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## Women's Issues folder, 1983-1985 (League of Women Voters Records box 53, folder 11)

Maine League of Women Voters Staff

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*Maine League of Women Voters*

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# WOMEN'S UPDATE

SEPTEMBER 1984

## Two Major Provisions of the Economic Equity Act Become Law

### Pension Equity for Women

On August 6th, the House gave final approval to the Retirement Equity Act of 1984. This measure, which has been signed into law by the President, amends the Employee Retirement Income Security Act to provide pension security for surviving and former spouses and to expand opportunities for women to earn pension benefits of their own.

The urgent need to change our pension laws was evident to me during hearings before the House Select Committee on Aging last year. I shared with Committee members the tragic story of one of my constituents who was married for 43 years to a civil servant. After divorce and the loss of any share of her husband's civil service pension, she wrote, "I am left in the twilight of my years with my social security check of \$240 a month for income." Her husband currently receives \$680 a month from social security and \$2600 a month from his pension.

Women suffer as workers, as widows, and as wives under current pension policies. In 1982, 10.3% of women over age 65 were receiving a private pension averaging \$2,586 a year. By comparison, 28.5% of men were receiving a private pension or annuity averaging \$4,349 a year. Tragically, only 5% to 10% of surviving spouses receive any pension benefits, while the vast majority are left totally dependent upon social security for their retirement income.

Passage of the Retirement Equity Act was a major priority of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues during the 98th Congress. As Co-chair, I worked with other members of the Caucus to gain broad-based bipartisan support for this important legislation. In the end, these efforts paid off, and the House and Senate both voted unanimously to pass the Retirement Equity Act of 1984.

The major provisions of the Retirement Equity Act are:

- Lower the minimum age for vesting from 22 to 18, and for participation from 25 to 21. This will enable more women to qualify for pension benefits based on their early work experience.
- Protect pension benefits during maternity/paternity leave and generally liberalize break-in-service rules so that employees taking leave will not lose previously accrued benefits.
- Require automatic joint and survivor benefits be provided unless both the worker and spouse waive them. Currently the worker can waive survivor benefits without informing his or her spouse.
- Clarify state court authority to distribute pension benefits between spouses upon divorce.
- Require pension plans to provide survivor benefits for the spouses of employees who die after they are vested regardless of the worker's age.
- Strengthen disclosure requirements for participants' pre-retirement survivor benefits and other pension rules.
- These provisions will generally apply to pension plans starting in 1985.

# Child Support Enforcement Program Strengthened

Responding to the urgent need to strengthen child support enforcement programs, the House gave final approval on August 8th to The Child Support Amendments of 1984. This measure, which passed the House and Senate unanimously, has been signed into law, and stands to substantially improve the lives of the many children who now live in single-parent families.

The Department of Health and Human Services estimates that approximately \$4 billion in court-ordered child support payments goes unpaid each year and that up to two million children may be entitled to support payments they are not getting.

The most important provision in the new law is the requirement that states withhold money from the paychecks of parents who are more than one month delinquent in the payment of child support. In 1982, fewer than half of those parents awarded child support, actually received full payment. Automatic wage withholding early in the process will help ensure that the children do not suffer economically from a parent's failure to meet their support obligations.

*Continued on page 2*

Continued from page 1

The Child Support Enforcement Amendments strike a fair balance between the rights and financial constraints of the absent parent and the needs of the children involved. The amount of money that can be withheld from the paycheck of an absent parent will be 55 percent of disposable income if he or she has a second family, and 65 percent if there is none.

The noncustodial parent will be notified by the state before withholding begins, and will be informed of available procedures for contesting the withholding. States will have the right to fine employers who fire, refuse to employ or otherwise discipline a parent whose wages must be withheld.

And finally, each state will be required to establish a State Commission on Child Support. One of the specific problems the Commission will address is visitation rights, a major concern of many noncustodial parents.

Other provisions of the new law include:

- Imposition of liens against real and personal property for amounts of overdue support.
- Requiring parents who have a record of non-payment to post bonds or other financial guarantees to secure payment of overdue child support.
- Establishing expedited court or administrative procedures to obtain and enforce child support orders.
- Permitting the establishment of paternity anytime before a child's 18th birthday.
- Making information available to credit agencies if the arrearage was \$1000 or more, and permitting states to provide information involving smaller amounts.
- Requiring states to withhold child support payments from state tax refunds and federal tax refunds, with the assistance of the Internal Revenue Service.

## 98th Congress—Scorecard on Legislation Important to Women

### Economic Equity Act

**The Retirement Equity Act of 1984**—to amend pension law to better reflect work patterns of women and to provide pension security for surviving and former spouses. SIGNED INTO LAW.

**The Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984**—to encourage more efficient child support collection by the states for both welfare and nonwelfare families. SIGNED INTO LAW.

**Civil Service Pension Reform**—to protect survivor benefits for widows and former spouses of civil service employees. HOUSE AND SENATE COMMITTEE ACTION ANTICIPATED IN SEPTEMBER.

**Information and Referral**—to provide seed money for private organizations to set up child care information and referral clearinghouses. PASSED HOUSE, AWAITING SENATE ACTION.

**Spousal IRAs**—to expand Individual Retirement Accounts for nonworking spouses. SENATE PASSED PROVISION DROPPED DURING CONFERENCE ON TAX BILL.

No further action is anticipated during the 98th Congress on the following Economic Equity Act provisions: tax reform for single head of households, provision of employer tax credits for displaced homemakers, expansion of the dependent care tax credit, and nondiscrimination in insurance legislation.

## Other Legislation:

**Civil Rights Act of 1984**—to restore the strength of four major civil rights statutes after the Supreme Court's narrow interpretation of Title IX in *Grove City College v. Bell*. PASSED HOUSE, AWAITING SENATE ACTION.

**Federal Pay Equity and Management Improvement Act of 1984**—to require an independent pay equity study of the federal civil service system. PASSED HOUSE, PENDING HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE.

**Legislative Commission on Pay Equity**—to establish a commission to study pay equity in the legislative branch. HOUSE COMMITTEE ACTION ANTICIPATED IN SEPTEMBER.

**Former Military Spouse Benefits**—to provide health benefits and some commissary privileges to certain former military spouses. SENATE PASSED PROVISION CURRENTLY IN HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE.

**Family Planning**—reauthorization of the family planning program for three years with modest funding increases each year. The House-passed measure also includes a 3-year reauthorization for the Adolescent Family Life Program. The Senate-passed measure reauthorizes only the Adolescent Family Life program. PENDING HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE.

**Family Violence**—to provide funds for three years to establish a support program, primarily shelters, for battered women and their dependents. PENDING HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE.

**Women's Educational Equity Act**—reauthorization of the WEEA program for five years with strengthening amendments. PENDING HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE.

**Women, Infants, and Children Supplemental Food Program**—reauthorization of WIC for five years, increasing current caseload by 600,000 participants. PASSED HOUSE, AWAITING SENATE ACTION.

## Your Offices

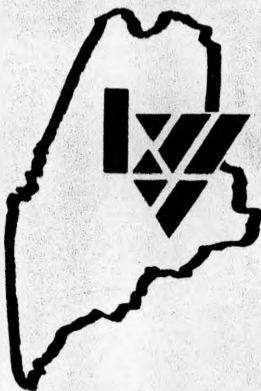
133 Cannon House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-6306

Federal Building  
202 Harlow Street, Room 209  
Bangor, Maine 04401  
(207) 945-0432

146 Maine Street  
Auburn, Maine 04210  
(207) 786-2451

197 State Street  
Presque Isle, Maine 04769  
(207) 764-5124

Or Call TOLL-FREE 1-800-432-1599



# League of Women Voters of Maine

325 Garland St., Bangor, Me. 04401 • (207) 947-4737

Minutes Women's Issues Committee

September 14, 1983

Nancy Masterson was guest speaker.

- I. First job of League is to determine what Maine laws are discriminatory against women.

Check other women's organizations to avoid duplication in research.

Resources - Martha Wolfe to contact Judy Potter & Jackie Potter (ERA laws)

- Joyce Bancroft to contact Jeanne McGowen

- II. League needs to be visible. Important to have League representative at State Party Convention to get ERA on platform. Should appear at platform committee meetings of parties.

- Lloyd Sewall, Republican Chairman from Newcastle Hearings begin about April. Appeal to be effective should stress the importance of individual rights, free enterprise, and be a piece-meal approach.

We must be able to answer why Maine needs an ERA.

Be concrete. How does it effect women on a day to day basis?

- III. To keep an eye on:

A. Day care Programs - availability and need assessment for day care. Dept. of Human Services report due Labor Day next year.

B. Pay Equity -- comparable work/worth

Women's Lobby involved in study on pay inequities in state government. Look for model legislation from other states. (e.g. Minnesota)

- IV. Suggested interviews by LWV with all Maine Legislators in fall before session begins to discuss issues of LWV.

Workshop for League members on testifying and lobbying



## Maine Women's Lobby

TO: Senator Dutremble, Representative Beaulieu, Members of the  
Labor Committee

FROM: Betsy Sweet for The Maine Women's Lobby and the Women's  
Legislative Agenda Coalition

RE: L.D. 525

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The Maine Women's Lobby and the Maine Women's Legislative Agenda Coalition (a group of seventeen organizations/list attached) would like to inform the Labor Committee of our strong support of L.D. 525 "An ACT to Clarify Negotiability of Pay Rates of Classification for State Employees".

The Maine Women's Lobby and the Legislative Agenda Coalition are interested in the rights of workers to bargain over their pay rates, but we are particularly interested in this bill because of its connection to comparable worth.

The fight for comparable worth, or "equal pay for work of comparable worth" is recognized as the most important pay issue of this decade for women. Full time women workers make on the average only 59¢ for every dollar earned by the average male worker. A recent study found that up to 40% of this wage gap cannot be explained except as the result of sex discrimination in wage setting.

LD 525 is particularly important to we who are concerned about comparable worth because the Maine pay rates system is currently the subject of a comparable worth study. (The State and the Employees' Union negotiated \$100,000 for a comparable worth study which is being conducted by a consultant picked by a joint labor-management committee.) That study should be completed in the fall of 1984.

We are proud of Maine's efforts in the area of comparable worth for two reasons: 1) it is the only joint labor-management comparable worth study; and 2) it is the only study to examine the Hay system for discriminatory biases.

Of course, the effectiveness of any study or examination of comparable worth will be its implementation. Because the study currently being done will identify the problems and will not put in place specific remedies, we think it is critical that the state employees have the right to bargain over the results. Nationally comparable worth studies have been implemented only where unions, along with women's organizations, have been the moving force behind them. If state employees

**P.O. Box 15, Hallowell, Maine 04347**



do not have the right to bargain over the results of this landmark comparable worth study, then we should never have spent the \$100,000 to do it.

L.D. 525 will give the state employees that right.

The Women's Lobby and the Women's Legislative Agenda Coalition urge your unanimous support of this bill. We look forward to the opportunity to work with you on this legislation and the opportunity to take one step toward making pay equity a reality in the State of Maine.

## ATTACHMENT

1. Maine Women's Lobby
2. Coalition of Labor Union Women
3. Business and Professional Women
4. American Association of University Women
5. National Organization for Women - Maine Chapter
6. The Alliance to Preserve Reproductive Choice
7. Committee to Organize the Unemployed
8. Displaced Homemakers Association
9. Economic Justice for Women
10. League of Women Voters
11. Maine Association of Independent Neighborhoods
12. Maine Coalition on Rape
13. Maine Council of Churches
14. Maine State Nurses Association
15. Maine Commission for Women
16. Maine Association of Handicapped Persons
17. Maine Association of Jewish Women

## L.D. 525 AND COMPARABLE WORTH

### 1. What the pay rates bill (L.D. 525) will do

L.D. 525 will restore to state employees the right to negotiate with management over the system used to set rates of pay for different job classifications, and over the pay rates of classifications in relationship to the system. State employees had this right and brought pay rate issues to the bargaining table, as did management, until the Maine Supreme Court took this right away due to a perceived conflict with a procedural statute. (Private and municipal sector employees all have the right to bargain over the rates of pay of job categories within their bargaining units.)

### 2. The Maine state pay rate system is now the subject of a comparable worth study

State employees negotiated \$100,000 for a comparable worth study to be done by a consultant picked by a joint labor-management committee (7 union members, 7 management members). This committee will be involved in all aspects of the study. A wider group of state employees, half chosen by the union and half by the management side of the committee, will be trained in comparable worth issues and will do the analysis which will provide the data for statistical analysis by the consultant. Because of this extensive union involvement, the Maine study is considered the national model for "self education" by employee representatives by Alice Cook, a national authority on comparable worth.

The Maine study is also the first comparable worth study to analyze the "Hay Job Evaluation System." The Hay system, one of the most widely used job evaluation systems in this country, was adopted by the Maine state personnel system before collective bargaining for state employees began. Although the Hay system has been widely criticised by comparable worth analysts, including by the National Academy of Sciences study on job evaluation commissioned by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, it has never before been the subject of comprehensive comparable worth analysis. Maine's study is therefore very important not only to Maine's women employees, but to women employees all over the country whose jobs are classified by a Hay job evaluation system.

### 3. The right to bargain over the pay rates of classifications is important to full implementation of comparable worth

Nationally, comparable worth studies have been implemented only where unions, along with women's organizations, have been the moving force behind them. Full implementation by upgrading female-dominated jobs to the level of male-dominated jobs (rather than by freezing or even lowering wages of male-dominated jobs to the detriment of both) has been successful only where unions have bargained the results. It has

been found that unless comparable worth settlements have the full weight of employees' unions behind them, there is not sufficient pressure to fund the remedy. (Even if the executive branch and/or the legislature is well-intentioned, the pressure generated by the employees' unions has been necessary to justify the expense to the public.)

In Maine, the bill will keep the state from trying to minimize the results of the study by redefining the system to lower male-dominated jobs before the comparable worth study can use these jobs for a comparison. The State is now performing a study which preliminary results show will lower comparable pay rates by lowering pay rates of some male-dominated jobs and by aggregating pay ranges. It is significant that they are undertaking this study now, when the comparable worth study is just getting underway.

Finally, because the Maine study is a very sophisticated study which will identify problems with the Hay System rather than necessarily dictating results, it is especially crucial that the state employees who have been involved throughout the study have an equal say in how the problems should be remedied.

MAINE DIVISION AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN  
MAINE FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.  
THE FAMILY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF MAINE, INC.  
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MAINE  
THE MAINE WOMEN'S LOBBY  
MAINE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN  
MAINE COMMISSION FOR WOMEN

Cordially invite you to the second Legislative Up-date  
on issues at the federal level of particular interest to women  
on Saturday, April 7, 1984 - 9:30 a.m. - 2:30 p.m.  
South Parish Congregational Church, 9 Church Street, Augusta  
(just off State Street; past the YMCA)

9:30 - 10:00 REGISTRATION

10:00 - 12:00 WORKSHOPS

- #1 Economic Security (Tax and Retirement, Fair Insurance,  
Comparable Worth, Child Support Enforcement, etc.)
- #2 Family Planning and Reproductive Choice (Administration  
opposition/Congressional support; constitutional and  
legislative actions on reproductive choice)
- #3 Health and Social Service Programs for Women and Children  
(job training, AFDC, day care, nutrition, maternal health)
- #4 Federal Spending: Impact on issues of special interest  
to women

12:00 - 12:45 Federal Legislative Up-date presented by:

U.S. Senator George J. Mitchell

- \* Issues discussed in workshops
- \* Question and Answer Period

12:45 - 1:30 Cold Lunch Platter

1:30 - 2:30 Wrap-up

- \* Feedback on Legislative Up-date
- \* Report on State ERA
- \* Priorities for Future Up-dates

(If you have questions call Joyce Lawrence at 622-7524)

IF YOU RECEIVE MORE THAN ONE INVITATION, PLEASE PASS IT ON TO A FRIEND!!

Return below, Box 587, Augusta, Maine 04330 - Make checks payable to: Family Planning  
Association of Maine  
MAIL REGISTRATION BY March 30: \$4.50 per person  
includes lunch

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ Amount Enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_ No. of Persons \_\_\_\_\_

Workshop preference - final choice may be made on-site: Workshop # \_\_\_\_\_

Registration LIMITED, but if on-site registration can be accomodated, \$5.50 per person.

Family Planning Association of Maine, Inc.  
Box 587, Augusta, Maine 04330

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SECOND LEGISLATIVE UP-DATE  
ON ISSUES OF  
PARTICULAR INTEREST TO WOMEN

Saturday, April 7, 1984  
South Parish Congregational Church  
9 Church Street, Augusta

ERA FOR MAINE COMMITTEE - BANGOR-BREWER AREA  
P.O. Box 1069; Bangor Maine 04401 \* Telephone 947-0221

**GOAL OF COMMITTEE:** To get an overwhelmingly positive vote for ERA in the Bangor-Brewer Area!!!

**MEETING TIME/PLACE:** Tuesday-7:15pm-All Souls Church(corner of State & Brdwy)

Meetings open to anyone who would like to work for an ERA

**STRUCTURE OF THE COMMITTEE:**

Executive Committee

- \*General Chairperson: Judy Frost
- \*Speaker's Bureau and Social Gatherings: Ellen Green, 947-1593 (H)/942-9423(W)
- \*Public Education: Ralph Newbert - 942-8740
- \*Publications: Judy Frost - 947-0221
- \*Legal Issues & Research Chairperson: Elizabeth Ebitz
- \*Public Relations: Judy Harrison, 942-1545
- \*Get Out The Vote: Rosemary Baldacci - 945-5813(W)/942-4949(H)
- \*Voter Registration: Jane Saxl, 945-5786
- \*Volunteer Coordination: Penny Harris, 947-4737

Steering Committee: Representatives of community organizations and project committee chairpeople

- \*AAUW Exec.Board Bangor Branch: - Mary Arell-947-4868; Sue Comins - 945-5152
- \*Abnaki Girl Scout Council: Linda Bright - 223-4006
- \*BPW/MAINE - Nancy Adams - 989-6202 (0) 989-6202
- \*League of Women Voters of Bangor-Brewer Area: Karen Russell - 947-2990
- \*NOW-Bangor - Isla Silva-947-4690 (H)/947-3711 Ex.7621 (W) Joanne Dauphite 989-3300
- \*AFL-CIO - Joan Ferrell- 989-3630(W)/945-5469(H)
- \*YWCA - Eileen Gorahan - 942-6746 Granahan
- \*Spruce Run - Sandy Gardiner - 945-6281
- \*Coalition of Labor Union Women - Mary Ann Turowski - 947-0511
- \*Women's Development Program: 581-1225
- \*Democratic Party: Cindy Gallant - 942-8539(W)/942-4701(H)
- \*Republican Party: Doris DesIsles - 942-6454
- \*Tuesday Forum: Marge Erhardt - 947-5456
- \*Teachers Association:

If anyone knows an organization which would like to join our coalition please contact Penny Harris.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES

- Keep your group informed on issues and projects
- Get members of your organization who are interested in working on ERA projects involved
- Make ERA products (pins, bumper stickers, T-shirts) available to your organization
- Attend steering committee meetings
- Promote ERA projects and activities within your organization

OPTIONAL ACTIVITIES

- oYour organization: sponsor a social gathering to provide information on ERA
- oHold a fund raising activity
- oHave a speaker on ERA at a meeting of your organization
- oWrite "letters to the Editor" or guest editorials

1  
DRAFT  
Not Complete

The League has joined with 19 other organizations(see list) to form the Women's Legislative Agenda Coalition (WLAC) which will support the following legislative efforts:

1. AFDC Funding--LD , sponsored by would increased AFDC funding by 10 % . 94% of AFDC recipients are women (down from 98% since passage of the family unity bill last year.) 70% of the program is federally funded, the state funds the remaining 30%. Funds currently received are 75% of the poverty level set in 1975. 75% of women who received AFDC are off the program in two years. Total cost:

2. Child Care--LD , sponsored by and LD , sponsored by Bills seek to implement recommendations outlined in Child Care Study. First one, identified as most likely to pass by WLAC, would provide for a 3-person office of child coordination and a child care advisory committee. The 11-member committee would monitor and make recommendations to the office. Office's responsibilities would include: maintaining inventory of child care information; providing education on becoming better consumers of child care; evaluating child care funding methods; coordinating an ongoing review of licensing regulations; providing assistance to employees, schools and groups concerning child care; developing a training program for child care providers; recommending legislation to provide incentives for employer involvement in child care; and promoting cooperation between public health groups and child care programs. Also would increase by three the number of licensing workers. Total cost: \$303,500



The second bill, probably too expensive to pass this session, increases availability of affordable, accessible, quality child care to more families by : enoouraging partnerships among, school systems, child care providers, senior citizens organization, employers and health services; and providing financial incentives and assistance to groups listed above utilizing schools, community centers or other public or private facilities. Total cost: \$1,402,500

3. Displaced Homemakers--Part I of budget would maintain program at 1985 funding level to provide 6 full-time staff positions and operating expenses to maintain services for an estimated 900 homemakers annually at centers in Bangor, Lewiston-Auburn, Bath and Portland. Total budgeted: \$118,676 per year

Part II of budget would fund three additional positions to provide rural outreach services in Penobscot and Hancock Counties (through the Bangor Center), York and Cumberland Counties (through Portland Center) and Oxford and Franklin Counties (through Lewiston-Auburn Center). Total requested: \$200,000 Governor recommended: \$90,000

4. WEET Program--The Welfare Employment, Education and Training Program (WEET) is mandatory for many AFDC recipients. It is considered to be the most effective job training program for AFDC recipients in the nation. The funding increase requested would allow the program to extend to rural areas. Funding for current programs would remain at 1985 levels. This is the only WLAC supported item the governor mentioned in his State of the State Address. Part I budget: \$200,000 Part II budget: \$200,000

5. Pay Equity--LD , sponsored by  
would make the Comparable Worth Study of the State Government pay system negotiable. The MSEA (labor) and Personnel (management) have negotiated the content of this bill which both groups have agreed to support. The state government is the only employer in the state where negotiations for comparable worth are not allowed. Such negotiations are legal in the private and municipal sectors. No immediate cost. Cost would be in negotiated increased salaries in the future.

6. Confidentiality of Human Rights Complaints--LD , sponsored by  
would make complaints to the Human Rights Commission confidential during the early stages of the process. Many women are afraid to file complaints because of the publicity. No cost.

7. Compliance Officer for HRC--LD , sponsored by  
would fund a compliance officer for the Human Rights Commission. Officer would help employers understand requirements of the Maine Human Rights Act before problems arise. Total cost:

8. Apprenticeship Age Limits--LD 72, sponsored by Sen. Jean Chalmers, of Knox, and Rep. Alexander Richard, D of Madison, would remove arbitrary age limits on apprenticeship programs allowing older men and women to receive training and enter the job market. No cost.

9. Rape Law Reform--LD , sponsored by  
would lift the spousal exemption provision of the current law which allows a man to rape his wife without committing a crime. The bill also would remove voluntary social companion exemption on rape. Current statutes state any man who has been allowed to kiss a woman on a prior occasion who then rapes her can only be charged with a class B crime. No cost.

10. Domestic Abuse--WLAC is seeking maintenance of current funding for community intervention programs for domestic abuse. Funds allow training, coordination and other services need. This item was dropped from the governor's budget. Total cost:

11. Abortion Funding--LD , sponsored by would provide medicaid funded abortions for victims of rape and incest. Total cost: \$5,000

12. Maine Commission for Women Funding--A 5% increase in funding to the commission is included in the Part I budget. Funding for secretarial support has been requested in Part II. An emergency bill requesting \$5,000 to fund a secretary until September when the budget would take effect has been submitted. Total cost: Part I \$70,000 Part II \$18,000

The WLAC will oppose the following legislative efforts:

1. Right to Choose--LD 134, sponsored by Rep. Ada Brown, D 66 Gorham, would require the presence of two physicians for abortions performed after "viability". However, the bill does not define "viability". Chair of Judiciary Committee has requested the bill be withdrawn. No cost.

# ACTION ALERT

**\*\*IMPORTANT\*\*** Your support and help is needed NOW to defeat LD 387 and LD 134. This action alert will give you the information you need to make your voice heard on these issues before May 1, 1985.

## THE BILLS:

LD 387: An act to require parental consent in the case of minors' abortions

LD 134: An act requiring the presence of a 2nd physician when abortions are performed after viability.

## SPONSORS:

These bills are being sponsored by the same people. Rep. Ada Brown(D-Gorham); Cosponsored by: Dana Stevenson(R-Unity) and Senator Walter Hichens, Eliot(R-District 35)

## BACKGROUND:

The LWVUS believes that public policy in a pluralistic society must affirm the constitution right of privacy of the individual to make reproductive choices. In 1983 the LWV joined as an amicus in two successful lawsuits to challenge proposed regulations by the federal Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Favorable court decisions thwarted attempts by HHS to implement regulations requiring parental notification by federally funded family planning centers that provide prescription contraceptives to teenagers. The League has opposed a host of restrictions on the right to privacy in reproductive choices that appeared in Congress as legislative riders to various federal funding measures. The LWVME is opposing these bills as a member of the Women's Legislative Agenda Coalition.

## FACTS ON TEENAGERS AND PREGNANCY:

-LD 387 will not protect the health of minors. In fact, LD 387 could hurt minors by delaying or preventing their access to abortion services.

-During an eight month period of time in Massachusetts, where parental consent for abortion is mandated, 731 minors left the state to obtain abortions.

-Teens obtaining abortion services out-of-state have limited access to follow-up services and fewer opportunities to establish a relationship with a physician for follow-up contraceptive care.

-Pregnant teens are seven times more likely to commit suicide than other teens.

-The risk of death with a full term pregnancy is five times greater for teenagers than the risk from abortions.

-51% of the current welfare recipients in Maine had their first child as a teenager.

-In most cases (98%) minors do not place their babies for adoption.

-A similar law to LD 387 was passed in Minnesota and for the first time since the Supreme Court decision in 1973 there were five cases of infanticide.

-LD 387 promotes government interference in private family relationships. Parent-child communications cannot be mandated.

-Teens who marry as a result of an unplanned pregnancy are far more likely to have their marriages end in divorce.

-Physicians in Maine have been very successful in convincing teenagers to involve their parents in their pregnancy.

## WHERE ARE THESE BILLS:

Both of these bill will be heard in public hearing by the Judiciary Committee on April 18, 1985 at the State House Office Building in Room #113 at 1:30pm.

It is very important for as many people as possible to attend. There is a big effort from people who would like a constitutional amendment which would take away a woman's right to reproductive choice. The people of this belief continually try to pass legislation which would limit the right to make reproductive choice.

"ACTION brings with it its own courage, its own energy, a growth of self-confidence that can be acquired in no other way." Eleanor Roosevelt, 1941





## League of Women Voters of Maine

325 Garland St., Bangor, Me. 04401 • (207) 947-4737

April 12, 1985

Rep. Edward J. Kane  
State House Station #3  
Augusta, Maine 04333

Dear Rep. Kane,

This letter is to register the League of Women Voters strong opposition to LD 387: An act to require parental consent in the case of minors' abortions.

The LWV's membership concurred with an overwhelming majority in 1983 that public policy in a pluralistic society must affirm the constitutional right of privacy to individuals making reproductive choices. We have consistently opposed restrictions on the right of privacy in reproductive choices including regulations requiring parental notification. We believe young teenage girls have the right to the most helpful setting when making a decision which will have life-long consequences. Will this legislation encourage a positive and less stressful situation for the teen and her family? Will legislation which puts potential barriers between the family physician, a person who could bring the family together, and the young teen be the best way to encourage positive family communications? The LWV urges you to consider the following facts:

- During an eight month period of time in Massachusetts, where parental consent for abortion is mandated, 731 minors left the state to obtain abortions.
- Teens obtaining abortion services out-of-state have limited access to follow-up services and fewer opportunities to establish a relationship with a physician for follow-up contraceptive care.
- A similar law to LD 387 was passed in Minnesota and for the first time since the Supreme Court decision in 1973 there were five cases of infanticide.
- LD 387 promotes government interference in private family relationships. Parent-child communications cannot be mandated.
- Pregnant teens are seven times more likely to commit suicide than other teens.

The League of Women Voters urges you not to support LD 387. We believe it offers no community benefit and it will increase stress and expense to Maine teens and their families while lessening the opportunity for personal medical care.

Sincerely,

Penny Harris  
President LWVME

After committee hearings there will be work sessions and the committee will make a recommendation ought-to-pass or ought-not-to pass to the full legislature. The full legislature will then vote.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

\*WRITE to the chairpeople of the Judiciary Committee and send copies to the other members. If you know one of the members contact him/her personally by letter and/or telephone as soon as possible and before May 1, 1985.

\*ATTEND the hearing on April 18, 1985 at 1:30pm. If possible take other League members. It is very important to show the committee your opposition to this bill.

\*CONTACT your own legislator by letter/phone and send them a copy of the letter sent to the Judiciary Committee.

LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED BY PERSONAL CONTACT AND ATTENDANCE  
AT HEARINGS

I am including the names of legislators on the Judiciary Committee and a copy of the League letter sent to the committee.

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

SENATORS:

Michael E. Carpenter (D-Aroostook), Chair  
Jean B. Chalmers (D-Knox)  
Charlotte Zahn Sewall (R-Lincoln)

REPRESENTATIVES:

Edward J. Kane, (D-South Portland), Chair  
J. Robert Carrier (D-Westbrook)  
Patrick E. Paradis (D-Augusta)  
Carol Allen (D-Washington)  
Gary C. Cooper (D-Windham)  
Charles R. Priest (D-Brunswick)  
Lloyd G. Drinkwater (R-Belfast)  
Mary H. MacBride (R-Presque Isle)  
Catharine K. Lebowitz (R-Bangor)  
Rufus E. Stetson, Jr. (R-Damariscotta)

ADDRESS:

State House, Augusta, Maine 04333

TELEPHONE:

Senate: 1-800-423-6900

House: 1-800-423-2900

Thank you for your help to defeat this legislation. If you have questions please contact one of us. We have been the League representatives to the Women's Legislative Agenda Coalition (WLAC). WLAC will have people testifying at the hearing, but we need your help to show the strength of the coalition.

Penny Harris, President of LWVME  
Joyce Bancroft, Director of LWVME  
Judy Harrision, Director of LWVME  
Judy Frost, Director-Elect of LWVME

April 12, 1985

League of Women Voters  
Penny Harris, Pres.  
325 Garland Street  
Bangor, Maine 04401



**ACTION  
ALERT**

Jane Saxl  
37 Pond Street  
Bangor ME 04401

State Convention\*May 3-5!

SENATE

MICHAEL E. CARPENTER, DISTRICT 3, CHAIR  
JEAN B. CHALMERS, DISTRICT 21  
CHARLOTTE ZAHN SEWALL, DISTRICT 20

MARTHA FREEMAN, LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT  
THERESA BRIN, COMMITTEE CLERK



HOUSE

EDWARD J. KANE, SOUTH PORTLAND, CHAIR  
J. ROBERT CARRIER, WESTBROOK  
PATRICK E. PARADIS, AUGUSTA  
CAROL ALLEN, WASHINGTON  
GARY C. COOPER, WINDHAM  
CHARLES R. PRIEST, BRUNSWICK  
LLOYD G. DRINKWATER, BELFAST  
MARY H. MACBRIDE, PRESQUE ISLE  
CATHARINE K. LEBOWITZ, BANGOR  
RUFUS E. STETSON, JR., DAMARISCOTTA

STATE OF MAINE  
ONE HUNDRED AND TWELFTH LEGISLATURE  
COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY

April 17, 1985

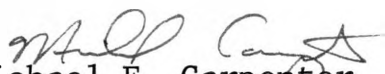
Jane W. Saxl  
37 Pond Street  
Bangor, Maine 04401

Dear Ms. Saxl:

Thank you very much for taking the time to write to me with your thoughts on the various abortion issues presently before my Committee. As you are aware, the hearing on these bills was scheduled for April 18th. At that time the Committee will, I'm sure, be deluged with information on both sides of the issue. I share many of the concerns of your letter and will commit myself to giving these issues a very thoughtful analysis. I believe the first analysis that must be made here is as to the constitutionality of the various measures and that's where my thought processes will begin. Beyond that, if found to be constitutional, the process will then be one of policy decision for the State of Maine. In that regard I tend to favor the position that abortion not be one's first choice as a method of birth control, and I suspect that my vote on these bills will be thus reflected.

Thanks again for taking the time to write. If you'd like to get back to me in a couple of weeks after the hearing, and after we've had a work session, I will be more than happy to let you know specifically where I am on these issues.

Sincerely,

  
Michael E. Carpenter  
State Senator

tb



WLAC SLATE 1985

WLAC supported the following:

1. AFDC Funding--10% increase requested--5% increase approved.

Nat'l. Social Policy--Income Assistance

2. Child Care--Funding sought for three-person office of child care coordination. Two-person office approved.

~~State Social Policy--Child Care~~ *Nat'l Social Policy - ERA*

3. Displaced Homemakers--Part I and Part II budget monies sought. All monies approved.

Nat'l. Social Policy--Equal Access to Ed., etc.

4. WEET Program--Welfare employment, Education and Training Program received all requested funds.

Nat'l. Social Policy--Equal Access to Ed., etc.

5. Pay Equity--Bill passed made the results of the Comparable Worth Study of the State Governmnet pay system negotiable.

Nat'l Social Policy--ERA

6. Rape Law Reform--Bill passed lifted spousal exemption provision.

Nat'l Social Policy-ERA

7. Domestic Abuse--Current funding for community intervention programs approved; funds for children accompanying parents to shelter approved; partial funding approved for new community intervention program.

Nat'l. Social Policy--ERA

8. Maine Commission for Women Funding--Funding increases approved.

Nat'l. Social Policy--ERA

9. Rape & Incest Protection--Bill would have provided medicaid-funded abortion for victims of rape and incest.

Nat'l Gov. Policy--Citizen's Rights--Public Policy on Reproductive Choice

WLAC opposed:

WLAC is supporting the following:

1. A ACT to Insure Training and Empolyment Opportunities for all AFDC Recepients. Sponsor: Rep John Lisnik.

Nat'l. Social Policy--Income Assistance

2. An ACT to Reauthorize the Dislocated Workers Fund. Sponsor: Rep. John Martin.

Nat'l. Social Policy--Income Assistance

3. An ACT to Establish a Toll-Free Hotline for Victims of Rape, Incest and Battering. Sponsor: Sen. Nancy Clark.

Nat'l Social Policy

4. An ACT to Create a Rape Crisis Center in Augusta. Sponsor: Rep. Pat Paradis.

Nat'l Social Policy

5. An ACT to Improve Access to Child Care Services. Sponsor: Sen. Nancy Clark.

State Social Policy--Child Care

6. An ACT to Increase the Maine Child Care Deduction Under the State Income Tax. Sponsor: Rep. John Diamond.

State Social Policy--Child Care

7. An ACT to Encourage Employers to Assist Their Employees in Meeting their Child Care Needs and Expenses. Sponsor: Rep. John Diamond.

State Social Policy--Child Care

8. An ACT to Guarantee Insurance Coverage for Child Care Centers and Family Day Care Providers Licensed by the State of Maine. Sponsor: Rep Annette Hoglund.

State Social Policy--Child Care

9. An ACT to Fund a Long Term Care Budget for Maine's Elderly, Handicapped and at Risk Citizens Who Need Support and Helath Services. Sponsor: Sen. Nancy Clark.

Nat'l Social Policy

10. An ACT to Provide Community Education and Family Health Services. Sponsor: Sen. Charles Pray.

Nat'l Government--Citizen Rights--Public Policy on Reproductive Choice

11. An ACT to Increase AFDC Payments by 10%. Sponsor: Rep. John Lisnik.

Nat'l Social Policy - income Assistance



# Women's Legislative

## Agenda Coalition

p. 2

### OPERATING PROCEDURES

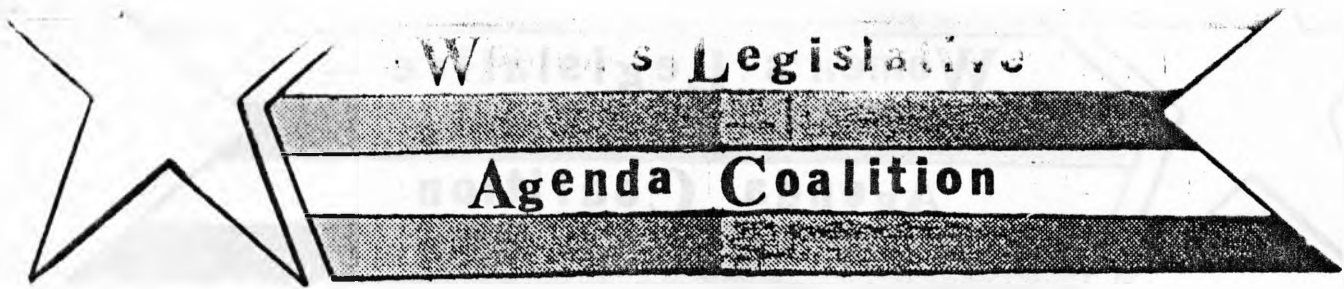
WLAC members experienced in testifying and lobbying will conduct a workshop at the beginning of each legislative session for organizations' representatives inexperienced in lobbying and testifying.

WLAC will set a legislative agenda by reaching consensus. All groups present must agree and those groups that are absent will be given a designated time period within which to respond. Those not responding are assumed to be in consensus with WLAC's position. All statements concerning the slate will be issued on WLAC stationery which lists member organizations.

WLAC also may support or oppose legislation if 2/3 of its member organizations agree to support the bill(s), and no member organization vetoes support because the bill(s) is in opposition to that member organization's principles. All statements concerning WLAC's position on such legislation will be released on WLAC stationery which does not list member organizations. However, member organizations which support the legislation will be listed in the statement.

If no member organization is willing to take the lead in organizing action on a particular bill, WLAC will not include the bill in its legislative package.

WLAC will be utilized as a forum for discussion of issues with the intent that the educational materials presented will be shared with the individual members of organizations represented.



#### MISSION STATEMENT

The Women's Legislative Agenda Coalition (WLAC) was formed in 1983 to improve the social, economic, and political status of women and to work for equality for all Maine citizens. WLAC will put forward a legislative agenda during each state legislative session that will improve women's immediate economic and social conditions and will institute laws and policies to enhance women's economic and social status. WLAC is comprised of a wide range of member organizations who agree with our overall objectives and who are willing to initiate legislation and to contribute to the research, lobbying and public education necessary to make our legislative efforts successful. Each piece of legislation WLAC supports will move all Maine citizens to the goal of full equality.

#### WLAC RECOMMENDED MEMBERSHIP AND OPERATING RULES

##### Membership

To qualify for membership in WLAC, organizations must:

1. Agree to WLAC's Mission Statement.
2. Pay Membership dues based on the organizations' ability to pay (with a recommended annual fee of \$25) to be used for operating expenses. No organization will be denied membership because of inability to pay.
3. Assign a member to testify on behalf of WLAC on one of WLAC's bills at a minimum of one hearing per legislative session.
4. Have a timely decision-making process to deal effectively with the speed of the legislative process.
5. Send representatives regularly to WLAC meetings.
6. Identify members to participate in legislative phone trees.

# Action Alert

SPOTMASTER: For the latest developments on League issues, call Spotmaster (202) 296-0218 from 1pm on Friday to 5pm on Monday (EDT).

This is going on DPM  
August 17, 1983

TO: State and Local League Presidents  
FROM: Dorothy S. Ridings, President; Julia A. Holmes, Action Chair; and Janet Otwell, Social Policy Chair  
RE: H.R. 1036, The Community Renewal Employment Act

H.R. 1036, the jobs creation bill sponsored by Congressman Augustus Hawkins (D-CA), is scheduled for consideration by the full House of Representatives on September 20th. Passage of H.R. 1036, which recognizes the employment needs of women, is a top League priority.

## ACTION URGENTLY NEEDED

Timing is all-important to assure passage of the Hawkins bill. With H.R. 1036 scheduled for action on September 20th and Congress in recess until September 12th, this is an ideal time to contact your Representative and urge him/her to support H.R. 1036.

Please take the following action:

1. Call or set up a meeting with your MC to discuss H.R. 1036 and ask for his/her support.
2. Write to your MC emphasizing the need for passage of H.R. 1036, citing statistics from the enclosed fact sheet on women and employment.
3. Contact your local newspapers and let them know of the pending vote on H.R. 1036, and the need for its passage. A model column is enclosed for your use.

Points to Emphasize:

1. The Hawkins bill is the only jobs bill in the House that will create the soft public works and service jobs which are most accessible to women and minorities.
2. H.R. 1036 targets those long-term unemployed workers who have been unemployed for fifteen weeks or more. This bill would provide assistance to those most devastated by the recession, and help put America back to work.
3. The Hawkins bill does not create "make work" jobs, but provides for vitally needed community improvement projects and services.
4. H.R. 1036 is cost efficient; the cost of each job would average \$10,000 and 75% of the funds allocated in the bill would go directly to wages and job related benefits.

## BACKGROUND

As you know, the League's national board, at its January meeting, agreed to give major legislative emphasis in 1983 to jobs creation, with special recognition of the employment needs of women. Toward that goal, LWVUS has spearheaded an effort to fashion a women's job component that could be part of any employment initiative advanced in the 98th Congress.

Working with Congressman Hawkins, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities, the League and other concerned organizations emphasized the need for an employment initiative that includes women and minorities. Prior to committee consideration, we were able to get important provisions added to the bill including more service jobs, part-time and flex-time jobs, and strong anti-discrimination language.

H.R. 1036 was reported out of the Education and Labor Committee in early May and out of the Rules Committee on August 3rd, the day before the House went into recess. At that time the floor date of September 20th was assigned. The bill has the support of 80 civil rights, labor, women's, education, youth and religious organizations.

While the Senate has yet to act on a jobs creation bill, Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) has introduced S. 1812 which also addresses employment needs of the long-term unemployed, women and minorities. Though no action is scheduled at this time, you may wish to contact your Senators and urge them to push for consideration of a jobs creation bill this fall.

#### PROVISIONS OF H.R. 1036

Unlike most jobs bills in Congress, H.R. 1036 creates employment opportunities for women and minorities by providing for more than the traditional construction types of public works jobs. Most women and, to a lesser degree, minorities, are not trained for heavy construction jobs. In order to assure that large numbers of women and minorities will be eligible for employment under the bill, the jobs created need to be in the service sector and in the "soft" public works sector.

The Hawkins bill will create these types of jobs. It will fund "soft" public works activities such as repair of public school facilities, weatherization and other energy conservation measures, removal of hazardous materials and refuse, and service activities such as provision of emergency food and shelter, disaster relief, literacy training, dependent care, and services to veterans, handicapped and the elderly. The jobs created are not make-work; they provide vital community services that have been deferred or otherwise not provided because of the impact of the recession on local communities.

The design of the bill assures that funds will be targeted to areas and pockets of unemployment in the greatest need. It will also target those workers who have been unemployed for at least 15 weeks with priority for those who have exhausted their unemployment benefits. Since 59% of all discouraged workers in June 1983 were women, this is an important provision for women workers.

The average cost per job will be \$10,000 and of the funds allocated under the bill, 75% of these must go directly to wages and related employment benefits.

The authorization level for the bill is currently set at \$4.5 billion for FY 1983 and is contained in the reserve fund of the House/Senate passed budget resolution. However, the budget resolution is non-binding and the Appropriations Committees would have to appropriate funds for jobs creation.

If fully funded, H.R. 1036 would provide employment for close to 500,000 workers. The League has played a major role in H.R. 1036's progress to the House floor. Now we must do everything possible to assure its passage on September 20th.

## WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

## THE FACTS:

- \* 48.6 MILLION WOMEN--44.1% OF ALL WORKERS--WERE IN THE LABOR FORCE IN JUNE 1983.
- \* IN 1982, WOMEN EARNED ONLY \$.61 FOR EVERY \$1 MEN EARNED--DOWN FROM \$.64 FOR EVERY \$1 IN 1955.
- \* WOMEN WORK FOR THE SAME REASON MEN WORK--ECONOMIC NECESSITY.
- \* TWO-THIRDS OF ALL WOMEN WORK AT LOW-PAYING, TRADITIONALLY 'FEMALE' JOBS.
- \* ONE IN EVERY THREE FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES IS LIVING IN POVERTY.
- \* NEARLY 9% OF ALL WORKING WOMEN ARE CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED.
- \* MORE THAN HALF OF BLACK FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS LIVE IN POVERTY.
- \* YOUNG MINORITY WOMEN HAVE AN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE CLOSE TO 50%.

WOMEN: A Growing Presence in the U.S. Labor Force

- 48.5 million women were in the labor force in July 1983--compared with 37.4 million in 1975 and 23.3 million in 1960.
- 53% of all women over the age of 16 were in the labor force in June 1983.
- In March 1983 women comprised 44% of the labor force.

WOMEN: Still Concentrated in Traditional, Low-paying Jobs

- In 1978, 2 of every 3 working women held traditionally 'female' jobs; 21.6% held jobs that were not sex stereotyped, and only 9.9% held traditionally 'male' jobs.
- In 1981 women were
  - 80% of all clericals
  - 63% of all retail sales workers
  - 70% of all teachers
  - 89% of all health service workers
  - 62% of all service workers
  - 97% of all registered nurses

But were only

- 4% of all engineers
- 14% of all doctors
- 14% of all lawyers
- 7% of all workers in heavy construction
- 5% of all workers in coal mining
- 2% of all carpenters
- 1% of all truck drivers

WOMEN: Their Work Still Undervalued

- Women workers with 4 or more years of college education earned in 1981 approximately the same as men who had not completed high school--\$12,085 and \$11,936 respectively.
- Women high school graduates who work full time earned less than fully employed men who have not completed elementary school, \$12,332 as compared with \$12,866 for men.
- On average, women must work nine days in order to receive the wages paid to men for five days work.

WOMEN: Working Out of Economic Need

- 25% of women in the labor force in March 1982 were single.
- 5% of women in the labor force in March 1982 were widowed.
- 15% of women in the labor force in March 1982 were divorced or separated.
- 21% of women in the labor force in March 1982 had husbands whose earnings in 1981 were less than \$15,000.
- 16% of all families were maintained by women in 1982 compared with 12% in 1972.
- 41% of all black families and 23% of all families of Spanish origin were maintained by women in 1982.

WOMEN: Already Poor and Getting Poorer

- Almost 1 in 3 female-headed families is poor as compared with only 1 in 18 male-headed families (1978).
- 51% of black female-headed households live in poverty.
- 60% of all households headed by women 15-24 live in poverty.
- Three-fourths of the elderly poor are women; almost half of all elderly minority women live in poverty.

WOMEN: More in Need of Quality Dependent Care than Ever Before

- 55% of children under the age of 18, or 32 million children, had working mothers in 1982.
- 46% of all children under the age of 6, or 8.5 million children, had mothers in the labor force.
- 42% of all mothers with children under the age of 3 are in the work force.
- 54% of mothers with children between the ages of 3 and 5 are in the work force.
- By 1990, about 1/2 of all preschool children, or 11.5 million children, will have mothers in the labor force, as will 60% of all school age children, or about 17.2 million children.

WOMEN: The Unemployed

- In July 1983, the official unemployment rate for women was 8.9%. This equals 4.3 million women officially unemployed.
- Women accounted for 59% of the discouraged workers in June 1983.

SOURCES:

"20 Facts on Women Workers," U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1982

"The Female-Male Earnings Gap: A Review of Employment and Earnings Issues," U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1982

"12th Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity," August 1980

A Children's Defense Budget: An Analysis of the President's Budget and Children, Children's Defense Fund, 1982

"Employment in Perspective: Working Women" Second Quarter 1983, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report 696



THE FOLLOWING IS A MODEL COLUMN THAT YOU MAY ADAPT FOR PLACEMENT IN YOUR LOCAL NEWSPAPER

The most dramatic change in the American work force in the past decade has been the increase in the number of women working outside the home. Women now comprise 44% of the American labor force. Most of these women, like most American men, work out of economic necessity to support themselves and their families. Yet federal jobs legislation has been painfully slow to recognize women's needs when they fall victim to unemployment.

When Congress returns to Washington after Labor Day, one of its pressing pieces of business will be consideration of the Community Renewal Employment Act, a bill carefully designed to meet the needs of America's unemployed. This bill, introduced last March by Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-CA), would create jobs that meet vital community improvement needs -- needs that have been deferred or otherwise have gone unmet due to the impact of the recession on local communities.

Through grants to state and local governments, the bill will cover labor costs for the repair, maintenance or rehabilitation of essential public facilities; public safety, health and social service activities; and conservation and improvement of public lands. The bill also assures that funds will be targeted to areas of high unemployment and will give priority to individuals who have been unemployed at least 15 weeks. Further, the bill guarantees that no more than 25% of the funds may be used for the cost of administration and the acquisition of supplies. The remainder of funds must be used for wages and benefits of participants.

Of the jobs bills now pending before Congress, the Community Renewal Employment Act best recognizes that working women are a fact of life in America today. This legislation addresses the fact that most women and, to a lesser degree, minorities are not trained for the heavy construction jobs subsidized in jobs bills that concentrate on public works. The bill specifically authorizes employment in a variety of activities in which women are likely to be employed, including child care, domestic violence programs, employment counseling, emergency food and shelter activities, assisting nutrition programs and other services for elderly and

handicapped individuals.

Passage of this legislation would signal a recognition by Congress that the needs of working women can no longer be overlooked in jobs legislation.

Consider the statistics:

- o In June 1983, approximately 44% of all workers in the labor force were women.
- o As of July 1983, the official rate of unemployment for women was 8.9%, with the figure approaching 50% for young, black women.
- o Women are still concentrated in traditional, low-paying jobs, earning only 61¢ for every \$1 earned by men, and this gap is even greater for minority women.
- o In March 1982 twenty-five percent of women in the labor force were single, five percent were widowed, fifteen percent were divorced or separated, and 21 percent had husbands whose earnings in 1981 were less than \$15,000.
- o A growing proportion of American families are headed by women, and of these families, almost one in three lives in poverty, as contrasted to one in 18 headed by a man.

The League of Women Voters urges Congress to help put Americans back to work by supporting the Community Renewal Employment Act, a comprehensive, labor-intensive package that equitably serves the employment needs of the men and women of this country.

Women's issues



# memorandum

8-25-83

This is going on DPM

TO: State and Local League Presidents  
FROM: Dorothy S. Ridings  
RE: LWV 1984 Debates Plans

As a League leader, you probably know first-hand that debates sponsorship is a never-ending process, involving a lot more than just hiring a hall and alerting the candidates and media. At the national level, we've been working diligently since the 1980 debates, laying the groundwork for a series during 1984 which will mark the third consecutive presidential election in which the League has sponsored debates between major White House contenders.

Media interest in the League's 1984 plans has already begun, some of it occasioned by announcements from other groups that they, too, wish to sponsor debates. We've made it clear to those who've asked that we have definite plans for 1984, including:

- sponsorship of up to four series of debates during the presidential primary season, strategically timed and located in states holding major primary events.
- sponsorship of up to four debates (one between vice-presidential candidates) between Labor Day and Election Day of 1984, to be held in different cities around the country.

We plan to announce the sites for the early primary debates shortly after Labor Day 1983. Decisions about sites for primary debates are, of course, dictated by outside factors, including timing of primaries and caucuses and regional considerations, for example, accessibility to media outlets and geographical relationship to other caucuses and primaries. We therefore find we have very little flexibility in deciding on primary debate sites.

These restraints don't apply to the debates held during the general election season. In the near future, we'll be making available to Leagues information on site selection criteria for the debates planned for the Fall of 1984.

We've been heartened by the enthusiastic and positive reactions from League members and local officials during our initial primary site advance trips, and we anticipate more of the same as the planning process moves along. We're looking forward to an exciting year of intense activity among all levels of League as we help to bring the nation together to evaluate candidates for the most important job in the land. We will, of course, make every effort to keep you as well informed as possible -- but this is the first caution (out of an expected thousand or so I'll be expressing to you in the coming months!) that there will be many times in which advance notification of pending events will be impossible. Bear with us; we'll do our best to keep you posted.

## WORKFORCE QUIZ

1. In 1981, what percentage of the total national workforce was female? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What percentage of American women between the ages of 16 and 64 are currently in the labor force? \_\_\_\_\_
3. What percentage of American women work full time at some point during their lives? \_\_\_\_\_
4. How many years can the American women expect to spend in the work force? \_\_\_\_\_
5. On the average, women who work full time earn \_\_\_\_ cents for every \$1 earned by men. \_\_\_\_\_
6. Approximately what proportion of working women work out of economic necessity, i.e., they are either single, widowed, divorced, or separated or are married to men who earn less than \$10,000 annually? \_\_\_\_\_
7. a.) Approximately what percentage of all families living below the poverty line are headed by women? \_\_\_\_\_  
b.) Approximately what percentage of Black families living below the poverty line are headed by women? \_\_\_\_\_
8. a.) Of all women with dependent children, what percentage are in the labor force? \_\_\_\_\_  
b.) What percentage of women with preschool children are in the work force? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Rank order the following groups and indicate the median income for year round, full time workers in each category as of 1981: Hispanic origin females, Hispanic males, Black females, Black males. White females, White males.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
10. Women comprise what percentage of all workers in the following categories:  
Clerical \_\_\_\_\_  
Craft \_\_\_\_\_  
Engineers \_\_\_\_\_  
Middle management \_\_\_\_\_  
Retail sales workers \_\_\_\_\_
11. Women comprise what percentage of the following positions in school systems in the United States?  
Elementary/secondary teachers \_\_\_\_\_  
Elementary principals \_\_\_\_\_  
Secondary principals \_\_\_\_\_  
Superintendents \_\_\_\_\_
12. What percentage of families fit the All-American model of working father, dependent mother, and two children? \_\_\_\_\_

## ANSWERS

1. 43%, or about 47 million women.
2. 52%, as compared with 77% of all men between the ages of 16 and 64.
3. 90%
4. 27.6 years, as compared with 38.3 years for men.
5. 59¢
6. 2/3
7. a.) 50%  
b.) 75%
8. a.) 55%  
b.) 45%
9. 

White males	\$18,408
Black males	14,352
Hispanic males	13,052
White females	11,752
Black females	11,024
Hispanic females	10,036
10. 

Clerical	80%
Craft	6%
Engineers	4%
Middle management	5%
Retail sales workers	63%
11. 

Elementary/secondary teachers	70%
Elementary principals	11%
Secondary principals	4%
Superintendents	1%
12. 7%

### Sources:

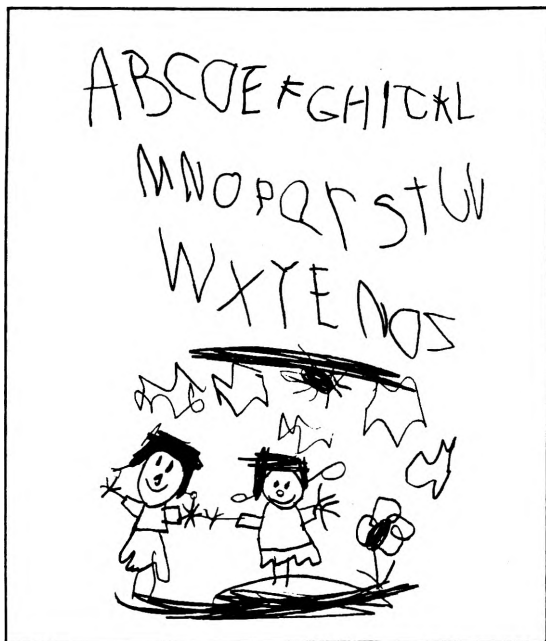
U.S. Department of Labor, "Annual Summary", December, 1981; U.S. Department of Labor, "Employment and Unemployment: A report on 1980", April 1981; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Council of Chief State School Officers and National Association of State Boards of Education, "Facing The Future: Education and Equity for Females and Males," December 1980.

# THE REPORT CARD

## The Cost of Sex Bias in Schools

Created by Myra & David Sadker

The Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity  
The American University  
Washington, D.C.



The material included in this is funded through Title IV, Section 403, contract G0078C0193, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the Office of Education should be inferred.

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# The Report Card

## AN INTRODUCTION

Although you will not find this report card in any school, the findings presented here frequently reflect the cost of sex bias in classrooms and schools across the country. Years after the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, sex bias and discrimination still permeate school life.

But beyond the requirements of Title IX, the elimination of sex discrimination in schools represents a critical and fundamental educational goal. The limiting effects of sex role stereotyping inhibit all our students, girls and boys, from reaching their full potential.

The purpose of this report card is to highlight several salient findings related to sex differences and sex discrimination in school, for it is our belief that the first step toward promoting sex equity is to increase educators' knowledge of the damaging impact of sex bias in school policies and practices. Once this is achieved, educators can begin to take those first crucial steps needed to translate educational equity into a reality in classrooms across the nation.



# THE COST OF SEX BIAS IN SCHOOLS

## Girls

## Boys

### ACADEMIC

- Girls start out ahead of boys in speaking, reading and counting. In the early grades, their academic performance is equal to boys in math and science. However, as they progress through school, their achievement test scores show significant decline. The scores of boys, on the other hand, continue to rise and eventually reach and surpass those of their female counterparts, particularly in the areas of math and science.<sup>1</sup>
- In spite of performance decline on standardized achievement tests, girls frequently receive better grades in school. This may be one of the rewards they get for being more quiet and docile in the classroom. However, this may be at the cost of independence and self-reliance.<sup>2</sup>
- Girls with special educational needs (gifted and learning disabled) are far less likely to be identified and nurtured than boys with similar special educational needs.<sup>3</sup>

- Boys are almost four times as likely to have reading problems as are girls.<sup>4</sup>
- Boys are over sixty percent more likely than girls to be grade repeaters.<sup>5</sup>
- Among boys and girls of equal I.Q., boys are more likely to receive lower grades than girls. Even boys who score as well or better than girls on achievement tests are more likely to get lower grades in school.<sup>6</sup>

### PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL

- As boys and girls progress through school, their opinions of boys become higher while their opinions of girls become lower. Both boys and girls are learning that in our society, boys are worth more.<sup>7</sup>
- Although women achieve better grades than men, they are less likely to believe that they can do college work. In fact, of the brightest high school graduates who do not go on to college, seventy to ninety percent are women.<sup>8</sup>
- By high school, young women demonstrate a decline in commitment to their work and their future potential. This decline is related to their feeling that boys disapprove of a woman using her intelligence.<sup>9</sup>
- Tests reveal that the majority of female and male college students report that the characteristics traditionally associated with masculinity are more valuable and more socially desirable than those characteristics associated with femininity.<sup>10</sup>
- In athletics, females also suffer from sex bias. In 1974, for example, women's athletic budgets in the nation's colleges were equal to only two percent of the men's budgets.<sup>11</sup>

- Society socializes boys into an active, independent and aggressive role. But such behavior is incongruent with school norms and rituals that stress quiet behavior and docility. This results in a pattern of role conflict for boys, particularly during the elementary years.<sup>12</sup>
- Boys are taught stereotyped behaviors earlier and more harshly than girls; there is a twenty percent greater probability that such stereotyped behavior will stay with them for life.<sup>13</sup>
- Conforming to the male sex role stereotype takes a psychological toll. Boys who score high on sex-appropriate behavior tests also score highest on anxiety tests. Boys are more likely to have emotional problems than are girls, and statistics indicate a higher male suicide rate.<sup>14</sup>
- Males are less likely than females to be close friends with one another. When asked, most males identify females as their closest friends.<sup>15</sup>
- The strain and anxiety associated with conforming to the male sex role stereotype also affects boys physically. Males are more likely to succumb to serious disease or be victims of accidents or violence, and the average life expectancy of men is eight years shorter than women.<sup>16</sup>

### CAREERS AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

- By the middle elementary school years, girls are able to identify only a limited number of potential careers, and even these fit stereotypic patterns. Boys, on the other hand, can identify many potential occupations, and unlike girls, they are able to describe the nature of these careers in detail.<sup>17</sup>
- Although the common perception is that most women will work in the paid labor force only until they get married or have children, the typical twenty-five year old woman will have two children and work for a total of 34 years. Women who are single, divorced or separated will work an average of 41 years. (The work expectancy for men is also 41 years.) Few school programs, however, treat the career preparations of girls with the same seriousness and commitment afforded to boys.<sup>18</sup>
- Over ninety percent of the girls in our classrooms will work in the paid force for a part or most of their lives, although their school training has prepared them for only a few, low paying positions.<sup>19</sup>
- Many young women exhibit conflict over combining career and family roles. School programs rarely offer female students help in resolving this conflict.<sup>20</sup>

Partially as a result of the career counseling and preparation girls receive in school, they suffer severe economic penalties:

- Over forty percent of families headed by women live below the poverty level.<sup>21</sup>
- A woman with a college degree will typically earn less than a male who is a high school dropout.<sup>22</sup>
- The typical working woman will earn 59 cents for every dollar earned by a male worker.<sup>23</sup>
- Minority women earn even less, averaging only fifty percent of the wages earned by white males.<sup>24</sup>
- In contrast to the popular belief that things are getting better for female workers, since 1954 the gap between the wages earned by men and women has not gotten smaller. In fact, in the last 25 years this gap has almost doubled.<sup>25</sup>

- Teachers and counselors advise boys to enter sex stereotyped careers and limit their potential in occupations like kindergarten teacher, nurse or secretary.<sup>26</sup>
- Many boys build career expectations that are higher than their abilities. This results in later compromise, disappointment, and frustration.<sup>27</sup>
- Both at school and at home boys are taught to hide or suppress their emotions; as boys and as men they may find it difficult or impossible to show feelings towards their family and friends.<sup>28</sup>
- Boys are actively discouraged from playing with dolls (except those that play sports or wage war). Few schools provide programs that encourage boys to learn about the skills of parenting. Many men, through absence and apathy, become not so much parents as "trans-parents." In fact, the most common perception children have of their father is that of punishing agent.<sup>29</sup>

The Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity  
is one of ten regional assistance centers  
funded by the United States Office of Education  
to provide assistance to public school districts  
in meeting the requirements of Title IX and  
achieving sex equity. For further information  
or assistance please contact:



The Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity  
The American University  
Foxhall Square Building, Suite 224  
3301 New Mexico Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20016

## NOTES

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**EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

Carol Parr

October 2, 1985

Jane Saxl  
First Vice President  
League of Women Voters of Maine  
37 Pond Street  
Bangor, ME 04677

Dear Jane:

Thank you for your postcard on behalf of the Maine League commending the LWVUS for its participation as an amicus in Thornburgh v. ACOG and Diamond v. Charles, the cases in which the Justice Department is urging the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn Roe v. Wade.

The Court has scheduled oral argument for Tuesday, November 5. I thought you would be interested in the enclosed two articles; they give strong clues as to what the Court thinks of the Justice Department's views. Although no one can ever predict what this Court will actually decide, the Court's denial of this request is a very encouraging sign. Neither the Pennsylvania nor the Illinois appellants have made the same agreement that the Justice Department has; instead, they are arguing that the state statutes meet the Roe standard. By not allowing a separate argument, therefore, the Court is at least denying Justice a forum for persuading it that the correct approach is to overturn Roe.

Sincerely,

Cynthia D. Hill  
Director  
Election Services and  
Litigation

cc: Marlee Coughlan, President  
LWV of Maine

Board of Directors, LWVUS

Contributions to the Fund are deductible for income-tax purposes.

1730 M Street, NW  
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(202) 429-1965

# U.S. Can't Join 2 High Court Cases

9/19/85

By Al Kamen  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court declined yesterday to let the Reagan administration participate in oral arguments this fall in two major cases involving abortion and affirmative action.

The decision means that the court will not hear Justice Department lawyers argue that the court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion should be overruled.

The department, in a controversial brief filed with the court, took that position, but neither plaintiff in the cases from Illinois and Pennsylvania have asked the court to reverse that decision.

Department officials said yesterday the court's action, which denies the administration a highly visible platform to press its views, should not be seen as a rebuff of the administration's position. A senior official emphasized that the court has rarely granted requests for additional time to argue cases.

The Illinois and Pennsylvania cases, which involve state efforts to limit abortions, are to be argued on Nov. 5.

The affirmative action case, which involves a teachers' collective bargaining agreement in Jackson, Mich., will be argued the next day. The court is expected to rule on a union contract that permits layoffs of white teachers to retain black teachers with less seniority.

When the federal government is not directly involved in a case, it must secure the consent of those involved, and then obtain the court's permission, to argue a case.

If those involved agree, the court generally, as a matter of respect or courtesy, allows the Justice Department to argue its views.

Department officials said that in these cases, neither the Pennsylvania nor Michigan officials agreed to relinquish part of their allotted half-hour of argument.

The Supreme Court justices, who might have granted additional argument time given the importance of the issues, did not reveal why they denied the requests.

# THE FEDER

*Inside: the Judiciary*

## Pro-Abortion Ruling's Author Confident of Its Survival

Justice Harry A. Blackmun has indicated that the Supreme Court is not likely to overhaul its 1973 decision legalizing abortion.

The court surprised both sides in the controversy last spring when it agreed to consider two cases that were similar to cases it decided just two years ago. The action fueled speculation that the court might substantially alter, if not overturn, the 1973 decision.

But Blackmun, in a speech last month to federal judges in Little Rock, viewed the action differently.

"There are always four votes" to hear an abortion case, Blackmun said. "And the other five of us heave a deep sigh and wish we didn't have to go through this traumatic experience again."

Under court rules, a case is granted full review if four of the nine justices vote to do so. The two cases, which involve efforts by Pennsylvania and Illinois to regulate abortion, will be argued Nov. 5.

But it takes a majority to change or overturn a prior ruling, and Blackmun, who wrote the 1973 decision, apparently counts at least five votes on his side, despite the Reagan administration's urging that the 1973 decision be overturned. "A very amazing brief," Blackmun said of acting Solicitor General Charles Fried's arguments.

"The [state] legislatures," he added, "are constantly trying to push back the effect of *Roe v. Wade* and make it more difficult" to obtain an abortion.

The most recent abortion appeals—in 1983—have been decided on a 6-to-3 vote; Blackmun did not say who provided the fourth vote to hear the latest cases.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, though a member of the original majority, is deemed the most likely

fourth vote to hear the cases. That does not mean, however, that he will vote with the dissenters.

Blackmun said, "This court is not a great court, but I think it is not the worst court that we have had in history."

"It's a battle, it's not a picnic and it's plain hard work," Blackmun said. "If I had any sense, I think I'd step down."

Blackmun is not about to do so. He said he had received the following letter recently from a Phoenix lawyer: "Don't you think it is about time you retired to answer the call of the fishing and the hiking of the Northwest and permit the president to appoint somebody who is attuned to and will respond to his particular philosophical bent?"

Blackmun said he wrote back: "Dear Mr. So-and-So. No. Sincerely, Harry A. Blackmun."

### FRIEND OF THE MEDIA? ...

Burger has never been known as particularly fond of the broadcast media. He objected to television coverage of his annual speech to the American Bar Association and has staunchly opposed cameras in the courtroom.

But it seems the chief may have a soft spot for the print media—or at least a small part of it.

Burger is setting up a \$5,000 college scholarship trust fund at Johnson Senior High School in St. Paul, Minn., in the name of his former English teacher, Edna Moore. Burger, class of 1925, says Moore was adviser to the school paper when Burger was its editor and sports editor.

### FILLING COURT VACANCIES

... The White House has an-



HARRY A. BLACKMUN

... "this traumatic experience again"

nounced that it plans to nominate Laurence H. Silberman, a former deputy attorney general and one-time ambassador to Yugoslavia, to the U.S. appeals court here.

Silberman, a Washington attorney who is a member of the General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament, would fill a position created by Congress last year.

One other spot on the 12-member court has been vacant for nearly a year—the opening created when Judge Malcolm R. Wilkey assumed senior status last December.

Attorney General Edwin Meese III this week told a conference of judges that the Reagan administration, which has been slow to fill federal court vacancies, will move quickly to try to fill 86 vacancies by the end of this year.

Sources said Washington attorney Marion Edwin Harrison, a leading candidate since January for Wilkey's seat, has not yet won the approval of the American Bar Association, which screens candidates for judgeships. Other candidates are being considered.

—Al Kamen



August 19, 1985

Dear Ms. Saxl:

Enclosed is a copy of a statement  
by Dot on the Reagan administration's  
request that the Supreme Court overturn  
its Roe v. Wade decision.

We will let you know about further  
developments on this issue.

Sincerely,

Janice L. Kaplan

Janice L. Kaplan  
Public Affairs Officer



# news release

STATEMENT BY DOROTHY S. RIDINGS, PRESIDENT

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST TO REVERSE ROE V. WADE

JULY 16, 1985

"The League of Women Voters of the United States is appalled at the Reagan administration's request that the U.S. Supreme Court overturn the landmark 1973 Roe v. Wade decision.

"The LWVUS believes that public policy in a pluralistic society must affirm the constitutional right of privacy of the individual to make reproductive choices. On this basis, we support the Roe v. Wade decision as an important constitutional protection."

###

CONTACT: Janice L. Kaplan

(202) 429-1965

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

July 16, 1985

Dear Friend:

On Monday, July 15, the U.S. Department of Justice filed a Supreme Court brief seeking reversal of Roe v. Wade and two lower court decisions pending before the Supreme Court supporting a woman's right to choose an abortion. In doing so, the Administration exercised the ultimate power within its grasp: the official manipulation of the Supreme Court to accommodate the desire of a vocal minority to force its point of view on us all.

In its brief filed before the Supreme Court, the Justice Department maintained:

**"...[it] is our belief that the textual, historical and doctrinal basis of that decision (Roe) is so far flawed that this Court should overrule it and return the law to the condition in which it was before that case was decided."**

Clearly, the Administration wants to return to the days of illegal, back-alley abortions, to the days when women were prosecuted for having abortions and doctors were hunted as criminals for performing them. That is the "condition" this Justice Department wants to return to.

As upsetting as the Justice Department brief, however, is the Administration's ordering of priorities. With deficits of \$250 billion a year, a major tax reform bill in the works and a summit meeting with the Russians in November, why should our government dedicate the time, energy and tax dollars to overturning Roe v. Wade, a landmark decision that was reaffirmed by the court less than two years ago? The wisdom of this challenge is questionable, the timing certainly inappropriate.

I, like thousands of others, must ask myself this question: Will anti-choice forces ever leave us alone to enjoy the rights and freedoms protected by the Constitution? If they succeed in this endeavor, what will be next? Freedom of speech, of the press, the right to assemble? Will they ever let us live our lives in peace and according to decisions we make for ourselves, not by decisions forced on us by others?

(OVER)



This is an extremely dangerous and threatening situation. Your rights and my rights are at risk.

I would appreciate hearing your thoughts on this outrageous and unnecessary attack on our Constitution.

Sincerely,

  
BOB PACKWOOD

BP/mle

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

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MRS. JOSEPH SAXL  
37 POND STREET  
BANGOR, ME 04401

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

July 29, 1985

Dear Friend:

On Monday, July 22, 1985, I testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee to express my intense opposition to a proposed bill that poses a serious threat to a woman's constitutionally-protected freedom to make her own reproductive decisions.

The Abortion Funding Restriction Act (S. 522) is portrayed by its sponsor, ~~Senator Hatch~~, as a straightforward permanent ban on use of federal funds to pay for abortions except when the life of the mother is in danger. This new push for so-called "super Hyde" language, has a much more insidious and potentially damaging twist than the traditional Hyde amendments -- named after the original opponent of federal funding of abortion -- that have been with us for years.

Rather than amending funding law as the traditional Hyde amendment does, the Hatch bill amends civil rights law. Civil rights law protects discrimination against persons. The Supreme Court held in the landmark decision legalizing abortion, Roe v. Wade, that the fetus is not a person as defined by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This bill clearly aims to establish fetuses as having full constitutional protections and rights from the moment of conception.

The Hatch bill amends Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VI prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, religion or national origin by programs or activities receiving federal financial assistance. Hatch's bill would add the category of fetuses to the list of minorities protected from discrimination. If the fetus were to come under civil rights protection, a health care facility eligible for federal assistance would not receive funds until it corrects the "discrimination against the fetus," meaning no abortions could be performed.

Expanding the reach of Title VI as described would no doubt prohibit the performance of abortions, whether or not the woman pays for the procedure herself, in any public or private facility that receives any federal funds. This could result in a ban on abortions in any hospital or institution that receives federal assistance of any kind, including Medicare and Medicaid. Once again, what is a woman to do? Return to the back alley?

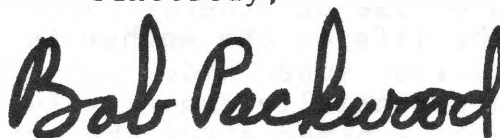
(OVER)

How do we balance the civil rights of the fetus against the civil rights of the woman? Could a woman no longer have a right to an abortion because the abortion is a violation of the fetus' civil rights?

This is just a sampling of many extremely important questions that demand detailed responses before decisions are made to alter any part of the Constitution -- a document that has served us well for over 200 years. We should not tamper with the freedoms so carefully constructed by our Founders. The stakes are high; the loss of individual liberties great.

This bill is not only an attack on a woman's right to choose but also an insult to the original purpose of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Sincerely,

  
BOB PACKWOOD

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

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League of Women Voters  
of the United States

# *Memorandum*

1730 M Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 429-1965

December 1985

This is going on DPM

## POST-BOARD SUMMARY

following the December 1985 meeting  
of the LWVUS Board of Directors and the LWVEF Board of Trustees

--for all League presidents and DPM subscribers--

The LWVUS directors and the LWVEF trustees dealt with several major pieces of League business in December 1985. Much time and attention were devoted to discussions and decisions on issue priorities: the LWVUS board approved the 1986 Advocacy Agenda, and the LWVEF trustees approved the 1986 Citizen Education Priorities (see below for full information). In addition, the board adopted a new position on the federal deficit, the result of Stage 2 of the League's Financing the Federal Government study and approved a Suggested Program to be sent to League leaders in this mailing.

## FINANCING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

### Statement of Position on the Federal Deficit as Adopted by the National Board, December 1985.

The League of Women Voters of the United States believes that the current federal deficit, as projected to 1990, should be reduced. In order to reduce the deficit, the government should rely primarily on reductions in defense spending through selective cuts and on increased revenue through a tax system that is broad-based with progressive rates. The government also should achieve whatever savings possible through improved efficiency and management. The League opposes across-the-board federal spending cuts.

The League recognizes that deficit spending is sometimes appropriate and, therefore, opposes a constitutionally mandated balanced budget for the federal government. The League could support deficit spending, if necessary, for stimulating the economy during recession and depression, meeting social needs in times of national security crises. The League opposes a federal budget line item veto.

More information about the new position and about action possibilities is included in this mailing to League presidents and DPM subscribers. The board was pleased with the success of this second round of direct member agreement. The FFG Committee and the board had no trouble discerning members' views on these important issues, and the study article and response form in the Fall 1985 National Voter generally received very high marks. A total of 9,285 responses were received, slightly up from Stage 1.

Remind your members that the Spring 1986 National Voter will carry the background article and response form for Stage 3, to focus on entitlements. In addition, Leagues will receive a copy of the background article to be sent by first class mail to facilitate meeting planning. Special arrangements will be made for the Leagues in Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The Voter should reach members by mid-April 1986, so the best time to schedule meetings is late April through mid-May. The postmark deadline for mailing of members' response forms to the national League office is May 19, 1986.

#### ADVOCACY AGENDA/CITIZEN EDUCATION PRIORITIES

By focusing League work on national issues at all levels of the organization, the Advocacy Agenda and Citizen Education priorities are designed to increase the League's impact on issues through a variety of strategies and techniques. The Advocacy Agenda and Citizen Education Priorities, described below, are flexible plans. Implementation will take into account external realities, appropriate timing and realistic assessment of the resources available and the workload involved for all levels of the League.

The Post-Board Summary highlights both sets of priorities, to guide you in your own board planning. Prospectus #4, scheduled to be mailed in March 1986, will provide more information on what Leagues can do to implement these priorities on the local and state levels and to mesh work on national program with other League goals. The Winter 1986 National Voter carries a listing of the priorities for members. League leaders should watch Report from the Hill for the latest timing on action on the Advocacy Agenda.

#### ADVOCACY AGENDA 1986

THEME: Achieve fair and responsible federal fiscal policy through tax reform, deficit reductions and budget policies.

#### Strategies:

- o Engage in extensive lobbying campaign efforts in favor of League positions on taxes, spending and the deficit.

- o Mobilize League network to influence Congress.
- o Develop and promote timely public policy issue analyses, issue briefs and brochures.
- o Develop and implement high visibility media and public relations strategies to advance legislative campaigns, directed at both national and community levels.
- o Work with appropriate coalitions to support efforts.

THEME: Protect public health and the environment through control of air and water pollution.

Strategies:

- o Work in cooperation with the National Clean Air Coalition (NCAC), in mounting an integrated legislative campaign to control acid rain and toxic air pollutants while protecting the Clean Air Act.
- o Engage in extensive lobbying efforts on clean air.
- o Mobilize League grassroots network to pressure Members of Congress on clean air.
- o Develop and promote timely public policy analyses, issue briefs, and brochure on clean air to build pressure on Members of Congress.
- o Develop and implement media strategies to promote grassroots and national press on clean air, including major op-ed pieces and work with NCAC press operation.
- o Finish legislative work to achieve strong reauthorizations of the Clean Water Act, Superfund and the Safe Drinking Water Act.

THEME: Create a climate for arms control through spending decisions on space weapons.

Strategies:

- o Work with national leaders of other significant organizations to coordinate a legislative campaign to reduce funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), and anti-satellite weapons (ASATs), while protecting the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.
- o Develop and promote timely public policy analyses, issue briefs,

and brochure on topics related to SDI and ASATs.

- o Mobilize League network to pressure Members of Congress during key House and Senate committee and floor votes on authorization, appropriations and budget legislation.
- o Develop and implement public relations and media strategies to promote League position, advance legislative efforts and mobilize public support.

THEME: Protect the rights of women and minorities through legislation and litigation responding to current attacks on civil rights and employment policies.

Strategies:

- o Continue leadership role in Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR), and women's coalition to coordinate legislative strategy to pass the Civil Rights Restoration Act (CRRA).
- o Develop and implement a major press strategy to make the CRRA a nationally known issue.
- o Work with the LCCR to respond to current attacks on Executive Order 11246 by legislation, regulation or litigation.
- o Mobilize the League network and provide with information on current attacks on civil rights.
- o Continue to work for passage of pay equity legislation.
- o Develop and implement a media strategy on pay equity.
- o Develop and disseminate public policy analyses to inform the League network and pressure Congress.
- o Participate in litigation on a selected basis to support affirmative action and to fight job segregation.

CITIZEN EDUCATION PRIORITIES 1986

ISSUE: Protect Voting Rights

Components:

- o Monitor Justice Department policies on interpretation and enforcement of the Voting Rights Act (VRA).
- o Initiate or participate with other organizations in litigation, administrative efforts and public awareness efforts to seek

aggressive enforcement of the VRA by the Justice Department or by the courts.

- o Support (through legal expertise, advice and funding) local and state League-initiated litigation to develop Section 2 as a remedy for discriminatory registration and election practices.
- o Begin a new grant-funded VRA project on bailout monitoring and litigation, working with selected local Leagues and focusing on local election practices.
- o Collect, compile, and disseminate data from Leagues and other organizations about barriers to voter participation and assess the need for reforms.
- o Participate in litigation and administrative advocacy to remove barriers to registration and voting.
- o Support local and state League litigation to remove barriers to registration and voting and provide technical assistance to Leagues.
- o Continue to serve as an expert resource on elections for Leagues and other organizations.

ISSUE: Recast U.S. Strategic Policy

Components:

- o Monitor and assess significant developments or trends in the Strategic Defense Initiative and anti-satellite weapons.
- o Develop and promote occasional public policy analyses and/or issue briefs on selected topics related to SDI and ASATs.
- o Research and analyze the impact of SDI on the development of technology and on educational programs in the United States; identify significant trends and public policy issues.
- o Obtain funding to support outreach activities and complete production of SDI documentary.
- o Create a market for League research and analysis of space weapons issues, including journal articles, direct mail and other appropriate vehicles.

ISSUE: Promote citizen and community understanding of, and participation in, management of water resources.

Components:



- o Community-based data collection for a national drinking water survey.
- o League involvement in community awareness project on household hazardous waste.
- o Research and development of educational materials to promote the Leagues' expertise in the sound management of water resources.
- o Seek outside funding to support the above activities.
- o Complete revision of Hazardous Waste Primer.

ISSUE: Promote employment policies that protect the rights of women and minorities.

Components:

- o Pursue citizen education, litigation and agency enforcement efforts that promote affirmative action.
- o Conduct Civil Rights Training Seminar.
- o Seek outside funding to support these citizen education activities.
- o Pursue public education and litigation strategies to further the concept of pay equity, including the dissemination of materials and participation in selected litigation. Continue leadership roles in the National Committee on Pay Equity.
- o Complete AAAS project to improve the involvement of minorities, women and the handicapped in math and science education.

ISSUE: Increase citizen participation in elections.

Components:

- o Continue the Women's Vote Project.
- o Provide support for state and local League Voters Service activities.
- o Pursue debate-related activities, including preparation for the 1988 Presidential Debates, issue debates, the debate handbook and the Agenda for Security Project.

In addition to these five Citizen Education Priorities for 1986, the board of trustees also decided that the LWVEF should position itself for more future-oriented analysis of public policy issues by concentrating on one long-range topic; the board directed the LWVEF staff to begin exploration of the changing role of the federal government as part of this forward-looking focus. As League leaders know, the changing role of the federal government--as reflected in tax cuts, spending and budgeting decisions, and regulatory and federalism policies--and the resulting retrenchment from New Deal philosophies have major implications in a variety of policy areas that need to be identified, examined and explained to the American people. New public policy alternatives that deal with a changed role of government need to be developed and clearly discussed with citizens. As with the 1986 Citizen Education Priorities, League leaders will be receiving more information on this future-oriented LWVEF analysis as staff work proceeds.

#### PROGRAM PLANNING

The national board approved the Suggested Program to start off the national program planning process for 1986-88. The Winter 1986 National Voter, which will reach members in mid-January, carries the full Suggested Program and a background article. This Post-Board Summary mailing includes the official program-planning response form, a Leader's Guide and a discussion outline for League meetings on planning national program. The postmark deadline for return of program planning forms is March 14, 1986.

#### OTHER PROGRAM NEWS

--National Security Study. Remember that the postmark deadline is January 15, 1986 for return on Leagues' member agreement reports for the study of U.S. relations with the developing nations. The national board will analyze the response and announce the results at its April 17-19 meeting.

--Early Projections. LWVUS President Dorothy Ridings reported to the board on meetings with network executives and on other efforts to achieve agreement about network projections of election results before polls close. The board discussed the lack of agreement by networks to a uniformly worded commitment not to project or characterize election results before polls close in a state. In view of the uncertainties about network commitment, the national board voted to take no action on the proposed congressional legislation to provide for a uniform poll closing time for presidential general elections. The board advises state and local Leagues to proceed with any 1986 key precinct reporting contracts they may wish to make. Further guidance will be sent to Leagues regarding the 1988 presidential election key precinct contracts.

--ERA. The board approved a contribution to the LWV of Vermont's state ERA campaign from the LWVUS ERA restricted account. The amount of the contribution will be determined by the Executive Committee after consultation with the Vermont League and a review of the budget involved. As League leaders know, the League is not generally in favor of pursuing state ERAs at this time, but since the ERA battle has been joined in Vermont, the state League determined, and the national board concurred, that a response was necessary.

--The March March. The board declined an invitation from the National Organization for Women (NOW) to be among the cosponsors of "The National March for Women's Lives--East Coast/West Coast," due to other time and resource commitments. Marches are scheduled for March 9, 1986 in Washington, DC and March 16, 1986 in Los Angeles.

--DC Voting Rights. The board agreed to reimburse the LWV of the District of Columbia \$350 for some final expenses connected with the DC Voting Rights Amendment campaign. The requisite number of states failed to ratify the amendment by the August 22, 1985 deadline.

--The Nuclear Waste Primer. The LWVEF's soon-to-be-bestseller, The Nuclear Waste Primer, premiered at a book party and reception during the board meeting. The Primer already has received very favorable reviews, and we were able to include some hefty advance sales in the original press run. A copy of the book will be sent to LWV presidents after the holiday mail bottleneck. In the meantime, get your orders in now: Pub. #448, \$5.95 (\$3.00 for members). The usual quantity discounts apply.

--UN Observer Appointments. Edith Segall was reappointed by the board as the League's UN Observer. Ann Sielman will be First Alternate and Linda Moscarella will be Second Alternate.

#### FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

--FY 1986-87 Budgets. The Budget Committee will meet March 4-5, 1986 to develop proposed LWVUS and LWVEF budgets for board consideration in April. Budget Chair JoAnn Price (MD) met with the board in December to discuss policies, priorities and overall organizational goals for the next fiscal year. The board sent a very strong message to the Budget Committee that every effort should be made to hold the line on the Per Member Payment (PMP) for 1986-87. The proposed LWVUS and LWVEF budgets will be mailed to Leagues by the May 2, 1986 deadline.

--List Maintenance. The board has selected Computer Data Systems, Inc. of Rockville as the League's new list maintenance contractor. After a contract is negotiated, work will begin on merging and cleaning up the League's membership, direct mail and PMP lists to avoid duplications and to improve service.

## MEMBERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT

--Convention '86. Plans for convention are proceeding apace. The registration fee has been set at \$100. Single rooms at the Sheraton Washington in Washington, DC will be \$75; doubles will be \$85. The convention will convene at 12:00 noon on Saturday, June 14 and adjourn at 1 p.m. on Wednesday, June 18, 1986. As with Council '85, leadership development will be an integral theme throughout the convention, so delegates should come prepared to "capitalize on convention!"

--And Speaking of Convention/Council. The board has set the dates for Council '87 for June 13-17, 1987 in Washington, DC. Definite dates for Convention '88 in Denver have not been set, but the board is looking at June dates. Convention '90, scheduled for Washington, DC will also likely be in June. The board is interested in receiving invitations from Leagues in the northeast region for Convention '92.

--Direct Mail Member Recruitment. The board approved a direct mail membership campaign test at \$35 dues level, beginning in January 1986.

--Local and State League Education Funds. The LWVEF trustees are concerned that some state and local League Education Funds are being formed without sufficient legal advice and board awareness of potential problems. Consequently, the national board strongly advises Leagues that might be considering setting up an Education Fund to postpone that decision for the time being; more information and guidance will be available soon from the national office.

## COMMUNICATIONS AND PLANNING

--Publication Planning. The board adopted a publication plan for FY 1986-87 designed to dovetail with the 1986 Advocacy Agenda and Citizen Education Priorities and with other organizational priorities--most notably the need to revise and update Impact on Issues and In League following convention.

--Long Range Planning. The board authorized the establishment of an advisory committee for the 1988 Debates. The committee will increase the League's capacity to sponsor and conduct Presidential Debates in 1988 by providing us with the assistance and advice of individuals with political clout, debates expertise and access to key players and institutions.

## NOMINATIONS

The Nominating Committee's report, presenting a slate of officers and directors for 1984-86 and for the next Nominating Committee, was presented to the board. The slate will be voted on at Convention '86. The nominees are:

President

Nancy M. Neuman, Lewisburg, PA

Vice-Presidents

Virginia B. Abbott, Birmingham, MI  
Harriette Burkhalter, Hopkins, MN

Secretary/Treasurer

Kenni Friedman, Modesto, Ca

Directors

Jane Bergen, Berkeley, CA  
Penny Harris, Bangor, ME  
Judy Knight, Laramie, WY  
Rosalind J. McGee, Salt Lake City, UT  
JoAnn Price, Oxon Hill, MD  
Merilyn B. Reeves, Amity, OR  
Nancy Scott, Wichita, KS  
Sydell Shayer, St. Louis, MO

Nominating Committee

Lois Stoner, Bethesda, MD, chair  
Jean Peterson, Palatine, IL  
Cheryl Imelda Smith, Syracuse, NY  
Juanita Watson, Tuscaloosa, AL

CALL FOR CLASSIFIEDS

NOW is the time to get your classified ads in for the new edition of LWV Prospectus, scheduled to be mailed in March 1986. For each item, type, in this order: title, brief description, publication number (if any), price and ordering information. We will emphasize that all orders must be prepaid, so there is no need to repeat this instruction in your ad. Identify each entry with one of the following categories: Natural Resources, Social Policy, Survey Guides, State/Local Government, Voting and Elections, How to Be Politically Effective, League Leadership/Membership, Products, Bed & Breakfast, Other (identify). Type your ad 51 characters wide and include any ready-to-display art (estimate art line count by placing drawing on a column from a previous Prospectus). Final copy will be typeset. Ads are \$2.00 per line, including space for art. Make out your check to LWVUS Publication Sales and mail with your ad to Communications Division, LWVUS, 1730 M Street, NW., Washington, DC 20036. Deadline for Prospectus ads is January 31, 1986. Don't delay! (And don't forget the new opportunity to advertise in the National Voter; see the Fall 1985 or Winter 1986 issues for details.)

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IMPORTANT POSTSCRIPT

Near the close of the national board meeting, the final candidates for the position of Executive Director were interviewed by the board, and the search committee subsequently extended an offer. The candidate accepted. So, we have exciting news for you. Our new Executive Director is Grant Thompson, (effective 1/27/86). We are enclosing, FYI, the 12/20/85 memo Dot Ridings sent to the national staff.



**League of Women Voters  
of the United States**

# *Memorandum*

1730 M Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 429-1965

Attachment

December 20, 1985

TO: All Staff  
FROM: Dot Ridings  
RE: Our Executive Director

The League's board is delighted to announce that we have a new Executive Director! Grant Thompson will join the staff on January 27, 1986, and I'm especially pleased that we were able to introduce him to you at our holiday party yesterday.

To fill you in a bit more about Grant's background: He comes to us after seven years as senior associate at The Conservation Foundation here in Washington. Before that he was at the Environmental Law Institute as Institute Fellow and Director of its Energy Program; was a consultant to the Pacific Northwest Regional Commission, and for four years practiced law in a Cleveland law firm. He has a bachelor's degree from Pomona College in California, bachelor's and master's degrees from Oxford University, and a law degree from Yale University.

Grant has been quite active in both the peace and environmental movements. He also is chairman of the board of Sidwell Friends School here in Washington, clerk of the Friends Meeting of Washington and William Penn House; treasurer of the Energy Conservation Coalition; and a board member of both INFORM, Inc. and the Scientists' Institute for Public Information.

On the personal side, he is the son of a former board member of the League of Women Voters of California (he calls himself a "League orphan") and he is married and has two children, ages 14 and 11. And he runs. (Not being into that myself, I think that's different from jogging.)

Also, he has just rejoined the League of Women Voters! (He previously belonged to several local Leagues but is one of those people we "lost" somehow. Perhaps we can learn something from that...)

Grant is looking forward to getting to know every staff member personally, and I know all of you will join me in welcoming him as our Executive Director.

Friday Jan.10, 1986

To: LWVME Board Members

From: Stephanie Martyak



Re: Women's Legislative Agenda Coalition-WLAC

LR4981

Gill, (Sen.)

TITLE: AN ACT to Protect the Public Health In Relation to Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

no  
COMMENTS: The intent of this bill is to protect the public health in light of the AIDS epidemic. This bill provides for: 1. Creation of a statutory advisory Committee to advise the Maine DHS; 2. Provision of funds for the development & dissemination of educational materials; 3. Provision of services to persons with AIDS; and 4. Protection of access to education, insurance, employment and housing for persons with AIDS. (SEE PERKINS LR4997 and BRAGG LR5123)

I reported at the 1/9/86 WLAC meeting that the League voted not to support the above legislation for the following expressed reasons:

1. Questioned how AIDS is a women's issue;
2. Concerned about costs associated with part 3 - provision of services;
3. Concerned that this bill is a precursor of gay rights legislation;
4. There is not sufficient time to adequately review bills because of the tight legislative schedule; and
5. There was no time to discuss this bill at our LWV meeting.

Inasmuch as the League was the only organization present who opposed support of this bill and that this single opposition precludes this bill from being a part of the WLAC agenda; and that discussion did not take place to address concerns with regard to this bill at our league meeting, the LWV has been asked to reconsider - or more appropriately - to consider this bill again in the next few days prior to the scheduled press conference on this Thursday Jan. 16.

Having participated in our League vote and being embarrassed at the decision-making process afforded this bill - at our total disregard to the express need for discussion; at our perseverating over parliamentary procedure; and our preoccupation with lunch, I agreed to their request to ask the League to reconsider our position on this bill in a manner more in keeping with the Leagues' commitment to informed action. Specifically, we are asked:

- #1. Do we actively support this legislation? and
- #2. If we do not actively support this legislation, do we object to WLAC supporting this legislation as part of it's agenda?

Please contact Marlee to let her know if you will reconsider and what your vote(s) is prior to Wednesday, January 15th so she may relate our position to Betsy Sweet (289-3418) in time for the WLAC press conference.



I would like to offer these points of clarification.

1. "Actively supporting" means we would consider offering testimony at the public hearing and would actively lobby for passage.
2. A vote NO on question #2 would result in WLAC not including this bill as part of it's agenda.
3. Why is AIDS a women's issue? It is felt by other members of WLAC that great discrimination exists and will continue to grow against AIDS patients and that discrimination against any segment of the population contributes to discrimination against women and minorities etc. Also, this is a major public health issue. Because women are the caregivers in such cases and women are predominant in the health care profession, they stand to benefit significantly from the education and support services provided through this bill.
4. Costs Involved? This bill will call for appropriations to cover costs of education and services such as screening and counseling etc. Medical costs for the most part will continue to be met through the existing health care reimbursement system regardless of whether this legislation passes.
5. Precursor to Gay Rights legislation. This bill is a health bill and not a gay rights bill. We should address gay rights legislation when it is posed. With regard to part 4 of the bill, this addresses access to education for children with AIDS, employment, housing and insurance for people with the disease AIDS. Keep in mind, if this legislation were to pass, gays with AIDS may still be discriminated against due to their sexual preference. A civil rights issue that remains to be addressed.
6. Legislative Timetable: WLAC is not at fault when the legislative session opens and when bills are printed by the document office. Access to detailed information on any bills is limited.
7. We can control our League meetings and provide for discussion of legislation. I hope you will therefore allow reconsideration of our position.

As one of the liaisons to WLAC, I recommend support of this bill. I agree it is not very clear how this relates to WLAC's overall agenda. WLAC needs to be addressing ~~these~~ organizational issues and is planning to do so at the end of this legislative session. However, I cannot vote against this legislation on this account alone and have the League on record as voting down education with regard to a public health issue of this magnitude as well as services and rights of terminally ill individuals.

I have enclosed some info on the impact of AIDS that I have used in educating Hospices in my work. I hope you will take time to review it and call your vote in to Marlee. Thanks for your consideration.

*Please feel free to contact me if you have questions  
are concerns on ~~know~~ this. (H) 729-6868  
(W) 622-7566*



# THE NEW REPUBLIC

OCTOBER 14, 1985

## AFRAIDS

In 1983, the latest year for which statistics are available, 130 people, 55 of them students, died in school bus accidents. In that same year, as in all other years to date, zero students were diagnosed with AIDS infections incurred at school. If you were to stand up at your local school board meeting and demand that school buses be barned on the grounds that "any risk, however small, is too great when children are involved," you would not be treated seriously. Yet that is precisely the logic that is carrying the day in many school districts about letting children with AIDS into the classroom.

It is true that not everything is known about AIDS, and it is understandable that parents wish to take no chances where the welfare of their children is concerned. But contrary to what they have been led to believe by many in the media, the transmission of AIDS is far from an utter mystery. As conservatives often point out in other contexts, the search for a perfectly risk-free environment is not only futile, but it also creates costs of its own. In the case of AIDS, the cost is partly a moral one.

The AIDS issue has now spawned a second epidemic—a wave of hysteria whose symptoms include ostracism, discrimination, and violence. As with other communicable maladies, we'll give this hysteria a name: Acute Fear Regarding AIDS or, more simply, AFRAIDS. Surveys indicate that whereas AIDS has thus far struck only a small fraction of the population, AFRAIDS has already infected well over a hundred million people. According to a recent *New York Times*/CBS poll, 47 percent of Americans believe it is possible to catch AIDS from a

shared drinking glass, 28 percent implicate contaminated toilet seats, and 12 percent consider themselves endangered by a shared office environment or even a carrier's touch. Meanwhile, a *Washington Post* survey found that 34 percent of those polled considered it unsafe to "associate" with an AIDS victim—even when no physical contact was involved—and an additional 22 percent were uncertain.

Thanks to such misconceptions, many unlucky AIDS casualties, already laboring under a death sentence, are victimized a second time—thrown out of jobs, apartments, and schools, harassed and discharged by the military, and rejected by roommates, friends, and family. Worse, patients have been barred from hospitals, denied ambulance services, and refused mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. Organizations and families offering refuge to patients have been greeted with bomb warnings, death threats, vandalism, and assault.

The worst form of the AFRAIDS contagion is transmission of the disease from parents to children. In Queens, fear of an AIDS-afflicted second-grader triggered a boycott in two school districts that kept over a quarter of the area's 47,000 elementary and junior high school students at home on the first day of classes. The September 23 *Newsweek* featured a sickening cover photograph of children carrying placards against other children ("NO AIDS CHILDREN IN DISTRICT 27"). Thirteen-year-old Ryan White, banned from school in Indiana, observed pointedly about this state of affairs, "It stinks."

Since August authorities at the Federal Centers for Disease Control have been trying to arrest the spread of misinformation and panic. In a recent report, the center concluded that "casual person-to-person contact, as among schoolchildren, appears to pose no risk." Again, in a September 13 interview in *The New York Times*, Dr. Martha Rogers, an AIDS epidemiologist at the CDC, assured the public that "we obviously believe the evidence thus far indicates that transmission by casual contact will never occur." Unfortunately, these efforts to alleviate panic have inadvertently backfired: decisive judgments such as "never" and "no risk" have been overshadowed in the public mind by caveats such as "appears," "believe," "thus far," and "indicates." Intended simply as gestures of obeisance to scientific protocol, these formal qualifications have been widely misinterpreted as confessions of general ignorance on the part of the medical profession.

Naturally, this atmosphere of uncertainty has encouraged the casual transmission of AFRAIDS. In July the cover of *Life* magazine alerted readers, "NOW NO ONE IS SAFE FROM AIDS." The word "AIDS," plastered in thick, blood-red letters, covered an area three inches tall and ten inches wide. Inside, the ostensible cause for alarm proved considerably thinner. What the article actually substantiated was that no one is safe from AIDS who has sex with a carrier or receives a contaminated blood transfusion.

Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* has been at the forefront of the misinformation campaign. On September 12, the *Post*'s front page screamed, "SCHOOL COOK DIES OF AIDS." As if the hint of likely contamination weren't clear enough, the next day's cover followed with "Top doc's warning to schools: KEEP AIDS KIDS OUT." "Top doc" turned out to be Ronald Rosenblatt, a Queens internist

with neither firsthand nor, apparently, thirdhand knowledge of reliable AIDS research.

The best evidence that AIDS can't be transmitted through casual contact is that not one of the family members of the 13,000 presently known AIDS victims (except for sexual partners and children infected in the womb) has developed AIDS symptoms, and none who has been tested is carrying the virus. As the CDC's Rogers observes, if you can't catch the bug by years of hugging, kissing, touching, and sharing food, utensils, and bathrooms with a carrier, chances are virtually nonexistent that you'll contract it just from sharing a classroom or an office. The AIDS virus has been isolated in saliva, tears, and urine. However, Rogers reports, "not one case of transmission from these fluids has ever been documented."

Skeptics raise two points most frequently in the face of this evidence. First, they note that the source of every AIDS victim's virus is not known. Specifically, ten percent of juvenile cases and six percent of adult cases remain unaccounted for. However, these leftover cases reflect procedural difficulties more than substantive doubts. Many juvenile cases cannot be formally closed simply because the mother, suspected of having passed the virus during pregnancy, is deceased or otherwise inaccessible. As for the adults, their cases will stay open as long as their lips remain sealed. The suspected routes—prostitute contact and homosexual activity—are not the sorts of hobbies a family man wants to reveal to his wife and children. In a recent study, a third of the unclassified adult male victims interviewed confessed to prostitute contact, and researchers hope and expect that further admissions will be forthcoming.

Second, skeptics point out that the incubation period of AIDS is several years. Only recently has there been a significant number of AIDS victims. Who is to say they

aren't transmitting the disease in ways that won't become tragically apparent until years from now? In fact, the average time between infection and diagnosis of AIDS is one year for children, two for adults. AIDS has been under study for seven years, and yet not a single case of casual transmission has surfaced so far. What's more, among the 300 family members of AIDS victims who have had blood tests, none has shown the presence of the virus.

AIDS, like other infectious diseases, is transmissible after infection, and not just when the symptoms appear. The people



CARTOON BY MIKE PETERS

-developing AIDS now have been carriers for a long time. If the disease were transmittable in ways other than those that already have been established, this would show up now, not several years from now.

Whether with reckless opportunism or with the best of intentions, many publications—and even some physicians—have underscored routine uncertainties and voiced answerable doubts, falsely portraying this as the standpoint of “caution.” The ironic result is the present epidemic explosion of AFRAIDS. Much of the public is now hopelessly confused, skeptical even to the point of questioning the sincerity of medical authorities. Dazed by the flurry of information and misinformation, lay people have simply resigned from the debate, concluding that the doctors don’t have satisfactory answers. They await the day when medicine comes forth and declares unequivocally, in the words of President Reagan, “This we know for a fact, that it is safe.” But this declaration is not likely to issue from the scrupulously cautious scientific community in this decade, perhaps not even in this century.

The question is, what do we do in the meantime? There is always—on a theoretical level—a risk that the AIDS kid at your local elementary school will engage your seven-year-old son in a fistfight, that both will bleed profusely, and that somehow the dastardly virus will worm its way across. There’s even a hypothetical possibility that your child will catch the ailment just by drinking from the same water fountain or sitting in the same classroom. All logic and experience belies these fears, but they cannot be dismissed with absolute certainty. To some parents, landlords, and employers, this doesn’t matter: a theoretical risk seems reason enough to exclude the infected individual from public life. Isn’t that the counsel of caution? Isn’t that the “safe” option?

Unfortunately, there is no safe option. Barring a child from school or excluding an adult from shelter and employment is not cost-free. It involves the expulsion not simply of a virus but of a human being. That must count for something. As a palpable cruelty, it seems a lot to ask for the sake of dispelling the darkest fantasies of the imagination.

## NOTEBOOK

### □ ANXIETY GRIDLOCK:

#### ***Study Sees Atom War as Causing AIDS Epidemic***

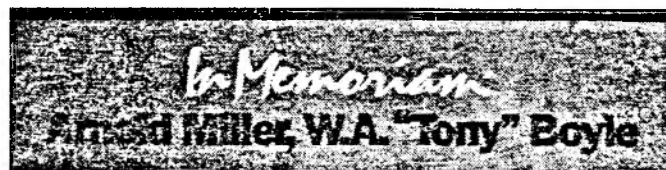
—*The New York Times*, September 22

□ WHITE FLAG DEPARTMENT: An unnamed “authoritative administration official” briefed White House reporters September 19 on the coming U.S.-Soviet summit talks. According to *The Washington Post*, “The official said Reagan will tell Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev . . . that the United States has fallen so far behind Moscow’s offensive nuclear buildup that four decades of reliance on

offensive deterrence ‘may not work in the years ahead.’ ” Something wrong here? As we read this, Reagan plans to tell Gorbachev that the United States can no longer deter a Soviet nuclear attack. No doubt Gorbachev will be pleased to hear the news, and we can only hope he doesn’t believe it. The administration’s point, of course, is to make the case for Star Wars defenses. But surrendering in advance is carrying this enthusiasm too far.

□ GET FAMOUS QUICK: Something called Celebrity Service International now publishes a daily bulletin devoted exclusively to the doings of famous people in Washington. The head of the Washington office is Vicky Bagley, a socialite of the Carter era who later turned to real estate and now, through some natural process of social entropy, is reduced to this. For \$1,500 per year, celebrity hounds get hot inside tips on “Washington Arrivals,” some of whom are TV stars and some of whom are people like “Herbert Lister, President, Allstate Life Insurance Company,” who is in town for the “U.S. Jaycees Healthy American Fitness Leaders Awards Conference.” A lucky “Celebrity of the Day” receives a photo and short bio. Clients also can call the service up to five times a day for more information. The service boasts a Rolodex of 250,000 celebrity phone numbers. And just what kind of superstars are covered in the bulletin? Well, the service says that all subscribers contribute information. So if you send in your money now, and then tip off the service at (202) 337-9200 about your upcoming vacation in the nation’s capital, you too can be a Washington celebrity.

### □ MINE WORKERS’ MEMORY HOLE:



Two former UMWA presidents, whose terms of office extended from 1963 to 1979, died within six weeks of each other.

W. A. "Tony" Boyle, the 11th president of the UMWA (1963-1972), died May 31 in the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) General Hospital of heart failure.

Arnold Miller, the union's 12th president (1972-1979), died July 12 in the Charleston (W. Va.) Area Medical Center of complications arising from several factors, including a stroke.

—*news and black's long disease.*

—*He, the son of an immigrant*  
—*was born in Bald Bone.*  
—*—*



This is how the August 1985 issue of *The United Mine Workers Journal* marks the deaths of two former union presidents. The article says that Boyle died “in the Wilkes-Barre [Pennsylvania] General Hospital,” but fails to mention that Boyle was actually serving a life sentence in prison, having been convicted for arranging the murder of the man who ran against him for president in 1969, Jock Yablonski. Boyle’s thugs also killed Yablonski’s wife and daughter. Miller inherited Yablonski’s reform

# Facing the Emotional Anguish of AIDS

By GLENN COLLINS

The tragic medical consequences of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, known as AIDS, have been measured in the 558 known deaths caused by the disease. But for the living victims, AIDS has profound psychological consequences that are only beginning to be understood.

"It just hangs over your head," said Phillip Lanzaratta, a 41-year-old AIDS patient in Manhattan who has been struggling with the disease for 20 months. "There is always the overriding uncertainty that on any day you'll come down with something new that your suppressed immune system can't repel."

New knowledge about the special emotional difficulties of AIDS victims is emerging as mental-health professionals develop strategies for treating these patients who live with a mysterious, often fatal contagious disorder that has no known causes or cures.

Last week the Government's chief health official said that investigating the illness was "the No. 1 priority" of the United States Public Health Service. Half the 1,456 cases reported nationally have occurred in New York, and social workers, psychiatrists and psychologists here have been treating AIDS victims for several years.

## 'There Were No Guidelines'

"We felt as if we were in uncharted waters," said Dr. Stuart E. Nichols Jr., a psychiatrist at Beth Israel Medical Center who began treating AIDS patients 18 months ago. "There were no guidelines and not much in the psychiatric literature for coping with anxiety about such a mysterious disease."

Subsequently, Dr. Nichols has interviewed and studied more than 100 AIDS patients, including Mr. Lanzaratta, who attended the doctor's first support group, started in April 1982. "One of the special problems for patients is the lack of hard medical data," Dr. Nichols said. "We don't know what causes AIDS, or how long the incubation period is. Such a situation can be a fertile ground for misinformation, superstition and magical thinking."

"Some of the therapeutic issues are the same as with other chronically ill patients," said Noreen Russell, a social worker at New York University Medical Center who has been working with terminally ill patients for seven years now. "But the intensity of anxiety can be greater because we're dealing with a very great unknown."

Miss Russell, along with a co-worker, Vir-

ginia Lehman, started a therapy group for AIDS victims in December 1981 and began another group last June. "What's unique," said Miss Russell, "is that, in the presence of such sophisticated medical technology, we seem to be so powerless. AIDS reminds people of cancer, yet it has the sense of contagion about it. In a sense AIDS is like herpes—but herpes doesn't kill."

One of the victims' greatest fears is that they may spread AIDS to family, friends or partners. "Patients can feel terribly isolated," said Dr. Kenneth S. Wein, clinical director of Gay Men's Health Crisis Inc., a non-profit social-service agency that has treated

health insults is "Why me?" said Dr. Nichols, president of the Caucus of Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Members of the American Psychiatric Association. "In the case of gays, it often seems that no matter how well they have come to terms with their gayness, when they learn they have AIDS they experience a feeling of being punished for being gay."

"For some the experience is a sort of second 'coming out,'" said Miss Russell. "They have to come to terms with their gayness all over again."

The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, senior minister of Riverside Church in Manhattan, has counseled a number of AIDS victims.

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## 'I've seen some people die in utter loneliness,' abandoned by friends.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES Style MONDAY, MAY 30, 1983

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more than 150 AIDS patients in support and therapy groups. "Some really do feel like lepers, even though it appears that AIDS is not transmitted by simple social contact."

AIDS is believed to be transmitted through sexual or intimate contact. Most cases have involved male homosexuals, intravenous drug users and people from Haiti. However, other patients have included hemophiliacs who have received blood products, recipients of blood transfusions, and women who had sexual contact with AIDS victims.

A focal point for AIDS treatment in the city has been the Gay Men's Health Crisis office in Manhattan, which, in addition to its support and therapy groups for AIDS patients—including Haitians and intravenous drug users—runs groups for patients' parents and partners. Among its other programs, the agency sends crisis counselors and home attendants to visit AIDS victims and runs an AIDS hotline number, 212-685-4952.

The initial shock after AIDS is first diagnosed can be considerable, said Dr. Nichols, but reactions vary greatly from patient to patient. "One of the responses to any serious

"Some felt that this was in some way God's punishment," he said. "I reassured them that they have no right in the world to feel in any way that this is God's will. Being gay is not a sin. But once they get sick, it's as if when their immune system breaks down, their psychological immune system breaks down, too."

After patients' initial shock, said Dr. Nichols, many experience considerable anger. "They become angry at God, at society, at government, at government research funding levels and at doctors. We are medical people, and we're supposed to have answers. But essentially, there aren't any answers."

"Some of them believe that society is only interested in AIDS now that straight people may be at risk," said Dr. John B. Montana, an attending physician at Cabrini Medical Center who has treated many AIDS patients and counseled them at St. Marks Clinic in Greenwich Village.

Some of the patients have used their experience to examine the role that sex plays in their lives. Dr. Nichols said, "Some patients are learning to do loving things together that

are totally nonsexual, and redefining the meaning of intimacy."

One of the important tasks of therapy with AIDS victims is to get them to reconnect with their families, where possible. For some homosexuals this has been difficult. "Many are not 'out' to their families, or are in a different city by choice and find it awfully hard to ask for support," said Dr. Nichols.

One AIDS patient got up the courage and told his family he was a homosexual. Dr. Nichols said: "His mother replied, 'Thank God you told us you're gay. We thought you didn't know. We figured we had to tell you, and we just didn't know how.'"

Miss Russell said that many of her patients were quite pleasantly surprised by family members who provided generous assistance unexpectedly. However, this has not always been the reaction.

## 'Some Real Horror Stories'

"There have been some real horror stories," said Dr. Montana. The family of one AIDS patient who died refused to accept the body. "They didn't know their son was gay, and they wouldn't accept it."

He said that patients' friends and families often rally round, but not always. "I've seen some people die in utter loneliness. I was with one patient in the hospital when he died. He was 22, and he was everybody's best friend—people loved him. He died alone. I said to him, 'Close your eyes now and go to sleep.' And then he died."

For the living, anxiety must constantly be coped with. "Having the fear, that's the worst thing," said a 45-year-old illustrator in Manhattan who has Kaposi's sarcoma, a cancer often seen in AIDS patients, and who asked that his name not be used. "I woke up with a temperature this morning, and I'm very worried right now. It could mean that I'll have to be hospitalized again."

The emotional toll of treating AIDS patients can be a problem for professionals as well. "I've wept," said Dr. Montana. "There are times when I feel like pounding my head against the wall. It's always hard on a hospital staff losing a young patient. These patients are often young and recently healthy."

"But the work can be extraordinarily rewarding, too," said Miss Russell. "I am moved again and again by my patients' great courage in the face of life-threatening disease." Mr. Lanzaratta said, "The struggle has been difficult, but it has given me a sense of strength and a certain dignity."

# Meeting the Employment Needs of Women: *A Path Out of Poverty?*

## Women in poverty

*As more and more women and children enter the ranks of the impoverished, the implications for the future of our society become overwhelming. To ignore these implications is unconscionable negligence. The bodies, minds and spirits of millions of women and children are being inevitably and ineluctably affected by the dispiriting hand of poverty.*

A Growing Crisis: Disadvantaged Women and Their Children,  
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1983

Women and children first? In 1982, 80 percent of those touched by poverty's "dispiriting hand" in America were adult women and children. While the term "feminization of poverty" is not yet an everyday expression, for millions of American women and their children, it is a tragic, everyday reality. In fact, poverty is rapidly becoming a women's issue. The statistics are alarming:

- ☐ two out of three poor adults are women;
- ☐ 35 percent of female-headed households live in poverty, compared with 7 percent of families headed by men;
- ☐ 53 percent of black and 53 percent of Hispanic female-headed families live in poverty;
- ☐ 75 percent of the elderly poor are women.

While the causes of women's poverty are varied and complex, two factors are particularly significant: the increase in the number of single-parent families headed by women and the overwhelming disadvantages faced by women in the labor market—including occupational segregation, sex discrimination and wage discrimination—that combine to limit income and mobility. For minority women, racism constitutes a third factor to be considered.

## Single-parent households

In 1984, the typical American family no longer consists of a homemaker, working husband and 2.5 children. More and more children are growing up in one-parent families—most of them headed by women.

Between 1970 and 1980 the number of female-headed households with children under the age of 18 increased by 82 percent in all families and by 92 percent in black families. It is estimated that 50 percent of all children will live in one-parent homes for a significant part of their lives.

Divorce and the increase in out-of-wedlock childbearing among teenagers are the principal contributors to the increase in the number of single women with children. Sixty-five percent of women raising children alone do not receive financial assistance from the children's father. The divorce that may free a man from the financial burden of his family often results in poverty for his ex-wife and children.

Teenage childbearing and the growing tendency of unwed mothers to keep their babies is also responsible for the increase in female-headed households. This trend has critical implications for future education, employment and poverty patterns. A 1978 Urban Institute report calculated that in 1975, households containing women who had borne their first child as teenagers received \$4.65 billion of the \$9.4 billion disbursed through the federal Aid for Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC). As reported by the National Institute of Health, "Early parenthood destroys the pros-

pect of a successful economic and family career not because most young parents are determined to deviate from accepted avenues of success or because they are indifferent to or unaware of the costs of early parenthood. The principal reason that so many young mothers encounter problems is that they lack the resources to repair the damage done by a poorly timed birth."

## Limited earning capacity

Discrimination in the labor market—manifested in hiring and promotion decisions, pay inequities, occupational segregation and sexual harassment—also plays a large role in women's poverty. The earnings picture is far bleaker for women than for men; and for too many women, a job does not translate into freedom from poverty. Educational and vocational training systems perpetuate the problem, as girls and women continue to be tracked into low-paying jobs, and occupational segregation depresses the wages of even highly skilled female-dominated professions.

While this portrait of gender-based poverty is bleak enough, minority women suffer from the dual handicaps of sexism and racism. The upshot is that minority women as a group earn the least of all employed persons.

What chance is there to alleviate the feminization of poverty? To secure economic security for all women? Employment *may* be a path out of poverty. But too often the path is strewn with obstacles.

## Women and work— status report 1984

The unabating influx of women into the paid labor force has focused public attention on women and work—on the kinds of work women do, on how the workplace could be structured to accommodate the needs of mothers and on why women have failed to achieve full economic equity.

The changes in the composition of the paid labor force in the past 30 years have dramatically affected the daily lives of most Americans. In December 1983, almost 49 million women (53 percent of women aged 16 and over) were in the labor force, compared with 30 million (or 46 percent) in 1974. Women accounted for a whopping 65 percent of the increase in employment from 1972 to 1982. It is predicted that women will represent two out of three of all new entrants in the labor market in the 1990s. Yet the vast majority of these new entrants continue to enter what are considered to be traditional women's occupations.

- ☐ In 1970, 40 percent of women with children under the age of 18 were in the labor force. But by 1983, the most recent year for which data is available, almost 60 percent of women with children were in the labor force.
- ☐ In 1982, 19 percent of all families with children under the age of 19 were headed by women.
- ☐ Twenty-one percent of women in the labor force had husbands whose earnings in 1981 were less than \$15,000 per year.
- ☐ Of the six million women whose earnings exceed those of their spouses, two million had husbands who were out of work.



One fact of women's employment has not changed since the early 1970s: the wages that women earn continue to be significantly less than those earned by men. The most current figures available from the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) show that women who have completed college earn less than men who have not completed high school — \$14,235 as compared to \$16,160. Women high school graduates earn less than men who never went beyond elementary school — \$8,715 as compared to \$9,929.

With the varied roles that many women fill simultaneously — employee, mother, housewife, spouse—what kinds of changes must there be in the workplace to sustain these women and their families? This publication examines some of the issues raised by this question, including:

- ☐ the need to end employment discrimination by decreasing occupational segregation and achieving pay equity;
- ☐ the need to provide access to job training;
- ☐ the need for affordable, quality child care; and
- ☐ the need to end discrimination in education that limits future career choices.

## Employment discrimination: a continuing problem

Most people assume that the passage and enforcement of major civil rights legislation in the 1960s eliminated sex discrimination in the workplace. Unfortunately, this perception is not borne out by the facts. Both the Equal Pay Act—which requires equal pay for substantially equal work in the same workplace—and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—which prohibits discrimination in employment based on sex, race, religion or national origin—have been successful in eradicating some of the more blatant forms of sex discrimination. But women continue to be concentrated in a small number of occupations and they continue to earn only about 61¢ for every dollar earned by men, a figure that has barely fluctuated since the 1950s.

## Occupational segregation

*Women are barred from four out of every five occupational functions, not because of technical unsuitability, but because the attitudes which govern interpersonal relationships in our culture sanction only a few working relationships... and prohibit others on grounds that have nothing to do with technology.*

The Sociology of Work  
Theodore Caplow, 1954

Worth repeating in 1984? Unfortunately, while women are no longer legally barred from occupations, Caplow's observations are indeed relevant in 1984. Women today still hold jobs strikingly similar to those held by their employed mothers and grandmothers, about whom Caplow wrote 30 years ago. His remarks are strong testament to the persistence of occupational segregation, which has been called the most pervasive aspect of the American labor market.

Just how serious is the problem? Eighty percent of all women are

employed in only 25 of the thousands of available occupations — primarily in clerical, health, teaching, retail sales and service jobs. Not only are these jobs low-paying, they provide little opportunity for advancement, and they are occupations in which the risk of displacement is increasing due to technological advances.

In 1982, 98 percent of all secretaries were women, but only 1.6 percent of electricians and 1.7 percent of carpenters were women. In the health field, 89 percent of health technologists and technicians were women; 90 percent of health service workers and 96 percent of registered nurses, but only 15 percent of all doctors were women. And in fields that require scientific and technical skills, women's representation is considerably below that of men. In 1980, women represented only about 12.5 percent of all employed U.S. scientists and engineers.

Theories explaining the roots and causes of occupational segregation abound; the following are the most prominent:

- ☐ socialization results in different occupational expectations for men and women and in the perception that only certain jobs are appropriate for women;
- ☐ women choose or are directed to educational programs and vocational training programs that do not adequately prepare them for nontraditional jobs;
- ☐ women don't have information about nontraditional jobs or how to obtain access to them;
- ☐ women are aware of other options, but limit their labor-force participation because of actual or expected family obligations; and
- ☐ discrimination by employers results in real or perceived limits to women's access to jobs.

All of these theories have validity. And the economic reality is devastating because, quite simply, occupational segregation translates into low pay for women. More than half of all fully employed Hispanic women, 43 percent of black women and 37 percent of white women earned less than \$10,000 in 1980, compared to 12 percent of similarly situated males.

One means by which women can break the existing pattern of occupational segregation is to explore careers in those areas where occupational growth is likely to be greatest in the next 10 to 20 years — especially those areas where women are currently underrepresented. According to the BLS, the miscellaneous service sector — which includes medical care, business and professional services, and amusements and recreation — will account for more than 31 million jobs in 1995, almost one-fourth of the total employment. In addition, the rapid expansion of high technology, spurring the demand for scientists, engineers, technicians and computer specialists is expected to continue. Once again, the pitfall that women must avoid is ending up in the lower-paying job categories in these new fields.

And there is still another problem associated with nontraditional career paths. When men and women do the same work, women still take home lower paychecks than their male counterparts. BLS statistics show, for instance, that female doctors, lawyers, professors, engineers and health administrators all earn less than men in the same occupations.

Despite the obstacles that inhibit the choice—or the payoff—of a nontraditional career, it is vitally important that women have a choice and that this country move “full steam ahead” to eradicate occupa-

## The double bind of minority women

It is impossible to examine the feminization of poverty without addressing the major role that racism plays in the poverty of minority women. For these women, the factors that contribute to poverty are complicated by institutionalized racism — both subtle and overt. Minority women must contend with the past and present effects of race and ethnic discrimination, including lack of opportunity and inadequate education.

Minority women suffer the poverty of the total minority community

—which is much greater than that found in the white community. For example, black women receive little or no child support. But for many black men, high rates of unemployment and limited financial resources make the question of sharing income with their children and the children's mother a moot issue.

Although this publication focuses primarily on issues related to gender, poverty from the perspective of minority women can only be examined against this dual backdrop.

tional segregation by attacking it both in the educational system and in the workplace.

## Pay equity

*Not only do women do different work than men, but also the work women do is paid less, and the more an occupation is dominated by women the less it pays.*

Women, Work and Wages  
National Academy of Science, 1981

A nontraditional job may not be the answer for all women. Discrimination still locks women out of many jobs, and mid-life career changes simply are not possible for those who have spent their adult lives in more traditional occupations and lack the credentials for other jobs. For many working women, then, the path out of poverty may depend on earning a more equitable wage for the work they are already doing. The goal of pay equity is rapidly becoming a major women's issue of the 1980s.

Studies of the wage gap between women and men have found that factors such as education, work experience, labor force commitment, or worker productivity usually account for less than a quarter but never more than one-half of the earnings difference. Pay-equity advocates attribute this unexplained wage discrepancy to sex discrimination and argue that the wages for female-dominated jobs must be raised to match the salaries of comparable male jobs.

In 1981, the Supreme Court held in *Washington County v. Gunther* that Title VII is not restricted to situations involving equal work and that it also prohibits sex-based wage discrimination where the jobs are comparable but not identical.

Encouraged by the *Gunther* decision, pay-equity advocates have undertaken a variety of initiatives to work toward the goal of achieving pay equity for women. These activities include:

- ☐ information and data collection;
- ☐ job evaluation studies;
- ☐ the development of pay equity policies and implementation strategies;
- ☐ pressure for enforcement of existing state and federal laws; and
- ☐ collective bargaining and nonunion organizing.

The National Committee on Pay Equity, a coalition of more than 170 civil rights and women's organizations (including the League of Women Voters of the United States), labor unions and individuals, has documented more than 100 state and local pay equity initiatives, most of them involving public-sector employees.

Job evaluations are a management tool frequently used to compare different jobs to determine their worth to an employer. All employers make decisions, either formally or informally, about the relative worth of jobs; pay-equity advocates are using formal job evaluation studies as a means of documenting wage inequities. To date, 18 states have completed or are in the midst of conducting such studies. The state of Minnesota moved voluntarily to phase in wage increases over a four-year period. As the table demonstrates, all of the studies so far have found wage discrepancies between female- and male-dominated jobs that have been evaluated as having equal worth to an employer.

Interest in working for pay equity has been further stimulated by a December 1983 federal district court ruling in *AFSCME v. the State of Washington* that the state discriminated against its female employees by paying predominantly female jobs less than predominantly male jobs that require an equivalent or lesser composite of skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions, as measured by the state's own job evaluation study.

Pay equity, or comparable worth, remains a controversial issue. In January 1984, *Forbes Magazine* maintained that "this kind of massive, arbitrary intervention in the labor market can only be destructive." However, a month later, the *New York Times* argued in its lead editorial that "[comparable worth] envisions no massive reappraisal of jobs to measure the 'value' of pitchers against that of professors. It aims to set standards by which to pay men and women

## Comparable jobs: results from three job evaluation surveys

Job title	Monthly salary	Number of points
<b>Minnesota</b>		
Registered nurse (F)	\$1,723	275
Vocational ed. teacher (M)	2,260	275
Typing pool supervisor (F)	1,373	199
Painter (M)	1,707	185
<b>San Jose, California</b>		
Senior legal secretary (F)	665	226
Senior carpenter (M)	1,040	226
Senior librarian (F)	898	493
Senior chemist (M)	1,119	493
<b>Washington State</b>		
Licensed practical nurse (F)	1,030	173
Correctional officer (M)	1,436	173
Secretary (F)	1,122	197
Maintenance carpenter (M)	1,707	197

Source: *Equal Pay for Work of Comparable Value*, the National Committee on Pay Equity, 1983.

equally." Pay equity clearly is an issue that will not be resolved easily or quickly.

## The role of affirmative action

Another tool used to increase employment opportunities for women is affirmative action — probably the least understood remedy available to eliminate employment discrimination.

Broadly defined, affirmative action includes any measures that take race, sex or national origin into account for the purpose of remedying discrimination. Such efforts may be undertaken voluntarily or as the result of a court order.

A wide range of affirmative steps are available, including:

- ☐ special recruiting efforts;
- ☐ revising selection criteria;
- ☐ considering race or sex as one of several positive factors in selecting among qualified candidates; and
- ☐ specifying that among qualified applicants a certain ratio or percentage of minorities or women to white males will be chosen.

Affirmative actions that resemble quotas or preferential treatment are the most controversial, particularly where there is a perceived negative impact on white male employees. Although there have been legal challenges to all sorts of affirmative action programs — most recently involving questions of who is retained and who is laid off — the courts have consistently upheld affirmative action efforts, including ratio or percentage selection systems. And in a 1979 landmark case, *United Steelworkers of America v. Weber*, the Supreme Court held that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 permits — even encourages — employers to voluntarily adopt affirmative action where there has been no finding of discrimination.

The term affirmative action is also used in connection with a presidential executive order that prohibits race or sex discrimination in the employment practices of businesses contracting with the federal government. Franklin Roosevelt first issued such an executive order (addressing race discrimination) on the eve of World War II. The antidiscrimination policy was significantly strengthened in 1961 when President Kennedy issued a new executive order requiring federal contractors not only to refrain from discrimination but to undertake "affirmative action" to ensure that equal employment principles were followed. In 1967 the ban was extended to include sex discrimination.

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) in the Department of Labor is charged with enforcement of Executive



Order 11246 (as it is now known). Under the order, federal contractors are required to evaluate their patterns of employment of minorities and women in all of their job categories. Once this self-analysis is completed, the employer must identify obstacles that may account for any underrepresentation of minorities and women in any job classification and then develop an affirmative action plan to overcome those obstacles and eliminate the underrepresentation. Each plan contains affirmative action measures specifically tailored to resolve the employer's problems in achieving equal opportunity. The affirmative action plan also includes goals and timetables as a means of measuring the contractor's success in achieving full utilization of women and minorities. These goals and timetables are often confused with the percentage hiring requirements described above that are used as affirmative action measures. In this instance, the goals serve as targets. If they are not met, no sanctions are imposed as long as the contractor can demonstrate that good faith efforts were made.

While the Executive Order does not explicitly approve or disapprove of the use of ratio or percentage selection systems, OFCCP frequently negotiates such systems as a remedy when the employer has failed to make good faith efforts. And despite numerous challenges to its constitutionality, the courts have consistently upheld the legality of the contract compliance program.

What has affirmative action meant to women? In the 1982 report, *Women at Work: The Myth of Equal Opportunity*, the Women Employed Institute noted that Executive Order 11246 covers approximately 29,000 contractors who employ 31 million persons (one-third of the labor force). According to the report, "Settlements reached through contract compliance enforcement have resulted in the entry of women into the construction industry, coal mining, professional and executive positions in the financial industry, and higher-paying positions in educational institutions — all areas previously closed to them."

But the positive impact of the federal contract compliance program, voluntary affirmative action and affirmative action as a remedy in discrimination cases may be coming to an end. Budget cutbacks and policy shifts have seriously hampered OFCCP's ability to conduct thorough contract compliance reviews. And attacks on the use of court-ordered or voluntary affirmative action plans continue by both the Department of Justice and the newly constituted U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Without the firm commitment of the federal government to utilize all of the tools available to eliminate discrimination, little progress is likely to be made. While the door of opportunity appeared to open in the 1970s, it now appears to be closing — with a push.

## Child care: a special need

*The availability of child care lags so far behind the demand for it that approximately 7 million children 13 years old and under, or more than one in six, may be going without adult supervision for part of each day.*

A Children's Defense Budget, 1984

Since the Industrial Revolution, when women first went to work outside of their homes, a portion of the American population has been forced to juggle economic survival and child-rearing responsibilities. For many years only a few women — primarily those who were divorced, widowed or abandoned — had to attempt this balancing act. But the influx of women into the work force, and the huge increase in the number of female-headed households has added a new dimension to the question: Who is minding the children? Traditionally, child-care arrangements have been primarily a woman's responsibility regardless of income. Increasingly, women must forego employment and training opportunities because of inadequate child care.

In 1983, more than 23 million children in the United States required day or after-school care. Federal support in meeting this de-

mand has been grossly inadequate and continues to decline. In 1982, there were federally subsidized day-care slots for only 500,000 children — a number that would not meet the needs of parents in New York City, let alone the entire country. The federal government seems sadly out of step with radically changing needs.

Historically, the government's role in providing child care has been tied to the economic and labor needs of the country. At the beginning of World War II, the Lanham Act was passed to facilitate women's entry in the labor force by providing funds to care for 1.5 million children in more than 3,000 centers. But after the war ended, federal support for day care dwindled, and by 1950 only 18,000 federally funded slots existed.

Efforts to enact comprehensive federal child-care legislation in the 1970s failed when, in the wake of strong opposition from conservatives, President Nixon refused to sign the Comprehensive Child Development Act.

In some respects, the nation seems to be heading backwards in terms of a national commitment to child care. In 1975, Congress enacted Title XX of the Social Security Act, which quickly became the major source of government funding for child care for low-income families. By 1980, Title XX contributed to the child-care expenses of 750,000 low-income families. But in 1982, federal funding was cut from \$3.1 billion to \$2.45 billion and the requirement that states match federal spending was eliminated. The Children's Defense Fund estimates that budget cuts have eliminated 150,000 children from federally subsidized programs. In 1982, Congress folded Title XX into a larger block grant program with the result that more programs must now compete for fewer funds.

The federal government also subsidizes child care through a dependent care tax credit. Parents may claim a tax credit — which ranges from 20-30 percent depending on income — for their work-related child-care expenses. The maximum allowable expense on which the percentage can be based is \$2,400 for one dependent and \$4,800 for two or more.

There are two major drawbacks to the tax credit as it currently exists:

- ☐ it is not refundable. Thus, low-income families with child-care expenses but little or no tax liability cannot take advantage of it; and
- ☐ the maximum allowable credit frequently does not come close to the actual child-care expenses of most families.

Private employers are slowly beginning to recognize the benefits to be derived from employer-sponsored child-care assistance for employees; in 1982 approximately 600 such programs existed.

Still, the result of the lack of adequate child care is that many poor women are caught in a Catch-22 situation. Too often they cannot accept a job or enter a job-training program because they cannot locate or afford child care. They cannot afford child care because they do not have a job.

Women will continue to enter the work force — even without satisfactory child-care arrangements — because of their economic needs. By failing to accept this reality and to deal with it, we are hurting our future — our children.

## Employment and training programs: limited opportunities

*... with the increase in the unemployment rate from 7 to over 10% (in 1983), the President has chosen to respond by cutting funding for employment and training activities during the same period of time by 70%.*

Inequality of Sacrifice: The Impact of the Reagan Budget on Women, 1983

Three basic federal job training programs are available to poor women, but each has drawbacks.

## The Job Training Partnership Act

In October 1982, Congress passed the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) to replace the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). JTPA is now the nation's major employment-training program. Title II, its largest component, is designed to provide job training to the economically disadvantaged. Ninety percent of the funds spent under Title II must go for training the disadvantaged. Up to 10 percent of the funds may be spent to train those who are not disadvantaged but face other employment barriers (such as displaced homemakers or teenaged parents). At least 40 percent of the funds must be spent on youth (those under age 22). Thus the program should reach large numbers of poor women, including young women.

The major drawback to the program — at least as far as poor women are concerned — is the stipulation that no more than 15 percent of the funds can be spent on supportive services, which includes child care. While a governor may waive this 15 percent cap, no more than 30 percent of the funds can be spent on supportive services and the administrative costs combined. It is unlikely that many of the Private Industry Councils (PICs) charged with designing and implementing the local programs under JTPA would consider a reduction in overhead costs in order to free up funds for supportive services.

Thus, unlike CETA, which not only paid for child care for women in training, but also provided child-care workers through its public service employment component, JTPA leaves women wishing to enter federal job-training programs to cope with their own child-care arrangements.

Two other provisions of JTPA offer some hope to low-income women. Title III provides training and other employment services to dislocated workers (those laid off due to plant closings, the long-term unemployed and those who are unable to return to the same industry or occupation in which they formerly worked). And Title IV covers programs administered at the federal level — including displaced homemakers programs — thanks to an intensive lobbying effort by women's organizations on behalf of the displaced homemakers' network.

Still, all JTPA programs are severely handicapped by the low level of funding. Actual expenditures for JTPA in FY 1983 were \$3.9 billion, considerably less than the \$9-10 billion allocated for CETA in 1978-79 when the unemployment rate was much lower.

## Workfare

While JTPA is an optional program for poor women (indeed, it was never envisioned to serve all those who are eligible), workfare may not be. A generic term that includes several different types of programs, workfare embodies the concept that recipients of public assistance (Aid for Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, etc.) participate in public service jobs for a specific number of hours each month until the benefit allotment has been worked off (at the minimum wage).

There are several different types of programs, all the source of considerable controversy. The Community Work Experience Program requires an adult AFDC recipient to work at a public service job in order to continue to receive a grant. The program makes no provision for related services such as job training, counseling or child care. The Work Supplementation Program permits states to provide paid jobs in lieu of benefits. A third type of program is job search, which requires an applicant for assistance to look for work while his or her eligibility for assistance is being determined.

Workfare supporters contend that these programs deter many people who have the ability to be self-supporting from seeking income assistance. However, opponents maintain that they do little to help those low-income Americans who want to work but need job training, transportation or child care. In addition, labor unions contend that workfare allows public agencies to employ workers at reduced wages and without having to pay for such work-related benefits as Social Security, unemployment compensation or medical in-

surance.

The jury is still out on the question of whether workfare reduces the cost of public assistance. But one thing is clear: poor women who are required to work at low-paying jobs without benefits will be unable to pursue either educational or job training opportunities that would enable them to free themselves for good from dependency on the public largesse.

## The Work Incentive Program

The Work Incentive Program (WIN) is a relatively small (\$271 million in FY 1984) program created in 1968 to provide job services and support services to employable recipients of public assistance. Initially participants spent up to a year in the program and received a variety of educational training services. However, recently education and training have been reduced in favor of immediate job placements. Despite the moderate success that the program has enjoyed, its budget has been slashed by \$100 million since 1981. And essential support services such as transportation and child care have been drastically cut, making the program inaccessible to many poor women.

## Education: a vital link to success

*Education has indirect but long-term effects on a woman's well being. When a woman's education has not adequately prepared her for employment, she and her children may be destined to live in poverty.*

A Growing Crisis: Disadvantaged Women and Their Children, 1983

Long considered a sure route out of poverty, education is an aspect of the American Dream that has not kept its promise to women. While higher education may mean higher wages for men, the economic returns are not comparable for women. A number of factors contribute to the wage disparity: chief among them is the difference in education and vocational training for men and women.

A sizeable body of research has documented the existence of sex-role stereotyping at all levels of education, including textbooks and curriculum materials, testing and counseling, teacher treatment and expectations of students. These variables contribute to different educational choices between girls and boys and ultimately result in different occupational patterns.

The link between education and employment is a crucial one, because research indicates that sex stereotyping in school leads to different career aspirations for boys and girls. According to a study by National Longitudinal Surveys, two-thirds of girls in grades 10 to 12 had occupational goals that could be classified into nine out of 297 categories (e.g., teacher, nurse, hairdresser, etc.). A Gallup survey found similar patterns of sex-segregated occupational goals. Clearly, sex stereotyping and segregation in education lead females to low-wage occupations and males to highly paid ones — one more source of income disparity between men and women.

## Vocational education

The vocational education system has remained sex segregated in spite of federal initiatives designed to promote sex equity. In fact, the 1976 Vocational Education Amendments (VEA) have been called one of the most far-reaching pieces of sex equity legislation enacted. These amendments contain provisions requiring states to take steps to overcome sex discrimination and stereotyping in federally funded vocational education programs. Yet, sex segregation in vocational education courses continues to mirror the occupational segregation of the work force; here women and girls prepare for low-wage jobs. Enrollment data provide grim confirmation. In the 1979-80 school year, women were 87 percent of the students training to be nursing

assistants; 92 percent of those studying cosmetology and 92 percent of those training to be secretaries. And young women were greatly underrepresented in courses to prepare for higher-paying "traditionally male" occupations. They were only 4 percent of students in carpentry; 3 percent in electricity and 10 percent in electronics.

In 1980 the League of Women Voters Education Fund (LWVEF) launched a monitoring project to track state and local responses to the sex equity provisions of the VEA to determine whether the law was fulfilling its potential. The five-state study found that increases in female enrollment in courses preparing for traditional male occupations were small and mainly concentrated in areas that were considered "clean" and "light," such as graphic arts, applied design and electronic accounting. Girls had made few inroads into the more heavily sex-role stereotyped courses. As long as vocational education continues to track women into low-paying dead-end jobs, it serves only to perpetuate the poverty of working women.

## Math and science education

Rapid technological advances and an ever-changing workplace raises questions about the economic survival of women. Is the education that women and girls are receiving keeping pace with the changing demands of industry? What will happen to "women's work" as old jobs become obsolete and new ones take their place?

In *Bridging the Skills Gap: Women and Jobs in a High Tech World*, Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW) examined the employment implications of advanced technology and concluded that while it poses new job opportunities, it also presents a triple threat, both for women seeking entry and for those already in the work force: (1) dislocation and displacement as technological advancements reduce the number of workers needed to perform tasks; (2) long-term unemployment because of inadequate training for technical jobs; and (3) tracking and segregation into new technical job ghettos. The question remains: Are women being trained or educated for these "new jobs"?

While some progress has been made, women's participation in math and science courses lags considerably behind that of men. In fact, girls' participation rates and achievement test scores in these areas begin to decline in junior high school, and by the end of high school, considerably more boys than girls graduate with four or more years of high school math. Research studies suggest that socialization and attitudinal factors and the influence of parents and teachers are related to boys' and girls' course selection and achievement. A variety of cultural and social influences may also account for different courses and career choices.

Moreover, while computers appear to be the wave of the future, research indicates that girls are not spending as much time on computers as boys, and that girls are conspicuously absent from computer camps and from video parlors where many young people get their initial introduction to computers.

Research by the LWVEF on math and science education (see *Math, Science and Technology: Adding It Up For Women*, LWVEF, Pub. #116) revealed that although women are entering college at the same rate as men, there are major differences in intended fields of study. Among college-bound high school seniors in 1980-81, three times as many males as females planned for majors in the physical sciences or related areas; 21.5 percent of males but only 3.2 percent of females planned to major in engineering.

The evidence appears overwhelming: For women to have viable career options in a rapidly changing and technological world, their education must be far more responsive to the opportunities and requirements of the workplace.

### Order from:

League of Women Voters of the United States  
1730 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036  
Publication No. 359, 85¢ (60¢ for members)  
ISBN 0-89959-350-X

## A path out of poverty?

*Poverty among hundreds of thousands of women already working underlines the failure of the "job" solution. Of the mothers working outside the home who headed households with children less than 19 years old in 1978, more than one-quarter had incomes below the poverty level.*

Women and Children: Alone and in Poverty  
Diana Pearce and Harriette McAdoo, 1981

Women's poverty differs significantly from that of men. While the cure for male poverty may simply be a job, that prescription does not work as effectively for women. Only through recognition of the distinct and different nature of women's poverty can society begin to eliminate it. That recognition must be reflected in federal programs, policies and legislation that address both the individual and institutional barriers that contribute to the economic impoverishment of women. Such efforts should include:

- ☐ vigorous enforcement of federal laws that prohibit discriminatory practices in employment and education;
- ☐ a federal commitment to a national child-care policy (starting at infancy) with funds to support the commitment;
- ☐ child-care services as an essential component of social welfare and employment programs — not as a low-priority service to be decreased in time of budget cuts;
- ☐ legislative initiatives with adequate funding to improve employment and training opportunities, recognizing both the disadvantages that women face in the labor market and their role as primary wage earners; and
- ☐ improved and expanded programs to combat sexism in education.

While the current employment situation does not provide a path out of poverty for many poor women, the potential is there — if the roadblocks can be removed. Such an effort will take nothing less than a national commitment to real equality of opportunity.

## Resources

*A Growing Crisis: Disadvantaged Women and Their Children*, 1983, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, DC 20425, free.

*Women and Children: Alone and in Poverty*, 1981, Diana Pearce and Harriet McAdoo, Center for National Policy Review, Catholic University Law School, Washington, DC 20064, \$2.00.

*A Children's Defense Budget, FY 1985, 1984*, Children's Defense Fund, 122 C Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20001, \$14.95.

*Women, Work and Wages: Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value*, 1981, the National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20418, \$8.75.

The following LWVEF publications can be ordered from the LWVUS, address below.

*Pay Equity: Equal Pay for Work of Comparable Value*, 1982, Pub. #110.

*Math, Science and Technology: Adding It Up for Women*, 1983, Pub. #116.

*Achieving Sex Equity in Vocational Education: A Crack in the Wall*, 1982, Pub. #493.

*Women and Vocational Training: A Step Up or a Come Down?*, 1982, Pub. #408.

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