

NATIONAL NOW BOARD SUMMER MEETING
Hyatt Regency on Capitol Hill
400 New Jersey Ave NW, Washington DC 20005
Draft Minutes

Thursday, June 23, 2016

President Terry O'Neill called the National NOW Board meeting to order at approximately 9:15 am Eastern Time.

Roll Call

Vice-President Bonnie Grabenhofer called the roll. The following were present or arrived shortly thereafter (note: "nv" denotes non-voting): *April Emmert-Maguire, Beth Corbin, Bonnie Grabenhofer, Charlotte Klasson, Gilda Yazzie, Gordy Gustafson, Jerilyn Stapleton, Joanne Tosti-Vasey, Kae Chatman, Kim Villanueva, Mary Pollock, Marian Bradley, Meredith Ockman, Michelle Hamilton, Nancy Campbell Mead, Shirley Ranz, Sinoun Hem, Sonia Ossorio, Sue Gibson, Terry O'Neill*

Absent were: *Aida Zuniga, Carla Josephson, Carol Moseley Braun (nv), Eleanor Smeal (nv), Elena Carillo, Janet Canterbury (nv), Laurie Roberts, Panayiota Bertzikis, Patricia Ireland (nv), Robin Dionne*

Adoption of Agenda

The agenda was adopted as presented.

Approval of Minutes

The minutes of the Regular Fall 2015 meeting and the Special meeting of January 2016 were approved as corrected.

President's Report

O'Neill reported that NOW has endorsed the project of the Transformative Justice Coalition (led by Barbara Arnwine) to raise awareness of voter suppression efforts around the country, especially in swing states like Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and others. The Coalition is working to develop information about the specific impact of voter suppression laws on women. First, the laws disproportionately suppress the votes of women, especially women of color. Second, because women of color are more likely to vote for progressive candidates and policies than any other demographic, suppressing their vote is more likely to result in the election of conservative candidates, resulting in anti-woman policies such as restrictions on access to reproductive health care and opposition to workplace fairness or increases in the minimum wage. As part of our collaboration with the Transformative Coalition, NOW will be bringing a large

contingent to support the press conference scheduled for today, organized by the new Congressional Voting Rights Caucus, demanding restoration of voting rights for all citizens through passage of the Voting Rights Advancement Act.

Conference Update

O'Neill referred the Board to the written Conference Report distributed before the Board meeting. The exciting roster of speakers and awardees includes, as the NOW Foundation Mastrobuono Award recipient, Jessica Gonzalez-Rojas, president of the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health; Olga Vives Award recipient Brittney Cooper, professor at Rutgers who founded the Crunk Collective blog; and performance artists Candace Liger and Grace Franklin, recipients of the Women of Action award, who created Oklahoma City Artists 4 Justice to stand in solidarity with the victims of Daniel Holtzclaw and raise awareness of police brutality against African American women. In addition, the PAC will present two workshops as well as a poster presentation on NOW's grassroots work to elect Hillary Clinton through our Ms. President NOW project. The Conference budget projected expenditures of roughly \$155,000 and revenue of \$110,000. So far, the revenue is about \$110,000, and we expect it to go higher than that. On the expenditure side, we are on track to match budgeted projections, with one exception: We may owe "attrition" to the hotel, if we do not meet our projection of 940 sleeping room nights. The hotel is working with us to market and sell any room nights that are not taken up for the NOW conference.

Financial Report

O'Neill referred the Board to the first-quarter financial reports distributed before the board meeting. Because of a change in the timing of our prospect mailings and appeal mailings, we booked higher expenses for the first quarter this year than the same period last year. However, that means that we have already paid for about 75 percent of the annual prospect mailings and 70 percent of appeal mailings. As a result, over the next two quarters these direct mail expenditures will start falling below the same periods last year. On a consolidated basis (NOW, Inc. and NOW Foundation combined), we project a break-even budget. Based on these 1st quarter results, we believe we are on track to break even, or perhaps experience a small surplus. If we do see a surplus, it will likely be due to an unexpected bequest that NOW, Inc. received in February, of just over \$120,000.

The meeting recessed at approximately 9:50 a.m. for a rally and press conference on Capitol Hill in support of the Voting Rights Advancement Act.

The meeting reconvened at approximately 11:45 a.m.

Committee Meetings

Board committee meetings began at 11:50 a.m. and ended at approximately 1 p.m.

Committee Reports: Structure & Process

Yazzie presented six resolutions referred to the Board from the 2015 Conference for recommendation to the 2016 Conference. Under NOW's bylaws, the annual conference is the "supreme governing body of NOW." At the 2015 annual conference, these 6 resolutions were referred to the Board, with instructions to bring all six resolutions back to the annual conference in 2016 with a recommendation of a "yes" or "no" vote.

Co-ownership of chapter bank accounts. The Structure & Process moved that the Board recommend a "no" vote on the following resolution:

RESOLVED, that all chapters and states must include National NOW as a co-owner of their bank accounts.

After discussion, the motion passed.

Conference site selection waivers. The Structure & Process committee moved that the Board recommend "no" vote on the following resolution:

RESOLVED, that no electoral district may host another conference until all suitable sites in the other districts have waived their opportunity to do so.

After discussion, the motion passed.

Pre-submission of resolutions 10 days before conference. The Structure & Process committee moved that the Board recommend "no" vote on the following resolution:

RESOLVED, that the deadline for submitting resolutions to the Resolutions Committee shall be at least 10 days before the National Conference begins.

After discussion, the motion passed.

Grants in lieu of rebates for chapters. The Structure & Process committee moved that the Board recommend "no" vote on the following resolution:

RESOLVED, that chapters and states receive a portion of their renewal dues rebates automatically ("automatic funding"), and the remainder upon submission to the National Action Center of a request for funding for an action project or program ("action funding") in accordance with processes adopted by the National Board.

After discussion, the motion passed.

Proposed bylaw amendment. The Structure & Process committee moved that the Board recommend a “no” vote on the proposal to amend the NOW bylaws to require postal, online, and email balloting as well as in-person voting for National NOW officers, beginning in 2017. As amended, the bylaw would provide:

Article VI, Officers
Section 5. Elections

A. One of the proposed officer tickets shall be elected by a majority vote of the eligible members by a combination of members present at the conference as well as by submission of a mail-in or email ballot of all members in good standing. Every member shall only vote once – either in person or by mail or by electronic ballot. All members’ qualified votes shall be counted in the final tally at the National Conference. If there are more than two officer tickets nominated, preferential voting shall be used, and balloting shall be conducted according to the parliamentary authority prescribed in these bylaws.

B. The procedure for use of mail-in or electronic balloting shall be in place in time for the 2017 elections for national NOW officers

Substitute motion by **Corbin**: “Move that the National Board recommends an amendment to the proposed bylaw amendment, to the effect that NOW Board members will have an opportunity to vote in national officer elections via absentee ballot, and such opportunity shall be published on the National NOW website.”

Arguments in favor of the committee’s motion and the Corbin substitute: Postal / email / in-person voting would be prohibitively expensive. However absentee balloting might be cheaper. In-person voting allows voters to judge whether a candidate has the ability, the talent, and the readiness to lead NOW, whereas that is not possible with postal / email balloting. With postal balloting, you can take over the organization for just a few thousand dollars; with in-person you could still do it, but it would be a lot more expensive. NOW’s supreme governing body is the conference -- that is, the people who travel to attend a conference in person. Most of the individual members are paper members only, who respond to direct mail; they are not the activists.

Arguments against the committee’s motion and substitute: Postal / email / in-person voting allows all NOW members to participate without having to pay the expense of attending the annual conference. The cost of attending is high, so it’s like a poll tax to be able to vote.

Motion to table by **Tosti-Vasey**.

After discussion, the motion to table failed. The Corbin substitute passed and became the main motion, and the main motion passed.

Committee reports: Equal Rights Amendment

Klasson presented the committee's motion to present the following resolution as part of NOW's national strategic action program for 2016-2017:

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: VISIONS FOR EQUALITY AWARENESS CAMPAIGN 2016

WHEREAS, ninety-three years after the Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced in Congress, women and gender minorities are *still* not granted equal rights in the United States constitution. Although existing laws attempt to protect all people from discrimination, there is no substitute to the comprehensive rights that would be guaranteed by the Equal Rights Amendment;

WHEREAS, Until we achieve ERA ratification, women and gender minorities across all social and cultural backgrounds will be forced to continue fighting long, burdensome political and legal battles to ensure that their rights are legally equal to the rights automatically held by cis-gender men, especially those who are white, heterosexual and abled;

WHEREAS, reviving the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment relies on the unification of feminist activists of diverse social and cultural identities: age, race, class, sexual orientation, religion, ability, nationality, gender, and other axes of identity;

WHEREAS, the fight for constitutional equality is not one size-fits-all, and community focused activism is critical to unifying activists in the push for ratification in state legislatures;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the National Organization for Women (NOW) will include in its 2016-17 Strategic Action Program the creation of an awareness campaign to expand the national conversation about constitutional equality and increase the number of people-- particularly young people-- who know the status of the national Equal Rights Amendment and support its ratification;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that through this awareness campaign, NOW will promote diverse and intersectional interpretations of constitutional equality that reflect the many lived experiences of gender minorities in the United States;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the 2016-2017 Strategic Action Program will pursue ERA ratification through activism at the national level and in the states, with both congressional resolution approaches and with both a start-over strategy and with a three-state strategy focus;

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that a key goal of NOW's awareness campaign will be to inspire feminist activists to ultimately push for ratification in state legislatures of the federal Equal Rights Amendment and promote the development of state-level ERAs.

Motion to amend by **Gibson** to add “**WHEREAS**, because the U.S. Senate has passed the military draft for women, we should use that as leverage to demand the ERA;”

After discussion the amendment passed and the motion as amended passed.

Committee reports: Abortion and birth control

Ockman presented the committee’s motion to present the following resolution as part of NOW’s national strategic action program for 2016-2017:

REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE

2016

WHEREAS, for too long, right-wing politicians have interfered with basic reproductive health decisions by restricting or outright banning insurance coverage for reproductive health care and pushing unnecessary, burdensome regulations that jeopardize affordable access to safe, legal, and quality care;

WHEREAS, under the guise of protecting women’s health, many states have enacted Targeted Regulation of Abortion Providers (TRAP) laws aimed at shutting down abortion clinics. These laws single out the medical practices of abortion providers and impose medically unnecessary and financially devastating regulations, such as requiring doctors to have hospital admitting privileges in nearby hospitals and/or requiring clinics to be equipped as ambulatory surgical centers (in effect, mini-hospitals)--while allowing men access to the full range of their health care needs;

WHEREAS, clinic closures due to TRAP laws further cause undue burden on women and their families because of travels expenses, and other allied costs associated with accessing necessary health services;

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court, in *Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt*, the most significant abortion-rights case since *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, is considering upholding Texas’s TRAP law, effectively taking away the constitutional right to a safe and legal abortion;

WHEREAS, extremist religious ideologues have brought numerous challenges to the Affordable Care Act’s birth control coverage mandate, insisting employers may force their religious beliefs on their employees by excluding contraception from their employer-based health plans, and the Supreme Court has expressed sympathy for that view in both *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores, Inc.* and *Zubik v. Burwell*;

WHEREAS, NOW is proud to partner with the All* Above All coalition and other organizations to lift the bans that deny abortion coverage;

WHEREAS, the EACH Woman Act would require the federal government in its capacity as an insurer, employer or health care provider to include affordable abortion care coverage, and would prohibit state and local governments from prohibiting or restricting the inclusion of abortion care in private insurance plans;

WHEREAS, the Women’s Health Protection Act would prohibit states from enacting regulations that single out abortion services or make abortion services more difficult to access and do not significantly advance women’s health or the safety of abortion services; and

WHEREAS, the Access to Birth Control Act would prohibit pharmacists from refusing on religious or ideological grounds to fill a prescription for contraception;

WHEREAS, the Zika virus, which can cause severe health defects in newborns, is expected to become an endemic in several southern US states by 2017;

WHEREAS, Zika is sexually transmissible by both men and women, therefore a threat throughout the United States;

WHEREAS, women's health advocates in nations currently affected by Zika are demanding unrestricted access to early abortion for any woman who chooses this option based on concern that she or her sexual partner has been exposed;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the National Organization for Women (NOW) will include in its 2016-2017 Strategic Action Program a national action campaign to win passage of the EACH Woman Act, the Women's Health Protection Act, the Access to Birth Control Act, and Do No Harm Act to ensure that every woman, whatever her financial means and wherever she lives, can get affordable, safe abortion care when she needs it.

Motion by **Gustafson** to change the last clause of the Therefore clause to read: "can get accessible, affordable, safe and legal abortion care when she needs it."

Motion by **Gibson** to change the **Gustafson** amendment to say "seeks" instead of "needs." Without objection, the Gibson amendment passed and became part of the Gustafson amendment. After discussion the Gustafson amendment (as amended) passed.

Motion by **Mead** to add "and other reproductive health care" after "abortion care" in the Therefore clause. After discussion the motion passed.

After further discussion the motion as amended passed.

Committee reports: Ending the sex-abuse-to-prison pipeline

Hamilton presented the committee's motion to present the following resolution as part of NOW's strategic national action program for 2016-2017:

DISMANTLING THE SEXUAL ABUSE TO PRISON PIPELINE: CHILD SURVIVORS OF SEX TRAFFICKING 2016

WHEREAS, child sex trafficking is child sexual abuse often layered over pre-existing trauma: children who have been sexually abused are often pushed out of "zero-tolerance" schools when they act out and are not provided appropriate trauma-informed services. Such children are especially vulnerable to traffickers who seek at-risk youth. Child welfare agencies are tasked with responding to child sexual abuse cases, however, they are often unable to function as an alternative to incarceration unless the trafficker is a parent or caretaker, as defined by many state laws;

WHEREAS, even though they are too young to legally consent to sex, many jurisdictions still view survivors of child sex trafficking as perpetrators, and arrest underage girls on charges of

prostitution. As a result, numerous exploited and trafficked children--survivors of sexual abuse--are sent into the juvenile justice system and imprisoned as a direct consequence of their victimization;

WHEREAS, laws that criminalize sex with minors are too rarely enforced in the context of child sex trafficking. In such cases, the pimps and buyers of sex with children escape with little or no accountability;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the National Organization for Women (NOW) will include as part of its 2016-17 Strategic Action Program, in conjunction with its national action campaign to end the sex abuse to prison pipeline, a campaign to raise awareness about the arrest and detention of minors for prostitution, including educating the public on the role of buyers and traffickers in perpetuating systematic violence against underage girls, young women, and other vulnerable youth;

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that NOW will demonstrate support for Nordic model legislation, which is a set of laws and policies that would penalize the demand for commercial sex while decriminalizing individuals in prostitution and providing them with support services, including appropriate care for child survivors of sex trafficking.

Motion by Tosti-Vasey to add the following Whereas clause: “**WHEREAS**, rape myths that girls are culpable in their assaults have been used to minimize this trafficking;”

After discussion, the amendment passed, and the motion as amended passed.

Hamilton next presented the committee’s motion to present the following additional resolution as part of NOW’s strategic national action program for 2016-2017:

DISMANTLING THE SEXUAL ABUSE TO PRISON PIPELINE: SCHOOLS AND JUSTICE CENTERS

2016

WHEREAS, the number of girls, especially girls of color, being pushed out of schools and into the juvenile justice system is increasing. Their involvement in juvenile justice is growing disproportionately at key points in the criminal justice process, particularly the decisions on behalf of school officials and law enforcement to suspend, expel, arrest and detain girls;

WHEREAS, evidence suggests that a leading cause is harsher discipline within schools and aggressive enforcement of non-violent offenses. In such cases, the decisions to suspend, expel, arrest and detain girls, particularly girls of color, are based in part on the perceptions of girls’ having violated conventional norms of feminine behavior;

WHEREAS, research reveals that girls and young women who are sent into the juvenile justice system have typically experienced high rates of sexual violence, and many girls are routed into the juvenile justice system *because* of their victimization;

WHEREAS, when school officials and law enforcement treat victims of sexual violence as criminals, the trauma that underlies the behavior is not appropriately addressed. Disciplining, arresting and detaining survivors of abuse punishes girls for being victims and fails to provide the services necessary for recovery;

WHEREAS, once inside the juvenile justice system, girls encounter a system often ill-equipped to identify and treat trauma. Punitive environments may re-trigger girls' trauma and subject them to new incidents of sexual violence, which can compound the profound harms inflicted by the original abuse;

WHEREAS, the combination of re-triggering conditions and lack of appropriate care leads to a harmful cycle of trauma. Studies suggest that many characteristics of the detention environment (seclusion, staff insensitivity, loss of privacy) can exacerbate negative feelings and feelings of loss of control among girls, resulting in suicide attempts and self-harm;

WHEREAS, school systems that punish rather than provide trauma-informed services to girls and young women who have been sexually assaulted are failing to provide the equitable educational opportunity to which the girls are entitled under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972;

WHEREAS, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDP) contains provisions aimed at ensuring that states comply with standards for gender-specific services, but needs to be re-authorized, strengthened and adequately implemented; and

WHEREAS, the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) defines national standards to screen inmates for a history of sexual abuse and provide appropriate medical and mental health care, limit procedures that are likely trigger re-traumatization, and grant timely access to emergency medical and crisis intervention services for girls, young women, boys, and young men who experience victimization within the system;

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that NOW will include as part of its 2016-2017 Strategic Action Program a national action campaign to end the sexual abuse to prison pipeline, including reauthorization and improvement of the JJDP, full enforcement and improvement of PREA provisions, ensuring that every school has a Title IX coordinator whose work includes equal educational opportunities for girls who have been sexually traumatized, trauma informed counselors for victims of sexual abuse and exploitation, raising awareness about how school policies disproportionately affect victims of sexual violence, and nation-wide revisions of school disciplinary codes to eliminate zero-tolerance policies and other extreme measures that unfairly target girls of color.

Motion by Tosti-Vasey to add "at all levels" after "ensuring that every school" in the final resolved clause.

After discussion the amendment passed and the motion as amended passed.

The meeting recessed at 2:50 p.m. and reconvened at approximately 3:00 p.m.

PAC and Ms. President NOW Report

Grabenhofer referred the Board to the report distributed before the meeting. The Ms. President NOW project has been very busy activating NOW members to participate in the primaries and caucuses. Some highlights are:

- Florida - We estimate that nearly 250 Florida NOW members participated in a massive effort for Hillary, doing GOTV, making calls (about 15,000!), organizing sign waving, and arranging house parties and debate and primary watch parties

for the March 15 primary. Florida NOW President Terry Sanders and others have leadership positions in the Hillary campaign and spoke at the opening of several Hillary offices around the state. All of their work helped Hillary win the Florida primary, 64.4% to 33.3%!

- Maryland - NOW activists participated in office openings, debate watch parties, organizing meetings, and rallies in Baltimore and Silver Spring. They also organized a number of visibility events at train stations and busy intersections around the state and at early voting locations.
- Oregon - Oregon NOW worked with Hillary for Oregon, participated in campaign events, and called all NOW members in the state and several other states. While Hillary didn't win in Oregon, their efforts helped her exceed expectations by winning 45% of the vote.
- Alaska - NOW activists called all members in Alaska, participated in local events, and staffed a popular pro-Hillary exhibit table at the Mat-Su Caucus.

Nationally, the PAC continued to send state-specific emails to NOW members prior to their primaries or caucuses to remind them why NOW PAC endorsed Secretary Clinton and encourage them to vote and get involved in the campaign.

At the Spring Board meeting we reported sending emails and coordinating phoning to nine of the early primary / caucus states with about 70 callers making about 6,000 phone calls. Since then, Pat Reuss's legion of callers swelled to about 90 volunteers who made approximately 9,000 more calls. Altogether, the PAC sent emails and/or coordinated phonings and number lookups to all or targeted parts of VA, NC, MI, OH, AZ, WA, NY, VA, CT, IL, DE, RI, PA, MD, WY, MT, and CA.

AK, IN, CT, FL and OR NOW called their own members.

We are especially proud that a number of NOW leaders are on their state Hillary for America leadership teams and many were honored to be selected by the Hillary campaign to run to be Hillary delegates from their states to the National Democratic Convention. Those that we know of are:

- Bear Atwood - won as at-large delegate from MS
- Hala Ayala - elected from VA, at-large
- Elaine Togneri - elected from FL-12
- David Stewart - alternate from IA
- Jacqueline Kozin - alternate from CT
- Gay Bruhn - ran from IL-11

- Lois Galgay Reckitt - ME's 1st District
- Mary Schutten - OR
- Jerilyn Stapleton - CA
- Linda Tosti-Lane - WA

Activists are encouraged to sign up to participate with MsPresidentNOW by going to www.nowpac.org. They will be invited to join a closed (invitation-only) Facebook page where activists can ask questions, send event invitations, post resources, and share information, strategy and successes.

We have also created a public Facebook page, Ms. President NOW, which is open to the public. We are deeply grateful to NOW-NY President Sonia Ossorio and the staff, interns and volunteers at NOW-NYC for developing this page and posting new content to it on a daily basis.

Fact sheets and organizing materials are available on NOWPAC.org, NOW Leaders, and the private Facebook page.

For the Conference, the PAC organized two workshops, "Looking at the 2016 Feminist Political Landscape." and "Engaging a New Generation of Political Leaders." The PAC lunch plenary will be devoted to our effort to elect Hillary Clinton as President. On Saturday evening, there will be a NOW PAC party, silent auction, and poster session where conference attendees will be able to view posters highlighting some of the excellent Ms.President NOW work done by NOW activists.

Berg referred the Board to the Political Report and discussed highlights of the 2016 political landscape. Democrats need to win four (or five) seats to take back the Senate, and might be able to take as many as nine. Possible pick up opportunities discussed are: Gov. Ted Strickland (OH); Katie McGinty (PA); Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick (AZ); Rep. Tammy Duckworth (IL); Gov. Maggie Hassan (NH); Russ Feingold (WI); Deborah Ross (NC).

To see Nancy Pelosi become Speaker of the House again we would need to pick up 30 seats, which would be tough. NOW PAC is very busy endorsing scores of wonderful feminists for Congress, and we will see more than a few of them in Congress next year. Just a few of the notable feminist women candidates are Emily Cain (ME), Carol Shea-Porter (NH), Susannah Randolph (FL) Zephyr Teachout (NY), Colleen Deaon (NY), Lucy Flores (NV), and Pramila Jayapal (WA).

The meeting adjourned at approximately 4:20 p.m.