DECLARATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN 1977

We are here to move history forward.
We are women from every State and Territory in the Nation.
We are women of different ages, beliefs and lifestyles.
We are women of many economic, social, political, racial, ethnic, cultural, educational and religious backgrounds.
We are married, single, widowed and divorced.
We are mothers and daughters.
We are sisters.
We speak in varied accents and languages but we share the common language and experience of American women who throughout our Nation's life have been denied the opportunities, rights, privileges and responsibilities accorded to men.

For the first time in the more than 200 years of our democracy, we are gathered in a National Women's Conference, charged under Federal law to assess the status of women in our country, to measure the progress we have made, to identify the barriers that prevent us from participating fully and equally in all aspects of national life, and to make recommendations to the President and to the Congress for means by which such barriers can be removed.

We recognize the positive changes that have occurred in the lives of women since the founding of our nation. In more than a century of struggle from Seneca Falls 1848 to Houston 1977, we have progressed from being non-persons and slaves whose work and achievements were unrecognized, whose needs were ignored, and whose rights were suppressed to being citizens with freedoms and aspirations of which our ancestors could only dream.

We can vote and own property. We work in the home, in our communities and in every occupation. We are 40 percent of the labor force. We are in the arts, sciences, professions and politics. We raise children, govern States, head businesses and institutions, climb mountains, explore the ocean depths and reach toward the moon.

Our lives no longer end with the child-bearing years. Our lifespan has increased to more than 75 years. We have become a majority of the population, 51.3 percent, and by the 21st century, we shall be an even larger majority.

But despite some gains made in the past 200 years, our dream of equality is still withheld from us and millions of women still face a daily reality of discrimination, limited opportunities and economic hardship.

Man-made barriers, laws, social customs and prejudices continue to keep a majority of women in an inferior position without full control of our lives and bodies.

From infancy throughout life, in personal and public relationships, in the family, in the schools, in every occupation and profession, too often we find our individuality, our capabilities, our earning powers diminished by discriminatory practices and outmoded ideas of what a woman is, what a woman can do, and what a woman must be.

Increasingly, we are victims of crimes of violence in a culture that degrades us as sex objects and promotes pornography for profit.

We are poorer than men. And those of us who are minority women—blacks, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans—must overcome the double burden of discrimination based on race and sex.

We lack effective political and economic power. We have only minor and insignificant roles in making, interpreting and enforcing our laws, in running our political parties, businesses, unions, schools and institutions, in directing the media, in governing our country, in deciding issues of war or peace.

We do not seek special privileges, but we demand as a human right a full voice and role for women in determining the destiny of
our world, our nation, our families and our individual lives. We seek these rights for all women, whether or not they choose as individuals to use them. We are part of a worldwide movement of women who believe that only by bringing women into full partnership with men and respecting our rights as half the human race can we hope to achieve a world in which the whole human race—men, women and children—can live in peace and security. Based on the views of women who have met in every State and Territory in the past year, the National Plan of Action is presented to the President and the Congress as our recommendations for implementing Public Law 94-167. We are entitled to and expect serious attention to our proposals. We demand immediate and continuing action on our National Plan by Federal, State, public, and private institutions so that by 1985, the end of the International Decade for Women proclaimed by the United Nations, everything possible under the law will have been done to provide American women with full equality. The rest will be up to the hearts, minds and moral consciences of men and women and what they do to make our society truly democratic and open to all. We pledge ourselves with all the strength of our dedication to this struggle "to form a more perfect Union."
The President should take steps to require that women:

- Are assured equal opportunities for appointment to managerial and upper level posts in Federally funded cultural institutions, such as libraries, museums, universities, and public radio and TV;
- Are more equitably represented on grant-awarding boards, commissions, and panels;
- Benefit more fairly from Government grants, whether as individual grant applicants or as members of cultural institutions receiving Federal or State funding.

Judging agencies and review boards should use blind judging for musicians, including singers, in appraising them for employment, awards, and fellowships as well as for all articles and papers being considered for publication or delivery and for all exhibits and grant applications, wherever possible.

Background:
"One becomes a genius, and the feminine situation has, up to the present, rendered the becoming practically impossible."

For more than two centuries, American women have built a climate for the arts in this country. They are the major appreciators and consumers of all the arts and humanities. They lead the way in going to plays, concerts, and dance recitals, reading serious literature, attending lectures, visiting art shows and museums, and seeing to it that talented youngsters take lessons in music and art. Without their volunteer services, thousands of art museums would close. According to Museums, U.S.A., a study made by Louis Harris, 57 percent of all museum staff workers are volunteers, virtually all of them women.

Women are more than passive appreciators. The Women's Caucus for Art reports that 75 percent of all art students are women; they also outnumber men in schools of acting and in creative writing courses.

Yet in spite of their deep involvement in the arts, women are conspicuously absent from the ranks of artists who have won recognition and acclaim.

Women created only 10 percent of the masterpieces shown in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; nine percent of those in the New York Museum of Modern Art; and only six percent of those in the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, reported Time magazine. Women composers of classical fame are rare, and women conductors are even rarer. And though women do better in literature, they account for only 21 percent of the listings in the 1977 Directory of Poets and Writers.

For centuries, answers to the question of why there have not been more great women artists and composers have implied that women are genetically incapable of creativity in the arts. This view defeats a woman before she begins. But feminists are challenging this argument, and in the new climate of encouragement of women's rights, many talented women are coming to the fore in the arts and humanities.

"One is not born a genius," wrote Simone de Beauvoir, author of The Second Sex. "One becomes a genius, and the feminine situation has, up to the present, rendered the becoming practically impossible."

The fault, says Dr. Linda Nochlin, professor of art history at Vassar College, lies not "in our stars, our hormones, our menstrual cycles, or our empty internal spaces, but in our institutions and our education—education understood to include everything that happens to us from the moment we enter, head first, into this world of meaningful symbols, signs and signals."

Centuries of repression The discrimination is rooted in history. Most women artists before the 19th century were either daughters or wives of artists and were trained by their male relatives. Unlike the men, however, they were not allowed formal academic training or the study of anatomy; therefore, they usually had to limit themselves to the arts of portraiture and still life. Some worked anonymously.

Even under these unfavorable conditions, some women artists succeeded. The works of Italian artist Artemisia Gentileschi, the best known woman painter of the 17th century; Rosa Bonheur, Kathe Kollwitz, Marie Laurencin, Mary Cassatt, and contemporary American artists Georgia O'Keefe, Lee Krasner, Loren MacIver, and Alice Neel are among the 83 women artists from 12 countries whose works are being shown in an unprecedented historical exhibit, "Women Artists: 1550-1950," which is acquainting the public with the achievements of famous and not-so-famous women artists. Typically, this exhibit, seen by capacity crowds and widely acclaimed by critics, was turned down by every major museum in the midwest and east coast when its touring schedule was first planned.

There is ample evidence that without our institutions of support, as well as education, in the arts continue to discriminate against women, denying them the opportunities they need to nurture their talents. Continuing attitudes that women are second-rate artists also inhibit women into suppressing their gifts. All too often a woman artist will give up her own creative work for a routine job that will support her husband or lover in the development of his creative talent because both accept his as intrinsically superior. Pat Mainardi, writing in the
The Dove Fountain, a bronze sculpture more than six feet long, four feet high and 20 inches wide, was created by sculptor Jimilu Mason of Alexandria, Virginia in honor of the National Women's Conference in Houston.

The fountain is an abstract of the International Women's Year bird symbol designed to embrace the theme of the United Nations Decade for Women: Peace, Equality and Development.

The sculptor explains: "The clear stream of water symbolizes the continuity and power of the ocean with its never-ending capacity to produce life and to effect dramatic changes on whatever it touches. This is woman.

"Yet, water possesses the gentle capacity for cleansing, refreshment and healing. This, too, is woman. The water is an integral part of the bronze, actually completing the flowing form of the dove.

"The reflected light surface of the bronze symbolizes the richness of the limitless potential released in women who discover their creative centers and become themselves reflectors of the changing patterns of opportunity for women."

In the colleges Discrimination against women on college faculties is devastating for women artists because teaching is the most reliable and often the only way for a composer, a poet, a playwright, or an artist to earn a living. But the universal pattern is that women are the students and men are the teachers. According to a study made for the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, women hold half the graduate degrees in art history but only a quarter of the faculty positions in that discipline. The disproportion is about the same in music and is much worse in English. Women are 70 percent of the undergraduates majoring in English but are only seven percent of the English professors.

Like women workers in general, women in the arts and humanities are clustered in the lower paying, least desirable jobs. In university departments of English, foreign language, history, art, music, and philosophy, they are concentrated in lower ranking, untenured posts.

Librarians are generally poorly paid, and most are women. The proportion of male librarians increased, however, during the 1960's when Federal funding created well-paid administrative posts. In the Federal system, women hold only 13 percent of the library positions at the highest grade level, while 50 percent of the lowest rated library workers are women.

It is the same story in Federally funded museums: although most museum workers are women, nearly 80 percent of the senior positions are held by men.

The performing arts Women have the same problems of inadequate access and pay in the performing arts. According to a report of the American Symphony Orchestra League, women comprised only one-fourth of the players in orchestras with budgets of more than $1 million during the 1974-75 season. The percentage of women was smaller in the

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more prestigious orchestras and larger in orchestras with low budgets. Only four percent of the managers of major symphonies were women, though they did better in metropolitan and community orchestras where pay has always been lower. For large orchestras and small, the rule held true: the more money a job pays, the less likely it is to go to a woman.

The theater is no exception. Although women do relatively better in drama because female characters are needed, there have always been more roles for men than for women. According to a Screen Actors Guild study, the ratio in television is 70 to 30, with male characters outnumbering females by two to one in children’s programs.

In architecture, a profession with very few women, women have customarily been excluded from access to training and experience. A 1975 Task Force on Women in Architecture found that it was hard for women students to obtain the internships and apprenticeships essential to career advancement. In addition, women were regarded as specially fitted to design residences and kitchens, work generally less well paid and prestigious than the design of larger structures. The Task Force found that male architects averaged 61 percent more pay than females in the profession.

Blind judging Experiments in blind judging have demonstrated that the wide discrimination against women in the arts has nothing to do with their ability. A study published in the February 1976 issue of Visual Dialog showed that between 1960 and 1972, women painters and sculptors did better in shows in which their names were concealed than in shows that disclosed their names and sex.

Women scholars are handicapped in getting promotions on college faculties because they publish, on the average, fewer scholarly papers. Recent studies suggest that this poorer record is not due to lack of industry or ability. After two years of blind review of papers submitted for publication by women teachers of classical languages, the proportion of papers accepted from women tripled.

Women musicians have also benefited from blind auditions—one-third of all major orchestras now do preliminary auditions with applicants performing behind a screen.

The Endowments Creative art everywhere depends on subsidy from private or public patrons. Key sources of funds are the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, which support symphonies, dance and theatre companies, and museums and also make grants to individual artists and scholars. Both endowments enlist the help of eminent artists and scholars in awarding grants.

The National Endowment for the Arts was formerly headed by Nancy Hanks and is now chaired by Livingston L. Biddle, Jr. Only 25 percent of its grant advisory panels in 1977 were women. During its first 10 years of existence, however, the Arts Endowment awarded 33 percent of its grants to women, though only 31 percent of applicants were women. In 1976, 17 percent of the grant advisory panels of the Endowment for the Humanities were women. This agency, now headed by Joseph Duffy, has increased the proportion of women on its grant advisory bodies, as has the Endowment.

The Federal Government itself has become a large art consumer. In 1977 the Carter Administration invited 10 artists to create a print series, with the sales proceeds going to the Democratic Party and to the artists. None of the 10 invited was a woman. Women in the Arts, an organization created to fight just this kind of discrimination, began an investigation and was told that Georgia O’Keefe and Louise Nevelson had been invited to participate, but neither could accept. Women in the Arts identified many other women artists who would qualify. The ensuing dialogue led to a White House meeting. Subsequently, Presidential Assistant Margaret “Midge” Costanza wrote to Michael Straight at the National Endowment for the Arts, urging him to look into the situation of women artists and to “initiate remedial procedures to give women more equitable representation” on the panels of the Endowment.

Women artists coalesce Women in the Arts also investigated the program of the General Services Administration, which buys art for Federal buildings. Much to the surprise even of those running the program, it was discovered that women were receiving only 10 percent of all GSA commissions.

A nationwide effort to achieve recognition for women in art is being initiated by the newly formed Coalition of Women’s Arts Organizations, which held its first full meeting in January 1978. The Coalition is calling for equal opportunity and equal representation for women in all arts programs and institutions, on decision-making bodies, and in grants and awards. The Coalition is also seeking greater recognition of the arts in school curricula and special funding for women’s arts projects, all as part of the struggle to eliminate the discriminatory practices that women artists face, practices that relate not to their talent, training, or effort but to their sex.
PLANK 2

BATTERED WOMEN

The President and Congress should declare the elimination of violence in the home to be a national goal. To help achieve this, Congress should establish a national clearinghouse for information and technical and financial assistance to locally controlled public and private nonprofit organizations providing emergency shelter and other support services for battered women and their children. The clearinghouse should also conduct a continuing mass media campaign to educate the public about the problem of violence and the available remedies and resources.

Local and State governments, law enforcement agencies, and social welfare agencies should provide training programs on the problem of wife battering, crisis intervention techniques, and the need for prompt and effective enforcement of laws that protect the rights of battered women.

State legislatures should enact laws to expand legal protection and provide funds for shelters for battered women and their children; remove interspousal tort immunity in order to permit assaulted spouses to sue their assailants for civil damages; and provide full legal services for victims of abuse.

Programs for battered women should be sensitive to the bilingual and multicultural needs of ethnic and minority women.

Background:

"Wife abuse is chronic and widespread at all economic and social levels."

Wife beating is a nationwide social problem. While nobody knows exactly how many American wives are physically assaulted by their husbands, the National Institute of Mental Health believes that at least 7.5 million couples go through a "violent episode."

A random sample of official reports indicates that wife abuse is chronic and widespread at all economic and social levels. In New York State, 14,167 abuse complaints were handled in Family Court in 1972; 23,136 complaints in 1975. Boston, Massachusetts police responded to 11,081 family disturbance calls in 1974. And Boston City Hospital records show that 70 percent of the assault victims received in its emergency rooms are women who have been attacked in their homes, usually by a husband or lover. In Kansas City, Missouri family assault calls comprised 46,137 or 82 percent of all disturbance calls in 1972. In Oakland, California the police responded to 16,000 family disturbance calls during a six-month period in 1970.

Physical abuse of wives is not merely an urban phenomenon. In one rural area, researchers found that police calls for "family fights" were exceeded only by calls relating to automobile accidents. In a rural Michigan county, 42.7 percent of all 1974 assault complaints were cases of wife assault. Another study of 40 known violent families and 40 neighboring families revealed that even among the supposedly nonviolent families, more than a third had experienced at least one incident of spousal assault.

Wife beating affects women of all ages, classes, and races. Police in Fairfax, Virginia, one of the wealthiest counties in the United States, reported receiving 4,073 family disturbance calls in 1974. Another study found that the number of wife abuse cases reported in the white upper-middle class community of Norwalk, Connecticut was approximately the same as that reported in a West Harlem black working-class neighborhood of the same size.


Acceptance of wife abuse Many Americans consider spousal violence an acceptable form of behavior. A survey conducted by the Harris Poll in 1968 for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence found that one in four men (and fewer than one in seven women) approved of slapping a spouse under some circumstances.

The FBI estimates that 25 percent of all murders in the United States occur within the family and that of these, one-half are husband-wife killings. The Kansas City police found women to be the most frequent homicide victims. However, women who kill are seven times more likely to be motivated by self-defense than men. Even where wife abuse does not result in the death of one of the spouses, the effect on other members of the family is likely to be severe and to perpetuate the problem. One observer believes that at least 10 percent of children who witness parental violence become adult batterers themselves. In a study prepared by students at Western Michigan University School of Social Work, it was found that of assailants whose family history was known, over one-half had witnessed parents involved in assaultive situations and two-fifths had been abused themselves.

Police response The reaction of police personnel often frustrates and undermines the battered woman's attempts to get protection and help. The training manuals used by most local police forces follow the old advice (since revised) of the International Association of Police Chiefs to avoid arrest, restore the peace, and leave.
The police do not make the safety of the victim their prime concern, and she frequently is in mortal danger. The Kansas City Police Department found that police had been called at least once before the actual murder took place in 85 percent of domestic homicide cases; and in 50 percent of the cases, the police had been called five times, reports Susan Jackson in an unpublished work, "In Search of Equal Protection for Battered Wives."

A woman who has been beaten may tell the police that she wishes to make a citizen's arrest, but most people are not aware of this right, and the police rarely tell victims about it.

In New York City, 59 abused women resorted to a class action suit against New York City policemen and family court personnel for unlawfully denying them assistance after they reported beatings.

Legal obstacles The law itself contributes to the problem. Under English common law, which is the basis for much American law, a man had the right to "correct his wife for her misbehavior." In nearly 23 States, one spouse may not sue another, and this prevents a woman from bringing a civil suit against a husband who injures her. In many other States, limitations on the right to sue make it an ineffective and uncertain remedy. A recent court decision in Pennsylvania held that a woman who had been beaten by her husband could not sue him for the medical expenses required to treat her injuries. In New York a husband charged with a family offense is entitled to a court-appointed lawyer, while his wife is not so entitled and must act as her own prosecuting attorney. Only one State in the country allows a wife to charge her husband with rape if he forces sexual intercourse. In New Hampshire the penalties for wife beating or simple assault range from a verbal warning to a small fine. In some States, the husband will not be arrested unless the type of battering is severe enough to charge the husband with a felony. District attorneys rarely prosecute those who assault their spouse. And many women do not prosecute for fear of reprisal.

The economic bind It is not easy for a battered woman to extricate herself from the marriage. If she should divorce, she is unlikely to be awarded alimony or child support. And even when she does receive such support, studies show that a large majority of all husbands will default in their payments. If she works, her average earnings are much less than those of a man.

Emergency help The number of existing emergency shelters is grossly inadequate to provide physical protection for women in immediate danger. A television program on ABC, aired in November 1977, reported that there were only 30 shelters in the 50 States.

Leaving her home to go to a shelter is the only recourse for a woman in danger in most States. But in Massachusetts, she may get an order to have her husband vacate the premises if she is instituting action for divorce or separate maintenance. Violation of the court order is considered trespass and is enforced by the police. The order is in effect for 90 days, and it can be renewed. (Massachusetts General Law, chapter 28K, sec. 34b, 1970, amended 1975.)

The essential features of such an injunction are that it can be obtained, if necessary, very quickly and that it has strong enforcement provisions.

Pending legislation Several bills have been introduced in Congress by Representatives Barbara Mikulski, Lindy Boggs, and Newton Steers, Jr., that call for establishing a grant program to support community groups that would provide direct assistance to battered spouses and support research on domestic violence. Hearings on the legislation were scheduled for March 1978.
PLANK 3

BUSINESS

The President should issue an Executive order establishing as national policy:
- The full integration of women entrepreneurs in Government-wide, business-related, and procurement activities, including a directive to all Government agencies to assess the impact of these activities on women business owners.
- The development of outreach and action programs to bring about the full integration of women entrepreneurs into business-related Government activities and procurement.
- The development of evaluation and monitoring programs to assess progress periodically and to develop new programs.

The President should amend Executive Order 11625 of October 13, 1971 to add women to its coverage and to programs administered by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise.

The President should direct the Small Business Administration (SBA) to add women to the definition of socially or economically disadvantaged groups as published in the Code of Federal Regulations and take all steps necessary to include women in all the services and activities of the SBA. These steps should include community education projects to encourage women to participate in SBA programs, particularly minority women, including blacks, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans.

The President should direct all contracting agencies to increase the percentage of the annual dollar amount of procurement contracts awarded to women-owned businesses and to maintain records by sex and race or ethnicity for monitoring and evaluation.

The President should direct the General Services Administration to amend, so as to include women, the Federal Procurement Regulations requiring that all firms holding Government contracts exceeding $5,000 insure that "minority businesses have the maximum practicable opportunity to participate in the performance of Government contracts."

The President should direct the Department of Labor, Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, to assure that compliance officers monitor the awards of subcontracts in order to assure that women-owned businesses are equitably treated.

Background:

"Women-owned businesses and minority-owned businesses together received less than 1 percent of the more than $130 billion in contracts awarded by the Federal Government."

Businesswomen are very poorly represented in the American economy. In 1972, the only year for which figures were available, women owned 4.6 percent of all American businesses, accounting for only 0.3 percent of all business receipts.

Very little has been done to increase these numbers. National programs for assistance to business owners do not make any special provision for women entrepreneurs, and many women do not qualify for help under minority programs. Nor do women get their share of Federal contracts. In 1975, women-owned businesses and minority-owned businesses together received less than one percent of the more than $130 billion in contracts awarded by the Federal Government.

Most businesses owned by women are smaller and less profitable than those owned by men—retail stores, coffee shops, personal services. Of the 402,025 women-owned businesses surveyed in the 1972 study, 98 percent were owned by one woman; 13 percent had no paid employees; and only 27 percent had more than five employees. The average annual income of women-owned businesses without employees was $10,000.

Small Business Administration

A major source of financial and technical assistance to small businesses is the Small Business Administration. The agency does not have a separate program for women, and as a result, they receive only a small share of its attention and assistance. In 1976, the SBA gave 11 percent of its business loans (and only eight percent of its total loan dollars) to under 3,000 women-owned businesses. This amounted to .75 percent of all women-owned businesses. More than three-quarters of the aid went to the retail and service firms that have been traditional business outlets for women.

Women as a group are not presumed disadvantaged in business and are not defined as eligible for participation in the section 8(a) program of the SBA that arranges subcontracts for small business concerns "which are owned and controlled by socially or economically disadvantaged persons." Women who are not members of recognized minority groups have had a difficult time being accepted as "socially disadvantaged."

Women as a group were not included as a "minority" when the Office of Minority Business Enterprise was created in 1971. As a result, they are excluded from an avenue of financial and technical aid that would allow them to participate more fully in the small business sector of the Nation's economy.
Charting the need  In September 1977, the Department of Commerce announced the formation of an Interagency Task Force on Women Business Owners, charged by President Carter with identifying obstacles, including Federal practices, that discourage women from entering business. The Task Force, which was preparing to make its report at this writing, includes representatives of Federal departments and agencies with special interest in business and procurement issues. Anne Wexler, Deputy Under Secretary of Commerce for Regional Affairs, chairs this Task Force, which was assigned to identify and assess the adequacy of current data; propose methods of collecting additional information; identify discriminatory practices and/or conditions; assess current Federal discriminatory programs and practices; and propose changes in Federal laws, regulations, and practices, including the impact, if any, on the Federal budget.

Legislation  A bill to establish an Associate Administrator for Women’s Business Enterprise (S. 1526) was introduced by Senators Dewey Bartlett (R., Okla.) and Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.), with full support of the National Association of Women Business Owners. The head of SBA, A. Vernon Weaver, has publicly stated opposition to this bill. Rather than create a separate program for women, he favors integrating women’s needs into all aspects of SBA programs. The bill passed the Senate in August 1977 and was referred to a subcommittee of the House Committee on Small Business.

Current action  The Agency for International Development (AID) is seeking to provide more contracts to firms owned by minorities and women. AID has also expressed a desire to include more women-owned firms as contractors and/or grantees.
CHILD ABUSE

The President and Congress should provide continued funding and support for the prevention and treatment of abused children and their parents under the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974.

States should set up child abuse prevention, reporting, counseling, and intervention programs or strengthen such programs as they already have. Child abuse is defined, for this purpose, as pornographic exploitation of children, sexual abuse, battering, and neglect.

Background:

"...at least 2,000 die every year of abuse or neglect."

Violence against children is widespread and underreported. The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect estimates that between 100,000 and 200,000 youngsters are regularly assaulted by their parents with cords, sticks, fists, hot irons, cigarettes, and booted feet. Nearly the same number are sexually molested, and as many as 700,000 may be denied food, clothing, or shelter. The Center estimates that at least 2,000 die every year of abuse or neglect. Most physical battering is directed against children less than four years old.

No one will know exactly how many children are affected until central registries are set up to count cases on the basis of uniform standards, but the figures that do exist are startling, and there is evidence that the number of children in danger is increasing. More than 5,000 New York City children, for example, were abused during 1976, and 83 died from abuse by their parents, according to The New York Times (July 11, 1977). This was 18 percent higher than in 1975 and 55 percent higher than in 1974.

The risk for girls

Children of both sexes are abused, but the crime has special impact on females. Girls are more apt to be sexually abused than boys and are more likely to be exploited through pornography.

Incest may be more widespread than anyone expects. Nearly half of the runaway girls studied by Odyssey Institute in New York had been sexually attacked by relatives in their homes, leading to an estimate by Dianne Densen-Gerber, a psychiatrist, that one out of every 20 females in the country has been the victim of incestuous attack.

Nor are children safe from pornographic exploitation for profit with the cooperation of their parents. In 1971 Nassau County, N.Y. District Attorney William Cahn uncovered a quarter-million-dollar, four-state business using children from 3 ½ to 14 years of age as sex models undergoing such acts as rape, sodomy and incest before the cameras. Parents knowingly brought their children from as far away as Florida to be paid for "performing," Shirley Camper Soman reported in her book, Let's Stop Destroying Our Children.

Since neglected and battered children are apt to grow up to be child abusers, there is a danger that female children may transmit abuse to the next generation when they become mothers themselves. Mothers who abuse children outnumber fathers 48 percent to 40 percent, primarily because mothers bear the burden of child rearing. And the wife of a man who abuses his children may find herself abused as well.

Early intervention

According to Carol Parry, assistant commissioner in charge of New York City's Special Services for Children, early intervention is the key to winning the battle against child abuse and neglect. "Unless intervention occurs, more than half of the children abused today will be abused again later."

Although every State has had some form of child abuse law at least since 1965, many communities have no facilities or services for 24-hour protection. In some States protection does not cover adolescents up to age 18, and not all States have set up machinery to collect and channel reports of neglected and abused children.

Schools have been successfully enlisted in pilot projects. Teachers, nurses, principals, and counselors in the public schools of Montgomery County, Maryland have been taught to detect child abuse from the appearance and behavior of the child. Between 1974 and 1975 reports of suspected abuse or neglect doubled in the county, and confirmed cases of physical abuse quadrupled. Abusive adults were referred for counseling and were encouraged to join self-help parent groups.

Community services have been set up, and many more are needed. Under a grant from the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, a Center for Comprehensive Emergency Services to Children was established in Nashville, Tennessee. After one year the number of abused children reported in Nashville increased 264 percent, but at the same time the number of abused children who had to be placed in institutions declined dra-
matically. The Nashville Center has prepared a guide that tells how to set up intake, outreach, and follow-up services, neighborhood crisis centers, emergency shelters for families and adolescents, and how to recruit and train emergency caretakers, homemakers, and foster family homes.

**Current legislation** A bill providing $50 million for carrying out the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act during 1978 and 1979 has passed the House and Senate and is awaiting conference action as of this writing. Half of the funds have been earmarked for demonstration projects and research into the causes and treatment of child abuse; 20 percent is for grants to States to develop and carry out child abuse and neglect prevention and treatment programs. The bill also authorizes $2 million for each of fiscal years 1978 and 1979 for programs and projects designed to prevent, identify, and treat sexual abuse of children.

The legislation defines "sexual abuse" as the obscene or pornographic photographing, filming, or depiction of children for commercial purposes, or rape, molestation, incest, prostitution, and other forms of sexual exploitation under circumstances which harm or threaten the child's health or welfare.
The Federal Government should assume a major role in directing and providing comprehensive, voluntary, flexible-hour, bias-free, non-sexist, quality child care and developmental programs, including child care facilities for Federal employees, and should request and support adequate legislation and funding for these programs.

Federally funded child care and developmental programs should have low-cost, ability-to-pay fee schedules that make these services accessible to all who need them, regardless of income, and should provide for parent participation in their operation.

Legislation should make special provision for child care facilities for rural and migrant worker families. Labor and management should be encouraged to negotiate child care programs in their collective bargaining agreements.

Education for parenthood programs should be improved and expanded by local and State school boards, with technical assistance and experimental programs provided by the Federal Government. City, county, and/or State networks should be established to provide parents with hotline consumer information on child care, referrals, and follow-up evaluations of all listed caregivers.

Background:
"More than two of every five mothers of preschoolers are at work or looking for work."

Most mothers work outside the home because they need the money. A large number of American families need two incomes to get along. In more than nine million families with two working parents, the husband earns less than $10,000 a year, and half of these families would fall below the poverty level without a second income.

A woman who is the sole support of her children has an even greater burden. If she earns the national median income for women of $130 a week before taxes, or $6,770 annually, she will find many child care services priced beyond her reach.

Who provides child care? For most working parents, child care is makeshift, informal, unavailable, or prohibitively expensive. Many children are cared for at home by a relative, neighbor, or nonrelated babysitter. Husbands and wives frequently work different shifts so that they can share child care responsibility, with the result that they have little time to spend together. One-fourth of all children of working parents, including some four million children under 14, were grouped in the category "arrangements unknown," according to Joseph H. Reid, executive director of the Child Welfare League, in testimony before a joint congressional hearing in 1975. Among this group were almost two million 7-to-13-year-old "latch-key children" who cared for themselves until a parent came home from work.

The most accessible type of care outside the home is family day care provided in private homes where women take in groups of children. Only 10 percent of such homes are licensed. Although many provide a satisfactory level of care in a personal setting, they are unregulated, and many caregivers have no formal training.

Nursery schools serve a small but growing number of children, though usually only for part of the day. (Of the pre-schoolers enrolled 11 years ago, 18 percent had working mothers. That percent doubled by 1976.) There are also parent cooperatives in which fathers and mothers share duties as caregivers for a specified number of hours, but this involvement is impractical when both parents work during the day.

About 18,000 day care centers provide care for only about two percent of the children of working mothers. Yet mothers surveyed in 1971 by the National Council of Jewish Women preferred this type of care to any other because of the stable environment and the learning opportunities for their children.

Indeed, more mothers not in the labor force are also recognizing the value of a part-time educational setting away from a child's home. Twenty-nine percent of the 3-and 4-year-olds in private nursery schools in 1976 had mothers working only at home, compared with only 12 percent in 1967.

Although there are some nonprofit child care centers supported by charitable organizations or by public funds (care for 250,000 children is...
The quality of child care The working parent’s search for convenient, affordable, dependable, quality child care is often lonely, desperate, and conducted under pressure of a deadline. Even where there are central registries of child care providers, evaluations of the services they offer are not commonly available. The Day Care and Child Development Council of Tompkins County in New York State, which operates a successful referral service, emphasizes the necessity of carefully checking caregivers before they are put on a list.

In this country, the Government supports child care chiefly as a tool to move poor mothers off public assistance and into low-paying jobs. Women in welfare programs, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, feel they should have the right to stay home with their young children if they so choose. But they also need access to free or low cost child care centers when they are able to work or wish to return to school or enter job training programs that would enable them to become self-supporting.

The Federal policy of limiting child care services to low-income women ignores the needs of lower-middle-class and middle-class working women who are frequently placed in a bind: their incomes are above the poverty level but not high enough to pay for private care, even if it should be available. Women in this situation often find themselves forced to give up their jobs to stay home with their children, and their only source of income then becomes welfare assistance. To break this chain, women seek comprehensive, federally-funded child care facilities with moderate sliding fee schedules based on ability to pay.

In other societies, day care is seen not only as an essential service to parents but as a positive, healthy, emotional, and intellectual experience for the child. In contrast with other industrialized nations, the United States has a poor record in providing child care services.
natal care; programs to meet the special needs of minorities, Indians, migrants, and bilingual children; and food nutrition services.

Meanwhile, Congress did pass the Child Day Care Services Act (PL 94-401), which authorized an additional $240 million in Title 20 Social Service funds to help day care centers meet their health and safety codes already in effect and to upgrade the quality of their programs.

However, new Federal standards for staffing (postponed until October 1977 by this act) have again been delayed. At this writing, a report was to be made to Congress in April 1978 on the appropriateness of the Federal Government setting any standards for child care. A series of State workshops seeking public interaction will then be scheduled throughout autumn 1978, and new or revised standards will be developed based on this local input. Any new Federal standards would therefore not be expected before spring 1979.

Some parents who must pay for private day care are now receiving a small tax break. The Tax Reform Act of 1976 provides up to $800 in tax credits to cover child care, care for incapacitated adults, and house care expenses for working parents, regardless of their income level. Divorced parents who receive child support are now eligible, and a couple is eligible even if one spouse works only part time or goes to school. And families that pay relatives for child care are now eligible, as long as that relative is not a legal dependent.

But when family income, even with two parents working, still falls near the poverty level, the current tax credit provides almost no relief at all. Such low income families are also not eligible for public child care funds under Title 20, a support system that gives priority to welfare clients. Legislation to assist the working family that "falls through the cracks" was being drafted by the Senate Child and Human Development Subcommittee for introduction in late spring 1978. The bill is expected to focus on local community control in a variety of settings, including family group homes.
CREDIT

The Federal Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 should be vigorously, efficiently and expeditiously enforced by all the Federal agencies with enforcement responsibility.

Background:
“A widow with an income of $25,000 a year...was refused an American Express card.”

It has always been more difficult for women to obtain credit, mortgages, and loans than for similarly situated men. The Federal Equal Credit Opportunity Act, passed in 1974, made it unlawful for anyone to be denied credit on the basis of sex or marital status. The Act was amended in 1976 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, age, national origin, the receipt of public assistance, or previous exercise of right under consumer protection legislation. But the law has not been enforced vigorously enough to eliminate credit discrimination against women. Too many women are still denied credit when they want to buy a car or a home, start a business, or finance an education.

Provisions of the law  The Federal Equal Credit Opportunity Act makes such discrimination illegal. The most important provisions are:
1. A woman may not be refused credit because she is a woman.
2. She may not be refused credit because she is single, married, separated, divorced, or widowed.
3. Creditors may not ask about her childbearing or birth control plans and cannot refuse to count her income because she is of childbearing age.
4. Alimony, child support, and part-time earnings may not be discounted as income.
5. A woman will be able to keep her own credit accounts and her own credit history if her marital status changes.
6. A homemaker will be able to build her own credit record because new accounts must be carried in the names of both husband and wife if both use the account.
7. If she is denied credit, she can find out why.

Enforcement  The Act can be enforced in two ways: by private litigation or by actions brought by the 12 Federal agencies charged with overseeing compliance in the institutions that they regulate or monitor.

Many women's groups, consumer advocates, and civil rights organizations believe the compliance agencies, with the exception of the Federal Trade Commission, are not doing an effective job. Enforcement problems have been cited by attorneys in the Federal Reserve Board's Equal Credit Division.

Some of the specific charges:
1. Although the Equal Opportunity Credit Act has been in effect for more than two years, enforcement procedures are still being written. Only recently have agencies begun training their examiners and revising their handbooks to include credit discrimination.
2. No effective punitive action is mandated for creditors found to be violating the law. Linda Cohen, NOW Credit Task Force Coordinator, characterizes a recently proposed enforcement policy as “a slap on the wrist.” There is no threat of significant financial penalty for violators, no suggestion that persons who have been discriminated against be advised of their right to sue, and no mention of how long and how badly an institution may violate the law before serious action will be taken.
3. Some enforcement agencies have a conflict of interest. If an agency advises a consumer that she has the right to sue, this may be harmful to the institution that the agency is charged with regulating.
4. No cease and desist orders have been issued by the regulatory agencies. Other than in the Federal Trade Commission, the only lawsuits filed have been initiated by individuals.
5. Discrimination continues. Since the law went into effect, the following cases have been documented in newspaper stories and by the National Credit Union Association:

A well-paid professional woman was told by her credit union that only a portion of her salary could be counted in a loan application because she is of childbearing age.

A Washington woman with no outstanding debts and a good credit rating was turned down in her request to buy furniture on an installment plan because part of her income is from child support.

A widow with an income of $25,000 a year from Social Security and her husband’s estate was refused an American Express card because she didn’t have a job.

A black woman was refused a mortgage because her home had no basement. She sued when she discovered the lender had made loans on other homes without basements.

A Texas woman earning nearly $10,000 in a management job was refused a $500 loan because she wouldn’t ask her unemployed new husband to co-sign the note. Before her marriage she had repaid three separate bank loans of $1,000 each.

A divorced college professor, owner of a house and two cars and a substantial bank account, was denied a department store credit card in her own name but permitted to continue to use an old card in her former husband’s name.

**Learning credit rights** The speed with which ECOA becomes a practical reality will also depend on the rapidity with which American women learn their credit rights.

“Very few women have heard of ECOA,” notes Linda Cohen. “They sit in credit offices and don’t even know they’re being discriminated against. If they knew their rights, they’d say ‘treat me fairly or else;’ And they would not be discriminated against.”

Eileen Shanahan, a former *New York Times* economics reporter, had to quote from stories she herself had written about the law in order to get a department store credit card in her own name. “If I had trouble, the ordinary woman who wasn’t as positive about the law would have lost the argument,” she says.

**Establishing credit history** One valuable provision of the law is apparently being largely ignored. The non-wage-earning homemaker who shares her husband’s accounts—by using the charge card to make a purchase, or by writing the checks to pay the bill—may now have the identical credit history in her name as well as his. This is automatic on new accounts but must be requested for established accounts.

Between June 1 and October 1, financial institutions sent out 310,000 information notices with a form to be returned if a woman wanted the account to be listed in her name as well as her husband’s. A spot survey conducted by the Commercial Credit Corporation found a response rate of only nine percent. Yet this provision is potentially vital to all women. Census Bureau studies show that 85 percent of American women will be on their own at some time during their lives. The Federal Government must spearhead an educational campaign to teach all women that their financial survival may depend on their ability to use their credit rights.
The President, Congress, and State and local governments should rigorously enforce all current legislation that affects the lives of disabled women.

The President, Congress, and the administration should expeditiously implement the recommendations of the White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals and develop comprehensive programs for that purpose.

Disabled women should have access to education, training, and employment based on their needs and interests rather than on the preconceived notions of others.

The Federal Government should enact legislation which will provide higher income levels so that disabled women can afford to live independently and at a decent standard of living. The disabled woman must have the right to determine for herself whether she will live in or out of an institutional setting. Funds and services should be available to make independent living a reality.

Congress should appropriate sufficient funds to insure the development of service programs controlled by disabled people.

Disabled women should have the right to have and keep their children and have equal rights to adoption and foster care.

Congress should mandate health training and research programs focused on the health needs of the disabled.

Information developed by disabled women should be disseminated to medical professionals and women so that all women can make decisions about children based on knowledge rather than on fear.

National health care legislation must provide for the unique requirements of disabled women without reference to income.

Congress should enact legislation to remove all work disincentives for all disabled individuals who wish to have paid employment.

The President and Congress should work closely with disabled individuals in the development of the welfare reform act and all other legislation concerning disabled persons.

Medicaid and Medicare should cover all the medical services and supplies that are needed by disabled women.

The President and Congress should encourage all States to utilize Title 20 funds for the provision of attendant care and other such services for disabled women.

The President and Congress should enact legislation to include disabled women under the 1964 Civil Rights Act and afford them judicial remedy.

The President and Congress and International Women's Year must recognize the additional discrimination disabled women face when they are members of racial, ethnic, and sexual minority groups, and appropriate steps must be taken to protect their rights.

In the passage of the National Plan of Action, the word "woman" should be defined as including all women with disabilities. The term "bilingual" should be defined as including sign language and interpreters for the deaf. The term "barriers" against women and "access" should be defined as including architectural barriers and communications barriers.

Congress and the President should support U.S. participation in and funding for the International Year of the Handicapped as proclaimed by the United Nations for 1981.
Background:

"...many disabled women are being deprived of their rights, and society is being deprived of their talents and abilities."

As many as 20 million women may suffer the double discrimination of sex plus disability. Employers, landlords, credit institutions, and schools exclude them from a participation of which they are capable. Laws enacted to prohibit discrimination and to require special physical facilities have not been enforced, and there are no provisions for the special problems of disabled women. This includes the right to bear children. Too many doctors assume that a disabled woman is incapable of bearing, rearing, or adopting a child. Because they are not given access to education, training, and employment, many disabled women are being deprived of their rights, and society is being deprived of their talents and abilities.

The numbers

Statistics on handicapped persons are hard to obtain. Only since 1970 has the Census asked about handicaps, and then only in a five percent sampling. Based on that sample, it was estimated that one out of 11 adults was disabled, or about five million women. When statistics have been gathered, sex is often not indicated. Section 504 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973 defines the handicapped person as one who has a mental or physical impairment or who is regarded as having such an impairment.

Recent Laws

Within recent years, several laws have been enacted that guarantee basic rights to handicapped individuals. The passage of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act with its civil rights Section 504, the Revenue Sharing Act of 1972, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, the Urban Mass Transit Act of 1970 as amended, and the earlier Architectural Barriers Act (1968) should have enabled the handicapped to enter the mainstream of American life.

No enforcement

But enforcement has been poor because most of the programs had no compliance system built into them. During oversight hearings last year before the Subcommittee on the Handicapped, extensive testimony was given that there are no efficient procedures for handling complaints, and that complaints are dealt with very slowly, if at all. Since then, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph A. Califano, Jr. signed the regulations for Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act on April 28, 1977.

Enforcement has also been poor for the Architectural Barriers Act, which mandates that all Federal buildings and all buildings built using Federal funds after 1968 must have access for handicapped persons. The compliance board for this act is composed of the very agencies the act is supposed to regulate, such as the Department of Transportation (DOT).

Public transportation

One of the most important issues for disabled persons is access to public transportation. Twelve consumer organizations have filed suit against DOT for failing to require low-floor, wide-door ramped buses for subsidized public transport (Transbus Case). Because of this suit and others filed throughout the country, Transportation Secretary Brock Adams in April, 1977 mandated that all transit operators have to buy accessible buses after September 1979.

But even the current regulations are inadequate. As it now stands, in subways, for example, the station facility must be accessible, the elevator to the subway car must be accessible, but there is no requirement for access to the subway car.

Education

In 1971 the Pennsylvania Association of Retarded Children challenged the State's policy of excluding retarded and disabled children from school, and for the first time a court ruled that the State had to provide an education for all children. This and other court cases led to the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975. But enforcement on the local level is not easy, and it is not unusual for the parent of a disabled child to have to take the local school board to court. Across the country, many thousands of children get less than their constitutional right, educationally, and some get virtually no education.

Employment and vocational training

Disabled women suffer the double discrimination of often being trained for less skilled jobs because they are female. Disabled women are much less likely to have paid employment than men. In Jobs for the Disabled (1977), Levitan and Taggart found that 60 percent of disabled men have paid employment, compared with 29 percent of disabled women. These figures are based on 1972 social security statistics.

Under the new HEW regulation, employers will no longer be allowed to give preemployment physical examinations. Employment cannot be denied for physical reasons unless the disability is job-related. Fringe benefits can no longer be modified or withdrawn unless there is an actuarial basis for doing so.

Health care

Under the new guidelines, doctors with Medicaid or Medicare patients, and those who have offices in a clinic or hospital built with Federal funds, must have an accessible office.

The Disabled Women's Caucus has asked that Medicare and Medicaid coverage be extended to cover interpreters and attendants necessary for health care. The Caucus also notes that birth control clinics do not have information in braille or on tapes. Doctors have ignored a disabled woman's right to bear or not bear children. Many clinics do not allow disabled persons to adopt, even though disabled women may be capable mothers.
PLANK 8

EDUCATION

The President should direct the vigorous and expeditious enforcement of all laws prohibiting discrimination at all levels of education and oppose any amendments or revisions that would weaken these laws and regulations.

Enforcement should apply to elementary, primary, secondary, post-secondary, graduate, vocational and technical schools, including sports and other programs, and granting of scholarships and fellowships.

Federal surveys of elementary and secondary schools should gather data needed to indicate compliance with Federal antidiscrimination laws, and these data should be collected by sex as well as race or ethnicity. The Civil Rights Commission should conduct a study to evaluate the enforcement of laws prohibiting sex discrimination in physical education and athletics and to consider the usefulness and feasibility of per capita expenditure in physical education and athletics as a measure of equal opportunity.

Leadership programs for working women in postsecondary schools should be upgraded and expanded, and private foundations are urged to give special attention to research on women in unions.

Bilingual vocational training, educational and cultural programs should be extended and significantly expanded, with particular attention to the needs of Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and other minority women.

State school systems should move against sex and race stereotyping through appropriate action, including:

- Review of books and curriculum.
- The integration into the curriculum of programs of study that restore to women their history and their achievements and give them the knowledge and methods to reinterpret their life experiences.
- Pre-service and in-service training of teachers and administrators.
- Nonexistent and nonracist counseling at every level of education, with encouragement of women to increase their range of options and choices to include both nontraditional and traditional occupations and to increase understanding of women's rights and status in various occupations.

Background:

"In classrooms, textbooks, and gymnasiums, women have been taught to undervalue themselves."

Women have always played a major role in the education of the young as part of their childrearing responsibilities. When an expanding and industrializing nation needed to educate large numbers of its children during the 19th century, Catharine Beecher proclaimed in lectures, pamphlets, and books that women are ideally suited to the task. It was part of her lifelong campaign to "professionalize" the work that women had been doing at home, and its effects are still being felt to this day. Women became teachers in overwhelming numbers, but because it was "women's work," especially in the lower grades, the pay remained low well into this century.

Then education became big business, supported by Government money, and the better paying, policymaking jobs went to men, even in the elementary schools that women had been running by themselves. In the colleges and universities, men remained in charge, as they had always been, despite the rising number of women going into higher education.

According to the Digest of Educational Statistics, women were 45 percent of college undergraduates in fall, 1975 and 46 percent of graduate students. In 1976, women accounted for 52 percent of college students ages 14 to 34.

The effects of an educational system that discriminates against women have not only damaged those who have pursued teaching as a profession but have also been devastating for many women. An educational system run by men has denied women the opportunity to develop their talents and abilities. In textbooks, classrooms, and gymnasiums, women have been taught to undervalue themselves. At every level, they have been offered more limited options than men; they have been denied the training that would enable them to enter higher paying, more rewarding fields of work.

This discrimination continues, even though it is now illegal under Title 9 of the Education Amendments Act of 1972. Despite affirmative action programs, recent statistics show only slight progress for women in some areas. Women who work in education continue to lag behind men in pay and promotions. Women as students are still being prevented from making full use of their capabilities.

Salaries and promotions The top positions in most schools are held by men, even when the faculty is predominantly female.

The National Institute of Education reported that in 1975, 63 percent of elementary and secondary teachers were women. Yet women were principals in less than two percent of the high schools and in only 18 percent of the primary schools. Out of 16,000 school districts in the country, only 75 were administered by women. These figures represent a serious setback for women. In 1928, only eight years after women won the right to vote, 5 percent of primary school principals were women.
The figures in higher education are not any better. The salaries of male professors averaged $3,000 more than female professors' in 1975-76, and the gap was greater than a year earlier. Between 1974 and 1975, the percentage of women declined in the highest ranks of professor and associate professor. And, according to the American Association of University Professors, the number of women faculty actually fell from 22.5 percent in 1974-75 to 21.7 percent in 1975-76.

Limited options With so few women in leadership positions, it is not surprising that women students are often inadequately prepared for the world of work. During their lifetime, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 90 percent of the girls and young women now in school will work outside their homes.

Vocational education does not prepare them for gainful employment. In 1976, 38.7 percent of the girls enrolled in vocational programs were studying homemaking skills and not skills related to earning wages, according to Department of Health, Education and Welfare statistics. Of the rest, 27.4 percent were being taught office skills, such as typing and filing, which would prepare them only for work in the low-paid female ghetto. Only 4.9 percent of the female vocational students were in trade and industrial programs that lead to higher paying jobs, compared with about 60 percent of the male vocational students.

Women have been discouraged from learning the skills that would prepare them for highly paid technical work. According to recent surveys by the Endicott Report and the College Placement Council, future employment prospects are brightest in many of the fields that use quantitative skills—fields such as engineering, accounting, banking, and insurance.

Women have been conditioned to believe that they do not have the skills for these jobs. A study by the National Assessment of Educational Progress found that boys and girls perform almost equally on mathematics and verbal tests as late as nine years old. As they grow older, however, girls' verbal scores rise and their math scores decline in comparison to boys' scores. A study of college students entering the University of California at Berkeley in 1973 showed that only eight percent of the women had four years of high school mathematics, compared with 57 percent of the entering men. This meant that 92 percent of incoming women students could major in only five out of the 20 available fields. (The figures were quoted in testimony before the congressional hearings on equal opportunity in education.)

It is not surprising, then, that women are underrepresented in technical and scientific fields. According to the 1975 Endicott Report, five to six percent of scientists and engineers, less than 10 percent of medical doctors, and less than one percent of mathematicians and physicists are women. Although almost as many women as men are now in graduate school, the percentage of scientific doctoral degrees awarded to women today is essentially the same as it was in the 1920's, according to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Women earn 45 percent of all bachelor degrees and 44 percent of master degrees, but in mostly "female" fields.

In 1975, some law schools were still admitting fewer than 20 percent women students, and in 1976-77, women were only 25 percent of the entering classes in medical schools.

Textbooks The message of many textbooks and storybooks is that girls and women take second place to men and that they must accept certain roles. Women appear in only 31 percent of all textbook illustrations, according to a 1974 report for the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education. Men occupy at least 150 roles in texts, while most women occupy traditional female roles like housewife, teacher, and secretary. In primary school materials, boys are pictured as active; girls as passive. Boys are shown outdoors; girls indoors. Boys perform adventurous and skillful tasks; girls groom themselves and tend to their homes. Girls are affectionate and nurturing; boys are brave and fierce. These stereotypes are limiting to girls and boys equally.

Stereotyping does not stop in the elementary schools. A study completed in 1974 by a Citizens Advisory on Sex Inequality in Lexington, Massachusetts found that in a widely used algebra text for grades 8 through 10, boys are shown working, earning high grades, painting, pushing mowers; girls are shown spending money and dieting. In high school civics books studied by Jennifer MacLeod and Sandy Silverman, there are 1,104 listings for men; 33 for women.

Women are invisible in history books, according to Janice Law Trecker, whose study was published by the National Council for Social Studies. She found that topics uniquely concerned with women, such as women's suffrage, are given short shrift. Birth control is usually omitted entirely. One text devotes five pages to the story of the six-shooter; five lines to the life of a frontier woman.

Counseling reinforces the images about a "woman's place." In a 1975 study for HEW, Janice Bick cites scores in one of the most popular aptitude tests:

"Many young women do not appear to have strong vocational interests and they may score high in certain 'premarital' occupations; elementary-school teacher, office worker, stenographer-secretary."
Too many guidance counselors do not take a young woman's career aspirations seriously and try to steer her into low-paying, conventional career choices.

One well-qualified high school senior wrote to HEW that she was discouraged by her counselor from pursuing a career as a veterinarian. "She said," wrote the student, "that at our age it's the maternal instinct, and after a few years of college, we outgrow it."

Women in sports Title 9 regulations specifically call for equal athletic opportunities for girls and women—and athletics is the single largest category of complaints filed by students under Title 9, reports NOW's Project PEER, which monitored HEW enforcement.

Desegregation of school sports has received so much publicity and controversy that it seems as if the battle is won. Far from it. Although girls' participation in varsity high school athletic programs shot up 560 percent between 1971 and 1976, boys still take part in team sports more than twice as often as girls, and not one State offers girls as many varsity teams as boys.

Colleges may be even further behind. In a 1974 study of intercollegiate athletics, it was estimated that the average budget of women's athletic departments was only two percent of the budgets for men's athletics.

In 1976, a high school student in Mannington, West Virginia was told by her principal to "watch the boys" if she liked sports.

Enforcing Title 9 Although Title 9 has been law since 1972, little has been done to enforce it. Nearly 900 complaints of discrimination on elementary and secondary levels were made to HEW, but only 179 of those were investigated and resolved, reported the Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER), which conducted a year-long study for NOW (National Organization for Women) Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Under its enforcement powers, HEW has done little else but work on these few complaints, PEER charged, and worked on them very slowly. It has not taken the necessary steps to inform the public—parents and students—what their rights are under Title 9. It contacted all schools initially to tell them about the law, but it has not published its rulings. "Other government agencies have long recognized that most rulings have universal regulation," notes PEER's report, "Solve the problem of the tennis coach in Tallahassee and you have resolved matters in Terre Haute, Fall River and Dubuque. If the word reaches them."

HEW has responsibility under the law to initiate checks in all schools to make sure that opportunities are available equally to girls and boys, women and men. HEW completed checks in only 12 of the country's 17,000 school districts, PEER reports. It has not issued clear and consistent rulings on a number of issues that have been brought to the department; it has changed rulings when they became controversial, and for 10 months, between August 1976 and June 1977, there was a virtual moratorium—HEW stopped making decisions on Title 9 almost completely. The moratorium has been lifted, and some of this backlog has been cleared up, but in October 1977, the agency released its enforcement plan for the following year and promised to investigate only 21 (seven percent) of the complaints the office expects to receive during the year.

"Hundreds of people have written HEW for help under Title 9," says Holly Knox, director of PEER. "They couldn't get into classes or could get jobs; they were denied equal opportunities; the chance to play sports solely because of their sex. HEW turned its back on most of them. Citizens had every right to expect government help were either ignored or offered relief when it no longer mattered. HEW has claimed that limited resources in the Office of Civil Rights restrict the priority enforcement of Title 9, yet the PEER report shows that an average of just six complaints a year was given to each investigator assigned to cases involving the public schools.

In four years, PEER reports, 900 complaints, over 100 staff people in 10 regional offices devote at least part-time to Title 9, and small army of staff in Washington very little has been accomplished. The following are the only accomplishments documented in the government's own files:

Out of 16,000 school districts:

- Only 18 agreed to change the employment practices to treat both sexes equally;
- Twenty-one agreed to upgrade sports programs for girls;
- Seventy-seven districts agreed to open up single-sex courses to both sexes;
- Twenty agreed to change sex biased student rules; and
- Twenty-one institutions agreed to miscellaneous other changes.

Until fairly recently one subject was totally missing from curricula—the female experience. A new organization, the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA), has been formed...
give women's studies some national direction and coordination. But its efforts are just beginning. "Compared with the number of college and universities in the country, the number of women's studies programs that are recognized and budgeted is small," said Blanche Hersh, coordinator of women's studies at Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago. "Research on women is missing in the disciplines; and because the systematic scholarly study of women has not been fostered, there is no accurate presentation of the female experience," said Catherine Stimpson, a Barnard College professor who edits Signs, a scholarly journal in the field of women's studies. "History has overlooked half of the human existence," noted Patricia Palmier, Ph.D. candidate at Harvard.

Pending legislation The new Vocational Education bill pending before Congress in early 1978 extends and revises previous legislation, mandating criteria for distributing vocational education funds within the States. Each State must allocate $50,000 of its Federal allotment for these purposes and must develop curricula and guidance programs reflecting women's changing roles. The Career Implementation Act (S1328) would assure equal access to career education programs. The proposed Labor-HEW Appropriations Act (HR7555) carries an amendment that would ban timetables, ratios, and quotas for achieving equity in education. This would reduce effective enforcement of Federal regulations. Action has been postponed until later in 1978. The late Senator Humphrey proposed a bill (S255) that would establish a separate Department of Education. Another bill (HR7) would provide career education in elementary and secondary schools, but there is no indication that it attempts to eliminate sex stereotyping or discrimination.
PLANK 9

ELECTIVE AND APPOINTEOV OFFICE

The President, Governors, political parties, women's organizations and foundations should join in an effort to increase the number of women in office, including judgeships and policy-making positions, and women should seek elective and appointive office in larger numbers than at present on the Federal, State and local level.

The President and, where applicable, Governors should significantly increase the numbers of women appointed as judges, particularly to appellate courts and supreme courts.

Governors should set as a goal for 1980 a significant increase and, by 1985, equal membership of men and women serving on all State boards and commissions. Concerted efforts should be directed toward appointing women to the majority of State boards and commissions which have no women members.

Political parties should encourage and recruit women to run for office and adopt written plans to assure equal representation of women in all party activities, from the precinct to the national level, with special emphasis on equal representation on the delegations to all party conventions.

The national parties should create affirmative action offices for women. Women's caucuses and other women's organizations within the party should participate in the selection of its personnel and in the design of its program, which should include greatly improved financial assistance for female delegates and candidates.

Background:

"Counting historically, the figures are astounding. Since the beginning of the Republic, there have been 1,726 Senators; of them, 11 have been women.

Of a total 9,591 members of the House, only 87 have been women. It defies reason to believe that imbalances of this magnitude are not reflected in the outcome of the legislative process."

Women have been excluded from political power since the establishment of our Nation as the world's first constitutional democracy more than 200 years ago. The white male founders of a Nation born in a revolution based on the concept of representative government denied representation to women along with slaves, Indians, and criminals.

When women's rights advocates gathered for their first public meeting in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848, they focused on women's lack of political power as the source of their inability to change their lives or the laws that made them chattels of men. Paraphrasing the Declaration of Independence, they wrote a Declaration of Sentiments, which said, as one of many pointed indictments of male rule, "Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he (man) has oppressed her on all sides."

During much of the remaining century and until August 26, 1920, when the 19th amendment granting women suffrage at last became part of the Constitution, hundreds of thousands of women and their male sympathizers engaged in struggles for "this first right of a citizen." Even as they demanded the right to vote, a few hardy women anticipated the next step by running for office, including the Presidency. Their attempts met with ridicule.

Montana, one of several States that granted women the franchise before 1920, had the distinction of electing the first woman to Congress in 1917. Republican Jeanette Rankin added another distinction to her uniqueness—the first vote she cast in the House of Representatives opposed American entry into World War I.

The struggle for suffrage In order to win the right to vote, women had to develop and master techniques that became standard fare in future political campaigns: they gathered petitions, rang doorbells, set up card files of voters and legislators, organized at the precinct level, lobbied, demonstrated, and held mammoth parades. During World War I, under the leadership of militant suffragist Alice Paul, some women used more radical techniques, such as chaining themselves to the fence outside the White House and going on hunger strikes in jail.

Looking back on the eventually successful struggle, suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt reported: "To get the word 'male' in effect out of the Constitution cost the women of the country 52 years of pauseless campaign. ... During that time they were forced to conduct 56 campaigns of referenda to male voters; 480 campaigns to get Legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to get State constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into State constitutions; 277 campaigns to get State party conventions to include woman suffrage planks; 30 campaigns to get Presidential party conventions to adopt woman suffrage planks in party platforms; and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses."

Once suffrage was achieved, the vast political experience amassed by
women was not used to gain elective or appointive office for themselves in any significant numbers. Carrie Chapman Catt favored working within the existing political parties to achieve feminist goals; other suffrage leaders advocated organizing a separate women's political party or maintaining themselves as a special interest group. The die was cast when the newly formed League of Women Voters decided, after much debate, to concentrate on mobilizing public opinion behind reform programs and educating women in the tasks of citizenship on a nonpartisan basis.

Suffrage leaders went their separate ways, working hard and effectively for a variety of causes—peace and disarmament, abolition of child labor and sweat shops, consumer safeguards, social welfare laws, and protective legislation for women.

Within five years after ratification of the 19th amendment, the women's movement, which once had an estimated two million supporters, was down to a relatively small core of activists. Women did not vote in as large numbers as had been hoped, and they tended to follow male voting patterns. Women used their votes to elect men, but in fact, they had little choice, as few women had the resources to run for public office.

Lacking an independent power base, women became dependent on male party officials for concessions. The political power structure, including both elective and appointive office, remained virtually an all-male preserve, whereas women were consigned to the drudgery of inner party chores, the "housework" of politics.

**Women in Congress** The "astounding" figures at the beginning of this essay (quoted from an article by Ken Bode in *The New Republic*, March 4, 1978) illuminate the massive, persistent, and deliberate exclusion of women from the governing of this Nation, in which they are a majority of the population.

Today, of the 100 members of the U.S. Senate, frequently described as "the most exclusive men's club in the world," only one is a woman—Muriel Humphrey, appointed recently as a temporary replacement for her deceased husband. Of the 435 members of the House of Representatives, only 18 are women.

It is a reflection on the process rather than on the women, many of whom have proved to be able legislators, that widowhood became the surest route to Congress. Of the total 99 women who have served in Congress since the beginning of this republic (Bode's count did not include Mrs. Humphrey), more than one-third (38) were appointed because they were widows of Members. The eight women appointed to the Senate served for only fractions of a term—months or weeks. The first woman to serve in the Senate was there for only one day. She was Rebecca Felton, an 87-year-old suffragist from Georgia, appointed in 1922 as a token fill-in until the regularly elected male Senator arrived.

Nine years passed before the second woman member appeared in the Senate—this time a widow appointee from Arkansas, Hattie Caraway.

The first woman appointed to the Cabinet was Frances Perkins, who was Secretary of Labor throughout the Roosevelt administration from 1933 to 1945. In the Eisenhower administration, Oveta Culp Hobby headed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from 1953 to 1955. Carla Hills was Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the Ford administration. President Carter is the first President to have two women in his cabinet: Secretary of Commerce Juanita Kreps and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Patricia Harris. Thus, the total of women Cabinet officials throughout American history is five.

There has never been a woman President. There has never been a woman on the U.S. Supreme Court; and until the election in his own right of Connecticut Governor Ella Grasso in 1974 and Washington Governor Dixie Lee Ray in 1976, there had been only three women governors: Nellie Ross of Wyoming, who took over for her deceased spouse; "Ma" Ferguson of Texas; and Lurleen Wallace of Alabama, both of whom stood in for their husbands.

Only with the formation of the multi-party National Women's Political Caucus in 1971, and subsequently with the Women's Education for Delegate Selection Fund, the Women's Education Fund, and the Women's Campaign Fund did women begin organizing on a nationwide scale to encourage and support women for elective and appointive office and to demand equal representation of women in the structures of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The efforts of these and other groups have helped to produce a significant increase in the number of women in office in recent years, particularly at the local level, but the overall picture remains predominantly male.
Figures supplied by the National Women's Political Caucus, the Women's Education Fund, the Center for the American Women and Politics at Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University, a major research facility, and the Congressional Clearing House on Women's Rights show the following:

In 1976-77, women held about eight percent of more than 10,000 public offices, including Members of Congress, State executives and cabinet officers, State legislators, county commissioners, mayors, and local council members. This compares with five percent in 1974-75. Of 41 elected lieutenant governors, only three are women.

Although there are 735 women mayors, only four are in major cities: San Antonio, Phoenix, Oklahoma City, and San Jose, California. A woman, Carol Bellamy, was recently elected president of the New York City Council, next in line to the mayor.

Women constitute 9.3 percent of State legislators. Of 1,981 State senators, 99 are women; of 5,581 State assembly members, 601 are women. Six States have no women in their senates, and 17 have only one.

In mid-1977, women were only 1.8 percent of State appellate and trial court judges: 110 women out of 5,940.

Women are making a little more progress on school boards, the elective office closest to home and easiest to attain. A survey by the National School Boards Association in 1976 found that nearly 20 percent of those serving were women, up from 11 percent in 1974. But one out of five remains a very small number, particularly since it is women who do most of the work in parents' associations and are most involved in the education of children.

Women hold only 15 percent of the appointed positions on State boards and commissions, and more than half of these bodies have no women at all. **Carter administration record**

Women appointed to the Carter administration have been of extraordinarily high caliber, and in the Departments headed by Juanita Kreps and Patricia Harris, almost half the appointments have been women. Eleanor Holmes Norton, head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has also appointed equal numbers of women.

But on the whole, women remain notably underrepresented in Government policymaking positions. According to the Congressional Clearing House on Women's Rights, women hold only 16 percent of the top jobs in the administration, but the percentage also includes women appointed to nonsalaried commission posts. At the end of February 1978, of the so-called "plum" jobs in the administration, men held 466; women, 60.

President Carter has named six women to ambassadorships, the same number appointed by President Ford. **The judiciary**

Only 12 women have ever served in the Federal courts. No woman has been on the U.S. Supreme Court. Two have served on the U.S. Court of Appeals. The other 10 were in the U.S. District Court, Court of Claims, Court of Customs and Patent Application, and Customs Court. Judges are appointed to these courts for life. (There are other Federal judgeships in which the appointees serve for a term of years, such as the D.C. Superior Court, the D.C. Court of Appeals, the U.S. Tax Court, etc.)

At present, only six women are among the 492 lifetime Federal judges; there are currently 33 vacancies. There is one woman on the U.S. Court of Appeals and five in the U.S. District Courts. Of the 525 authorized Federal judgeships, only 1.1 percent are held by women.

Only one of the 35 Carter nominations to the Federal judiciary is a woman, and none of his 10 appointments to the U.S. Court of Appeals is a woman.

Last year, President Carter established a Circuit Judge Nominating Commission, consisting of panels of citizens to review applications for U.S. Courts of Appeals judgeships and, on the basis of merit, select five names to be sent to the White House from which the President would select his nominee. Of the 10 panels set up so far, their membership having been selected by administration officials, none is chaired by a woman.

An omnibus judgeship bill pending in Congress at this writing would increase the number of Federal judges by 140-to-150. Whether this will enlarge the opportunities for women or decrease the already miniscule percentage of women in the judiciary remains to be seen.

**Public opinion**

The absence of significant numbers of women in public office can no longer be attributed to their unavailability or to public prejudice. A Gallup poll in September 1975 reported that 71 percent of Americans feel that the country would be governed as well or better with more women in public office, and 78 percent said they would vote for a qualified woman for President. Eight percent said they would vote for a woman for Congress or for governor or mayor.
The use of the word "qualified" illustrates the double standard that still prevails for women in politics. Ruth Mandel, director of the Center for American Women and Politics, which has analyzed the background and records of elected women officials, said recently: "I never met a woman in office who didn't feel she had to be more effective, more successful, more dedicated, more responsible, more moral, more everything, in order to be taken seriously." At the same time, qualities of strength and leadership admired in male politicians are often viewed negatively, and described as overly aggressive when they appear in women political leaders.

Women seeking political office are handicapped by lack of money and support from party officials and the political "establishment." Few hold top positions in the business community or in organized labor, traditional sources of campaign funds. "There are 'old boy' networks," according to Pam Fleischaker of the Women's Campaign Fund. "What we need are some 'old girl' networks." Women state legislators who run, they are maintained that support for women candidates will increase when women gain more power within the political parties. A major focus of the NWPC, the Women's Education Fund, and other groups has been to obtain affirmative action programs to guarantee equal representation of women in all levels of the political parties and at their nominating conventions.

As a result of their efforts, the number of women delegates to the 1972 Democratic convention increased to 40 percent compared with 13 percent four years earlier, and to 30 percent in the Republican Party, up from 17 percent in 1968. In 1976, 31.4 percent of Republican delegates were women, but at the Democratic convention the number of women delegates declined to 34 percent because of a relaxation of affirmative action rules.

A women's caucus at the 1976 Democratic convention compromised on its demand for equal representation of women in future conventions in exchange for a commitment from Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter to give women significantly larger roles in the Government and the judiciary and within the Democratic Party.

Although a woman is co-chair of the Republican National Committee and women are organized into a caucus in the Democratic National Committee, neither party has yet made a major commitment to the election or appointment of more women to national office by seeking out potential women candidates, encouraging them to run, or by providing financial, political, or logistical support.

Can women make a difference?

There have not been enough women in high political offices to determine whether their presence in large numbers would affect national or local policies. However, one can assume that there would be a positive effect on society. During the height of the Vietnam war, an analysis showed that the majority of women Members of Congress, Democrats and Republicans, opposed the war. A study by Shelah Leader, Ph.D., who taught political science at Cornell University, also found that women legislators tend to vote somewhat differently from men legislators. Women legislators in both parties, she reported, are more apt than men of their party to vote for laws that help women, particularly the Equal Rights Amendment, and for measures promoting maternal and child health. Another study showed that Congresswomen as a group were more responsive to the needs of senior citizens.

In The New Republic article quoted earlier (March 4, 1978), in which he said that the lack of women in Congress must surely affect the legislative process, Ken Bode noted: "Last fall, for example, when the Congress was deadlocked over the Hyde amendment on Federal payments for abortions and the budgets of two of the largest agencies of government were held hostage in the process, all 27 members of the conference committee debating the question of abortion, arguably of some concern to women, were male." He concluded: "No society that so systematically excludes half its members from the governing process can be called democratic."

Although the public climate has become more favorable to women in politics and government and women have made some gains, the fact remains that more than 200 years after the birth of our Nation, women hold only a shred of political power.
PLANK 10

EMPLOYMENT

The President and Congress should support a policy of full employment so that all women who are able and willing to work may do so.

The President should direct the vigorous and expeditious enforcement of all laws, executive orders and regulations prohibiting discrimination in employment, including discrimination in apprenticeship and construction.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should receive the necessary funding and staff to process complaints and to carry out its duties speedily and effectively.

All enforcement agencies should follow the guidelines of the EEOC, which should be expanded to cover discrimination in job evaluation systems. These systems should be examined with the aim of eliminating biases that attach a low wage rate to "traditional" women's jobs. Federal legislation to provide equal pay for work of equal value should be enacted.

Congress should repeal the last sentence of Sec. 703(h) of Title 7, Civil Rights Act (1964) which limits enforcement of that law by incorporating the more restrictive standards of the Equal Pay Act.

As the largest single employer of women in the Nation, the President should require all Federal agencies to establish goals and timetables which require equitable representation of women at all management levels, and appropriate sanctions should be levied against heads of agencies that fail to demonstrate a "good faith" effort in achieving these goals and timetables.

The Civil Service Commission should require all Federal agencies to establish developmental and other programs in consonance with upward mobility and merit promotion principles to facilitate the movement of women from clerical to technical and professional series, and make all Federal women employees in Grades (GS) 11 through 15 eligible for managerial positions.

Agencies and organizations responsible for apprenticeship programs should be required to establish affirmative action goals and timetables for women of all racial and ethnic origins to enter into "non-traditional" training programs.

Federal laws prohibiting discrimination in employment should be extended to include the legislative branch of the Federal Government.

In addition to the Federal Government, State and local governments, public and private institutions, business, industry and unions should be encouraged to develop training programs for the employment and promotion of women in policy-level positions and professional, managerial and technical jobs.

Special attention should be given to the employment needs of minority women, especially blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans and Native Americans, including their placement in managerial, professional, technical and white collar jobs. English-language training and employment programs should be developed to meet the needs of working women whose primary language is not English.

The Congress should amend the Veteran Preference Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 387, Chapter 287, Title 5, US Code) so that veterans preference is used on a one-time-only basis for initial employment and within a three-year period after discharge from military service, except for disabled veterans. It should modify the "rule of three" so that equally or better qualified non-veterans should not be unduly discriminated against in hiring.

Title 7 of the 1954 Civil Rights Act should be amended to prohibit discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth or related medical conditions.

The President should take into account in appointments to the National Labor Relations Board and in seeking amendments to the National Labor Relations Act of 1938 the obstacles confronting women who seek to organize in traditionally nonunionized employment sections.

Unions and management should review the impact on women of all their practices and correct injustices to women.

Enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Social Security Act as they apply to household workers and enforcement of the minimum wage should be improved.

Federal and State governments should promote Flexitime jobs, and pro-rated benefits should be provided for part-time workers.

All statistics collected by the Federal Government should be gathered and analyzed so that information concerning the impact of Federal programs on women and the participation of women in the administration of Federal programs can be assessed.
The trend toward women working outside the home began building in the 50's and exploding in the 70's. For the last couple of years, American women have been pouring into the nation's offices, stores and factories...."

Women have always worked. No economy has ever been able to sustain itself on the work of men alone, and the United States is no exception. We began as a nation of farmers, skilled crafts and trades people, with men and women working to produce the goods and services needed to survive. Women wove cloth, made garments, candles and furniture, butchered and preserved food and often labored side by side with their husbands in the fields and in trade, while also bearing the responsibility for rearing children and keeping house. Women slaves worked as field hands and servants.

As the Industrial Revolution offered more free men a chance to work for wages outside home and farm, most women remained at home with the children and tasks that had not been industrialized. They were, of course, unpaid, and no monetary value has ever been attached to their indispensable labor in the home and family. But even in Colonial times, some women worked for money. The Declaration of Independence, for instance, was printed by Mary Goddard, a woman who ran a printing business in Baltimore.

Later, a rising proportion of women followed traditional women's work out of the home and into schools, hospitals, textile mills and clothing factories, canneries, retail stores and eventually into the clerical or "housekeeping" work of offices.

According to the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau Handbook on Women Workers, "One of the most spectacular changes in the American economy in the past quarter century has been the dramatic increase in the number and proportion of women who work for pay outside the home. Over the last 25 years the number of women in the labor force more than doubled."

By September 1977, 48.9 percent of women over age 16 were in the labor market, swelling their ranks to 40.5 million against 57.2 million men in the work force. They were 41 percent of the labor force.

"The trend toward women working outside the home began building in the 50's and exploding in the 70's," The New York Times reported November 19, 1977. "For the last couple of years, American women have been pouring into the nation's offices, stores and factories at rates surpassing all projections made by the Department of Labor."

The Women's Bureau handbook pointed to a number of factors contributing to the growth of women in the labor force: "...the trend toward smaller numbers of children in families and a change in the pattern of spacing children; the large increase in the number of families headed by women; and the increase in the life expectancy of women. Other major factors are the rapid growth of white collar jobs in which women are primarily employed and the increase in part-time employment opportunities."

It also noted the particularly large increase in labor force participation by young married women with small children and the changing attitude toward careers for women outside the home.

The New York Times analysis cited inflationary pressures, "which gave rise to the two-paycheck family" and other economic, demographic, technological and social forces: "Women are marrying later, having fewer children, divorcing more often, living decades beyond the lifespans of their grandmothers. Hence, their work-life profiles are beginning to look more and more like those of men."

Accompanying the increase of women in the labor force has been their movement, albeit in very small numbers, into nontraditional jobs; they are going into the skilled trades, into bus and truck driving, into telephone repair work, into police and fire departments, into engineering, accounting, insurance and management, into the law and medicine.

But despite these breakthroughs and despite some highly publicized token "firsts" for women in traditionally male occupations, a majority of women workers remain clustered in retail, service, clerical and other low paying jobs, and even when they do the same work as men, they are often paid less. Women's average earnings continue to be much lower than those of men. In 1976, women who worked year round earned, on average, 60 percent of what male workers earned. This income gap has remained relatively unchanged for the past 20 years, according to the Labor Department. Industry saves billions of dollars each year by underpaying women.

For women who work, equality of the pay envelope and equality of job opportunities are still a long way off. Full employment Unemployment has been higher for women than for men in 29 of the past 30 years. In 1977, three and a quarter million women were unemployed, or 8.2 percent, compared with 6.2 percent of men.

In November 1977, President Carter endorsed a modified version of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. In its original form, the bill would have provided jobs for all who are
willing and able to work, using a combination of public and private sector employment programs. The modified bill, which was being debated in the House in March 1978, called for reducing unemployment to four percent by 1983, without creating new federally-funded jobs. It would, however, establish "as a national goal the fulfillment of the right of all Americans able, willing and seeking work to full employment at fair rates of compensation."

Full employment is important to millions of women who must work for a living, to millions more caught up in the poverty-welfare cycle, to millions who would enter the labor market if jobs were available.

Like minority workers, women are often the last hired and the first fired, and in periods of recession they are especially vulnerable to loss of jobs. During times of mass unemployment, women are forced to compete with men for the same jobs, and this has resulted at times in a backlash against the women's movement, against affirmative action programs and against other efforts by women to remedy economic inequities.

Despite the huge numbers of women who must support themselves and their families, women are still too often seen as working for "pin money" and they are expected to "go back home" when jobs are scarce. A national policy committed in word and deed to full employment is essential to women and men alike.

Laws Banning job discrimination

Whether unemployment is high or low, most women are shortchanged in the job market. They are denied better paying jobs. They are denied so-called "male" jobs such as construction, which carry higher pay. They are denied promotions available to men. And in spite of laws to the contrary, they are still denied equal pay. Only a very few women have been able to force their employers to comply with laws prohibiting discrimination in employment.

Women have been discouraged from bringing charges of discrimination by cumbersome procedures, delays because of big backlogs of unsettled cases, fear of reprisal from their employers, costs of litigation, and court decisions that have supported flagrantly discriminatory practices of employers.

In testimony before the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities in October 1977, Assistant Secretary of Labor Donald Elisburg admitted that the system for monitoring affirmative action programs required of all Federal contractors "has quite simply not responded to the Department's policies and intentions." In August 1977, a Navy contractor lost all of its Federal contracts because of failure to develop an acceptable affirmative action program, but it was only the 13th contractor to be dropped since the program was created in 1965.

EEOC reorganization In June, 1977, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was coping with a backlog of 130,000 complaints under Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In February 1978, President Carter sent to Congress a sweeping plan to reorganize Federal enforcement of laws prohibiting employment discrimination, to cope with the backlog, and to keep up with new cases of discrimination. In addition to speeding processing of individual charges of discrimination, EEOC will undertake reviews of patterns and practices of employment that systematically keep women down. The plan consolidates within EEOC civil rights functions now dispersed in many Government agencies, providing a single civil rights agency for the Federal Government.

Pay discrimination is illegal under both the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which is part of the Fair Labor Standards Act enforced by the Department of Labor, and under Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, enforced by the EEOC. The reorganization plan transfers to the EEOC responsibility for enforcing both laws.

Title 7 is the broader statute. It prohibits discrimination in hiring, promotion, assignment, and all other terms and conditions of employment, including compensation of every kind. The Equal Pay Act is limited to discrimination in compensation, and it defines discrimination rather narrowly. It specifically permits differences in pay between men and women for work of "equal skill, effort, and responsibility" if they arise under a bona fide seniority plan. EEOC would be more free to attack discrimination in pay if it were not required to follow the restrictive definition of discrimination set forth in the Equal Pay Act.

With the reorganization, EEOC expects to investigate facts in discrimination charges by face to face conferences within 30 days after the filing of a complaint. A separate staff will be assigned to handle backlog cases. In seeking a budget supplement to implement the new procedures, EEOC Commissioner Eleanor Holmes Norton said she hoped "to eliminate the backlog in two years." The reorganization plan was to go into effect automatically within 60 days of its submission by the President unless rejected by either house of Congress.
Government as employer  As the largest single employer of women, the Federal Government should be a model, setting high standards for private employers to match. It has declared itself in favor of equal opportunity and merit promotion for its own employees for a century. Yet affirmative action guidelines of the U.S. Civil Service Commission are weaker than those imposed, at least in theory, on Federal contractors. Civil Service guidelines do not, for instance, require Federal agencies to assess disparities in their employment profiles, or to develop annual goals for eliminating them.

Apprenticeships  Women have traditionally been excluded from apprenticeship programs that lead to high paying skilled work. Those few admitted have had to deal with harassment from male coworkers. Labor Department figures for 1976 show that of 11 million skilled blue collar workers, only 545,038 were women. In that same year, the percentage of women carpenters, electricians, painters, plumbers, machinists, mechanics and stationary engineers ranged from less than one percent to about three percent of the totals.

The Department of Labor has announced it will soon issue final regulations requiring contractors on Federal construction jobs to employ women at least 3.1 percent of the total hours after one year, 5 percent after two years, and 6.9 percent after three years—very modest goals indeed.

Congress as employer  Congress exempted itself as an employer from the equal employment opportunity laws, and its own staff practices fall far short of compliance. In July 1977, the House Commission on Administrative Review found that male administrative assistants averaged $39,000 a year while women administrative assistants averaged $17,000. The Commission suggested setting up a grievance panel with power to recommend but not enforce changes.

More recently, the Senate passed a bill prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex, and the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee has developed guidelines for enforcement.

- Fully Employed Women Continue To Earn Less Than Fully Employed Men of Either White or Minority* Races

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<th>Year</th>
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*Includes all races other than White.

In the House, an agreement was reached between management and employees to end discrimination. However, a report that suggested guidelines for resolution of grievances and called for enforcement of the agreement to eliminate discrimination was defeated in the first session of the 95th Congress; it was to be brought up again in 1978.

**Minority women:** Minority women who experience the double discrimination of race and sex, are more apt to be in the labor force than white women, but they are almost twice as likely to be unemployed and to suffer more job loss when the economy is depressed.

Unemployment rates in 1977 averaged 14 percent for black women aged 16 and over, compared with 7 percent for all women in this age range, according to the Department of Labor report entitled *Employment and Earnings.* Another Department of Labor publication reports that the employment rate for Hispanic wom
aged 20 and over in 1977 averaged 10.1 percent, also considerably higher than the seven percent rate for all women in this age range.

Minority women tend to work in the lower paid occupations because they have not had access to the training that would give them needed skills for higher paying white collar and professional jobs. The March 1977 figures for Hispanic women, for example, indicate that only 8.2 percent of Hispanic women were in professional and technical occupations compared with 15.5 percent of all women. More than one-fourth of all Hispanic women were factory and transport workers, compared with 15.4 percent of all women in March 1977.

Minority working women are also more apt to have small children, and to be the sole support of those children, making it imperative for them to have secure, well paying jobs, and access to child care services. (For more details, see background report on Minority Women plank.)

Veterans' preference By law, women have had severely limited access to service in the armed forces, and consequently, the provisions of the Veteran Preference Act make it harder for them to gain entry into better paying government jobs. They also are threatened with losing their jobs when veterans are protected during a cutback. Because of preferential treatment accorded them, veterans (98 percent of whom are male) are twice as likely to be employed by the Federal Government. Because of preference, veterans who constitute 20 percent of those eligible for managerial Federal posts accounted for 34 percent of those selected in 1974, compared with 41 percent of eligible women, of whom only 27 percent were selected.

President Carter's plan to reorganize the Civil Service Commission proposes to limit somewhat the preferential treatment accorded veterans, but women would continue to be at a considerable disadvantage in competing for Federal employment opportunities.

Pregnancy discrimination Congress is currently considering legislation that would make it illegal to exclude pregnancy from disability benefits for working women. The bill (S. 995) has passed the Senate; the House version (H.R. 6075) was reported out of the House committee on Education and Labor in March 1978, but an anti-abortion amendment was added to the bill, making it objectionable to most of its supporters.

Unions Women in clerical, operative, and service jobs who belong to unions earn a fifth to a fourth more money than non-union workers in their fields, according to an article by Virginia A. Bercquist in The Monthly Labor Review, October 1974, but the proportion is dropping because more women are going into unorganized, white collar jobs. These women would profit if they were organized in unions.

Congress is considering labor reform legislation that will make it easier for unions to organize and recruit new members. S. 1883 increases the penalties for employers who violate workers' rights to organize, and speeds up handling of unfair labor practices and union election cases. It assesses double back pay

**Most Women Work Because of Economic Need**

(Women in the Labor Force, by Marital Status, March 1976)

![Bar chart showing labor force participation by marital status and income level.](chart)

for illegal discharge compensation and provides remedies for refusal to bargain, mandatory election time limits, and cancellation of Government contracts with firms such as J.P. Stevens that violate the labor law.

Women are underrepresented in union leadership. Although women make up 21.3 percent of overall union membership, membership reports of the unions show that women held only seven percent of union governing board posts in 1974, and these are primarily in lesser posts. No woman has ever served on the policy-making AFL-CIO executive council. The federation's departments as well as its standing committees, trades departments and regional offices are all headed by men. Even in unions with predominantly female membership, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, no women are in the top leadership. Perhaps the best record on women is held by the unaffiliated United Auto Workers, which has a Women's Department, has women filling about 14 percent of its top local union offices, and has helped support the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

More women in top union posts would result in more active organizing drives that would benefit men as well as women, more union support for equal employment opportunity and more attention to the needs of women workers.

Household workers All but two percent of the several million household workers in the United States are women, the great majority of them members of minority groups. They are at the bottom of the income totem pole, without fringe benefits, promotions or vacations. Many are not getting the social security coverage required by law, or the legal minimum wage to which they have been entitled since May 1974.

Flexitime Many women accept lower wages, limited opportunity, and few fringe benefits in order to work part-time or at hours compatible with their home responsibilities.

New York State, pleased by successful experiments, has authorized each State agency to set up alternative work schedules. These include flexitime, under which an employee has leeway of arrival and departure time providing she puts in the required number of hours; compressed work weeks, in which a full week's work is done in four long days, leaving a long weekend; and permanent part-time jobs, convenient for mothers and older workers.

Current Federal policy permits Federal agencies to develop flexitime policies within the limits of existing law, which requires an eight-hour day and 40-hour workweek.

Legislation pending before Congress would set up a three-year test program to experiment with all forms of alternative work schedules. Under the proposed bill (H.R. 7814) each agency could create such experiments if it so desired. The Civil Service Commission would monitor these test results and report back to the President and Congress. The House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has reported the bill out and a similar bill, (S. 517) has been introduced into the Senate, but no action has been taken.

Data on women Federal agencies are not now required to assess the impact of their programs on women or to publish information on how many women participate in policy-making decisions. Without such statistics, the progress of women cannot be charted, and finally assessed.