged to the National Organization for Women (NOW), none of the women who were interviewed identified those organizations as the reason for their candidacies. Several women who belonged to the League of Women Voters, including four former state presidents of the organization, identified the League as their introduction to politics and as a factor contributing directly to their candidacies. This, the oldest and most conservative of the three women's organizations, brought more women to the legislature than the organization (IWPC) formed to get women elected. The social stereotypes challenged by the feminist movement and the issues raised by it may have helped create an atmosphere conducive to women's candidacy. This is a conjecture, however, because in extensive interviews with women legislators, it did not emerge as a theme. A few women explained that they became feminists after they entered the legislature, after encountering exclusion,

derision, or humiliation that they believed had little to do with their abilities and a great deal to do with their sex.

As legislators, some women developed new negotiating and leadership skills and became knowledgeable on subjects about which they had formerly known little or nothing. They often became experts in areas that came to them through subcommittee assignments or constituent interest. Others entered the legislature prepared to work in areas which had been long familiar to them. The issues assigned to women or sought by them have included virtually every aspect of life in Iowa. Women have worked in areas traditionally associated with them, such as education and human needs, and those generally perceived as outside women's areas of interest, such as transportation, tax policy, and agriculture. Through the work women did in these areas, Iowa women legislators' experiences and contributions to state policy become evident.

LOBBYISTS AND LEADERSHIP

In the 1920s, the Ladies Home Journal published several articles offering advice to women about the new political power they had gained through passage of woman suffrage. The stories generally called on women to clean up dirty practices in local and state government. Placing women on ethical pedestals and ascribing exceptional honesty and integrity to them, writers encouraged women to involve themselves as a demonstration of their virtue. Personal political aggrandizement and power did not enter the discussions; instead most writers cautioned women to avoid public office because it could tarnish their reputations. Working in community centers, learning where power rested and evaluating it, and working cooperatively to improve government policies and services were assigned as the appropriate uses of women's increased political rights.¹

Many Iowa women legislators conducted themselves in ways and advocated policies that reflected these ideals of honesty and integrity.

¹Margaret Woodrow Wilson, "Where Women in Politics Fail," Ladies Home Journal, September 1921, pp. 10, 70; Corra Harris, "Practical Politics for Gentlewomen," Ladies Home Journal, September 1921, pp. 16, 155; Alice Ames Winter, "The Club Citizenship Program," Ladies Home Journal, December 1922, pp. 28, 125, 126, 128; Gifford Pinchot, "The Influence of Women in Politics," Ladies Home Journal, September 1922, pp. 12, 116; Harriet Taylor Upton, "The Machine and the Woman," Ladies Home Journal, October 1922, pp. 13, 159; Elizabeth Frazer, "Harnessing Industry with the Vote," Ladies Home Journal, December 1922, p. 29, 180, 182. Other commentaries on women's presumed penchant for good government include: Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989), p. 154; Glenda Riley, Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1986), pp. 155, 157; Sheila M. Rothman, Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1978), p. 128.

Women questioned lobbyists' roles and power in the General Assembly and the leadership's use of power. Many women legislators have wanted to reduce the influence exerted by lobbyists and leadership, and to place control more firmly in the hands of the members. Their male colleagues have often joined them in objecting to the ability of lobbyists and leaders to determine the fate of legislation and in desiring greater independence for individual lawmakers. In almost naive ways, these legislators believed that honorable choices would prevail, unaware of the importance of party discipline and loyalty to their caucus.²

Over the decades, women's attitudes toward lobbyists have ranged from antipathy to the belief that the third house performs useful functions. Chumminess between some lawmakers and lobbyists, however, has not been apparent in any of the relationships between female legislators and lobbyists. The most benevolent opinions held by women lawmakers toward lobbyists acknowledge the benefits of the information they provide. While both lawmakers and lobbyists understand that a lobbyist's job is to protect a client's interests, they also concur in believing that the primary asset lobbyists have is their integrity. People define integrity

²Lobbyists and leadership worked together in ways that contributed to each other's power. For example, in 1965 in what is described as a tradition, lobbyists prepared and gave the Speaker of the House and the lieutenant governor lists of the legislators they wanted assigned to specific committees. The lieutenant governor-elect had made his choices, and then made changes after receiving the lobbyists' lists of wishes, saying: "I believe the special interest lobbies, out of fairness, should at least have a voice on a committee." The Speaker of the House said that he did not pay particular attention to the lists, and that no strings were attached to them. "Lobbyists Give Advice On Committee Choices," Des Moines Tribune, 8 January 1965, p. 11.

in different ways, but misrepresenting facts or distorting the truth do not serve lobbyists who intend to maintain their influence.³

None of the recent women legislators expressed the distaste and contempt for lobbyists that Carolyn Pendray (Democrat, Jackson) repeatedly displayed, nor have they conducted campaigns to limit lobbyists' activities as Pendray did. Pendray's hostility toward lobbyists began to appear during her second term in the House in 1931 and continued through the balance of her legislative career. She objected to the "third degree lobbying tactics" used and to lobbyists sitting next to legislators, coaching them on how to vote. Over the years, she used parliamentary maneuvers, House rules, and the press to crusade against lobbyists and their influence.⁴

The Iowa Bankers Association's lobbying practices particularly offended Pendray. The association wanted six bills passed and provided directions for bankers wanting to help the effort. For what appears to have been a lobbying day in which bankers from around the state spent the day at the legislature, the association distributed a "Personal Copy of

³Women state legislators in other parts of the country have observed the personal relationships between male legislators and lobbyists. Women legislators have also noted that they have not developed comparable ones and view that as an advantage because they did not have to deal with the conflicts that could result. "Women State Legislators: Report from a Conference, May 18-21, 1972," Center for the American Woman in Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers-The State University, pp. 9-10. "Lobbyists See Integrity as Key to their Success," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 February 1983, sec. A, p. 7.

⁴"Woman Protests Against 'Third Degree Lobbying' in House," Des Moines Tribune-Capital, 19 February 1931, p. 1; Carolyn Campbell Pendray to H. E. Skott, Jr., 12 March 1931, in the possession of the Maquoketa Genealogy Society; "Drivers Bill Passed; Fee is Lowered," Des Moines Tribune-Capital, 15 April 1931, p. 12.

Program of Action" to its members. As association members discovered their representatives' views on the bills, they were to report them to legislative chair of the bankers association. The program further identified the floor leaders whose votes other representatives should follow. If the House did not finish working on the bills, the association encouraged banker-lobbyists to stay overnight in order to finish monitoring and lobbying legislators. Pendray had the entire program printed in the Journal of the House. She included it in her "Explanation of Vote," stating that she had voted against pulling a banking bill out of the sifting committee because of the association's lobbying tactics.⁵ Pendray received support from a newspaper editorial which described lobbyists "swarm[ing]" around the House, disrupting its "dignity" and allowing "high pressure methods" to promote the acceptance or defeat of legislation.⁶

Unable to keep lobbyists off the Senate floor, Pendray and a Senate colleague persuaded the body to place a rope barrier in the back of the chamber. While lobbyists could still be on the Senate floor, they could no longer sit or stand next to senators at their desks.⁷ Corralling lobbyists in the back of the chamber at least limited the intense pressure of having them breathing on the legislators as they cast their votes.

⁵Iowa, Journal of the House, 1931, pp. 1757-1759.

⁶"More Hell-Raising Needed," newspaper article, undated, in author's possession.

⁷"Rope to Keep Lobbyists off Senate Floor," Des Moines Tribune, 28 January 1935, p. 1.

While Pendray's battles with lobbyists were characteristic of the expectations of women to the extent of almost being trite, they also demonstrated her persistence despite her colleagues' resistance to her appeals. Her efforts to alter the legislative process by limiting lobbyists' influence stand in contrast to her earlier pleas to be just one among the legislators. By attempting to change the relationships between legislators and lobbyists, Pendray separated herself from other lawmakers. While her fight against lobbyists did not change the system, it likely alienated her colleagues.

After Pendray had corralled lobbyists behind the rope barrier, legislators in later sessions restricted lobbyists to the benches on the back and sides of the chamber. From these positions, lobbyists continued to monitor lawmakers' votes and directed the votes by signaling to members on the floor.⁸ Eventually, the House and Senate floors became restricted to members, clerks, and staff from one-half hour before the day's session began until one-half hour after the day's adjournment. Lobbyists and others wanting to talk to legislators could send notes to members.

Outside the Statehouse, the amount of money lobbyists spend wining and dining legislators has received periodic attention. Some critics object to the amount of influence lobbyists develop by buying meals and

⁸One lobbyist recalled that it could be comical trying to signal the votes. During the debate on liquor by the drink in 1965, the lobbyist described a lawmaker whose sight was poor and who called to the back of the chamber, saying he could not see the signal. Finally, the embarrassed lobbyist tried a stage whisper, but the lawmaker's hearing had also diminished. The lobbyist described his resulting discomfort from trying to find a dignified way to respond to the lawmaker's insistent demands for help in deciding how to vote.

drinks for lawmakers. Joann Orr (Democrat, Grinnell) believed that the expense money she received for her meals should be used for that purpose and refused gift dinners or entertainment. A friend told her that her choice would be unpopular with her colleagues because it impugned their motives, but she felt she made the appropriate choice. Orr and other women appreciated the time in the late 1970s when lawmakers could not accept anything from lobbyists, no matter how small, because they felt it created a more comfortable relationship between lawmakers and lobbyists. For several years, Diane Brandt (Democrat, Cedar Falls) paid for her own meals, but after her divorce, she found that she could no longer afford to pay for dinners with constituent groups. For her, a conflict between her commitments arose. Groups like the chamber of commerce or various industry associations organized the dinners as a way to meet with their legislators, so refusal became difficult. Brandt eventually decided to accept the free meals, but it made her uncomfortable because some constituents did not have the same avenue for meeting and socializing with lawmakers. Brandt's changed situation substantiates an observation made by women in other parts of the country: Their freedom from dependence on lobbyists for meals was a byproduct of the economic independence they had because their spouses provided the family income. When Brandt had her husband's income to support her, paying for her own meals did not create an economic hardship but that changed after she became single. Elizabeth Shaw (Republican, Davenport) quoted another lawmaker to describe her philosophy: "If you can't eat their [lobbyists'] food and drink their wine (and he was cruder than this) and sleep with their women and look

them in the eye and vote no, you don't belong here." In general, other women's opinions fell within these parameters.⁹

In addition to constituent groups buying legislators meals, lobbyists regularly take lawmakers out for dinner and drinks at the end of the day, unless the lawmaker is female. In the 1960s, a former legislator turned lobbyist invited male lawmakers to a hospitality room, the Wigwam, that he opened in a local hotel. The guest lists did not include women, which led Orr to protest because negotiations took place and decisions were made there and women could not participate in them. The exclusion Orr complained about generally characterizes women's relationship to lobbyists, but it often occurred in a context of confusion, not one of disdain directed toward women.¹⁰

Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Rapids) explained: "The professional lobbyists were really floored by women. They were accustomed to form a social relationship with legislators. They really didn't know exactly how to handle us, and they ignored us."¹¹ The seven women in the General

⁹"Women State Legislators: Report from a Conference, May 18-12, 1972," Center for the American Woman in Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers-The State University, p. 10; Joann Orr, interview with author, 22 June 1989; Diane Brandt, interview with author, 26 June 1989; Elizabeth Shaw, interview with author, 26 October 1989.

¹⁰Connecticut had a bar in the state capitol building, the Hawaiian Room, which women lawmakers could not enter. Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the State House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 108; "Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 9 February 1969, sec. B, p. 4; "Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 23 February 1969, sec. B, p. 6; "Legislative Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 January 1971, p. 5; "Men-Only 'Wigwam' is Rapped," Des Moines Tribune, 24 September 1970, p. 3.

¹¹Joan Lipsky, interview with author, 7 July 1989.

Assembly in 1970 all said they received few dinner invitations from lobbyists, but none of them complained. They felt that constituent events consumed enough of their evenings, and they looked forward to having some free time to study bills or take care of family or other obligations. They believed that for a male lobbyist to take a female legislator out for dinner created an awkward situation. A lobbyist agreed with that assessment, implying that a romantic or sexual connotation existed. Some women who served before the 1970s believed that they had to be cautious about the appearance of their activities in order to protect their reputations.¹² Remarkably little has changed in twenty years; lobbyists tend not to take women lawmakers to dinner, except occasionally in groups, and women tend not to mind.

Legislators have told a story about an evening when six women lawmakers decided to go to a local bar and restaurant for dinner, a place where legislators regularly gathered. When the group walked into the restaurant, other legislators asked them what they were doing. Beverly Hannon (Democrat, Anamosa) tells the rest of the story:

The majority leader, Bill Hutchins, came over after we were seated to ask what was going on, "What's the occasion?" We told him we just decided to go out for dinner together. He was amazed. "Hell, why don't you get a lobbyist to take you out?" He was genuinely stunned to think there were six women buying their own dinner and going out together without a lobbyist. Apparently some legislators never buy their own meals! Without any rehearsal, we said one by one, that lobbyists don't usually invite us out for dinner. If they do, it's generally in a

¹²"Little 'Night-Life' Lobbying for 7 Women Legislators," Des Moines Tribune, 12 March 1970, pp. 1, 12.

larger group of women; occasionally they mix male and female legislators.¹³

After Hutchins left, the women discussed lobbyists and discovered that none of them could remember when a male lobbyist had taken one of them out alone for a meal, as they did with male legislators. They conjectured that lobbyists were afraid to be seen with just one of them or perhaps they feared the women.

Several women explained that the issues on which they concentrate their energies do not have wealthy or powerful constituencies that employ professional lobbyists. Instead, they more likely find themselves battling those groups. For example, Johnie Hammond (Democrat, Ames) has worked to create no smoking environments (unpopular with the tobacco industry) and to provide medical coverage for all Iowans (unpopular with business and other groups). Sue Mullins (Republican, Corwith), Dorothy Carpenter (Republican, West Des Moines), JoAnn Zimmerman (Democrat, Waukee), and others spent years changing provisions in the state indigent patient program at the University of Iowa (disliked by the university and many of the physicians who trained there). Mullins devoted years to advocating issues concerning children, a group for whom only a few volunteer lobbyists were working. Other examples of women spending their energies on issues that either did not affect monied groups or opposing those groups appear in later chapters of this work. These examples suggest that, in addition to the social awkwardness of a male lobbyist taking a female legislator out to dinner, they might have so few common

¹³Beverly Hannon, interview with author, 25 February 1991.

political interests that they have little business to conduct over dinner. Even though women legislators may not work closely with professional lobbyists, they have regularly acknowledged the influence and power exerted by the third house.¹⁴

Within the chambers, the leadership exerts other forms of power through party discipline and the prerogatives allotted it, such as choosing committee chairs, assigning members to committees, and designating which committees receive specific bills. The legislature has four groups of leaders, majority and minority leaders in both the House and the Senate. Each caucus elects its leaders, generally before the session begins. Until 1991, the lieutenant governor served as the presiding officer of the Senate, but a constitutional amendment removed the lieutenant governor from that position, and the Senate now elects its president from the body. The Speaker of the House is elected from the body. Both bodies also choose a pro-tempore presiding officer, a position held by Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Iowa) in the Senate in the 1970s. In the 1980s, JoAnn Zimmerman presided over the Senate during her term as lieutenant governor. The caucuses elect their own floor leaders and assistants. No women have served as Speaker of the House or as majority or minority floor leaders in either chamber. Since the late 1960s, several women have been assistant leaders in both parties. Most women have described generally amicable relationships with the leadership, some

¹⁴Irene Diamond observed that women in her study tended to serve on health and welfare committees and that those areas do not have lobbyists with the financial resources often commanded by business and industry groups. Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the State House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 107.

easily accepting the role of follower. Others have become part of the leadership, and still others have challenged the leadership's decisions and policies.

Carolyn Pendray, who provides the first example in many areas, refused to bow to her party's pressure when the Senate considered an investigation of the liquor control commission in the 1930s. When the caucus needed one more vote to bury the investigation, the leadership tried "to whip Mrs. Pendray into line." She reported that: "I was asked to change my vote for the good of the party, but I claim the best thing the party can do is to sponsor a thorough investigation." She justified her decision, saying: "And while I was under fire I couldn't help remembering that I was a Democrat before it got to be popular. I was a party worker a good many years before some Democrats now in the Senate had decided they weren't Republicans."¹⁵ The leadership made a compromise with other members that alleviated the need for Pendray's vote.

In another example, Edna Lawrence (Republican, Wapello) objected to her leadership's resistance to considering Governor Robert D. Blue's proposals to solve problems at a state institution. In 1945, riots occurred at the Eldora boys training school, which was governed by the Board of Control. To investigate the problems, several special legislative committees worked between sessions to propose solutions. When

¹⁵"White Wash for Liquor Probe is Voted by Senate," undated newspaper article in author's possession.

presented with the recommendations in early 1947, Blue opposed the committee solutions, and offered his own.¹⁶

As a member of the House Board of Control Committee, Lawrence offered amendments reflecting the governor's proposals to a group of bills passed by the Senate, but the leadership limited debate on them and they failed. Lawrence attacked the House leadership for denying the House committee and the House floor the opportunity to discuss issues relating to the board and accused the leadership of placing a 'gag' on the discussion of bills. She conceded that the proposals may not have offered the best solutions but felt that all options deserved consideration. She objected more to the process used than the outcome, saying: "I am not willing to represent my county and the state in a process in which just a few men draw up the legislation. I might just as well have stayed home."¹⁷ House majority leader Arch W. McFarlane responded: "It's just one of those things that happens sometimes," an explanation Lawrence did not accept.¹⁸ As an elected representative for her district, she insisted upon being part of the process.

Perhaps it was "those things" referred to by McFarlane that prompted Lawrence, Amy Bloom (Democrat, Webster) and others to form the '52 Club' (for 52nd General Assembly) at the end of the session. While some of the

¹⁶"Blue Opposed on Abolishing Interim Board," Des Moines Register, 17 January 1947, p. 1.

¹⁷"Attacks 'Gag' On Board of Control Bills," Des Moines Register, 28 March 1947, p. 1.

¹⁸"Denies 'Gag Rule' Used on Board Bills," Des Moines Tribune 28 March 1947, p. 8.

members told a reporter the group had a social purpose, others suggested a different agenda. Many new members felt that they had not been included in the decision-making process during the session. To remedy the problem, they wanted to organize a legislative school for newly elected members in 1948. A school offered between election day and opening day of the legislature would enable the newly elected legislators to understand the process and procedures from the beginning of the session. The group chose Lawrence to serve as secretary-treasurer and Bloom to serve on the committee to draw up the constitution and by-laws.¹⁹

Through the session, the freshman legislators in 1947 may have learned that a set of protocols or rules of the club existed that were not part of the official rules of the legislature. The decision to formalize instruction in legislative procedure suggests that in 1947 freshmen legislators, both men and women, felt left out of the powerful informal and formal decision making process. By providing instruction to the freshman legislators in 1949, they helped create an informed and potentially more effective group of legislators, increasing their power and limiting that of their more senior colleagues.

Gertrude Cohen (Democrat, Black Hawk) battled with her party's leadership in 1965, and ultimately lost her House seat as a consequence. A freshman, Cohen introduced a work-release bill for county jail inmates, an idea favored by her party. According to Cohen, she made an

¹⁹"First Termers Form '52' Club," Des Moines Register 10 April 1947, p. 9. The legislature did conduct a school the Friday before the session began in 1949. "Kuester Denies Withdrawing," Des Moines Tribune 7 January 1949, p. 7.

unforgivable error--she had a Republican sponsor for the companion bill in the senate, Francis L. Messerly, also from Black Hawk County. The House Democratic leadership explained to Cohen that having a Republican sponsor for the bill would allow that party to get some of the credit for the idea, and the Democrats wanted to keep it for themselves. They wanted her to let her bill die, and then the judiciary committee would introduce the same bill under its name.²⁰

Cohen refused, the House debated her bill, and members badgered her during debate. One lawmaker grilled her, asking her to define felonies and indictable misdemeanors and to explain the difference between them, attempting to destroy her credibility. Cohen remembered: "I couldn't answer the questions. After about fifteen minutes of...examining me...I quoted something from our Bible, when a good daughter of her people realizes she is defeated, she admits it....They killed the bill. I felt naked....I felt exposed."²¹ During the debate a House member chided other members of the body: "The lady from Black Hawk [Cohen] has been exposed to some terrible things in this House this morning," describing them as "despicable."²² She felt that the bill's defeat and her humiliation came as a direct result of her perceived disloyalty to the party: "I mean, loyalty to the party is very important. It's an important aspect of political life. But somehow or other, something in my personality wouldn't allow for me to admit that perhaps it would have been

²⁰Gertrude Cohen, interview with author, 1 March 1991.

²¹Gertrude Cohen interview.

²²Newspaper clipping in Gertrude Cohen's possession.

wiser to let the bill die."²³ Later in the session, the House Judiciary Committee produced a bill with the same purpose and passed it.²⁴

The same year, the legislature passed one of its many reapportionment plans. Cohen, who had worked on the issue during her years in the League of Women Voters, contended that leaders protected some legislators' seats as they developed that year's plan, but she believed that she did not receive the same consideration, saying: "I think as far as the party was concerned, I was expendable, because I had not cooperated as fully as I should have. I had a lot of differences with the party. I think the county chairman knew that, I think the state Democratic chairman knew that."²⁵ The party that gave her a Republican district later found itself unable to find a candidate for the Senate seat. They convinced Cohen to run for that seat, but 1966 was a Republican year and Cohen lost. After another reapportionment plan, Cohen ran for the Iowa House in 1968 but lost in the general election.²⁶

Of women's challenges to leadership, the most public and probably the most daring began after the 1974 general elections and continued through the first week of the 1975 session. After the elections, control of both chambers passed from Republicans to Democrats, giving Democrats the pleasant task of organizing the chambers. Minnette Doderer (Democrat,

²³Gertrude Cohen interview.

²⁴"Day Parole Bill Passes House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 April 1965, p. 3; Frank T. Nye, "The 61st General Assembly of Iowa," The Palimpsest 44 No. 9 (September 1965): 464.

²⁵Gertrude Cohen interview.

²⁶Iowa Official Register, 1969-1970, pp. 345, 367.

Iowa City), who had held assistant leadership positions, decided to run for Senate President Pro Tempore. Before the organizational caucus that followed the general election, she lobbied caucus members for their support. She won the caucus support, which all but guaranteed that she would win when the legislature convened.

After the caucus, the leadership attended a National Conference of State Legislatures meeting in New York. At a breakfast meeting, newly elected Majority Leader George Kinley told her that he wanted her and other leaders to monitor the standing committee meetings. Doderer agreed, but wanted the activity to be called something else, because: "The word just strikes me wrong."²⁷ He threatened her, saying that she would perform the task or he would not give her an appropriations subcommittee to chair. Not taking him seriously, she insisted on her position. He did not give her a subcommittee to chair, but offered her the position of ranking member of the State Government Committee. She refused it.

In the days before the session began, Doderer accused Kinley of sex discrimination for the way he treated her: leaving her out of leadership meetings, making committee appointments for Senate members, organizing the Senate, and hiring staff without consulting her. She accused him of reducing the power allotted to the position of Senate President Pro Tempore and pledged to protest his treatment of her by voting against his rules proposals until he shared some of his power with her. Kinley replied that Doderer had isolated herself by refusing to join other Democratic leaders in monitoring committees, which two other leaders had

²⁷Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 June 1989.

agreed to do. At odds with the entire Senate Democratic caucus, Doderer said: "I am not content with having this position (pro tempore) downgraded because there is a woman in it. Evidently male members of the Democratic caucus have encouraged Kinley to do it. I base this on the fact that Kinley told me what other members of the caucus think of me. So I have to think that, because they have downgraded me, he has taken the license to treat me this way."²⁸

When the session opened in January 1975, Doderer broke party discipline by voting against the leadership in a procedural vote on temporary rules, insisting that they gave the majority leader too much power and continuing to object to monitoring committee chairs. The number of Republicans (24) and of Democrats (26) became significant when Doderer voted against her party, because it tied the vote 25-25. The Republican lieutenant governor broke the tie with his partisan vote, defeating the majority leader's proposed rules. Procedural votes are part of party discipline, and everyone is expected to vote right on them, and the caucus determines what "right" is. After Doderer voted against him on the rules vote, Kinley "took her to the woodshed," a legislative term meaning just what it implies. The person is scolded for his or her transgression and is supposed to emerge chastised and prepared to be more cooperative. Doderer, however, refused to change her vote, and the Senate did not organize itself that day.²⁹

²⁸"Majority Leader Accused of Sex Bias by Doderer," Des Moines Register, 8 January 1975, p. 5.

²⁹"Doderer Drops Bombshell into Demo Ranks," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 14 January 1975, p. 1.

The second day of the session, pressure mounted as the state Democratic Party chairman, the state's national party committeeman, and Senate colleagues tried to convince Doderer of the error of her ways. Trying to arrive at a compromise, Richard Norpel (Democrat, Bellevue) offered to give Doderer his appropriations subcommittee chair if that would help the Democrats resolve the problem in what a reporter called a "touching and emotional period" of the caucus. Doderer thanked Norpel, but "graciously" declined, saying the time for that had passed, her greater concern focused on the division of power. Doderer held the power at that time. Only a senator voting on the prevailing side can file a motion to reconsider, and it was unlikely that any of the Republicans would help the Democrats solve the problem. The only Democrat who could file the motion was Doderer.³⁰

William Palmer (Democrat, Des Moines) entered as negotiator offering a compromise in which the four leaders (pro tem, majority leader, and assistant leaders) would share the power to assign bills to committees and to name conference committees and the steering committee. When Lt. Gov. Art Neu told Doderer that another deal had been developed in which Joseph Coleman (Democrat, Clare) would vote with the Republicans and a Republican would win the position, Doderer agreed to the compromise. She filed the motion to reconsider, and the legislature continued with its organizational tasks. With the problems solved, Doderer asked to delay her nomination for Senate pro-tem because women in the House wanted to

³⁰"Shaky Peace in Legislature after Doderer Power Move," Des Moines Register, 15 January 1975, p. 7; "Senate Democrats Regain Majority," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 15 January 1975, sec. A, pp. 1-2.

hear her nomination and they had gone home for the day. Her wish was granted.³¹

The vote on her nomination was delayed on the fourth day because Kinley had to convince two Senate Democrats to continue supporting Doderer. After her election, Doderer acknowledged the tradition that had been broken: For the first time in the state's history a woman held the position. She told the body: "I'd like to commend not only the members of my party, but the Senate as a whole, for entrusting a woman with the responsibilities of this office--the third highest in the state."³² She expressed her pride in having the position and added that she would have been equally proud if another woman had been elected. She announced that: "The Iowa Senate has advanced the cause of all women by its choice for president pro tempore. I sincerely thank you."³³ Three hours later she presided over the inaugural ceremonies for the new governor and lieutenant governor.³⁴ She described it as the biggest week of her political career.

Senate Minority Leader Clifton Lamborn (Republican, Maquoketa) praised Doderer's use of power. Describing the power battle as "gutsy" he

³¹Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 June 1989; "Shaky Peace in Legislature after Doderer Power Move," Des Moines Register, 15 January 1975, p. 7; "Democrats End 2 Days Infighting; Unanimously Defeat Rules Change," Des Moines Register, 16 January 1975, p. 3.

³²The Senate president pro tempore becomes governor upon the resignation or death of the governor and lieutenant governor.

³³"Demos Unite, Give Post to Doderer," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 January 1975, p. 1.

³⁴Ibid.

said: "Minnette's got the power and the skill to use it," adding "she's carrying the big stick and she'll use it."³⁵ Doderer's female colleagues gave her power play mixed reviews, some clearly supporting her, others wondering if she handled it in the best way. Joann Orr (Democrat, Grinnell) wondered whether the conflict really had anything to do with sex discrimination. Mary O'Halloran (Democrat, Cedar Falls) found "hers was an extraordinary act of political courage." Casting Doderer's actions in a larger frame, O'Halloran continued: "She exhibited a great deal of consistency and integrity in wanting to maintain those duties and responsibilities for whoever comes after her, male or female, for now and for ten to 25 years from now." O'Halloran also pointed out that: "On the woman's side, it shows how hard a time women have getting to the higher echelons of power." Sonja Egenes (Republican, Story City) thought that women in the legislature and both men and women in the state hoped for her success, adding: "Minnette showed that with her total grasp of the political process and knowledge of the political tools she could legitimately reach her goal." Another supporter, Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Falls), pointed to Doderer's demonstrated legislative ability and questioned the political wisdom of Kinley offending a member of his caucus.³⁶

When the Senate organized in 1976, Doderer lost her leadership position to Joe Coleman (Democrat, Clare). In some ways, Coleman's

³⁵"Republican Leader Heaps High Praise on Doderer," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 January 1975, p. 4.

³⁶"Women Legislators Cheer Doderer in Power Tiff," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 26 January 1975, sec. B, pp. 1-2.

success signified the end of Doderer's ascending power in the Senate. The Senate fight became part of Doderer's reputation as a scrappy fighter, a master of legislative politics, and a sometime political outsider from her party. Doderer believes that she "made senators mad at me so they made sure I didn't get the nomination for lieutenant governor in '78."³⁷

Doderer risked losing her position as Senate President Pro Tempore to make her point to maintain the traditional power of the position. She won, but at a political cost, her party allegiance was questioned, and she became an unknown quantity, whose independence threatened the caucus' ability to act.³⁸ Doderer's fight with Kinley may have contributed to other contests of power in the 1980s when she returned to the House. Some observers speculated that Kinley detained the comparable worth study because the grudge between them continued. Others believed that he held the bill because she had stopped the gambling bill that Kinley wanted. Both conjectures may have a portion of truth in them.

An experienced politician who had weathered several legislative storms, Doderer knew the political gamble involved in her decision. Cohen and Lawrence were freshmen legislators when they resisted the leadership's power, and they likely did not understand it or the rules they were expected to follow. Lawrence and other freshmen learned the rules and prepared to teach them to the next class, before those new members found themselves ill-prepared to deal with leadership or other aspects of

³⁷Minnette Doderer interview; "Shaky Peace in Legislature After Doderer Power Move," Des Moines Register, 15 January 1975, p. 7.

³⁸"Shaky Peace in Legislature After Doderer Power Move," Des Moines Register, 15 January 197, p. 7.

political life. While Lawrence argued against the leadership's restrictions on debate by herself, her colleagues experienced similar frustrations and together they sought options for change. Cohen did not have the benefit of open support for her cause. She felt isolated and defeated by the attacks on the floor. She had no mentor: Her best guide was her floor clerk who showed her around the building and told her about the resources in the legislature. For her, the disagreement with the leadership had less to do with fighting than with maintaining her integrity. Without someone to help her, she could only use her own values to make political decisions. She lacked the political experience that would have helped her identify alternatives to maintain her integrity and to negotiate with the leadership to find generally satisfactory solutions. Because the leaders did not perceive her as a cooperative player, they did not exert themselves to keep her on their team.

Pendray also became isolated through her objections to lobbyists' practices. From the beginning of her legislative service, she criticized lobbyists and insisted upon making the choices she believed to be the correct ones, regardless of her party's position. Pendray's independence and her willingness to discuss her grievances with the press offer clues to a mystery. The articles describing her criticisms of her colleagues and lobbyists did not flatter either group. Her colleagues may have tired of her public objections to their activities and ostracized her from the body. A mysterious aspect arises because toward the end of her Senate term she considered running for higher office, but instead she retired from politics. No reasons for her decisions have been found. She may

have become so isolated from her colleagues and from the state's party leaders that continuing in the Senate or seeking higher office lost their appeal and their potential for success. Her fights for her convictions may have alienated the party support needed for victory.

Doderer's experience has some similar aspects to it. She obtained the position she sought and refused to watch idly the power associated with it be diminished. She knew how the rules worked and how to spot opportunities. The distribution of Senate Republicans and Democrats gave her the power she needed to demand publicly the rights she could not successfully negotiate for privately. Doderer knew the upheaval her vote against the leadership would provoke and the pressure that leadership would place on her to change. She created a storm, won a compromise, and generated anger that led to opposition in the 1978 primary election. In the years after the fight, Doderer continued to obtain approval of her proposals, but friends have described the stress and isolation under which she worked.

These women took risks, some perhaps more calculated and better understood than others. They believed in limiting lobbyists' activities, in open government, in traditional distribution of power, but most importantly in themselves. They contrast with the less vocal and less visible women who accepted or agreed with the leadership. They wanted their opinions heard and they defended their integrity, refusing to be relegated to the fringe. The events suggest ways that women resolved the conflicts between their self-perceptions and the culture they entered when they joined the legislature.

LEGISLATORS AND POLITICIANS

Iowa's women legislators have regarded themselves, their responsibilities, and their roles in a number of ways. Lenabelle Bock (Republican, Hancock) described herself as a concerned legislator and denied being a politician. Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Iowa City) listed her occupation as politician. These two women perceived their roles as state legislators from different perspectives that went beyond the titles they gave themselves. The diversity found in women's backgrounds and in the issues they have advocated also appears in their relationships with their colleagues, their political agendas, and the strategies they developed to reach their goals. As they worked in the legislative culture, some women found the accepted methods for accomplishing goals personally repugnant. These women would resist the back room negotiations and vote trading that was and continues to be part of the legislative process. For some women the political consequences of their decision to remain outside that process would be apparent; for others it would be less obvious.¹

As pioneers in traditional men's territory, women lawmakers surveyed the terrain and in the sometimes hostile environment looked for a base from which they could begin their work. In the same ways that lobbyists had difficulty finding ways to work with women, female lawmakers had adjustments to make in dealing with their male colleagues. They

¹Lenabelle Bock, interview with author, 31 May 1988; "One 'Politician' in Legislature; Most Farmers," Des Moines Tribune, 8 January 1965, p. 4.

discovered differences in the procedures, the protocols, and the courtesies used in the legislature from those they had learned in their women's club and League of Women Voters meetings. Some women had difficulty participating in the bargaining and power moves that undergird many of the legislature's actions and made conscious decisions to keep themselves separate from the culture, citing their honor and integrity as the reasons. Some women accepted the territory as it existed and participated in the traditions of trading votes and other political manipulations. Women developed a number of strategies to have their voices heard on the territory they had entered, but they had constant reminders that they had moved into a foreign place.²

A reporter in 1929 described the Iowa legislature as a men's club, a view repeated in decades since. Helen Crabb (Democrat, Guthrie) felt that men had not adjusted to women's presence in the chamber when she served in the 1940s.³ In praising Gladys Nelson's political career, a Des Moines Register editorial explained that her sex had not "impaired her effectiveness."⁴ The Newton Daily News wrote that despite the "disdain"

²Jeane J. Kirkpatrick described legislatures as a "macho [emphasis in original] culture of the locker room, the smoker, the barracks," in Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 106. Vermont Governor Madeline Kunin described women in public life as "political immigrants," in "Keynote Address," in "Women in Legislative Leadership: Report from a Conference, November 14-17, 1985," Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers-The State University of New Jersey, p. 7.

³Helen Crabb, interview with author, 18 April 1988.

⁴"An Outstanding Legislator," Des Moines Register, 1 July 1956, section G, p. 12.

in which political women were regarded, Nelson continually "held her own."⁵ A state senator told Nelson that men in the legislature did not like working with women, but, she recalled: "He had never heard one complaint against me. I took that as a compliment."⁶ These comments and Nelson's acceptance of them offer a view of the political atmosphere and culture in which women legislators worked.

This prejudice against women provides hints of the obstacles confronting women in politics. In the 1960s, the four women in the House gave each man a carnation in appreciation of "the kindness of the men in allowing a woman the floor every now and then."⁷ The charming sentiment reveals the sense of separateness these women felt. A group of male legislators would not have reason to thank their colleagues for opportunities to exercise their rights or fulfill their responsibilities. Gertrude Cohen (Democrat, Waterloo) believed that men perceived the legislature as their province and wanted to keep it that way. Mary O'Halloran (Democrat, Cedar Falls) wanted to belong to the club, but her male colleagues resisted her attempts. Elizabeth Shaw (Republican, Davenport) said that men wrote the legislature's rules and that women had to decide how they wanted to respond to them. Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Iowa City), a veteran legislator who served in four decades, did not feel

⁵"Fine Record," Newton Daily News, 28 June 1956, no page number, Gladys Nelson scrapbook, in her possession.

⁶"Leader of 'Margarine Bill' also Founder of Newton LWV in 1934," newspaper article, Gladys Nelson scrapbook, in her possession.

⁷"4 Women Legislators Honor Males," Garner Leader, 10 May 1961, p. 1.

she had yet been admitted to the club in the 1990s. Janet Adams (Democrat, Webster) described the problem as poor vision on the part of men: They either did not see her or they looked over her.⁸

Women have repeatedly explained that they have not experienced sex discrimination, but they also recall examples of exclusion, derision, and separation from their colleagues. In the first decades women served in the legislature, exclusion took the form of putting women on pedestals. By raising women above them, men also removed women from the scenes of decision making and the centers of power. At the same time, men created ceremonial honors for women. The House gave Ada Garner (Democrat, Butler) the honor of being the first woman to preside over the chamber. It was only for one hour, and the press dutifully noted that she "quelled titters with a sharp blow of the gavel." Later that year, the Senate handed Carolyn Pendray the gavel for a short time, and her colleagues gave her an apple in recognition of her years of teaching. Two years earlier, the House had given Pendray a bouquet of carnations in memory of all Iowa women.⁹ In 1943 the House gave Mae Lynch (Democrat, Pocahontas) a Valentine's bouquet and declared her the chamber's Valentine, a sentiment she returned two years later when she gave each member of the House a rose. She told the assembly: "This morning, with the consent of the wives and sweethearts, I am asking the 107 true and stalwart men to be my

⁸"Woman Finds Legislature Looks Like a Men's Club," Des Moines Tribune-Capital, 4 February 1929, sec. I, p. 16; Gertrude Cohen, interview with author, 1 March 1991; "Iowa Legislators Resist Her Attempt to be 'Member of the Club,'" Des Moines Register, 11 April 1977, sec. A, p. 6; Elizabeth Shaw, interview with author, 26 October 1989.

⁹"A Pretty Tribute," Jackson Sentinel, 17 February 1931, p. 1.

valentines...."¹⁰ Vera McKee (Republican, Marion and Monroe) told a reporter: "The male members of the legislature were very courteous and gallant towards me. I don't think that they thought I knew enough to be in on some of the private maneuverings of the Senate, but I had no complaint about the way they treated me."¹¹ Women consistently received polite treatment from their colleagues, but some wanted more than flowers.

The men in the chamber did not distribute power as readily as they did posies and honors. Edna Lawrence (Republican, Wapello) demonstrated organizational ability and leadership but did not receive the reasonable rewards for her labors. In 1947 several Iowa communities and rural areas suffered from flooding caused by exceptionally heavy rainfall. In December a statewide group met in Des Moines to discuss possible actions to begin flood control planning. Lawrence took an active role in the conference, helping those at the meeting ask the legislature to form an interim flood control study committee. When the legislature met in a special session relating to income taxes later that week, Lawrence introduced and successfully managed a resolution requesting the study. Instead of recognizing Lawrence's contributions by appointing her to the committee, the House Speaker appointed three men. The House interim committee members introduced ten bills, seven of which were passed and

¹⁰Journal of the House, 1945, pp. 394-395.

¹¹"Vera Shivvers McKee Spends Life Giving," Knoxville Journal, 17 October 1983, p. 1.

signed by the governor.¹² Lawrence deserved some of the credit for and benefits of her work for flood control, but by the Speaker's choice of other legislators to manage the bills they received the political benefits of her leadership.

Some male legislators' actions and opinions frustrated and angered their female colleagues. Examples include the evening Joann Orr (Democrat, Grinnell) attended a legislative dinner and sat next to a legislative colleague. When she felt his hand on her thigh, she told him to remove it if he did not "want real trouble." Another legislator's passive response to the episode annoyed Orr almost as much as Fischer's groping. She believed that legislators like Grassley resisted criticizing their colleagues because some day their votes might be needed. She also disliked George Kinley's (Democrat, Polk) habit of calling her "dear," but he stopped using the term after she called him "darling." Men's habit of sexualizing events also offended Orr. She recounted the afternoon she had taken a nap in the Senate's private lounge and later heard that senators said that they had slept with her. She did not use the lounge again.¹³ Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Rapids) encountered a legislator who

¹²"Seek Interim Committee on Flood Control," Ottumwa Daily Courier, 15 December 1947, p. 1; "Flood Study Group Voted," Des Moines Register 18 December 1947, p. 3; "Six Named to Study Flood Control," Ottumwa Daily Courier, 19 December 1947, p. 1; Journal of the Iowa House of Representatives, 1949, pp. 1706-1707.

¹³Joann Orr, interview with author, 22 June 1989; Joann Orr, letter to author, 29 November 1991.

considered "women absolutely brainless and totally incompetent to deal with something like figures and money...."¹⁴

The inhospitable legislative environment appears in other ways such as the restroom facilities. Neither the House nor the Senate had women's restroom facilities in the chambers, but they both had facilities for men. Problems arose when the chambers invoked a rule forbidding members to leave. Lieutenant Governor Roger Jepsen sometimes allowed women members of the Senate to use the facilities near his office because the sergeant-at-arms could see the door from his post. Generally women from both chambers had to walk outside the chamber and down the hall to the other end of the building. Because the public restrooms did not have speakers in them, women using those facilities could not hear debate, and so they left the chamber aware that they could miss important points or debate opportunities. Katherine Zastrow (Democrat, Monroe) humorously wrote that: "You've been tutored in every kind of political aspect of this job that you're undertaking, but the State House was built for men, and when you want to get to the ladies room, which is way off on the other side of the [State] House, let me show you the way."¹⁵ In 1972 both chambers finally constructed women's restrooms, but they did not immediately have speakers installed.¹⁶

¹⁴Joan Lipsky, interview with author, 7 July 1989.

¹⁵Katherine Zastrow, interview with the author, 10 June 1988.

¹⁶"Legislative Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 24 February 1969, p. 4; Legislative Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 10 January 1972, p. 5.

The men's club had other aspects to it. The Advertising Club of Iowa held an annual stag event for legislators known as the Gridiron Dinner which featured skits that had state and local celebrities as their targets. When Minnette Doderer received an invitation to the dinner in 1969, she sent a check for tickets for herself and her husband. An Advertising Club secretary returned it, explaining that, because she was a woman, Doderer could not attend. Doderer publicized the snub with a news release, and distributed a circular to Senate members describing the insult. (See Appendix D.) The Women's Advertising Club of Des Moines refuted her accusation, saying that: "We feel we have taken our rightful places...."¹⁷ Doderer believed that her rightful place was with other members at the dinner.

The Advertising Club's insults to Doderer continued in 1970. The organization's publication included an ad for the event that said: "See Richard Turner (Iowa attorney general) turn on over Minnette Doderer demonstrating nude sit-in techniques in the lobby of the Fort Des Moines Hotel." The dinner invitation had a picture of a nude model wearing a Nazi helmet and a tattoo that said: "Sorry, Minette [sic]...You Little Sweetheart." Doderer's reaction reveals her relationship to feminism at the time: "I'm not the women's liberation type and I haven't been antagonistic to them, but I've listened enough. Now I know what these women's liberation types are talking about." Her letter to the

¹⁷"At One Ad Club, She is Welcome," Des Moines Tribune, 23 April 1969, p. 41.

Advertising Club described her humiliation and asked the group to stop the "tasteless misuse" of her name and sex.¹⁸

In 1971 all of the women legislators received invitations to the dinner, even though the organization did not intend to admit them.¹⁹ The women legislators asked Governor Robert Ray to boycott the event as a public statement against women's exclusion from it, but Ray intended to attend. They also asked Lieutenant Governor Roger Jepsen to boycott it but he responded: "When I go to the bathroom I don't invite any women to come in because that's especially a man's thing. Is that what women will want to do next?"²⁰ Lillian McElroy (Republican, Percival) called it a "matter of discrimination," saying: "If it's going to be for the Legislature, we all ought to be invited." She wondered if the material would need to be cleaned up if women attended. Other women felt that they had more important things to do than object to their exclusion from the event.²¹ In 1975 the club extended a sincere invitation to Doderer, which she accepted. Sitting at the head table, her ad libs included some of the "better bits of comedy" in the program. She also used the opportunity to tell the club to "clean up some of the lousy ads involving

¹⁸"Nude Poster 'Demeaning,' Woman Senator Charges," Des Moines Register, 20 April 1970, p. 3.

¹⁹"Gals Invited to Gridiron Fest, Or Are They?" Cedar Rapids Gazette, 26 March 1971, p. 7.

²⁰The irony in Jepsen's comments is that women senators used his private restroom because the Senate did not have a women's restroom, as it did for men. "Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 April 1971, sec. B, p. 7.

²¹"Women Legislators' Plea to Boycott Gridiron Dinner Fails to Move Ray," Des Moines Tribune, 8 April 1971, pp. 1, 19.

women."²² McElroy had identified the problem, if the entertainment was for legislators, then the organizers needed to include all of the members, not just the male ones.

The Gridiron Dinner, the restrooms, and the flowers repeatedly placed women in the category of other, different, someone in the wrong place. Later in this work are examples of male legislators threatening to make women cry, attempting to reduce the traditional power invested in a position because a woman held it, and demeaning women in debate. The Iowa legislature reflected many of society's attitudes towards women. Male legislators did not necessarily initiate them, but they carried many prevailing opinions into the chambers.²³

Katherine Zastrow encountered a legal opinion that prematurely ended her political career and changed her opinion of the feminist movement. In a 1961 Des Moines Tribune article, Zastrow asserted that: "I'm no feminist, but I hope I'm feminine. Yet I want the gentlemen of the House to treat me as a fellow legislator."²⁴ Events after her 1963 marriage to Ralph Zastrow converted her to feminism and demonstrated that, while her colleagues might treat her as a fellow legislator, the attorney general

²²"Some Firsts at Ad Club's '75 Gridiron," Des Moines Register, 9 April 1975, p. 11.

²³Jeane J. Kirkpatrick placed symbolic rebuffs in four categories: excluding women by using masculine pronouns, by telling "male" jokes, and by using "male" profanity; killing with kindness, with elaborate courtesy and by making women the "Sweetheart" of the house; emphasizing differences by assuming women have specialized and limited interests; and putting women in their place by insulting them, in Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 109.

²⁴"It's Hard Work, but a Challenge," Des Moines Tribune, 21 March 1961, p. 13.

did not. After her marriage, Zastrow moved to Charles City in Floyd County but owned a house and business interests in Albia. When rumblings of a possible special session circulated, questions arose about Zastrow's right to represent Monroe County. In Attorney General Evan Hultman's opinion, the marriage and subsequent move to Charles City made her ineligible to represent Monroe County in the legislature in a special session. Hultman argued that a woman's residence was where her husband lived, and since Zastrow had married her domicile was in Charles City, regardless of other considerations. Because she had ceased to be a resident of Monroe County, the office was vacant. She thought the decision was unfair because Monroe County, a poor county, would have to bear the expense of a special election. Political writer Frank Nye encouraged Zastrow to appeal the decision because in the 1950s a state senator elected from Jasper County moved to Johnson County between sessions during his four year term. The senator continued to represent Jasper County even after he had moved. Another argument for Katherine's appeal would have been a drama taking place in Johnson County. Democratic State Representative Scott Swisher was serving a jail sentence when it became apparent that a special session would be called. Although nothing in the law would force him to resign his seat, members of his party convinced him to do so.²⁵ In 1988, Zastrow changed her sentiment about

²⁵Katherine Zastrow interview; "Off the Cuff," Charles City Press, 7 January 1964, p. 4. Minnette Doderer, one of the state's leading feminists, won Swisher's unexpired term.

feminists and being feminine to: "I'm a feminist, but I'm always feminine."²⁶

Other segments of the population also acknowledged that women legislators differed from their male counterparts. Katherine Zastrow received letters opposing dove hunting because the writers believed a woman would be more compassionate and would argue against it. Lenabelle Bock (Republican, Garner) received stacks of mail opposing the requisition of dogs for research and for the same reason. Women legislators acted on the public's expectations that women were predisposed to certain positions. Zastrow convinced Percie Van Alstine (Republican, Humboldt) to vote against liquor by the drink because the public expected women to oppose it. The public expected women to respond to these issues in ways that it did not anticipate men would.

Far more poignant letters reached Doderer. Writers described "forced sex, beatings, one-sided divorces, job discrimination, and other indignities heaped upon women by a male-dominated society."²⁷ Women who sent the letters hoped another woman would sympathize with them, would believe them, and would help. From all over the state, women sought out Doderer, identifying her as someone whose name they had read in the newspaper and who could make a difference in their lives. Perhaps Doderer received the quantities of mail sent to her because her own trials in the legislature received press coverage. Doderer did not express shame for

²⁶Katherine Zastrow interview.

²⁷"Doderer Has Given Women Clear Voice in the Legislature," Des Moines Register, 4 March 1990, sec. A, pp. 1, 6.

her treatment, wondering if she were at fault. Rather she reacted with public indignation. Letter writers felt she would understand and would take action. Some referred to their own representative as unresponsive, and others wrote only to Doderer, the married woman with children who was like them. Doderer responded. Unlike lawmakers who made their decisions on the basis of the public's expectations, she acted out of the conviction that making women's lives better benefited the state.²⁸

Some women separated themselves from the legislative culture by the decisions they made. Trading votes and other forms of legislative bargaining offended some women. Lenabelle Bock never traded her vote in her two terms. For her it was a moral issue.²⁹ Gertrude Cohen (Democrat, Waterloo) also refused to trade her vote and acknowledged the cost: "A person can have too much integrity in politics, and it doesn't work. You cannot have integrity in politics; it's a bargaining agency. I mean, you scrub my back and I'll scrub your back, and you'll do this for me and I'll do that for you, and that's the way you deal....I can't deal that way."³⁰

Cohen's acknowledgement of the political costs of her position adds another dimension to the argument that women's effectiveness was diminished when they separated themselves from the traditional political culture. The unwillingness to participate in the vote trading and other political manipulations of the legislature may have been at least part of

²⁸Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 June 1989.

²⁹Lenabelle Bock, interview with author, 31 May 1988.

³⁰Gertrude Cohen, interview with author, 1 March 1991.

the reason women were not part of the "smoke-filled room" decision-making process. Although Bock was content that "they [leadership] kept us [women legislators] pretty well informed about what was going to be done," it also kept them out of the process.³¹ Being informed does not offer the same opportunities to create and influence the agenda as being among those who create it. Bock's position, however, is consistent. By choosing not to participate in the bargaining process which formed an integral part of the culture and lacking an alternative to offer, she had few options. In earlier examples, male legislators separated women, but Cohen and Bock refused to use their votes as bargaining tools and removed themselves from the negotiating process. These women put themselves above the process, but whether women did it themselves or others did it, the result was the same: exclusion from the fundamental policy-making decisions.³²

In addition to believing that bills should be voted on their merits, Cohen further believed that legislators had a responsibility to vote on controversial issues. In 1965 when the legislature debated giving private school students tax-paid transportation to school, Cohen argued and voted against the bill, citing her firm belief in the separation of church and state as her reasons. She noticed "that many legislators did not show up when this issue came before the House. The astute either did not vote, or

³¹Lenabelle Bock interview.

³²In a statistical analysis of New England women legislators, Irene Diamond found that women "score[d] lower on the bargaining scale" than men in Sex Roles in the State House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) p. 47.

they did not come for the vote, and they kept silent."³³ The legislature did not pass public transportation for private school children in 1965. Cohen's stand became an issue in her 1966 attempt at a Senate seat and contributed to her defeat.

Elizabeth Shaw (Republican, Davenport) had a less idealistic and more pragmatic approach. She could and did bargain with her colleagues, knowing that she had an option to refuse an offer. As a method for reaching consensus, she saw the trade-offs and compromises as ways to develop legislation. She understood that compromises might offend some people, but resisting them did not further legislative goals.³⁴

Joyce Lonergan (Democrat, Boone) offers an example of the problems that can arise from making bargains. She no longer remembers the issue, but clearly recalls the events. She had told the lobby, her caucus, and her constituents how she intended to vote, but the leadership took her in a back room and convinced her to participate in a charade: "They said just put in your vote until we get 52 votes, then withdraw yours, and then we'll sucker in enough Republicans on the vote so that it won't be one-sided and then you will just change your vote and it will be okay." The man who happened to be in the Speaker's chair at the time of the vote did not know about the agreement, and after 51 votes appeared for the bill, he turned off the voting machine. Lonergan continues: "It was in the afternoon and I just left the chamber and came home. I was so upset, I could not deal with it. I thought your word is your bond." She feared

³³Gertrude Cohen interview.

³⁴Elizabeth Shaw interview.

that she would not be trusted again. The leadership told the lobbyist what had happened, and Lonergan apologized. He told her that she was not a "very good game player." She remembers crying at his comment. She also decided to never put herself in that situation again.³⁵

In dealing with pressure to change their votes, women like Josephine Gruhn (Democrat, Spirit Lake) believed that making a decision, especially in controversial issues, and then staying with it benefited her. If lobbyists and the leadership understood that a legislator could not be harassed into changing her vote, they left her alone and looked for more pliable lawmakers. Several women explained that a willingness to negotiate and compromise on specific items within bills was an essential aspect of the legislative process but that did not extend to those votes that carried moral implications, as in the many gambling bills. In other situations, the legislators believed that the sentiment in their district regarding the issue was so strong that they had a responsibility to respect public opinion.

A mental health bill in the 1970s provides examples of the culture in which women worked and the resistance to believing in women's credibility. Betty Jean Clark (Republican, Rockwell) and others had worked for years to make substantive changes in Iowa's mental health programs. After dozens of committee meetings, interim studies, consultations with mental health experts, and seemingly endless negotiations, Clark's committee had a bill ready for debate and passage. As chair of the committee, Clark had the responsibility to lead her caucus' discussion of it. The caucus scheduled

³⁵Joyce Lonergan, interview with author, 23 June 1989.

a lunchtime meeting, and Clark stopped on her way to buy a sandwich from a vending machine. When she got to the caucus, she discovered they had begun debating the mental health bill without her. She put her name on the list of speakers waiting their turn.³⁶

When Majority Leader Roger Halvorson (Republican, Monona) called her name, Clark told the group: "I want you folks to know that I am absolutely, positively furious! You have no business talking about the most important bill that was put in my committee when I wasn't here. You would not do that with Del Stromer on an education bill, you would not do that with [Larry] Pope on an unemployment bill, and you will not do that to me again!" Then she collected herself and began discussing the points that others had raised.³⁷

When the bill did not appear on the debate calendar, Clark asked Halvorson when he intended to bring it up. He explained that some caucus members objected to the way she had voted on some bills, and he did not know what to do. Clark told him "that's a bunch of bull. They don't mind the way I have been voting, because I have been with the caucus almost 100 percent. What they mind is sometimes in caucus when I tell them it's stupid." He stalled, and Clark told him that the longer he waited the harder it would be to fight the caucus members. She remembers: "I saw I wasn't getting anywhere, and so I shook my finger in his face, and you should never do that to a man, especially one shorter than you are, and I said, 'I want you to know this. If that mental health bill doesn't come

³⁶Betty Jean Clark interview.

³⁷Betty Jean Clark interview.

to the floor, and soon, I'm going to go to the press, and I'll tell them that in our caucus we're having a battle between the political hacks and the statesmen, and the hacks have been winning all the rounds.'" After Halvorson finished swearing, he and Clark parted. In a short time, Halvorson returned to tell Clark the bill would be on the calendar, but it would be when they could schedule the six hours of debate he anticipated. He pointed to the number of amendments on the bill and questioned whether the bill had enough votes for passage. Clark countered that she could finish the bill in three hours, that she had negotiated with sponsors of many of the amendments, and she had the votes. When the House completed debate in less than three hours and passed with more than 90 votes, Clark returned to Halvorson and said: "'Rog, the next time I tell you I've got the votes, I've got the votes.' He didn't like it much. I really got my dander up; that's when I became political."³⁸

The fights and the confrontations that developed when women had a bill they wanted passed or some other goal they wanted to achieve politicized them. The legislators who did not have agendas, who did not have issues that compelled them to act, also did not have the experiences that transformed them from legislators to politicians. Those women content with the leadership telling them what decisions had been made did not have bills that they wanted passed, did not have crusades they had begun. Women who wanted to pass juvenile justice reforms or mental health bills quickly learned that reaching their goals required power. When women found roadblocks that they believed stopped the progress of their

³⁸Ibid.

bills, they became politicians. The desire for change led women to take risks, to bargain, to argue, and to assert themselves.

To learn the unwritten rules of the chambers, women sought advisors in their party's leadership, experts in the policy areas that concerned them, like-minded legislators in both parties, and other women. Women regularly mention that as freshmen they would have benefited from a mentor's guidance. Some pointed to the nurturing help that male freshmen received and felt that they did not receive the same kinds of assistance. Women appreciated the emotional support they received from both women and men colleagues, but that is different from the tutelage many men received. Some women explained that young male lawmakers often hovered around the Speaker's office, chatting with him and other leaders as they passed by. The women did not feel welcome or comfortable, believing that leaders had more important tasks than casual conversation with them but still almost wistfully wishing to be included.

Women developed a number of strategies to make their voices heard, their opinions considered, and their power respected. Of all the methods, the closest to universal was hard work. Lenabelle Bock said that a woman in the legislature needed to "look like a girl, act like a lady, think like a man, and work like a dog."³⁹ Hours of research, study, and negotiations often preceded managing even relatively minor bills, but the preparation made impressions on colleagues. Dorothy Carpenter (Republican, West Des Moines) stands among those who earned reputations as

³⁹"Look Like a Girl, Think Like a Man, Act Like a Lady, and Work Like a Dog," Ames Daily Tribune, 19 January 1962, p. 6.

lawmakers that entered debate with the reasons for proposing a policy, the objections to it, and the rebuttals ready. The work women did helped them avoid the humiliation Gertrude Cohen felt during the work release bill debate.⁴⁰

Individual women used their personal resources and abilities to decide which strategies that they felt comfortable using and that they thought would be effective. Edna Lawrence, as chair of the House Social Security Committee in 1949, used humor and the carrot approach to getting what she wanted. Unable to get a quorum of her committee together to work on a bill to raise the lid on workmen's compensation from \$20.00 to \$30.00 and to make other changes, she passed out gum and cigars to entice members to the meeting.⁴¹ The scenario is rather cute, and it demonstrates Lawrence's resourcefulness. With a direct use of power beyond her reach, she found a way to gain the committee members' cooperation.

Helen Crabb was afraid of microphones, so she made her points in committee meetings.⁴² Lillian McElroy believed that in order to gain men's cooperation on some issues, women lawmakers had to "sort of hold back on some subjects."⁴³ Joan Lipsky disagreed, saying: "Women have

⁴⁰Women in New England legislatures also emphasized the importance of "doing your homework." Some women wanted their facts in order to be able to present logical arguments, rather than make emotional appeals because of the sex-role stereotyping associated with women and emotions. Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the State House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 94-96.

⁴¹"Woman Legislator Lures Committee with Cigars," 25 February 1949, p. 6.

⁴²Helen Margaret Crabb interview.

⁴³"Lillian McElroy, interview with author, 5 June 1989.

always been taught that to be nice is the way to go--but to get anywhere a person must function from a position of strength. Just being right isn't enough--women must be ready to do battle."⁴⁴ Janet Metcalf and others tried to play the game as members of the team, which also permitted them to cast some independent votes. Josephine Gruhn presented complex bills in the simplest, most direct terms that she could, avoiding unnecessary elaboration during her remarks.⁴⁵

Betty Jean Clark could use her abilities as a humorist and a poet when the occasion allowed. Clark wanted to use her microphone for something inconsequential the first time, and a bill for a state poet laureate provided the opportunity. Clark found the idea nonsensical, made fun of it by telling the chamber she would perform the service gratis, offered a sample of her work, and added that the price reflected the quality. She read:

Oh hail to Iowa, the state of tall corn.
 Oh hail to all efforts to rid her of porn.
 Oh hail to Bob Ray, her untiring chief
 whose photogeneity defies belief.
 Oh hail to this House with its wisdom sublime.
 And hail to the Senate, if you have extra time.
 Oh hail to our staff, our pages, our clerks,
 without whom we'd all end up looking like jerks.
 Oh hail!⁴⁶

Through her poetry, an approach available only to those who have rhythm and rhyme, Clark took gentle jabs at some of the legislature's antics and

⁴⁴"'Status on Women' Program Looks at Society Sex Roles," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 March 1972, p. 8.

⁴⁵Janet Metcalf, interview with author, 7 October 1991; Josephine Gruhn, interview with author, 23 October 1989.

⁴⁶Betty Jean Clark interview.

effectively made her points. The humor she used sometimes diffused tense moments in the body, giving members reason to laugh at themselves. Clark's ability to see the absurd in a situation counterbalanced her willingness to confront her colleagues, as revealed in the mental health bill saga.

Other women found humor and laughter effective tools for dealing with their colleagues. Doderer, whose battles appear throughout this work, did not exhibit Clark's poetic talents, but she could deliver one-liners that struck their target with consistent accuracy. One time when a colleague responded that he would yield to the lady from Johnson, the appropriate response, Doderer retorted: "Don't be so eager," "bringing down the house" with laughter.⁴⁷ Another time, the Speaker called her a gentleman when he recognized her, then corrected himself. She opened her remarks with: "First, I want you to know 'I ain't no gentleman.'"⁴⁸

Doderer's quick retorts, Clark's gentle humor, and Lawrence's gum and cigars were attempts to cope with the environment. As part of a tool collection that included anger, confrontation, manipulation, and power plays, the lighter side relieved tension. In a culture accustomed to aggression, humor sometimes changed the dynamics of the interactions among those involved.

Some women believed that unless they became part of the power structure they could not effectively make a difference in the legislature.

⁴⁷"Legislative Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 27 February 1967, p. 5.

⁴⁸Ibid., 12 January 1977, Sec. C, p. 3.

Joan Lipsky ran for assistant leader in 1977 because she wanted the recognition as a leader and wanted to influence leadership decisions. She explains: "[W]omen have always exercised influence in ways that are not from clearly occupying positions of leadership. Believe me, much of what I did was never reported in the papers, and much of what I did came from getting others to do things."⁴⁹ Mary O'Halloran echoed the same sentiment: "You either deal with the struggle for power, or you watch the parade go by."⁵⁰ Shaw felt that she and Joan Lipsky "should have been in the leadership long before" they were. "I do feel it took us [Lipsky and Elizabeth Shaw] a long time, longer than it should have in terms of the amount of work that we did and the amount that we all accomplished in the legislature, to come into the leadership."⁵¹ But she did not feel that they were discriminated against.

Minnette Doderer became Iowa's first woman in a leadership position in 1967. The speech she made to her caucus, which announced that she did not intend to run for minority leader, shows her humor, the stigma attached to being female, and her straightforward approach:

I have an announcement to make. I am a woman!! Funny?

Voters of Johnson County don't know this yet, and I would appreciate it if we could agree that this information doesn't leave this room.

Consequently, because I am a woman, and have been told by several of you great white fathers that I am, therefore, ineligible to be considered for minority leader of the Democratic party in the 62nd G.A. [General Assembly], I am

⁴⁹Joan Lipsky interview.

⁵⁰"Mary O'Halloran--'A Bit of a Rebel,'" Des Moines Sunday Register, Parade Section, p. 6.

⁵¹Elizabeth Shaw interview.

withdrawing my candidacy. Don't misunderstand, I was, am, and will be always aware that I am a woman. I like it.

Now that I have poked a bit of fun at all of you, and I trust you will accept a bit of well meant razzing, I'll tell the honest reason that my name will not be in the balloting for leader.

The reason is--I'm not ready for it as a legislator--one and one-half session which is the extent of my legislative experience is not enough.⁵²

She became minority whip for the session.

June Franklin (Democrat, Des Moines), the first black legislator in American history to win a leadership position in either party, had other motives for seeking to become a member of leadership.⁵³ She saw "the Black woman legislator as having a very important role. In the first place a woman is in the minority in the Legislature and as a Black woman legislator I run into many difficulties. Therefore, I feel it is my role to try to be a part of the leadership, to create an image for other women legislators all over the country."⁵⁴

Since 1977, at least one woman has held a leadership position in one of the chambers in every session. As noted earlier, however, no woman has been a majority or minority leader, Speaker, or Speaker Pro Tempore. Doderer was Senate President Pro Tempore, and JoAnn Zimmerman was President of the Senate as lieutenant governor. Iowa's political

⁵²Minnette Doderer Collection, MsC 457, Box 10, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa.

⁵³Judy Ann Miller, "The Representative is a Lady," Black Politician, v. 1, no. 2. Fall 1969, p. 17.

⁵⁴Hazel C. Smalley, "Black Women Legislators Answer Questions," Black Politician, 2 (4) 1971, p. 41.

equivalent of the glass ceiling may be that a woman can be an assistant leader but not the leader.

One way to change the legislature has been suggested since the 1950s: Elect more women to the assembly. Joan Lipsky believed that would change the body's priorities. In a fighting spirit after losing a battle over licensing day care centers, she announced: "I'm going to tell women all over the state to run for the legislature, that we're not going to have women's issues considered as long as the men--and the men still run the legislature--won't consider them. It's just this plain: Some men don't think licensing of day care centers is important."⁵⁵

As the number of women in the legislature has increased, new opportunities for developing strategies have appeared. The most powerful tool women have used has been the formation of a women's caucus. The initial awareness of its potential came in the late 1970s from a tragedy in the legislature. The body hires high school seniors to work as pages during the session. Recollections of the specific events vary, but the stories generally concur that a young male legislator dated a female page and she became pregnant. The leadership dealt with the offending member and asked the women legislators to meet with the female pages to explain sexual harassment and other facts of life to the girls. The women organized a dinner in one of their apartments, discussed being female with the girl pages, and offered to intercede if any of the girls had problems with men. The women discovered that evening that they had greater common

⁵⁵"Day Care Ignored: Lipsky Miffed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 24 April 1974, sec. C, p. 2.

legislative interests than they had thought, and they began meeting informally. Women had worked together on the Equal Rights Amendment, juvenile justice, rape legislation, and other issues, and they began to solidify their mutual support as a result of that meeting.⁵⁶

When Minnette Doderer returned to the House in 1981, she began to organize a more formal caucus. During the first session and into the second, they held their weekly meeting surreptitiously, and anonymously. Doderer's clerk prepared meeting notices and reserved meeting rooms under protective guises. The women did not want men to know that they were organizing themselves for a number of reasons. Leadership does not favor the idea of small splinter groups that can hinder its power. Both Republicans and Democrats belonged to the caucus, and bipartisan coalitions also have the potential for limiting leadership's power. And the women did not want their discussions public, they wanted to speak freely, bargain among themselves, and present seemingly spontaneous unity on issues.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Don Avenson's aversion to legislators fraternizing with pages and his direct approach in chastising legislators who attempt it has been recorded by David Yepsen in "Avenson to Bid Farewell to Iowa House," Des Moines Register, 6 April 1990, sec. A, p. 2; "It's a Big Joke at Statehouse," Des Moines Register, 27 April 1992, sec. A, p. 13.

⁵⁷Several state legislators have women's caucuses, some more formal than others. Massachusetts has an office and a paid staff; Maryland also has an office and uses student interns for staff. Iowa's women caucus is classified as an informal one because it has neither staff nor office space. Carol Mueller, "A Scholar's Perspective," in "Women State Legislators: Report from a Conference, June 17-20, 1982," Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers-The State University of New Jersey, pp. 72-88.

Secrets, however, do not last long in the legislature, and in 1983 a story about the caucus and its agenda appeared on the front page of the Cedar Rapids Gazette. By that time, the caucus had worked with leadership and had enjoyed some successes. Publicity about the caucus gave the participants another method for discussing the issues and introducing citizens to them. In addition, the legislature is sensitive to the press, and media attention offered an additional measure of legitimacy to the organization. The members' willingness to discuss their priorities with reporters indicates that the group had matured enough to take the risks involved in publicly revealing their issues, positions, and strategies. Within a couple of years, the group had changed from secretive meetings to public announcements of them and had begun inviting outsiders to speak to them.

Some women chose not to participate in the caucus. Conservative Karen Mann (Republican, Scranton) did not have the same legislative agenda that the caucus espoused. Philosophically, she differed from many of the other women in many ways that included perceptions of women's status. JoAnn Trucano (Republican, Des Moines) opposed the idea of a women's caucus, believing it created divisions that did not otherwise exist. Some women resolutely reserved the meeting time; others sometimes had other priorities. Women's responses to the caucus offer another example of their diversity and the difficulty in discussing them as a group without noting exceptions and differences.

Women in the caucus carefully chose their issues. They settled on topics that focused on women, children, employment, and marriage and

divorce. Comparable worth emerged as an early priority and the caucus provided much of the momentum behind its passage. The caucus avoided abortion because members held differing opinions about it. The ideas for legislation came from a number of sources, such as the 50 States Project, constituents, and women's advocates. Other ideas originated among the members. Johnie Hammond (Democrat, Ames) and Sue Mullins (Republican, Corwith) led the caucus in its advocacy for remodeling the College of Home Economics Building at Iowa State University. The building did not have adequate classroom space, nor did it have adequate wiring or other physical features. The Board of Regents had mentioned remodeling the building for several years, but it had been regularly postponed in deference to other projects. Hammond believed that: "To some extent it is (a result of) a stereotyped view of home economics of women cooking and sewing so they can become wives."⁵⁸ Hammond and Mullins met with Governor Terry Branstad and others, activated various networks outside the legislature, and used the combined pressure of the women in the caucus ultimately to obtain appropriations to begin planning and then to remodel the building. The caucus also provided advocacy for women in prison, questioning policies and passing legislation that benefited them. Through coalescing on these issues they gave the proposals greater credibility, improving their chances for consideration and passage.

Women's numbers in the legislature have remained small enough (22 in 1991-1992) that even if all of them had participated and voted as a bloc,

⁵⁸" 'Stereotyping' Blamed in Putting off Improvements to ISU Home Ec Building," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 30 March 1983, sec. B, p. 11.

they could not pass legislation. Caucus leaders did not have fantasies about being able to pass their proposals without men's votes, they knew they did not have the power to independently push a bill through the legislature. Caucus organizers had sufficiently sophisticated political skills to know that they could create other opportunities than demonstrations of power.

The caucus has served as a network and clearinghouse for information, ideas, and support. It brings the women together so they can meet each other and become acquainted with their female colleagues' priorities and share their expertise. Veteran legislators have shared knowledge and background on issues and protocols, giving advice and counsel to the novices. Regularly, veterans have told new members to do one, simple, but essential thing: Ask. Ask for committees, ask for bills, ask for help, ask for leadership's attention, and ask for inclusion in planning meetings and political assignments. Understanding that the response may be a refusal, veteran legislators tell freshmen that they will get nothing without asking. Mullins told one group: "Everything you get is because you asked for it."⁵⁹

In addition to advising freshmen women, caucus members keep each other informed about the progress of legislation. In the House, because

⁵⁹"Bipartisan Caucus Wants Focus on Bills Important to Women," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 January 1983, sec. A, pp. 1, 13. The importance of women asserting themselves by asking for what they want also emerged in a conference of female state legislators. One woman said that she intended to go "back home and I'm going to push" for more power in the legislature. "Women State Legislators: Report from a Conference May 18-12, 1972," Center for the American Woman in Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers-The State University, p. 12.

of the greater number of women in it, women serve on most committees.⁶⁰ They monitor and work to keep priority bills moving through the committee system, alerting their colleagues when a bill needs attention from leadership to keep it on track, and women in leadership use their influence to that end. Caucus members also identify male colleagues with whom they can discuss specific bills in the pursuit of support for them. In the tradition of their male colleagues, they also count votes, so that, as Betty Jean Clark explained, when she had the votes to pass a bill, she had the votes.

Caucus support for an idea also gives its leaders negotiating power with the leadership. When a group of Republican women representing the women's caucus in 1982 told the Speaker that their partisans needed to "support funding of the AFDC-UP (Aid to Families with Dependent Children-Unemployed Parent) because their party should not endorse the breakup of the family by forcing husbands to leave their wives and children," the leadership began taking an active role in crafting the reinstatement of the program.⁶¹ Don Avenson, Speaker of the House for eight years in the

⁶⁰In the House, women served on 16 of the 17 standing committees in 1991, but only Doderer chaired one, Small Business, Development and Trade. Of the appropriations subcommittees, women served on 6 of the 11, but chaired 5 of them: Josephine Gruhn chaired Claims; Kay Chapman, Education; Jane Teaford, Health, Human Rights; Johnie Hammond, Human Services; and Linda Beatty, Regulation. In the Senate, women served on 12 of the 16 standing committees, and women chaired 2: Jean Lloyd-Jones, Ethics; and Beverly Hannon, Human Resources. Of the 10 appropriations subcommittees, women served on 3, and chaired 2: Florence Buhr, Health and Human Rights; and Elaine Szymoniak, Human Services.

⁶¹"Women State Legislators: Report from a Conference, June 17-20, 1982," Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers-The State University of New Jersey, p. 74.

1980s, may or may not have supported the idea of the women's caucus, but he worked with it. He and Minnette Doderer appeared to have reached agreements on priority issues on several occasions. As a leader of the caucus, Doderer often met with Avenson, explained the issues, found ways to reach agreements with him, and obtained his support. With Avenson's backing, Doderer and other Democratic women could more easily gain the Democratic caucus's approval of their ideas. While Republicans have been in the minority since 1983, Republican women also used women's caucus positions in their partisan caucus to win votes.

The women's caucus has also helped alleviate some of the isolation experienced by women legislators. Knowing that others will join in debate on controversial issues has helped women, who might otherwise remain silent, raise their microphone and contribute their words and ideas. While the legislature remains a male domain, the caucus has helped women carve a territory in it for themselves. It has given women a place within the larger body to belong.

Belonging, being included, has been the stated goal of women since Pendray joined the body in 1929. Depending upon the decade, women have sought ways to become active participants in the camaraderie and the decision making. Some hoped that cooperation with their colleagues and acceptance of their traditions would lead to their inclusion, but men resisted them and the women had surrendered opportunities to make a difference in policy development. In trying to gain supporters for an idea, Doderer asked another woman to join her in fighting for it. The

woman resisted because she had amicable relationships with the men and she feared the issue would alienate them, but she suggested that maybe in the future she would feel more comfortable. Doderer pointed out that she may as well make her point because she could lose her next election and never have the opportunity. The women remained silent and did not take the risks. The risks loomed large in some women's minds, some refused to take them and others grasped them.⁶²

⁶²"Smoking O.K., Says Lady," Des Moines Register, 15 January 1929, p. 30.

AGRICULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Oleomargarine with yellow food coloring mixed in it, education for children with special needs, deposits on beverage containers, and other environmental issues sometimes seemed to resemble Iowa thunderstorms rolling across the state. These issues have two features in common: Urban women legislators led the battles for their passage and they provoked clashes between politicians and agricultural and business interests. While these policies did not constitute deliberate assaults on agriculture or business, the groups affected by them responded as if they were. In fact, the lawmakers' goals were to improve education, respond to consumers, and protect the environment, but their proposals tangentially affected agriculture and business. The confrontations developed in part from the struggle to find policies for a rural state becoming increasingly urban and adjusting to the new and expanded services asked of it. The debates surrounding these issues provide examples of women's developing leadership and power within the legislature.¹

Rural women legislators especially those elected before 1963 have not been very visible in agricultural policy development. Agriculture's importance to Iowa's economy likely accounts for women's relative absence from newspaper reports and legislative journal entries regarding agriculture. Several factors could explain the differences between rural and urban women's activism in agricultural issues: whether a woman was in

¹For a discussion of rural-urban divisions in Iowa, see Harlan Hahn, Urban-Rural Conflict: The Politics of Change (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971).

the minority or majority party, her legislative skills, her tenure, her willingness to take the risks associated with leadership, and her colleagues' willingness to allow her into the back rooms where decisions are made. Another reason relates to the last in this list and to the reasons early women, those elected before the mid-1960s, ran for the legislature. They largely ran to fill a void when no man would run for the office. The opposite situation existed in the legislature where the largest occupational group in the Iowa House was farming and agriculture-related endeavors until the 1960s.² Central to Iowa's economy, farming had male representatives with tenure and power, who led the development and passage of the agriculture-related bills, leaving women to play supportive roles.

Even with many legislators willing to provide leadership for developing beneficial agricultural policies, Iowa lawmakers have had few tools to help farmers with two major problems: produce prices and credit. Iowa farmers have large capital investments in land and machinery and require working capital for seed, chemicals, feed, and other supplies, often financed with credit. State lawmakers have attempted to help farmers, as in 1937 when Isabel Elliott (Democrat, Woodbury) worked with her colleagues to enact a loan program to help farmers buy feed for their cattle during a drought. That program and many others had short lives and

²Frank J. Stork and Cynthia A. Clingan, The Iowa General Assembly: Our Legislative Heritage, 1846-1980 (Des Moines: Iowa Senate, 1980), pp. 11-13.

did not answer the long-term problems surrounding credit availability and rates, which federal policies govern.³

In addition, Iowa farmers primarily raise corn, soybeans, and hogs, commodities traded in international markets, wherein federal policies determine prices. Federal policies have attempted to control production and prices through a variety of incentives and other programs, but state legislators have not found ways substantially to increase the prices farmers receive for their produce. Some, however, have tried. Ada Garner (Democrat, Butler) worked with colleagues to find new uses for corn. After failing to convince the House that corn alcohol could be added to gasoline to fuel cars and trucks, she and other legislators passed legislation allowing the manufacture and distribution of industrial alcohol from grain.⁴

In a lighter vein, thirty years after Garner's fight for increased grain consumption, another woman took up the crusade for corn and gained national publicity for her efforts. Percie Van Alstine (Republican, Humboldt) convinced the Statehouse cafeteria's manager to include corn muffins on the menu. Explaining the request, she asked: "Good night, why shouldn't we serve corn muffins or corn bread in our State Capitol? It is

³"Mrs. Frank Elliott, Only Woman Member of Iowa Legislature, Turns the Tables," Sioux City Journal, 13 February 1937, p. 1.

⁴Vernon A. Garner, Interview, phone, 8 February 1991; "Legislative News from Iowa's Capitol Hill," Iowa Recorder, 22 February 1933, p. 8; "House Passes Beer Bill," Iowa Recorder, 15 March 1933, p. 8; No headline, Iowa Recorder, 22 March 1933, p. 2.

ridiculous not to be using corn, our greatest Iowa product."⁵ Even The Christian Science Monitor lauded Van Alstine's efforts to get corn bread served in the Statehouse and in any other place.⁶ While serving corn muffins in the Statehouse seems trivial in relation to the problems of overproduction, it provided a focus on a continuing dilemma. Listen to Van Alstine's frustration: "This corn is alive. It is wonderful stuff. If we can figure what to do with outer space, we ought to be able to figure out what to do with our abundance."⁷

Elliott's feed loan program, Garner's industrial alcohol bill, and Van Alstine's muffins identify rural women's concerns for bolstering the agricultural economy, but they do not suggest large scale remedial programs. While the limits of the legislature's ability to affect prices and credit have been described, the body has passed far-reaching policies that intended to improve farmers' economics. For example, during the 1930s depression, the legislature passed a farm mortgage moratorium, banking and money legislation, and the three point tax program which instituted income, corporate, and sales taxes.⁸ Newspaper articles seldom reported the views of the women serving in the legislature at the time, and they are not cited as participants in stories describing the

⁵"Corn Bread 'Battle' Won by Legislator," Des Moines Register, 29 January 1963, p. 1.

⁶"Miss Van Alstine's Caper," Christian Science Monitor 21 March 1963, section C, p. 1.

⁷"New Faces in the Iowa Legislature," photo caption, Des Moines Sunday Register, 13 November 1960, section L, p. 1.

⁸George Mills, "1884-1984 Legislative Highlights," in author's possession.

development of the policies. While they provided leadership in other areas, they remained relatively invisible in these economic policies.

Until reapportionment occurred in the 1960s, rural areas firmly controlled legislative power but evidence of emerging urban strength appeared almost twenty years earlier. For example, in 1947 rural legislator Amy Bloom (Republican, Webster) supported the Farm Bureau's position on an income tax bill that had clear rural-urban divisions. Bloom's district included Fort Dodge, which had over one-half of the county's population. Her decision to vote for agricultural interests helped defeat her bid for re-election even though the urban interests prevailed in the bill's passage.⁹

In the 1950s the changing relationships both within agriculture and between consumers and agriculture became apparent in the fight over oleomargarine. The margarine episode was also noteworthy as the first occasion when a woman legislator became associated with a bill as a primary advocate: leading the debate, adeptly defeating adversaries' amendments, and succeeding.

The story begins in 1931 when the Farm Bureau lobbied for and won a five-cent-per-pound tax on oleomargarine to protect the state's dairy industry. The legislation also dictated that margarine could not be sold with yellow food coloring mixed in it, but only in its untreated white color. Small packets of coloring accompanied the margarine, allowing

⁹"Special Session of Iowa Legislature Did a Good Job," Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle, 20 December 1947, p. 4; "Law Reducing Iowa Income Tax Signed by Governor Blue," Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle, 19 December 1947; p. 1; Iowa Official Register, 1947-1948, pp. 236, 239.

consumers to knead the two together to get the more familiar and appealing color of butter, but the task took about ten minutes. In 1953 Iowa was one of only five states in the nation that still banned the sale of colored oleomargarine. Gladys Nelson (Republican, Jasper) wanted to remove the tax and to legalize the marketing of colored oleomargarine.¹⁰

When Nelson entered the Iowa House of Representatives in 1951, she began her term knowing many of the legislature's personalities and procedures during her years of lobbying for the League of Women Voters. After spending her first term observing and learning, she recalled that: "The first term in office I mostly watched and learned. I joked that if I ever sponsored a bill, it would be so complicated and intricate that no one would know what it was. It was always the simple things like naming a state bird that drew the loudest debates."¹¹ The loudest debate in her second term developed over oleomargarine: Everyone understood a nickel tax and white-vs.-colored margarine. Housewives knew they wanted the convenience of buying margarine with the color in it and they wanted the savings that would result from removing the tax.¹²

Dairy farmers recognized the potential for lost sales, and they lobbied against the cause. The 1951 Iowa Year Book of Agriculture

¹⁰The five states were Iowa, Montana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and South Dakota. "Political Ringside," Newton Daily News, 5 February 1953, p. 4; "Housewives, Farmers Debate Sale of Yellow Oleo," Des Moines Register, 30 January 1953; "Political Ringside," Newton Daily News, 30 January 1953, p. 4; "Only Five States Bar Colored Oleo," Newton Daily News, 10 February 1953, p. 8.

¹¹"Leader of 'Margarine Bill' also Founder of Newton LWV in 1934," newspaper article, Gladys Nelson scrapbook, in her possession.

¹²"Political Ringside," Newton Daily News, 5 February 1953, p. 4.

described the dairy cow as "one of the cornerstones of the Iowa agricultural economy." Industry sales totaled over \$200 million in 1950, with butter contributing \$120 million of that amount. The Year Book also noted that butter no longer had the secure market it once had and that competition from other fats and oils could adversely affect it. While the industry had begun advertising to increase butter sales, the Year Book pointed to reduced butter consumption and to the larger profit margin retailers realized from fats other than butter as threats to the economic future of butter producers.¹³

Another agricultural group, the American Soybean Association, supported the elimination of the tax and the color ban. The association argued that margarine users received no special benefits from the tax, as did road users who paid the gasoline tax for road construction and maintenance. And unlike cigarettes and beer, margarine was not a luxury. Calling it a matter of justice, the association asked for the change, adding that its members produced the major ingredient in margarine and wanted to supply the market.¹⁴

Before the session began legislators knew that colored oleo would be an important issue. Colored margarine reportedly played a role in the Republican caucus' debate and choice for House Speaker. In preparation for the upcoming controversy, the newly elected Speaker created a special

¹³Iowa State Department of Agriculture, 51st Annual Iowa Year Book of Agriculture (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1951), pp. unnumbered, 21, 23, 27, 28.

¹⁴Geo. M. Strayer, Secretary of American Soybean Association, to Gladys Nelson, 9 January 1953, in Nelson's possession.

Dairy and Foods committee to handle the various oleo bills and appointed Nelson to it.¹⁵

As part of its deliberations, the House Dairy and Foods Committee scheduled a public hearing on the issue in January. Told that they needed to show support for maintaining the status quo, an estimated 1,000 dairy farmers attended the hearing. One of the butter supporters, a Des Moines housewife, told the panel that an experiment in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, had shown that the use of oleo retarded the development of secondary sex characteristics in children. A colored oleo supporter argued that the housewife did not read the entire report because it also said that children raised on oleo developed as well as those who used butter. Another oleo supporter argued that: "Neither butter nor oleo has any 'God-given right' to the color of yellow, and the law won't permit the patenting or copyrighting of a color."¹⁶

The real arguments behind offering colored oleo had little to do with children's secondary sex characteristics or with divine rights. In addition to the dairy and soybean associations' economic interests and housewives' desire for the convenience, border county grocers lost millions of dollars a year in sales when shoppers crossed state lines to

¹⁵Frank T. Nye, "Organization of the Assembly," Palimpsest, 35 January 1954, p. 10; "Names Iowa House Standing Committees," Newton Daily News, 19 January 1953, p. 1.

¹⁶"Housewives, Farmers Debate Sale of Yellow Oleo," Des Moines Register, 30 January 1953, p. 1.

get colored oleo and bought other groceries while there. The state also lost the sales tax revenue.¹⁷

Nelson managed the bill on the House floor. She argued for it as housewife and as a representative of housewives, stating that she favored neither the dairy nor the soybean industries. In remarks during debate, Nelson responded to many of the issues raised during the hearing. She argued with the dairy industry's assertion that removing the color ban would result in unfair competition, saying that margarine packages included artificial coloring in the list of ingredients while butter packages did not. Nelson discussed the cost to Iowa from sales lost to adjoining states, which was estimated at about \$50 million. She also pointed to the moral issue involved with the widespread bootlegging.

Throughout her speeches, however, she emphasized the housewife and her desire to buy colored margarine and without paying a tax on it. Nelson's strategy of characterizing herself as a housewife and the bill as a housewives' issue made it a consumer issue instead of a fight between the dairy farmers and the soybean growers. She could probably use the approach more easily than her male colleagues who likely would have been drawn into the contest between the agricultural interests. Nelson's choice of tactics notwithstanding, newspaper accounts report that the Farm Bureau and the dairy associations actively lobbied the issue and devised strategies to subvert the goals of margarine supporters. At one point, the House passed an amendment that required colored margarine to be sold

¹⁷"Housewives, Farmers Debate Sale of Yellow Oleo," Des Moines Register, 30 January 1953, p. 1.

in a triangular shape to alert consumers that they were not buying butter. According to Nelson, equipment had not been designed or manufactured that could package it in the triangular shape.¹⁸ She admonished the Farm Bureau for the amendment, saying: "I know the Farm Bureau has put tremendous pressure on you to do this. I know that votes have been traded away from this great consumer issue to help special interests." Continuing her strong statements: "The Farm Bureau has, for me and the great mass of Iowans, sold its prestige as a great state organization down the river for a mess of rancid butter."¹⁹ Nelson believed that her colleagues had voted for the triangle shape knowing that equipment did not exist to package it, in order to be able to tell their constituents they had voted for colored oleo. She appealed to her colleagues' partisan interests, saying: "Among the losers will be my party, and your party-- the Republican party. You have tagged it as hopelessly reactionary and the tool of selfish interests. You have lost it votes." Nelson's aggressive attack on the Farm Bureau and her characterization of her partisans as reactionary show her to be a woman who did not fear the political repercussions of her words. The chairman of a Newton union sent a telegram calling her position gallant, and lauded her courage and "untiring leadership."²⁰

¹⁸Typewritten statement, Gladys Nelson scrapbook, in her possession.

¹⁹Statement from Mrs. Nelson, typewritten speech, Gladys Nelson scrapbook, in her possession.

²⁰Edris H. Owens to Gladys Nelson, telegram, 7 April 1953, Gladys Nelson scrapbook, in her possession.

When the session ended, Nelson had won the repeal of the tax, and the legal sale of colored oleomargarine in any shape. She had successfully championed a housewives' issue despite the opposition of the state's powerful Farm Bureau lobby. As the champion of a housewives' cause, Nelson, the only woman in the legislature that year, appears to have been the logical choice to floor manage the bill in the House. Perhaps other issues entered the leadership's decision to choose Nelson to manage the bill. The leadership could only expect strife, bitterness, and anger from debate on the oleo bills, and perhaps fail to pass anything. The person who managed the bills would be a target for that anger, which Nelson was.²¹ The bill's manager confronted fifty farmer House colleagues, the Farm Bureau, and the dairy industry. The political consequences of opposing these groups could be devastating whether the issue won or lost. The floor manager could win but then have the potential to lose a leadership position or a committee chair the next session or suffer other forms of political exclusion. Nelson's colleagues may have felt that no glory existed in handling the oleo bills and that they did not want to take the political risks involved in handling the bill.

Nelson felt strongly about the bill and took the risks that may have posed greater political consequences to her colleagues than to her. While a respected legislator, Nelson had not gained any formal power in the legislature. She did not have a leadership position, she did not chair a committee, and her urban constituency supported removing the tax and the

²¹References to angry citizens and constituents appear in telegrams and letters in Nelson's scrapbooks. Gladys Nelson scrapbooks, in her possession.

prohibition against coloring the product. While the risks of losing those positions or their constituents' support may have threatened others, Nelson had nothing to lose. She faced determined opposition and had the unpleasant task of participating in vitriolic and angry debate but the political consequences within the House that could accrue to other legislators did not affect her.

She may have gotten the oleo bills because she was willing when others were not. The advance preparations of choosing the Speaker with the oleo debate as part of the decision and of creating a special committee make it clear that the legislature intended to debate the bill and to fight over it. Nelson did not get a bill that surprised observers by its importance, that had been clear before the session began. She may, however, have filled a gap by managing a bill the public demanded but other legislators did not want to handle.

The simplicity of the oleomargarine issues contrasts with the complexity, concerns, and conflicts intertwined with educating the state's youth. The source of much urban-rural conflict in the state were two primary factors at the center of the decades-long debate: 1) who pays for education and at what rates and on what basis and 2) which services should be provided and to which groups of children. Throughout the debate, rural interests have traditionally sought property tax relief from some of the costs of education. At the same time, during the past forty years, the state has increased its demands that local school districts provide a greater range of courses and other services.

Since Carolyn Pendray's terms in the legislature, women have actively advocated education issues and occasionally chaired education committees. Pendray took a leading position on bills relating to the accounting practices used by schools, attendance areas, claims against school districts, school elections, interest on the permanent school fund, minimum salaries for teachers, prohibiting insurance and textbook agents from entering rural schools, and others. Both as a member of the education committee and its chair, Pendray sponsored some bills, some came out of her committee, and she managed others on the Senate floor. Isabel Elliott helped get legislation passed that expanded the permissible uses of school buses, allowing school boards to use them to take children to extracurricular activities. Expanded use of the buses was perceived as particularly beneficial to farm children. Elliott also sponsored or co-sponsored unsuccessful legislation to create an Iowa state teachers' annuity system and to offer grants to school districts.²²

As chair of the Senate Education Committee in 1947, Kathlyn Wick (Republican, Taylor) sponsored and managed legislation that continued the school reorganization plan begun in 1945. Wick's legislation, supported by the Iowa State Education Association and the Iowa Farm Bureau

²²Journal of the Senate, 1933 Regular, p. 1349; Journal of the Senate 1933-1934 Extraordinary Session, p. 1517; Journal of the Senate, 1935 Regular Session, pp. 741, 851, 1523; "Her Bill Hits Book Agents," Des Moines Tribune-Capital, 4 February 1929, p. 1. Pendray chaired the Senate Public Schools Committee while she was in that chamber. Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed at the Regular Session of the Forty-seventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1937), p. 198; "Iowa: Isabel Elliott," article, Vertical files (Iowa biography), Sioux City Public Library, Sioux City, Iowa; Journal of the Iowa House of Representatives, 1937, pp. 167, 1829, 1833, 1840, 1845, 1846, 1849.

Federation, prohibited the creation of new school districts for six years, eased the requirements for local approval of reorganization, and provided an appropriation to assist counties in carrying out the plan.²³

By the 1960s, school reorganization had begun to lose some of its appeal to community leaders. For many small towns, losing the local public school to another town because of school district consolidation also signaled the eventual demise of the town. Business leaders wanted to keep schools in their communities because of the people school activities drew into town who shopped while there. In the 1960s, Lenabelle Bock (Republican, Hancock) believed that educating children rather than economic interests should be the primary purpose of schools and that rural children deserved the same educational opportunities as other children.²⁴ When then State Representative Charles Grassley (Republican, New Hampton) sponsored a bill to place a moratorium on school district reorganization, Bock told a reporter she was "disgusted" with Grassley. Bock explained: "Evidently these people are not interested in education for the good of Iowa. They're just concerned about their own towns."²⁵ She regularly attested to the importance of having a vision beyond the immediate. Legislators have continued to search for a vision that would provide

²³"Agricultural Policies: Resolutions Adopted by the House of Delegates of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation at the Twenty-ninth Convention," Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, Des Moines, Iowa, November 17-20, 1947, pp. 21-23; "Schools Granted \$13,000,000 by 52nd General Assembly," Midland Schools, May 1947, p. 255.

²⁴"Meet Your Neighbor," Garner Leader, 1 June 1988, section 2, p. 1.

²⁵"School Legislation is Under Attack," Garner Leader, 8 February 1961, p. 6.

affordable, quality education without sacrificing small towns in the quest.

Later in the 1960s, Joan Lipsky (Republican, Linn) assumed leadership in related areas of education. Education quality and educational services for all of the state's children were Lipsky's goals in several pieces of legislation. Like many rural and urban legislators, Lipsky recognized the limits of the state's dependence on property taxes for its public schools. Poor areas in the state had less money for education, and wealthier areas had more. As Lipsky describes it: "So that it became an accident of birth, or citizenship, or residency, as to whether a child had a good school to go to, or a poor school to go to, because although the state set standards, the ability of the districts to pay for the necessary educational ingredients to meet those standards varied enormously."²⁶ Lipsky and others repeatedly offered a variety of solutions to reduce the differences between school districts. In 1967, she sponsored an unsuccessful school aid bill to share school aid proportionately among districts based upon income taxes. Poorer districts would get more state aid than richer districts with the goal of offering all children in the state equal educational opportunities.²⁷ Meanwhile she worked to reduce education spending by finding ways to encourage small districts to merge

²⁶Joan Lipsky, interview with author, 7 July 1989.

²⁷"Lipsky Sponsors Aid Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 28 March 1967, p. 4.

for greater economy and greater educational opportunities for the state's students.²⁸

Lipsky also wanted to raise the standards and increase the services offered to students. Her interest particularly focused on children who required special services. One bill required all children in the state between the ages of 6 and 18 to attend school unless they had graduated from high school. The bill included handicapped children. Lipsky said that the bill would require every school district to provide suitable educational programs for all children between the ages of 6 and 18. Well aware that providing these services would burden small rural districts, she would permit classes for the handicapped to be offered in the school district itself, in an arrangement with another district, or through a state program.²⁹

Lipsky also advocated pre-school programs for handicapped children in public schools. She explained that: "It is more important to the handicapped child that he have early training so he can be fitted into a normal school program, because once he develops patterns of failure, due to being unable to compete with normal children, it is much more difficult to provide remedial training in later years." The bill included

²⁸"Linn School Merger Incentive Plan Eyed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 February 1971, p. 8; "Lipsky Files Bill Tied to 'Target '76' School Goal," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 April 1971, p. 15; "New School Plan Hit as Aiding Rich Areas," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 23 April 1971, pp. 1, 3; "Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 May 1971, sec. B, p. 5; "Move on Cutting Co. School Systems," Evening Sentinel (Shenandoah, Iowa), 4 February 1972, p. 1; "Lipsky Urges Walk to School," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 February 1973, p. 4.

²⁹"Lipsky Sponsors Tighter School Attendance Law," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 27 February 1969, p. 4.

handicapped children and those with "needs for special education that may result from poverty, neglect, delinquency, or cultural or linguistic isolation for the community at large."³⁰

As her proposals for handicapped children suggest, Lipsky's interest in education policy extended well beyond children who had only regular educational needs. A psychologist and an activist in Cedar Rapids' schools, Lipsky brought a broad vision of the variety of educational services that she believed districts should provide. Small, rural districts particularly found it difficult to serve those needs. The small number of children requiring them and the small budgets with which the districts were financed combined to make it difficult for the districts to provide the special services.

In 1969 Lipsky led a successful effort to mandate special education classes for children needing remedial reading and speech therapy and for other services for deaf and blind children. The next year, rural legislator Charles Grassley (Republican, New Hampton) crusaded to limit education spending by placing lids on the allowable growth and on the taxing rate in school districts. Resisting the increased property taxes the programs required, Grassley fought not against the programs but against their consequences for farm owners. The new programs Lipsky championed required new and not reduced revenues. The result was a dispute between Lipsky and Grassley. At one committee meeting the legislature's usual decorum dissolved when Grassley and Lipsky escalated

³⁰"Public Nursery School Asked," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 June 1972, p. 5.

their debate into a shouting match, each defending the interests important to them.³¹

The argument continued when the full House debated the Ways and Means Committee bill to limit the tax levy for school systems but with a twist. Hours of legislative debate can become tedious regardless of the importance of the topic. Distractions often provide welcome relief during debate on issues with dozens of amendments or in discussions that extend over many days. As Grassley argued compellingly for his position to limit education spending, a House page delivered a vase of red roses to Lipsky. With the chamber's attention on Lipsky's flowers, the Speaker interrupted Grassley to ask Lipsky if she would like to read the note accompanying them.³² The Linn County Association for Retarded Children, whose constituency received some of the special education benefits and supported Lipsky's position, had sent her a dozen red roses to thank her for her efforts on its behalf. The note said: "Friends and parents of handicapped children in Linn county appreciate all you are doing for our children. Please keep up the good work." Grassley accused Lipsky of lobbying and demanded that debate on the bill be delayed until it could continue in a "less emotional atmosphere," and the House consented.³³

³¹"3-Mill Lid is Voted in Red Roses Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette 20 March 1970, p. 18; "County School Tax Clash," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 March 1970, sec. A, p. 8; "Rep. Lipsky Rips Lid on School Funds," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 6 March 1970, p. 2; "County School Tax Clash," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 March 1970, sec. A, p. 8.

³²Joan Lipsky interview.

³³"Grassley Moved to Defer Debate, Roses Shut Off Debate in House," Des Moines Register, 17 March 1970, p. 7.

Later Richard Radl (Democrat, Lisbon) told Grassley that "she [Lipsky] really raised my blood pressure...she sure pulled all the stops on that one." Overhearing the comment, Lipsky asked Radl what he had said. Embarrassed, he repeated it and later sent her an apologetic note. When debate resumed, the bill became known as the Red Roses Bill. Lipsky and Edgar Holden (Republican, Davenport) managed to increase the limits but could not remove them.³⁴

When the House debated the bill limiting spending growth in school districts, the strain between Lipsky and Grassley continued. While Grassley spoke, Lipsky rose on a point of order to question whether Grassley was limiting his comments to the subject matter. Grassley ordered Lipsky to sit down. House Speaker Andrew Varley (Republican, Stuart) asked Grassley to remain on the topic and Grassley continued.³⁵ Lipsky's question and Grassley's response highlight the level of ill will between the two Republican legislators.

³⁴"Lipsky's Roses Make Grassley See Red," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 March 1970, p. 9; "3-Mill Lid is Voted in Red Roses Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 March 1970, p. 18; "'Book-making' Solon Sees 1970 Gain for Democrats," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 29 March 1970, sec. B, p. 5.

³⁵"Spending Curb Tops Flurry of School Votes," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 April 1970, sec. C, p. 1. An insight into the legislative culture came three years later. After battling each other over school finance in 1970, House Speaker Andrew Varley appointed Grassley chair and Lipsky vice-chair of the House Appropriations Committee. Despite their colleagues' assumption that "they'll never get along with each other," a columnist described them getting along like "the center and quarterback of the nation's No. 1 football team." Grassley even pointed out their amiable relationship when he asked a reporter: "Have you noticed that we're getting along fine?" Lobbyists and legislators have pointed out the necessity of maintaining working relationships with colleagues despite differences in opinion and philosophy on some issues because an opponent on one bill may be an important supporter on another. "Legislative Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 28 February 1978, sec. C, p. 2.

The conflict over providing the expanded educational services and limiting taxes had at least two facets. One reflects rural concerns over increased property taxes in the time before the passage of the 1971 school foundation plan. Providing an appropriate education for all children, regardless of their special need requirements, and adding hearing, speech, and special reading assistance created greater costs for landowning taxpayers. It also reflects an urban legislator's belief that school districts have a duty to educate children who have those needs despite the costs.

In almost classic form, rural and urban interests clashed. Newspaper accounts do not report that Grassley raised any objections to the goals identified by Lipsky's programs. They only describe Grassley's arguments for restricting spending and tax increases. Rural conservative Grassley had a different agenda for the state than did the urban moderate Lipsky. His experiences dictated restricted state spending and hers called for increasing state-mandated services.

On another level, the Lipsky-Grassley dispute reveals at least one woman legislator's changing relationship with her male colleagues. Lipsky had developed, sponsored, and gained acceptance of a policy to which she had a great commitment. When Grassley's actions threatened the continuation of the policy, Lipsky aggressively defended her position. Lipsky's willingness and ability to challenge Grassley in a committee shouting match and in floor debate demonstrate her commitment to an issue and her decision to take political risks for it. Lipsky's public argument with Grassley violated an unwritten rule: Members of the majority party

do not embarrass their party leadership or committee chairs in committee or on the floor. When Lipsky argued with Grassley in committee and when she asked him to stay on the topic, she broke the rule.

Earlier women legislators acknowledged that they did not participate in the back room discussions: merely being informed of the decisions satisfied them. They trusted the leadership enough to follow it. Lipsky's actions are in marked contrast with that philosophy. When leaders made decisions that Lipsky opposed, she took the fight to the House floor. Her insistence that the House consider her objections to Grassley's proposals demonstrate her will to be an active player in policy development and her will to win.

In addition, the Lipsky-Grassley clashes point to another difference between her and some other women legislators: She did not allow a male colleague to intimidate her into silence. Some women have described their hesitation to expose themselves to ridicule or embarrassment. The occasions were infrequent but memorable. One legislator who disagreed with Lipsky told her to be quiet or he would make her cry as he had done with another woman. Lipsky responded that he should be cautious or she would make him cry. For many women, that response would have been unthinkable, either because they thought it unseemly or because they were too frightened. Lipsky knew the risks she took, and she accepted the challenge, saying: "We had to establish our right to be there, our right to be heard."³⁶

³⁶Joan Lipsky interview.

The problems Lipsky encountered over the education goals she advocated had little to do with the goals themselves but resulted instead from the consequences of them for the constituencies who paid for the services. The goal was not the problem but the ancillary effects of higher taxes was. Legislators regularly confront the question of balancing the interests of small groups and larger societal goals. Some of the legislation Mary O'Halloran (Democrat, Cedar Falls) proposed for a cleaner environment and for responsible resource stewardship provides other examples of these conflicts. The public generally endorsed the objectives that O'Halloran espoused, but specific groups affected by the proposals resisted the government's mandate that they participate in reaching the desired end.

O'Halloran offered several proposals to protect the environment. She advocated banning fluorocarbons as aerosol propellants, greater use of solar and wind energy, implementing a state energy conservation plan, regulating low-level radioactive material and other hazardous waste disposal, and assisting homeowners with insulation expenses. From 1975 until she left the legislature for a position with the federal Department of Energy in 1978, O'Halloran worked to preserve Iowa's farm land for agricultural uses because it was being converted to other uses at the rate of 30,000 acres a year. An urban woman, O'Halloran met opposition from farmers who believed they would lose control over their land and from cities that did not want their growth limited. The House passed land-use planning programs twice, but Senate opposition stopped both bills. Unable

to convince the cities or the farmers that land-use planning would benefit the state, O'Halloran fought and lost.³⁷

O'Halloran saw litter as another problem, and she proposed a solution: a ban on beer and soft drink cans and bottles. She knew that outlawing cans and bottles alone would not end street and highway debris, but she believed it would be a significant improvement. Others had made similar suggestions to clean up the state, but O'Halloran received credit for her work because she relentlessly pushed for passage of legislation to limit litter in public places. During her first session in the House (1973), O'Halloran worked on a bill to ban non-returnable bottles and cans, but the committee chair buried it. Despite her attempts to use procedural rules to get the bill out of committee, it stayed there.³⁸ In the second session of the General Assembly, O'Halloran promised to fight for the bill on the House floor if the ban-the-can bill did not get out of

³⁷"Aerosol Ban Support Seen," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 March 1976, p. 4; "Push is on for Solar, Wind Power Bill in the Legislature," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 15 April 1978, sec. A, p. 4; "Set Energy Efficiency Standards: EPC Report," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 March 1978, p. 4; "House Unit: ISCC Should Fix Plant Sites," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 26 February 1976, p. 4; "State 'Lax' on Safeguards," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 April 1975, p. 9; "House Clears Hazardous Waste Authority Measure," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 22 February 1978, sec. C, p. 2; "Utilities Bill Remains Aglow in Iowa House," Des Moines Register, 15 March 1978, sec. A, p. 4; "Amendments Offered on Land Use Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 April 1975, p. 9; "Land Use Bill Gains Slim House Passage," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 April 1975, pp. 1, 3; "Glimmer of Life in State Land Use Policy Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 22 March 1974, p. 4; "Sides Aired on Land Use Plan," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 February 1975, p. 4.

³⁸"Cans to be Banned?" Cedar Rapids Gazette, 26 April 1977, p. 15; "Home Bill Surprise in Iowa House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 May 1973, p. 9.

committee. The fighting, though, took place in the press and in committee.

House Natural Resources Committee Chair Dennis Freeman (Republican, Storm Lake) opposed the bill because it dealt only with cans and bottles and not other forms of litter, and it placed a storage and handling burden on grocers who would have to redeem the returnable bottles and cans. O'Halloran responded to his complaints: "Of course, it will cause some grocers storage problems, but we have to make some decisions not about the storing of masses of litter on our highways, farmyards, and front lawns. This is in the public interest." She cited the Department of Environmental Quality's support for her legislation, and said: "This bill would allow Iowans to set up their own recycling centers and would provide lots of jobs." Refunds would range from two to five cents. She pointed out that it cost the state twenty cents to pick up each piece of litter and "it is the responsibility of lawmakers to stop this and address themselves directly to the energy question."³⁹

In 1975 O'Halloran chaired the House Energy Committee and the proposal progressed a bit further when a bill outlawing pop top cans and requiring deposits on all beer and soft drink containers went to the House floor. The committee did not expect the House to debate the bill but moved it to alert bottle and can manufacturers and retailers that the legislature intended to take action to limit litter.⁴⁰

³⁹"'Ban the Can' Battle Threatened in House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 February 1974, p. 4.

⁴⁰"Bottle, Can Bill to House," Des Moines Register, 17 April 1975, p. 7.

When the 1977 session of the legislature opened, several of the components of the drama had become apparent. Individuals and groups had chosen sides and had begun lobbying the legislature and the public to join the fray. Opponents to deposits included the Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Retail Grocers Association, bottlers, brewers, Aluminum Company of America, and the Iowa Manufacturers Association. The Iowa Wholesale Beer Distributors also opposed the bill, saying it would not significantly reduce roadside litter. They proposed a tax on industries producing litter and using the revenues for roadside clean-up, recycling, and education to encourage recycling.⁴¹

Gene Kennedy, a former legislator turned lobbyist, opposed deposits but supported an anti-litter tax because he believed that the bottle and can bill discriminated against those producers and that other material contributed to the litter problem. He also believed that the bill would put people out of work, a position supported in part by the governor's study. Kennedy said: "The people who hold our position are just as concerned about cleaning up our environment as anybody else. Our position is not a dodge." O'Halloran disagreed: "The purpose of our bill is energy and resource conservation and an effort to turn around the throw-away ethic. Taxing everybody to go out and pick up somebody's discarded newspaper is a pretty half-hearted attempt."⁴²

⁴¹"Labor, Manufacturer Fight Can Deposits," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 January 1977, p. 4; "Consumer Revolt is Predicted over Deposit on Beverage Containers," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 21 March 1977, p. 4.

⁴²"Cans to be Banned?" Cedar Rapids Gazette, 26 April 1977, p. 15.

In contrast to the powerful lobby opposed to the deposits, the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, the Sierra Club, the Izaak Walton League, and the Iowa Public Interest Research Group supported them. Proponents received important support when Republican Governor Robert Ray asked for a study on beverage containers. The study reported that Iowans would have fewer choices in beverage container types, save money on beverage costs, have minimal savings in solid waste disposal, see some change in jobs, and enjoy substantial energy savings. The job shifts would come from a loss of jobs in metal fabrication and glass manufacturing and from a gain of jobs in container sorting and processing. The study also cited Oregon as a state that had been using bottle returns for some time and whose beverage prices had risen at the same rate as the states surrounding it. This argued against the fear of higher prices resulting from recycling.⁴³

In addition to the arguments that proponents and opponents to deposits prepared, another factor entered the picture. Sometimes in the legislature, events seemingly unrelated to an issue influence its fate. When Democrats won control of the Iowa House in the 1974 elections, they chose Dale Cochran for Speaker. Cochran then appointed one of his supporters, O'Halloran, to chair the Energy Committee. Both people held the same positions after the 1976 elections. Norman Jesse (Democrat, Polk), a leading liberal Democrat in the House, had also run for Speaker and had expected O'Halloran's support. Because O'Halloran had voted for

⁴³"'Ban-the Can' Forces Lose First Showdown," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 6 April 1977, sec. C, p. 2; "Iowa Ready for 'Ban the Can' Law?" Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 January 1977, p. 5.

Cochran, Jesse and his allies pledged to vote against any bill O'Halloran wanted. O'Halloran's relationships with some of her colleagues had become difficult by 1977. A newspaper reporter noted that "in an uncharacteristic display [House members] have taken swipes at her during debates on the House floor, and snipe at her behind her back." The reporters further explained: "...the situation can be attributed to good old-fashioned resentment--87 male House members aren't crazy about a young woman occupying such a prominent spot in the legislative process."⁴⁴

Self-confident and bold (some legislators accused her of having a large ego), O'Halloran used her power as committee chair and took credit for the committee's work. Some members resisted her use of power and demonstrated their contempt for her. When the Energy Committee met to debate the bottle deposit bill, a member of the committee, John Pelton (Republican, Clinton) offered an alternative bill. When the time allotted for the meeting ran out, O'Halloran ended discussion on Pelton's proposal and called for a vote on her bill. In a clear affront to the chair, another committee member moved to adjourn before a vote. The motion passed. Just as Lipsky had broken the rules when she publicly argued with her committee chair, the majority party broke the rules when it voted to adjourn against the chair's wishes.⁴⁵

O'Halloran explained her actions: "It appeared to some people that I was trying to force the bill. Well, any time you have something

⁴⁴"Iowa Legislators Resist her Attempt to be a 'member of the club.'" Des Moines Register, 11 April 1977, sec. A, p. 6.

⁴⁵Ibid.

controversial, you have to push it. But some, particularly Rep. John Pelton (Republican, Clinton) felt they did not have a chance to explore other options." A week later, Pelton offered his alternative, but committee members rejected it as too cumbersome and too expensive. The committee supported the deposit bill.⁴⁶

Public interest in the bill was high, O'Halloran received fifty phone calls a day from people who wanted to know when the bill would be debated so that they could visit the Statehouse to watch the debate. Norman Rodgers (Democrat, Adel) said that he could not remember an issue lobbied as aggressively since the colored oleomargarine bill in 1953.⁴⁷ O'Halloran said: "There has been more lobbying on this issue than any other issue since collective bargaining (in 1974) since I have been here. I think the success now depends on the individual citizen, who really doesn't have a professional lobby. Iowans are conservative, literally. They don't like waste, they don't like clutter and they don't like stepping on the pop top tabs when they visit the park. In the more highly populated parts of the country, particularly in the east, people have just given up. They look at the mess and say, 'I guess we have to live with it.' I don't think Iowans want to say that." Another supporter of the

⁴⁶Ibid.; "Ban-the-Can Talks Wednesday," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 22 April 1977, p. 2.

⁴⁷"Ray Urges House Bottle Deposit OK," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 10 February 1978, pp. 1, 3.

bill, said that public pressure overcame the lobbyists and noted that the public was ahead of the leaders on the issue.⁴⁸

Despite a nearly \$100,000 media campaign headed by Gene Kennedy against can deposits, the House passed a tax on litter which would be paid by producers (i.e., newspaper manufacturers) and a ten-cent deposit on bottles and cans. When the bill passed the House, O'Halloran said: "Without public support, this bill would be in committee somewhere being kicked around by special interests."⁴⁹ The Senate passed a different version of the bill and it went to a conference committee. The final version included a ban on snap tops on cans, a five-cent deposit on liquor bottles, soft drink and beer containers, and provisions for redeeming the containers.⁵⁰

Public support for litter control overwhelmed House members' opposition to O'Halloran's political and personal styles. The issue became more important than internal legislative battles. A member of the conference committee, Don Avenson (Democrat, Oelwein) said: "You couldn't kill this bill with a gun."⁵¹ The public, which did not know the politics of choosing a House Speaker, saw O'Halloran as the leader of the proposal and supported her with letters and phone calls.

⁴⁸"'Ban-the Can' Forces Lose First Showdown," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 6 April 1977, sec. C, p. 2.

⁴⁹"Bottle Bill Back to Senate," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 March 1978, p. 10.

⁵⁰"Bottle-can Bill Ready for Ray's Signature," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 April 1978, sec. C, p. 2.

⁵¹"Bottle-can bill Clears House; Senate OK Likely," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 April 1978, p. 13.

O'Halloran worked on the bill to clean up the environment her entire six-year legislative career. As she developed increasing amounts of power in the legislature, resistance to her issue and to her grew among her colleagues. When Norman Jesse's allies pledged to oppose her bills, they were responding to political decisions O'Halloran had made and they were also recognizing her power. If she had not held power and if she had not been an active legislator, they would have had nothing to oppose. They did not argue against the merits of the container deposits, they fought the person.

O'Halloran and Lipsky worked on these issues with a broad knowledge of the larger context surrounding the problems they sought to solve. O'Halloran's involvement in many areas of environmental concerns included the failed land use program, the consumption and conservation of energy, protecting the ozone layer, and others. Her expertise in those areas led President Jimmy Carter to appoint her to be a regional energy administrator for the Department of Energy in 1978. Lipsky also brought an informed background to her work in education policy. Before entering the legislature, she had been involved with the local school board and had been a psychologist. She made several proposals for education policies and had become familiar with the problems in that area. Lipsky and O'Halloran brought informed opinions to the debates. Nelson also entered the oleomargarine debate with facts, figures, and other supporting

information. Her typed speeches indicate that she carefully prepared to present her arguments.⁵²

The controversial issues these women championed contrast with many earlier rural women's apparent willingness to follow the leadership in agricultural and business areas. Rural women brought their knowledge of economic depression, drought, and other farm problems to the legislature, and they supported and contributed to finding remedies helpful to agriculture. Their priorities developed from that perspective, just as urban women's experiences influenced their political agendas. Urban women did not directly participate in formulating agricultural or business policies; instead their involvement came from making proposals for consumers, education, and the environment that affected other groups.

Colored oleomargarine, education for all children, and a cleaner environment were issues that reflected the state's changing needs. As urban areas obtained greater influence in the legislature, lawmakers became more favorably disposed to those concerns. The energy with which agriculture and business fought the ideas suggests the degree to which they felt threatened. Confronted with powerful ideas and with women willing to fight for them, they attempted various strategies to derail the proposals. The novel part of these scenarios is not that the legislature witnessed battles of competing groups, but that the central figures were women.

⁵²"O'Halloran Looks to Sun in New Post," Des Moines Register, 3 August 1978, sec. B, p. 1.

Women's changing relationships to their colleagues, to lobbyists, and to the legislature's power structure become evident from O'Halloran's, Nelson's, and Lipsky's storms over the issues they raised. Nelson likely managed the margarine bill because her male colleagues did not want the political repercussions from it visited upon them. Lipsky chose to engage in a series of disputes with Grassley to defend programs in which she believed. O'Halloran used the institutionally recognized power she had attained but came under attack for her aggressiveness and her political decisions. Both Lipsky and O'Halloran, and perhaps Nelson, resisted limiting their influence to providing a woman's perspective on legislative issues. Instead they saw battles to be won and engaged in the fighting.

REVENUE ISSUES

In seeking equitable ways to raise the revenues necessary to run the state government, Iowa's women legislators have challenged the trucking industry, had their ideas appropriated by the opposing party, and have stopped debate in the Iowa House. Some women have cited fairness or morality to support their positions, but their female colleagues have not all defined those terms in the same ways. For example, Joann Orr (Democrat, Grinnell) proposed legalized betting as a revenue source to pay for increased social services funding in the 1970s, but in the 1980s and 1990s, several women fought gambling because they questioned the morality of using it to finance state programs. For both women and men legislators, the search for equitable and innovative revenue sources raised moral and ethical questions regarding who should pay taxes, the rate at which they should be levied, and what their impact on the community will be. In the areas of revenue policies, some women have raised new ideas and offered alternative perspectives to the debates. The power of the ideas women have presented has sometimes surprised their colleagues; and sometimes women's inability to stop legislation has disappointed them in poignant and emotional ways.

Regardless of which side prevailed, in most cases these lawmakers confronted powerful lobbying interests that included professionals whose job it was as well as from the legislature's leadership. In some cases, a proposal's fairness overwhelmed objections and attracted public interest and legislators' votes. At other times, when faced with insurmountable

obstacles, women have chosen to use their power to modify what they perceived to be the most damaging aspects of the proposed legislation. Often these women made their proposals in connection with a larger issue, but their suggestions became the focus of heated debate and aggressive lobbying.

The trucking industry, for example, wanted the legislature to allow 65-foot-long trucks, an increase from the 60-foot limit. Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Rapids) argued that the longer trucks "would do more damage to our highways, so we needed them to pay a little more to compensate for the damage they were proposing to do." To pay for roads, Iowa charges a tax on motor vehicle fuels and another for vehicle licenses. Lipsky maintained that "the casual user, like myself, pays a much higher percentage fee for the privilege [of using roads] than does the commercial hauler--the trucks."¹ In 1969 Lipsky proposed an increase based upon a highway commission recommendation. Truck license fees had not been raised since 1949, and they did not pay their fair share to the road-use tax fund. Her formula for increasing truck license fees would add \$13 million to secondary and municipal road funds. She also proposed increasing the \$10 annual license fee for hauling overloads to \$100, which would raise about \$400,000. Lipsky used a bill making changes in the road use tax fund to carry her proposal.²

¹Joan Lipsky, interview with author, 7 July 1989.

²"Would Tap Trucks to Aid Roads," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 April 1969, p. 1.

Responses to her amendments came quickly. Republican Governor Robert Ray expressed his support for increasing the license fees, and the Republican House leadership pledged that it would be debated.³ Private citizens sent letters and phoned Lipsky expressing their frustrations with the trucking industry. She described the callers as: "All those people that had been splashed or offended by those truckers on the highway supported me....[It] was clear that people were really tired of being treated like the road belonged to the trucks and not to them. Whether they knew they were paying for more of it [roads] or not, they were wanting more courtesy."⁴

Some freshmen legislators expressed their perplexity that the truckers had avoided increases in their fees because other taxes and fees had increased since 1949. One legislator explained that farmers used trucks to transport their produce to market and that many lawmakers' occupation was farming. Another reason was the power of the truck industry lobby.⁵

While a few truck drivers called to agree with Lipsky, she also received abusive phone calls about her proposal. In addition to running a powerful lobby of its own, the trucking industry enlisted shippers, oil jobbers, and other related groups to fight Lipsky's proposal. At a public hearing on the proposed increase, opponents contended that it would result

³"Ray Backs Lipsky Truck Fee Bid," Cedar Rapids Gazette 10 April 1969, p. 8.

⁴Joan Lipsky interview.

⁵"Truck Bill Deadlock Forecast," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 May 1969, p. 5.

in many truckers leaving the state, and they forecast a 10-15% increase in the cost of living.⁶ According to Frank Nye, the proposal to increase truck license fees had "shaken the industry right down to its dual wheels."⁷ The Des Moines Tribune compared Lipsky to Harriet Beecher Stowe, calling her the "little lady who started the big war."⁸

The intensity of the controversy becomes apparent from political columnist Frank Nye's portrayal of debate on an unrelated bill, in which he describes "pro-truck legislators" as "moving in on her." He wrote:

They showed that when she handled a supposedly non-controversial bill on the floor last Friday. The pro-truck boys, scenting an opportunity to give her a bad time, fired a barrage of questions that forced a 40-minute debate. But she fooled 'em. Not only did she keep her own cool but her adept handling of the questions caused some of the gents doing the questioning to almost lose theirs.⁹

Despite her colleagues' harassment Lipsky maintained her composure and did not retreat from her proposal. Nor did she surrender when the House Ways and Means Committee rejected the proposal to increase the truck license fees. She continued to work for the amendment as the bill went to the floor for debate and through conference committees. The House and Senate passed different versions of the original bill that Lipsky had amended with the fee increases. After haggling between the two chambers, the

⁶Joan Lipsky interview; "Truck Bill Deadlock Forecast," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 May 1969, p. 5; "Truckers Protest Lipsky Proposal to Raise Fees," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 April 1969, p. 3.

⁷"Legislative Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 14 April 1969, p. 5.

⁸"Statehouse Notebook," Des Moines Tribune, 23 April 1969, p. 31.

⁹"Legislative Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 14 April 1969, p. 5.

legislature made changes in the road-use tax fund, scrapped the longer trucks Lipsky and others had opposed, and increased the fees Lipsky had wanted.¹⁰

Lipsky raised the issue of equity to bolster her case: Other fees and taxes had increased since 1949, but those for trucks had not. Moreover, the longer trucks would cause increased damage to the state's roads. She believes that some of her colleagues did not understand that private motorists paid a disproportionate amount of road maintenance compared to commercial haulers. Through her proposal she made her colleagues aware of the problem and piqued their curiosity about the reasons for the situation. After raising the issue, she garnered the governor's, her party's, and private citizens' support for it.¹¹

Lipsky believes that many of the private citizens who called her did not fully understand her proposals. Through press reports they identified her as a legislator fighting the trucking industry and they wanted to join her. Their windshields had been covered with mud by passing trucks, they felt truck drivers had treated them rudely on the road, and they told Lipsky their complaints, believing they were supporting her cause. Even though they may not have grasped the issues of truck fees, they recognized a common adversary and provided Lipsky with citizen support.¹²

¹⁰"Truck Fee Battle in House Set," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 April 1969, sec. B, p. 11; "Solons Go Home 'Til Next Year," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 24 May 1969, pp. 1, 5.

¹¹Joan Lipsky interview.

¹²Lipsky prefaced her comments about rude truck drivers with statements crediting many truck drivers as safe and courteous operators. Joan Lipsky interview.

It was the soundness of her plan and its public appeal that convinced Ray and the party leadership to help push it through the legislature. Although a member of the majority party, Lipsky did not have a leadership position or a relevant committee chair from which to maneuver her proposal through the legislature. Instead, she relied on the fairness of it, citizen support, and hard work lobbying her colleagues.

Joann Orr (Democrat, Grinnell) provides another example of a woman whose idea overcame her lack of traditional institutional power. In 1972 Orr based her Senate campaign on repealing the sales tax on food and prescriptions as a way to help low-income people. She proposed a tax on luxuries to replace the lost revenue and to shift the tax burden to wealthier people. In the minority in 1973, Orr introduced the repeal but it went nowhere. In a one-woman crusade, Orr talked to interested groups in and out of the legislature about her idea, developing support for it.¹³

The next year, Republican Governor Robert Ray surprised his legislative partisans and Orr by including the repeal of sales taxes on food and prescriptions in his legislative agenda, after rejecting the idea only six days earlier. Leaders of both parties and in both chambers agreed with Ray that it would help solve a budget problem: a surplus in the state treasury. Observers saw Ray's decision as an artful political move, but Orr expressed her delight at the improved outlook for the idea.

¹³"Sales Tax Idea Pre-empted: 'Love It,' Says Senator Orr," Des Moines Register, 18 January 1974, p. 22; "Repeal of Tax on Food Aired," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 February 1973, sec. C, p. 1.

House member Delwyn Stromer commented that opposing such a popular idea "would be like voting against motherhood and the flag." With a coalition of conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats, the repeal passed that session.¹⁴

When Ray, without attributing the idea to Orr or to the Democratic platform which also included it in 1972, incorporated the proposal in his agenda, Orr expressed her pleasure. She did not attempt to reclaim the idea for her own glory. Instead she explained that she was cautious about discussing the improved prospects for it, fearing that she might say something that would disturb the negotiations surrounding its acceptance. Her commitment to the idea becomes evident in her willingness to forgo political aggrandizement in favor of passing the proposal.

The power of Orr's proposal, in its fairness and its political appeal, and her willingness to organize colleagues and private citizens to support it, contributed to its passage. A member of the minority party and having served only one session two years earlier, Orr had little institutional power in the legislature. Majority members by definition had more power, as did her party's leadership, but she substituted her abilities to bring people together and to speak for the fairness of her idea.

¹⁴"Sales Tax Idea Pre-empted: 'Love It,' Says Senator Orr," Des Moines Register, 18 January 1974, p. 22; "Ray: Repeal Food Sales Tax," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 15 January 1974, pp. 1, 3; "How Ray Grabbed Sales Tax Issue," Des Moines Sunday Register, 20 January 1974, sec. A, pp. 1, 3.

Another idea proposed by a woman in the minority party, Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Iowa City), held the House captive as the majority party leaders attempted to find ways to recover from the land mine she had exploded. In 1982 the state needed new revenues to balance the budget, and legislators prepared to update the state income tax policies to reflect changes in federal income tax laws. With Republican majorities in the House and Senate and a Republican governor, that party's legislative leaders had the power and the responsibility to devise a plan for recommending the changes. After lengthy negotiations between House and Senate leaders, they reached an agreement to raise \$39 million over eighteen months and to make the other revisions.

In these large tax packages, legislators attempt to find solutions that raise the desired amount of money and that consider their projected impact on various parts of the economy. The result is a collection of ideas carefully knitted together. Holding the pieces intact becomes a goal because any alterations in the package can unravel the entire proposal. The leadership's tasks include constructing proposals that their caucuses will support and then keeping the members disciplined, that is so they vote "right." Party discipline is important as individual members make a series of compromises to reach the agreements and because it becomes a matter of trust among the members that they will honor their commitments to cast their votes as they promised. If a person agrees to vote for a part of the proposal which they do not support on the basis that another member has made a like pledge, any changes can upset the balance of the total package. If the caucus did not discuss or agree to a

proposal, members vote as they want or they often wait to make a decision until the leadership's choices appear on the voting board and follow them. Presumably, the House Republican caucus had agreed to support the leadership's tax plan, although some members expressed doubts about at least one provision that added a tax on Individual Retirement Accounts. All of these factors came into play when the House considered Doderer's tax-the-rich amendment to the Republicans' tax package.¹⁵

Doderer had quietly formed a bipartisan coalition to pass an amendment to close the loopholes that allowed some wealthy Iowans to avoid paying any state income tax. The minimum tax she proposed, modeled after a federal law, would produce \$5 million, which would be enough to give Iowans a tax break on their retirement savings. Taxing the retirement savings had been an undesirable feature in the leadership's plan, especially because the federal government did not tax those funds. The idea appealed to legislators' sense of fairness by attempting to tax those with incomes over \$50,000 who avoided state income taxes through deductions.¹⁶

¹⁵Before the leadership takes an important bill such as the tax plan to the floor for debate, leaders generally count the votes to ascertain whether or not they have enough to pass the proposal. Ordinarily, they do not want to spend time debating a bill if it is going to fail.

In less controversial areas, members are often free to vote as they wish. In addition, members sometimes plead with their caucus that casting a particular vote would hurt their re-election chances and that they need to be free to vote as they believe they should to represent their districts. In controversial areas, such as gambling and abortion, the leadership may be unable to convince individuals to join the caucus.

¹⁶"Tax-Rich Plan may Derail Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 4 February 1982, sec. A, pp. 1, 14. Amendments pass with a majority vote; bills require 51 votes in the House and 26 in the Senate.

When the House members voted on Doderer's amendment, one Republican and one Democrat were absent, but Republicans still had a 54-44 margin to defeat any Democrat's amendment. Doderer's work within her party and with the majority to gain support for her proposal became apparent when four Republicans joined the 44 Democrats to pass the amendment, making the vote 48-48, which would defeat it. Republican leaders did not realize that one of their members, Richard Welden (Republican, Iowa Falls), had left the chamber, but Republican Sonja Egenes of Story City, did. She said: "I knew my vote was the one. When I stood up I looked down and I didn't see Dick Welden. I just thought it was time to force the issue."¹⁷ She also explained that the caucus had not discussed the amendment, leaving Republicans confused about whether they had to follow leadership or could vote as they wished. Her vote passed the amendment.

House Majority Leader Larry Pope (Republican, Des Moines), whose plan had taken an unforeseen detour when Doderer's amendment passed, told the press that: "Frankly, I'm not overly upset by what happened. We'll fix it." His comments sharply contrast with his actions. After the vote, he stood by Doderer's desk, pounding on it and saying that she had ruined the tax plan.¹⁸ The Republicans immediately went into caucus to discuss the change in plans. Jim Clements (Republican, Davenport), who had voted for the amendment, left the caucus angry "because of the personal attacks on

¹⁷"Tax-Rich Plan May Derail Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 4 February 1982, sec. A, pp. 1, 14; "Taxing Rich Amendment a Move 'Toward Fairness,'" Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 February 1982, sec. A, p. 11.

¹⁸The author observed Pope's passionate response to Doderer's success.

people in caucus that are not only groundless, but highly inflammatory and uncalled for, not even within the realm of decency." While the Republican leadership worked to discipline their ranks, Doderer commented: "I knew it was going to give them trouble, because Republicans do not ordinarily believe in people not paying taxes."¹⁹

When Pope and other leaders could not convince the five Republicans who had voted with Doderer to change their positions, he said that the leadership had seen that substantial support for the amendment existed, but that Doderer's amendment was "ill-drafted, poorly worded," and needed technical revisions. Doderer insisted that her amendment had no flaws, and added: "They [Republican leaders] only have to change it so face can be saved and so Republicans who didn't vote for the amendment the first time will be able to vote for it again. I welcome the support." Instead of the regular committee meetings that day and the next, Republican leaders huddled in back rooms and later met with their caucus. A week later the House Republican leadership and the caucus agreed to implement a minimum state income tax for wealthy Iowans. The Republican version of Doderer's amendment was substantially the same as the original.²⁰

As a veteran legislator, Doderer knew the political mechanics of lawmaking and knew where to seek support for her proposal. Obviously, she did not know that Welden would be out of the chamber, nor could she be

¹⁹"Tax-Rich Plan may Derail Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 4 February 1982, sec. A, pp. 1, 14.

²⁰"Ray Tax Bill Still Bugged Down," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 February 1982, sec. A, pp. 1, 10; "'Tax the Rich' plan OK'd by Iowa House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 19 March 1983, sec. A, pp. 1, 11.

certain that any of the Republicans would break party discipline to support her amendment. Her tenure in office, however, had taught her that some ideas could be so compelling that surprises occurred. Knowing that her amendment logically had little chance for passage, she did not let that dissuade her as she lobbied majority and minority members to support it. As a minority member she also knew that she could press for passing a concept that majority members, because of party discipline, could not. Like Orr, Doderer lacked traditional sources of power, but she had fairness to support her arguments, and well-developed legislative skills that she effectively used.

When Democrats controlled both chambers of the legislature in 1983, Doderer chaired the powerful House Ways and Means Committee. From that position, she advocated another policy to tax the rich by limiting the amount of federal income taxes that Iowans could deduct from their state income taxes. She explained: "The federal deductibility mandates the truly blessed will pay a small amount to the state treasury for their blessings." Her proposal passed the House but did not survive the rest of the legislative process. Iowans continue to deduct their federal income taxes from their state income taxes.²¹ More important than the proposal's failure is the philosophy behind it: Doderer believed that wealthy Iowans should pay their fair share to support the state, the same philosophy that had prompted the minimum tax which had passed the year before.

²¹"'Tax the Rich' Plan Ok'd by Iowa House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 19 March 1983, sec. A, pp. 1, 11.

In an earlier search for ways to help low-income Iowans, Orr proposed in 1970 to legalize pari-mutuel betting as a revenue source. At the time Iowa appropriated enough money to fund welfare programs at the rate of 81% of subsistence needs, but Orr wanted to increase it to 100%, calling it "unchristian and unconscionable" to force people to live on less.²² She encouraged community action groups to support legalized gambling because her program designated the revenues for social services funding. She invited human services and community action representatives to meetings at the Statehouse to lobby legislators, but little happened until 1971.²³

Orr was not in the legislature that year, but other pari-mutuel supporters passed a bill legalizing it out of the House Conservation-Recreation Committee. But the bill included a significant change: It did not earmark the revenues for welfare programs. Elizabeth Miller (Republican, Marshalltown) did not share Orr's enthusiasm for gambling and believed that: "We [the legislature] have some big problems to solve before we adjourn and I don't believe we should be horsing around with this." She added that "I might amend it on the floor to put in dog races and cock fights," showing her disapproval of the committee's passage of the bill.²⁴

²²"Pari-Mutuel Income for Welfare Urged," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 January 1970, sec. A, p. 3.

²³"Ease Iowans Urge Pari-Mutuel Bill to Aid Welfare," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 3 March 1970, p. 4.

²⁴"Pari-Mutuel Betting Passes Committee Hurdle," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 April 1971, pp. 1, 2.

In 1975 George Kinley (Democrat, Des Moines) convinced the Senate Ways and Means Committee to approve the bill. Supporters pointed to the \$3.1 million in revenue Nebraska received from its pari-mutuel betting as a benefit Iowa might take advantage of if it were available. Having returned to the Senate, Orr saw further benefits: "I think it would help industry by providing trade for restaurants and motels. I'm for it as long as it is going to be cleanly operated and as long as the stakes are not too high--I hear that's when the trouble starts." Minnette Doderer had not made a decision: "I'm undecided. I don't think it should be passed in haste, there's not time to pass it this session and it is not on the Democratic priority list."²⁵ Interest in passing pari-mutuel betting continued to surface regularly, with bills occasionally being debated but never approved.²⁶

The concept of legalized pari-mutuel betting had lurked around the Statehouse for more than a decade by 1983, when it began to look as though passage were possible. The bill originated in the House State Government Committee where several members passed rather than voting either way. With the vote tied at 11 to 11, Jean Lloyd-Jones (Democrat, Iowa City) fulfilled a pledge to gambling crusader Jack Woods (Democrat, Des Moines) to vote for passage if it were needed to get the bill out of committee. It then did pass on a 12-11 vote. Some of her colleagues later chastised Lloyd-Jones for her decision. Close votes, difficult choices, and

²⁵"Pari-Mutuel's Odds Are Even," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 6 April 1975, sec. B, pp. 1, 7.

²⁶"Parimutuel Betting Comes up Again," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 January 1980, sec. A, p. 9.

pressure from other legislators would continue to be a part of the bill's progress through the process.²⁷

After passing the House State Government Committee, the bill went to the House Ways and Means Committee, chaired by Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Iowa City). She was now a determined opponent of pari-mutuel betting and voted against it, thereby defeating it (15-16) in her committee. Although apparently killed in committee, the bill's death knell had not yet rung as long as legislators continued to favor the concept. Some legislators accused Doderer of holding onto the bill as revenge for political indignities suffered in the 1970s at the hands of George Kinley (Democrat, Des Moines). One of parimutuel's strongest and most enduring supporters, Kinley knew his favorite bill needed Doderer's committee approval before it could continue the path to enactment.²⁸

After the bill had sat in the Ways and Means Committee for several weeks, the pressure to get it out of committee became intense so bargaining between legislators began. The Senate meanwhile was holding another bill that Doderer and other women legislators wanted. They had favored legislation to conduct a study of the state's salary policies to determine whether or not women received less pay than did men for jobs of comparable worth (see Women's Issues). The comparable worth bill had passed the House and the Senate, but James Gallagher (Democrat, Jesup), who supported gambling, filed a motion to reconsider on the comparable

²⁷"Parimutuel Betting Faces Rough Road after Panel OK," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 9 March 1983, sec. A, p. 3.

²⁸"Who's in Charge: Branstad or Bureaucrats?" Cedar Rapids Gazette, 28 March 1983, sec. A, p. 13.

worth study, thereby holding it in the Senate.²⁹ He vowed: "I'm going to hold onto it [comparable worth] until I get some horses running." At a Tuesday night poker game regularly held at a lobbyist's home, a legislator offered to release the comparable worth bill if Doderer would change her vote on parimutuel betting. Acknowledging that she could be jeopardizing the future of the study, Doderer refused to change her vote. The next day she and the bargaining legislator dismissed the deal as a joke, with Doderer adding: "It won't look good in the headlines if they trade horses and dogs for women."³⁰ Three days later the Senate let the bill out of committee. Doderer insisted no connection existed between the two bills, and that the Senate had made the right decision.³¹

Other legislators made bargains that had more willing takers. When he was offered help in getting an appropriation for \$15 million to purchase and improve a rail line connection important to his district, James Anderson (Republican, Brayton) said: "If they marry the two of these together, I don't see how I can vote against it [pari-mutuel

²⁹A motion to reconsider stops the amendment, bill, or resolution until the person who made the motion brings it up for debate. If the motion fails, the original decision of the body remains. If the chamber passes the motion, then the body debates and votes on the original action for a second time. Only a member who voted with the prevailing side can file a motion to reconsider. It is a tool that has a number of uses, including Gallagher's holding action, to keep a failed bill alive while supporters attempt to find additional votes, or to amend a bill that has passed but needs changes for technical or other reasons.

³⁰"Backers of Pari-mutuel Betting Turn to Last-ditch Bargaining," Des Moines Register, 5 May 1983, sec. A, p. 3.

³¹"Parimutuel Bill may yet Beat the Odds," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 10 May 1983 sec. A, pp. 1, 11.

betting]."³² When bargaining did not work, other unidentified pressures came to bear, as one legislator described: "They beat us up. There were no deals. This was capitulation." Andrew McKean (Republican, Morley) described the coercion involved: "The amount of energy and the amount of human destruction that has been reaped in this bill is a disgrace." He added that legislators should have two votes: one for the way they felt and another for the way they were told to vote.³³

After Jack Woods (Democrat, Des Moines) announced that he planned to subvert the committee process by adding pari-mutuel betting as an amendment to an appropriations bill, some opponents reconsidered their position. House rules allow amendments to bills (first degree), and amendments to amendments (second degree), but not amendments to amending amendments (third degree). If pari-mutuel began as an amendment, it would limit the ways for offering changes to the original proposal. Convinced that the bill would be debated in some form, House Ways and Means Committee members Doderer, David Osterberg (Democrat, Mount Vernon) and Tom Fey (Democrat, Davenport) set aside their opposition to the bill, and voted to allow it out of committee with no recommendation for passage. Betty Jean Clark (Republican, Rockwell), a leader of the group that opposed betting, describes the evening the committee met to pass the bill:

I never will forget the night that Minnette had to call the Ways and Means Committee back into committee to get some changes in the votes in order to pass that bill out. She didn't want to at

³²"Backers of Pari-mutuel Betting Turn to Last-ditch Bargaining," Des Moines Register, 5 May 1983, sec. A, p. 3.

³³"Parimutuel Bill to House Floor," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 May 1983, sec. A, pp. 1, 13.

all, you know; she had sat on it in the Senate [in an earlier session]. But she knew that they were going to pass another pari-mutuel bill that wasn't going to have any restrictions or anything, and she said, "We've got to have a responsible bill if we're going to have a bill at all so we've got to put this thing out." And I said, "Well, do you have to have my vote changed?" "Oh," she said, "Beje, I hate to see you have to do that." And I said, "Well, I'll talk to my caucus." So I went ahead and talked with them, and I told them Minnette had asked me not to change my vote, but what did they think in light of the necessity of getting something more responsible than the slap-happy thing they were going to put through. They all said, no, Beje, it would be very damaging to you after the leadership you have taken against the thing for you to vote for it, so don't do that. So I didn't. I was relieved when they took that position.³⁴

Doderer and her cohorts continued their campaign against gambling by drafting several amendments to the bill that placed a number of restrictions on the races such as outlawing drugging the horses.³⁵

The day the House debated the bill, Jack Woods (Democrat, Des Moines) told the chamber: "It [parimutuel betting] will create jobs. It will increase tourism. It will increase revenue for the state of Iowa." Doderer countered: "There is scandal after scandal in every state in the nation in which there is horse racing. Why do we want to open ourselves up to this? If horse racing were a clean industry, I would have no objection to it, but there is no state in the nation that has been able to control it." State Representative Betty Hoffmann-Bright (Republican, Muscatine) "pounded her desk to say, 'We're peddling hopes and dreams to

³⁴Betty Jean Clark, interview with author, 13 July 1989.

³⁵"Pari-mutuel Bill Clears Toughest Hurdle," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 May 1983, sec. A, p. 3. Minnette Doderer, comments during House debate, 2 May 1992.

the poor.'" But the legislature passed the bill and the governor signed it.³⁶

Some women, including Doris Peick (Democrat, Cedar Rapids) supported parimutuel betting, and she felt she had her constituents' support.³⁷ Others did not particularly care whether or not the legislature legalized gambling, it was simply not an important issue to them. But many others opposed it for a number of reasons: concerns about the effects on compulsive gamblers, fear that gambling would take some people into poverty, and belief that state programs should not be financed with gambling proceeds. These arguments were raised by both women and men, including William Dieleman (Democrat, Pella), a senator who steadfastly opposed any form of gambling in the state.

Supporters succeeded in legalizing pari-mutuel betting despite intense opposition. While Clark, Dieleman, and others relentlessly lobbied their colleagues, Doderer used her power and influence in other ways. As a committee member she voted against the bill, and as committee chair she let the bill die, refusing to change her vote or take other actions that would have allowed it out of her committee. When Jack Woods threatened to use an alternate route to get gambling debated in the House by making the proposal an amendment, Doderer and two others altered their strategy. Unable to protect the state from gambling, they chose to build restrictions into it. Working with like-minded legislators, this small

³⁶"Horse, Dog Betting OK'd by Iowa House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 May 1983, pp. 1, 13.

³⁷"Mondale the Front-runner for Linn County Demos," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 March 1983, sec. A, p. 9.

group identified potential problems and drafted amendments to address them. Most of the group's amendments passed but, in the years since, the legislature has peeled off some of the restrictions. Despite their failure to stop the gambling proposal, at one time it bore the marks of its opponents.

After Iowa approved pari-mutuel betting on horses and dog races, other forms of gambling won acceptance. Republican Governor Terry Branstad twice vetoed bills for a state lottery, but accepted it on the third try. Later riverboat gambling won state approval, justified as a form of economic development. Proponents and opponents of these measures raised many of the same arguments they had used in the pari-mutuel debate. Sue Mullins (Republican, Corwith) called the lottery a tax on stupidity; Betty Hoffman-Bright (Republican, Muscatine) characterized it as "breeding a society of gamblers"; and Betty Jean Clark (Republican, Rockwell) predicted that the lottery would "literally rip families apart and starve children."³⁸

In the numerous debates over gambling in Iowa, the economic interests of horse and dog breeders, tourism, and the state treasury have prevailed over the social and moral concerns raised by opponents. In their fights against these proposals, women such as Doderer and Clark prepared to alter their strategy in order to minimize the potential damage they saw. When

³⁸"Iowa Lottery Plan Passes House, 54-43," Des Moines Register, 4 May 1983, sec. A, pp. 1, 3; "House Approves Setting up State Lottery," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 4 May 1983, sec. A, pp. 1, 15; "House OK Moves Lottery Showdown Closer," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 February 1984, sec. A, pp. 1, 13; "Hard Choices Expected for State Agenda," Des Moines Sunday Register, 21 April 1985, sec. A, pp. 1, 7.

locking the bill in committee no longer worked, they attached shackles to it as part of the release agreement. The straightforward use of power did not achieve their goals, and an alternative form prevailed. By changing tactics, these lawmakers remained in the fight and continued to have influence.

Persistence and the willingness to remain active in the negotiations and compromises characterize the women in these legislative struggles to find state revenues. As a proponent of increasing truck license fees, Joan Lipsky received abusive phone calls and endured her colleagues' harassment but remained undeterred in her pursuit of change. When confronted with the power of their opposition, gambling opponents chose not to abandon the issue and declare themselves defeated but found new ways to influence the decisions. These examples of perseverance suggest the levels of commitment and political skill women brought to and developed within the legislature.

The strength of these women's proposals for raising revenues captured support among the public and in the legislature. Even though the scenario for each bill discussed here varies, some similarities exist. Removing the sales tax on food, which the public understood, and increasing truck fees, which they may have understood less well, appealed to voters and to legislators as matters of fairness. The tax-the-rich proposal debate, another fairness issue, had somewhat less public involvement, but certainly captivated the House for a period as Republican leaders tried to find a way to reframe it in order to portray it as their own. In addition, the legislative success of the amendments to the pari-mutuel

betting bill substantiates the validity of their work and of the proponents' concerns. Regardless of the relative amount of power the sponsors held, their ideas took on lives of their own.

The betting bills also point to women's diversity. Finding the state's lower payments unconscionable, Joann Orr offered gambling to generate revenues to increase welfare payments to 100% of subsistence needs. She supported the idea on moral ground, the same premise which led other women to oppose gambling. For Orr and for gambling opponents, the issue was the same, morality, but their perceptions of it and the positions they took in pursuit of it differed. Women legislators in Iowa have defined morality, ethics, and responsible decisions in a number of ways regarding revenue and other policies. Just as women candidates emerged from a variety of backgrounds, their opinions, positions, and choices identify their differences. While these and other legislative events and issues illuminate women's perspectives, it clearly is not a unified vision but one as diverse as the women themselves.

RIGHTS: EXPANSION AND DEFINITION

The Great Seal of the State of Iowa and the state banner both bear the state motto: "Our liberties we prize, and our rights we will maintain." Some of Iowa's women legislators have labored to expand and define citizens' rights, while other women legislators have sometimes been among their adversaries. Legislators have argued over the death penalty, civil rights, and equal rights, among others. Public acceptance came easily for some of these rights; for others the controversy continues.

Among those who fought to expand citizens' rights, several women became publicly identified with particular issues. Their convictions earned them accolades and exposed them to scorn. One woman who served three terms in the House recalls as her shining hours those when she argued to end the death penalty, even though the idea failed to gain acceptance during her time in office. The debates surrounding the consideration of these state policies provoked angry exchanges among legislators and with citizens and provoked impassioned pleas for justice. Judging whether or not the legislature served the cause of justice depends upon the observer's definition of it.

Katherine Zastrow (Democrat, Monroe) believed that the death penalty did not serve justice or other causes. Zastrow and others based their arguments on the inconsistency with which courts and juries delivered the sentence, calling capital punishment the "luxury of the poor."¹ She

¹"Votes to Abolish Gallows," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 4 February 1963, pp. 1, 3.

believed that economics sometimes determined who would live and who would die because wealthier people could pay lawyers' and other fees to appeal decisions which the poor could not. She raised the issue of race and the disproportionate number of African-Americans sentenced to death. She also believed that the death penalty did not reduce violence.² The fact that two convicted murderers had been hanged at the State Penitentiary in 1962 prompted many people to reconsider the morality of the death penalty.

When House member John Ely (Democrat, Cedar Rapids) announced his intention to attend the hanging of Victor Ferguer, convicted of murdering a Dubuque doctor, in order to be better informed about the death penalty, Lenabelle Bock (Republican, Hancock) argued that he should do more than that. She wanted Ely to go to Dubuque and visit the family and friends of the murdered doctor to witness another side of the consequences of violence. She believed that: "It is fine to be idealistic, as Mr. Ely is, but you should have some practicality along with it." While Bock thought a different method of execution might be preferable to hanging, she maintained that protecting society needed to be a priority and asked: "How can we know whether a criminal is rehabilitated so that, beyond question, he will not kill again?"³

Other House members, both Democrats and Republicans, supported Zastrow's proposal to end the death penalty, as did Governor Harold Hughes

²Katherine Zastrow, interview with the author, 10 June 1988.

³"Urges Death Penalty Foe to Visit Family of Victim," Des Moines Register, 11 December 1962, p. 1.

who included it in his inaugural address.⁴ The House Judiciary Committee approved the bill because "the committee felt there was enough interest in capital punishment to merit debate by the full House."⁵ Zastrow knew the bill had little chance for passage, an opinion others shared, so the leadership's decision to debate the bill seemed unusual.⁶ Legislative leaders usually avoid spending the body's time debating a bill that they believe will not pass, but House leaders decided to have the chamber examine the death penalty by debating it.

Even though she expected to lose in 1963, Zastrow researched professional opinions on capital punishment and prepared her arguments. During the debate, Zastrow quoted an authority on the death penalty: "The value of the individual is a fundamental tenet of our free society," and "each execution by the state is an implicit denial of this principle."⁷ She characterized the death penalty as "a symbol of terror and of irreverence for life."⁸ Charles Grassley (Republican, New Hampton) supported Zastrow by saying that "the injustice of our system is that some murderers are hanged and some are not." Others called for the end of this

⁴"Votes to Abolish Gallows," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 February 1963, p. 1.

⁵"Death Bill Advances," Lawrence A. Falvey papers, Ms. 56, Katherine M. Zastrow, Box 1, scrapbook 7, Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City.

⁶"Votes to Abolish Gallows," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 February 1963, p. 1.

⁷"End Death Penalty, She Argues," Des Moines Tribune, 4 February 1963, p. 1.

⁸"The Death Penalty," Des Moines Sunday Register, 10 February 1963, section F, p. 6.

"hangover from the dark ages," and argued that "It's time to stop sacrificing human lives on the altars of our own retributions."⁹

When debate ended, the House passed the bill. According to political writer Frank Nye: "The Iowa House surprised itself...by voting to abolish the death penalty for all crimes except kidnapping."¹⁰ The element of surprise entered when legislators changed their votes after listening to the debate. Generally, legislators decide how they will vote and have made commitments to lobbyists and colleagues before the debate begins. Only rarely does floor debate present arguments compelling enough to change the predicted outcome.

After the House approved ending the death penalty except in the case of kidnaping, Zastrow tried to get the Senate to debate the bill. When problems arose, she arranged a public hearing to demonstrate the depth of antipathy to the punishment. Wardens from three federal penitentiaries and others spoke against the death penalty, but the effort failed. The chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee refused to let the bill out of committee, where it died.¹¹ After Zastrow had retired from the legislature, Democratic majorities in the House and Senate abolished the death penalty in the state in 1965.

Zastrow's belief that the death penalty needed to be abolished in the state prompted her introduction and advocacy of the policy change, but it

⁹"Votes to Abolish Gallows," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 February 1963, p. 1.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Katherine Zastrow interview.

does not explain how a woman in the minority party could take center stage for such an important bill. Other women legislators before and after Zastrow have explained that one of their best legislative strategies for getting passage of a controversial issue involved finding a male legislator to introduce the desired bill. The woman legislator would sign on the bill as a co-sponsor, but give the man first billing. The strategy gave the issue greater credibility and enhanced its chances for success. With all of the men, both Democrats and Republicans, who signed and spoke on the bill, Zastrow could have asked one of them for assistance. Maybe she did. One possibility may be that the subject was so controversial that none of the men wanted to take the risks involved with being the lead sponsor. As with Gladys Nelson and the colored oleomargarine debate (see Agricultural and Environment Issues), a majority of Zastrow's male colleagues ultimately supported the issue. In neither case, though, did men take the political risks involved. Among the perceived risks were retribution from the House leadership and negative constituent response from identification in the press as a leader in an unpopular crusade. As a woman and a minority member, Zastrow may have had less to risk than her colleagues who were competing for committee chairs (she chaired Mines and Mining only in 1959), leadership positions, other appointed positions, or other perks of office. Also minority members often have less to do than majority members because they do not get as many bills to manage, committees to chair, or other appointments, leaving them with time and energy to develop support among majority members for their causes. Some minority legislators have used the extra time to their advantage by

researching, studying, and preparing ideas. Zastrow knew the legislative process, both as an observer and as a participant, and utilized that knowledge to convince the House to debate and to end Iowa's death penalty.

The Democratic-controlled legislature that ended the death penalty in Iowa also acted on civil rights legislation in 1965. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., marched from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, State Representative Willie Glanton (Democrat, Polk) and her husband Judge Luther Glanton fasted in sympathy and support for the marchers, and the Iowa General Assembly debated a civil rights bill. Supported by Democratic Governor Harold Hughes, the bill created a commission to investigate racial or religious discrimination in employment and public accommodations. The state already had the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, but it had no funding and no enforcement power. The proposed Civil Rights Commission would have both.¹²

One of the bill's sponsors, Gertrude Cohen (Democrat, Waterloo) explained that: "The accepted approach now is an attempt to procure voluntary compliance through education, training, and arbitration."¹³ If those attempts failed, the commission could hold formal hearings and court orders could result. Despite her sponsorship of the bill, Cohen believed it to be inadequate: "[I]t is my contention that this bill is too conciliatory in the area of housing, since it only provides for

¹²"Long Wait Just to See King Pass," Des Moines Tribune, 23 March 1965, p. 1; "Glanton, His Wife Fasting in Sympathy," Des Moines Register, 24 March 1965, p. 1; "Iowa Bill on Rights Advances," Des Moines Tribune, 23 March 1965, pp. 1, 9.

¹³"House Studies Special Civil Rights Commission," undated newspaper article, in Gertrude Cohen's possession.

investigation of discriminatory practices in this area. It seems to me that a person's race, religion or national background must not be allowed to pre-determine the advantages or disadvantages he will receive in the social order."¹⁴

The legislature created the Civil Rights Commission that year and in the next session amended it. June Franklin (Democrat, Polk) and other legislators addressed the weakness identified by Cohen in 1965. An African-American, Franklin had experienced racial discrimination in housing and employment when she had moved to Des Moines in the 1950s. Unable to find adequate housing, she and her family had resigned themselves to renting an apartment in a converted house with five apartments and one bathroom.¹⁵ Des Moines had a fair housing law, but it lacked enforcement provisions, leaving African-Americans with housing options limited to the racial ghettos.¹⁶

Despite opposition from the Iowa Realtors Association and other groups, the Senate passed the bill but added the requirement that a \$500 bond must accompany complaints filed with the Iowa Civil Rights Commission to avoid nuisance actions.¹⁷ From the Senate, the bill went to the House Industrial and Human Relations Committee which unanimously passed the bill

¹⁴"Iowa House Approves Rights Bill," undated newspaper article, in Gertrude Cohen's possession.

¹⁵"Low-rent Plan Support Asked," Des Moines Register, 19 October 1966, p. 20.

¹⁶"'Fair Housing' Bill Planned," Des Moines Sunday Register, 12 February 1967, sec. L, p. 5.

¹⁷Ibid.

out of committee, an action described as a tribute to Franklin and Cecil Reed (Republican, Cedar Rapids), another African-American.¹⁸ When Reed managed the bill on the House floor, he expressed his distaste for the \$500 bond provision but accepted it in order to get the bill passed.

Franklin disagreed with the strategy and vowed to change the provision.¹⁹ She described the bond requirement as a "stumbling block," accepted "under the guise that it would stop harassment" from citizens who objected to the practices of realtor and apartment house owners. She argued that "there are no bonding companies which will write that kind of bond, so it means \$500 cash."²⁰ Re-elected in 1968, Franklin accomplished her goal in 1969.

An active civil rights proponent, Franklin extended her influence beyond the House chamber and into community life. In 1967 she challenged the Des Moines Association of Professional Firefighters (A.F.L.-C.I.O.) to assist black applicants in obtaining positions on the Des Moines Fire Department. While the union had no direct authority in the selection of firefighters, Franklin wanted it to find a way to help minority candidates.²¹ The next year she addressed the Des Moines City Council, pointing to several racial problems in the city and demanding action. She

¹⁸"Fair Housing Bill Okay Called Tribute to Reps. Reed, Franklin," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 April 1967, p. 5.

¹⁹"Fair Housing Bill Sent to Governor," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 April 1967, pp. 1, 3.

²⁰"Fair Housing Bond Assailed," Des Moines Register, 6 November 1967, p. 17.

²¹"Seeks Fire Union Stand," Des Moines Tribune, 28 April 1967, p. 15.

wanted the Des Moines City Council to sue the city's school board for its functional segregation of many black students and called for non-discriminatory hiring practices by the city, citing the 1600 city employees, of whom 97 were black. She told the council that if changing hiring practices required "cleaning out the employment service, then clean it out. If it means a new city manager, then get a new city manager." She also told the city council that it needed to implement a penalty to enforce the city's fair housing code: "You should ask the white community to say to the white bigots who perpetrate racism and alarm the people, 'Either change your ways or get out of town.'"²²

Franklin also addressed racism in public and higher education. She sent a letter to the Iowa Board of Regents, explaining that she would oppose their funding requests because of racism on the Iowa State University campus. She wrote: "I felt that so long as black students are treated as second-class citizens on the campus and in the city of Ames, and black female students are the subject of demoralizing epithets hurled by students as well as by residents of Ames, and housing and job discrimination are the fashion both on and off the campus, then I cannot vote for any appropriation to support racism." She referred to the black student athletes who had withdrawn from Iowa State University to protest the Iowa State Athletic Council's decision to delay hiring a black assistant football coach, adding: "The black athletes felt that a black coach on the football staff would alleviate the necessity of being

²²"Asks City Council to Sue Board Here on 'Separate but Equal' School Plan," Des Moines Register, 29 February 1968, p. 3.

subjected to the word 'nigger,' which is a prominent word in the vocabulary of the entire athletic staff."²³

In another area of education, a Waterloo high school had been a center of racial unrest. A citizens' committee, a grand jury, and the state department of public instruction had investigated conditions at the school, but the school board had not acted. Franklin wanted the legislature to withhold state funds from the district until it responded to the racial problems, and she asked her legislative colleagues to visit Waterloo and "walk the black reservation" to see the problems for themselves.²⁴ She wanted the legislators to act as a buffer between black and white citizens in Waterloo to encourage changes. Charles Grassley, House Education Committee Chair, did not think that the legislature had a role to play in a "purely local situation." Franklin felt that Grassley did not understand and that, if he would visit Waterloo, he might see it differently. She felt that rural legislators did not understand the problems of the cities because small communities did not have the same racial and poverty problems. At the same time, she praised the lawmakers for their willingness to listen and work with her, even though they believed their districts did not face the problems of racism.²⁵

²³"Will Oppose I.S.U. Funds, Cites Racism," Des Moines Register, 3 August 1968, p. 3.

²⁴"Legislative Probe at Waterloo Asked," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 March 1969, sec. A, p. 5.

²⁵"Says Legislators Shun Racial Plea," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 27 March 1969, p. 8.

In addition to her calls for action from the white community, Franklin admonished the African-American community at a memorial tribute to Martin Luther King. Speaking to marchers assembled on the steps of the Iowa Statehouse, in emotions described as "grow[ing] into rage," she said:

[I]t is time for the few black citizens of Iowa who sit on policy-making boards and commissions, or who hold jobs where they can help their black brothers to stop compromising, stop scratching, stop shuffling, stop grinning, stop accepting half a loaf, stop being handkerchief heads and Uncle Toms...to stand up and step forward and be counted. Let's pray together, march together, work together. Let us all be black together. Dr. King never accepted half a loaf. He was never an Uncle Tom. He walked in peace and fought for the dignity and equality of people. It is time for the black ministers of this city and state to stand up and step forward and show leadership--start leading our people into the promised land.²⁶

Franklin fought for civil rights as a policymaker and used her status as a legislator to focus attention on racial discrimination in the state. She accused, criticized, and chastised both the white and African-American communities for their inaction, their insensitivity, and their reluctance to use their power to correct injustices. With determination and conviction grown out of her own experiences as an African-American, she used her power to further civil rights in the state. Refusing to use euphemisms, and discarding undue tact or diplomacy, Franklin clearly described the racism she saw and confronted policymakers and community leaders with it.

Franklin's pleas, cries, and demands for justice called on all citizens to use their power to end racial discrimination in the state. She understood that many of her colleagues had little or no exposure to

²⁶"Pay Tribute in March to Statehouse," Des Moines Register, 8 April 1968, sec. A, pp. 1, 6.

African-Americans or the burdens under which they lived because of the small minority population in Iowa. She had faith, however, that witnessing the problems would prod legislators to action. One of only two African-American women who have served in the Iowa General Assembly, Franklin clearly and persuasively spoke of the racial issues to a predominantly white male audience in the legislature. As an antagonist who repeatedly raised racial issues, and as a woman and an African-American, Franklin could have relegated herself to the fringes of legislative politics, a voice in the wilderness, a nuisance without credibility. But that was not the case. Franklin won election to minority whip, evidence of the respect her partisans held for her and of her inclusion in the decision-making process at important levels.

The problems of racial discrimination continue to receive sporadic attention from the legislature as specific issues appear. For example, in 1984, after an African-American man was not admitted to a bowling banquet at the Moose Lodge in Cedar Rapids, Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Iowa City) and Phil Brammer (Democrat, Cedar Rapids) worked to outlaw private clubs' discriminating on the basis of race, age, religion, or sex. If the club had liquor licenses or sales tax permits, the person could file a complaint with the Iowa Civil Rights Commission.²⁷ Doderer explained: "What we are saying is if the government gives you a license, then you should open up to the public."²⁸ The new policy did not limit private

²⁷"Private Discrimination," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 March 1984, sec. A, p. 4.

²⁸"Lawmakers Work to Keep Legislation Alive," Des Moines Register, 2 March 1984, sec. A, p. 2.

clubs' discriminatory practices regarding membership, but it provided that when those clubs allowed non-members and charged a fee, they could no longer discriminate.²⁹

From the 1960s to the present, another demand for equality has been made and energetically opposed. After decades of dormancy following the acceptance of women's suffrage in 1920, groups of women began organizing in the 1960s to reconsider their station in life. Some found it less than desirable and concluded that because of their gender they had been denied educational, athletic, employment, and other opportunities available to men. Among the many changes in social policies that feminists urged, equal rights guaranteed by a Constitutional amendment emerged as a rallying point. After lingering in Congress since 1923, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) gained approval in March 1972 and went to the states for ratification.³⁰

In the last days of the 1972 legislative session, Minnette Doderer, Charlene Conklin, and Joan Lipsky coordinated efforts to ratify the ERA passed by Congress only two days earlier. In order for the legislature to consider the resolution to ratify, the women had to obtain approval to suspend the rules in each chamber, a difficult task when legislators have their sights set on ending the session and going home.

²⁹"Branstad Signs Bill on Bias at Private Clubs," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 April 1984, sec. A, p. 4.

³⁰Barbara Sinclair Decker, The Women's Movement: Political, Socioeconomic, and Psychological Issues, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Harper & Row, 1983), pp. 442-447.

The drama began on Thursday, March 23, in the Senate Constitutional Amendments Committee where an early obstacle appeared: professional lobbyists who had organized to defeat it. The lobbyists' success in convincing committee members to oppose ratification led supporters to abandon it for the session, rather than have Iowa become the first state to reject the amendment. The next morning, however, the professional lobbyists had retreated from the issue as the story of their involvement circulated through the legislature. Doderer described the opponents as being "scared off," implying that the lobbying had been inappropriate.³¹

With the professional lobbyists silenced, women who supported the ERA and who had special relationships with legislators began lobbying. Legislators' wives launched an unsophisticated attack on opponents. Rudy Van Drie's (Republican, Ames) wife asked Joan Lipsky to convince Van Drie to support the amendment, which he did on final passage, although he had voted against it earlier. Other legislators' wives who had gone to the Statehouse to witness the last day of the session also lobbied their husbands to support it. Another group of women, generally silent and relatively invisible, spoke out. Legislative secretaries lobbied and bargained with their bosses for passage.³²

During debate, Doderer told her colleagues that: "I know you want to protect us from equal pay, from equal educational opportunities, from every equality you have and we want." Senate opponents to ratification

³¹"'Instant' Lobby: Women Swing Rights Vote," Des Moines Tribune, 25 March 1972, pp. 1, 5.

³²Ibid.

wanted time to study and consider the amendment. Eugene Hill (Democrat, Newton) told the chamber: "I don't know if I'm for or against this resolution. I haven't discussed it with my wife." Another senator asked Doderer if the Equal Rights Amendment would allow Hill to be a Playboy bunny. Doderer responded that Hill would have the "the same rights that a woman his age has." Whether or not women could be drafted also became an issue. James Schaben (Democrat, Dunlap) told the assembly: "If you draft both and they're going to live in the same bunks and building, you won't need the draft anymore--a rush of volunteers will come forward." The resolution passed the senate with only Hill voting against it.³³

In the House, Richard Radl (Democrat, Lisbon) argued against ratification on the basis that the world's problems had been caused by "female Amazons" even though he characterized most women as kind and "very lovable." Radl explained: "The present furor over the status of women is part of the fractured insanity which is now surging through the civilized world. When the dust settles, females will still be chips out of Eve who led, not followed Adam down the primrose trail."³⁴

Charles Grassley (Republican, New Hartford) asked the legislature to delay debate to allow time for study and research. He said it would be all right if Iowa were the thirty-eighth state to ratify the amendment, instead of the fourth.³⁵ He told the House: "This has been before the

³³"Iowa is Fourth State to Ratify Rights for Women," Des Moines Register, 25 March 1972, pp: 1, 2.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

congress for 50 years and it has been before the Iowa legislature only 24 hours." Lipsky replied that "Equal rights means equal rights for all citizens. It is a concept we all believe in. It is nothing new."³⁶ Despite his request, he voted for ratification, explaining: "If I was getting out of politics, I'd have voted against it."³⁷

Hallie Sargisson (Democrat, Salix) first voted against the resolution but then changed her vote to yes. The only woman who voted against the resolution, Elizabeth Miller (Republican, Marshalltown) issued a statement: "Mrs. Sargisson went and changed her vote because she was afraid she might lose the women's vote. I'm not afraid at all of that. I don't think the average woman really wants this thing." Miller expressed concerns that other opponents had identified: drafting women and sharing toilets.³⁸ Miller would later vote for the Iowa ERA because citizens would ultimately decide the issue at the ballot box.³⁹

Among several factors that contributed to Iowa's speedy ratification of the amendment was Doderer's and Lipsky's leadership. The two women had served several terms in the legislature and both had highly developed political skills. Over the years they had learned to develop strategies and to use procedural rules and other maneuvers to reach their goals. In

³⁶"Victory and Defeat on Last Day," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 March 1972, pp. 1, 3.

³⁷"Iowa is Fourth State to Ratify Rights for Women," Des Moines Register, 25 March 1972, pp. 1, 2.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Miller had been absent the day the Senate voted on the Iowa ERA in 1978.

addition, the pressure to adjourn combined with the opportunity to be among the first states to ratify created excitement and an intensity to act. The women who led the effort had worked together in other efforts and had a network already in place to respond to ratification, while opponents had not organized or developed their counter arguments. Doderer also believed that her male colleagues did not want to be "swept away by history and they wanted to be on the winning side."⁴⁰

By 1975 the situation had changed. ERA opponents had developed their arguments, organized their allies, and fashioned their strategies. Eugene Hill reopened the debate when he announced to the Senate that he planned to file a resolution to rescind ratification of the ERA. Reading from material prepared by anti-ERA leaders in the state and nation, he described his reasons for rescission, which included vague and imprecise language, preservation of the family, women's desire to choose their own lifestyles, and the haste with which Iowa had ratified. Doderer responded that: "Not only did we know what we were doing then, but we will show we knew what we were doing by taking care of this rescission now." Elizabeth Shaw pointed to the necessity of the ERA with a personal example. She had applied for and been denied a credit card in her own name, but when her status of state senator was revealed she received the card. Joann Orr (Democrat, Grinnell) told the chamber that while no one disputed equal pay for equal work, women had been "patient too long for their own good." She expressed disappointment that "the women of Jasper County" had not talked

⁴⁰"'Instant' Lobby: Women Swing Rights Vote," Des Moines Tribune, 25 March 1972, pp. 1, 5.

to their "deeply prejudiced senator [Eugene Hill] about ERA." Senate President Pro Tempore Doderer said she would assign the resolution to a committee other than Hill's and bury it.⁴¹

Instead of rescinding ratification of the federal ERA, Philip Hill (Republican, Des Moines) introduced a resolution for a state ERA. Explained Hill: "It occurred to me that in the event the federal ERA is not adopted, we should have something ready to go in Iowa. I would prefer to have the federal one passed. This would be simpler. We would only have to amend one Constitution instead of 50. But it appears it might not make it." He also introduced it to serve notice that the legislature did not intend to rescind its ratification of the federal ERA.⁴²

Philip Hill's efforts to serve notice did not deter his colleague Eugene Hill. In March 1977, rescission supporters filled the Senate gallery to offer Eugene Hill support as he filed the rescission resolution, and to announce their presence they sent loaves of bread to every senator, including a note: "Vote for the Homemaker. Rescind the ERA."⁴³ Eugene Hill called the day the legislature had ratified the federal amendment "a black day," adding that women had reason to be

⁴¹"Flurry of Senators Speak Out on ERA," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 March 1975, sec. C, p. 1.

⁴²"Iowa ERA is Proposed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 15 February 1977, p. 4.

⁴³The loaves of bread created a lasting impression. In 1982, Doderer's clerk baked bread at home and shared some of the bread with friends in the House. The clerk left a loaf for her boss and went on to other tasks. When Doderer saw a loaf of bread on her desk, she began questioning everyone around her about the source of the bread. Doderer thought that anti-ERA or anti-abortion activists had left the bread and that it announced some impending action.

concerned about the amendment because it would change their lives.

Senator Elizabeth Miller (Republican, Marshalltown) drew applause from the gallery when she said she voted against the ERA and had been re-elected twice since. Doderer "responded emotionally" to the resolution, refuting allegations that the ERA would force men and women to share restrooms and that career women had abandoned their families.⁴⁴

After weeks of discussion, the Senate agreed to hold a public hearing on rescission but then delayed it until the next January.⁴⁵ In response to the delay, pro- and anti-ERA groups planned rallies, one on each side of the Statehouse. Speaking for Stop ERA, Donna LaPorte said: "We have consistently asked for the right to be heard on this important proposed amendment to the United States Constitution, and our requests have been consistently denied. We hope that the Judiciary Committee of the Senate will start behaving in a responsible manner and grant us what should certainly be the right of all Americans, a chance to speak our opinion on a proposed amendment which would affect all our lives."⁴⁶ Illinois lawyer Phyllis Schlafly told the anti-ERA forces that women "are the most privileged class of people who ever lived on the face of the earth." She maintained that laws already gave women equal pay and equal educational

⁴⁴"Anti-ERA Move Launched in Iowa," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 March 1977 pp. 1, 3.

⁴⁵"Opponents Angry as ERA Hearing Delayed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11 May 1977, pp. 1, 3.

⁴⁶"Pro, Anti-ERA Rallies Set for Capitol Steps," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 May 1977, sec. C, p. 10.

opportunity but the ERA would allow men to abandon their wives, make women subject to the draft, and eliminate single sex schools and colleges.⁴⁷

On the pro-ERA side, Rosa Cunningham who had been a suffragette, told supporters to question candidates about their positions: "Do not take any weasel words about it, either. Get a flat yes or no. Tell those who say no, that means a no vote. That is your weapon." When Doderer spoke, supporters serenaded her with "Happy Birthday to You," and sent her bouquets of yellow roses in recognition of her birthday. Doderer told the group: "I am not fighting for my right to be a woman. That happened to me the day I was born. I am fighting for my right to be included in the Constitution of my country." Also speaking at the rally, Joan Lipsky said: "There can be no security, no value in perpetuating a system of discrimination against one entire sex and that ultimately is the real and only issue of ERA."⁴⁸

The next year, with the Iowa ERA stalled in the Senate, Terry Dyrland (Democrat, Elkader) introduced it in the House, which quickly took it up. During the debate Terry Branstad (Republican, Lake Mills) succeeded in adding an amendment to the resolution that stated that the ERA did not alter the state's laws prohibiting homosexuality and same-sex marriages. Branstad's amendment was only one of twenty-two amendments filed on the

⁴⁷"Verbal Warfare at ERA Rallies," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 May 1977, pp. 1, 11.

⁴⁸Ibid.

resolution in attempts to kill it.⁴⁹ The House passed the ERA 70-25. Its supporters were elated. Mary O'Halloran believed that the level of support would push the Senate into considering the resolution and pointed to another factor in the passage of the ERA: "I can't forget that it was a majority of men who passed the ERA tonight." At the time 88 men and 12 women served in the House.⁵⁰

In the spirit of recognizing men's contributions to the ERA's passage, Doderer, remembering the loaves of commercially baked bread distributed by anti-ERA women the year before, presented Terry Dyrland with a 28-inch loaf of bread she had baked personally, and credited Dyrland's labors with helping gain the House's approval of the state ERA.⁵¹

The Senate still had to act on the amendment, and it finally held a hearing on the ERA, but it was not the one promised the year before. The Judiciary Committee held a hearing on passing the state ERA, not one on rescinding the state's ratification of the federal ERA. The more than 200 people who spoke at the hearing included a Davenport minister who

⁴⁹"Stromer Rails Against 'Covert' Action on ERA," Des Moines Register, 11 January 1978, sec. A, p. 3; "House Amends ERA, then Halts Debate," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 January 1978, p. 3; "Legislative Notes," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 January 1978, p. 11.

⁵⁰"ERA Backers Ecstatic," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 February 1978, p. 16.

⁵¹"Legislative Notes," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 8 February 1978, sec. A, p. 6.

testified that "God does not support the ERA." Another person dismissed the ERA as a symbol.⁵²

On March 7, 1978, the ERA subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee added an amendment to the House version of the resolution: "It is declared to be the intent of the Legislature that a classification on the basis of gender shall not be held to deny or restrict equality of rights if it can be established that such a classification was necessary to accomplish a compelling state interest."⁵³ The Judiciary Committee removed the intent section.

Having voted against ratifying the federal ERA and having led the effort to rescind its ratification, Eugene Hill prepared to fight the state ERA. Hill explained his opposition: "Those women [ERA opponents] fear the American way of life will be changed and disrupted. They feel that they can no longer remain in the home to care and nurture their families but must leave home to support their families if the ERA is adopted." He submitted several amendments with the hope of defeating the resolution, but Lieutenant Governor Art Neu ruled three of them out of order and the Senate defeated the fourth.⁵⁴ The Senate did approve the intent language proposed by the subcommittee and rejected by the Judiciary Committee.

⁵²"Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 March 1978, sec. B, p. 4.

⁵³"Senate Unit Adds ERA 'Intent' Section," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 8 March 1978, sec. C, p. 8.

⁵⁴"He's Got a Fist Full of Amendments to Fight ERA," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 March 1978, p. 8; "Senate Beats Back ERA Amendments," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 March 1978, p. 3.

The passage of the intent language provoked anger among men and women senators. James Redmond (Democrat, Cedar Rapids) and Doderer attacked their party's leaders who supported the intent language. Calling their votes appalling, Redmond rejected the leadership for supporting an amendment that confused the issue. Doderer cited her fourteen years in the legislature and said that the legislature had not included intent language on any of the constitutional amendments in all of that time. The Senate passed the Iowa ERA with the intent language intact.⁵⁵ A few days later, the House approved the intent language and the resolution.⁵⁶

With legislative approval obtained in 1978, the amendment still faced two major hurdles before it could be included in the state's constitution. In Iowa, two general assemblies must approve amendments. That ensures that an election will occur between the two occasions on which it is passed. Then it is placed on the ballot for voter approval during the next general election. In sharp contrast to the battles in 1978, the resolution passed the House and Senate easily in 1979. The next year, however, voters defeated the constitutional amendment at the ballot box.⁵⁷

⁵⁵"Tempers Flare on ERA 'Intent' Action," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 21 March 1978, pp. 1, 9.

⁵⁶"ERA Amendment Gets Final First-Round OK," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 31 March 1978, p. 10.

⁵⁷In 1990, Doderer again led the battle for an Iowa ERA, and with some rancor the resolution passed. It did again in 1991. Voters will decide the Iowa ERA's fate in November 1992.

The legislative success of the state ERA may have resulted in large part from the persuasive and political abilities of its supporters in the chambers. Minnette Doderer, Joan Lipsky, and Philip Hill had held leadership positions in the body, had years of experience, and tremendous personal commitment to contribute to the effort. They knew how to fight for the things in which they believed, understood the risks, and charged into battle. Doderer also had a coterie of supporters who had watched and cheered her as she had fought other battles for women's rights. Serenading her and sending her flowers served as symbols of support for her and for the issues which she represented. Many Iowa feminists rallied under her leadership and direction, responding to her calls for action. The demonstrations of support for her and the state ERA contributed to her power within the legislature, by allowing her to point to the women who joined the fight for equality.

Moreover, when the legislature approved the state amendment, it did not become law because it still required voter approval. This last step in the process provided legislators with an escape hatch when confronted with anti-ERA voters. Lawmakers could explain that while they did not necessarily support women's equality, they believed that the democratic system of a popular vote best served the state's interests. The amendment's defeat in 1980 demonstrates that it did not have adequate voter support for inclusion in the state constitution.

When Iowa ratified the federal ERA, the decision took place during a time of visible and widespread support for the concepts it represented. While opponents existed, they did not have the publicity that supporters

had attracted and developed. In response to Congressional passage of it and some states' speedy ratification, opponents identified and recruited their allies in order to stop it. Phyllis Schlafly effectively articulated arguments opposing constitutional guarantees of legal equality for women and equally effectively organized women against it. She appealed to women's fears of abandonment, military service, and sharing toilet facilities with men, as well as Americans' homophobia. By 1977 Schlafly had brought her skills and arguments to Iowa, first to demand rescission of the federal amendment and later to oppose the state amendment.

By the time the future of the federal amendment appeared doubtful and the state effort had begun, several groups in the state had developed their organizations. In addition, they described specific and, in their view, harmful consequences to ratification. While pro-ERA legions discredited the anti-ERA arguments in the legislature and prevailed there, they could not effectively counter them in the public arena and convince voters of the righteousness of their cause.

The rights that these and other women advocated to further the cause of justice remain part of the public debate on the philosophies contained in the Bill of Rights. By raising issues such as the death penalty, civil rights, and women's equality, lawmakers challenged their colleagues to reconsider whether or not the status quo best served the needs of our society. They believed their proposals would contribute to remedying inequities in the state and to improving all citizens' chances for fairer treatment under the law. The debates these women provoked in the

legislature extended far beyond the Statehouse, and involved citizens in defining and formulating the pros and cons.

When Katherine Zastrow opened the debate on capital punishment in the legislature, she laid the groundwork for abolishing it the next session. June Franklin's chastisement of community leaders and legislative colleagues included descriptions of racial discrimination from an African-American woman's perspective. Through their work on federal and state ERAs, the lawmakers who fought both sides of the issue drew new groups into political debate. Seeking justice for criminal offenders, minorities, and women, lawmakers identified injustice and sought remedies. Their successes and failures point to the complexity of the problems they sought to alleviate as well as to their inherently controversial nature.

CHILDREN

In the tradition of the Progressive Movement, several women in the Iowa General Assembly have sought ways to protect children from disease, abuse, state policies, and other threats to their well-being. These goals are complicated. Despite hopes for another outcome, some children become the state's responsibility because of unavailable or inadequate parental care, and other children require attention from the state because of their unlawful acts. In addition, the state defines the point at which children are considered capable of making adult decisions. As legislators sought to craft policies for children's safety, protection, and care, they encountered opposition from parents and lawmakers who resisted the state's intrusion into family life and disagreed with establishing children's needs as a state priority. In other situations, concerned legislators of goodwill struggled to identify policies that responsibly protected the state's youth. The struggles developed out of genuine concern and resulted from the difficulties that surround state attempts to fill roles for which parents, if available and responsible, are better suited.

The first two women in the Iowa legislature, Carolyn Pendray (Democrat, Maquoketa) and Ada Garner (Democrat, Shell Rock), began the tradition of the state's female lawmakers working to protect children by pressing for an issue left over from the Progressive Era. They worked to gain the state's ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the United States Constitution. Approved by Congress in 1924, the amendment would have permitted the federal government to "limit, regulate, and prohibit

the labor of persons under eighteen years of age."¹ In the late 1920s, the supporters including the Women's Joint Congressional Committee and the Women's Trade Union League appeared unable to avoid defeat by business and the American Farm Bureau Federation. Legislators around the nation, however, attempted to resurrect the amendment in the early 1930s. That effort helped convince fourteen states to ratify the amendment, a number still well short of enough to include it in the Constitution.²

Pendray began her effort to gain Iowa ratification of the Child Labor Amendment during the 1933 Regular Session of the legislature, but it failed. Early in the legislature's 1933-34 special session, Ada Garner (Democrat, Butler) prepared to lead the House fight for its ratification. After the House committee on constitutional amendments recommended indefinite postponement, Garner began fighting to override the decision. With House leaders divided on the resolution and with most House members, especially rural ones, opposed, Garner's chances for success appeared minimal.³

While the House stalled on the resolution, Pendray obtained its approval in the Senate. Chances for adoption further improved when Governor Clyde Herring asked for its passage. The House committee voted

¹Journal of the House, 1933-1934 Extraordinary Session, p. 22.

²William H. Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 28; J. Stanley Lemmons, The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), p. 147.

³"Battle Slated on Child Labor," Des Moines Register, 18 November 1933, pp. 1, 2.

again and changed its decision from indefinite postponement to no recommendation. With Garner continuing to lead the ratification effort, the House finally approved it. The Iowa Recorder declared Garner's success "an event of national importance." Winning ratification in an agricultural state gave supporters hope that the amendment would be accepted in other agricultural states. Supporters hoped that the new life given the amendment would lead to its inclusion in the United States Constitution. Instead, New Deal policies rendered moot the need for the amendment.⁴

After Garner's and Pendray's success with the Child Labor Amendment, women legislators worked on education policies, but no other issues directly relating to children had been identified, until the late 1960s. Since then, several women have contributed their ideas and opinions to a variety of issues involving children. In general, the legislation falls into three categories: child protection, juvenile justice, and adult rights.

For babies and young children whose parents decide to terminate their parental rights, the state intercedes by regulating and authorizing adoptions. In addition to protecting the child's interests in an adoption, the state recognized that the birth parents and the adoptive

⁴"House to Act on Child Labor," Des Moines Register, 3 December 1933, sec. L, p. 3; "Mrs. Garner Speeds Bill for Local Firm," Iowa Recorder, 20 December 1933, p. 1; Journal of the Iowa House of Representatives, 1933, p. 1606; Journal of the Iowa Senate, 1933, p. 424; Journal of the Iowa Senate, 1933-1934 Extraordinary Session, p. 166; J. Stanley Lemmons, The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), p. 147.

parents have privacy concerns that they want safeguarded. Some birth parents want their identities carefully concealed, especially those mothers who may fear that their child, whose very existence may have been held in secrecy, may suddenly appear and disrupt her life. Some adoptive parents want to keep their identity confidential to avoid the possibility of one of the birth parents reclaiming the child they have nurtured and raised. Some adopted children want to find their roots or for health reasons need their family's medical history. These competing interests have involved the legislature in numerous policy debates.

A U.S. Supreme Court decision prompted legislation regarding adoptions but the bill addressed more concerns than those raised by the decision. Before the decision, only the mother needed to release the child; the father had no role. The court's decision required that the father also had to relinquish his child before an adoption could take place.⁵

Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Rapids) sponsored an adoption proposal that reflected the court decision. It created provisions for both parents to receive counseling prior to terminating their parental rights and simplified the process for adopted children wanting to gain access to the legal records relating to their adoption, making it easier for them to find their biological parents. The bill also required full investigations of the adopting parents before a child could be placed in that home.⁶

⁵"Sweeping Revision of Adoption Laws is Charted," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 15 March 1974, p. 9.

⁶"Child Abuse Bill Filed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 27 March 1974, sec. C, p. 3.

The House defeated Lipsky's attempt to limit adoption placements to the Department of Social Services and licensed social agencies, and eliminate doctors and lawyers as private adoption possibilities. Lipsky argued that doctors and lawyers did not have "the facilities, the professional qualifications or the time to adequately investigate prospective adoptive families." Jean Kiser (Republican, Davenport) successfully argued against Lipsky: "If you close up private adoption procedures, the abortion rate is going to climb."⁷ The bill stalled that session.

When the House debated and passed the new adoption bill, Lipsky pointed to its major components: the protection of the child's welfare, the protection of natural parents' and adoptive parents' rights, and the greater availability of medical and genetic histories to the adoptive parents and to the adopted person. While protecting biological parents' privacy, the bill created a process for adopted children to find them.⁸

When the bill reached the Senate, Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Iowa City) amended it to eliminate the requirement to publish a notice of the pending adoption if the father had not been identified. Though the amendment was intended to protect paternal rights before a court terminated them, Doderer believed that it would humiliate the mother and

⁷"House Defeats Adoption Plan," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11 April 1974, p. 5.

⁸"Adoption Bill Hailed as Improving Legal Safeguards," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11 April 1975, p. 11.

could prevent her from placing the child with an adoptive family.⁹ The bill established new policies for the adoption process.

In the 1980s attention turned to another adoption issue. Adults whose adoption records the state had sealed wanted to further simplify the process for identifying and finding their birth parents. Janet Carl (Democrat, Grinnell) floor managed a bill to open the records of some adoptees, arguing that: "It is the birthright of each citizen in the state to know the identity of his or her parents. Adoption is a special arrangement between children and two sets of parents." Doderer and Sue Mullins (Republican, Corwith) argued against the open records, defending the birth mother's privacy. Doderer believed that opening the records would break the contract of confidentiality made at the time of the adoption. Mullins told the chamber: "We are saying that in instances that are most private, most personal, a woman has no right to privacy." The House voted against opening the adoption files.¹⁰ Instead, they agreed to have the Department of Human Services (DHS) act as a disinterested third party for birth parents and adopted children wanting to find each other. When both parties agreed, the DHS would release the pertinent information.¹¹

⁹"Senate Bill Allows Natural Parent to Reclaim Child After Adoption," Des Moines Register, 6 April 1976, sec. A, p. 3.

¹⁰"Adoption File Access Fails in House Votes," Des Moines Register, 30 March 1985, sec. A, p. 2.

¹¹"Lawmakers Grapple with Adoption Bill," Des Moines Register, 17 March 1986, pp. 1, 8.

In the Senate Human Resources Committee, Beverly Hannon (Democrat, Anamosa) took a leading role. She joined Mullins and Doderer in their desire to protect the birth mother's identity. Hannon explained: "A woman who gave up a child to adoption may never have told anyone. I can't think of a reason why we should allow such disruption."¹² Although the bill died in the Senate Human Resources Committee in 1986, the concept continues to be an issue in the Iowa legislature.¹³

The women opposed to opening adoption records wanted to protect the mothers who had made difficult decisions about their and their children's futures. Without hesitation, these lawmakers sought to protect the mother's interest: She had taken care of her child by placing it in an adoption agency's care and legislators sought to protect her from family and public scorn. Women who grew up in an era when a teen-aged daughter's out of wedlock pregnancy brought shame to the entire family could understand the potential trauma for others in their generation if the baby a woman may have reluctantly surrendered reappeared in her life as an adult.

The question of who cares for children also involves day care. The issues of licensing and regulating day care facilities created arguments over parental rights and state responsibilities. In a debate over an amendment removing licensing and registration for private centers (those

¹²Ibid.

¹³"Senate Committee Kills Adoption Bill for this Year," Des Moines Register, 27 March 1986, sec. A, p. 2.

not receiving public funds) many of the arguments on both sides of the issue emerged. The amendment's sponsor was Karen Mann (Republican, Scranton), who asked: "Shall the state confiscate the authority of the parents in determining what is best for the care of our children? Are we ready to say that parents are no longer responsible for their children? That the Department of Social Services shall be the authority in determining a standard of care?" She argued that removing the licensing requirement for private centers "puts the responsibility on the shoulders of the parent or guardian involved."¹⁴ Minnette Doderer responded: "I'd like to live in a world where all families are responsible, but I don't." The amendment failed.

Sue Mullins had managed the bill Mann wanted to amend. Her bill created group day care homes, a new category of day care provider. The state distinguished between family care homes, which could have up to six children and had minimal state regulation, and child care centers, which had more than six children and more state regulation. Mullins proposed adding group day care homes which could care for seven to eleven children and would have state regulations somewhere between the level of the other two classifications. She believed that more day care facilities would become available if providers had another option. She explained: "There are latchkey kids who have no place to go. They go home to an empty house

¹⁴"Day Care Measure Loses in Iowa House," Des Moines Register, 28 February 1981, sec. A, p. 10.

or out on the streets."¹⁵ The proposal that Mullins passed required registration of the homes, but not licensing.

In 1984 Mullins turned her attention to requiring day homes, those with fewer than six children, to register with the state Department of Human Services. She believed: "Increasing inspections would go along with registration so parents would have some confidence there are minimum standards being met."¹⁶ Mullins described her reasons for the bill: "My purpose is to lift up what I have come to regard, in six years of working child-care legislation, as the more fundamental issues which no one but children's advocates and family day-care providers really wants to discuss. We must acknowledge/determine the value we place on our children and skills and efforts of persons responsible for their emotional, social, physical, and intellectual development." Putting children's care into perspective, she continues: "In this state, to protect consumers we license bait sellers, car dealers, egg handlers, grain dealers, restaurants, health-care facilities, pesticide applicators, foster families and a host of other providers. We do not, as yet, mandatorily regulate the surrogate parents whom we call family-day-care providers."¹⁷

The House passed mandatory registration twice in 1984, but the Senate rejected it both times. Despite this defeat, Mullins continued to believe that the state should create and enforce standards: "When you've got

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶"Bill Aims at Putting More Day-care Facilities Under State Scrutiny," Des Moines Register, 30 January 1984, sec. A, p. 3.

¹⁷"Subject Not Mentioned in Care-Center Debate: Child," Des Moines Register, 22 February 1984, sec. A, p. 9.

young parents out there working and trying to spend quality time with their kids, they really don't have time to go from place to place to really observe providers. And furthermore, sometimes there is so little care available that they're just glad to put them wherever they can get them."¹⁸

Mullins wanted to assist parents in their search for safe and appropriate child care. Placing children's needs above other concerns, she sought roles for the state to play and decided upon state registration and licensing as tools that would help provide for children's safety. Mullins dealt with the realities of parents' time, financial, and energy constraints. In her attempts to create a new category of child care providers, she addressed the shortage of day care options that existed throughout the state and were particularly visible in rural areas such as her own. Mullins' opponents viewed her proposals as an infringement of parental rights to choose the best care for their children. By requiring providers to register with the state, options for care could be limited because some willing providers might resist offering their services under those conditions. This conflict between state policies to protect children and parental authority extended to other areas.

Legislators also worked to protect children from disease, abuse, and accidents. For example, in 1977, Joan Lipsky worked in the House with Scott Newhard (Democrat, Anamosa) to require all children to have immunization for German measles, mumps, diphtheria, whooping cough,

¹⁸Sue Mullins, interview with author, 13 July 1989.

tetanus, and polio before entering day care or school. At the time, about 70% of Iowa's schoolchildren received the immunizations, but supporters believed the balance deserved the protection for themselves as well as for others. House opponents to mandatory immunization argued that the state should not require parents to have their children immunized, because it interfered with parental authority. Arguing that victims of these diseases could suffer from hearing and sight disabilities or brain damage from the diseases, Lipsky won the House's approval. When the bill went to the Senate, Joann Orr (Democrat, Grinnell) and Minnette Doderer convinced that body of the bill's value and gained its approval. As a sidelight, Doderer, who worked on policies that affected nearly every aspect of government and held several leadership positions in the legislature, later recollected that she was proud of her role in passing the bill. She believed it made a significant difference in children's welfare.¹⁹

In 1983 Jean Lloyd-Jones (Democrat, Iowa City) began another fight to protect children, specifically those riding in motor vehicles. The measure she won in 1986 required children under 2 years old to ride in approved child safety seats and those 2 to 4 years old to either be in the seat or buckled with the seat belt. The measure included a penalty. To support her arguments for state requirements to buckle up babies, Lloyd-Jones explained that 772 children had been killed or injured in auto accidents in Iowa in 1981. One opponent to the bill, Horace Daggett

¹⁹"House Votes to Require Immunization," Des Moines Register, 13 April 1977, p. 1; "Mandatory Shots for Students Clears House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 April 1977, sec. C, p. 2; "Senate Approves Mandatory Shots," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 26 April 1977, p. 16; Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 June 1989.

(Republican, Lenox) complained: "This would not allow me to take my grandchildren to the drugstore for a Coke." Other opponents accused supporters of invading privacy and beginning a police state.²⁰

The proposal faced greater obstacles in the Senate than it had in the House. A vocal and powerful opponent, Joe Coleman (Democrat, Clare) chaired the Senate Transportation Committee, and he assigned himself chair of the subcommittee for the bill. He believed that: "We can't protect everyone from everything. There is no way that I am going to tell parents how to take care of their children."²¹ Berl Priebe (Democrat, Algona) also on the subcommittee thought that, "Voting against this is like voting against motherhood," but acknowledged his was only one of three subcommittee votes.²² Lloyd-Jones continued to strategize ways to pass the bill and succeeded the next session.²³

Laws requiring parental action to protect their children attempted to prevent childhood diseases and their spread and to reduce injuries to children. While some religious denominations resisted the immunization policy and received exemptions from it, the debate centered on parental authority to make the decisions. The debates did not question the effectiveness of immunizations or child safety seats; instead opponents

²⁰"House Backs Tot Restraint in Cars, 81-17," Des Moines Register, 15 February 1983, sec. A, pp. 1, 2.

²¹"Senator Coleman Vows He'll Block Child-Restraint Bill," Des Moines Register, 23 February 1983, sec. A, p. 3.

²²Ibid.

²³"Child Restraint Measure OK'd by Iowa House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 February 1984, sec. A, pp. 1, 15.

focused on parental prerogatives. Proponents convinced their colleagues to choose in favor of children's well-being over parents' rights.

When parents are unable or unwilling to take responsibility for their children, the state intercedes and provides care for them. Orphanages, foster care, and adoption have been the resources used by the state, but Joan Lipsky found that state policies resulted in discrimination among certain categories of children. After Lipsky won her 1966 race for the Iowa House, she toured several of the state's institutions, among them the Annie Wittenmeyer Home in Davenport, which "absolutely shocked [her] beyond belief." The children living there did not belong in what Lipsky described as "an old-fashioned orphanage." Unaware that Iowa had such an institution, Lipsky did not criticize the staff, but she found the situation unacceptable.²⁴ She discovered the reason for the children living there had to do with state policy. Two groups of children went to the home after the termination of parental rights: those born at the University Hospitals in Iowa City and veterans' children. In both cases, if the children went into foster care in their home counties, the county paid for their care, but the state paid 100% of their care if they lived at the Annie Wittenmeyer Home or at the state juvenile home in Toledo. Counties often chose to place the children at Annie Wittenmeyer to save the county money. Lipsky believed that the policy worked to the

²⁴Joan Lipsky, interview with author, 7 July 1989.

children's disadvantage by denying them the potential benefits of foster care.²⁵

To remedy the problem for veterans' children, Lipsky introduced a bill requiring the state to pay for foster care for them, ending the discriminatory policy. After the bill passed the House, a colleague pointed out to the freshman legislators that she still needed to get the bill through the Senate. Lipsky crossed the rotunda to the Senate and began lobbying the committee chair, who supported the bill, but did not have enough influence to get it passed. Lipsky changed her strategy from advocating a children's issue and made it into a military veterans' issue. She identified military veterans in the Senate and convinced them of the importance of her proposal. Her strategy worked and the bill passed the Senate.²⁶

Having gained legislative approval, Lipsky worried about whether the bill would receive Democratic Governor Harold Hughes' signature. A freshman, she had not known that getting a co-sponsor would have helped her negotiate with the governor's office. Trying a positive approach, she called the governor's office, explaining her excitement over getting her first bill passed and asking permission to be present when the governor signed it.²⁷ Her strategy of assuming that the governor would sign the bill worked.

²⁵"Foster Homes for Orphans Bill Filed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 February 1967, sec. A, p. 14.

²⁶Joan Lipsky interview.

²⁷Joan Lipsky interview.

Lipsky thought her tasks completed until a year and a half later when she returned for the legislative session. At the time the legislature met every other year. She found that child welfare administrators had not begun implementing the program. Instead, they had convinced the state comptroller, the state treasurer, and the state attorney general to hold the bill in abeyance because no way existed to certify foster care, and they listed other problems with the bill. Lipsky called a meeting of the concerned parties to sort out the problems. She began by asking the child welfare staffers if the program would help children. They answered in the affirmative, so she turned to the others gathered and asked for their help resolving the interdepartmental problems.²⁸

Lipsky's foster care bill provided her with several lessons in legislative politics. She learned that successful legislators follow their bill's progress from the time of its drafting through its implementation and that, without constant vigilance, it can die for want of attention. She also developed sales skills, identifying special reasons for colleagues to want the bill's passage. As a bill to provide better opportunities for children, senators did not find it compelling, but it became more so when it was offered as a veterans' issue. Reframing an idea in order to gain its passage had also helped Gladys Nelson pass the colored oleomargarine bill in the 1950s. Lipsky's dedication to her proposal continued after its passage and the governor's approval. Serving as a catalyst and a negotiator, she pushed state officials toward implementing the change created by the act. Some legislators learned

²⁸Ibid.

these skills from mentors who guided them through each step of the process. Others, like Lipsky, developed them through experience, finding their way with occasional hints from their colleagues.

The philosophy that the state had a responsibility to protect children extended to those who had broken laws. Providing help to them rather than punishment appears as a theme espoused by women as early as the mid-1960s. For example, Gertrude Cohen (Democrat, Waterloo) opposed a proposal for regional detention facilities for children because she believed that children in trouble with the law needed to be protected from themselves and that the facilities did not offer them any help. Instead, she asked for "state-supported group foster homes or shelter homes which would house perhaps up to eight youngsters. These should be available at a moment's notice for a youngster on detention awaiting his juvenile court hearing."²⁹

In several bills, Joan Lipsky also advocated protecting children who had broken laws. In 1967 Lipsky worked with several other legislators to close court proceedings relating to juveniles to the press. She felt that youngsters in trouble already had enough problems and that publicizing their activities did not help them. She wanted a decision to open the court to the press to be left to the judge's discretion. She also fought attempts to have children treated as adults in certain situations, wanting

²⁹"Rep. Cohen Sees Danger in Plan for Juveniles," newspaper article, in Gertrude Cohen's possession.

juvenile courts to have exclusive jurisdiction over delinquent, neglected and dependent children.³⁰

Through work on various study committees over several years, Lipsky and Doderer, the key architects, developed a large package of juvenile justice reforms under the guidance of University of Iowa law professor Josephine Gittler. The planners wanted to codify all juvenile laws into one chapter of the Code of Iowa that would guide lawyers, judges, social workers, and others dealing with children in making their decisions. Moreover, the U.S. Supreme Court had made several decisions regarding juvenile offenders that had not been reflected in state laws. By codifying the decisions, children's rights could more easily be protected, because authorities would have greater awareness of them. Drafters also wanted children treated in the least restrictive manner and given as much responsibility for themselves as possible. Children who ran away from physical or sexual abuse and who were threatened with being sent back home were uppermost in the minds of those who wanted to grant children a voice in their future.³¹ Lipsky and Doderer argued that status offenders needed help, not incarceration.

In 1976 Doderer chaired and Lipsky was a member of a study committee that investigated the state's juvenile justice laws. Using the resources of probation officers, juvenile justice judges, and other professionals,

³⁰"Would Blackout Juvenile Cases," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 14 February 1967, p. 4; "See Fight in Juvenile Law Area," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 6 March 1967, p. 5; "Lipsky Raps Juvenile Bills," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 March 1969, sec. C, p. 3.

³¹Joan Lipsky interview.

Josephine Gittler drafted a proposal which Lipsky introduced in the House and Doderer submitted to the Senate. The bill had many opponents: law enforcement officers, judges, state administrators, and juvenile authorities, some of whom had been consulted in its crafting.³² The bill had several controversial areas, including a provision that running away from home would no longer be a crime. This provision was based on the premise that if an act were not illegal for an adult, it should not be for a child.

Proponents felt that children should not be incarcerated for an act if it would not be a crime for an adult. Lipsky asserted that most status offenders were runaways and that imprisoning a child who escaped incest or other abuse was neither sensible nor fair because adults in those situations could leave without criminal penalty. She believed that children belonged with their families but sometimes families needed help which was available in her bill.³³

In 1977 when the House debated the proposal on status offenses (running away, skipping school, incorrigibility), Betty Jean Clark (Republican, Rockwell) said that she "skipped school a lot" but had "reasonably good judgment," so did not get involved with the courts. Clark also spoke from a mother's experience, describing her own children as having difficult times growing up, but she had not wanted them involved

³²"Criticism of Juvenile Bill is Answered," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 9 March 1977, pp. 1, 3; "Problems Seen in Juvenile Law," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 23 February 1977, sec. C, p. 2.

³³"Status Offenders Need Aid, not Trips to Criminality's Classroom," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 March 1978, sec. A, p. 9.

in the juvenile justice system.³⁴ Despite objections to removing status offenses from the juvenile justice system, the bill passed the House that year, but stalled in the Senate.

In 1978 Doderer and Senator Philip Hill (Republican, Des Moines) managed the juvenile justice bill on the Senate floor. In her arguments, Doderer pointed out that the proposals codified U.S. Supreme Court decisions and remedied inequities in the system, such as those situations when children who had not committed crimes could be held in detention longer than children who had. Many juvenile authorities continued to want runaways placed in detention for their own protection.³⁵

The bill passed in 1978, but Doderer had further goals that were not achieved: "We were going to work on getting more services in the various communities after we cleaned up the law. We never got that far because we kept fighting off the ones that wanted to return to putting kids in jail. We still do."³⁶

In 1982 Doderer led a successful campaign to change one part of the juvenile justice bill. In cases of incest, the court had to remove the child from the home in order to protect the child from the offending

³⁴"'Status Offenses' Taken from Juvenile Court," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 3 May 1977, p. 3.

³⁵"Doderer Urges Change in Juvenile Justice," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 23 January 1978, p. 3; "Eight-day Senate Debate Ends, Juvenile Justice Bill Approved," Des Moines Register, 2 February 1978, sec. A, p. 5.

³⁶Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 June 1989.

adult. With her change, the court could remove the offending adult from the home.³⁷

The juvenile justice laws changed the state's definition of criminal acts when committed by children. Runaways no longer had committed a crime, neither had children who skipped school. The code removed those children from the jurisdiction of the courts. Lawmakers intended to protect children who had not committed crimes from the courts and to provide other services to them. Protecting children in their homes also prompted Doderer's 1982 amendment to the code. The lawmakers who wrote and obtained approval for these policies held children's safety above parental and state authority.

One of the rites of passage from childhood to adult status for some young people includes buying that first beer on the birthday that it becomes legal. The legislature has had a difficult time deciding at what age citizens can buy that drink. In less than twenty years, Iowa has reduced the legal drinking age from 21 to 19, lowered it to 18, raised it to 19, and then raised it back to 21. After the country ratified an amendment to the United States Constitution allowing 18-year-olds to vote in 1971, the Iowa legislature began debating which other adult rights should be extended to them. Chief among these was the purchase of alcohol. During the Vietnam War years, some lawmakers argued that

³⁷"House Balks at Juvenile Code Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 23 April 1982, sec. A, p. 11.

citizens old enough to fight and die in battle were also old enough to purchase and consume beer and liquor,³⁸

The odyssey began in 1972, when the legislature lowered the legal drinking age from 21 to 19. Some senators fought to lower it further to 18. Charlene Conklin (Republican, Waterloo) argued for the lower age because she believed: "We'll have fewer high school students buying drugs....It is too easy to buy controlled substances today. We can teach the effects of alcohol but not of controlled substances because we don't know their effects yet."³⁹ Minnette Doderer generally had an opinion on most topics, but here she was uncertain. She co-sponsored an amendment reflecting her indecision and her sense of humor, recommending age 43 for legal alcoholic beverage consumption. After jokingly suggesting that age 43 could be a compromise between those arguing between 18 and 19 for the legal age, she withdrew her amendment and supported 18. In 1972 the legal drinking age became 19.⁴⁰

A year later, the legislature again debated the issue and lowered the age to 18. But in 1976, raising the age back to 19 passed in the House but slowed down when it reached the Senate. The problem of 18-year-old high school students purchasing alcohol and sharing it with their younger friends had prompted the change. In the Senate the bill went to a burial subcommittee, of which Doderer was a member. She and others pointed out

³⁸"Rights at 18 Passed by Senate," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 February 1973, pp. 1, 2.

³⁹"Fate of Adult Rights at 18 Bill Uncertain," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 3 February 1972, pp. 1, 10.

⁴⁰Ibid.

that some 19-year-olds attended high school, and she did not believe that raising the age would solve the problem. She explained: "People, especially school people, are looking for a simple answer to a difficult problem....Schools are charged with teaching the hazards of smoking and drinking and they haven't succeeded. So they have come to us for a solution."⁴¹

Senators Elizabeth Miller (Republican, Marshalltown) and William Plymat (Republican, Urbandale) believed that raising the drinking age would alleviate, if not solve, the problem. The bill was deeply buried, but Miller sponsored and Plymat co-sponsored a procedural move to pull it out of its grave. They obtained the necessary 26 signatures of their Senate colleagues on a petition to require debate. The Democratic leadership then asked two of their partisans to withdraw their names from it, which they did. Miller insisted she had met the Senate's rules, but an ethics issue arose over removing the two signatures. According to a newspaper article, Miller did a "slow burn" over the Senate leadership's tactics.⁴²

After the 1976 session ended without action, Miller again introduced the change in 1977. She continued to argue that high school students provided younger classmates with alcohol. She also cited problems with students attending class while intoxicated. Governor Robert Ray contributed his support for raising the age, and school administrators

⁴¹"'Not Much to Vote for' in Drinking Age Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 15 March 1976, p. 4.

⁴²"Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 23 May 1976, sec. B, p. 2.

continued to plead for it. Responding to public and political pressure, the legislature raised the legal drinking age to 19 in 1978. The increase to 21 came when the federal government tied some of its financial assistance to the states to a higher age. Fearful of the financial loss, lawmakers finally agreed.⁴³

The problems encountered in determining the legal age for alcohol purchases highlight the state's difficulty in making these decisions. When Doderer suggested making the age 43, she did it as a joke, but it points to the quandary for legislators who make the choices. Other adult rights came to citizens at 18, and, as some legislators pointed out, that age was old enough for military service. The other problems involved younger children and irresponsible use as suggested by intoxication in the classroom. Granting citizens the privileges of adult life along with its responsibilities and rights needed to be balanced with protecting children from the effects of alcohol. Clearly, neither women legislators as a group nor lawmakers in general unanimously agreed on the best choice.

The age at which children could make a decision to marry, and their parents' roles in the decision, poses a similar question on the point at which children could make adult decisions. The 1972 bill that allowed 19-year-olds to buy alcohol also granted other adult rights at 18, including marriage without parental approval. Girls and boys aged 16 and 17 could marry with their parents' consent, but Doderer wanted to add a judge's approval as another requirement, and she wanted to remove pregnancy as a

⁴³"Drinking Age Bill Proposed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 January 1977, sec. A, p. 2; "Legislation's Fate," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 May 1978, sec. A, p. 4.

reason for childhood marriages. She successfully argued that: "Society's solution to the problem of a girl who is pregnant is marriage, but this often turns out to be no solution at all." She believed that parents forced their young pregnant daughters to marry because they wanted "to avoid a scandal."⁴⁴

Her proposal stated that a judge could authorize the marriage "only if he finds the underaged party or parties capable of assuming the responsibilities of marriage and that the marriage will serve the best interest of the underaged party or parties." It further stated: "Pregnancy alone does not establish that the proposed marriage is in the best interest of the underaged party or parties." One of Doderer's colleagues, James Briles (Republican, Corning) argued that pregnancy was "a pretty good reason to get married," because "the baby needs a name."⁴⁵ Briles did not convince the chamber and the proposal passed. Doderer's goal was not to punish the pregnant child, but to protect her from an ill-fated marriage and her parents' fears of scandal.⁴⁶

Deciding how best to serve children perplexes both parents and legislators. Some women lawmakers have developed clear visions of the state's role in protecting children that have come from their experiences of parenthood and from their community activities. Others have equally well-defined conceptions, and the two regularly clash. Several women have

⁴⁴"Vote to Curb 'Pregnancy Marriages,'" Des Moines Tribune, 11 April 1973, sec. S, p. 3.

⁴⁵"Bar to Young Marriages Eyed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11 April 1973, sec. C, p. 4.

⁴⁶Minnette Doderer interview.

believed that the state has obligations to protect children from employment, disease, injury, abuse, and other threats to their well-being. Other lawmakers disclaim the state's responsibility to protect children from life, viewing proposed policies as intrusive. The contest that generally evolved pitted those who wanted to subvert parental authority in favor of child protection against those who resisted state intervention in matters they considered private. The merits of the proposals seldom raised opposition regarding their efficacy but rather centered on their intrusion. Except in areas involving day care centers, however, legislators negotiated and compromised until they could agree on some level of protection.

WOMEN'S ISSUES

Like legislative women in other parts of the country, Iowa's female lawmakers did not run for their seats as advocates for women's issues or as outspoken feminists intent on transforming women's roles in society. For most Iowa women, the legislative experience either made them into feminists or solidified their beliefs that state policies needed change to reflect women's changing status in society. For example, Minnette Doderer originally ran for a seat in the Iowa General Assembly to help shape a new apportionment plan for the legislature, an issue she had diligently advocated for several years. She entered the legislature as a League of Women Voters proponent for good government. Outspoken, unafraid, and quotable, Doderer received attention from the press for her provocative ideas and statements. The press coverage she received made her name widely known in the state and prompted letters from women who saw a bold woman in power and wrote to her, woman to woman. Through her correspondents' and her own experiences, Doderer developed into a feminist and one of the state's leading and most enduring fighters to improve women's status. Their own experiences and those shared by others created a feminist consciousness in several of Iowa's women legislators.¹

Women generally raised the issues, formed the arguments, and led the crusades to enhance and improve women's status in the state. Their male

¹Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), pp. 99-101; "Women State Legislators: Report from a Conference, May 18-21, 1972," Center for the American Woman in Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers-The State University, p. 19.

colleagues regularly supported many of the issues with their votes, but women led the strategizing, bargaining, and sometimes pleading for their passage. Earlier chapters have described attempts to secure guarantees of equal rights for women and to respond to women's reproductive health care needs. Iowa's women legislators have also addressed other issues, such as including women in the Code of Iowa and attempting to name buildings in their honor. They have also dealt with less esoteric issues such as employment and compensation for women in the paid labor market. They brought women's perspectives to the crime of rape, resulting in changes in the acceptable evidence in trials and the inclusion of marital rape among the offenses. Some of their colleagues laughed at them for their efforts, others taunted them, and others began to understand the problems the proposals attempted to ameliorate.²

The tradition of women raising issues relevant to their sex stretches back to the first woman in the Iowa General Assembly, Carolyn Pendray (Democrat, Jackson). During her first session in the legislature, Pendray and L. B. Forsling (Republican, Sioux City) sponsored and gained approval of legislation granting women new property rights in two ways.³ Before

²"Women State Legislators: Report from a Conference, May 18-21, 1972," pp. 17-18.

³Pendray has been credited with passing bills giving women property rights and making women legal heads of households. Research does not support that view. Women's property rights in Iowa began their development in the Iowa Code of 1851, gradually increasing over the years. Ruth A. Gallaher, Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918), pp. 86-143. Researchers in the Legislative Service Bureau have also attempted to identify the connection between Pendray, property rights, and women as legal heads of households, but could not find it.

the Pendray-Forsling bill, male debtors could keep specific items (i.e., a library, clothes, two cows, two calves, fifty sheep, furniture, etc.) exempt from debt collection. If the head of the household did not own those items but the wife did and was the debtor, the bill extended the same exemptions to her. The bill also allowed a married woman who was a debtor, even though not head of the household, to keep a sewing machine and poultry worth fifty dollars from the debt collector.⁴ The act increased property rights for women and recognized the importance of a poultry flock to a woman's personal economics.

Four years later, Isabel Elliott (Democrat, Woodbury) sponsored an amendment that had potential health benefits for women. In a bill that required venereal disease tests for pregnant women, she attached an amendment requiring similar testing for fathers if the mother tested positively.⁵ The bill intended to protect the fetus from disease, and Elliott's amendment attempted to identify the extent of it between the marital partners to end potential recurrences.

These two bills did not establish a pattern of women legislators' advocating policies beneficial to women. A large gap exists between these actions and subsequent ones in the area of women's issues. During most of the 1930s and 1940s, Iowa and the rest of the nation focused attention on first the depression and then war. The voices that had pressed for women suffrage became silent in those decades. In the 1950s Gladys Nelson

⁴Jacob A. Swisher, The Legislation of the Forty-third General Assembly of Iowa (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1929), p. 24.

⁵Journal of the Iowa House of Representatives, 1939, p. 1892.

fought for colored oleomargarine as a housewives' issue, but almost two decades passed before women legislators began to identify, examine, and act on women's issues. Women who served in the General Assembly during those decades do not recollect an awareness of them. Some women who served in recent decades have dismissed feminist goals as trivial, others have opposed them, and a few have believed that all policies affect women and cannot be separated by gender.

The Code of Iowa has received ongoing attention from women legislators who have wanted women's existence acknowledged in it, and discriminatory language removed from it. Women have worked to remove the exclusive use of male names and pronouns as well as sexist implications and substance. The process began early in the 1970s and continued through the 1980s, comprising a number of variations on a theme. June Franklin's amendment to a bill revising voter registration and election laws in 1972 offers an early example. Her amendment changed the names on the sample ballots in the code to make half of them feminine.⁶ She wanted the code to include women's names, saying that in addition to updating the substance of it, an opportunity to update perceptions also existed. She told the House: "I'd like to change the thinking of this assembly and I'd like to remind you that 51 percent of the people of this state are female." She wanted "women...recognized in the election laws of Iowa." House members found the idea amusing and laughed at it. Richard Radl

⁶"Women's Lib Victorious in Voting Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11 February 1972, p. 10.

(Democrat, Lisbon) made fun of the amendment by saying: "This is a women's lib amendment. I am against women's lib advocates and their male supporters. They speak honeyed words of equality and emancipation when what they really have in mind is piracy and robbery."⁷

The debate deteriorated when he used the new women's restroom in the back of the House chamber as an example of women's tyranny, explaining that the ratio of women to cubicles was less than that for men.⁸ Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Rapids) responded: "I want to assure the gallant gentlemen that I'll do everything in my power to change the ratio."⁹ Franklin asked Radl to keep his comments on the topic, and the House Speaker agreed with her but asked Radl for a copy of the rest of his comments, showing his approval and his amusement at the debate.¹⁰ Franklin's amendment did not propose a fundamental change in state policy, it only attempted to recognize that women candidates existed. Radl's accusations of robbery and piracy indicate the antipathetic culture in which women worked. The amendment passed, but only after the chamber had amused itself at Franklin's expense.

Two years later, Doderer submitted a bill to equalize the treatment of women and men in the Iowa Code. At the time, the Code clearly treated

⁷"House Hears Women's Lib 'Assailed'; Yields on Names," Des Moines Register, 11 February 1972, p. 4.

⁸"Women's Lib Victorious in Voting Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11 February 1972, p. 10.

⁹"House Hears Women's Lib 'Assailed'; Yields on Names," Des Moines Register, 11 February 1972, p. 4.

¹⁰"Women's Lib Victorious in Voting Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11 February 1972, p. 10.

men and women differently. The thirty-three-page bill covered numerous areas, but a few examples suggest the kinds of issues it addressed. Women prisoners in a county jail could receive permission to leave the facility during the day to clean their houses, take care of family needs, and return to jail at night, a privilege not granted to men. Male prisoners could be sentenced to hard labor, but women could not. The superintendent of the Iowa Women's Reformatory had to be a woman. The bill removed the sex bias, allowing men to go home to do housekeeping chores, women to be sentenced to hard labor, and a man or a woman to become superintendent of the women's prison. The policy that allowed a woman other than a head of household to keep a sewing machine and some poultry from debt collectors (a bill Carolyn Pendray had passed in the 1920s) treated women differently than men and was stricken.¹¹ The bill benefited men in some ways and rejected preferential treatment for women, which points to women legislators' desires to treat citizens equally by removing biases that favored either sex.

The many reviews of the Code for sexism included a 1982 bill to remove masculine pronouns and nouns. Several years earlier, the Legislative Service Bureau had altered the style for drafting legislation from using masculine nouns and pronouns to employing sex-neutral words. For example, firemen became firefighters, and nouns were substituted for he, him, and his. Sections of the Code that had not been amended since the change continued to have masculine pronouns, which Doderer changed

¹¹"Bill on 'Equal Treatment' of Men, Women Offered," Des Moines Register, 5 February 1974, p. 7.

with her 1982 bill. To emphasize the extent of the old usage, Doderer's clerk highlighted the masculine pronouns in two of three volumes of the Code.¹²

Incremental changes in the Code resumed, when a state panel examined it in 1984. President Ronald Reagan, an ERA opponent, suggested that states review their laws, identify sexist provisions, and change them as an alternative to guaranteeing equal rights in the Constitution. Following the president's recommendation, Governor Terry Branstad appointed a committee of private citizens and state employees to identify implied and functional sexism and make recommendations to eliminate it. The committee found about one hundred areas in which the effect of the policy resulted in sex discrimination. For example, life insurance companies used sex in determining premiums, military veterans received preference in hiring for civil service jobs, and inheritance laws regarding intestate succession treated widows and widowers differently. In accepting the panel's report, Governor Terry Branstad expressed hope that the findings would help remove barriers to women's equality, but he resisted many of the substantive changes recommended in the report. Over time, however, the legislature enacted many of the recommendations.¹³

¹²"Bill Would Equalize Code Words," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 9 February 1982, sec. A, p. 9.

¹³50 States Committee of the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women, "Iowa '50 States Project: A Review of the 1983 Iowa Code for Sex Discrimination" (Des Moines: Iowa Commission on the Status of Women, 1984), p. 5; "Branstad Panel Finds Sexism in Iowa Laws," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 3 February 1984, sec. A, p. 6.

From Franklin's proposal to include some feminine names on sample ballots through the state panel's comprehensive evaluation of state policies and numerous other revisions, the goals changed from including women in a specific Code section to identifying and removing sexist state policies. The locus of action moved from one woman's attempt to pass an amendment, to a governor's committee, adding new resources and attention to the issue of the effect of the state's policies on women. Through the process, the intent behind the changes remained the same: equitable treatment for women and men. Through Code reviews, however, substantive issues needing change appeared, changes that resulted in women and men being treated more equally. The language changes, described by some as neutering the Code, should not be dismissed as trivial even though the meaning of many laws remained the same. The earlier use of masculine pronouns and nouns excluded women, despite arguments that the language did not have that intent. The inclusive language symbolized a consciousness of women's existence and participation in the life and activities of the state.

The same belief in acknowledging women through words and images that had prompted Franklin's amendment resulted in a controversy over an Iowa Department of Agriculture brochure. Sue Mullins (Republican, Corwith) objected to the department's slogan, "The Iowa Farmer...He's Quite a Man," which appeared in the brochure. Mullins farmed with her husband and she wanted women included in the piece, pointing out that neither the text nor the images included women. She cited the pictures of a dairy cow and some ewes as the only females of any species in the brochure. Using her own

experience as an example of women's role in farming she described her research on conservation tillage, pointing out that she and her husband had changed their farm management practices to include more of it. Mullins insisted that farm wives contributed to farming decisions and deserved to have their work recognized by inclusion in the agriculture department's literature. Iowa Secretary of Agriculture Robert Lounsberry had not intended to offend anyone, but he had not thought about women's roles in agriculture. Lounsberry destroyed the few remaining copies, but he criticized Mullins and accused her of having a chip on her shoulder. The reprinted version did not include the slogan, but Mullins did not believe that the text had improved.¹⁴

Women legislators also wanted more women appointed to state and local commissions. They believed that these advisory and policymaking groups would benefit from the contributions women would make by adding other viewpoints to decision making. For example, in 1973, Doderer asked Governor Robert D. Ray to appoint more women to state boards and commissions, criticizing his record of choosing only five women for 38 of the most recent major positions. At the time, women held about 200 of the 1,146 appointive positions in state government. Doderer believed that both parties had women with the necessary qualifications, despite the governor's insistence that he could not find them. She wanted the governor to consult a list of 400 women compiled by the Iowa Commission on

¹⁴"Farm Slogan's Male Slant Riles Female Iowa Lawmaker," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 15 February 1983, sec. A, p. 2; "Mullins Still Unhappy with Booklet, Accused of 'Discrediting' Ag Agency," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 February 1983, sec. C, p. 9.

the Status of Women, "even though his assistants say the list was somehow lost."¹⁵

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Johnie Hammond (Democrat, Ames) decided the time had come to stop asking governors and mayors to appoint more women to state and local boards and commissions. Working with several other women in the General Assembly, Hammond consistently added an amendment to bills dealing with state boards and commissions. Known as the "usual amendment" among the women legislators, it required that half of the members be female. Hammond eventually passed a bill to mandate gender balance on all state boards and commissions. She later pursued the change on the local level. Dorothy Carpenter (Republican, West Des Moines) believed it would "empower women" as they participated on boards and commissions, and Mary Lundby (Republican, Marion) supported the bill as a fairness issue rather than one of gender. The local bill also required minority appointments in proportion to the percentage of their population in the community.¹⁶

Getting women's names in the Code, using gender neutral language in it, and requiring women's appointments to boards and commissions made women more visible and included them as a matter of policy. Women's fuller participation resulted from policies that mandated their presence on boards and commissions. The evolutionary nature of the process in making the changes reflects women's changing perceptions of sexism, the

¹⁵"Doderer Expresses Concern on Ray's Selection of Women," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 April 1973, p. 2.

¹⁶"House Approves Gender Balance on Local Boards," Des Moines Register, sec. A, pp. 1, 2.

amount of change they thought their colleagues would accept, and their increasing power.

The spirit of acknowledgement and recognition led Mary O'Halloran (Democrat, Cedar Falls) to work to name a proposed new state office building for a woman but Richard Norpel (Democrat, Bellevue) wanted to name the building for Ansel Briggs, Iowa's first territorial governor. O'Halloran suggested Carrie Chapman Catt, leader in the final stage of the crusade for woman suffrage and founder of the League of Women Voters. O'Halloran acknowledged that many legislators had not heard of Catt because: "The reason you don't know is obvious. The history books are written by men." The House rejected her plea, and voted to name the building after Ansel Briggs.¹⁷ According to Doderer, O'Halloran lost because the Statehouse crowd began referring to the building as the Catt house. After the name became a joke, Doderer dropped Catt as a possibility, but she objected to naming the building for Briggs because she thought he "was nothing but a drunken stagecoach driver."¹⁸

Doderer agreed with O'Halloran that the building should be named for a woman, and suggested Carolyn Campbell Pendray. She conceded that the controversy over naming the building could end up with it having no name, but thought: "That may be appropriate. Then it would be a female building because all women lose their names. That's the reason we wanted a building named after a woman so we could stop being anonymous." Doderer

¹⁷"Will Honor First Governor," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 June 1975, p. 8.

¹⁸"New Battle Brewing over Building Name," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 February 1976, sec. C, p. 2.

temporarily won the battle when the Senate State Departments Appropriations Subcommittee substituted Pendray's name for Briggs' name on the building, but the issue remained unresolved at the end of the 1975 session.¹⁹

In an example of unrelated issues becoming tied together the Senate Transportation Committee refused in 1976 to release a bill prohibiting long trucks on Iowa highways. Doderer was opposed to long trucks and wanted the bill debated, so she joined others who circulated a resolution to pull the bill from committee. The resolution needed four more signatures for the President of the Senate to do so. On the Senate floor, Norpel "boomed out at Doderer" that he had the four votes and that he would "sell" them if she would come up with four votes to name the building for Briggs. Doderer took his offer, preferring to keep the long trucks off Iowa highways to naming the building for Pendray, but Norpel lost his own challenge because he did not have the votes. After the Senate erupted in laughter, the majority and minority leaders called their members into caucus, temporarily ending the debate.²⁰

Norpel and Doderer continued their battle over naming the new building in the 1977 session, and it continued to be part of completely unrelated debates. Known for his active vote trading, Norpel offered to trade his vote for a lake project Don Avenson (Democrat, Oelwein) wanted for Avenson's vote to name the building for Briggs. When Doderer heard

¹⁹"New Options for Naming State Office Building," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 June 1975, p. 4.

²⁰"Norpel Jousts Doderer in Long Truck Debate," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 15 March 1976, pp. 1, 3.

about the offer, she rushed to the House to convince Avenson to support Pendray's name for the building. Doderer made Avenson the same deal Norpel had, but substituted Pendray's name for her support of the lake. Avenson refused both of them.²¹ A state contest for schoolchildren to name the building became an unhappy compromise for both senators, but it was unsuccessful.²² In the end, the building was named for Herbert Hoover. In the 1980s, the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women, the state Department of Education, and others cooperated to name a vocational rehabilitation building for Jessie M. Parker, a former state superintendent of public instruction.

In addition to recognizing women's contributions to the state, legislators have wanted the value of women's work acknowledged in their pay checks. Women's wage rates and women's poverty have a sad history in this country. Since before the Civil War, women have organized, struck, demonstrated, demanded, and begged for living wages. Time has not ameliorated the problem, only given it a name: the feminization of poverty. Raising women's wage rates to a level comparable to those

²¹"Avenson Won't Trade Volga Lake for Votes," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 22 January 1977, pp. 1, 3.

²²"New Options for Naming State Office Building," Cedar Rapids Gazette 13 June 1975, p. 4; "Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 8 February 1976, sec. B, p. 4; "New Battle Brewing over Building Name," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 February 1976, sec. C, p. 2.

received by men has consistently ranked highest among the possible solutions to improving women's economic status.²³

The earliest identified attention to women's pay issues appeared in 1953 when Gladys Nelson (Republican, Jasper) introduced a bill for equal pay for equal work, but the legislature did not take any action on it. A decade later Congress passed the Equal Pay Act, requiring employers to pay men and women performing the same job the same salary. Not all pay discrimination, however, appears in such obvious ways. Jobs dominated by women generally pay less than those dominated by men, a situation which the mandate of equal pay for equal work does not address. The tradition of valuing a position less because a woman holds it becomes apparent from two events a decade apart.²⁴

In the first instance, the House debated increasing the state traveling library director's salary by \$4,000, to \$15,000 in 1971. A woman had held the job for several years, but at the time of the proposed increase, a man held it. Delbert Trowbridge (Republican, Charles City) believed that the responsibilities of managing the staff justified the pay increase, explaining that "few women can handle 76 employees." He believed that because a man held the position, the pay needed to be at the

²³Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989), pp. 99, 103. Studies of women's labor force participation, wage rates, and union organizations include Philip S. Foner, Women and the American Labor Movement: From the First Trade Unions to the Present (New York: The Free Press, 1979); Alice Kessler Harris, Women Have Always Worked: A Historical Overview (Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist Press, 1981); and Barbara Mayer Wertheimer, We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

²⁴Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989), pp. 275, 291.

higher level. Trowbridge had not suggested increasing the salaries of the state law and medical librarians: Women held these positions which would remain at the \$11,000 rate. June Franklin (Democrat, Des Moines) objected: "Suddenly we have a man in the position and we want to raise this one sky high without paying any attention to the salaries of the other two women librarians." Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Falls) added: "Give salaries according to ability and don't make distinctions because of sex or any other non-essential facts." The House defeated Trowbridge's amendment, but increased all three librarians' salaries to \$11,500.²⁵

More than a decade later, a similar situation developed when the legislature increased the Chief Clerk of the House's salary from \$30,000 to a ceiling of \$40,000. Under the Republican majority in 1982, Elizabeth Isaacson, who had held the job for about fifteen months, had earned \$28,080 a year. With the Democratic majority that followed the 1982 general elections, Joe O'Hern would get the appointment and the increased salary. Dorothy Carpenter (Republican, West Des Moines) accused House Democrats of sex discrimination, but Jean Lloyd-Jones (Democrat, Iowa City), a member of the majority leadership, defended the increase as part of upgrading the position. Privately, however, some women in the House Democratic caucus shared Carpenter's evaluation of the increase. They voted for it in a party line decision, bowing to party discipline.²⁶

²⁵"House Boosts Ray \$5,000; Cuts Aero Chief \$1,428," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 June 1971, p. 5.

²⁶"House Gives Clerk Raise Despite Spending, Discrimination Charges," Des Moines Register, 13 January 1983, sec. A, p. 3.

Minnette Doderer regularly criticized the state's employment and compensation policies. When the Senate debated a collective bargaining policy for state employees in 1973, she wanted to include all legislative employees in it. Doderer said she wanted the Senate to stop treating them as servants, but she lost. The next year she criticized the eligibility rules for legislative employees' pay increases because they discriminated against that group compared to other state workers. She also objected to the discrimination that resulted in women who taught at the community colleges earning an average of \$1,500 a year less than men.²⁷

When Doderer returned to the House in 1981, she began to research and develop a plan that addressed women's salaries from a different direction. She introduced a resolution to consider comparable worth as the method for determining state employees' salaries, an approach that had been around since World War II. Its resurrection began in the 1970s as unions, women's groups, and the EEOC looked for the reasons why the wage gap between men and women workers continued despite equal pay for equal work laws. Gradually it became understood that sex segregation of jobs was part of the problem. Jobs in which women were predominant, regardless of the education, management, or responsibilities required by the jobs, paid less than those jobs where men predominated. Feminists looked to comparable worth as a method for evaluating jobs to change the systemic

²⁷"Bargaining Bill Faces Uncertain Fate in House," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 May 1973, sec A, p. 4; "Pay Formula is Criticized," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 30 April 1974, p. 4; "IHEA Claims Inequity in Area School Pay," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 26 April 1974, p. 8.

biases in pay.²⁸ Comparable worth uses a point system to evaluate the skill, effort, working conditions, and responsibility required in a given position.

From the beginning, Doderer carefully charted the course her proposal would follow. Gathering court decisions regarding comparable worth and other jurisdictions' plans and policies for it, she used her research to convince colleagues of its validity. Working with other women legislators, Doderer gathered the votes for a resolution to form an interim study committee in 1982. This group works in the months between sessions, conducting hearings and gathering information with the goal of making recommendations to the legislative body. Through the committee meetings, members learn more about the issue as specialists present information and as interest groups argue for their position. The interim study committee contributed to the information Doderer had gathered, and it provided committee members with other sources for the information. After the interim committee's work, Doderer had more allies for comparable worth.²⁹

Doderer also carefully mapped another part of her strategy. While she sold the idea on the basis of its fairness as an extension of the concepts of equal pay for equal work, she carefully distinguished between the two. She suggested that the state could become an example for other employers to follow in their pay plans. She also subtly hinted at the

²⁸Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989), pp. 230-231, 310.

²⁹"Branstad Names Task Force to Study Equal State Pay," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 February 1983, sec. A, p. 2.

potential threat of a lawsuit if the state did not act, pointing to court cases in other parts of the country. She used it as a carrot, urging colleagues to act to avoid the entanglements that would result should someone choose to take action against the state.

During the next session, Doderer and other women legislators asked the legislature to fund an independent study of the state's pay structure. From the beginning supporters believed that the study would show that jobs dominated by women paid less than those dominated by men, and they knew that the state could not afford to make the increases in one action. Jean Lloyd-Jones (Democrat, Iowa City) discussed the options: "It's politically not feasible to talk about cutting pay" for those positions identified as overcompensated. But she offered the possibility of withholding increases from positions that the study revealed as being overpaid.

Doderer was chair of the committee examining the issue, and she and other women legislators met with Governor Terry Branstad to ask for his support. Branstad agreed to look at the issue, and appointed a task force to study "equity in state employee pay scales." Known as the Task Force on Comparable Worth and Equal Pay, the group recommended that \$75,000 be made available to the Iowa Merit Employment Department to conduct a comparable worth study. Doderer did not believe that the governor and the legislature would compete over the issue, but she wanted an independent study, not one conducted by a state agency.³⁰

³⁰"Female Legislators Make Equal Pay Issue a Priority," Des Moines Register, 27 January 1983, sec. A, p. 3; "Branstad Names Task Force to Study Equal State Pay," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 February 1983, sec. A, p.

The House State Government Committee approved Doderer's bill for the study, which had an estimated cost of \$150,000. She told the committee that the speed at which the plan would be implemented would depend upon legislative action and: "It will come down to how much we can spend and how much we can afford in welfare costs because women can't afford to go to work for the state."³¹ The House approved spending \$150,000 for the study and established a state policy prohibiting wage discrimination on the basis of sex for work of comparable worth.³²

The Senate held the comparable worth bill for several weeks. Observers conjectured that the reasons for the delay involved Doderer and George Kinley (Democrat, Des Moines). The two had clashed over the distribution of power among Senate leaders in the 1970s and had created wounds that may not have healed. Others speculated that the Senate had stopped the bill for more contemporary reasons, citing Doderer's attempts to kill Kinley's pari-mutuel betting bill. After the Senate amended and approved the bill, a colleague asked Doderer: "Was the messenger who brought the bill from the Senate riding a horse?" She replied: "Yes, but only because a dog was too small."³³

2; "Unequal-pay Studies Asked," Des Moines Register, 24 February 1983, sec. A, p. 3; "State Task Force Urges 'Equal Pay' Study," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 24 February 1983, sec. A, p. 2.

³¹"House Panel Backs Study to see if Discrimination Affects State Wages," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 23 February 1983, sec. A, p. 2.

³²"\$150,000 Equal Pay Study OK'd," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 March 1983, sec. A, p. 5; "House OKs Comparable Pay Bill," Des Moines Register, 5 March 1983, sec. A, p. 2.

³³"'Mini' Liquor Store Legislation Sent to Branstad," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11 May 1983, sec. A, p. 4.

The comparable worth study revealed that women in state government earned about 12% less than men in comparable jobs. In addition, an average difference of 30% in pay existed between men and women, about one-third of which could be attributed to gender. Jobs dominated by women were an average of 6.6 pay grades lower than those dominated by men. Some of the difference could be ascribed to differences in the skill, effort, and responsibility required to perform the jobs, but 2 to 2½ grades of the difference related to the fact that men dominated the jobs. Governor Branstad recommended reducing the pay of some employees to pay for the increases due in some of the positions held by women. Doderer did not concur: "We have rejected that, not in a formal vote, but in discussion, because we think it's illegal and not fair. People who have been discriminated against do not get fairness and justice by having someone reduced to their level."³⁴

When the consultants finished the study, they projected that it would cost \$30 million to bring jobs to appropriate pay levels. Doderer believed that increasing state employees' salaries would raise private employees' wages because the state "helped set the market."³⁵ When confronted with the cost of comparable worth adjustments, the governor suggested ways to delay implementing the findings of the study. A court decision in Washington state became ammunition for Doderer's argument that Iowa must begin action quickly: "We're too far down the road to put it

³⁴"Survey Finds Bias on Pay," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 February 1984, sec. A, p. 3.

³⁵"\$30 Million Cost Seen to End State Pay Bias," Des Moines Register, 9 March 1984, sec. A, pp. 1, 7.

off. If we put it off now we'll be sued and then we'll be subject to back pay for two to three years," she explained.³⁶

Doderer pressed for \$10 million to begin implementing the study, but strong opposition came from a Johnson County colleague, Arthur Small (Democrat, Iowa City) who wanted the Iowa Merit Employment Division to be responsible for upgrading wages. Small claimed that his constituents did not accept Doderer's proposal, and he questioned the legislature's involvement in an area of government that more directly came under the executive branch. Doderer retorted: "Arthur Small doesn't understand comparable worth. Arthur Small didn't study this issue for six months as we have. If Merit Employment was so anxious to improve pay grades, why didn't they do it before we mandated it?...It is only when women would get their pay increased that anyone objects."³⁷

The legislature passed the \$10 million appropriation to begin implementing comparable worth and created a seven member oversight committee.³⁸ But obstacles continued to develop after the bill's passage. In 1985 some workers wanted to appeal the assigned value of their jobs and sought a process for that. Comparable worth increases became entangled with union negotiations, leading to results that Doderer opposed. She and others tried to find ways to separate comparable worth

³⁶"Workers Get Lesson on Comparable Worth," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 9 March 1983, sec. A, p. 11.

³⁷"As Senate Nears Close, Democrats Clash over Female Pay Issue," Des Moines Register, 18 April 1984, sec. A, p. 2.

³⁸"'Comparable Worth' Bill Wins Approval," Des Moines Register, 21 April 1984, sec. A, p. 2.

pay increases from bargained wages, but no satisfactory solution had been found when the legislature adjourned. The legislature established an appeals process and appropriated \$19 million to fund more increases, but the governor reduced that amount by \$2 million. In addition, a lawsuit filed by the Iowa Nurses' Association in 1986 further complicated the problems. In general, the pay issues after 1985 rested in the executive branch which acted as the labor negotiator and in the courts. The legislature had established the policy and appropriated the money to pay for it, the other problems were beyond its scope.³⁹

The comparable worth compensation plan attempted to address women's economic issues directly. With hopes that increasing wages in areas dominated by women in public employment would ripple into the private sector, women legislators grasped an opportunity to improve women's economic status. Private pay plans were beyond their reach, so legislators used the tools available to them, even though only a relatively few women in the state's labor force would receive direct benefits.

In addition to the policy change represented by comparable worth, Doderer's strategy and the legislative processes involved deserve attention. She incorporated the resources within the legislature to educate her colleagues on the topic and to enlarge the group of informed

³⁹"House Mulls Appeals on Comparable Worth," Des Moines Register, 5 April 1985, sec. A, p. 2; "House Votes Appeal System for Comparable Pay Disputes," Des Moines Register, 12 April 1985, sec. A, p. 2; "Legislature Enters its Final Week," Des Moines Register, 28 April 1985, sec. B, pp. 1, 6; "Group Sues Branstad over Pay Equity," Des Moines Register, 8 January 1986, sec. M, p. 1.

legislators. The interim study committee, other women legislators, and the House and Senate leadership learned the vocabulary, purposes, and philosophies of comparable worth as the concept progressed through the process. By 1984, when the time had arrived to implement the plan, the idea had been circulating in the legislature for over two years, and advocates in both chambers had worked on it in various capacities. The press had discussed it at length, adding to the idea's acceptance.

As the primary crusader for comparable worth, Doderer had an alliance with other women legislators, who brought their various talents and skills to the cause throughout the process. Lobbying House and Senate members, the governor, heads of state agencies, and others, identified the people they could convince to support the concept. Their labors on its behalf testify to their belief in the importance of women's economic interests. Unlike women who disassociated themselves from gender related issues or those who did not perceive them, these women aligned themselves on the side of other women, joining forces to fight for women's economic equity.

Another of the many issues women raised on behalf of other women was rape. Feminists in the 1970s explored many areas of women's lives, often assigning political significance to them. Susan Griffin and Susan Brownmiller in separate works developed the idea that rape constituted a violent act of dominance and was unrelated to sexual desire. Early in the decade, women formed rape crisis centers, organized hotlines, and in other

ways brought the public's attention to the crime.⁴⁰ Over the years legislators have made changes in Iowa's rape laws that intended to assist county attorneys in obtaining convictions and to encourage rape victims to report the crime.

Doderer credited the women's movement with bringing the problem before the public and with pushing for changes in rape laws. In 1974 Iowa was one of five states that required the prosecution to produce a corroborating witness in order to obtain a conviction, the only crime which had that requirement in Iowa.⁴¹ Doderer believed that removing the necessity for a witness would encourage more women to report rape attacks and press charges on the attackers. She argued that men had written the state's rape laws and that, in cases of rape, "women are guilty until proven innocent."⁴²

Working with Tom Riley (Republican, Cedar Rapids) in the Senate and Mary O'Halloran (Democrat, Cedar Falls) in the House, Doderer removed the necessity for corroborating evidence. Doderer also attempted to suspend the rules to consider an amendment to prohibit a woman's past sexual conduct more than a year before the attack from being used in a rape trial, but the lieutenant governor ruled the amendment out of order.⁴³

⁴⁰Winifred D. Wandersee, On the Move: American Woman in the 1970s (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988), pp: 91-95.

⁴¹"Doderer Vows to Remove Iowa Rape Law Inequities," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 3 March 1974, sec. B, p. 11.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³"Senate Strikes out Rape Corroboration," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 April 1974, sec. C, p. 2.

In the House O'Halloran said that the law requiring corroboration "not only is of questionable constitutionality, but indicates some inherent mistrust of the testimony of a woman in a rape trial." She argued that women often did not report rapes because they did not have corroborating testimony. O'Halloran believed that the time had arrived to have "women get a fair break in court."⁴⁴

As part of a massive rewrite of the state's criminal code in 1975, Doderer continued her campaign for changing the law regarding rape, convincing the Senate to prohibit judges from discriminating against a victim's testimony. She explained that judges often used a 300-year-old statement to discredit rape victims' accusations when they instructed juries that a charge of rape is "easy to make, difficult to prove, and more difficult to disprove." Doderer argued that the instructions, used only in rape cases, created a different standard for rape convictions than other crimes. Her campaign was successful.⁴⁵

As the House considered the bill the next year, two rape issues developed, marital rape and whether or not the victim had adequately resisted the attacker. Diane Brandt (Democrat, Cedar Falls) sponsored and passed an amendment that eliminated the requirement that a woman fight her attacker in order for the event to be considered rape. It also expanded

⁴⁴"Corroboration Rule Cut from Rape Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 May 1974, sec. C, p. 2.

⁴⁵"Get Tough Measures are Approved by Senate," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 27 February 1975, p. 4.

the definition of force in a rape to include threats of violence or future violence, surprise, and inappropriate medical treatment or examination.⁴⁶

Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Rapids) introduced an amendment changing the definition of sexual abuse. If force was used, if resistance was impossible, if one person was a minor, or if one person had a mental defect, the act would be sexual abuse. She included spouses in the definition. Lipsky told the House: "Women in general have been considered as chattel in ancient societies, first by their fathers and then by their husbands. Although that is not a modern idea, sexual abuse between husbands and wives follows that ancient concept." The amendment passed the House.⁴⁷

The bill returned to the Senate for its approval of the House amendments, where Doderer successfully argued for the provision regarding a woman's resistance to an attacker. Doderer told the assembly: "The only thing that more resistance would get her is more misery and she has plenty of that." Elizabeth Shaw (Republican, Davenport) also supported the change: "Sometimes it is better to talk an attacker out of it instead of actively resisting, because screaming and fighting could only intensify his maniacal intentions toward the victim."⁴⁸

⁴⁶"House Adopts Major Revision to Rape Law," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 March 1976, p. 3.

⁴⁷"Sexual Abuse Proposal Gets House Approval," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 March 1976, p. 4.

⁴⁸"Senate Rejects Need to Prove Rape Resisted," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 May 1976, p. 1.

The marital rape provision encountered more opposition. Gene Glenn (Democrat, Ottumwa) opposed it because he believed that it invited "the charge of rape in any incident of force, no matter how minimal."⁴⁹ Doderer asked the body to "give a wife the same protection as a woman who is not married," and won Senate approval. Before the Senate released the bill, however, it reconsidered the marital rape provision, and Doderer told the assembly: "I don't understand a law which allows a woman who is a prostitute to file a rape charge against a customer, where a woman can file a charge against a man she is living with without benefit of marriage, which will allow anyone to file a rape charge except a woman against her husband." Senator Eugene Hill (Democrat, Newton) argued against Doderer, saying: "Have you ever had a woman lie to you? They do you know. A lying, vindictive woman could send her husband to jail. It makes a mockery of our judicial system." Glenn, who had worked hard on the criminal code revision, felt so strongly against the Senate's retention of the marital rape provision, that he voted against final passage of the bill, explaining: "I will not vote to make sexual intercourse between husband and wife a criminal act." The amendment defining rape within a marriage as a crime passed, as did the bill, but the two chambers continued to disagree over other parts of it.⁵⁰

When the bill went to conference committee, that group changed the marital rape provision to allow the charge of sexual abuse only if there

⁴⁹"Senate Permits Abuse Charges by Spouses," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 6 May 1976, pp. 1, 3.

⁵⁰"Criminal Code," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 8 May 1976, p. 3.

were serious injury or if a weapon had been used.⁵¹ Glenn raised his voice against the physical force provision in the bill because: "Physical force is a frequent act of sexual intercourse in a husband and wife relationship. This amendment said nothing about a requirement that it be against the will....It troubles me because in my experience, both personal and otherwise, the very act of intercourse involves this application of physical force."⁵² In the final version, spouses could charge their marriage partners with sexual abuse if threats of violence were made or physical injury was inflicted.⁵³

A decade later, the House allowed third degree sexual abuse charges against a spouse, meaning that the victim did not have to sustain massive injuries or be threatened with a weapon in order for a rape to have been committed. The reported debate took place among men, with Michael Peterson (Democrat, Carroll) managing the bill. While no one accused women of being liars, as had occurred in 1976, some legislators expressed disbelief that rape could occur in marriage. The House approved, but the bill died in the Senate.⁵⁴

Three years later, James Riordan (Democrat, Waukee) successfully and easily gained Senate acceptance for a bill making sex against the will of

⁵¹"'No-knock', Massage Regulations Removed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 May 1976, p. 5.

⁵²"Sexual Abuse Issue Unresolved," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 May 1976, p. 4.

⁵³"'No-Knock,' Massage Regulations Removed," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 25 May 1976, p. 5.

⁵⁴"Marital Rape Bill is Passed in Iowa House," Des Moines Register, 19 March 1986, sec. A, pp. 1, 2.

one's spouse illegal (no threat of force involved) and marital rape a felony (threat or use of force involved). In the House, again with little debate, Ralph Rosenberg (Democrat, Ames) managed the bill and gained that chamber's approval.⁵⁵ Thirteen years after extended debate and almost twenty years after the first introduction of the proposal, the legislature easily passed a bill to make marital rape a crime. By the time Iowa included marital rape in the criminal code, thirty-four other states had acted. Doderer participated in the marital rape debates for years, but she had no explanation for the legislature's ultimate decision. She conjectured "that nobody wants to get up and argue for some male's right to rape his wife. For ten years, somebody always got up and argued the point. You know these things change finally."⁵⁶

The controversies surrounding various aspects of rape laws again expose the culture in which women legislators worked. As one legislator pointed out, a belief that women lied existed in society and provided the reason for the need to have a corroborating witness. The assumption that women could not be trusted to tell the truth also led to the warning that judges gave to juries and early resistance to permitting charges of rape against a spouse. That same attitude prompted legislators to accuse women of cunning and of filing rape charges before a divorce to gain a better settlement. These fundamentally malevolent views of women appear in other debates. For example, Berl Priebe (Democrat, Algona) told the Senate that

⁵⁵"Senate OKs Bill Outlawing Marital Rape," Des Moines Register, 4 April 1989, sec. A, p. 2; "Statehouse Briefing," Des Moines Register, 18 April 1989, sec. A, p. 2.

⁵⁶Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 May 1989.

12-year-old girls who fear rape needed to learn to "run faster."⁵⁷ These opinions help place women legislators' willingness to fight for such sensitive issues into the context of the environment.

Those women and men who worked to change Iowa's rape laws demonstrated a different perception of women than those that had prevailed in the past. They believed women have the same range of honesty and integrity as men. They argued for the position that rape constituted an act of violence, unrelated to sexual desire. Dismissing the excuse that the problem was a misunderstanding between two people, they argued that a significant difference existed between a victim and a consenting partner. They believed that a woman who submitted to the attack rather than risk her life fighting it could still charge that a crime had been committed against her and have a legitimate complaint. Joan Lipsky, who introduced one of the marital rape amendments remembered that: "I probably wouldn't have had the guts to do it as a newcomer. I had earned my spurs as it were, and I was a member of leadership."⁵⁸ She believed that her decade of experience in the House helped avoid some of the most demeaning aspects of the debate.

An issue far less emotional than rape involved health care delivery to low-income Iowans. People who did not have private insurance or financial resources to apply for their health care and who did not qualify

⁵⁷"'Terror of Rape Attack' Touches Senate," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 27 March 1978, p. 8.

⁵⁸Joan Lipsky, interview with author, 7 July 1989.

for federal programs had the option of applying for "state papers" for the State Indigent Patient Program. The legislature had created the program in 1915 to serve two purposes: to provide health care for low-income citizens and to provide training experiences for medical students at the University of Iowa Hospitals and Clinics (UIHC). The state appropriates funds for the program, which are allocated on the basis of specified priorities and on a quota system to counties. Persons meeting their county's standards apply for state papers and receive medical care at UIHC. A large percentage of the patients receiving treatment under the program are obstetrical patients and their newborns.⁵⁹

The statewide program offered services only in Iowa City, located in the eastern part of the state. UIHC provided transportation to patients, but for many pregnant women waiting in Iowa City for three weeks or more to deliver their babies, the separation from friends, family, and other sources of support left them feeling isolated and depressed. In the early 1980s, a group of women legislators began proposing a variety of plans to take the medical care paid by the indigent patient fund to the patients, instead of taking the patients to the care. Ways to decentralize the services included developing a medically needy program, setting up satellite clinics, and establishing training facilities at local and county hospitals. Administrators at UIHC rejected those ideas because

⁵⁹Josephine Gittler, "Hospital Cost Containment in Iowa: A Guide for State Public Policymakers," Iowa Law Review 69 no. 5 (July 1984): 1273.

they would diminish the patient base at the hospitals and reduce the teaching opportunities.⁶⁰

Several women had participated in developing the alternatives, along with men such as Charles Bruner (Democrat, Ames). Sue Mullins (Republican, Corwith), whose district was in northwest Iowa, far from Iowa City, argued for changing the program because of the distance her constituents had to travel to receive the services paid by the state. The bill she managed proposed making all services locally available by allowing county relief directors to charge the state for services and UIHC receiving reimbursements only for the services it provided. Mullins repeatedly stated that it only made sense to provide services locally, but UIHC officials claimed it would destroy their training programs.⁶¹

An important addition to the cause came with Jo Ann Zimmerman's (Democrat, Waukee) election to the House in 1982. A nurse and a health educator and activist, Zimmerman joined the fight on the side of decentralization. As a medical professional, Zimmerman countered the objections to decentralization raised by UIHC and argued for the economic and medical benefits of providing local services. When decentralizing the entire indigent patient program became a dead issue, Zimmerman and others worked to salvage part of the idea. Focusing on pregnant women, their obstetrical needs, and their newborns, they devised a plan to offer those services locally, with some exceptions. Women lawmakers crafted a plan in

⁶⁰"New Indigent Medical Care System Eyed," Des Moines Sunday Register, 16 March 1986, sec. B, pp. 1, 4.

⁶¹"Indigents Would get Health Care Nearer to Home under House Bill," Des Moines Register, 26 February 1986, sec. A, p. 2.

1986 that would better serve low income women and one that attracted enough votes for passage.⁶²

The quality of medical care provided at UIHC was not ever the issue in the debate. Testimony offered at a public hearing praised the care but also expressed the difficulties of being separated from loved ones during important and emotional events. Zimmerman, Mullins, and other legislators responded to the "emotional pleas" to find alternatives that would allow women to obtain the family support denied them by distance. They put those concerns above the needs of the teaching hospital, believing that women should not suffer in order for medical students to have patients.⁶³

By placing women's needs as a higher priority than medical training, women legislators demonstrated their rejection of the status quo and their belief in women's importance. In a culture that almost defies doctors and often holds women in low esteem, the choices these legislators made provide further illustration that women often take different priorities to the Statehouse than their male colleagues. The values these legislators propounded held individual women's needs above institutional ones.

The efforts to gain acknowledgement of women, comparable worth, and rape law reforms demonstrate some lawmakers' beliefs in women's existence, value, and integrity. They argued against the antipathy with which others viewed women, working to raise women's visibility, economic status, and credibility. These women knew that they exposed themselves to ridicule

⁶²Jo Ann Zimmerman, News Release, 25 April 1986, in author's possession, also News Release, 14 May 1986, in author's possession.

⁶³"New Indigent Medical Care System Eyed," Des Moines Sunday Register, 16 March 1986, sec. B, pp. 1, 4.

and scorn by raising the issues, but their convictions of the worthiness of the causes motivated them to act. By adding their values and experiences to debates, especially those concerning women, female legislators extended the scope of the debate, deepened it, and broadened its reach to include more facets of the population.

The attention given to some men's resistance to the proposals described here may conceal an important aspect of women's contributions. When the Iowa Secretary of Agriculture said that he had not deliberately excluded women, no reason exists to deny the truth of his statement. The incident does, however, point to the value of having women in influential and powerful positions because adding women to the equation offers the opportunity to consider policies from the standpoint of the whole society. The rape laws that Minnette Doderer criticized provide another example of men writing their experience into state policy, with the results that women's testimony was discredited until the legislature heard other sides of the problems and responded.

Evidence of the crucial nature of women's perspective comes from the number of proposals which male legislators found to be valid and supported with their votes. Had women's ideas stretched beyond the limits of reasonableness, men could have refused to vote for them and defeated them. While confrontations, objections, and rancorous debate surrounded the process in many instances, the importance of developing public policies with the whole society as part of the consideration received affirmation by the ways male and female legislators cast their votes. Iowa women legislators' contributions include presenting their colleagues with

issues, priorities, ideas, and arguments that had not previously been deliberated.

ABORTION

Abortion. For many Americans the word provokes visceral responses. Those who identify themselves as pro-life believe abortion is murder. For those who identify themselves as pro-choice, abortion creates the image of women suffering in back alleys from illegal and unsafe procedures that can result in physical damage to the mother and sometimes death. For those whose beliefs place them somewhere in the middle, it means another vicious battle that confronts the whole society with decisions that no one wants to make. On both sides of the abortion debate, citizens previously uninvolved in politics have become outspoken advocates of one position or the other.

Abortion has been an issue in Iowa politics since 1967. Through subsequent decades, the issue has determined the outcome of political races. On other occasions, it has been less visible. Even when the issue has been lingering in the background, it has influenced political careers. For one woman in particular, Minnette Doderer, the issue of legal abortions in Iowa has permeated almost every aspect of her political career. She did not begin the debate in Iowa, but she has continued it for parts of four decades. Other women legislators have expressed and championed views as diverse as those held by the public.

In 1967 John Ely (Democrat, Cedar Rapids) introduced a bill to change Iowa's abortion laws. At that time, Iowa law allowed abortions only to save the life of the mother. Ely's bill would have allowed abortions in the cases where continuing the pregnancy posed grave mental or physical

risks to the mother, the fetus had severe mental or physical defects, or in cases where the pregnancy had resulted from rape, incest, or other felonious intercourse. The Iowa Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, and a spokesman for Iowa Methodist Hospital in Des Moines supported Ely's bill.¹

Doctors and hospitals wanted the change because they had to refuse the procedure to women who faced health risks by continuing their pregnancies. Because the pregnant women probably would not die, the law required her to carry the fetus to term, regardless of other health implications. One physician explained that his support for the bill resulted from seeing the difficulties some women faced with problem pregnancies. Another physician described the process in which doctors openly consulted each other about performing abortions which did not meet the state standard of life of the mother, but then performed the procedure because they felt it justified.² Lawyers familiar with rape and incest cases understood that the offender might go to prison, but would eventually be released, while the victim would bear the evidence of the crime against her for the rest of her life. Doctors, hospitals, and lawyers struggled with the health and ethical issues involved with these pregnancies, sending women who sought their help back and forth to each other. But a pregnant woman had few options in the state: She could

¹"Abortion Bill Foes Absent," Des Moines Register, 28 April 1967, p. 15.

²Ibid.

continue the pregnancy or obtain an illegal abortion. If she was wealthy enough, she could seek an abortion outside the state or country.

Some conservative Iowa politicians in the 1960s and 1970s also wanted to change the abortion laws to make the procedure legal and more available. They saw abortions as a way to limit government spending for children who would need welfare programs for their support. That conservative position changed when the right-to-life movement became a powerful force within conservative coalitions.³ Pressure to legalize more reasons for abortions increased when Governor Robert D. Ray advocated changing Iowa's abortion law to "protect a mother's health, prevent the birth of a defective child or end a pregnancy caused by rape or incest" in his 1969 inaugural address.⁴ The Iowa Medical Society and the Iowa Council of Churches (comprised of twelve Protestant denominations) endorsed his proposal. The conditions had been accepted by other states, but some legislators expressed opposition to the health provision as too broad.⁵

The women in the legislature expressed varying levels of support for Ray's proposal. Minnette Doderer (Democrat, Iowa City) expressed the greatest support and a rationale that she consistently used: As a medical procedure, the decision to continue or to terminate the pregnancy belonged

³Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 June 1989.

⁴"Abortion Proposal Too Broad, Most Women Legislators Fear," Marshalltown Times-Republican, 18 January 1969, p. 1.

⁵Ibid.; "Rep. Lipsky Ask Abortion Law Delay," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 23 January 1969, p. 4; "Women Legislators' Abortion Law Views," Des Moines Tribune, 18 January 1969, p. 14.

with the woman and her physician. She compared it to an appendectomy, saying she did not need the General Assembly's permission for that operation. Other legislators approached the topic more cautiously. Elizabeth Shaw (Republican, Davenport) felt that reasons probably existed for abortions, but she did not want the decision made casually. Joan Lipsky (Republican, Cedar Rapids) believed that rape or a deformed fetus justified abortions, but questioned other reasons. Charlene Conklin (Republican, Waterloo) did not believe that an unwanted pregnancy justified an abortion. Elizabeth Miller (Republican, Marshalltown) wanted the laws eased because of the number of illegal abortions performed in the state. June Franklin (Democrat, Des Moines) supported changes for rape, incest, and a deformed fetus.⁶ The variety of opinions expressed by women legislators reflected the range that also existed among their male colleagues and the citizens at large.

Doderer took up the pro-choice standard in the Senate, beginning her career as the legislature's leader to change the state's law. She came to the issue almost by accident; a committee chair assigned her to the bill's subcommittee. She said she did not know how she felt about abortion but she did not believe the state should make the decision about whether or not a woman had to continue a pregnancy. The arguments against abortion formed her position for women making their own decisions. Despite some religious denominations' approval of the changes, Doderer identified the major opponents as religious groups, primarily the Roman Catholic Church.

⁶"Abortion Proposal Too Broad, Most Women Legislators Fear," Marshalltown Times-Republican, 18 January 1969, p. 1.

She argued that they espoused the position that the woman had sinned and must suffer for it by bearing the child.

The mother of two, Doderer had found childbearing a joy that should not be forced on women as punishment. In response to her stated position, Doderer received mail calling her a murderer and mail encouraging her to continue her crusade. Her daughter Kay, who served as her legislative secretary, destroyed the most malevolent of the letters before her mother saw them. Doderer was not alone in receiving mail: Other senators reported receiving more correspondence on abortion than on any other subject.⁷

Before the Senate debated the abortion bill, the chamber convened as a committee of the whole to allow proponents and opponents the opportunity to present their positions on it. In emotional presentations those on both sides of the issue laid out their views. An opponent equated abortion with execution and stated that allowing abortions would not solve poverty, social, or psychological problems.⁸ One of the bill's supporters, however, offended legislators with his attack on the Roman Catholic Church. His description of that denomination's position as

⁷"Her Battle on Law on Abortions," Des Moines Tribune, 17 March 1969, p. 18. While Doderer's papers are housed in a collection at the University of Iowa Libraries, the letters regarding abortion have been separated and are not available to researchers. Doderer explained that the stories included in the letters tell such personal stories that she wanted them reserved until the writers are deceased. "She Will Not Quit Fight," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 March 1969, pp. 1, 5; "Delay Action on Abortion Law Change," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 February 1969, p. 2.

⁸"Emotion High in Debate on Abortion Law," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 21 February 1969, pp. 1, 3.

"archaic, barbarian ecclesiastical law imposed by a tyrannical hierarchy" did not win votes. Instead, he was blamed for the bill's defeat.⁹

During debate, Joseph Coleman (Democrat, Clare) told the Senate that "under this bill we will put to death millions of children who will never have a chance." Many opponents focused their arguments on the mental health provision, claiming that it would allow women to obtain abortions for any reason. Doderer countered that assuming all women would get abortions did them an injustice, and she asked lawmakers to imagine themselves in the woman's position.¹⁰

After the bill's defeat in the Senate, Doderer pledged that abortion rights supporters would return to the legislature until women's demands for help had been answered. She also changed her position on the bill, no longer supporting the conditions in the Ray proposal. Instead she advocated total repeal of any limits on women's access to legal abortions. She continued to argue that abortion posed a medical problem not a political problem.¹¹

Charlene Conklin took a more visible role in the debate by introducing a bill that, like Doderer's position, would end state involvement in deciding limits on abortion. Conklin's only restriction

⁹"Defeat Abortion Bill; Revival Chances Slim," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 22 February 1969, pp. 1, 2.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹"Ties Abortion Bill Defeat to Remarks by Valbracht," Des Moines Tribune, 22 February 1969, pp. 1, 4; "Abolishing Abortion Law," Des Moines Register 20 November 1969, p. 16.

would be that a licensed physician perform the procedure.¹² The mother of five children and the wife of a physician, she had also come to believe that abortion should be treated like any other medical need, that the woman and her physician should make the decision, and that it was not a decision for the legislature to make. She wanted the changes to protect women seeking abortion from injury and death, and she hoped that the bill would end the practices of "quack abortionists." She pointed out that anyone, whether a physician or not, could perform abortions with the law then in effect. The only restriction was that the abortion be performed to save the life of the mother. She did not expect the legislature to debate the bill, because the anticipated lengthy and emotional debate did not fit in the leadership's plans for an early adjournment. In addition, the House leadership did not think that the bill would pass and did not want to spend the time debating a losing battle. Conklin acknowledged those problems but noted that there was always another session.¹³

The Senate Social Services Committee did hold a public hearing on Conklin's bill that year. One woman told the committee: "Do not fertilize Iowa with precious babies' bodies instead of good old manure." Supporters and opponents of Conklin's bill raised many of the issues raised in other forums: the tragedy of unwanted children and the sanctity of human life.¹⁴ Under the leadership and pressure of Senate Social

¹²"Abortion Reform," Des Moines Tribune, 27 January 1970, p. 8.

¹³"Abortion Should be Matter Between Woman, Physician," Council Bluffs Nonpareil, 15 February 1970, p. 1.

¹⁴"Pros and Cons Even at Abortion Law Hearing," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 3 April 1970, p. 8.

Services Committee Chairman Ernest Kosek (Republican, Cedar Rapids), Conklin's bill cleared the committee and was placed on the Senate debate calendar, but it progressed no further.¹⁵

While the abortion bill moved through the Senate, a related part of the abortion saga in Iowa developed. State Democratic Party Chairman Clif Larsen recruited Minnette Doderer to run for lieutenant governor, offering her the party's full support if she would run for the office. Unsure at first that she wanted to run, she finally relented and entered the race.¹⁶ Having been elected to a four-year term in the Iowa Senate in 1968, Doderer did not have to surrender her Senate seat to run for the office because she had two years remaining in her term. Doderer ran against incumbent Republican Roger Jepsen. Robert Fulton ran on the Democratic ticket for governor, opposing incumbent Republican Governor Robert D. Ray.

At that time the contests for governor and lieutenant governor were separate, not linked as they are now in a single ticket.

In a woefully underfinanced, underorganized campaign, Doderer faced two difficult issues: her sex and her position on abortion. The lead paragraph in one newspaper article stated: "Minnette Doderer says she likes to have men open doors for her and light her cigarette, but she's not about to run a powder puff political campaign just because she is the

¹⁵"Abortion Bill Action Told," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 April 1970, pp. 1, 3.

¹⁶Robert Krause, "The Fulton-Doderer Campaign in Eastern Iowa--A Think-piece," unpublished typescript, Minnette Doderer Collection, MsC 457, Box 8, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa.

first woman to ever seek the office of lieutenant governor of Iowa."¹⁷ The press, in one analyst's opinion, tried to make Doderer seem "more human" by describing her "short, shapely legs," and referring to her as a "blue-eyed blond."¹⁸ The obvious questions become: "More human than what? And how did she appear less human?" The descriptions do not seem to relate to her membership in the species, but her sexuality. That a talented politician could seek higher office while enclosed in a woman's body appears to have contradicted the stereotypes of women and of politicians in the perceptions of the press and public. She acknowledged the problems a woman faced gaining voter confidence, saying that some men had told her they would not vote for her because of her sex.¹⁹

Jepsen dismissed her as "a nice lady," but accused her of dirty politics when she used his voting record against him. She pointed to Jepsen's opposition to the 18-year-old vote, the open housing law, and the migratory labor bill that took children out of the fields during school hours. She pointed to the animosity between Jepsen and Ray and argued that it had resulted in poor legislation. Perhaps anticipating Fulton's loss in the general election, Doderer asserted that she could work with Ray as well as with Fulton and do it better than Jepsen, but she was

¹⁷"Doderer: No Powder Puff Campaign," Cedar Rapids Gazette, October 30, 1970, p. 7.

¹⁸Robert Krause, "The Fulton-Doderer Campaign in Eastern Iowa--A Think-piece," unpublished typescript, Minnette Doderer Collection, MsC 457, Box 8, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa.

¹⁹"Doderer: No Powder Puff Campaign," Cedar Rapids Gazette, October 30, 1970, p. 7.

careful to state her preference for working with Fulton.²⁰ She argued issues such as tax revision and economy in government.

Although abortion had been an issue in the legislature since Governor Robert Ray had included it in his inaugural speech, it became a one-sided issue in the lieutenant governor's race. Adamantly pro-choice, Doderer did not minimize the strength of her commitment to the issue during her campaign. Because she was so strongly identified with the issue, Jepsen did not have to debate it. He could let others raise the issue. For example, the Roman Catholic bishops in Iowa wrote a letter to their members, telling them to vote against any pro-choice candidates, specifically mentioning Doderer. Her public stand on abortion prompted antagonistic letters to newspaper editors and letters to her.²¹

Doderer's pro-choice position held center stage regardless of the other issues she raised. She emphasized her six years in the legislature and the experience that they added to her qualifications for lieutenant governor. Her lack of campaign funds and the Fulton campaign's resistance to coordinating strategies with her campaign contributed to Doderer's defeat. However, her gender and her pro-choice stand on abortion likely were more important in determining the outcome of the election. Her pro-choice position may have given citizens a reason to vote against her; however, to view Doderer's defeat as a referendum on abortion would be a distortion of the issue's relationship to the other factors in the race.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Robert Krause, "The Fulton-Doderer Campaign in Eastern Iowa--A Think-piece," unpublished typescript, Minnette Doderer Collection, MsC 457, Box 8, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa.

After losing the 1970 general election, Doderer continued the balance of her Senate term and her fight for expanded accessibility to abortions.

In the legislature, abortion rights advocates began using two new arguments. They pointed to a group of clergymen who identified legal sources for abortions out of the state and country. This referral service became a counterpoint to the moral issues raised by and the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church. In another area, supporters relied on a number of court decisions to augment their reasons for change. Courts had found unconstitutional abortion laws that allowed the procedure only to save the life of the mother. Wisconsin, Texas, and the District of Columbia all had laws similar to Iowa's, and all had been rejected by the courts, thereby leaving the states with no restrictions. Charlene Conklin argued that the similarity between the laws in those jurisdictions and Iowa's laws could lead to a court challenge with the probability that Iowa's law would also be declared unconstitutional. Iowa would be left with no limits on abortion.²²

The House Judiciary Committee approved an abortion bill in 1971 that had several provisions: allowing abortions only in the first twenty weeks of the pregnancy, except to save the life of the mother; requiring that abortions performed in the twelfth through twentieth weeks had to be performed in hospitals; requiring sixty days of residency; and prohibiting the advertising of abortion services. When the House debated the changes,

²²"Abortion Bill is Filed in Iowa Senate," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 28 January 1971, p. 17; "She'd Alter Abortion Law," Waterloo Daily Courier, 25 January 1971, p. 8; "Disagree on Ill. Ruling's Effect on Iowa Abortion Legislation," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 31 January 1971, sec. A, p. 8.

A. June Franklin (Democrat, Des Moines), an African-American woman, accomplished what few have done, she changed votes with her comments and defeated the bill. In her pleas against changing the abortion laws, Franklin raised racial, social, and economic issues. With passionate words, she declared that human life had never been a top priority in America but that property had; she pointed to the treatment of Native Americans and the enslavement and lynching of African Americans as evidence. She criticized the expenditures for sending men to the moon when hungry people lived in the country. She characterized as phony the arguments that changing the abortion law benefited African Americans and poor women, and she insisted that those groups were threatened by overzealous social workers who might force them to have abortions. With her powerful appeal, she convinced others to vote against the bill, and it was defeated. (See Appendix B.)²³

Lipsky and Hallie Sargisson (Democrat, Salix) also voted against the bill. Sonja Egenes (Republican, Story City), Lillian McElroy (Republican, Percival), Elizabeth Miller (Republican, Marshalltown), and Elizabeth Shaw (Republican, Davenport) supported it.²⁴ In a parliamentary move known as

²³"Liberalized Abortion Bill Approved by House Unit," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 3 February 1971, sec. A, p. 5; "Woman's Words Defeat Abortion Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 February 1971, pp. 1, 15. Franklin's perceptions of inherent racism in abortion debates has its roots in the racism of early birth control advocates. "Abortion has been associated with sterilization and racist population control and labeled a form of genocide," in Wendy Kaminer, A Fearful Freedom: Women's Flight from Equality (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1990), pp. 166-167.

²⁴"Woman's Words Defeat Abortion Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 February 1971, pp. 1, 15.

a double barrel, an opponent filed a successful motion to reconsider and to lay the bill on the table. The motion had the effect of killing the bill for the session, unless two-thirds of the House approved bringing it out for debate again.

In January 1973, the United States Supreme Court decided, in Roe v. Wade, that a right to privacy existed and that the right included women making their own choices between continuing and ending a pregnancy. The decision did not end the debate in Iowa or in the nation; in many ways it signaled the beginning of the real battles. Roe v. Wade rendered Iowa's statute unconstitutional, and the legislature turned its attention to writing a constitutional law on abortion.

Doderer, John Murray (Democrat, Ames), and George Milligan (Republican, Des Moines) worked for three weeks to develop a new state policy on early termination of pregnancies, allowing abortions during the first twenty-four weeks of the pregnancy. To everyone's surprise, Doderer voted against the bill, saying "This is just a bad bill. I think we ought to just let the Supreme Court ruling be in effect in the next year, see how it works and then put our own restrictions on abortion next session. We have the law on our side, so why get into a big squabble?" She insisted that leaving Iowa open for abortions was not her motive.²⁵ The bill died, leaving Iowa with no restrictions on abortions.

Finding themselves unable to convince the legislature to limit the conditions under which a woman could obtain the procedure, opponents tried

²⁵"Sen. Doderer Helps Delay Abortion Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 February 1973, p. 12.

other approaches. In 1975 the Senate passed a feticide amendment to a criminal code revision, which made it a crime to intentionally kill a fetus of twenty weeks or more that is aborted alive or to allow it to die if it shows signs of life. Doderer called it a return to "the dark ages" for women.²⁶ When the House took up the bill the next year, Julia Gentleman (Republican, Des Moines) attempted to remove the provision, arguing that the killing of any living person constituted murder, which the code covered. Willis Junker (Republican, Sioux City) argued successfully to keep the provision in the code. He told the House: "If we take it out, we provide for some snap decision on the part of a woman who reaches her third trimester and decides she does not want that child."²⁷ Third trimester abortions became illegal in Iowa.

In 1974 Iowans for Life had proposed and George Kinley (Democrat, Des Moines) had filed a bill to allow hospitals and medical personnel to refuse to perform abortions and to protect the welfare benefits of those who refused to undergo the procedure. Doderer protested that the bill would effectively end women's access to abortions in Iowa.²⁸ The next year senators passed a conscience clause bill to protect a nurse or doctor who refused to perform or assist in abortions; Doderer commented, "We have ordained a woman's body can be labeled a public utility and the

²⁶"Iowa Senate Crackdown on Feticide," Des Moines Tribune, 2 February 1975, pp. 1, 3.

²⁷"Sexual Abuse Proposal Gets House Approval," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 March 1976, p. 4.

²⁸"Senate Unit to Study Bill on Abortions," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 8 February 1974, p. 4; "Sen. Doderer Hits Abortion Proposal," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 18 March 1973, p. 4.

legislature is in the process of regulating that utility." She asked: "Where else can a person refuse to perform his job and get away with it? Why should the situation be different in a hospital than any other kind of employment?"²⁹

The House worked on the conscience clause bill in 1976. The Iowa Women's Political Caucus wanted to amend it by including a provision for saving the life of the mother and to create a liability if a hospital or its employees refused to help with the procedure. Julia Gentleman (Republican, Des Moines) offered the amendment in committee, but it lost. When the IWPC and Doderer huddled to develop strategy, the group decided it could not lobby on the amendment because the IWPC steering committee had not taken a position on it. Doderer demanded: "You mean we have a difference within the Women's Political Caucus on saving a woman's life? Because, if we do have a difference on that, how in the heck can we ask male legislators to put their jobs on the line to back us?"³⁰ When the House debated the exception to the conscience clause, Gentleman argued that "the lives of thousands of mothers are at stake," but the amendment lost and the bill passed that year.³¹

After a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions that allowed states to refuse public funding for abortions, legislators considered eliminating

²⁹"Senate Passes Abortion 'Conscience' Bill 42-5," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 30 April 1975, sec. C, p. 3.

³⁰"Women Legislators Seek Abortion Bill Change," Des Moines Register, 29 January 1975, sec. A, p. 3.

³¹"Iowa House Amends, Passes 'Conscience Clause' Abortion Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 6 February 1976, pp. 1, 3; "'Conscience' Bill Approved," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 5 March 1976, pp. 1, 3.

the practice in Iowa. Governor Robert Ray, however, wanted the state to continue paying for poor women's abortions.³² When the Senate debated the issue, Doderer asked: "The question is, do the 12-year-olds want children? To suggest that they should know better than to get pregnant is to ignore the problem. Of course they should."³³ The ignorance of some senators becomes apparent through their responses to the concern Doderer expressed. Elizabeth Miller (Republican, Marshalltown) asked: "Shouldn't poor women have the same right as women of means? I can't understand this--you talk here all the time of helping the poor. Especially you Democrats, you're known for that [and] you don't want to help them."³⁴ The effort to maintain Medicaid abortion funding lost. The legislature decided to limit Medicaid funded abortions to those occurring under the rape, incest, and the life of the mother umbrella.³⁵

The successful campaigns for the feticide provision, the conscience clause, and the restriction of Medicaid funding for poor women limited access to abortions. Women who could pay for the procedure and could afford to travel became the group that still had the right to decide their own futures. Without making the procedure illegal, the legislature had effectively narrowed the classes of women who could exercise the right to

³²"Ray: State is Obligated in Abortions for Poor," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 12 January 1978, p. 12.

³³"Senate Votes End to Medicaid Abortions," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 March 1978, p. 8.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵"'String' added to Social Services Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 3 March 1978, p. 8.

choice established in Roe v. Wade. The pro-life movement had not achieved its goal of eliminating the procedure as a legal medical option because the Supreme Court decision had placed that out of reach. But the pro-lifers had restricted accessibility and demonstrated their power and influence.

In the 1978 election cycle, the pro-life movement again demonstrated its organizational ability and strength. That year Doderer decided to "move up or move out" of the legislature. She announced her candidacy for lieutenant governor on January 6, 1978, the same position she had sought eight years earlier. The first Democratic candidate to announce for the position, she anticipated that George Kinley (Democrat, Des Moines), another member of the Senate, would also run in the primary election. On the day she announced her candidacy, questions about her gender began, but she dismissed them as unimportant and turned attention to her experience and record. She cited her name recognition and her legislative record as benefits for her campaign, quoting people who said they did not always agree with her but appreciated her candor.³⁶

Doderer had reason to think she could win the race. In a statewide poll conducted by her campaign in November and December, 1977, over half of those polled recognized her name, said they would vote for a woman for statewide office, had a positive attitude toward her position on women's rights, and said they would support her for statewide office. On the other hand, only 34% had a positive attitude toward her position on

³⁶"Sen. Doderer First Democratic Candidate for Post of Lt. Gov.," Newton Daily News, 6 January 1978, p. 1; "Doderer Sets Campaign for Lieutenant Governor," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 6 January 1978, p. 5.

abortion, and 47% had a negative attitude. In a straw poll conducted by a newspaper at the May Democratic district conventions, Doderer won with a 3-2 victory.³⁷

In February George Kinley, with whom Doderer had fought a public battle over power in the Senate, announced that he would not be a candidate in the primary race to be the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor. But in March, Senator William Palmer (Democrat, Des Moines) announced his candidacy for the post of lieutenant governor, his second try for the position, and he became Doderer's opponent in the primary.³⁸ Doderer felt that Kinley had encouraged Palmer to run: "It was the business of, I've got to get somebody to give Doderer trouble because I'd given them trouble."³⁹

Doderer based her campaign on her lengthy legislative record, her knowledge of the legislature and its process, and on establishing a public information office. She argued: "I'm running on my record as is everyone here. But I have more legislation on my record than anyone running. I'm running on the basis of 15 years' experience--that I'm trained for the

³⁷"Poll Results," Minnette Doderer Collection, MsC 457, Box 8, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa; "Iowa Democrats Ponder their Future," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 14 May 1978, p. 1.

³⁸"Kinley Latest in List of Political Pullouts," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 20 February 1978, p. 17; "Palmer in Demo Race for Lieutenant Governor," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 9 March 1978, p. 3.

³⁹Minnette Doderer, interview with author, 27 June 1989.

job, that I know how the system works, how it ought to work and that I can make it work better."⁴⁰

The real campaign, though, focused on Doderer's pro-choice position on abortion. She argued that "to be pro-abortion is to be pro-car wreck, and who would want that?"⁴¹ She continued to explain that a U.S. Supreme Court decision had made abortions legal and that poor women should have the same access to the medical procedure as women who could pay for them. Her opponent, William Palmer, clearly stated his opposition to women's choice regarding terminating a pregnancy. In mid-May, Doderer had the clear support of a majority of active Democrats in a straw poll of eastern Iowans, but the efforts of active anti-abortionists defeated her.

The Pro-Life Action Council, chaired by Carolyn Thompson, identified 15,000 households with at least one voter whose vote would be cast solely on the candidates' positions on abortion. The council planned a mailing to the households identifying the pro-life candidates and urging support for them.⁴² A Dubuque woman, Paula Zwack, also organized a campaign

⁴⁰A list of the areas in which Doderer worked before her 1978 campaign includes: collective bargaining for public employees, deferred compensation authority and improvement in fringe benefits for public employees, child abuse, rape, benefits for the elderly, alcoholism treatment, community corrections, marriage laws, inheritance laws, reapportionment, equal rights, government reorganization, campaign finance and disclosure, childhood disease immunization, changes in Aid to Dependent Children, child health, and health insurance. "Second Spot Dull, but it has Attractions," Des Moines Sunday Register, 28 May 1978, sec. A, p. 4; "Doderer Plans to 'Move up or out.'" Cedar Rapids Gazette 30 April 1978, sec. A, p. 16.

⁴¹"Second Spot Dull, but it has Attractions," Des Moines Sunday Register, 28 May 1978, sec. A, p. 4.

⁴²"Pro Life Group Expects Big Impact on Election," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 1 June 1978, sec. A, p. 12.

against Doderer on the basis of her pro-choice stand. Zwack and her colleagues distributed 1,500 leaflets which said: "The unborn cannot speak for themselves but you can speak for them--with your ballot in the June 6th primary." The leaflet further urged voters to support William Palmer (Democrat) or Terry Branstad (Republican) for lieutenant governor and Roger Jepsen (Republican) for United States Senator. All three of the pro-life candidates won their primaries. In Branstad's and Jepsen's races, other factors likely contributed to their success, but in the Doderer-Palmer race for the Democratic slot for lieutenant governor, it was clearly the pro-life forces that defeated Doderer.

Doderer's Dubuque County campaign coordinator said: "They came up in the last week and they killed her [Doderer]," adding that some voters changed their registration just to be able to vote against Doderer. Doderer lost the race with 50,049 votes to Palmer's 52,878.⁴³ Doderer acknowledged the power of the pro-life effort, saying: "It was the right-to-lifers. They won every race they were in. I was the number one enemy and their people won." She told a reporter that: "I'm delighted to be out so I don't have to say what it's like to be a woman in politics anymore."⁴⁴

After Doderer's defeat, several women, most of them members of the Iowa Women's Political Caucus, urged Doderer to consider running in the general election as an independent. Unidentified supporters, unhappy with

⁴³"Dubuque Housewife Fells Doderer," Dubuque Telegraph Herald, 11 June 1978, sec. A., p. 1.

⁴⁴"Doderer Blames Anti-abortionists for Loss," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 7 June 1978, sec. A, p. 14.

both the Democratic and Republican candidates for lieutenant governor, solicited \$10,000 in campaign pledges to entice Doderer to run again. She responded by telling them if they attracted \$50,000 in pledges, she would consider the race, but she did not think she could win the general election, having recently lost the primary. Doderer did not encourage the plan and nothing came of it.⁴⁵ The effort indicates the strong support Doderer had from feminists in the state and their frustration. After years of increasing women's prominence and power, Doderer's defeat was perceived as a loss for women's political advancement in the state. In many ways, the campaign's outcome symbolized the changing of the guard for women: from increasing feminist strength to increasing conservative power.

In the 1978 general election, abortion influenced the race for United States senator. Pro-choice incumbent Democrat Dick Clark lost to anti-abortion Republican Roger Jepsen in the Senate race. State Democratic Party chairman Ed Campbell felt that Clark lost because of abortion, as did Carolyn Thompson who headed the Pro-Life Action Council.⁴⁶ Clark's defeat reinforces the appraisal that it was Doderer's abortion stand that had helped defeat her. While her gender influenced voters' decisions, the overriding factor was abortion.

In 1979 pro-life supporters wanted the Iowa legislature to send a request to Congress for a pro-life amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In

⁴⁵"Doderer Cool to Independent Bid for Office," Des Moines Register, 26 July 1978, sec. A, p. 5.

⁴⁶"Abortion Issue--Most Agree it was a Factor in Senate Race," Des Moines Register, 13 November 1978, sec. A, p. 7.

light of their successes during the 1978 primary and general elections, they had reason to believe that their priorities would receive favorable attention from the legislature. Instead, Speaker of the House Floyd Millen assigned the resolution to the Human Resources Committee, chaired by Betty Jean Clark (Republican, Rockwell), a pro-choice leader in the House. She used her prerogative as committee chair to assign the bill to a burial committee of three pro-choice legislators. The resolution could have gone to the Judiciary Committee, chaired by Nancy Shimanek (Republican, Monticello) who likely would have assigned the resolution to a more favorable subcommittee. Observers believed Millen's decision indicated that he did not want abortion debated.⁴⁷

During the next session, pro-life advocates began to work another opportunity to restrict abortion funding in the state. By then, Doderer had been reelected to the House and was prepared to fight them. Between her stints in the legislature, Doderer worked for a computer software company and taught college classes at Iowa State University and at Stephens College in Missouri. When she had surrendered her Senate seat to run for lieutenant governor, she intended to leave politics if she lost the race. Several circumstances, including her employer's decision to move the company out of state and an open House seat, contributed to her decision to re-enter the political arena in 1980.

In her first year back in the House the legislature took up the issue of state funding for abortions at the University of Iowa Hospitals and

⁴⁷"Anti-Abortionists Dealt Legislative Surprise," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 31 March 1979, sec. A, p. 5.

Clinics (UIHC). Since the early 1900s, Iowa has funded a state indigent patient program at the University of Iowa. The program serves two purposes. First, it provides medical care for people who cannot afford to pay and who do not qualify for programs such as Medicaid. Each county in the state receives an allotment from which it can draw. Based upon state standards and processes it can send its residents to UIHC for medical care. The program serves a second purpose by providing patients for training medical students at the medical school. In 1981 legislators considered whether or not the state indigent patient fund could continue to be used for abortions performed at the Early Termination of Pregnancy (ETP) Clinic at UIHC.⁴⁸

The Senate had approved a proposal to limit indigent patient fund use to save the life of the mother and to prohibit the use of state funds to support the ETP clinic as part of a multi-faceted appropriations bill. In a series of dramatic events, the final outcome took shape as the House debated the bill. The House had begun work on the appropriations bill when it adjourned for lunch. While the House usually resumed work reasonably close to the appointed time, it usually began a few minutes late. On this day, however, the Speaker gaveled the House back into its afternoon session promptly, even though not all of the members had returned. Doderer's amendment to strike the Senate restrictions came up as the first business of the afternoon. With only a few minutes of debate, the House passed it 46-42. Enough of the amendment's supporters

⁴⁸"Senate Backtracks on U of I Abortions," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 21 May 1981, sec. A, p. 1.

had returned to vote for it, while too few had returned to engage the House in a more comprehensive debate and defeat it.⁴⁹

The House went on to consider other amendments to the bill, but returned to abortion when Douglas Smalley (Republican, Des Moines) brought up his amendment to allow state funds to be used only in cases where the woman's life was endangered, the fetus was deformed, or the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest. Smalley believed he offered a compromise, but others felt that the House had already decided on the issue. Some like Doderer pleaded with House colleagues to resist the amendment and not send poor women "back to butchers." She begged: "Don't, don't make this mistake today."⁵⁰ Jean Lloyd-Jones argued that poor women would abort themselves and risk their chances for further pregnancies.⁵¹ After the House limited abortions at the ETP Clinic to rape, incest, life of the mother, or a deformed or retarded fetus, Doderer accused her opponents of being against women, adding "they do not like women generally."⁵² A few days later, Doderer attempted to get the Medicaid funding for abortions expanded to include a list of diseases such as diabetes, cancer, sickle

⁴⁹"House Modifies Abortion Funds Ban," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 May 1981, sec. A, pp. 1, 2; "Iowa House Reverses Abortion Vote," Des Moines Register, 16 May 1981, sec. A, pp. 1, 3.

⁵⁰"House Modifies Abortion Funds Ban," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 May 1981, sec. A, p. 1.

⁵¹"Iowa House Reverses Abortion Vote," Des Moines Register, 16 May 1981, sec. A, pp. 1, 3.

⁵²"House Modifies Abortion Funds Ban," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 16 May 1981, sec. A, p. 1.

cell anemia, renal disease, and others, but the House rejected the attempt.⁵³

In the years since, abortion opponents have made other proposals to create obstacles for women seeking to end their pregnancies. Among them are parental notification and statistical reporting. Parental notification requires women under 18 years of age to obtain a signed statement from their parents or guardians acknowledging that they know their daughter or dependent intends to obtain an abortion. Statistical reporting requires physicians and facilities performing abortions to collect data and submit it to the state. Doderer accused proponents of statistical reporting of wanting to "stamp the woman with a scarlet letter. A woman has 'sinned' and we want a report on it."⁵⁴ The Iowa General Assembly has repeatedly rejected these proposals.

Some legislators have speculated that parental notification and statistical reporting have adequate appeal to win approval. During House Speaker Don Avenson's (Democrat, Oelwein) eight years (1983-1990) in that position, he consistently buried the bills in unfriendly committees. Bob Arnould (Democrat, Davenport), who followed Avenson in the Speaker's chair

⁵³"House Won't Relax Limitations on Medicaid Abortion Funding," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 19 May 1981, sec. A, p. 9. In 1991, all states and the District of Columbia provided public funds to save the life of the mother; twenty states for rape or incest, fifteen for fetal deformity; and twelve states provided public funds for abortions in all or most circumstances. National Abortion Rights Action League, "Who Decides? A State-by-State Review of Abortion Rights," NARAL Foundation, Third Edition, January, 1992, p. 148.

⁵⁴"Legislative Committee Kills Abortion Reporting Bill," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 2 March 1982, sec. A, p. 3; "House Rejects Plan to Collect Abortion Data," Des Moines Register, 24 February 1990, sec. A, pp. 1, 3.

(1991-), provided the same service for his pro-choice colleagues. Without their adamant objections to new obstacles to the procedure, the chances for adoption would have been significantly increased.

Keeping statistical reporting and parental notification out of the Code of Iowa have been the only identified victories of the pro-choice movement in the state. Efforts to change the state's abortion policy before Roe v. Wade in 1973 failed despite determined and organized struggles to allow women greater access to the medical procedure. Even Governor Robert Ray, a moderate Republican who had great and long-lasting appeal to voters, could not influence enough legislators to change the policy or to maintain full Medicaid funding. Moderate Protestant denominations also wanted the changes, but did not enter the battles with the vigor and resoluteness displayed by the Roman Catholic Church whose priests read letters from pulpits across the state telling believers how to vote. The zeal and the fervor demonstrated by the pro-life movement has not been matched by those who believe in choice.

Since Roe v. Wade, pro-life advocates have won several significant battles in Iowa. The conscience clause, the feticide provision, and limits on Medicaid and indigent funding for abortions have limited women's access to abortions. Attempts to expand the reasons for allowing poor women to obtain abortions paid by these tax-supported plans have failed. Those limitations quickly followed U.S. Supreme Court decisions that permitted them.

The Court, however, has also accepted parental notification and statistical reporting as constitutional limits on abortion. While Avenson

and Arnould used their power to halt the progress of those concepts, legislators have other tools available to them which could be used to promote measures the Speaker opposed. Two possibilities could explain the legislature's resistance to the changes. Most legislators dislike debating the issue of abortion in any form. On this emotional issue, anger quickly rises to the top in heated exchanges that accompany abortion debates. In addition, moderate legislators who are not crusaders on either side of the issue may be satisfied with the status quo. The limits already established may have contented this center group as being fair and representing public wishes, and they see no reason to create additional requirements.

The twenty-five year abortion debate, however, has left neither side pleased with the results. Those in the right-to-life movement continue to want increased restrictions until the procedure becomes illegal. Those in the pro-choice arena seek to defend the status quo, despite significant losses in the past.

LIFE AFTER THE LEGISLATURE

Women's reasons for leaving the legislature varied as much as their reasons for becoming candidates. The paths they followed after their retirements also took as many different routes as those that had led them to the General Assembly. The diversity that characterizes women as candidates and legislators continues to appear in their lives after their legislative terms.

Some women lost their bids for re-election, and a very few attempted to return in later years. Reapportionment accounted for some of the defeats, changing political climates caused others, and unpopular voting records denied reelection to still others. In general, the reasons incumbent women lost their seats appear to be similar to those that defeated men.

A few women resigned from their seats to pursue other political interests. Edna Lawrence became an Ottumwa city commissioner; Elizabeth Shaw became a county attorney; Mary O'Halloran was appointed to an administrative position in the United States Department of Energy; and Nancy Shimanek joined Governor Robert Ray's staff. For Lawrence and Shaw some of the appeal of their new positions came from working close to home. O'Halloran wanted the opportunity to influence energy policy on regional and national levels. Shimanek was later to be appointed to the utilities division of the Iowa Commerce Commission, and she saw possibilities to use her legal and political skills in new ways. Other women did not resign from their seats to take other political offices, but sought them after

they had left the legislature. Hallie Sargisson became her county's treasurer in 1975, a position which she held for sixteen years. Joyce Lonergan also assumed a county position as recorder. For these women, legislative service led to other political pursuits. Other women remained active in policy making through appointments to state boards and commissions.

Women have also sought other political offices as a result of their legislative careers, some for statewide positions, others for congressional seats. The number of Iowa women pursuing statewide offices has not been great, but the history of such candidacies stretches back to the 1920s. Before women could serve in the assembly, May E. Francis won the statewide office of Superintendent of Public Schools, a position she occupied for two terms from 1923-1926. Agnes Samuelson defeated Francis in the Republican primary, went on to win the general election, and held the position for twelve years. Jessie M. Parker followed in the same office, serving from 1939-1955. By the end of Parker's term, the office had become an appointive position.¹

Women have also won elections as Secretary of State, beginning with Ola Babcock Miller's election in 1932. Miller held the position until her death in 1937. Mary Jane Odell received an appointment to the office in 1980, and she then campaigned for it and won it in the 1982 general election. The only woman to win her party's nomination for governor,

¹Richard N. Smith, Development of the Iowa Department of Public Instruction, 1900-1965 (Des Moines: Department of Public Instruction, 1969), pp. 18-22; David W. Jordan, "Those Formidable Feminists: Iowa's Early Women Vote-getters," The Iowan, 30, no. 2 (December 1982): 46-49.

Roxanne Conlin ran unsuccessfully on the Democratic ticket. The only other woman to win a statewide office without first serving in the legislature is Bonnie Campbell who became Attorney General in the 1990 general election.

Three women have moved from the legislature to statewide offices. Elaine Baxter won her race for Secretary of State in 1986 and again in 1990. Governor Terry Branstad recruited Joan Lipsky from her law practice to run in the 1986 primary for lieutenant governor. Lipsky won the primary, but lost in the general election to another former legislator, Jo Ann Zimmerman. As noted earlier, Minnette Doderer made two unsuccessful attempts for the office in the 1970s. Zimmerman entered the 1990 gubernatorial primary but, after negotiations with Don Avenson, she became his running mate instead, he for governor, she for lieutenant governor. The Avenson-Zimmerman ticket lost. Another male-female ticket won that year. Governor Terry Branstad recruited Joy Corning, who had served six years in the Iowa Senate, to be his running mate.

Women have made a few bids for congressional seats, but none have succeeded. June Fickel ran for the House of Representatives on the Democratic ticket in 1930. Thirty years passed before another woman obtained a place on either the Democratic or Republican tickets. Republican Sonja Egenes ran for but failed to win a central Iowa congressional seat in 1960. A decade later, Egenes won a seat in the Iowa House, where she served for twelve years. Another twenty years passed before Lynn Cutler ran for congress in 1980 and again in 1982. Women with legislative backgrounds, Carolyn Pendray, Charlene Conklin, Joan Lipsky,

and Julia Gentleman all considered and rejected candidacies for congressional seats.²

The 1992 congressional races have two Iowa women included in the roster of candidates. Secretary of State Elaine Baxter is running for the House of Representatives; State Senator Jean Lloyd-Jones is challenging incumbent Senator Charles Grassley. Iowa thus has an opportunity to send its first woman to join its congressional delegation.

Vermont Governor Madeline Kunin told a 1985 conference of women legislators that she hoped the increasing number of women in local and state elective offices would create a pool of candidates for higher office. Of the nine women who have held statewide offices in Iowa's history, three held legislative seats prior to winning higher offices, and all three won in the 1986 and 1990 general elections. The number of women seeking and winning statewide positions or congressional seats remains so small that trends in women's willingness to become candidates or the public's willingness to vote for them remain unclear, but successes in the 1992 congressional races could contribute to the creation of a pattern.³

Most of Iowa's women legislators have not chosen to remain in public life but have returned to private endeavors. Helen Crabb became the state

²"Mrs. Fickel of Hastings Hurt," Des Moines Register, 23 October 1930, p. 2; "Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 13 January 1974, sec. B, p. 4; "Political Notes by Frank Nye," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 4 March 1974, p. 7; "Political Notes by Ken Sullivan," Cedar Rapids Gazette, 17 January 1982, sec. A, p. 16.

³Madeline Kunin, "Keynote Address," in "Report from a Conference: Women in Legislative Leadership, November 14-17, 1985," Center for the American Woman in Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers State University of New Jersey.

president of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs; Opal Miller became involved in mission work for her church; and Betty Jean Clark completed the work to become a Methodist lay minister. Many of the women returned to private employment or continued their professional lives.

After leaving the legislature, a few women continued the friendships they had made while there. Katherine Zastrow and Percie Van Alstine traveled together and stayed in touch with the other women who had served with them. But few of this minority of the elite ever met each other. Minnette Doderer worked with most of the women who served, but hers is the exceptional experience. Sue Mullins knew Percie Van Alstine from work in the Republican Party, but again that is an exception. Most of the women did not know their predecessors. During the oral history interviews, narrators regularly asked about the other women with whom they had served, but few expressed a sense of continuity between themselves and the women who served before or after them or a sense of belonging to an exclusive group.

Indeed, they tend not to think of themselves as elites or members of an exclusive group. They describe themselves as political accidents or as people who worked hard and had good friends who diligently worked on for them. Their desire to be considered as legislators without adjectives identifying their gender camouflaged the other reality of their distinctiveness. Some women acknowledged that they knew few women had served, but reacted in surprise when they heard the total number who had served, or the number who had served before them, because the numbers are so small.

Women have taken pride in serving in the Iowa General Assembly, to have been among those making state policy. They have taken pleasure in the ceremonies and in working in the body. They also regularly expressed their gratitude for the opportunity.

CONCLUSION

Woven within the stories of women legislators' diversity, experiences, and contributions is another aspect that deserves more explicit consideration than it has received. The roles that women have played in Iowa's political life have changed in this century. When women and men challenged the status quo and obtained voting privileges and later approved the constitutional amendment to allow women to serve in the legislature, they began an initiative that continues today as women seek greater influence in developing the state's policies. Two women's political careers significantly opened new avenues of legislative action for others of their gender.

Like the trailblazing folk heroes who opened paths for pioneers to follow, Carolyn Pendray and Minnette Doderer entered new territory for other women in the Iowa General Assembly. Though they served in different decades, both women changed the legislature's culture and its perceptions of women's roles within it. In the 1920s, women's accepted place was in the home but Pendray made a place for herself in the Iowa House of Representatives. Decades later feminists in the 1970s asserted that women's place was in the House and in the Senate where Doderer helped redefine women's roles after they were in the legislature.

The January day in 1929 that Carolyn Pendray entered the Iowa House of Representatives as an elected member of the body ended an era. For over eighty years men had held every seat in the chamber, but the exclusive men's club was integrated when the Chief Clerk of the House

swore her into office. Pendray demonstrated that women could win election to the legislature, could participate in the debate, and could sponsor and pass legislation. After her election, Pendray rejected attempts to emphasize her gender, but in a 1957 interview she told a reporter: "I'm proud to have been the first woman in the state legislature, and I have a right to be."¹ After the constitutional barrier to women's service had been eliminated, she had blazed the trail which other women could follow.

Research has not revealed whether or not the women who followed Pendray in the legislature service believed that her election or service made any difference in their candidacies or legislative experiences. A clear difference can be seen in the amount of newspaper coverage given Pendray as the first woman and those elected after her. Pendray's hometown newspaper and the Des Moines newspapers covered her first day in the chamber, interviewed her husband, and questioned what changes would be required in the chamber with her entrance into it. Women elected after Pendray did not receive the same amount of attention from either their hometown papers or the Des Moines papers either in feature or news articles.²

¹"First Woman Legislator Discusses Public Career," Burlington Hawk-eye Gazette, 20 February 1957, p. 13.

²Some of the differences in the number of local newspaper stories written about Pendray compared to those written about other early women in the legislature could be attributed to other causes. For example, Jackson County had two newspapers, each allied with one of the two major parties with each reporting their party's activities. In addition, the county's newspapers both covered party activities. Other county newspapers did not cover local events as extensively and did not report on any candidates or politicians with any regularity.

In addition to becoming the first woman who served in the Iowa House of Representatives, Pendray was also the first woman in the Iowa Senate, to pass a bill, to preside over the Senate, or to chair a committee. In many ways, these accomplishments became the boundaries for women's activities in the legislature. It would be more than thirty years before another woman would match Pendray's tenure, would serve in both chambers, or would open new positions to women in the legislature.

Minnette Doderer was that woman. Doderer opened the doors to leadership positions for other women, continually asserting her rights to be among the decision makers in the legislature. She became the first woman elected to a leadership position in either party or either chamber and the first to be elected Senate President Pro Tempore. In the sessions after her election to an assistant leadership position, other women followed and only a few sessions have been without women in leadership positions since Doderer's success in 1967. Doderer's decision to seek the position and to lobby her colleagues for it, her ability to attract the necessary votes, and her commitment to fulfilling the responsibilities associated with it created new possibilities for other women.

Doderer's ability to challenge the legislative culture's seeming attempts to limit women's activities and her ability to survive the challenges whether she won or lost also changed the environment. Other women sometimes joined her and sometimes resented her desire to change the environment, believing it made their relationships with their colleagues more difficult, but they generally seemed to respect her attempts. The comments surrounding Doderer's battle to become Senate President Pro

Tempore and her public responses to the Advertising Club's rescission of their invitation to the Gridiron Dinner provide examples of her female colleagues' responses to her attempts to become a part of the legislature's club.

Some of the evidence for these assertions comes from newspaper accounts of the events and some of it comes from the women legislators themselves who assert that Doderer made a difference in their legislative careers. Some explained that they could not have done the things Doderer did but that her actions opened doors for them. Even women who served before Doderer have pointed to her as a leader and as one who made a difference in the culture.

Several factors contribute to Doderer's influence on the legislature and state policies. Her legislative longevity, twenty-six years at this writing, is one factor. Through those years, the legislature has rewritten, amended, or implemented almost the entire Code of Iowa. Her knowledge of state laws, administrative rules, and the systems of state government has grown through the decades giving her the benefit of witnessing the growth and development of state government. With her background knowledge of the history of legislation she often becomes a reference source for other legislators. In addition to her understanding of state government she has developed sophisticated technical skills in the legislative process that give her the ability to use the legislature's rules and procedures to her advantage.

Doderer's personal attributes have also contributed to her influence. She has brought commitment, the willingness to work hard, and tenacity to

her legislative work. She has not taken rebuffs as conclusive, choosing instead to try different approaches, methods, and arguments to obtain her goals.

Factors other than Doderer's influence also have helped change the legislature's environment. The feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s raised other women's awareness of issues that affected them in ways they perceived to be disadvantageous to them. For example, Doderer frequently had the support of feminist groups in the state for her attempts to change policies. She also received the approval and support of other women legislators in her criticisms of the Advertising Club and in her challenge to the Senate leadership when she sought to maintain the power of the Senate President Pro Tempore.

While Doderer was often in the vanguard of change, her political career generally mirrors changes in society and in the legislature. Increasing numbers of women ran for and won seats in the legislature and added their voices in support of the issues Doderer raised. Some women found their own causes, took up the standard, questioned the status quo, found it lacking, and developed their own leadership and legislative skills.

Just as Pendray's successful candidacy and her legislative career introduced legislators to women as colleagues, Doderer moved women beyond being the recipients of flowers and into leadership positions. The importance of these two women legislators' careers does not diminish the contributions of other women who served, rather it appears to have enhanced the potential for others to influence the lawmaking process. As

Pendray and Doderer sought to increase their own power they blazed the trails that others could follow, allowing them to turn their energy and attention to other challenges.

Much of this work records the risks women have taken by speaking out, loudly and clearly. Iowa's women lawmakers have demanded attention to children's issues, truck fees, compensation plans, abortion, and dozens of other issues described as well as unmentioned in these pages. In the context of a sometimes unfriendly culture, women legislators have risked having their ideas mocked, their intelligence questioned, and their political futures threatened. Some succumbed to the power that men demonstrated and chose less bold strategies, and some were silenced. The women who appear in this story did not intend to become fighters. Sometimes they stumbled into the arena, but they followed their convictions, found their courage, and stayed for the last round.

This imagery is not what they would choose, however. Few of the women legislators described their experiences in terms of fights or battles. They used terms like angry or furious, but without a direct target, an enemy. They focused on the situation, not the person. As politicians, they have recognized that alienating a colleague can also mean losing a precious vote on an important amendment or bill. They point to the next bill on the agenda and describe the support they have gotten for it from a legislator who debated against their last bill. Those who identify themselves as legislators and those who identify themselves as politicians do not castigate their male colleagues for their actions,

however sexist or demeaning. Instead, they look for ways to work together.

Women deal with the same political realities that men do. No matter who sponsors the bill, it takes the same number of votes to pass it. Women and men find ways to rise above the differences revealed in one debate in order to work together on the next. That is a legislative strategy used by any effective lawmaker.

The focus on battles won and lost, on women's exclusion, and on their attempts to integrate themselves into the body camouflages one of the most important aspects of women's legislative experience. Women have yet to have large enough numbers in either chamber to pass a bill by themselves. Without men's support as members, committee chairs, and leaders, none of the bills could have passed. There have yet to be enough women in any of the partisan caucuses to elect a woman to a leadership position without men's votes. Men may have kept women out of the club, but they have admitted women to the formal power structure and have voted for many of their controversial bills. A discussion of women's legislative experiences must be placed within the context of the support their male colleagues have repeatedly demonstrated for their ideas.

Women readily acknowledge the support they have received from their male colleagues. Sometimes it has been public, as when Doderer gave Terry Dyrland a loaf of homemade bread for his work on the Equal Rights Amendment. Sometimes in their closing remarks, women thank specific people who made contributions to a bill's development. Other times, acknowledgement comes in the form of a handshake and a word of

appreciation. Often in telling their stories, women identified the men who made a bill's passage possible, not in modesty or self-effacement, but in recognition of sincere appreciation for the risks taken and the work accomplished.

The descriptions of opponents, debate, and derision might distort another aspect of women's legislative careers. While women often told the stories of demeaning actions by their colleagues, they generally added that they viewed their overall experience in a positive light. Helen Crabb (Democrat, Guthrie) cried the last day of her first session, because she did not want to leave and did not believe that she would be re-elected so that she could return. But she won. The legislature exposed women to issues and ideas and people that they would not have encountered in private life. Some became experts in areas of public policy that they had not known existed, improved their negotiating skills, and held power that would not have been theirs without becoming legislators. They found the work frustrating, invigorating, challenging, and exciting. Many women listed it among the highlights in their lives.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Citations in the body of this work identify specific sources. This essay examines the general contributions that categories of resources made and their relative benefits. This work has depended on a few groups of sources that have shaped and informed it.

The oral history project, "A Political Dialogue: Iowa's Women Legislators," provided insights into women's views and opinions of their experiences in the legislature. The narrators in this project offered their perspective on events, often leading the author to examine more closely or reconsider newspaper reports of specific bills and their passage. Through the interviews, narrators' reactions to bills, their reasons for wanting to pass or defeat them, and their personal stories became visible. The reasons women chose to run for office and their evaluations of their political experience were generally revealed in the interviews in ways that newspaper reports did not provide them. The interviews include information on the women's educational background, their natal family, their youth, and courtship, marriage, and children. They also include anecdotes from the women's personal lives that reveal much about their times and communities. The collection of interviews will be available at the Parks Library at Iowa State University and at the Women's Archives at the University of Iowa in 1993.

Official state publications significantly contributed to this work and eliminated many hours of data collection. The Official Register, published biennially, provided an invaluable information for this work.

The brief biographical summaries for each legislator and accompanying photographs provided a means for identifying each legislator's sex. Only one woman, Lucile Duitscher, is not listed in the Register. Elected in a special election, Duitscher won after the 1969-1970 volume had gone to press. Registers also include election data for primary and general elections, as well as other helpful tables and narratives.

Newspapers, particularly the Des Moines Register, the Des Moines Tribune, and the Cedar Rapids Gazette often described the debate that surrounded bills as well as providing contexts for the proposals. County newspapers sometimes published weekly columns written by area legislators, which gave another perspective to the events recorded by official state publications and other newspaper articles. The Des Moines and Cedar Rapids newspapers occasionally published articles focusing on women in the legislature. They proved useful in understanding both women's opinions of their experiences and the culture in which they worked. Frank Nye's column in the Cedar Rapids Gazette provided illuminating anecdotes and background to the larger stories in the General Assembly. Nye's news articles regularly reported stories relating to or involving women in greater depth than those in the Des Moines Register. Nye generally included more of women's quotes, their actions, and their responses than the Des Moines or Associated Press reporters.

The relevant county newspapers for the appropriate years were examined. In election years, the entire year's papers were read. The papers were also read in session years from January through the month following the end of the session. County newspapers varied considerably

on the extent of their coverage of the legislature and of their state representatives and senators. A few county newspapers interviewed candidates, extensively covered campaign activities, and reviewed election results. Jackson County newspapers provided more extensive coverage of Carolyn Pendray's career than that found in any other county newspaper regarding its legislative candidates. The Butler County Democratic newspaper also published informative articles about Ada Garner. Other county newspapers ranked below these in their usefulness, down to those that only listed election results with little or no narrative. Those newspapers that had local editorials offered insight into their opinions of local issues and thereby identified them.

The Journal of the House, Journal of the Senate, the History of Bills, and the Acts of the General Assembly record the legislature's activities. The House and Senate journals provide information such as the introduction of bills, motions, committee assignments, and the daily legislative actions. They do not record debate. The History of Bills serves as an index of bills for each session, listing action on them.

As a working tool for this project, Frank J. Stork's and Cynthia A. Clingan's collection of tables in The Iowa General Assembly: Our Legislative Heritage, 1846-1980 (Des Moines, Iowa Senate, 1980) provide an easy-to-use reference. The tables include session dates, party affiliations, occupations, ages, and lists of legislators by district. With exceptions of a preface and reprints of the Constitutional provisions for the legislature and the amendments from 1968, the book has no narrative. The balance of the work is tables and lists.

Neither a popular nor a scholarly analysis has been published about the Iowa General Assembly. In the years beginning with the 1911 session through the 1927 session, the Iowa Journal published extensive accounts of the legislation passed, the expenditures made, and the organization of the chambers. These articles sometimes review the bill's history and the reasons offered both for passage and rejection. Beginning in 1929, the reviews became part of the Iowa Monograph Series, and continued the style used in the Iowa Journal. The Iowa Journal resumed publishing them in 1934 and continued for two more sessions. Beginning with the 1953 session and continuing through the 1974 session, The Palimpsest published far shorter summaries of legislative action. Written by Cedar Rapids Gazette reporter Frank Nye, they generally comment on leadership but seldom mention specific members or the conflicts surrounding proposals. They provide an outline of Nye's perceptions of significant legislation, and considering his years of experience observing the Iowa General Assembly, help place legislation in the context of its importance. Women legislators receive insignificant amounts of attention in Nye's accounts in The Palimpsest. As a group, The Palimpsest, Iowa Monograph Series, and the Iowa Journal provide summaries of varying length and depth of the legislature's activities. They are descriptive in nature and offer little analysis of any kind and only parenthetically attempt to provide continuity between sessions.

In the 1970s and 1980s a significant literature developed around women and politics and women in politics. These studies include dozens of journal articles and several larger works. Among those that discuss women

in the legislative environment are Virginia K. Sapiro, The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1983); Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York, Basic Books, 1974); Susan J. Carroll, Women as Candidates in American Politics (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1985); and Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the State House (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1977).

Two works by Carolyn Heilbrun, Reinventing Womanhood (New York, W. W. Norton, 1979) and Writing a Woman's Life (New York, Ballantine Books, 1988), influenced the interpretations of the material gathered elsewhere. Heilbrun's studies present women's lives as having their own character and identity, separate and perhaps different from men's, but valid nonetheless. These studies freed this work from unnecessary comparisons with men's political adventures and encouraged interpretations of women's political experiences that pointed to their validity, regardless of their differences from those of men.

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APPENDIX A.
ENTERING MEN'S TERRITORY

Despite years of effort, Iowa women did not gain the right to vote until the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920.¹ Their inability to vote for public officials had not prevented women from serving in public office as early as 1869. The path from those early officeholders to Carolyn Campbell Pendray's election in 1928 to the Iowa House of Representatives took 59 years to travel. During the eight years Pendray served in the legislature, she developed political skills, battled with lobbyists, and argued for legislation for students and rural citizens.

Iowa women's service in elective office began with Julie C. Addington's appointment and subsequent election to serve as the Mitchell County Superintendent of Schools in 1869. When questions arose about the legality of the election, the state attorney-general found the election legal.² Even though other women had won election to the office, Elizabeth S. Cook's 1875 election to county superintendent of schools triggered a State Supreme Court case. Before the court offered a decision, the legislature enacted a law specifically allowing women to serve in any school office. With that clarification already made, the

¹For the story of the equal suffrage effort in Iowa, see Louise R. Noun, Strong-Minded Women: The Emergence of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in Iowa (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969), and Ruth A. Gallaher, Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa: An Historical Account of the Rights of Women in Iowa from 1838 to 1918 (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918).

²Ruth A. Gallaher, Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa: An Historical Account of the Rights of Women in Iowa from 1838 to 1918 (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918), pp. 228-229.

Supreme Court's opinion dealt with other issues, stating that the legislature could allow women to serve in any office not prohibited by the Constitution.³ Another elective office opened to women in 1880 when the legislature approved opening the position of county recorder to women. Despite their ineligibility to vote for the offices, women could be elected county superintendents of schools and county recorders.⁴

Small cracks in the walls surrounding the voting booth emerged in 1894 and 1915. In response to complaints of taxation without representation, the 1894 session of the legislature granted women voting rights in school bond elections and in public votes on whether to borrow money or raise the tax levy.⁵ In 1897 that voting privilege remained intact, but a Code revision stated women's ineligibility to vote for school board members or officers.⁶ Legislation passed in 1915 allowed women who owned land to vote on local drainage district issues.⁷

³In 1917, fifty-four women held the positions across the state. Ruth A. Gallaher, Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa: An Historical Account of the Rights of Women in Iowa from 1838 to 1918 (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918), pp. 229-230, 232.

⁴Ibid., p. 233.

⁵Ibid., p. 202.

⁶Ibid., p. 208.

⁷Ibid., p. 217. In those elections in which Iowa women could vote, they cast their votes on separate ballots and deposited them in separate ballot boxes. John E. Briggs and Jacob Van Ek, "The Legislation of the Fortieth General Assembly of Iowa," The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, v. 21, no. 4, October 1923, p. 524. Segregation of women voters also occurred in other states. For example, until passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, Missouri women voted with pink ballots. "Legal Decisions for Women Voters," The Woman Citizen, October 30, 1920, p. 598.

The next year, 1916, male voters decided the fate of women's suffrage in the state when they defeated a state constitutional amendment to allow women to vote in general elections. The constitutional amendment on which they voted had completed all but the last step for passage. Two previous sessions of the Iowa General Assembly had passed the amendment, and it required the endorsement of a majority of the voters. Despite a rigorous campaign, the amendment for woman suffrage failed 162,849 to 172,990.⁸ In 1919 the legislature passed a bill allowing women to vote in presidential elections.⁹ The bill had no effect, though, because women gained voting rights through the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment before the next presidential election.

After the federal amendment passed in 1920, Iowa women could vote but not serve in the legislature. Article III, Section 4 of the Iowa Constitution stated:

No person shall be a member of the House of Representatives who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years, be a male¹⁰ citizen of the United States, and shall have been an inhabitant of this State one year next preceding his election, and at the time of his election shall have had an actual residence of sixty days in the County, or District he may have chosen to represent.¹¹

⁸Ibid., p. 220.

⁹John E. Briggs, "The Legislation of the Thirty-ninth General Assembly of Iowa," The Iowa Journal of History and Politics 19, no. 4 (October 1921), p. 507.

¹⁰Article III, Section 4 was amended in 1868, removing the words "free white" from the qualifications for serving in the legislature.

¹¹State of Iowa, Iowa Official Register, 1983-1984, p. 390.

The Senate had the same qualifications for residence and citizenship. Before women could serve in the legislature, the body needed to amend the Constitution. Amending the Iowa Constitution requires that two consecutive General Assemblies approve the measure. After such legislative approval, voters decide the proposal's fate.¹²

When the 39th General Assembly met in 1921, legislative leaders anticipated amending the Iowa Constitution to remove the male qualification for legislative service, but other issues complicated the matter. In the years that end with zero, Iowa voters decide whether or not to call a constitutional convention. In 1920, they voted to have a convention. Therefore, the most direct means for allowing women in the legislature would have been through the anticipated new state constitution. But the governor refused to call the convention, and the state lost the opportunity for a speedy change.¹³

Another issue unrelated to the amendment also delayed action aimed at revising the state's constitution. In 1921 legislators assumed that Governor Nate Kendall would call a special session which would finish codifying Iowa's laws, a process begun in 1919. In anticipation of the special session, legislators delayed action on an amendment to allow women to serve in the General Assembly until the extraordinary session.

¹²Constitution of the State of Iowa, Iowa Official Register 1983-1984, pp. 399-400.

¹³John E. Briggs, "The Legislation of the 39th General Assembly of Iowa," The Iowa Journal of History and Politics v. 19, no. 4, October 1922, p. 507.

Governor Kendall declined to call a special session, however, thus delaying the amendment process for two years.¹⁴

In 1923 the 40th General Assembly began the process to remove the only prohibition to any public office for women. The resolution passed without dissenting votes.¹⁵ The legislature passed the resolution again in 1925, setting the stage for voters to act on it in the 1926 general election. The amendment generated little interest but, a few months before the election, the Iowa League of Women Voters campaigned for its passage.¹⁶ Iowans approved the amendment with 239,999 voters supporting it and 133,929 opposing it.¹⁷ Upon passage of the amendment, Iowa became the last state in the nation to remove barriers to women serving in its legislature.¹⁸

Some women did not wait for the amending process to occur before running for the legislature. In 1920 Lilly B. Gibbons of Greene County ran unopposed in the Democratic primary, but lost in the general election. When the Iowa League of Women Voters discovered Republican candidate Bess Ross of Audubon and Democrat Jennie Herbster of Arnolds Park on the list of primary candidates in 1922, it asked the women to withdraw. The League argued that the clarity of the constitutional prohibition would prevent

¹⁴John E. Briggs and Jacob Van Ek, "The Legislation of the Fortieth General Assembly of Iowa," Journal of History and Politics v. 21, no. 1, January 1923, p. 522.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 535.

¹⁶"Iowa Women Win," The Woman Citizen, January 1927, p. 32.

¹⁷State of Iowa, Iowa Official Register, 1927-1928, p. 39.

¹⁸"Iowa Women Win," The Woman Citizen, January 1927, p. 32.

the women, if they won, from taking their seats. The League's president worried that the women's candidacies would become jokes. The candidates refused the League's request. In addition to the women challenged by the League, Republican Bessie Farnsworth ran for the Senate seat representing Louisa and Muscatine counties. None of the women won, nor did the women who ran in 1924 and 1926.¹⁹ It would be 1928 before a woman would win a seat in Iowa General Assembly.

Women candidates for other offices found more success. In 1922 May E. Francis of Waverly won her race for State Superintendent of Public Schools. She lost her office in 1926 to Agnes Samuelson in that year's Republican primary. Samuelson won the 1926 general election and was repeatedly re-elected until she left the office for other pursuits.²⁰

In other states, women had begun winning legislative races in the 1890s. Colorado voters elected three women to their House of Representatives in 1894. Utah elected a woman to that state's Senate and two women to its House of Representatives in 1896; in the same year Colorado elected four women to its House of Representatives. In 1921, thirty-one women served in state legislatures; the number had grown to

¹⁹Iowa Official Register, 1921-1922, pp. 450, 478; "Vote League to Ask Women Quit Race for House," Des Moines Register, 4 May 1922, p. 14; Iowa Official Register, 1923-1924, pp. 399, 507, 510.

²⁰"Those Formidable Feminists: Iowa's Early Women Vote-getters," Iowan v. 30, no. 2, December 1, 1982, p. 48; Ethel W. Hanft and Paula J. Manley, Outstanding Iowa Women Past and Present (Muscatine: River Bend Publishing, 1980), p. 93.

153 in 1929 when Iowa's Carolyn Campbell Pendray began representing Jackson County in the Iowa House of Representatives.²¹

²¹"Of Interest," CAMP News and Notes, Center for the American Woman and Politics, v. 8, no. 1, Winter 1991, p. 15; Emmy E. Werner, "Women in the State Legislatures," The Western Political Quarterly, v. 21, no. 1, March 1968, p. 42.

APPENDIX B.
TABLE OF WOMEN SERVING BY SESSION

Table B.1. Women serving in each session from 1929 to 1992

Session	House	Senate
1929	Pendray	
1931	Pendray	
1933	Garner	Pendray
1935		Pendray
1937	Elliott	
1939	Elliott	
1941		
1943	Lynch	
1945	Lynch	
1947	Bloom Lawrence	Wick ^a
1949	Crabb Lawrence Metz	
1951	Crabb Nelson	
1953	Nelson	
1955	Nelson	
1957		

^aWick married after serving in the legislature. Her name at the time of her service was Kirketeg.

Table B.1. Continued

Session	House	Senate
1959	Zastrow ^b	
1961	Bock Zastrow Hakes Van Alstine	
1963	Bock Zastrow Hakes Van Alstine	McKee ^c
1964	Bock Doderer Hakes Van Alstine	
1965	Bogenrief Cohen Doderer Glanton Greggerson Wolcott	
1967	Conklin Doderer Franklin Lipsky Shaw	
1969	Franklin Lipsky Miller, E. Shaw	Conklin Doderer

^bZastrow married after serving in the legislature. Her name at the time of her service was Falvey.

^cHer name at the time of her service was Shivvers.

Table B.1. Continued

Session	House	Senate
1970	Duitscher Franklin Lipsky Miller, E. Shaw	Conklin Doderer Orr
1971	Egenes Franklin Lipsky McElroy Miller, E. Sargisson Shaw	Conklin Doderer
1973	Egenes Harper, M. Kiser Lipsky McElroy O'Halloran	Doderer Miller, E. Orr Shaw
1975	Brandt Egenes Gentleman Harper, M. Lipsky Lonergan McElroy Miller, O. O'Halloran Svoboda, L.	Doderer Miller, E. Orr Shaw

Table B.1. Continued

Session	House	Senate
1977	Brandt Clark Egenes Gentleman Harper, M. Hoffmann Lipsky Lonergan Miller, O. O'Halloran Shimanek Svoboda, L. Thompson	Doderer Miller, E. Orr Shaw
1979	Brandt Clark Egenes Hoffman Larsen Lloyd-Jones Lonergan Mullins Poffenberger Shimanek Thompson	Gentleman Miller, E. Orr Yenger
1981	Brandt Carl Carpenter Clark Doderer Egenes Hoffmann Lloyd-Jones Lonergan Mann Mullins Poffenberger Shimanek Smith Trucano Walter	Gentleman Yenger

Table B.1. Continued

Session	House	Senate
1983	Baxter Buhr Carl Carpenter Chapman Clark Doderer Gruhn Hammond Hoffmann-Bright ^d Lloyd-Jones Lonergan Loughlin ^e Mullins Peick Zimmerman	Gentleman
1985	Baxter Beatty Buhr Carl Carpenter Chapman Clark Doderer Gruhn Hammond Hester Lloyd-Jones Lonergan Loughlin Metcalf Mullins Peick Teaford Zimmerman	Corning Gentleman Hannon

^dHoffmann married while serving in the legislature, and hyphenated her name.

^eLoughlin married after serving in the legislature. Her name at the time of her service was Torrence.

Table B.1. Continued

Session	House	Senate
1987	Adams Beatty Buhr Carpenter Chapman Clark Doderer Garman Gruhn Hammond Harper, P. Hester Lundby Metcalf Mullins Neuhauser Svoboda, J. Teaford	Corning Gentleman Hannon Lloyd-Jones
1989	Adams Beatty Buhr Carpenter Chapman Clark Doderer Garman Gruhn Hammond Harper, P. Hester Lundby Mertz Metcalf Neuhauser Nielsen Svoboda, J. Teaford	Corning Gentleman Hannon Lloyd-Jones Szymoniak Tinsman

Table B.1. Continued

Session	House	Senate
1991	Adams Beatty Carpenter Chapman Doderer Garman Gruhn Hammond Hester Lundby Mertz Metcalf Neuhauser Nielsen Svoboda, J. Teaford	Buhr Hannon Kramer Lloyd-Jones Szymoniak Tinsman

APPENDIX C.
JUNE FRANKLIN'S COMMENTS ON ABORTION

For the past several weeks and months, I have been very busy reading, researching, and contemplating the question before us today.

During all this time I have tried to remain cool, calm, and level-headed; I have also tried to keep an open mind on the subject.

I have listened to all the arguments for and against this measure, and I have come to some conclusions.

Both sides are sincere in their beliefs, but their arguments for the most part are phony and hypocritical and I would like to extend on this for a moment.

Those against legalized abortion say human life is most precious and in the good old American tradition we must protect life. Human life has never been a top priority in this country--we have never valued life or the quality of life. Property has always been top priority ever since the Indian was killed and his land was stolen. An entire race of people were lynched, and one-fifth of our population is slowly starving to death, while we spend billions to send two men to a dead planet to play golf.

Those both for and against argue we need education, yet they storm this building by the thousands, against sex education.

Those who are for legalized abortion say a woman should have control of her body to do with as she pleases, that the decision should be between her and her doctor. But when a young man says he also would like to have control of his body and does not desire to take it to Viet Nam to rot in a ditch someplace, when he says he does not want to kill or be killed, he is

considered an outcast, a traitor, and has three choices--either go and take his chances of being killed, go to Canada or go to jail.

Proponents for this bill have argued that this bill is for the Blacks and for the poor who want abortion and can't afford one. This is the phoniest and most preposterous argument of all. Because I represent the inner-city where the majority of the Blacks and poor live, and I challenge anyone here to show me a waiting line of either Blacks or poor whites who are wanting an abortion. They do feel, and there is a fear among them that this bill is meant for them. They feel this is the first step down the road to forced sterilization, euthanasia, and genocide. They fear, and I tend to agree with them, that there are a few social workers who, in their zest and zeal to keep cost down, are just sick enough to force poor Blacks and whites to have abortions.

I am ashamed to say, but I also have a fear that there may be those among us here, who feel that this bill would cut down on our welfare costs.

The elderly fear this bill because they feel they may be the next target, in future legislation--the Blacks fear this bill and relate it to genocide and the first step down the road to fascism. I have always fought for everyone to have equal rights, and to be able to have a share in the good things of life.

I am against forcing young men to kill and be killed to satisfy the sick sadistic egos of a few--I have fought to feed the hungry, and save the young and elderly from poverty and neglect. I have also fought to protect those who are defenseless.

I feel we must re-direct our priorities and make human life, instead of our greed for property, the number one priority in this state and this nation. And I would say to the people on both sides of this question-- stop being hypocritical--your hypocrisy is destroying the very threads of our civilization.

No man is an island unto himself,
I am involved in mankind.
Ask not for whom the bell tolls.
It tolls for me, and it tolls for thee.¹

¹Quoted in Susan Jane Kennell, "The Politics of Abortion: The Case of Iowa," Master's thesis, Iowa State University, 1971, pp. 99-102.

APPENDIX D.
TEXT OF MINNETTE DODERER'S POINT OF PERSON PRIVILEGE

Text of the paper Minnette Doderer distributed to members of the Iowa Senate.

Point of Personal Privilege
Written to Tell Off Gridiron Group, But Not Worth Wasting
Senate Time Giving Orally

Last Week I received an invitation to attend a dinner and show from the Advertising Club of Iowa, and I understand all Senators and Representatives received this same invitation. You know the one wherein we were all graciously invited to come, eat their food and enjoy the performance. I should add at this point that for all this gracious living, the Advertising Club would charge each of us a \$15 wining and dining fee. But once in awhile I get carried away with a desire for some gracious living with the wheels who make business and industry tick. They claim to be the generators of this economy through advertising so I mailed them a check for \$30--\$15 for a ticket for myself and \$15 for a ticket for my husband.

Now I am aware that the advertising industry hasn't had a high regard for the American woman for some time as demonstrated by their ads. You know the ones I'm talking about. The little lady can't make a decent cup of coffee and her young grouchy husband tells her so so she runs crying into the street, the kitchen or the nearest bowling alley to find a kindly Mrs. Olson who always tells her the same answer, Get Folgers instant coffee. Or the one which shows the typical housewife squeezing that loveable bathroom tissue--life time after time, her greatest joy is to

squeeze the tissue. Or we find the typical woman happily comparing floor waxes to see which makes the best mirror--and so on. The advertisers as a profession long ago convinced me that their idea of the ideal female was one who spent twice as much money as the family earned on white knights, tornado soaps, oleomargarine crowns for their ever-child-disciplining-husbands, but I didn't know the real depth of their animosity to the weaker sex until today.

Today is a black tornado, no oleo crown, dirty floors, no bathroom tissue squeezing day for me. The advertisers discovered that the Senator from Johnson is a woman, and brought my check back, with a sorry you aren't wanted statement. They took away my crown, my tissue, my floor wax, my coffee and carved my name on the list that forever more will not be allowed to pay \$15 for the privilege of wining and dining with the image makers.

I am certain that the Gridiron Group, like all other self-righteous organizations, will "ascribe the results of their imprudence to the firmness of their principles".

Next year, gentlemen, please leave me off of your invitation list. Once a year is too often to be singled out for your insult.
Happy dandelion year to you,

/s/ Minnette Doderer

P.S. This senator is happy that she voted NO to the repeal of the 3% tax on advertising.¹

¹"Point of Personal Privilege," Minnette Doderer Collection, MsC 457, Box 7, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa.

APPENDIX E.
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS

This information primarily comes from Iowa Official Registers published between 1929 and 1991. Other sources include newspapers and interviews from "A Political Dialogue: Iowa's Women Legislators."

Abbreviations:

AAUW	American Association of University Women
ABWA	American Business Women's Association
BPW	Business and Professional Women
DAR	Daughters of the American Revolution
DCC	Democratic Central Committee
DWC	Democratic Women's Club
ICFS	Iowa Children's and Family Services
ICLU	Iowa Civil Liberties Union
ISEA	Iowa State Education Association
ISTC	Iowa State Teacher's College (now, University of Northern Iowa)
ISU	Iowa State University
IWPC	Iowa Women's Political Caucus
LWV	League of Women Voters
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NIACC	North Iowa Area Community College
NOW	National Organization for Women
NOWL	National Order of Women Legislators
OES	Order of Eastern Star
UNI	University of Northern Iowa
RCC	Republican Central Committee
RWC	Republican Women's Club
U of I	University of Iowa
WEAL	Women's Equity Action League

Adams, Janet:

Democrat from Webster City; b. 30 August 1937 in Webster County; graduate of Buena Vista College, 1954; teacher; president of Iowa LWV, Dubuque Archdiocese Board of Education; member of Hamilton County DCC, Hamilton County Youth Service Center Board, ISEA, AAUW, BPW, Women of Moose, Catholic Daughters of America, and Roman Catholic Church. Assistant Majority Leader. Married, 7 children.

Baxter, Elaine:

Democrat from Burlington; b. 16 January 1933; graduate of Iowa Wesleyan, 1970; MS, University of Iowa, 1978; teacher; Burlington City Council member; board member, League of Iowa Municipalities; senior liaison officer, Office of Legislation and Congressional Relations, Department of Housing and Urban Development; chair, Burlington Steamboat Days; nominating panel, U.S. Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit; board member, WEAL, Burlington Area Arts Council, Foundation for ICFS. Iowa Secretary of State, 1987- . Married, 3 children.

Beatty, Linda:

Democrat from Indianola; b. 13 September 1942 in Boone; graduate of UNI; teacher; member of AAUW, BPW, Carousel Theatre Board, and Presbyterian Church; former Warren County DCC chair. Married, 2 children.

Bloom, Amy:

Republican from Dayton; b. 4 April 1889 in Webster County; attended ISTC; teacher; member of OES, Farm Bureau, library board, FWC; Lutheran. Married.

Bock, Lenabelle:

Republican from Garner; b. 30 June 1904 in Linden; attended ISTC and ISU; teacher; member, OES, Historical Society of Iowa, Garner Recital Club; delegate, Iowa Council for Community Improvement, Garner Town and County Planning Council; secretary, Hancock County Conservation Board; board member, Garner Chapter of Red Cross; partner, Bock Oil and Transport Company; Methodist. Married, 2 children.

Bogenrief, Mattie:

Democrat from Des Moines; b. 26 October 1912 in Duluth, MN; attended Northwest Missouri State Teachers College; married.

Boyd, Nancy Shimanek:

Republican from Monticello; b. 1 December 1947 in Monticello; BA, Clarke College, 1970; JD, U of I, 1973; law clerk, Iowa Supreme Court; lawyer; assistant attorney general; member, American Bar Association, Iowa State Bar Association, Jones County Bar Association, IWPC, BPW, American Legion Auxiliary, RWC; Roman Catholic. Utilities Division, Iowa Commerce Commission. Married after legislative service.

Brandt, Diane:

Democrat from Cedar Falls; b. 28 August 1938 in Emmett County; graduate of ISU; president of AAUW-Waterloo branch, LWV-Waterloo-Cedar Falls branch; member of Cedar Falls Planning and Zoning Commission, IWPC, Iowans for Better Justice, National Municipal League, NAACP, Common Cause, ICLU; Presbyterian. Married.

Buhr, Florence:

Democrat from Des Moines; b. 7 April 1933 in Mills County; BA, UNI, 1954; teacher; legislative secretary; member, IWPC, Mental Health Association of Central Iowa, NAACP, LWV, Polk County Democratic Central Committee; Presbyterian. Assistant Majority Leader. Married, 3 children.

Carl, Janet:

Democrat from Grinnell; b. 24 February 1948 in Atlantic; graduated from U of I, 1970; MA, U of I, 1973; higher education administration; president, Iowa Student Personnel Association; member NOW, LWV. Married, 2 children.

Carpenter, Dorothy:

Republican from West Des Moines; b. 13 March 1933 in Ismay, MT; graduated from Grinnell College, 1951; member, LWV, IWPC, TTT, Common Cause; president, Planned Parenthood Mid-Iowa; Episcopalian. Assistant Minority Leader. Married, two children.

Chapman, Kathleen:

Democrat from Cedar Rapids; b. 19 January 1937 in Estherville; graduated, U of I, 1959; JD, U of I, 1974; member, AAUW, IWPC, AAUW, Linn County and Iowa bar associations, Association of Trial Lawyers, Common Cause, Cedar Rapids Board of Adjustment; board member, Children's Home of Cedar Rapids; Roman Catholic. Assistant Majority Leader. Married, 2 children.

Clark, Betty Jean:

Republican from Rockwell; b. 18 April 1920 in Kansas City; attended Fort Hays Kansas State College, University of Utah, University of the Pacific, Garrett Evangelical Seminary; director, Student Program, Wesley Foundation, ISU; news editor, Iowa Conference United Methodist Women; publisher-editor, The Periodical Key; member, Farm Bureau, Chamber of Commerce, LWV, IWPC, Common Cause, Federation of Republican Women, PEO, YWCA, Oikoumene Religious Center Board of NIACC, BPW; Methodist. Married, 3 children.

Cohen, Gertrude:

Democrat from Waterloo; b. 1 November 1913 in Chicago; graduated, University of Minnesota; attended graduate school, U of I; member, United World Federalists, LWV, NAACP, ICLU, Hadassah, National Women's Committee of Brandeis University; honorary citizen, Boys Town, NE; Jewish. Married, 2 children.

Conklin, Willa Charlene:

Republican from Waterloo; b. 10 July 1929 in Pottawattamie County; BA, ISTC; MA, U of I; teacher; speech therapist; member, AAUW, DAR, Waterloo Women's Club, PEO, ABWA, NOWL, Alpha Gamma Delta, National Society of State Legislators, medical auxiliary; board member, YWCA, Iowa Society Preservation of Historic Landmarks; leader, Girl Scouts, Cub Scouts; president, Cedar Valley Historical Society; Presbyterian. Married, 5 children.

Corning, Joy:

Republican from Cedar Falls; b. 7 September 1932 in Bridgewater; BA, UNI; member, Iowa Housing Finance Authority, AAUW, PEO, Cedar Arts Forum, LWV, Black Hawk County Family and Children's Council; president, Iowa Talented and Gifted; director, Iowa Association of School Boards; United Church of Christ. Assistant Minority Leader. Lieutenant governor, 1991- . Married, 3 children.

Crabb, Helen:

Democrat from Jamaica; b. 11 November 1916 in Lavinia; attended American Institute of Business, Simpson College, University of Colorado; teacher; president, Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs; board member, Iowa Conservation Commission; member, Delta Delta Delt; worthy matron, OES; Jamaica Union Church. Married, 1 child.

Doderer, Minnette:

Democrat from Iowa City; b. 16 May 1923 in Grundy County; attended ISTC, graduated U of I; visiting professor, Stephens College, ISU; state secretary, Citizens for a Constitutional Convention; member, Iowa Advisory Council for the Construction of Facilities for Mentally Retarded and Community Mental Health Centers, Family and Children Services Advisory Committee, Iowa Kidney Foundation of Iowa, LWV, United Nations Association, City Manager Association of Iowa, International Platform Association, NOW, IWPC, ICLU, WEAL, BPW; board member, Iowa Center for Education in Politics, University of Iowa School of Religion, United Cerebral Palsy of Iowa, Iowa Health Facilities Commission; Iowa Educational Broadcasting Network Advisory Committee; Governor's Task Force, Early Childhood Development; Education Commission of the States; jury commissioner, Johnson County District Court; vice-chair, Johnson County Democratic Central Committee; Democratic National Committeewoman; national Democratic Policy Council; director, National Society of State Legislators; Methodist. Senate President Pro Tempore, 1975-1976. Inducted into Iowa Women's Hall of Fame, 1979. Married, 2 children.

Duitscher, Lucile:

Democrat from Clarion; b. 7 March 1922; attended ISU; chair, Wright County Family Living Extension Council; member, Wright County Community Action Program, Federated Women's Clubs; Methodist. Married, 4 children.

Egenes, Sonja:

Republican from Story City; b. 19 October 1930 in St. Paul, MN; attended St. Olaf, U of I; BS, ISU; graduate studies, ISU; Fulbright Scholar; taught at ISU; congressional candidate, 1962; member, Federation of Republican Women, Landscape Critics Council, Ames Choral Society, United Nations Association, Ames International Orchestra Festival Association, IWPC, Federated Women's Club, School Reorganization Study Committee, Academy of Political Science, Phi Kappa Phi; commissioner, Education Commission of the States; director, Iowa Metropolitan Opera; UPI "Women of the Year; Lutheran. Married, 1 child.

Elliott, Isabel:

Democrat from Bronson; b. 20 February 1887 near Hawarden; graduated, St. Clara College, Sinsinawa, WI; teacher; farmer; leader, 4-H; chair, Woodbury County Farm Women's Organization; a director, Woodbury County Fair Board. Married, 3 children.

Franklin, A. June:

Democrat from Des Moines; b. 1931; attended Drake University; board member, Urban Affairs Committee of Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce, Americans for Democratic Action; secretary, National Conference of Black Elected Officials; member, Puella Legatoes Social Club, Polk County DWC, National Society of State Legislators; Roman Catholic. Assistant Minority Leader. Married, 3 children.

Garman, Teresa:

Republican from Ames; b. 29 August 1937 in Webster County; graduated from Fort Dodge High School; Story County Board of Adjustment; Gilbert Community School District School Board Advisory Committee; State Republican Farm Policy Council; secretary, Story County Republican Central Committee; member, RWC, Story County Porkettes, VFW Auxiliary, ABWA, Boone Women's Club, Farm Bureau, chamber of commerce, Story City Greater Community Club, NOWL; Republican National Platform Committee; Republican State Central Committee; Roman Catholic. Assistant Minority Leader. Married, 4 children.

Garner, Ada:

Democrat from Shell Rock; b. 6 February 1882 in Shell Rock; teacher; member, Butler County Historical Society, Rebekah Lodge, Women's Relief Corps, school board. Married, 2 children.

Gentleman, Julia:

Republican from Des Moines; b. 24 August 1931 in Des Moines; B.S., Northwestern University. Married, 5 children.

Glanton, Willie Stevenson:

Democrat from Des Moines; BS, Tennessee A & I State University; LL.B., Robert H. Terrell Law School, Washington, D.C.; assistant Polk County attorney; board member, Wendell Wilkie House, Polk County Society for Crippled Children, Town and Country, YWCA, Des Moines library, urban

renewal committee for Des Moines; participant, Know Your Neighbor; vice-president, Des Moines Board, International Education; member, Delta Sigma Theta, Links, Jack and Jill, county, state, national bar associations, Polk County DWC. Married, one child.

Gregerson, Mary Pat:

Democrat from Council Bluffs; b. 25 May 1938 in Cass County; BA, Creighton University, 1960; MA, Creighton University, 1965; teacher; Roman Catholic. Married.

Gruhn, Josephine:

Democrat from Spirit Lake; b. 14 April 1927 in Britt; BA, Morningside College; family farm owner-operator; teacher; member, IWPC, AAUW, BPW, Farm Bureau, OES, American Legion Auxiliary; treasurer, Dickinson County Democrats; Methodist. Married, 3 children.

Hakes, Frances:

Republican from Laurens; b. 13 February 1897 in Laurens; graduate of U of I; teacher; president, Laurens public schools; member, DAR, Progressive Club, State Historical Society of Iowa, FWC; Laurens Library Board, OES; national vice-president, American Legion Auxiliary; Methodist. Father: Congressman Fred C. Gilchrist. Married, 2 children.

Hammond, Johnie:

Democrat from Ames; b. 22 August 1932 in Europa, MS; attended University of Texas; BA, University of Minnesota, 1953; BBA, ISU, 1981; manager, adult day care center; board member, Ames Visiting Nurse Service, Agency for Peace and Justice, Iowa Interchurch Forum; member, ICLU, NOW, LWV, Phi Kappa Phi; advisory board, Iowa Correctional Institution for Women; Baptist. Elected to Story County Board of Supervisors, 1975-1979. Married, 4 children.

Hannon, Beverly:

Democrat from Anamosa; b. 30 March 1932 in Manchester; AA, Kirkwood Community College, 1982; BLS, U of I, 1990; member, Jones County Democratic Central Committee, Jones County Historical Society, Jones County Farm Bureau, Jones County Tourism Association, Kirkwood Alumni Board, Commission on Children, Youth, and Families, IWPC. Married, 6 children.

Harper, Mattie:

Democrat from West Grove; b. 15 December 1923 in MS; attended Copiah Lincoln Junior College, Mississippi State University; teacher; director, girls state; partner, family agribusiness; state president, American Legion Auxiliary; member, BPW, United Methodist Women, ABWA, IWPC, NOWL, YWCA, Farm Bureau, Eagles Auxiliary, Elks Club, DWC, Legislative Ladies League; Methodist. Married, 1 child.

Harper, Patricia:

Democrat from Waterloo; b. 4 December 1932 in Howard County; BA, ISTC, 1954; MA, ISU, 1961; teacher; president, Waterloo Education Association, Hawkeye Uniserve Unit; member, AAUW, Alliance for the Mentally Ill; Roman Catholic. Married, 1 child.

Hester, Joan:

Republican from Honey Creek; b. 20 November 1932; graduated from Persia High school; postal clerk; farmer; member, Farm Bureau, Pork Producers, Live and Learn Extension Club; appointed, 4th Judicial Nomination Commission; 4-H leader, West Pottawattamie County Youth Committee; superintendent, Home Economics Projects, Westfair; Republican Party positions; Methodist. Married, 6 children.

Hoffman-(Bright), Betty:

Republican from Muscatine; b. 1 December 1921; graduated from Indiana State University; teacher; member, Phoenix Federated Club, Farm Bureau, LWV, IWPC, BPW; Methodist. Assistant Majority Leader; Assistant Minority Leader. Married, 3 children.

Kiser, Emma Jean:

Republican from Davenport; b. 11 July 1925 in Oskaloosa; graduate of Oskaloosa High School; secretary, Scott County TB and Health Association; president, Scott County RWC; vice-chair, Scott County Young Republicans; committeewoman, Davenport City and Scott County Republican Central

Committees (21 years); PTA and Little League offices; Presbyterian deacon. Married, 4 children.

Kramer, Mary E.:

Republican from Des Moines; b. 14 June 1935; BA, U of I, 1957; MA, U of I, 1971; insurance company vice-president; president, Iowa Management Association; chair, Iowa Supreme Court's Family Work Life Initiative Committee; member, chamber of commerce, Polk County Child Care Resource Center, YWCA, Des Moines Pastoral Counseling Center, Rotary; recipient, YWCA Woman of Achievement, Iowa Management Association's Manager of the Year Award, Department of Human Services' Distinguished Service Award, Business Record's Community Involvement Award; Presbyterian. Married, 2 children.

Larsen, Sonja:

Republican from Ottumwa; b. 1 February 1941; graduated from Elk Horn-Kimballtown High School; realtor; vice-president, Ottumwa Board of Realtors; member, chamber of commerce, area development corporation, LWV, Iowa Junior Miss Development Corporation; Lutheran. Married, 3 children.

Lawrence, Edna:

Republican from Ottumwa; b. 28 April 1906; graduate, ISTC; business college teacher; newspaper advertising sales; president, Ottumwa Board of Education; secretary, Wapello chapter of American Red Cross; Methodist. Ottumwa City Commissioner. Married, 2 children.

Lipsky, Joan:

Republican from Cedar Rapids; b. 9 April 1919 in Cedar Rapids; BS, Northwestern University, 1940; graduate study at U of I; psychologist; lawyer; member, Cedar Rapids Women's Club, Altrusa, Delta Kappa Gamma, AAUW, LWV, Cedar Rapids Art Association, RWC, Hadassah, Sisterhood of Temple Judah, Linn County Mental Health Association; appointed, Mayor's Commission Housing; chair, Mayor's Commission on Alcoholism; chair, Employment Security Advisory Council; chair, Midwest Conference of State Legislators; member, Intergovernmental Relations Committee, National Legislative Conference; awards, Iowa Kidney Foundation, Foster Parents Association, Iowa Association of Developmentally Disabled, Cedar Rapids Woman of the Year; Jewish. Assistant Minority Leader. Republican candidate for lieutenant governor. Married, 3 children.

Lloyd-Jones, Jean:

Democrat from Iowa City; b. 14 October 1929 in Washington, D.C.; BS, Northwestern University, 1951; MA, U of I, 1971; president, Iowa LWV; member, Iowa 2000 state planning committee, Governor's Task Force on Governmental Ethics, Iowa Railroad Passengers Association, BPW, ICLU, Common Cause, LWV, NOW, Nature Conservancy, WEAL, United Nations Association, IWPC; board member, Iowa City Library Board, Iowa Commission on the Status of Women; advisory committee, Iowa Natural Heritage Foundation; chair, Iowa Committee for International Women's Year, Iowa Peace Institute; Episcopalian. Assistant Majority Leader. Married, 4 children.

Loneragan, Joyce:

Democrat from Boone; b. 5 March 1934 near Belle Plaine; attended Boone Junior College; international affairs chair of Sioux City Diocese Council of Catholic Women; president, Boone County Church Women United, Home-School Association; secretary, Boone County Democratic Central Committee; member, ABWA, Altar Society, IWPC, Boone County Historical Society, Farm Bureau; Roman Catholic. Boone County Recorder. Soroptimists' "Women Helping Women" award. Married, 4 children.

Loughlin, Janis Torrence:

Republican from Atalissa; b. 13 September 1926 in Montpelier Township; graduate of Wilton High School; Muscatine County Supervisor; chair, Muscatine County Conservation Board, Great River Substance Abuse Board, Wilton American Legion Auxiliary; member, Muscatine Women of Moose, Pilot Club, OES, Social Services County Board, Systems Unlimited of Iowa City, Bistate Planning Commission, Community Health Nurses Board, West Liberty Fair Board. Married, 2 children.

Lundby, Mary:

Republican from Marion; b. 2 February 1948 in Carroll County; BA, Upper Iowa University, 1971; staff assistant for U.S. Senator Roger Jepsen; Outstanding Young Woman in America; member, Linn County Republican Central Committee. Assistant Minority Leader. Married, 1 child.

Lynch, Mae:

Democrat from Pocahontas; b. in Osceola County; graduated from ISTC; law degree, U of I, 1932; teacher; principal; lawyer. Married.

Mann, Karen:

Republican from Scranton; b. 26 July 1948 in Fairbanks, AK; BA, Dickinson State College, 1971; Pleasant Ridge Community Church. Married, 1 child.

McElroy, Lillian M.:

Republican from Percival; b. 28 April 1917 in Maynard; attended Upper Iowa University; farm owner; member, RWC, IWPC, PEO, Farm Bureau, Community Club; chair, Fremont County Heart Association; board member, State Extension Advisory Board; Methodist. Iowa Master Farm Homemaker; State 4-H Alumni Award. Married, 4 children.

McKee, Vera Shivvers:

Republican from Knoxville; b. 16 June 1897 near Melcher; AB with honors, Simpson College, 1920; teacher; member, school board, Farm Bureau, Zoning Commission, Extension Council, Improvement Association, Knoxville Women's Club, Pi Beta Phi, Epsilon Sigma; Christian Church. Iowa Master Farm Homemaker. Married, 3 children.

Mertz, Dolores:

Democrat from Ottosen; b. 30 May 1928 in Bancroft; AA, Briar Cliff College; farmer; Kossuth County Supervisor; secretary, Kossuth County Central Committee; regent, Catholic Daughters of America; secretary, Iowa Lakes Coordinating Council; member, Soroptimist International, Drama Club; Roman Catholic. Married, 7 children.

Metcalf, Janet:

Republican from Des Moines; b. 31 December 1935 in Des Moines; attended Grinnell College; BS, ISU; retail business owner; member, LWV, IWPC; president, Planned Parenthood Mid-Iowa; Episcopalian. Married, 2 children.

Metz, Katheryn:

Republican from Lamoni; b. 20 June 1904 in Lucas; attended Graceland and Penn; teacher; magazine writer; newspaper owner-publisher; worthy matron, OES; member, Iowa Press Women, National Federation of Press Women, FWC, BPW. Married, 2 stepchildren.

Miller, Elizabeth:

Republican from Marshalltown; b. 24 August 1905 in Marshalltown; graduated from Marshalltown High School; member, Farm Bureau, RWC, Marshalltown Women's Club, BPW, Iowa Federation of Republican Women, NOWL, American Institute of Parliamentarians, YWCA, International Platform Association, YWCA; Congregational. Republican Woman of the Year, Marshall

County, Outstanding Civic Leaders Award, Merit Mother of the Year.

Married, 4 children.

Miller, Opal:

Democrat from Rockwell City; b. 6 October 1915 in Rockwell City; attended ISTC; farm owner; deputy recorder, Warren and Allamakee counties; member, Legislative Ladies League, IWPC, NOWL, OES, BPW, Federated Women's Club, Calhoun County Historical Society, farm organizations; Presbyterian. Married, 6 children.

Mullins, Sue:

Republican from Corwith; b. 18 June 1936 in Denver, CO; BS, ISU; freelance writer for farm publications; member, AAUW, Girl Scouts of America, Kossuth County Farm Bureau, IWPC, Ripon; State Planning Committee, Iowa 2000 Phase II, State Advisory Council for Community Betterment and Continuing Education; Dean's Advisory Council, ISU College of Agriculture; Dean's Advisory Committee, ISU College of Home Economics, State Study Committee, "Politics of Food;" board member, Iowa Freedom Foundation; Methodist. Married, 3 children.

Nelson, Gladys:

Republican from Newton; b. 23 April 1895 in Crary, ND; graduate of the University of North Dakota; teacher; principal; president, Newton Women's Club, Iowa LWV; member, YWCA, Jasper county Child Welfare Association, PEO, OES, Delta Kappa Gamma; board member, Red Cross,

Community Chest; Worthy High Priestess of White Shrine; secretary, Iowa Child Welfare Committee, Iowa Legislative Council; treasurer, Council for Better Education; Congregational. Married, 2 children.

Neuhauser, Mary:

Democrat from Iowa City; b. 27 August 1934, New York; AB, Radcliffe, 1956; JD, U of I, 1982; lawyer; mayor, Iowa City; president, Iowa League of Municipalities; board member, National League of Cities; member, Iowa Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, LWV, chamber of commerce, Episcopalian. Assistant Majority Leader. Married, 3 children.

Nielsen, Joyce:

Democrat from Cedar Rapids; b. 20 November 1933 in Askov, MN; graduated from high school; president, financial consulting firm; board member, LWV, United Nations Association, Women Unlimited, United Way, YWCA; Peoples Church. Married, 1 child.

O'Halloran, Mary:

Democrat from Cedar Falls; b. 1 May 1943 in Norfolk, NE; attended Creighton University; BA, Clark College, 1966; teacher; member, AAUW, IWPC, National Education Association, ISEA, LWV; Roman Catholic. American Legion Outstanding Young Woman Award; Distinguished Service Award, Future Business Leaders of America, Friend of Education Award, Cedar Falls Education Association. U.S. Department of Energy Region IIV administrator. Single.

Orr, Joann:

Democrat from Grinnell; b. 10 February 1923 in Cedar Rapids; BME, Oberlin College, 1946; later attended Chicago Teachers College, U of I; teacher; board member, Poweshiek County Mental Health Center; member, United Nations Association, Common Cause, IWPC, Farm Bureau; president, LWV of Grinnell; People' Unitarian Church. Married.

Peick, Doris Ann:

Democrat from Cedar Rapids; b. 22 September 1933 in Jones County; attended Kirkwood Community College, U of I, University of Wisconsin; employed at Rockwell-Collins; member, Second District Farm-Labor Coalition, Iowa State Historical Society, Linn County Democratic Central Committee, Hawkeye Labor Council Auxiliary, IBEW, Women of the Moose, Fraternal Order of Eagle's Auxiliary, Marion Democratic Club, Fleet Reserve Auxiliary, Eighties Club; Lutheran. Delegate and Arrangements Committee member, 1980 Democratic National Convention. Married, 2 children.

Pendray, Carolyn:

Democrat from Maquoketa; b. 9 December 1881 in Mount Pleasant; attended college; teacher; county superintendent of schools; member, PEO, DAR, Outlook Study Club, BPW; chairwoman, Jackson County Democratic Party; chairwoman of Democratic Party, second congressional district; Congregational. Married.

Poffenberger, Virginia:

Republican from Perry; b. 12 November 1934 in Perry; BS, ISU, 1957; JD, Drake University, 1978; lawyer; member, American, Iowa, Dallas county bar associations, PEO, BPW, IWPC, State Extension Advisory Committee; president, Perry Day Care, Inc.; Methodist. Married, 3 children.

Sargisson, Hallie:

Democrat from Salix; b. 1 January 1907 in Luton; business school; president, Luton Consolidated School Board, Woodbury County Library Board; chair, Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs; district instructor and officer, OES; board member, Woodbury County Red Cross; Methodist. Woodbury County Treasurer. Married, 3 children, and raised another child.

Shaw, Elizabeth:

Republican from Davenport; b. 2 October 1923 in Monona; AB, Drake University, 1945; JD, U of I, 1948, Order of the Coif; graduate studies at University of Minnesota; member, Davenport Country Club, Davenport Club, Davenport Outing Club, LWV, RWC, PEO, Kappa Kappa Gamma, Federated Women's Club, ABWA; Congregational. Assistant Minority Leader. Married, 3 children.

Smith, Jo:

Republican from Davenport; b. 24 September 1926 in Columbus Junction; attended U of I; president, Davenport Jaycettes, Fairmount Pre-school for Multi-handicapped, Friendly House, River Bend and Mississippi Valley Girl

Scout Councils; board member, United Neighborhood Centers of America; Methodist. Married, 3 children.

Svoboda, Jane:

Democrat from Clutier; b. 3 November 1944 in Tama County; business school graduate; secretary, Outstanding Young Women of America; recipient, Iowa Porkettes' County Bellringer Award, Iowa Bar Association's American Citizenship Award; Roman Catholic. Married, 4 children.

Svoboda, Linda:

Democrat from Amana; b. in Amana; BA, Marquette University; newspaper reporter; researcher, Iowa House; member, IWPC. Single.

Szymoniak, Elaine:

Democrat from Des Moines; b. 24 May 1920 in Boscobel, WI; BS, University of Wisconsin; MS, ISU; board member, Civic Center, Westminster House; member, United Way of Central Iowa, IWPC, NEXUS, YWCA, House of Mercy, Coalition for the Homeless, Planned Parenthood, NOW, Girl Scouts, Community Focus; Roman Catholic. Married, 5 children.

Teaford, Jane:

Democrat from Cedar Falls; b. 1 July 1935 in Mitchell County, KS; BS, Kansas State University, 1957; president, LWV of Iowa; member, Iowa Professional and Occupational Regulation Commission, Black Hawk County

Board of Human Services, Cedar Falls Board of Adjustment, NAACP, IWPC, ICLU, AAUW; Methodist. Married, 2 children.

Thompson, Patricia:

Republican from West Des Moines; b. 17 September 1927 in Grant; AA, University of Nebraska, 1947; bank employee; president, West Des Moines Community School District Board of Directors; director, Iowa Association of School Boards; member, Chamber of Commerce, Community Education District-wide Advisory Council, United Way Information and Referral Advisory Council, IWPC, PEO, West Des Moines' Women's Club, BPW, Iowa Autism Center Board, Des Moines Dental District Dental Auxiliary, Brevity Club; Methodist. Assistant Majority Leader. Married, 5 children.

Tinsman, Maggie:

Republican from Bettendorf; b. 14 July 1936 in Moline, IL; BA, University of Colorado, Phi Beta Kappa, Pi Gamma Mu; MSW, U of I; Scott County Supervisor; president, Women Officials of National Association of Counties; chair, Iowa Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Iowa Federation of Republican Women Special Projects; commissioner, Department of Elder Affairs; secretary/treasurer, Iowa Supervisors' Association; member, chamber of commerce, Farm Bureau, Quad Cities Vision of the Future Steering Committee, Junior League, American Lung Association of Iowa, Information, Referral & Assistance Service of Scott & Rock Island Counties; Episcopalian. Assistant Minority Leader. Married, 3 children.

Trucano, Jo Ann:

Republican from Des Moines; b. 30 August 1943 in Early; attended ISU; member, Bishop's Steering Committee for Women on Justice; scholarship chair, Des Moines Panhellenic Association; leader, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts; Roman Catholic. Married, 4 children.

Van Alstine, Percie:

Republican from Gilmore City; b. 9 October 1905 in Gilmore City; attended Rockford College; BA, U of I, 1928; employed in commercial home economics; president, Humboldt County Council of Republican Women; Methodist. Iowa Development Commission. Single.

Walter, Marcia:

Democrat from Council Bluffs; b. 3 April 1950 in Omaha; attended Iowa Wesleyan Community College; president, DWC; member, BPW, Legislative Ladies League, Historical Society of Pottawattamie County, La Leche League, Southwest Iowa Talented and Gifted; 1981 Outstanding Young Woman of America. Married, 2 children.

Wick, Kathlyn Kirketeg:

Republican from Bedford; b. 18 July 1903 near Nashua; attended Grinnell College, BA, U of I; graduate study at University of Wisconsin, University of Colorado; teacher; Grand Esther of the Grand Chapter of OES; member, PEO; board member, State Historical Society of Iowa, Bedford Library; county president, Iowa Children's Home Society, American Legion

Auxiliary; state auditor, Iowa Council of Republican Women's Clubs;
Presbyterian. Married.

Wolcott, Olga Doran:

Democrat from Rockwell; b. 12 August 1904 in Colesburg; graduated from Mason City Junior College; teacher; deanery president, Mason City Council of Catholic Women; vice-president, Dubuque Archdiocesan Council; chair, Cerro Gordo County FWC; member, Farm Bureau, LWV, BPW, Wigwam and Wagon Campers, Rake and Hoe County Garden Club, Catholic Daughters of America, American Legion Auxiliary Mason City Friends of Libraries; Roman Catholic. Married, 2 children.

Yenger, Sue:

Republican from Ottumwa; b. 5 August 1938; graduated from Ottumwa Heights Junior College, 1958; BA, Parsons College, 1961; teacher; director, Headstart Program in Wapello County; manager, Work Incentive Program for Ottumwa area; chair, Advisory Board of Wapello County Alcoholism Program, Ottumwa Day Care Center; board member, Wapello County United Way, Women's Center of Indian Hills Community College, Displaced Homemakers Program of Indian Hills Community College, Iowa Commission on Aging; member, IWPC, RWC; Disciples of Christ. Married, 2 children.

Zastrow, Katherine Mull Falvey:

Democrat from Albia; b. 19 March 1904, Muscatine County; BA, U of I; Phi Beta Kappa; teacher; managed lumberyard and farm; director, First Iowa

State Bank; member, BPW, Albia Women's Club, American Legion Auxiliary, Council of Interstate Cooperation, Zeta, Tau Alpha, Pi Lambda Theta, Monroe County Farm Bureau, Cancer Society, Polio Foundation, Red Cross; trustee, Albia Library, Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation; Roman Catholic. Appointed to Iowa Development Commission. Married.

Zimmerman, Jo Ann:

Democrat from Waukee; b. 21 December 1936 in Van Buren County; school of nursing, 1958; BA, Drake University, 1973; graduate studies, ISU; nurse; health planner; board member, Iowa League of Nursing, PTA, Dallas County Democratic Central Committee; member, American Nurses Association, LWV, IWPC, NOW; Christian Church. Lieutenant governor, 1987-1990. Married, 5 children.