

The original documents are located in Box 40, folder “International Women's Year” of the Betty Ford White House Papers, 1973-1977 at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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First Lady Betty Ford

To the Women of Central Texas:

Dear Friends:

I strongly believe in the importance of women developing their potential and having the opportunity to use that potential as well. For that reason and others, International Women's Year is a year that will be very important to all of us.

I hope to be able to see strides in the areas that affect women in many ways in the year to come. But the headline I look for most is the one that tells us the Equal Rights Amendment has been ratified. It's time for legal inequities to become a thing of the past and International Women's Year is an appropriate time for that to happen.

The coming year will be significant and be even more so with everyone's support. I believe in International Women's Year and will do everything I can to make it even more meaningful.

Betty Ford



THIS OFFICIAL UN EMBLEM for International Women's Year -- a stylized dove, biological symbol for women, and mathematical sign for equality -- is the work of Valerie Pettis, a New York graphic designer.

Urges Women To Action





DEPOT

CAPITOL

CITY HALL

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

COURT HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT

LET'S SHARE CHILD CARE

ANOTHER MOTHER FOR ERA

STAND BY THE WOMEN

GP

GRAY PANTHER

ERA YES

RIGHT ON

WE GREAT WOMEN WRITE

EQUAL LEGAL RIGHTS

GP

NOW

TWPC

C

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Liz Carpenter, Conference
Coordinator

William B. Cannon, Dean, LBJ School
of Public Affairs

Harry Middleton, Director,
LBJ Library

Betty Tilson, Assistant Coordinator

Amy Jo Long, Press Officer

Simone Poulain, Television
Coordinator

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Martha Tiller, Janis McCullough, Jo
Lancaster, Dagmar Hamilton, Beryl
Radin, Cathy Bonner, Jane Macon,
B.J. Fernea, Sissy Woome, Yolanda
Boozer, Martha Smiley, Dean Herbst,
Carol Hatfield

Our special thanks to: Mike Naeve,
Charles Corkran, George Warming-
ham and Gary Yarrington.

Also, our thanks for props and
courtesies to Roy Ferris, Eleanor
Page, Jay Bell, Shirley James, Janis
McCullough, Jo Lancaster, Yolanda
Boozer, The Center Stage Theater,
George Kauss, St. Mary's Hall,
Wilanna Bristow, Tom Goode.

Always, our gratitude for the
strong supportive behind-the-scenes
effort of the LBJ Library and School
without which this Conference would
not have been possible.

The Conference on Women in
Public Life and this handsome re-
production of "The Women's
Movement," suitable for framing,
was made possible through the
generosity of the Friends of the
LBJ Library; the Moody Founda-

tion; the Hobby Foundation; City
National Bank of Austin; Ameri-
can Income Life Insurance Com-
pany; Brown and Root, Inc.; H.K.
Allen, and Lowell and Louise
Lebermann.

THE COVER

"The Women's Movement" Fannie Lou Spelce

Nationally acclaimed primitive artist
who began painting after 35 years
of nursing. She now devotes all her
time to her art, which has been fea-
tured at the Museum of American
Folk Art in New York City, the Dallas
Museum of Fine Art, the Witte Mu-
seum in San Antonio, and Laguna
Gloria Art Museum in Austin. Her
paintings also appear in *Twentieth
Century Folk Art and Artists* by
Herbert W. Hemphill, Jr., and Julia
Weissman, published in 1974 by
E. P. Dutton. Fannie Lou Spelce is
currently represented by Webb and
Parsons Gallery in Bedford Village,
New York.



CONFERENCE ON WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE



an International Women's Year Symposium





co-sponsored by the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs
and the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
November 9-11, 1975
The University of Texas at Austin



LAJ Ranch

Honowall, Texas

November 9, 1975

Dear Participant:

Welcome to the Conference on Women in Public Life.

As part of the International Women's Year celebration, the Lyndon B. Johnson Library and School of Public Affairs are jointly sponsoring this symposium in hopes that it will inspire women to increase participation in public life at all levels.

I am very pleased that you have been able to save these two days to come to Austin for the program. Your active interest is heartening. It demonstrates a commitment that is vital to success in public life — for a woman or for a man.

I believe you will find the discussions by international, national and local leaders of great value in your present or future role in the public arena. For those of you in elected or appointed office, this conference should provide you with the chance to compare common and uncommon problems you share. For those of you still in school or beginning your careers, it should give you the opportunity to gain practical advice from those who are already traveling your chosen path.

This conference has the potential for becoming a historical landmark for women across the country, especially in Texas. I am happy that you and I can both be a part of it.

Sincerely,

Lady Bird Johnson

The future of young women looms bright. Your horizons are not finite. You were born at the right time. It is a good time to be a woman. It is a good time to be alive.

— Lady Bird Johnson
baccalaureate address
Radcliffe College
June 9, 1964



Speaker Bonner mounted his rostrum at 9:45 and said that gentlemen will now vacate their seats that ladies may occupy them. We record this remark because when the next Centennial celebration occurs, the blessed women, having recovered their rights in the territories and elsewhere, will ask no such favors, but having, will dare maintain their rights to do as they please on such civic, festive and patriotic occasions.

— Austin Statesman,
July 5, 1876



We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal . . . but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

— from *The Declaration of Sentiments*, first women's rights convention, July 1848



The difference between us is that you are a woman first and a monarch second, while I am a monarch first and a woman second.

— Queen Elizabeth I to Mary Queen of Scots



As a political person who has had to work hard to achieve local, state and federal office, I know how essential it is for women to be supportive of each other — how important it is for us to share knowledge and experience if we are to increase the numbers of women in power.

— Hon. Ella Grasso
Governor of Connecticut



We have made some gains — but how far we have to go! Women are just beginning to understand that they have to get over their aversion to power.

— Ronnie Feit, founder of the
National Women's Political
Caucus



We were left out in Philadelphia 199 years ago and that was their mistake. We intend to correct it with the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in four more states. The ERA is not a secret plot to unify the restrooms of America. It is a plan to write women into the Constitution of their own country. We are not in it now. That's the ghastly, appalling fact of life we live with.

— Liz Carpenter



What is the International Women's Year Conference on Women in Public Life?

It's an opportunity for women who are involved or want to be to share common and uncommon problems, to pursue common and uncommon goals, to exchange ideas, to support each other's right to political power. It's a forum for women in city, county, state and national government. For women in party politics. For women in labor unions. For women in local, state and federal civil service — in the United States and abroad. For elected and appointed officials. For volunteers. For women observing the political arena from the viewpoint of the media. For women of every possible persuasion. From liberal to conservative. From militant to conciliatory. It's a chance for young women still in school or just beginning their careers to learn from the experiences of those who have preceded them into this virtually uncharted territory. A territory where there are no roles and few models, but only the challenge of gaining equal access to power. And using it effectively.

This year [International Women's Year] is not the time to cheer the visible few but to work for the invisible many whose lives are still restricted by custom and code.

— Betty Ford



The [IWY Mexico City] conference proved that there IS an international women's movement. It's not an aberration of middle-class U.S. women. It exists. We are all talking about essentially the same thing, whatever our level of development — equal opportunity, equal access.

— Jill Ruckleshaus
head of U.S. Commission on
International Women's Year



It's exciting to be the first woman lieutenant governor of New York State, but I want to build a foundation for the next one and the one after that . . . We must be concerned and motivated to be the second, and third, and fourth, fifth and sixth . . . International Women's Year is the potential focal point for new dedication.

— Hon. Mary Anne Krupsak
Lieutenant Governor of
New York



WORKSHOPS: Practical Approaches to Common Problems

In conjunction with the Conference on Women in Public Life, the members of an LBJ School of Public Affairs seminar, *Public Policy on the Status of Women*, directed by Professors Beryl A. Radin and Joe Feagin, are offering 15 workshops concerning issues related to the conference. Each program

features leaders with practical experience in the subject at hand.

The two-hour workshops will begin at 1:30 p.m., Tuesday, November 11. All conference participants are welcome.

1

Thompson Center
Room 3.122

WOMEN AS POLITICAL VOLUNTEERS

What is the significance of women volunteers in the American political process? How can society deal with the professional volunteer and the issue of pay and benefits? What advantages or benefits are obtained from voluntary participation in the political arena? Are women abused as volunteers?

Facilitators: Vita Winick, Texas League of Women Voters; Frieda Davis, Texas State Democratic Party
Coordinator: Mary Jo Seeman, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

2

LBJ Library
2nd Floor Theatre

"ARE YOU ONE OF THOSE TROUBLEMAKING, GLORY-SEEKING WOMEN'S LIBBERS?"

What effect is the Women's Movement having on the political world? Is there a stigma attached to the movement? How are coalitions developed that represent a wide variety of approaches within the Women's Movement? What are the benefits of a united front? Should women help other women who are entering the political world? What about the "queen bees" — the women who have already made it?

Facilitators: Martha Smiley, chairperson, Texas Women's Political Caucus; Luz Escamilla, San Antonio Commission on the Status of Women
Coordinators: Rita Seymour and Leota Johnson, students, LBJ School of Public Affairs

3

Thompson Center
Room 3.120

HAVING YOUR CAKE AND EATING IT TOO: HOW SHOULD YOU BE TREATED?

What are the benefits as well as disadvantages afforded a woman in public life? Should women step off their pedestals? What might be the effect of this abdication? Does being a lady mean being less than equal? How does a woman in public life deal with general views of ladylike behavior?

Facilitator: Diana Hobby, wife of the Lieutenant Governor; Emmie Craddock, Mayor of San Marcos
Coordinator: Cathy Bruns, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

4

LBJ
West Conference
Room (8th Floor)

IT'S A MAN'S WORLD: DEVELOPING SELF CONFIDENCE AND ASSERTIVENESS

Are women's views and opinions discounted? What cultural patterns and role stereotypes inhibit women from exercising authority? What encourages men and other women to ignore a woman's authority? Why do women tend to downgrade their skills and accomplishments? How can women develop self confidence and assertiveness without being branded "aggressive" or accused of trying to act like a man?

Facilitators: Billie Carr, Democratic National Committeewoman, Texas; Liz Levatino, Assistant Attorney General of Texas
Coordinator: Melanie McCoy, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

6

LBJ School
Room 3.111

LIFESTYLE AND PUBLIC LIFE

Can marital status affect a woman's career? Are single women given less money and fewer promotions than either single men or married men? What role does divorce play in a woman's career? Do women suffer sexual harassment on the job? What should married women do when they are told they work for "fun and pin money"?

Facilitators: Emma Lou Linn, Member of the City Council, Austin; Sue Gibalis, Texas Department of Public Welfare
Coordinator: Hannah Eisner, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

7

LBJ School
Room 3.107

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Are women making less money than men for the same work? What techniques have been devised to deal with this problem? Are there any justifiable differentiations? What problems exist with fringe benefits and retirement? What state and local remedies exist in this area? What federal policies protect women? Is new legislation needed?

Facilitators: Diane Van Helden, Governor's Office of Equal Economic Opportunity; Rhobia Taylor, Dallas Regional Office, Department of Labor, Women's Bureau
Coordinator: Martha Katz, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

8

LBJ School
Room 3.108

I'M A CAREER WOMAN, WIFE AND MOTHER . . . IN WHAT ORDER?

Does role conflict operate as a two-edged sword? With so many demands on her, how does a woman set priorities and allocate her time? How does role conflict alter the choices women make that affect their long-range goals in life? Are women asked to juggle an impossible mixture of responsibilities?

Facilitators: Wilhelmina Delco, member, Texas State House of Representatives; Martha Williams, School of Social Work, University of Texas
Coordinator: Ellen Jones, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

9

LBJ School
Room 3.106

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN?

What is a mother's role in child-raising? What does that mean for her career? How can child-raising responsibilities be shared? What child care facilities are available in this state? What alternative work styles are possible for men and women? Is job sharing possible?

Facilitators: Janice Robinson, Texas Office of Early Childhood Development; Ella Salazar, Child Inc.
Coordinator: Frank Sturzl, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

11

Thompson Center
Room 3.102

POLITICAL SKILL DEVELOPMENT

How does a woman organize a campaign staff? How important is a party's support? How does one get a party endorsement and what should one ask from it? Are financial sources different for a woman's campaign than for a man's? What is the general procedure for getting on the ballot? How does a woman make herself known? Are there natural groups of support for a woman? How can the media be used to a woman's best advantage?

Facilitators: Jane Wells, member, State Board of Education; Beryl Milburn, Republican State Committee
Coordinator: Nan McCraven, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

12

LBJ School
Room 3.109

WOMEN AND THE LAW

What techniques will help women learn the legal protections within present statutes? What changes in women's legal status would flow from ERA? How does administrative law affect women in public life? How effective are legal remedies for change?

Facilitators: Carol Haberman, City Judge, San Antonio; Louise Razzio, Dallas Attorney
Coordinator: Gwen Winnig, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

13

LBJ School
Room 3.103

GETTING AHEAD

What changes have occurred as the result of legal opportunities for women since the 1960's? How can women combat the traditional blocks to upward mobility? Must women beat the "good ole boys" at their own game? How can women learn to change individual and institutional discrimination? Do women fear success?

Facilitators: Judy Tully, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin; June Hyer, Vice Chancellor, University of Houston at Clearlake
Coordinator: Fran Zorn, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

14

LBJ School
Room 3.112

WOMEN AND THE LOBBYING PROCESS

How do women support interests that are women's issues? How does a woman work with existing interest groups? What are women's issues? Is use of "feminine" techniques a bad means to a good end? How can women confront sexism in politicians without hurting their cause? Do women have special abilities as lobbyists?

Facilitators: Barbara Vackar, Director, Texans for ERA; Ruth Ellinger, Texas State AFL-CIO
Coordinator: Steve Cobble, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

4

LBJ
West Conference
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IT'S A MAN'S WORLD: DEVELOPING SELF CONFIDENCE AND ASSERTIVENESS

Are women's views and opinions discounted? What cultural patterns and role stereotypes inhibit women from exercising authority? What encourages men and other women to ignore a woman's authority? Why do women tend to downgrade their skills and accomplishments? How can women develop self confidence and assertiveness without being branded "aggressive" or accused of trying to act like a man?"

Facilitators: Billie Carr, Democratic National Committeewoman, Texas; Liz Levatino, Assistant Attorney General of Texas

Coordinator: Melanie McCoy, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

5

LBJ School
Room 3.110

"CAN YOU TYPE?": ADMINISTRATIVE SKILL DEVELOPMENT

How do women learn to master red tape? Are resource management techniques especially difficult for women to perform? Do women depend on an organization's structure for their power rather than on charisma? How do women deal with crises in administration? Do women have special problems as bosses?

Facilitators: Andrea Beatty, Personnel Director, City of Austin; Kay Bard, Austin Model Cities Program

Coordinator: Mary Ann Hauber, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

9

LBJ School
Room 3.106

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN?

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Coordinator: Frank Sturzl, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

10

LBJ School
Room 3.101

AFTER 40?

What happens to a woman after the children are grown? Do older women have problems that are different from those of older men? What happens to women who attempt to return to the work force? What avenues of assistance are available to women who seek their first jobs at an older age?

Facilitators: Frances Plotsky, Coordinator for Continuing Education for Men and Women, UT; Mary Tisinger, Adult Services Council

Coordinator: Peggy Wilson, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

14

LBJ School
Room 3.112

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Facilitators: Barbara Vackar, Director, Texans for ERA; Ruth Ellinger, Texas State AFL-CIO

Coordinator: Steve Cobble, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

15

LBJ School
Room 3.102

I DON'T WANT TO BE A MAN! THE MYTH OF FEMINITY LOST

Can a woman act and dress femininely yet be treated as an equal by her male peers? Must a woman be aggressive to get her point across? Can and/or should a woman use her femininity? Should women be treated differently from men? How do women react to other women as bosses?

Facilitators: Ann Richards, aide to Representative Sarah Weddington; Barbara Meyers

Coordinator: Mary Ann Coursey, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

Anne L. Armstrong



I am here to tell you now, there is no peace. Behind every door, including the kitchen door, there are groups of women 1) listing their grievances, 2) organizing political efforts to alleviate them, 3) researching the law for possible suits, 4) finding the exact person to fit the situation and the most likely to win the suit; and 5) others are raising money to pay for the suit.

— Martha W. Griffiths
former Congresswoman (D-Mich.)



Anne L. Armstrong, member of the IWY National Commission. First woman to keynote a national party convention. Graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Vassar, where she developed a strong interest in politics and world affairs. Entered the political arena at the local level while raising five children and helping her husband manage their ranch in rural South Texas. Anne climbed the ladder from National Committeewoman from Texas to Co-Chairperson of the GOP. As Counselor to President Nixon with Cabinet rank, she worked to bring women, young people and Hispanic Americans into the mainstream of federal government.

Liz Carpenter, Conference Coordinator, is back on home ground. Fifth generation Texan, graduate of the University of Texas with a journalism degree, she recently received the Distinguished Alumnus Award from the Ex-Students' Association. Journalist by training, politician by instinct. White House Press Secretary to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1969. Organized the Lady Bird Special Whistle-stop Train of 1964. Original Convener The National Women's Political Caucus and the Texas Women's Political Caucus. She brings gray hair, organization ability and humor to the Women's Movement.

Lila Cockrell, Mayor of San Antonio — the largest American city headed by a woman. Began her political career as a volunteer with the League of Women Voters in Dallas and San Antonio. Served on the City Council for seven years, resigned to retire to private life, then returned for another three. A reform candidate with strong environmental support, Lila was elected Mayor on the Good Government League ticket defeating nine male candidates. President of the Texas Municipal League, she is married and has two daughters.

Frances "Sissy" Farenthold, former Chairperson, National Women's Political Caucus. First woman in U.S. to have her name placed in nomination for Vice-President. A liberal Democrat who barely missed winning her party's nomination for governor as a reform candidate in 1971. A graduate of Vassar with a law degree from The University of Texas, Sissy was born into a well-established South Texas family. Her work as a legal aid director with Mexican-Americans and a member of the Corpus Christi Human Relations Committee opened her eyes to the problems of those denied equal access to power — including women, the poor and minorities. The mother of five, she's established herself nationally as the undaunted defender of equal rights, civil liberty and ethical government.

Hanna Gray, Provost of Yale University, the 274-year-old Ivy League school that just recently opened its undergraduate doors to women. German-born, Hanna moved to the U.S. at the age of four and was naturalized at ten. After graduating from Bryn Mawr College, she earned her Ph.D. from Harvard, then went on to teach at the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, where she became dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. She's former co-editor with husband Charles of the *Journal of Modern History*.

Martha W. Griffiths, former Democratic Congresswoman from Michigan. Recently retired after 20 years on the Hill. The determined advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment, who pushed it through Congress and followed it on its rocky road, working for its ratification and hammering away at those who misrepresent the amendment as a threat to family life. Martha entered politics through law, a career she shares with her husband and partner, Hicks Griffiths. She currently serves on the boards of directors of Chrysler Corporation, Consumer Power Company, National Detroit Corporation and Burroughs Corporation.

Frances "Sissy" Farenthold



Few women think the same way they did five years ago. We see these changes most clearly in the lives of our daughters — the young women of this country. They are bright. They will marry later and have fewer children, hopefully in that order. They want a piece of the action and they are capable of balancing home and job in a way that defies all the old arguments.

— Liz Carpenter



SPEAKERS CONT'D.

Barbara C. Jordan. Democratic Congresswoman, 18th Congressional District, Houston. The speaker whose power and eloquence held nationwide TV audiences spellbound during the impeachment hearings. Named by 44 percent of the men and women surveyed by *Redbook* as the woman they'd most like to see as a Presidential candidate. A leader in the 24-member House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. A voice of conscience for the Constitution. She came up through Texas Southern University, Boston University Law School, and the Texas Senate — where the fact that she used Brain Power (not Black Power or Woman Power) made her so effective that half the measures she submitted were passed into law.

Carol C. Laise. Director General of the Foreign Service, the first woman to administer all U.S. diplomatic personnel throughout the world. First woman Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. Following eight years as the U.S. Ambassador to Nepal, Carol began her career as a Federal Government intern while working on her M.A. in political science at American University. She rose in the diplomatic ranks through numerous Foreign Service positions, chiefly in South Asia, and served as Director of the Office of South Asian Affairs in Washington. She is married to Ambassador-at-Large Ellsworth Bunker.

Elizabeth Reid, recently retired assistant to the Prime Minister of Australia. Key figure in the Australian Labor Government and a leader of her party. Headed her country's delegation to the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City, where she was acknowledged as the most powerful speaker there. The IWY Conference on Women in Public Life marks her first major speaking appearance in the United States.

Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer, U.S. Commission on IWY. Delegate to the United Nations World Conference in Mexico City. A staunch feminist who surprised the Republican Party by addressing the National Convention when her husband, head of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, was unable to attend. She went on to lead the National Women's Political Caucus at the 1972 Republican National Convention. Mother of five, a former teacher, Jill received her bachelor's degree from Indiana University and her master's in education from Harvard where she also attended law school. After the Mexico City conference, she addressed the National Press Club, rapping the media's knuckles for their superficial coverage of the women's movement.

Gloria Steinem, outspoken and articulate feminist. Convener of The National Women's Political Caucus. Founder and editor of the consciousness-raising magazine *Ms.*, established as an alternative information source for American women seeking relief from press stereotyping. A graduate of Smith College and tireless champion of the Women's Liberation Movement, Gloria has answered its detractors with every weapon from stirring rhetoric to humor.

I have met brave women who are exploring the outer edge of human possibility, with no history to guide them, and with a courage to make themselves vulnerable that I find moving beyond words.

— Gloria Steinem



I have no hostility towards men. Some of my best friends are men, I married a man, and my father was a man.

— Jill Ruckelshaus



Barbara C. Jordan



Jill Ruckelshaus



National Press Club, rapping the media's knuckles for their superficial coverage of the women's movement.

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Sarah R. Weddington, Democratic Member of the Texas House of Representatives from Travis County. The persuasive young attorney who, at the age of 27 argued the landmark case for women's rights to the privacy of their bodies before the U. S. Supreme Court and won a decision declaring the Texas abortion law unconstitutional. A founder of the Texas Women's Political Caucus, Sarah graduated from The University of Texas Law School and practices law in Austin. *Texas Monthly* named her one of the Ten Best Legislators acknowledging her as a feminist leader who is nonetheless no one-issue legislator.



Gloria Steinem



Sarah R. Weddington



Who is the Texas woman in public life?

She is voter, volunteer, and rising new voice at the City Hall and Capitol.

She is the eloquent Congresswoman from Houston, conscience of the Constitution.

She is the Vassar girls who came home with a lot of uppity ideas, raised their families, ploughed their energies and brains into the vivacious politics of South Texas and made an impact on their national parties.

She is the former first lady who put the environment on the political agenda . . . the woman mayor who's keeping it there . . . the seven members of the State Legislature who arrived from such varied paths as nurse, rancher, public relations expert, lawyer, civic leader.

She's just passed the bar exam; she's sitting on the bench.

She established a foothold three decades ago as county clerk or treasurer but since 1972 she's moving into City Hall to the tune of 285 City Councilwomen.

She is the avid political science student, the intern learning the ropes. She's young and determined to be her own person; she is old and refusing to be shelved. She's the homemaker determined to have a say in how her town is run. She's Democrat, Republican, a member of La Raza Unida. She's a belligerent independent. She thinks the country's moving too slowly. She fears it will move too fast. She is Black, Brown, Anglo. Her roots are privileged and they are humble. She's married, single, widowed, divorced. Mother of five children.

Or none.

She's you. And me. Our mothers. Our daughters. Our granddaughters. Qualified by centuries of struggle, she stands ready to run for public office or help administer public policy. She's the most overwhelming, awe-inspiring, refreshing political force to come along in 100 years. And she's ready for action. Now. And for all time to come. She's the 20th century Texas pioneer woman.

I always tell the young people, "Look, while you're waiting for that other thing, that revolution of yours, pick up a piece of political power and do something."

— Rep. Bella Abzug
D-New York



Love, real love, the love that unites not only the flesh, but the mind and the spirit, is possible only between equals. When a man is in love, he never thinks of the woman he loves as his "inferior." When a man begins to treat his woman as his inferior, it is a sure sign that he is no longer in love . . . and probably never was, even in the beginning . . .

— Clare Booth Luce



I was culturally programmed that I'd be somebody's assistant. Then, gradually through my education and the changing awareness of women I came to realize that there is no such thing as man's work or woman's work — there is only people's work.

— Hon. Mary Anne Krupsak
Lieutenant Governor of
New York



Does women's liberation make you lose your femininity? As though femininity were something you could lose, like a pocketbook. . . "Oh, dear, where in the world have I put my femininity?"

— Françoise Giroud
France's Secretary for the
Condition of Women.





Chudson Box 8

File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mrs. Ford,

This is the suggested International Women's Year Conference statement from you which came in after you had left for New York for the Martha Graham event. It is the one Sheila and I discussed by phone. (I think it is excellent).

Thank you,


susan

Original on temporary display

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

June 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. FORD

FROM:

BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

SUBJECT:

Message to the IWY Conference
in Mexico City

The State Department has recommended that you send a message to the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City which could be read by Patricia Hutar, Co-chairman of the U. S. Delegation, when she makes the opening statement for the U. S. on June 20.

The NSC Staff concurs in State's recommendation. We believe a personal message from you to the Conference would be extremely effective in conveying the great interest of the U. S. Government and its leaders in the cause of equality for women. The proposed message at Tab A has been approved by Paul Theis' office.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the message at Tab A to be read by Mrs. Hutar during the U. S. opening statement on June 20.

Attachment

SENT.

~~SUGGESTED~~ **FINAL** MESSAGE FROM MRS. FORD
to the
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE IN MEXICO CITY,
BEING HELD JUNE 20, 1975

[To Be Read By Mrs. Patricia Hutar]

As I am unable to be with you in Mexico City, I send my cordial greetings to Mrs. Echeverria, Secretary General Sipila, and to all who are attending this historic conference.

I wish you to know that the people and Government of the United States are firmly committed to the goals of this Conference and to the work that must follow it if those goals are to be reached.

The high purpose of International Women's Year--to promote the equality of women--truly enhances the equality of us all. As my husband said on the occasion of announcing our own National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, the search to secure rights for women frees both sexes from restrictive stereotypes. Liberation of the spirit opens new possibilities for the future of all individuals and of all nations. I am awed by the task you face, I am inspired by the opportunity you have for progress.

I know that the co-leaders of the United States Delegation, Mrs. Hutar and Administrator Parker, and their colleagues, will work unceasingly with you in a spirit of cooperation to make the Conference on International Women's Year a landmark in the history of women's affairs and of humanity's search for peace and understanding.

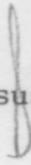
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mrs. Ford,

This is the suggested International Women's Year Conference statement from you which came in after you had left for New York for the Martha Graham event. It is the one Sheila and I discussed by phone. (I think it is excellent).

Thank you,


susan



*Gladys
Box 8
17 May*

SENT.

~~SUGGESTED~~ **FINAL** MESSAGE FROM MRS. FORD

to the
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE IN MEXICO CITY,
BEING HELD JUNE 20, 1975

[To Be Read By Mrs. Patricia Hutar]

As I am unable to be with you in Mexico City, I send my cordial greetings to Mrs. Echeverria, Secretary General Sipila, and to all who are attending this historic conference.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

June 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. FORD

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

SUBJECT: Message to the IWY Conference
in Mexico City

The State Department has recommended that you send a message to the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City which could be read by Patricia Hutar, Co-chairman of the U. S. Delegation, when she makes the opening statement for the U. S. on June 20.

The NSC Staff concurs in State's recommendation. We believe a personal message from you to the Conference would be extremely effective in conveying the great interest of the U. S. Government and its leaders in the cause of equality for women. The proposed message at Tab A has been approved by Paul Theis' office.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the message at Tab A to be read by Mrs. Hutar during the U. S. opening statement on June 20.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. FORD *PL*

I thought that the attached letter to the President and the recommendations of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year would be of interest to you.

Patricia S. Lindh





NATIONAL COMMISSION
ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

December 18, 1975

Presiding Officer
Jill Ruckelshaus

Alan Alda
Ethel Allen
Anne L. Armstrong
Margaret Long Arnold
Elizabeth Athanasakos
Barbara R. Bergmann
Patricia T. Carbine
Weston Christopherson
Mary Stallings Coleman
Helen K. Copley
Audrey Rowe Colom
Richard Cornuelle
Winfield Dunn
Casey Eike
Paula Gibson
Gilda Bojorquez Gjurich
Ella T. Grasso
Hanna Holborn Gray
Martha Griffiths
Katharine Hepburn
Lenore Hershey
Velma Murphy Hill
Patricia Hutar
Rita Z. Johnston
Ellen Groves Kirby
Dorothy Vale Kissinger
Clare Boothe Luce
William Crawford Mercer
Ersa H. Poston
Sister Joel Read
Betty Smith
Barbara Walters
Annie Dodge Wauneka
Gerridee Wheeler
Rep. Bella Abzug, New York
Sen. Birch Bayh, Indiana
Rep. Margaret Heckler, Mass.
Sen. Charles Percy, Illinois

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased to report that your National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year had a very productive meeting on December 5. Letters of May 19, and September 3, 1975, reported on earlier meetings.

In addition to adopting a number of recommendations, the Commission heard the results of a survey of a representative sample of 1,522 women conducted by Market Opinion Research for the Commission. Among the findings of significance to public policy were the following:

- Among women 18 to 34, over 3/4 said the life style they would prefer is a combination of homemaking and career, with a majority wanting to stay home when their children were small. Only 9 percent would prefer being mainly a homemaker.
- Three-fourths of all women favor government assistance for those in need of child care on an ability-to-pay basis. Ninety-one percent of women 18 to 24 favor such assistance.
- Forty-five percent of mothers with less than high school education and 44 percent

IWY Coordinator
Mildred Marcy
Room 1004
U. S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
202-632-8888



of those with incomes less than \$5,000 reported that all their pregnancies were unplanned. Fifty-two percent of women 18-24 reported that all their pregnancies were planned and 46 percent of those 25-34 so reported.

- Only 14 percent of divorced women were awarded alimony, and of these only 46 percent collected regularly.
- Only 44 percent of the divorced mothers had been awarded child support, and of these only 47 percent were collecting regularly.
- Forty-eight percent of the women wanted additional training or education, and over half of these were interested in college or university training.
- Forty-seven percent of the women desiring further education said they could afford it; the rest responded "no" or "don't know".
- Only 53 percent of the women had heard of the Equal Rights Amendment; of those aware of it only 20 percent feel they knew enough to have an informed opinion.

The Commission also adopted the recommendations on the following topics submitted by its committees:

- Amendment of Federal and State estate, inheritance, and gift tax laws to eliminate such taxes in transfers of property between spouses.
- Prompt development of an administration proposal to cover homemakers under social security.
- Securing of data in 1980 and succeeding decennial censuses on economic arrangements at divorce and their enforcement,



with emphasis on contributions of fathers, mothers, and government welfare programs to support of children of divorced parents.

- Ratification of UN and Inter-American Conventions on the political rights of women.
- Implementation of the recommendations of the Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting appointed by the Board of Directors, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, through the budgetary process and a five year follow up study.
- Five steps for eliminating sexism in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles by the Department of Labor.
- Study of secretaries' grade levels in Federal employment to determine if Federal agencies are giving undue weight to the supervisors' grades, with corrective steps to follow by the Civil Service Commission if indicated.
- Steps necessary to secure enforcement of sex discrimination laws and executive orders by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- Support for active enforcement of affirmative action programs, urging that the Department of Labor and all other Federal agencies monitoring contract compliance carry out enforcement procedures and timely sanctions.
- Conduct of model contract compliance reviews of educational institutions at various levels in order to stimulate voluntary compliance and restore confidence in the enforcement of the law by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.



- Development by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission of guidelines for determining if job evaluation systems discriminate on the basis of sex.
- Filing of court cases by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to develop precedents for correcting unequal pay for work of equal value.
- A group of eight recommendations supporting the series of Supreme Court decisions guaranteeing reproductive freedom to women, urging all branches of government to give the highest priority to compliance with the Supreme Court decisions and to making available all methods of family planning to women and girls unable to take advantage of private facilities, condemning any interference, open or subtle, with a woman's right to control her reproduction, and urging organizations concerned with women's welfare to monitor government compliance with the recommendations.

The Commission also requested the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts to furnish biographical and other information on women who have been Federal judges.

Copies of the complete text of the recommendations and background information are enclosed. All recommendations were adopted without dissent except for those relating to abortion, to which there was one dissent and one abstention.

Copies of the recommendations will be sent to appropriate Federal agencies.

I would also like to bring you up to date on the activities of the International Women's Year Interdepartmental Task Force which was authorized



in the same Executive Order which created the Commission for the purpose of coordinating programs for International Women's Year within the Federal Government. The Task Force, composed of representatives of 54 executive agencies and departments derived its particular mission from a resolution sponsored by the U.S. delegation at the International Women's Year World Conference in Mexico City calling for the United Nations to assess the developmental assistance programs of all its agencies in terms of their impact on women as beneficiaries and participants.

In August, the agencies represented on the Task Force were requested to make similar evaluations of a substantial sampling of their programs to ascertain the actual and potential impact on women in the United States, and to propose alternative programs should the impact prove not to be beneficial. This request for a new and non-customary way of looking at Federal programs received strong support from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. In an office memorandum (76-14, October 22, 1975) to the Office of Management and Budget staff he directed his budget examiners to take a critical look at the involvement of women in all Federal programs and to bring to his attention areas where they were underrepresented or which have negative effects on women. The Task Force also heard testimony and received recommendations from interested parties and agencies on the current status of the Federal women's program. These recommendations are being considered by the Enforcement of the Laws Committee of the Commission.

The Secretariat of the Commission is presently examining the impact evaluations, and is finding much information which is of value to our committees in preparing their recommendations for the final report. A summary report on the Task Force will be included in the final report of the commission.

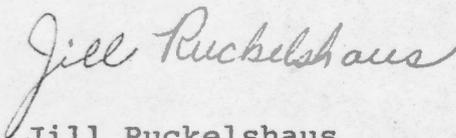


We are making plans for the report to you required by Executive Order 11832. If H.R. 9924 is signed and money appropriated for the State and National conferences directed to be held by the Commission, we are considering the desirability of making this report a draft or preliminary report, subject to revision based on the results of the National and State conferences. The draft report would be presented to all the conferences for their consideration.

One of our regrets has been our inability to hold hearings throughout the country in order to hear from many women with varied backgrounds, interests, and views. The conferences will remedy this deficiency and enable the Commission to report with greater assurance that the recommendations fairly represent the needs of American women. If this plan is not agreeable to you, please let us know.

With continued appreciation for support from the First Family.

Sincerely,



Jill Ruckelshaus
Presiding Officer
National Commission on the
Observance of International
Women's Year

Enclosures

Recommendations Adopted
by the Commission



NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on Women in Power

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

December 4, 1975

To: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

From: Hanna Gray and Ella Grasso, Co-Chairs *Hanna Gray
Ella Grasso*

Subject: Recommendation on Judiciary Study of Women on
the Federal Bench

The Committee on Women in Power has received requests from several Commission members that a study of the role of women in the U.S. Federal Courts be conducted by the appropriate office of the Judiciary. After some investigation the committee agreed to submit the following recommendation to the Commission:

Inasmuch as data collecting is a major concern of both the Mexico City World Plan of Action and the International Women's Year Commission, and inasmuch as historic information is not available on women in the Federal Judiciary and inasmuch as the Commission strongly supports the appointment of women in the Federal Judiciary, the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975 requests that the Judiciary Department conduct a review for public distribution of all women serving and who have served on the Federal Judiciary. This study should include not only names and positions of women judges, but also biographical information, the history of the appointment and the appointing official. It should also include the total number of judges and minority judges, both male and female.



Approved Recommendations
-2-
International Interdependence
COMMISSION APPROVED RECOMMENDATIONS

Arts & Humanities

Report of the Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting, as submitted to the Board of Directors, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, October 8, 1975

Child Development

None

Enforcement of the Laws

Recommendation on Model Compliance Reviews in Ed. Institutions

Recommendation on Secretaries' Pay in Fed. Employment

Recommendation on the Dictionary of Occupational Titles

Recommendation on EEOC Selection of Cases Dealing with Work of Equal Value

Recommendation on Job Evaluation Guidelines

Recommendation on Affirmative Action

Recommendation on HEW Office of Civil Rights Resources and Enforcement

ERA

None

Homemakers

Recommendation on collection of data by the Bureau of the Census on economic arrangements at divorce and enforcement thereof (8/29)

Recommendation on collection of data by the Bureau of the Census on economic arrangements at divorce and enforcement thereof Approved October 1975 by letter.

Recommendation on coverage of homemakers under social security

Amendment of the Gift and Estate and Inheritance Tax Laws to Recognize Economic Contributions of the Homemaker



Approved Recommendations

-2-

International Interdependence

None

Media

None

Reproductive Freedom

Recommendations concerning family planning services

Recommendations concerning abortion services

UN-ILO Conventions

Ratification of International Conventions Concerning Women

Special Problems of Women

None

Women in Employment

None

Women in Power

Recommendation on Judiciary Study of Women on the Federal Bench

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on the Arts and Humanities

December 4, 1975

APPROVED BY
THE COMMISSION
ON December 5,
1975

TO: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

FROM: *Rita Z. Johnston*
Rita Z. Johnston, Chair

SUBJECT: Report of the Task Force on Women in Public
Broadcasting, as submitted to the Board of
Directors, Corporation for Public Broadcasting,
October 8, 1975

The Committee on the Arts and Humanities at its meeting on December 4 reviewed the subject report and took note of the following facts: that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) Board of Directors, reviewing the recommendations of its Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting in its November meeting, unanimously adopted a resolution directing the CPB management to review the Task Force's programming policy recommendations and to act on those recommendations that will assure that all CPB-funded programs present a diverse, representative and balanced image of women; further that the CPB Board also directed management to review the employment recommendations in the Report, identifying and implementing those that will assist in remedying the present under-utilization of women in public broadcasting; and further that the CPB Board asked that its management prepare a report, within three months and annually thereafter, on actions taken as well as recommendations made concerning the fair and equal treatment of women in public broadcasting employment and programs.

Therefore, the Committee agreed to submit the following recommendation to the Commission:

RECOMMENDATION:

The National Commission on the Observance of IWY commends the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's resolve to remedy the "pervasive under-representation of women", both in employment and in program content in public radio and TV, and at the same time recommends to the President that he recommend to OMB and the Congress that a Corporation for Public Broadcasting statement on remedial steps actually taken and improvements actually achieved



"Policy Recommendations in Programming

"1. CPB should give the highest priority to the integration of all women on an equal basis in programming.

"2. CPB should recognize the importance of developing specific women's programs to help bring about the full integration of women into all public broadcasting programming and should make women's programming a high priority.

"3. CPB should recognize the inter-relationship of sex and race discrimination and should recognize that it cannot work to eliminate one such discrimination while acquiescing in the other.

"4. Even with the best efforts of the industry, it will be some time before women will be completely integrated into the broadcasting process. Therefore, the Task Force recommends that during the transitional period to total integration, CPB take steps to continue the education of both the public radio and television stations and the public at large as to what constitutes equal and fair treatment of women.

"Implementation Recommendations

"1. CPB should weigh heavily the equal and fair representation of women among the factors it considers in determining what programs to fund. This does not mean that an individual program in a series cannot have a majority of women or men, but rather that in the series as a whole, there should be fair treatment.

"2. CPB should encourage the placement of women as hosts, co-hosts, and guests in public affairs programs. In some cases this may necessitate added effort.

"3. CPB should pay special attention in children's programming to encourage a balance of girls and boys, and discourage role stereotyping in both real and imaginary characters.

"4. CPB should search for and fund the performance of literary works from the past which treat women fairly and equitably and encourage the development and presentation of contemporary works of like character.



"5. CPB should encourage the use of many more women as narrators and announcers in all appropriate programming.

"6. CPB should establish a continuing broad-based national and local monitoring system to assess the progress of the public radio and television systems in achieving fair treatment of women and men in broadcasting. The monitoring system also should examine the presentation of issues of particular interest to women.

"7. CPB, in order to achieve a better balance in programming, should prepare a manual on the fair treatment of women and men in all programming. This manual should outline specific ways of achieving the integration of women into all programming. It should also provide an approach to monitoring of local programs, and should outline many of the topics that are of special significance to women as well as the general public. A system should be devised by CPB to distribute the manual and to inform program managers.

"Employment Recommendations

"1. Employment of women in public broadcasting is highest at the lower levels of responsibility, lower at the middle levels, and extremely limited at the highest levels. Women make up slightly less than 30% of the public broadcasting work force, but for a variety of reasons they rarely are hired for, or promoted to, upper-level positions. To increase the number of women in decision making positions:

- Public broadcasting should cooperatively explore ways to enlarge the pool of qualified candidates, with special emphasis on women because they are now under-represented in public broadcasting. One such means would be to create a central clearinghouse which would circulate information about job applicants and openings. The clearinghouse would refer well-qualified candidates for senior positions, giving preference to those from public broadcasting and priority among those candidates to groups now under-represented in upper-level positions.
- Public broadcasting should be encouraged to fill upper-level positions where possible with existing lower-level staff, with special emphasis on women.

-- Public broadcasting should develop guidelines for recruiting from other fields, again with an emphasis on women. This can be facilitated by defining qualifications required (where possible) in functional or performance terms that can be identified with pertinent experience in other fields, rather than in terms of specific broadcast experience.

-- Provisions should be made to continue the monitoring of trends in the employment of women to assess the progress being made.

"2. CPB should encourage full implementation of the policy of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex and should monitor salary levels to achieve compliance with this policy.

"3. CPB should take a leadership role in structuring its staff to include a fair and equitable distribution of women in its upper-level positions. The Corporation should encourage NPR, PBS, and other broadcast entities to adopt a similar policy.

"4. A special assistant to the president of CPB should be appointed to head a CPB Office of Women's Affairs.

"5. CPB program officers should be charged with initial consideration and follow-up vigilance to insure compliance with the equal employment opportunity clauses in both the CPB community service and direct program grants.

"6. CPB should develop strategies to insure the inclusion of women at all levels of public broadcasting. Towards that end:

-- Management seminars for public broadcasters should be established and stations should provide the special means to ensure that women could attend.

-- Equal employment workshops should be established for both men and women. A chief purpose of these workshops would be to sensitize participants to recruitment and promotion procedures and to clarify EEO policies.



-- Since in some states public broadcasting stations, especially those that are primarily state financed, must conform to state civil service regulations when hiring, CPB should request that such appropriate federal agencies as the FCC and the Justice Department examine and research the extent to which state laws and regulations restrict hiring in public broadcasting, so that federal agencies with proper jurisdiction over these areas can be provided with a basis for legal action regarding such laws and regulations.

"7. CPB should establish grants that would:

-- Provide training opportunities, including management training, at individual stations and/or appropriate production centers in areas of station operations that now employ few women (e.g., engineering, and other technical jobs, some writing and production jobs, and management).

-- Permit women to secure experience in major areas of broadcasting different from the jobs they now hold (perhaps by paying replacements during the period the women work at the other jobs).

"8. CPB should strongly urge that all FCC job description categories appearing on station reporting forms more accurately reflect the degree of responsibility involved and that the FCC should immediately re-evaluate and change these categories where necessary. (For example, the position of traffic manager does not appear to be truly managerial and should be reclassified.)"

The Task Force also approved the following recommendation:

"In order to ensure fair treatment not only in employment but in programming, CPB should encourage the inclusion of more women on boards of trustees, including its own, and on other groups with authority for policy-making and funding in public broadcasting."



NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION BY
LETTER OCTOBER 1975

Committee on Enforcement of the Laws

September 16, 1975

To: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

From: *Elizabeth Athanasakos* *Birch Bayh*
Elizabeth Athanasakos and Birch Bayh, Co-Chairs

Subject: Recommendation on Model Compliance Reviews in
Educational Institutions

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the consideration of the Commission the following recommendation with supporting facts:

The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year recommends that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Civil Rights, should conduct model contract compliance reviews of various types of educational institutions:

- (1) school districts on both the elementary and secondary level,
- (2) doctoral-granting institutions*,
- (3) comprehensive colleges and universities*,
- (4) two-year colleges and universities*,
- (5) professional schools and other specialized institutions*, and
- (6) liberal arts colleges*.

Any deficiencies uncovered during the review should receive appropriate enforcement and the results should be widely publicized.

*Classifications for higher education used by the Carnegie Commission.



Background:

While Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972* has been in effect for several years, the implementing administrative regulations developed by HEW were not issued until 1975. HEW has investigated very few of the over three hundred complaints of sex discrimination filed against colleges and universities under Executive Order 11246, amended. The cumulative effect of these actions is that sex discrimination has appeared to have a low priority in HEW enforcement. This has led many community groups and concerned individuals to question HEW's sincerity in enforcing the laws against sex discrimination.

This resolution is aimed at getting HEW to set a few models in compliance enforcement as examples for the educational community.

- (1) school districts on both the elementary and secondary level;
- (2) doctoral-granting institutions*;
- (3) comprehensive colleges and universities*;
- (4) two-year colleges and universities*;
- (5) professional schools and other specialized institutions* and
- (6) liberal arts colleges*.

*Prohibiting sex discrimination.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on Enforcement of the Laws
November 18, 1975

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

TO: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer
FROM: *Elizabeth Athanasakos* and *Birch Bayh*, Co-Chairs
SUBJECT: Recommendation on Secretaries' Pay in Federal Employment

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the consideration of the Commission the following recommendations with supporting facts:

The National Commission on the Observance of IWY recommends that:

the U.S. Civil Service Commission should conduct a study of the amount of correlation between the grades* of Federal secretaries and those of their supervisors to determine if Federal classifiers are giving undue weight to the supervisors' grades in setting secretaries' grades. If the study reveals an unusually high correlation, CSC should undertake supplemental training and instructions for agency classifiers.

BACKGROUND:

CSC officials say that classifiers use three factors in evaluating and establishing secretaries' grades: 1) the scope of the supervisor's administrative responsibility; 2) the extent of the secretary's participation in the administrative responsibility; and 3) the secretary's steno-typing and dictating skills.¹ But many women claim that, in actual practice, the secretary's grade is tied to the supervisor's grade with the other factors being ignored. For instance, if a supervisor is a GS-14, the secretary is a GS-5; if the supervisor is a GS-15, the secretary is a GS-6; etc.

The qualification standards for secretarial jobs allow a range of grades from GS-3 to GS-11.² In practice, however, most secretaries cannot advance under the title of Secretary beyond GS-6, except for a few select cases. To move beyond GS-6, most employees must change job titles to Administrative Assistant (GS-5 to 7).

* Numerical General Schedule (GS) rating which determines salary



If the claims are true that secretaries' grades are tied to those of their supervisors, the above-mentioned study would demonstrate it through an unnaturally high correlation between the supervisors' and secretaries' grades. This would establish, for CSC officials, that classifiers are not correctly using the standards in classifying secretaries' positions. CSC would then take appropriate action such as supplemental training for classifiers and/or issuance of new instructions in the Federal Personnel Manual.

SUBJECT: Recommendation on Secretaries' Pay in Federal Employment

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the consideration of the Commission the following recommendations with supporting factors:

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BACKGROUND:

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1. Testimony of H. Alan McKean, Chief, Standards Division, Bureau of Policy and Standards, U.S. Civil Service Commission, October 16, 1975.
2. X-118 Qualifications Standards for "Secretary, Secretary-steno or Secretary-typing, Job Series 318", Civil Service Commission, June 1974.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on Enforcement of the Laws
November 18, 1975

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

TO: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer
Elizabeth Athanasakos *Birch Bayh*
FROM: Elizabeth Athanasakos and Birch Bayh, Co-Chairs
SUBJECT: Recommendation on the Dictionary of Occupational
Titles

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the consideration of the Commission the following recommendation with supporting facts:

The National Commission on the Observance of IWY recommends that:

1. The Secretary of Labor should be required to implement the recommendations listed on pp. 21-22 from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT) study conducted by the University of Wisconsin - Extension, "Women's Work - Up from .878."

2. The Secretary of Labor should appoint as head of the Division of Occupational Analysis a manager who is sensitive to the biases in the DOT, as pointed out in the study, and who will initiate corrective actions.

3. The DOT staff should extensively review the jobs in the expanding human services field with the aim of listing more in the DOT.

4. The DOT staff should issue the DOT in loose-leaf form so that parts of it can be updated periodically and so that the 1976 publication need not be delayed.

5. The Department of Labor should hold training sessions for Field Center Network personnel to educate them to some of the sorts of subtle biases in job evaluations uncovered by the DOT study.

BACKGROUND:

The University of Wisconsin - Extension received a Manpower Administration-funded grant to review the DOT, to analyze and



assess the occupational analysis process and system, and to recommend those changes in both the method and complexity ratings which were indicated. First published by the U.S. Department of Labor in 1939, this encyclopedia of occupations was originally designed for the U.S. Employment Service, which now relies exclusively on its contents to define the world of work.

The third and most recent edition (1965) of the DOT lists and assesses the tasks of 21,741 salaried occupations. The duties of these occupations are defined in Volume I of the DOT, where they can be found arranged alphabetically by job title. In addition to titles and tasks, each job is published with a six-digit numerical code identifying its place in the world of work by occupation and skill complexity. The skill complexity is always expressed by the second three digits of the code.

The length of training contracts relating to apprenticeship must be calculated according to the skill-complexity code (also called the worker-function code) assigned to a job in the DOT. Project staff soon discovered that a significant number of non-degreed jobs traditionally performed by women are not apprenticeable because of their DOT skill-complexity codes. Assigned the lowest possible ratings, subprofessional jobs in the human services sector are depicted in the DOT as occupying the bottom rung in a hierarchical world of work arranged to reflect supposed job complexity. At least 65 government agencies rely on the DOT's vision of the world of work to expend job training funds and to formulate manpower programs, policies, and procedures.

A flurry of publicity accompanied the project's materialization. Most of it centered on the fact that the DOT rates jobs such as MARINE MAMMAL HANDLER, BARBER, and BUS DRIVER to be far superior in complexity to traditional women's work, including FOSTER MOTHER, NURSERY SCHOOL TEACHER, and HOMEMAKER. Perhaps because the latter jobs historically have been performed by women working without pay, the DOT portrays the sum total of their tasks as equivalent to a DOT entry such as PARKING LOT ATTENDANT in terms of the Data-People-Things demands which are the functions expressed by the three-digit skill code.

Based on the results of its work, the DOT Research Project concludes that the Dictionary of Occupational Titles systematically--though not purposely--discriminates against virtually all non-degreed, People-oriented women's jobs at great expense to the public in general and women in particular. Despite the fact that project staff uncovered no conscious attempt on the part of the Division of Occupational Analysis and its Field Centers to downgrade the complexity of women's work, the verdict is harsh. By failing to develop the job analysis tools necessary to express

interpersonal aptitudes, knowledges, and skills, the Division of Occupational Analysis has produced a DOT that shortchanges traditional women's work via inaccurate coding and denies the existence of subprofessional jobs in the human services.

Project findings show that jobs suffering most are the salaried derivatives of homemaking and mothering, particularly those at the paraprofessional level in the fields of health, education, and welfare. Within the past 20 years, this strata of the world has experienced tremendous growth, as demonstrated by a

Adult Education Aide
Child Care Aide
Child Health Associate
Community Development Aide
Community Health Aide
Community Service Aide
Day Care Aide
Dietary Aide
Early Childhood Assistant
Family Assistant
Family Welfare Assistant
Home Economist's Assistant
Home Health Aide
Home Management Aide
Human Service Aide
Mental Health Aide
Mental Health Technician
Neighborhood Aide
Nursing Assistant
Nutrition Assistant
Psychiatric Aide
Recreation Aide
Rehabilitation Assistant
School-Community Aide
Social Service Aide
Vocational Counselor Aide
Youth Advisor

partial listing, at left, of paraprofessional jobs for which U.S. colleges and universities were offering training in 1970-71.¹ But as perceived by its technicians, the DOT's world of work has had neither the time nor the place for these nondegreed jobs and others providing caring/counseling services in health, education, and welfare. Derivatives of homemaking and mothering, which logically should have formed the foundation for occupations in the human services, are instead reduced in the DOT to forms of custodial or menial work, seeming to require only the most rudimentary of interpersonal skills. For instance, FOSTER MOTHER and HOMEMAKER (a paraprofessional assistant to CASEWORKER, FAMILY) are by occupational division and skill-complexity code depicted as domestic

service jobs equivalent to MAID: day-care occupations are combined under the title NURSERY SCHOOL TEACHER and assigned the same skill-complexity code as BABYSITTER; and HOME ATTENDANT (HOME HEALTH AIDE), the bottom rung in the nursing profession, is denied a place in the DOT's Medical Services industry and a significant relationship to Data indicative of job training and responsibility.

¹U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, A Summary of Paraprofessional Training in Colleges and Universities 1970-1971 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).



In sum, project findings show that the DOT's disposition of the paid derivatives of homemaking and mothering can be characterized in one or more of the following ways:

- Women's work is underrated in the DOT: Using DOT job analysis theory and procedures, project researchers have proved to the satisfaction of Wisconsin Center reviewers the necessity for amending skill-complexity codes currently assigned to jobs in nutrition, child care, homemaking, and home health aide work. Among the most dramatic changes approved by the Center are the codes that have been determined by the project to express Data-People-Things functions in core "women's work" jobs. From .878, the lowest possible skill-complexity level, the codes for HOMEMAKER, HOME ATTENDANT, and NURSERY SCHOOL TEACHER have been revised upward by the project to their proper levels of .124, .354, and .228, respectively.
- Women's work is made to seem nonexistent by the DOT: Perhaps one of the harshest forms of discrimination is neglect. In its study of subprofessional jobs in child care, homemaking, and home nursing, the DOT Research Project spent more than two thirds of its time analyzing and reporting so-called "new" jobs, many of which existed prior to the publication of the last edition of the DOT. The study of Homemaker, for instance, led to the discovery of five separate, well-defined entries, some requiring college degrees and all fully functioning components of this important teaching-caring-counseling unit found in most social service agencies. A brief foray into home nursing via the HOME ATTENDANT revealed that a project could spend months updating the DOT's portrayal of jobs in public health. But no field offered a greater challenge than day care. More than 20 new entries were prepared in the frustrating knowledge that they represent only a fraction of the jobs that should appear in the next edition of the DOT.
- Women's work is rendered undefinable by current DOT job analysis theory: Reference is made here to the inadequacy of DOT job analysis theory as a means of expressing the nature of People-oriented jobs at a subprofessional level. For instance, the DOT's definition of Specific Vocational Preparation does not include the unpaid work of homemakers and mothers among its various skill-developing experiences; therefore, salaried derivatives of homemaking and mothering frequently appear to be unskilled.

Moreover, theoreticians have placed heavy emphasis on the amount of formal education traditionally associated with a job, much to the detriment of nondegreed

occupations. By virtue of their degrees, a CLERGYMAN, a UROLOGIST, an ANESTHESIOLOGIST, and a DEAN OF BOYS are among the DOT entries receiving the highest rating for People, which is a 0 for Mentoring. On the other hand, FOSTER MOTHER, a demanding but degreeless job entailing the rearing of children who are almost always maladjusted, is assigned the second lowest People rating, a 7 for Serving.

Once a nondegreed, People-oriented job is assigned a 7, it generally follows that it is relegated to the Service Category, where its worker assumes the functions of a servant, acting on orders, with no significant relationship to Data and a robotlike relationship to People. This, unfortunately, has been the fate of the most traditional of women's work since the Caring/Counseling level of People relationships does not exist in DOT theory. The fact is that the DOT's tools for expressing Data-People relationships are largely undeveloped, rendering women's work beyond the scope of the analyst's vocabulary.

Some Exceptions to a Rule: The Dynamics of Discrimination

As stated earlier, the project found no evidence to suggest that the technicians of the DOT deliberately set out to discriminate against women's work. There are two exceptions, which, upon closer inspection, help to explain the pattern of sex discrimination in the DOT.

Group I: Degreed Jobs and Professional Power

Quite a few jobs necessitating a college degree are considered "women's work," such as DIETITIAN, HOME ECONOMIST, PHYSICAL THERAPIST, and CASEWORKER. And yet, the DOT makes no distinction between these entries and degreed jobs associated with men. The equalizer, as previously noted, is the prerequisite college education. But just as important is the membership in a professional organization that comes with a specialist's degree.

The Division of Occupational Analysis openly acknowledges that it works in cooperation with various white-collar professional organizations, relying on their assistance to prepare DOT entries. This collaboration can supersede the analyst's on-site observations and interviews, as is suggested by the fact that the several hundred jobs belonging to the DOT industry labeled Professional and Kindred Occupations are somehow maintained without the industry's ever being numbered among the assignments completed by a Field Center. But even when degreed jobs belong to routinely covered industries, such as Medical Services,



their definitions may be subject to the approval of professional organizations, especially when they are represented by bodies as powerful as the American Medical Association or the American Physical Therapy Association. Thus, many degreed jobs enjoy a position in the DOT's world of work that mirrors the image promoted by their respective societies or associations.

Dependency on vested interests seriously jeopardizes any claims the DOT might make to impartiality. Of special concern to the DOT Research Project is that the role of the white-collar professional organizations may also be contributing to the neglect and devaluation suffered by paraprofessional jobs in health, education, and welfare. For, as the project has learned by comparing the results of fieldwork to the picture painted by some professional journals, the traditionalists among the ranks of the degreed have tended to resist acknowledging the presence and importance of that specially trained worker known variously as an aide, assistant, technician, etc.

Progressive professionals in the fields of dietetics, home-making, education, and nursing have spoken candidly about this problem. Berenice Mallory, retired senior program officer with the Division of Vocational and Technical Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, writes about it in a recent issue of the Journal of Home Economics:

For a variety of reasons, some professionals do not want auxiliary workers as part of their organization. They may fear that the auxiliaries will take over their jobs. They may not want to give up the tasks an auxiliary can perform. They may not feel comfortable directing an auxiliary worker because they do not have competency as supervisors. They question the theory that nonprofessionals can make a contribution to the programs.

Do auxiliary workers have a place in today's society? They do. They are a significant part of the labor market and it behooves us to get with it!²

Group II: Factory Work and the Manning Tables

During the first year of the DOT Research Project, studies of hospital and school food service yielded little indication that the sex-linked, nondegreed jobs found there were

²Berenice Mallory, "Auxiliary Workers in Today's Society," Journal of Home Economics, 63:5 (May, 1971), p. 330.

7
miscoded in the DOT. Nor does it appear that the DOT discriminates against the many jobs performed by women in light industry.

The absence of bias in these cases is attributable to the fact that these are production jobs. Analysts generally agree that the least difficult assignment in job analysis is the Thing-oriented job. Little more than observation is required to prepare a verifiable statement of the nature and purpose of job functions.

The relative ease with which Thing-oriented operations can be described, measured, and classified to everyone's satisfaction is one reason jobs in industry dominate the pages of the DOT. As Field Center analysts artlessly explained to project staff, derivatives of homemaking and mothering are generally given short shrift because they are among the most "difficult" of jobs to evaluate.

As specific proposals, the DOT study recommends:

1. The development and implementation of a Field Center-wide review and revision of DOT job analysis theory and related structural characteristics of the DOT's world of work, including but not limited to the following:
 - A. The revision of the DOT's present Industry Arrangement, so that service occupations would be classified with the same precision accorded factory jobs to ensure proper coverage and equitable treatment of sub-professional human service occupations.
 - B. The amendment of the present People "hierarchy," specifically by (1) inserting a separate Caring/Counseling level, (2) simplifying the definition of Serving, and (3) combining Diverting and Persuading to form a single function. Purpose of the foregoing is to facilitate the analysis of People-oriented work by providing analysts with a comprehensive list of People relationships arranged from the complex to the simple.
 - C. The elimination of the worker function level No Significant Relationship, which is represented by the numeral 8 in the three-digit skill complexity code. The routine assignment of this rating creates confusion and misunderstanding among users of the DOT by masking real ratings on a purely arbitrary basis.
2. The immediate implementation of the Office of Equal Employment-approved plan to eliminate all reference to sex in base titles of the forthcoming edition of the DOT, in



order that the world's most comprehensive source of job information not be responsible for the unlawful perpetuation of sex stereotyping in employment.

3. The referral upon receipt of occupational code requests (ES 282) to the Field Center system for immediate study, with documented determinations returned promptly in writing to the point of origin. Purpose is to provide manpower programs with the information necessary to carry out their mandate and to ensure the inclusion of new jobs and altered codes in future editions of the DOT.
4. The development of an attitude of accountability to the user of the DOT, whereby the Division of Occupational Analysis issues supplements to the DOT with the frequency necessary to provide an up-to-date resource for manpower training and development programs.
5. The discontinuation of DOT data collection policies favoring professional organizations and the occupations they represent, to ensure fair and equitable, first-person coverage of all jobs, including paraprofessional work.
6. The development and implementation of an affirmative action plan increasing the number of women professionals at all levels within the Division of Occupational Analysis and its Field Center. Purpose is to eliminate from the DOT negative attitudes toward the abilities and contributions of women.
7. The promotion of system-wide communication by the Division of Occupational Analysis to permit Field Centers to pool data, to cooperate in research activities, and to establish working relationships with state manpower agencies so as to ensure that future editions of the DOT are accurate and useful.

Implementation of these recommendations will not involve any major additional expense.

The above information was excerpted from the DOT study, "Women's Work - Up From .878"

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on Enforcement of the Laws
November 18, 1975

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

TO: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer
Elizabeth Athanasakos *Birch Bayh*
FROM: Elizabeth Athanasakos and Birch Bayh, Co-Chairs
SUBJECT: Recommendation on EEOC Selection of Cases Dealing with
Work of Equal Value

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the consideration of the Commission the following recommendation with supporting facts:

The National Commission on the Observance of IWY recommends that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission immediately file court actions in selected cases which would develop precedents for eliminating sex discrimination in wages for work of equal value.

BACKGROUND:

Under the Equal Pay Act of 1963, as amended by Section 906 (b) (1) of the Education Amendments of 1972 and as modified by legal interpretation and court decisions, jobs are compared that involve "substantially" equal work. This is not the same as "equal pay for work of equal value," first ratified by the 1951 International Labor Organization Equal Remuneration Convention (No. 100).¹

The Equal Pay Act mandates equal pay for male clerks and female clerks doing essentially the same work but does not require equal pay for men and women doing work of equal value, such as an electrician and an industrial nurse.

Work of equal value is just beginning to be studied, as an outgrowth of the sexism being discovered in job evaluation systems. The state of Washington conducted a "Comparable Worth Salary Study" of state and higher education jobs.² Using a point evaluation method, committees evaluated 121 jobs that were 70% or more men or women. The committees found an overall disparity of 20% between men's and women's jobs of comparable worth, the women's being lower in all cases and the greatest discrepancy being in the higher education jobs. The \$55 million cost has deferred implementation of the study. No doubt similar discrepancies exist in other states as well as private and Federal employment.



Many legal scholars feel that the EEOC has the authority to take on cases for court action dealing with the disparity in wages between men's work and women's work of equal value. Section 703(h) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as amended (the Bennett Amendment), reads:

It shall not be an unlawful employment practice under this title for any employer to differentiate upon the basis of sex in determining the amount of wages or compensation paid or to be paid to employees of such employer if such differentiation is authorized by the provisions of section 6(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(d)).

Some persons interpret this phrasing to exclude the EEOC from entering into matters covered by and dealt with under the Equal Pay Act. The Equal Pay Act does not prohibit differentiation in wages on bases other than sex, such as merit and seniority. However, the legal mandate of EEOC to eliminate sex discrimination in employment could be interpreted broadly enough to cover matters of work of equal value.

EEOC has participated in two cases recently that relate to this point. In the Laffey v Northwest Airlines case,³ the EEOC filed amicus curiae briefs at both the District and Circuit Court levels stating that even if the employment practices were not a violation of the Equal Pay Act, they would be a violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The court concurred at the District level; no higher opinion has been rendered. At the Federal District Court level in Wetzel v Liberty Mutual Insurance Company, the issue lies with female claims agents and male claims adjusters. The males travel and investigate onsite, but otherwise the work is basically the same. The court agreed that this is a Title VII violation, but no opinion has been issued yet.

1. Letter from Morag Simchak, Women's Activities Advisor, O/LAB-AID, to Mildred Marcy, Coordinator, IWY Secretariat, October 7, 1975.
2. "State of Washington Comparable Worth Study," Norman D. Willis & Associates, Management Consultants, September, 1974.
3. 366 F. Supp. 763

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on Enforcement of the Laws

November 18, 1975

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

TO: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer
Elizabeth Athanasakos *Birch Bayh*
FROM: Elizabeth Athanasakos and Birch Bayh, Co-Chairs

SUBJECT: Recommendation on Job Evaluation Guidelines

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the consideration of the Commission the following recommendation with supporting facts:

The National Commission on the Observance of IWY recommends that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should develop and promulgate guidelines which could be used to determine if job evaluation systems or other methods of determining wages, salaries, or rates of pay, discriminate on the basis of sex.

BACKGROUND:

Frequently job evaluation systems emphasize factors most closely associated with men's jobs, such as weight lifting and working conditions, while ignoring or minimizing factors associated with women's jobs, such as manual dexterity. One example is Laffey v Northwest Airlines (366 F. Supp. 763), now on appeal to the Circuit Court of D.C. The court found that the airline had violated both the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in paying pursers (primarily male) more than stewardesses (primarily female). Historical practices had resulted in pursers receiving \$200 to \$300 a month more, plus larger hotel allowances. In preparing for the court action, the airline hired industrial engineers who prepared job evaluations justifying the wage differential.¹ They omitted the standard evaluation factor of "hazard." Since most stewardesses were on shorter flights undergoing more takeoffs and landings, the most hazardous part of flying, while the pursers were on longer flights, the inclusion of "hazard" would have raised the stewardesses' pay rates.

¹Conversation with Dennis Clark, lawyer for the plaintiffs, November 19, 1975.



Other deficiencies in various job evaluation methods which adversely impact on women are: subjectivity regarding the value of the work which is influenced by the salary of the incumbent; not recognizing all aspects of jobs which have a wide variety of levels of responsibility, such as secretary; selecting factors which do not apply to all jobs; and applying a job evaluation system without tailoring it to fit the specific organization. ²

The EEOC has issued the most progressive guidelines on other topics (e.g., testing and sex discrimination) which should be followed by private employers. Therefore, the Commission recommends that the EEOC be the agency to develop these guidelines.

The primary effect of the guidelines would be introduction of pay comparability within one company; it would have no effect on pay rates for equal work or work of equal value between companies. There would be no substantial cost increase for EEOC to prepare these guidelines.

BACKGROUND:

Presently job evaluation systems emphasize factors most closely associated with men's jobs, such as weight lifting and working conditions, while ignoring or minimizing factors associated with women's jobs, such as manual dexterity. One example is Valley Northwest Airlines (366 F. Supp. 763), now on appeal to the Circuit Court of D.C. The court found that the airline had violated both the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in paying pursers (primarily male) more than stewardesses (primarily female). Historical practices had resulted in pursers receiving \$200 to \$300 a month more, plus larger hotel allowances. In preparing for the court action, the airline hired industrial engineers who prepared job evaluations justifying the wage differential. They omitted the standard evaluation factor of "hazard." Since most stewardesses were on longer flights, the inclusion of "hazard" would have raised the stewardesses' pay rates.

² "Sexism in Job Evaluation Methodologies," testimony by Judith M. Collins, Cresap, McCormick, & Paget, Inc., October 16, 1975

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on Enforcement of the Laws

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

December 4, 1975

To: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

From: *Elizabeth Athanasakos* and *Birch Bayh*
Elizabeth Athanasakos and Senator Birch Bayh,
Co-Chairs

Subject: Recommendation on Affirmative Action

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the consideration of the Commission the following recommendation with supporting facts:

Recent studies by the U.S. General Accounting Office and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights have shown that requirements for affirmative action have been ineffective because of lax enforcement procedures. At the same time, affirmative action for federal contractors has come under strong attack.

The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year believes that this is not the year to start dismantling the affirmative action regulations; rather it is the time to start enforcing them. Experience going back more than ten years shows that mere expressions of desire for fairer hiring and promotion practices on the part of federal contractors have not done and will not do the job, and that numerical goals and timetables for hiring members of hitherto excluded groups are needed.

We urge the Department of Labor and all other Federal agencies involved in monitoring the employment practices of Federal contractors to set up enforcement procedures with appropriate



sanctions and to proceed to use them in a
timely way against contractors who persist
in excluding or discriminating against qual-
ified people because of their sex.

Background

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws makes this
recommendation as a statement of support for active
enforcement of the contract compliance program.

Subject: Recommendation on Affirmative Action

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the
consideration of the Commission the following recommendation
with supporting facts:

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Federal agencies involved in monitoring the
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NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on Enforcement of the Laws

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

December 4, 1975

TO : Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer
Elizabeth Athanasakos *Birch Bayh*
FROM : Elizabeth Athanasakos and Birch Bayh, Co-Chairs
SUBJECT: Recommendation on HEW Office of Civil Rights Resources
and Enforcement

The Committee on Enforcement of the Laws submits for the consideration of the Commission the following recommendation with supporting facts:

The National Commission on the Observance of IWY recommends:

- (1) that the Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, immediately formally withdraw the "Consolidated Procedural Rules for Administration and Enforcement of Certain Civil Rights Laws and Authorities".
- (2) that the Office of Management and Budget immediately review the enforcement resources and priorities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office for Civil Rights and support increased appropriations if additional resources are necessary to establish and maintain an effective enforcement effort under Title IX.
- (3) that the Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, develop and implement a complaint processing system which would include action on current complaints at the same time the backlogged complaints are processed to effectively handle all matters of discrimination without pitting one group against another.

Background

The controversy over the HEW Office of Civil Rights' enforcement of E.O. 11246, as amended, i.e., the contract compliance program, surrounds the substantive program as well as the programmatic procedures. As Congressman O'Hara stated in the Hearing on the Civil Rights Obligations of Institutions of Post Secondary Education, "They may disagree on what HEW should have been doing, but they all agree that it hasn't been doing it." 1/

1/ Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education and Labor
U.S. House of Representatives, September, 1974, p. 322.



The backlog in complaints is due to inadequate staffing and the Adams v Weinburger decision in Dallas.

Staffing

The HEW Office of Civil Rights (HEW/OCR) had 847 positions in Fiscal Year '75 and requested an increase of 60 for Fiscal Year '76, a total of 907. However, during Fiscal Year '75 HEW/OCR returned \$2.6 million, about 10% of its budget, back to the Treasury. 2/ Peter Holmes, former Director of the Office for Civil Rights, said that he was not aware that the funds had not been spent. After further checking, he reported that the unspent money resulted from 50 to 60 vacancies that were created in Fiscal Year '75 but had not been authorized for filling until midway through the year, in December. 3/ However, even if all 60 positions had been filled at the top Journey level, GS-13, the entire salary cost for all year would only have been about \$1.26 million. These discrepancies and non-utilization of funds point out serious mismanagement problems which ought to be investigated by the Office of Management and Budget.

Priorities

In contrast to the funds being returned to the U.S. Treasury, Peter Holmes says that the amount of Civil Rights' resources is so small that priorities must be set or the large number of complaints will eliminate any possibility of broad compliance reviews. The court decision in Adams v Weinburger was cited as imposing how HEW/OCR must allocate its staff and time:

Just recently, one part of the Adams v Weinburger supplemental court order would, in effect, require the Department to become almost totally complaint-oriented throughout the 17 Southern and border states in regard to enforcing Title VI with respect to race discrimination in public elementary and secondary schools. This will inevitably occur because the volume of complaints, pending and estimated, will be sufficient to occupy all of the existing elementary and secondary staff resources of at least three regional offices for the indefinite future in order to ensure compliance with the court's prescribed scheduling of resolving complaints. 4/

2/ Letter from John D. Young, Assistant Secretary, Comptroller, HEW, to Holly Knox, Project on Equal Education Rights, Sept. 25, 1975.

3/ "Inquiry into Bias Curbed by H.E.W.," New York Times, Oct. 15, 1975, p. 49.

4/ Testimony of Peter Holmes, Director of Office for Civil Rights, HEW, to Committee on Enforcement of the Laws, Sept. 16, 1975, p. 5.

HEW/OCR staff claim that they must eliminate processing of individual complaints in order to focus on the broader, more comprehensive compliance reviews. This resulted in the issuance of the "Proposed Consolidated Civil Rights Procedural Regulations." 5/ Under these proposed regulations, any person or organization writing HEW about possible discrimination will get from HEW

- a notification of any planned compliance review in the next 12 months;
- referral to any other federal, state or local agency which has legal authority to investigate and take legal action on the case; and
- notice of any internal grievance procedure which must be instituted by the recipient according to law.

These proposed regulations raised a great clamor from women's and civil rights groups for their immediate withdrawal. A Senate Resolution introduced by Sen. Birch Bayh gained 52 Senate co-sponsors in declaring:

Resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should withdraw the aforementioned proposed procedural regulations.

And be it further resolved that if additional positions are required within the Office for Civil Rights for effective enforcement of Civil Rights laws this need should promptly be brought to the attention of the Senate.

And be it further resolved that the Office for Civil Rights within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare shall continue to make every effort to detect systemic discrimination through the use of annual surveys which shall be modified to encompass areas relating to discrimination based on sex and handicap. 6/

Despite the public outcry against the regulations and despite promises to incorporate changes in them, HEW/OCR reissued the exact same regulations for an additional comment period on Sept. 29, 1975. 7/

5/ Federal Register, June 4, 1975, p. 24148

6/ Congressional Record - Senate, August 1, 1975, p. S14947

7/ Federal Register, October 2, 1975



In October 1972, HEW/OCR issued "Higher Education Guidelines" which related the requirements of E.O. 11246, as amended, (contract compliance program), and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance's Revised Order No. 4 to colleges and universities with Federal contracts. However, according to the former Director of the Higher Education Division, HEW/OCR, the guidelines were not specific enough for institutions to know what was expected of them, and they did not provide specific guidance to HEW/OCR's regional staff for evaluating institutions' affirmative action plans (AAPs). "A Format for Development of an Affirmative Action Plan by Institutions of Higher Education" was issued in August 1975 to facilitate compliance with E.O. 11246 and clarify the obligations of colleges and universities to maintain acceptable AAPs.

Complaint processing

The Higher Education of the HEW's Office for Civil Rights enforces E.O. 11246 for between 863 and 1300 institutions - estimates vary. As of December 31, 1973, the HEW/OCR Higher Education Division inventory showed a total of 296 E.O. complaints (individual and class) which were considered active. The status of these complaints is described on the chart below:

	Total #	Investigations Acknowledged	Letters of Findings* Completed	Other**
Individual Complaints	116	4	30	59
Class Complaints	180	128	10	19

*The letter of finding is sent to the institution after an investigation and details what is needed to bring the institution into compliance.

**Other - referred for enforcement, investigation scheduled, negotiating or no designation.

Of the individual complaints 35% had been only acknowledged, 45% had been investigated, but a letter of finding had been issued in only 20% of the complaints filed. Of the class complaints, 71% had only been acknowledged, 18% had been investigated, and letters of finding were issued in 13% of the complaints filed. In calendar year 1974 HEW/OCR received 197 E.O. complaints and resolved 33 complaints.

Some of the above material in this background section was excerpted from a study prepared by Norma Raffel, "The Enforcement of Federal Laws and Regulations Prohibiting Sex Discrimination in Education," under contract with the IWY Commission.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on the Homemaker

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
AUGUST 29, 1975

August 26, 1975

TO: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer
FROM: *Martha Griffiths*
Martha Griffiths, Chair of the Committee on the Homemaker
SUBJECT: Recommendation on collection of data by the Bureau of
the Census on economic arrangements at divorce and en-
forcement thereof

The Committee on the Homemaker submits for the consideration of
the Commission the following recommendation with supporting facts:

Inasmuch as

- There is not and never has been available any reliable national information concerning economic arrangements at divorce or the effectiveness of enforcement machinery for these arrangements;
- State legislatures need such information when considering the numerous proposals for amendment of domestic relations laws;
- Federal and State governments need such factual information in planning and administering welfare programs; and
- The media need factual data to balance the anecdotal, dramatic cases that receive publicity;

the National Commission on the Observance of IWY strongly urges that the 1976 Survey of Income and Education which is to be conducted by the Census Bureau include questions which will provide answers to the following:

- How are children of divorced parents being supported, i.e. what proportion of the support is being contributed by each parent and by the State?
- In what proportion of divorces is alimony awarded and in what amount?
- In what proportion of cases is child support awarded and in what amount?



32

- How is property divided?
- To what extent are alimony and child support awards being collected?
- To what extent are fathers getting custody of children? Are mothers paying child support in such cases?
- What are the relative economic situations after divorce of the spouse with custody of children and the other spouse?
- What is the economic status of women who are divorced after many years of homemaking and little labor force experience?

The Chair of the Committee on the Homemaker is authorized to represent the Commission in negotiating with the Department of Commerce and other Federal offices as necessary to secure such factual data without cost to the Commission.

INFORMATION PRESENTLY AVAILABLE

In order to devise effective and equitable policies in this area, the public as well as national, State and local authorities are in need of reliable information on the frequency and size of such alimony and support payments, the reliability of collection, costs of enforcing court orders, the relationship between failure to receive child support payments and the appearance of a family on the welfare rolls, as well as detailed socio-economic and demographic information on divorced persons. Because marriage and divorce are bound by State laws, analysis of this data is needed on a State by State basis as well as nationally.

Data on alimony and child support are extremely limited. The few statistics available are the result of small, scattered studies. The U.S. Bureau of the Census has not kept alimony data since 1922.¹ The National Center for Health Statistics (Division of Vital Statistics, Marriage and Divorce Branch) collects and analyzes information on marriage and divorce through the publications of the State health departments when it is available. However, few States publish statistics on alimony and support awards. Some States tabulate the information but do not publish it. While this unpublished data might prove to be a somewhat useful source, it would indicate nothing about reliability of payment, property settlements, and other financial aspects of divorce.

The results of several studies conducted between 1922 and 1965 show that alimony was decreed in from 2 to 16 percent of the cases. The most recent study in that group was conducted in 1965 under the auspices of the American Bar Association. This survey of

domestic relations indicated that alimony is granted in a very small percentage of cases. No judge mentioned a figure larger than 10 percent. 2/

Data collected between 1931 and 1965 show that combined alimony and child support payments averaged \$33 to \$140 per month. 3/ The \$33 figure, based on a 1933 survey, is the equivalent of \$76.89 today. 4/ In the ABA study of 1965, 27 percent of the judges reported that they allot 25 percent or less of the father's income for child support. Thirty-four percent allot between 26 and 35 percent of the father's income, and 25 percent allot between 34-50 percent of the father's income.

No matter what court action is taken, the effect upon the woman's economic status depends upon whether or not the ordered payments are in fact made. William Goode's study in 1948 showed that one-third of all husbands were not ordered to make payments and that of those who were so ordered, 40 percent never or rarely made payments, 14 percent usually made payments, and 35 percent always made payments. 5/ He also reported that the ex-husband's earnings showed no apparent relationship to the continuity of payments. More recently, a 1970 study showed the occupational distribution of non-supporting fathers to be similar to that of the entire male population. 6/ This Rand Corporation study also found that fathers under court order were typically required to pay \$50 a month. In 33 percent of non-welfare cases, the order was for \$50 a month or less.

A study in the early 1960's reported that of ex-husbands earning \$4,000 a year or more, only 39 percent made any contribution to their families. 7/ Of men earning under \$4,000, only 20 percent made any contribution. At all income levels, the ex-wife and children received some support from the former husband in only one-third of the cases.

A study of single parent families in Michigan revealed that 47 percent of divorced women who head households and 73 percent of such separated women received no alimony or child support payments. 8/ It further found that for those who received payments, the median amount was about \$1,350 per year.

There appears to be even less data available on child support payments than on alimony. The only study uncovered which focuses primarily on reliability of these payments was performed in 1968 and is based on compliance with 1955 court orders in a metropolitan county in Wisconsin. The data show that although most men (62 percent) did not fully comply with the court orders, even after only 1 year, a majority of those in compliance after 4 years remained in compliance for the full 10-year period covered by the study. 9/



Most recently, the General Accounting Office conducted a study of nonsupport by the absent parent of welfare families. This study was requested by Representative Martha Griffiths who was then Chairperson of the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee. Although the study is not currently available to the public, Representative Griffiths reported some of its preliminary findings in a speech on the House floor. Of 149 absent parents under support order or agreement, their median monthly earnings were \$712 and their median ordered or agreed-to child support payment was about \$95 per month, or \$50 per child. 10/ About one quarter of these absent parents were paying 90 percent or more of the ordered or agreed-to payments and half were making practically no payments. 11/

Again, no consistent relationship was found between compliance with support orders and the income of the absent parent. In the under \$6,000 income bracket, 81 percent of the parents were not in substantial compliance. Of those earning between \$6,000 and \$12,000, 66 percent were not in substantial compliance, nor were 70 percent of those earning \$12,000 or more.

Congress has enacted legislation which will impact on the question of reliability of alimony and child support payments. 12/ The legislation provides that the wages of United States government employees as well as all government benefits, such as social security checks, will be subject to garnishment for enforcement of child support and alimony obligations. This law received its impetus from the large numbers of children supported with taxpayer's money through welfare programs, but the State programs which will be implemented through this law will be available to nonwelfare recipients as well. It will be January 1, 1977, before the State programs are in effect, and some time after that before their effectiveness and their usefulness as sources of data on the subject of child support can be evaluated.

The few scattered studies on alimony and support do not provide a clear picture of the economic status of divorced women and their children. What little data is available tends to support the conclusion that their situation is precarious, and in some cases severely disadvantaged. However, a complete understanding of this group's economic status must await the collection and analysis of data which are much more comprehensive and reliable.

POSSIBILITIES FOR SECURING DATA

Discussions have been held with individuals knowledgeable about the availability of data on alimony and child support. These discussions were aimed at identifying the most feasible means by which a definitive survey on alimony and support could

be undertaken, particularly through the Census Bureau. A number of options were uncovered, and these are presented below.

CURRENT POPULATION SURVEYS

The Current Population Surveys (CPS) are conducted monthly through in-person interviews. Detailed questions on income are included in the March survey. On occasion, additional questions are added to the CPS questionnaires. The March income survey would be the most appropriate to supplement with questions on alimony and support.

Problems

The CPS uses a sample of 50,000-60,000 households. Only those households in which one party had been divorced would be germane to an alimony-support, thus effectively reducing the sample size. It would probably be possible to secure accurate information on a national basis, but impossible to analyze the data by State. Only the few largest States would have large enough subsamples for separate analysis.

SPECIAL SURVEY

The ideal solution would be to arrange for the Census Bureau to conduct a special survey with the questionnaire administered by an interviewer to a sample large enough to allow analysis on a State-by-State basis.

Problems

The cost of this sort of survey is apparently prohibitive. It was not possible to obtain any precise estimates, because these are best made by the Bureau of Census field offices after submission of specific information on sample size, geographic distribution, length of questionnaire, and other matters. It was suggested, however, that the cost might run to several million dollars.

1976 SURVEY OF INCOME AND EDUCATION

A special survey of over 200,000 households will be undertaken by the Census Bureau in the spring of 1976. The sample has been structured so that the States which are smaller in population will be well represented, thus allowing for analysis at the State level. The current marital status of the respondent will be determined at the beginning of the interview and the questionnaire will deal with a number of subject areas including labor force, work experience, income, migration, food stamps, housing, public assistance, family assets, and the need for bilingual education. One of the objectives of the survey is



to determine the number of poor children in the United States.

In authorizing this survey, Congress specified that the income-related questions follow the standard CPS format as closely as possible. As with CPS, the respondent is asked whether s/he received any alimony or child support during the preceding calendar year. Thus it would be possible to determine how many people received some such support. A follow-up question asks how much money from "other sources of income" such as pensions, alimony, or support was received during the year. Thus it is impossible to isolate just how much of the "other sources" is attributable to alimony or support.

The questionnaire for the Survey of Income and Education is near completion, and some of the hoped for inclusions have been eliminated already because of space constraints. Nevertheless, adding some questions to this survey would be a highly desirable way to collect the alimony/support information. screening of respondents could be done by the interviewer, and only those who had been divorced or separated would be asked the alimony/support questions.

A variation of this solution would be to prepare a separate questionnaire on alimony/support, which would be administered only after finishing the regular interview.

Problems

Competition to include additional questions in the Survey of Income and Education has been intense, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, among others, has been turned down on its request to include questions. The Census Bureau has set 45 minutes to 1 hour as the maximum time for an interviewer to remain in one household, and interview time for the current draft of the questionnaire is about 45 minutes. There would likely be resistance from within the Census Bureau to the idea of adding more questions--not only because the questionnaire is so lengthy, but also because it is so near completion.

A proposal to have the interviewer administer a separate questionnaire while still in the household might receive slightly more favorable reception. The shorter the questionnaire, the easier it would be to persuade relevant officials of the feasibility of the idea. It would seem that a questionnaire taking 5 minutes to administer would be the maximum acceptable length.

There is the additional problem of working out such arrangements in time for the spring survey. Negotiations would have to be undertaken with the Census Bureau; a formal request should be made to the Division of Demographic Surveys and it would be several weeks at least before the substantive questions could be formulated. Census staff whom we consulted at the

operational level were doubtful that a separate questionnaire could be negotiated and prepared in time.

MAIL SURVEY

A less desirable alternative would be a mail questionnaire. Such a questionnaire could be sent to the sub-sample of divorced-separated persons after the Spring 1976 survey, or the interviewer could leave an alimony/support questionnaire with appropriate respondents. The questionnaire would then be self-administered and mailed to the Census Bureau. As the 1976 Survey of Income and Education will ascertain only current marital status, it would be necessary to add a question, or in some other way, ascertain which currently married interview subjects had been divorced in the past, because some of them would still be paying or receiving alimony or support payments.

Problems

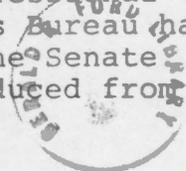
The problem with the mail questionnaire approach generally is the low response rate, necessitating a great deal of follow-up. A second problem is the greater opportunity for bias and inaccuracy in a self-administered questionnaire. Survey specialists generally feel that it is much more difficult to get reliable information on low income or low education families with a mail questionnaire.

CONCLUSIONS

None of the four options is overwhelmingly appropriate, because each has its own problems. A separate survey with interviewers would seem to be out of the question because of the cost. Adding questions to the monthly CPS might be the easiest, even most economical solution, but it would yield only national data.

The opportunity to make use of a large sample such as that being used in the 1976 Survey of Income and Education does not arise very often. This, coupled with the great value of having the interviewer pose at least some minimal questions directly and in person, leads to the conclusion that the Committee on the Homemaker should at least attempt to arrange some involvement in the 1976 Survey.

If the decision is made to try to add questions or a brief questionnaire to the interviews for the Spring 1976 Survey, it would be necessary to approach Department of Commerce personnel at the policy level immediately and to marshal Congressional support. The fiscal year 1976 budget for the Census Bureau has passed the House of Representatives and is now in the Senate. Supplemental budgets for special projects are introduced from time to time.



FOOTNOTES

1. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Marriage and Divorce, Washington, D.C., 1925.
2. Quenstedt and Winkler, "What Are Our Domestic Relations Judges Thinking", Monograph No. 1, A.B.A. Section of Family Law, July 1965. For further information on less recent studies, see Babcock, Freedman, Norton and Ross, Sex Discrimination and the Law, Little Borwn, Boston, 1975, p. 683, n. 31 and 32.
3. Babcock, Freedman, Norton and Ross, Sex Discrimination and the Law, Little Borwn, Boston, 1975, p. 683, n. 35.
4. The Equal Rights Amendment and Alimony and Child Support Laws, Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1972, p.7.
5. Goode, William, After Divorce, 1948, Glencoe, Free Press.
6. Winston and Forsher, "Nonsupport of Legitimate Children by Affluent Fathers as a Cause of Poverty and Welfare Dependence," Rand Corporation, 1971.
7. Kriesberg, Louis, Mothers in Poverty, Chicago, Aldine, 1970, as cited in Brandwein, Brown and Fox, "Women and Children Last: The Social Situation of Divorced Mothers and Their Families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, August 1974, p. 501.
8. Helco, Hugh, Single Parent Families: Issues and Policies, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1973.
9. Nagel and Weitzman, Women as Litigants, 23 Hast. L.J. 171, 190(1971).
10. Congressional Record, December 4, 1974, p. H 11291.
11. Ibid., p. H 11292.



NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on the Homemaker

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION BY
LETTER OCTOBER 1975

August 29, 1975

To: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

From: *Martha Griffiths*
Martha Griffiths, Chair of the Committee on the Homemaker

Subject: Recommendation on collection of data by the Bureau of
the Census on economic arrangements at divorce and
enforcement thereof

At the Commission meeting on August 29, the Homemaker Committee submitted to the Commission a recommendation that the Bureau of the Census collect in a 1976 survey of income and education information relating to economic and custodial arrangements at divorce. The Commission adopted that recommendation and the Committee is negotiating with several Federal agencies concerning implementation of the recommendation.

During these negotiations, we discovered that planning for the questions to be included in the 1980 decennial census is almost completed and that any recommendations we have with respect to information to be secured in the census should be made immediately.

When the Homemaker Committee made its previous recommendation to the Commission, we had in mind a later recommendation that such data be included in each decennial census. We had planned to defer this recommendation until later, since it was thought that information secured through the State leaflets we are having prepared and experience with the questionnaire used in the 1976 survey would suggest changes in approach. Since, however, it is important that our recommendations be submitted at this time, the Committee in its meeting on September 17 decided to submit the following recommendation to the Commission:

The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year strongly urges that the 1980 decennial census and each succeeding decennial census include questions which will provide answers to the following:



How are children of divorced parents being supported, i.e. what proportion of the support is being contributed by each parent and by the State?

- In what proportion of divorces is alimony awarded and in what amount?
- In what proportion of cases is child support awarded and in what amount?
- How is property divided?
- To what extent are alimony and child support awards being collected?
- To what extent are fathers getting custody of children? Are mothers paying child support in such cases?
- What are the relative economic situations after divorce of the spouse with custody of children and the other spouse?
- What is the economic status of women who are divorced after many years of homemaking and little labor force experience?

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on the Homemaker

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

December 4, 1975

To: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

Martha Griffiths

From: Martha Griffiths, Chair of the Committee on
the Homemaker

Subject: Recommendation on coverage of homemakers under
social security

The Homemaker's Committee at its meeting on September 17, 1975, heard testimony on social security coverage for the homemaker. Mr. Robert Adcock of Congresswoman Jordan's staff discussed with us H.R. 3009 and H.R. 3010, bills sponsored by Congresswomen Jordan and Burke. I co-sponsored with Congresswoman Jordan a similar bill in the 93rd Congress and have long been convinced that we must find a way to provide social security coverage for the homemaker.

Phyllis Belford and Virginia Reno of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare spoke in general terms of problems of women under social security. DHEW has not taken a position on the Jordan-Burke bill, or the earlier bills.

After some discussion the Committee decided to recommend coverage of the homemaker under social security. The following is proposed for adoption by the Commission:

The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year recommends that the homemaker be covered in her own right under social security to provide income security for the risks of old age, disability, and death. The Commission further recommends that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare be directed to give a high priority to developing an administration proposal for achieving this purpose.



Discussion:

There are a number of policy issues and technical problems to be resolved in developing a legislative proposal. For example, how should the coverage be financed?* On what level of assumed earnings should the coverage be based?** How should "homemaker" be defined?

Under the Jordan-Burke bill, H.R. 3009, homemakers are treated as self-employed workers, who pay a tax of 8 percent. The tax may be based upon one of three options: (1) the maximum amount payable by self-employed workers (\$14,000 with a yearly tax of \$1,128), (2) the median amount of wages earned by all individuals who worked four quarters of the most recent year for which satisfactory data are available (\$7,000 with a yearly tax of \$560), (3) the median amount of wages earned by all women who worked four quarters of the most recent year for which satisfactory data are available (\$4,800 with a yearly tax of \$384).

The companion bill, H.R. 3010 provides a tax credit for workers with total incomes of less than \$8,000 per year. The tax credit would be 10% of income for those paying social security tax on incomes of \$4,000 or less. The percentage of the credit would decrease at incomes above \$4,000 and disappear at \$8,000. The combined impact of the bills would be to give low income one-worker families coverage for both members at less than the one member is now paying.***

Congresswoman Abzug introduced H.R. 252 in the 94th Congress. It would have covered homemakers at a rate to be set by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

* The cost would not be as high as covering a new worker since homemakers now have partial coverage as dependents.

** The problems of covering homemakers are not novel. Military service has been counted without contribution; and non-paid members of religious orders were covered in the 1972 amendments with the contribution paid by the order.

*** This proposal was included in the temporary Tax Reduction Act of 1974; whether it will be included in the tax reduction act currently under consideration is uncertain.

under a formula which would take into account wages being paid to persons performing for pay services customarily performed by homemakers. The cost would be funded out of general revenues, recognizing that "a homemaker has neither salary nor employer but that her work benefits our entire society". Congresswoman Abzug plans to introduce a bill in this Congress with different funding provisions.

Another proposal for covering homemakers under social security would allow couples to have the option of dividing their earnings between the spouses and crediting each with quarters of coverage annually. Each partner would be allowed to credit 75% of the wages of the worker(s).

Coverage of homemakers would cure or alleviate several types of inequities under present law:

1. Wives who are employed outside the home, except while their children are small, may have such a small benefit of their own that their benefit based on their husbands' service will be greater. The formula for computing social security benefits heavily penalizes absences of more than 3 years from the labor force.

2. Wives who are divorced after fewer than 20 years marriage may, even if they return to the labor force, be entitled to only a very small benefit because of the penalty for years out of the labor force.

3. Even a divorced wife who has been married 20 years may not be eligible for a benefit until very late, as she cannot draw a benefit until her former husband retires or dies.

4. Homemaking wives who become disabled are not now entitled to a benefit though their services to the family must be replaced. Likewise the family of a homemaker wife who dies receive no benefit.

The Commission has recently received a letter from a Wisconsin homemaker, Mrs. D. Albrecht, which illustrates one of these problems well. After working 12 years, she quit in 1960



to care for a handicapped baby who needed special care. She is now too disabled to do housework because of a heart condition, arthritis of the spine, and other ailments, but is not eligible for a benefit. If her husband should die, she would not be eligible for a benefit until age 50 unless she had minor children.

As Mrs. Albrecht points out women, because of their having children are in and out of the job market. Young people who have had continuous employment for 20 quarters are eligible for a benefit if they become disabled. A child who becomes disabled is eligible for a benefit throughout his life based on his father's or mother's coverage, but a wife is out of luck.

Last but not least, coverage of homemakers would provide added dignity and status. She would be recognized as an equal partner in the marriage rather than a dependent or junior partner. As the 1972 Report of the Women's Action Program (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) said, "A major theme of the women's movement is a plea for recognition of the achievements and needs of individuals. When women's roles and economic well being are assumed to be tied to men's, they are not fully recognized as individuals."

The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare asked the Social Security Administration in 1972 for a study of coverage of homemakers. To date, such a study apparently has not been made or if made cannot be released.

The Committee does not have the time or the detailed knowledge of the social security act necessary to propose a sound system for including the homemaker under the Act. Therefore, the suggested recommendation asks the President to require DHEW to come up with a feasible proposal.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on the Homemaker

November 24, 1975

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

To: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

From: *Martha Griffiths*
Martha Griffiths, Chair of the Committee on the
Homemaker

Subject: Amendment of the Gift and Estate and Inheritance
Tax Laws to Recognize Economic Contributions of
the Homemaker

The Committee on the Homemaker at its meeting on September 17, 1975, heard a presentation by Mr. Dale Collison, Office of Tax Policy, Department of Treasury, on gift and estate tax laws. After some discussion the Committee agreed to submit the following recommendation to the Commission:

The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year recommends that those provisions of the Internal Revenue Code relating to estate and gift taxes be amended to eliminate taxation on all transfers of property between husband and wife at death and on all gifts between a husband and wife during their lifetimes.

The Commission further recommends that State legislatures amend their tax laws to eliminate such laws that provide for inheritance or gift taxes in transfers between husband and wife.

Reasons for Recommendations

Federal estate and gift tax laws and State inheritance tax laws generally presume that the homemaker makes no economic contribution to the family.



For example, for Federal estate and gift tax purposes in a non-community property state, if a couple purchase a farm in joint name, the husband is treated as the owner of the entire property unless the wife has contributed money towards its purchase or improvement. If the wife is the first to die, the property will always pass to the husband free of estate taxes. If the husband is the first to die, the farm passes to the wife free of estate taxes only to the extent that its value does not exceed the marital deduction (equal to one-half of the estate) plus the \$60,000 exemption. Another aspect of this inequality is that if the husband dies first, estate tax is paid on the property not only with the transfer to the wife, but also a second time when the wife dies and wills it to the children. Estate tax laws have become an important issue in agricultural states, as widows frequently are forced to sell a portion of the farm in order to pay estate taxes.

In a community property state, under the same circumstances, each spouse is generally treated as owner of a one-half interest in the property acquired during the marriage. And, the estate tax consequences are basically the same for the husband or the wife, regardless of who is the first to die.

The Committee on the Homemaker is committed to the proposition that what a homemaker contributes has economic value and that the estate and gift tax should reflect this proposition. To eliminate the inequality in non-community property states regarding Federal estate and gift taxes, one could either recommend that marital property be assumed to be owned half and half for purposes of estate and gift taxes, or that taxes on transfers of property between husband and wife be eliminated entirely.

One of the basic purposes of estate and inheritance taxes is to prevent transfers of undue wealth between generations,^{1/} and this purpose obviously is not served by taxing transfers between husband and wife. Gift taxes which were introduced as a stop-gap measure in order to prevent, as far as possible, the evasion of the estate tax ^{2/} are merely an extension of this inequity and should be similarly amended.

The Committee on the Homemaker, therefore, is advocating elimination of the estate and gift taxes on transfers between husband and wife.

^{1/} S. Rep. No. 558, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess. 1, 7 (1934).

^{2/} H.R. Rep. No. 1681, 74th Cong., 1st Sess. 2 (1935).

STATEMENT BY
THE REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM COMMITTEE.

As it is our belief that the moral decisions relating to reproduction are rightfully the responsibility of individual women and that every woman, regardless of her economic circumstances, education, race or ethnic origin, age, rural or metropolitan residence, is entitled as a basic human right to have readily available the means of controlling reproduction, the National Commission on the Observance of International

Women's Year:

- supports the series of Supreme Court decisions guaranteeing reproductive freedom to women¹;
- urges all branches of Federal, state and local governments to give the highest priority to compliance with these Supreme Court decisions and to making available all methods of family planning to women unable to take advantage of private facilities;
- condemns any interference, open or subtle, with a woman's right to control her reproduction;
- urges organizations concerned with improving the status of women to monitor government compliance with these principles.

Our specific recommendations follow.

1. Griswold v. Conn. 381 U.S. 479, 85 S.Ct. 1678, 14 L.Ed.2d 510.
Eisenstadt v. Baird 405 U.S. 438, 92 S.Ct. 1029, 31 L.Ed.2d 147.
Roe v. Wade 410 U.S. 113, 93 S.Ct. 756, 35 L.Ed.2d 147.
Doe V. Bolton 410 U.S. 179, 93 S.Ct. 739 35 L.Ed. 2d. 201.



STATEMENT BY
THE REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM COMMITTEE

MEMO: TO COMMISSION MEMBERS

FROM: GERRIDEE WHEELER

THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM COMMITTEE ARE INCLUDED IN THE BODY OF EACH TEXT. IN THIS WAY, EXPLANATORY MATERIAL LEADS UP TO EACH RECOMMENDATION, AND EXPLAINS EACH ONE. AS OUR RECOMMENDATIONS TEND TO BE VERY SPECIFIC, WE DECIDED THAT THIS FORMAT WOULD BE HELPFUL. THE RECOMMENDATIONS THEMSELVES ARE IN CAPITAL LETTERS, UNDERLINED. IN OUR FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES PAPER, YOU WILL FIND THREE SEPARATE RECOMMENDATIONS. IN THE PAPER DEALING WITH ABORTION SERVICES, THERE ARE FIVE. THANK YOU.

GERRIDEE WHEELER,
CHAIR, REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM
COMMITTEE

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

COMMITTEE ON REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

November 17, 1975

TO: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

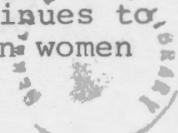
FROM: Gerridee Wheeler, Chair of the Reproductive Freedom
Committee, Elizabeth Athanasakos and Birch Bayh, Co-
Chairs of the Enforcement of Laws Committee.

Gerridee Wheeler Elizabeth Athanasakos Birch Bayh
SUBJECT: Recommendations concerning family planning services

The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975, affirms the fundamental right of all individuals to the information and means necessary to voluntarily and freely control the number and spacing of their children. We concur with and heartily endorse those statements in the World Plan of Action adopted in Mexico City which acknowledge that "the exercise of this right is basic to the attainment of any real equality between the sexes, and without it women are disadvantaged in their attempt to benefit from other reforms." It is our recognition of this fact, and of the fact that access to such means and information necessary for voluntary fertility control are not now universally available to all individuals in the United States, that forms the basis of our recommendations concerning family planning services.

The health consequences of unwanted and mistimed childbearing have been amply demonstrated, and they are especially serious for the young and the poor for whom pregnancy is inherently more risky, as well as for their children whose chances of birth defects, mental retardation, and other long term handicapping conditions are greatest.¹ At the same time, the health and social benefits of family planning have been convincingly shown, and in fact, recent research now indicates that the timing and spacing of births, and the number of children born into a family are probably the most influential determinants of maternal, infant and even long term family health.²

A substantial number of births to American women are still "unwanted" or "mistimed" and the rate of unwanted fertility, despite recent advances is still widely disproportionate among the various age, social and economic groups in the nation.³ While the United States fertility rate⁴ has declined in recent years to record lows, the actual number of births continues to rise due to a marked increase in the number of American women of childbearing age.⁵



The provision of voluntary family planning services to all those who want and need them has been the official, stated goal of the United States Government since 1971.⁶ That goal was to have been reached by this year⁷ but current realities belie our government's good intentions. Nearly forty per cent of low and moderate income women, some three and one-half million across the country, are still without access to services⁸, and those services which do exist are unevenly distributed. Almost three-fourths of low income women from large metropolitan areas have access to birth control services, but less than half of those living in rural areas and small towns do.

PROJECT GRANTS FOR FAMILY PLANNING

The bulk of Federal support for family planning services is in the form of project grant funds under Title X of the Public Health Service Act. Title X projects offer to the poor and near-poor the full range of family planning services including contraception, sterilization, and infertility services on a voluntary, confidential and non-coercive basis. Significantly they are also in many cases virtually the only source of preventive health care for low and marginal income American women, offering such services as blood-pressure testing, cancer screening, venereal disease detection and many other routine diagnostic medical services.

Despite these facts -- as well as the fact that subsidized family planning services have been shown to save the government more than twice what it expends for them in the following year alone⁹ -- current Federal support for the nation's family planning effort is far below the level needed to accomplish its stated goals. The Reproductive Freedom Committee deplores the fact that current level of support for family planning project grants is only one-fourth that recommended for this year by the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future¹⁰, and that despite the demonstrated need, the Administration is now proposing a further cut of twenty-one per cent.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION REAFFIRM SUPPORT ON A LONG TERM AND CONTINUING BASIS FOR THE NATION'S FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM, ESPECIALLY UNDER TITLE X OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT, AND PROVIDE IT WITH THE RESOURCES NECESSARY TO ATTAIN ITS GOALS. AT A MINIMUM, THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THE CONGRESS IMMEDIATELY APPROPRIATE, AND THAT DHEW ALLOCATE THE FULL AMOUNT AUTHORIZED FOR THE TITLE X PROGRAM UNDER P.L. 94-96, THE HEALTH REVENUE SHARING AND HEALTH SERVICES ACT OF 1975.

THIRD PARTY REIMBURSEMENT FOR FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES

In addition to project grant awards under Title X, family planning services are supported by reimbursements under Title XIX (Medicaid) and Title XX (Social Services) of the Social Security

Act. Although authorizing legislation for both programs mandate the provision of family planning services to the poor, and each carries a preferential ninety per cent Federal matching rate, neither program has been maximally utilized for a variety of reasons. Medicaid utilization has been hampered by the fact that some states still will not certify clinics as Medicaid "vendors" (i.e. will not reimburse them at all) and other states reimburse clinics at rates unrealistically low in comparison to those offered private physicians and hospitals. DHEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS) which administers the Medicaid program at the Federal level, has offered states little direction or encouragement in this regard, thus negating the incentive of the preferential match to a considerable degree. The Title XX program, because of its higher family income ceiling and recently mandated planning process at the state level, offers the hope of expanded Federal support for family planning services¹¹, but current DHEW regulations again will have the practical effect of preventing maximum utilization. Most serious is the Federal requirement that all patients provide documentation of their income eligibility.¹² Because confidentiality, even within the family, is often central to the acceptance of family planning services, this requirement will have the practical effect of preventing many women from receiving services. This is especially true of those "minors who can be considered to be sexually active" specifically targeted in the legislation for special attention.¹³ Studies indicate that the cost of administering the income documentation requirement will be enormous and will require the discontinuation of many patients from the caseload.¹⁴ Furthermore, the requirement may, in fact, be illegal in that it could effectively prevent the Title XX program from doing what Congress mandated it to do: to offer and promptly provide family planning services to all eligible persons.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT STATE HEALTH AND WELFARE AGENCIES TAKE WHATEVER ACTION NECESSARY TO REMOVE EXISTING BARRIERS TO MAXIMUM UTILIZATION OF TITLE XIX (MEDICAID) AND TITLE XX (SOCIAL SERVICES) REIMBURSEMENTS FOR FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES. THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THE PRESIDENT DIRECT DHEW'S SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE (SRS) TO ISSUE REGULATIONS FORTHWITH PROVIDING THE STATES ALL POSSIBLE ENCOURAGEMENT AND ASSISTANCE TOWARD THIS END. THIS MUST INCLUDE THE ASSIGNMENT OF ADEQUATE STAFF FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROVIDING FEDERAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND PROGRAM MONITORING. FURTHER, THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THE DOCUMENTATION OF INCOME ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENT NOW MANDATED UNDER THE TITLE XX PROGRAM BE MODIFIED OR WAIVED. THIS COULD BE DONE EITHER BY ADMINISTRATIVE OR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, TO ENABLE VOLUNTARY FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES TO BE OFFERED AND ACCEPTED UNDER THAT PROGRAM ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS.



FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES FOR TEENAGERS

Despite some advances in recent years, teenagers' access to family planning services are still limited economically, socially and in some cases legally¹⁵. Yet research indicates that premarital sexual activity is not only becoming increasingly common, but also that it is beginning at increasingly younger ages.¹⁶

Currently, about one-third of reported, legal abortions -- perhaps 300,000 annually -- are performed on women under age twenty. At the same time, there were more than 600,000 births to teenagers in 1973, or one-fifth of all children born that year. Especially troublesome is the fact that the steady increase in the teenage birthrate over the last several years is attributable entirely to the youngest mothers: while birthrates for older teenagers have stabilized or dropped, those for adolescents ages fourteen to sixteen have risen dramatically.¹⁷ For example, the National Center for Health Statistics (DHEW) reports that in 1965 the number of registered live births to girls under the age of fifteen was 7,768. In 1975, the figure rose to 12,861.

The Reproductive Freedom Committee is deeply concerned about the consequences of adolescent pregnancy. The Committee acknowledges and respects the various moral and ethical perspectives on the subject of premarital and teenage sexual activity held by diverse individuals in this society, but we feel strongly that to prevent unwanted teenage childbearing and reduce abortion utilization, sexually active young people must be guaranteed ready access to voluntary family planning services and information on a confidential basis.

THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR RECOMMENDS THAT ALL FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES:

1. TAKE WHATEVER ACTION NECESSARY TO REMOVE EXISTING LEGAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BARRIERS TO FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES FOR TEENAGERS AND YOUNG ADULTS;
2. DEVELOP ADEQUATELY FINANCED PROGRAMS TO IMPLEMENT DELIVERY MECHANISMS APPROPRIATE AND SENSITIVE TO TEENAGERS AND YOUNG ADULTS. THESE MUST INCLUDE EDUCATION, COUNSELING AND FOLLOW-UP SERVICES AS WELL AS INFORMED CONSENT TO ANY CLINICAL CARE GIVEN;
3. ESTABLISH PROGRAMS TO INFORM ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS OF THE SERVICES AVAILABLE TO THEM WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THOSE SERVICES.
4. FURTHERMORE, THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THE STATES ESTABLISH PROGRAMS TO AGGRESSIVELY MONITOR THE FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES FOR TEENAGERS AND YOUNG ADULTS IN FEDERALLY FINANCED HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS SUCH AS MEDICAID, TITLE XX, THE EARLY AND PERIODIC SCREENING, DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT PROGRAMS (EPSDT), NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTERS, AND ALL FAMILY PLANNING PROJECTS.

- 1 Several recent studies have examined the health consequences of unwanted and mistimed childbearing, particularly among the very young. Among them are:
 - H.P. David, "Unwanted Pregnancies: Costs and Alternatives," Demographic and Social Aspects of Population Growth, The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972;
 - J.A. Menken, "Teenage Childbearing: Its Medical Aspects and Implication for the United States Population," Demographic and Social Aspects of Population Growth, The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972;
 - D. Nortman, "Parental Age as a Factor in Pregnancy Outcome and Child Development," Reports on Population/Family Planning, No. 16, August 1974.
- 2 E. Siegel and N.M. Morris, "Family Planning: Its Health Rationale," American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology, 118:995, 1974
- 3 According to the 1970 National Fertility Study conducted by the Office of Population Research at Princeton University, 15 per cent of American births are reported by their parents as not having been intended at all ("unwanted") and 29 per cent are reported as "mistimed." Unwanted fertility among blacks and the poor has dropped in recent years, but is still 27 per cent among blacks as opposed to 13 per cent among whites.
- 4 General fertility rate: number of births per 1000 women of childbearing age (15-44) As defined by Zero Population Growth, Inc.
- 5 The increase in the number of American women of childbearing age is a result of the post-World War II "baby boom" (1946-57), and may be expected to continue for some time. The National Center for Health Statistics of DHEW predicts a 12 per cent increase in the number of women in this age group by 1980.
- 6 For a brief history of the Federal government's policy with regard to family planning services, see Report (No. 94-192) by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce accompanying the Health Revenue Sharing and Health Services Act of 1975, now Public Law 94-63.
- 7 According to the first Five Year Plan for Family Planning Services, issued in October, 1971, as mandated by the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-572). For further information on the Five Year Plan, see House Report 94-192 cited above.
- 8 See above, number 7.



- 9 F.S. Jaffe, "Short-Term Costs and Benefits of United States Family Planning Programs," Studies in Family Planning, Vol. 5, No. 3; March 1974.
- 10 See Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, "Family Planning Services" (Chapter 11), March 1972:
- "The Commission recommends...providing additional authorizations to reach a federal funding level of \$225 million in fiscal year 1973, \$275 million in fiscal year 1975 and \$400 million thereafter."
- 11 Congress has repeatedly taken the initiative since 1967 to strengthen the provision of family planning services under the social services program (Titles IV-A, XX) of the Social Security Act. In addition to offering a preferential 90 per cent Federal matching rate, the Social Security Act now requires:
- 1) that family planning services, including medical services and supplies, be "offerèd" and "provided" to all eligible persons,
 - 2) that they be provided "promptly," and
 - 3) that they be provided to "minors who can be considered to be sexually active."
- 12 The final DHEW Title XX regulations, published June 27, 1975, state, as follows:
- §228.71 Determination of eligibility
- (d) The determination process. No determination shall be made solely on the basis of the application. Applications for services based on income maintenance status shall be supported by documentation or ascertained from the appropriate source of income maintenance benefit or payment. Applications based on income status shall be supported by documentation of significant current family monthly gross income as defined in §228.66.
- 13 Twenty-nine per cent of all patients now enrolled in organized family planning programs are under age 20, according to The Alan Guttmacher Institute's Data and Analyses for 1975 Revision of DHEW Five-Year Plan for Family Planning Services. Obviously, a considerable number are in Title XX programs, of which perhaps three out of four are not married. The family income which must be documented, therefore is largely their father's or mother's or both.
- 14 The University of Texas, which has over 40,000 patients enrolled and serves 25,000 each year, has estimated that the cost of administering the income documentation requirement will amount to \$625,400, or \$25 per patient per year, when the cost per patient per year of providing the actual services is only \$85. This will require, according to the Texas study, the discontinuation of 5600 patients from the caseload.

- 15 For existing legal barriers, see E.W. Paul, H.F. Pilpel, and N.F. Weschler, "Pregnancy, Teenagers and the Law, 1974" Family Planning Perspectives, Vol. 6, No. 3, Summer 1974.
- 16 J.F. Kantner and M. Zelnick, "Sexual Experience of Young Unmarried Women in the United States," Family Planning Perspectives, Vol. 4, No. 4, October 1972, and J.F. Kantner and M. Zelnick, "Contraception and Pregnancy: Experience of Young Unmarried Women in the United States," Family Planning Perspectives, Vol. 5, No. 1, Winter 1973. (These findings were substantiated by A.M. Vener and C.S. Stewart in their study, "Adolescent Sexual Behavior in Middle America Revisited: 1970-1973, Journal of Marriage and the Family, November 1974.)
- 17 National Center for Health Statistics (DHEW), Vital Statistics of the United States - Natality, 1965 through 1973.



NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

COMMITTEE ON REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION ON
DECEMBER 5, 1975

November 17, 1975

TO: Jill Ruckelshaus

FROM: Gerridee Wheeler, Chair of the Reproductive Freedom
Committee *Gerridee Wheeler*

SUBJECT: Recommendations concerning abortion services. *

While Committee members hold varying personal views on aspects of abortion and agree that abortion should not be considered a primary method of family planning, it is our unanimous opinion that abortion services must be available legally in hygienic medical facilities. The Committee was impressed by the following quote which thoughtfully expresses the moral, religious and deeply personal considerations the Committee recognized in discussing the issue of abortion.

"When talking about abortion, one must distinguish between the morality of action and the morality of a law about that action. The rightness or wrongness of an abortion, per se, is not the same as the rightness or wrongness of a law that would prohibit abortion altogether. One might believe that abortion is wrong, and at the same time, maintain that laws prohibiting abortion are also wrong, without being morally inconsistent."¹

Freedom to follow the dictates of human conscience, as well as the need for and right to privacy in the exercise of one's most personal civil rights formed the criteria upon which we based all of our recommendations. We feel that among a woman's most fundamental liberties are those pertaining to her reproductive health care. Furthermore, we recognize that during the 1960's, hundreds of thousands of women sought illegal abortions each year, often with the risk of death or severe physical and emotional complications. The public health benefit of legal as opposed to illegal abortion is most dramatic.² For these reasons we must remove abortion from the realm of criminal law, and affirm the right of women to make this decision in consultation with physicians and others with whom they choose to consult. It is in this spirit that we support the Supreme Court decisions of 1973.³

*Dissent by Rita Z. Johnston attached.

Gilda Gjurich abstained on all recommendations relating to abortion.



Constitutional amendment proposals and legislative measures designed to restrict the availability of abortion services have been introduced in Congress. The proposed measures are inconsistent with generally accepted interpretations of Constitutional law.⁴ According to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, this proposed legislation conflicts with:

1. The First Amendment which protects freedom of religion and speech. These measures would give governmental sanction to one set of moral and religious beliefs as to when life begins and would inhibit the free exercise of other views.
2. The Ninth Amendment which guarantees common law rights not enumerated in the Constitution. Proposed measures would abrogate these common law liberties guaranteed American women when the Bill of Rights was adopted and which cannot be disparaged or denied by the government.
3. The Fourteenth Amendment which guarantees equal protection to financially disadvantaged women among whom racial and ethnic minority women are disproportionately represented. In addition, to prohibit abortion would infringe upon one's right to privacy which is protected by this amendment and which has been interpreted to include a woman's right to abortion.

WHILE COMMISSION MEMBERS HOLD VARYING PERSONAL VIEWS ON ASPECTS OF ABORTION, THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR URGES THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS TO REJECT ALL CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PROPOSALS AND OTHER FEDERAL LEGISLATION THAT WOULD DENY OR LIMIT THE OPTION OF LEGAL ABORTION SERVICES.

The Reproductive Freedom Committee recognizes the significance of the Defense Department announcement of September 17, 1975⁵ which requires military establishments to provide abortion services in compliance with the Supreme Court ruling rather than with state law and local practice. This regulation, which replaces an obsolete 1971 Presidential Order, recognizes that state legislatures have passed laws in recent years that are not in compliance with Federal law.

THE COMMISSION CALLS UPON ALL OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES TO FOLLOW THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT PRECEDENT BY INSURING THAT LEGAL ABORTION SERVICES ARE PROVIDED IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE 1973 SUPREME COURT DECISIONS.

A recent study documents the unequal geographic distribution of abortion services throughout the country.⁶ Such inequities primarily affect rural and poor women. The Center for Disease Control in its May 1975 Abortion Surveillance Report concludes,

"The data (1973) indicate that at least among medically indigent groups, legal abortion may not be used exclusively as a replacement for illegal abortion and that the availability of legal abortion must be very broad indeed to undercut the use of criminal means."

This unfortunate maldistribution of service is due to several things. State laws are often more restrictive than the Supreme Court decisions.⁷ In addition, some states have passed laws which require spousal or parental consent, most of which have been declared unconstitutional by federal courts. Other states have imposed medical performance requirements not consistent with Federal law as defined in Roe v. Wade.

THE COMMISSION URGES ALL STATE GOVERNMENTS TO BRING THEIR ABORTION LAWS INTO COMPLIANCE WITH SUPREME COURT DECISIONS.

Another reason for the woeful maldistribution of services is the difficulty of providing indigent women with the same options as more affluent women. In order that financially disadvantaged women have access to medically safe, legal abortion services, federal programs should provide payment for maternity care and also reimburse for pregnancy termination. Federal courts, in considering the constitutionality of state Medicaid plans, have, to date, ruled that states must provide Medicaid reimbursement for abortion services if they do so for other pregnancy related services.

THE COMMISSION URGES THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES TO FULFILL THEIR OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE ABORTION SERVICES UNDER TITLE XIX (MEDICAID) OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.

An additional major obstacle to the comprehensive provision of abortion services is that only fifteen per cent of public hospitals (and twenty-eight per cent of private hospitals) provided abortion services during 1973 and the first quarter of 1974, even though state and federal courts ruled that public hospitals have a legal obligation to provide them.⁸ Also, some states and public health institutions have enacted "conscience clauses" which enable hospitals to deny abortions to their patients if the performance of abortion violates the conscience of that institution. Such a provision invests with moral conscience institutions with no religious affiliation and can result in non-availability of services, which, under Federal law, must be provided.

THE COMMISSION CALLS UPON THE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS TO REQUIRE ALL HEALTH INSTITUTIONS RECEIVING TAX-GENERATED REVENUE, TO OFFER COMPREHENSIVE PROBLEM PREGNANCY SERVICES, INCLUDING ABORTION, APPROPRIATE COUNSELING AND REFERRAL.



FOOTNOTES AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- 1 Elizabeth Hanes Main, "Options", published by the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1975.
- 2 The National Academy of Sciences issued a study, Legalized Abortion and the Public Health (May 1975) which documents the sharp decline in the total number of deaths related to abortion after the 1973 decisions.

"Risks of maternal death associated with legal abortion are low -- 1.7 deaths per 100,000 first trimester procedures in 1972 and 1973 -- and less than the risks associated with illegal abortion, full-term pregnancy and most surgical procedures. The 1973 mortality rate for full term pregnancy was fourteen deaths per 100,000 live vaginal deliveries..For second trimester abortions, the combined 1972-1973 mortality ratio was 12.2 deaths per 100,000 abortions. "

Regarding the psychological effects of abortion, the report says,

"While abortion may elicit feelings of guilt, regret or loss in some women, these reactions tend to be temporary and appear to be outweighed by positive life changes and feelings of relief."

- 3 In 1973 the United States Supreme Court ruled in Roe v. Wade 410 U.S. 113 (1973), that within defined limitations, the states have a legitimate interest in protecting the life and health of the pregnant woman as well as the potentiality of human life.

"1. for the stage prior to approximately the end of the first trimester, the abortion decision and its effectuation must be left to the medical judgement of the pregnant woman's physician.

2. for the stage subsequent to approximately the end of the first trimester, the State, in promoting its interest in the health of the mother, may, if it chooses, regulate the abortion procedure in ways that are reasonably related to maternal health.

3. for the stage subsequent to viability, the State, in promoting its interest in the potentiality of human life, may if it chooses, regulate, and even proscribe, abortion except where necessary, in appropriate medical judgement, for the preservation of the life or health of the mother."

In a companion decision, the High Court ruled in Doe v. Bolton



that the Georgia abortion law was unconstitutional and had procedural limitations which violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The procedural requirements that were declared unconstitutional are:

- abortions must be performed in an accredited hospital,
- the procedure had to be approved by a hospital committee,
- the performing physician's judgement had to be confirmed by independent examinations by two other physicians.

In addition, it was ruled that a residence requirement violated the Privileges and Immunities Clause by denying protection to persons who enter Georgia for medical services.

4 A well documented study conducted by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Constitutional Aspects of the Rights to Limit Childbearing (April, 1975) clearly demonstrates the unconstitutional nature of the proposed constitutional amendments. In conclusion, the Commission recommends:

"1. Congress should reject constitutional amendments which seek to abolish the historic freedom to limit childbearing as contained in the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment and as recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States.

1. Congress should reject anti-abortion legislation and amendments, and repeal those which have been enacted, which undermine the constitutional right to limit childbearing.

3. Since low income persons have no other access to legal assistance in attempts to vindicate their rights, Congress should amend the Legal Services Act to permit legal services attorneys to bring abortion related cases for their clients."

5 Clarification of Defense Department policy regarding abortions in military facilities is as follows. The Department of Defense has been restricted in its provision of services by a 1971 Presidential Order requiring Military Departments to provide abortion services in states only where such procedures are legal. In a memorandum released on September 17, 1975, the Department has updated its policy to recognize the 1973 Supreme Court decisions.

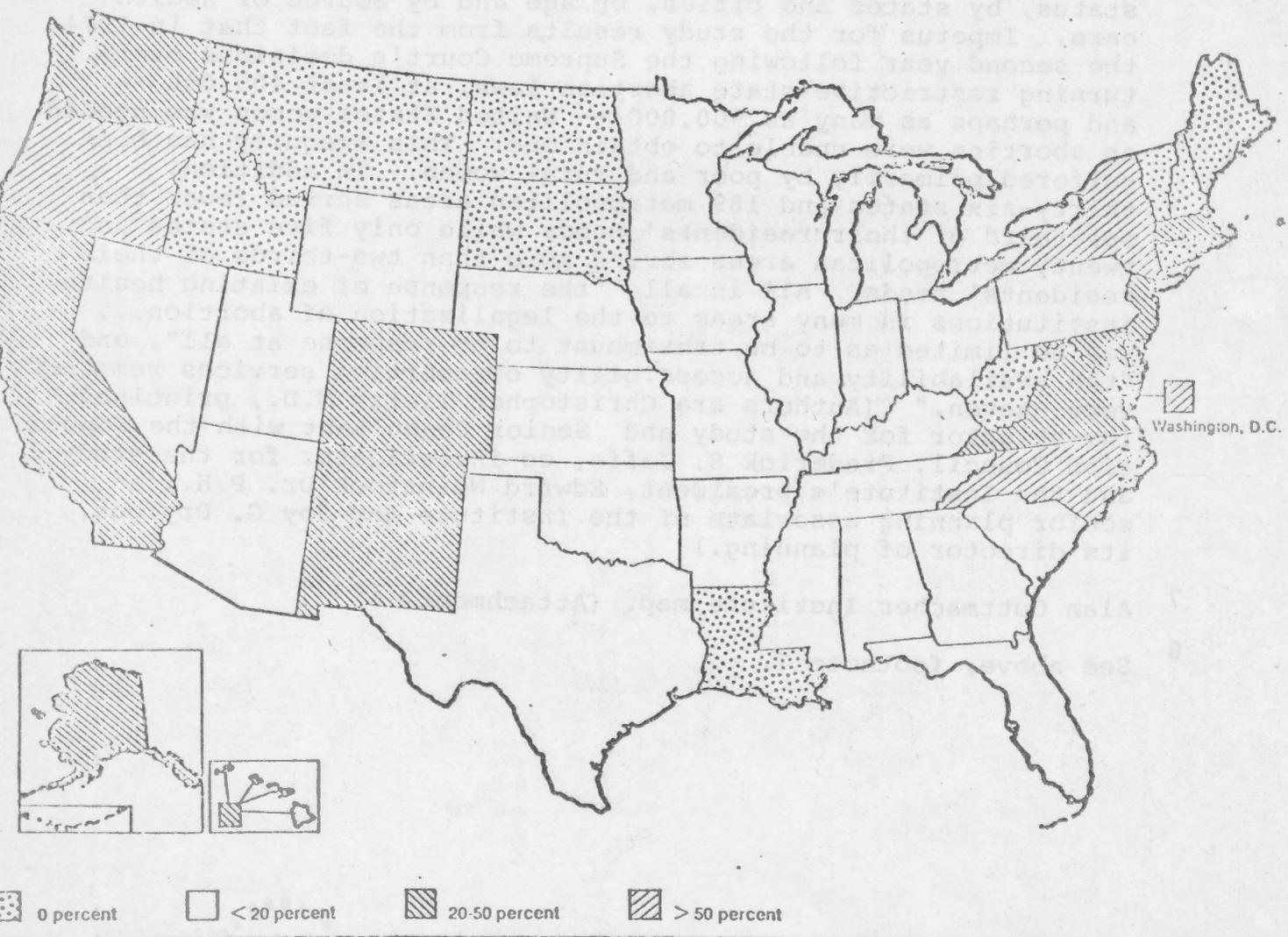
"It has recently come to the Department's attention that some military medical facilities continue to abide by the requirements of state statutes which fail to meet the foregoing Constitutional test (Supreme Court decisions)...It is not necessary to await a court decision invalidating a state statute which is clearly inconsistent with the principles enunciated by the Supreme Court."

- 6 This study, prepared by the Alan Guttmacher Institute, research and development branch of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, was released in October, 1975 and is a comprehensive study of nationwide abortion needs and services. The survey focuses on abortion need and analyzes unmet needs by economic status, by states and cities, by age and by source of health care. Impetus for the study results from the fact that in 1974, the second year following the Supreme Court's decisions overturning restrictive state abortion laws, at least 400,000 -- and perhaps as many as 900,000 -- United States women who needed an abortion were unable to obtain one. This inequity has been suffered primarily by poor and rural women. In addition, thirty-six states and 189 metropolitan areas served fewer than one-third of their residents' needs while only five states and twenty metropolitan areas served more than two-thirds of their residents' needs. All in all, "the response of existing health institutions in many areas to the legalization of abortion... was so limited as to be tantamount to no response at all", and "the availability and accessibility of abortion services remained very uneven." (Authors are Christopher Tietze M.D., principal investigator for the study and Senior Consultant with the Population Council, Frederick S. Jaffe, co-investigator for the study and the Institute's president, Edward Weinstock Dr. P.H., a senior planning associate of the Institute and Joy G. Dryfoos, its director of planning.)
- 7 Alan Guttmacher Institute map. (Attachment A)
- 8 See above, footnote 7.



ATTACHMENT A

Figure 6. Percent of public hospitals providing abortion services by state, first quarter 1973-first quarter 1974



NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

December 18, 1975

To: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

From: *Rita Z. Johnston*
Rita Z. Johnston, Commission Member

Subject: Minority opinion on recommendations concerning
abortion

The majority of the National Commission members present at the 12/5/75 meeting adopted four recommendations concerning abortion. While I appreciate the thoughtful expressions of concern for personal consideration which prefaced the recommendations, I find that I must disagree with each of the four recommendations.

Certain precepts based on the study of the United States Commission on Civil Rights are presented as arguments for opposing constitutional amendments and legislative measures designed to restrict the availability of abortion services. I disagree with these statements in that they fail to recognize that there is a moral basis for most of law.

1. I submit that the supposition proposed in statement #1 is erroneous in that it claims that only "one set of moral and religious beliefs as to when life begins and would inhibit the free exercise of other views." This statement presumes that dissension on the abortion issue is limited to one religious group while the fact is that pro-life supporters come from both those who hold various religious persuasions and many who do not. There are opposing views in the scientific and medical community as well.

2. Common law rights referred to in this statement do not include the right to deny life to another human being. Abortion not only damages another's life, it destroys it. Abortion forfeits the very basic right to life from which all other rights proceed. Without question, it is a moral issue -- both personal and public.



3. Commenting on the third argument, I would say there is great concern among the ethnic minority women whose right to abortion is asked for by the committee that the abortion proponents are in fact proponents of ethnic genocide.

The so called "right to privacy" which has been interpreted to include a woman's right to abortion in fact gives her license to take the life of a human individual. Most abortions are performed for social reasons, convenience, or economic concerns -- reasons which may call for alleviation by other measures, but which are not grave enough to forfeit a child's life. Those other measures should be a major concern of public and private support.

There are those who argue that nothing can be human life that cannot exist independently. Life is an interdependent phenomenon for us all. It is a continuous spectrum that begins in utero and ends at death.

We must face the fact that human life is being taken. And since the vast majority of pregnancies are carried successfully to term, abortion must be seen as the interruption of a process that would otherwise have produced a citizen of the world. Denial of this reality is the crassest kind of moral evasiveness.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE
OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR, 1975

Committee on International Conventions

APPROVED BY THE
COMMISSION BY
LETTER OCTOBER 1975

October 16, 1975

To: Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer

From: *Charles H. Percy*
Senator Charles H. Percy, Chairman, International
Conventions Committee

Subject: Ratification of International Conventions Concerning
Women

The Committee on International Conventions submits for
the consideration of the Commission the following recom-
mendation with supporting background material:

The National Commission on the Observance of
International Women's Year urges the ratifica-
tion during 1975, International Women's Year, of
the Convention on the Political Rights of Women
and the Inter-American Convention on the Grant-
ing of Political Rights to Women.

We believe the failure of the United States to
ratify these international conventions concerning
women's rights contravenes the spirit of our
Constitution and discredits the strength of
our national commitment to equal rights and
opportunities for all.

Since the United States is already legally bound
by our Constitution and statutes to all the major
human rights commitments included in these con-
ventions concerning women's rights, we propose
that it is in the best interest of this country
to ratify these conventions as a reaffirmation
of our recognition of and support for minimum
universal standards guaranteeing dignity to half
the human race.



As a major commitment to the observance of International Women's Year, we pledge to do all in our capacity to carry forward the recommendation of the International Women's Year World Plan of Action that every effort be made by Governments which have not already done so to ratify these existing international instruments relating to women's rights during the year. We urge concerned individuals and organizations to lend their support to this effort.

Discussion:

The U.S. record on ratification of international women's rights conventions is poor. Of seven conventions relating to women's rights approved by international bodies, the U.S. has ratified only one (see attached chart).

Major U.S. Objections to Ratification of Human Rights Conventions and Response

Objection: Under the Constitution, the issue of human rights is not a proper subject for the exercise of the treaty-making power.

Response: The Constitution does not express any specific limitations of the treaty-making power. The power, however, is not unrestricted. The Supreme Court ruled in *Geofroy v. Riggs*, 133 U.S. 258, 267 (1890):

It would not be contended that it (the treaty-making power) extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the government or in that of one of the states, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter, without its consent. *** But with these exceptions, it is not perceived that there is any limit to the questions which can be adjusted touching on any matter which is properly the subject of negotiations with a foreign country.

It would be difficult to interpret any of the international women's rights conventions as requiring anything which may contravene an express prohibition of the Constitution or which may change the character of our government. In cases where a particular convention includes a provision which may be incompatible with our constitutional requirements or

government policy, it is possible to ratify the convention with a reservation or an understanding which would exclude, modify, or nullify the effect of that specific provision.

Objection: Human rights essentially fall within domestic jurisdiction and, therefore, are not a proper subject of negotiations with a foreign country.

Response: Concern for human rights has been a traditional American principle and a major feature of our foreign policy. Throughout our history the U.S. has intervened in behalf of oppressed religious and ethnic minorities in other lands. The U.S. has also been party to international treaties dealing with human rights. In the 19th century the U.S. was a party to numerous treaties regulating the slave trade. The Hoover administration ratified the League of Nations Convention on Slavery. The Roosevelt administration ratified a convention on the nationality of women. Further, the U.S. ratified the UN Charter which has as one of its central concerns the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. More recently, in 1967, the U.S. ratified the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery.

Objection: Ratification of human rights conventions would move into the Federal domain certain subjects hitherto reserved for State jurisdiction.

Response: The treaty-making power is not circumscribed by the provisions of the Tenth Amendment which make a general reservation of power to the States. In *Missouri v. Holland*, 252 U.S. 416 (1920), the Supreme Court decided that the Constitution authorizes Congress to pass legislation in implementation of valid treaty commitments on certain matters otherwise reserved to the States.

Objection: U.S. citizens already enjoy the rights guaranteed by international human rights conventions. The U.S., therefore, has no need to ratify such conventions.

Response: Although international human rights conventions generally specify standards already observed in the U.S., the U.S. has an interest in seeing that they are observed by as many countries as possible. The U.S. cannot effectively urge other countries to adhere to such conventions without doing so itself. The U.S. would be in a stronger position to exert its influence in promoting the goals of human rights in the world community if the U.S. ratified international human rights conventions.



Why the U.S. Should Ratify International Women's Rights Conventions:

The basic rights guaranteed by the international women's rights conventions are often taken for granted in the U.S., but they are not taken for granted everywhere. In fact, they are very much at issue in many countries of the world. By ratifying these conventions, the U.S. can help give international effect to fundamental rights which U.S. women enjoy. Ratification will also put the U.S. in a better legal and moral position to protest infringement of these rights in countries that may have ratified the conventions but failed to implement them in practice. Further, ratification will increase U.S. influence in the continuing international process of setting legal standards in the field of women's rights. As long as the U.S. fails to ratify international women's rights conventions, its views on this issue will carry less weight than they deserve.

The report of the President's Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the UN put it effectively and succinctly:

"The United States would be in a far stronger position to play its historic role as champion of international rights and take a leading part in consideration of alleged violations of international standards if it ratified the instruments it has helped to develop."

STATUS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTIONS IN RELATION TO U.S. RATIFICATION

<u>Title</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Signed</u>	<u>Transmitted to Senate</u>	<u>Hearings</u>	<u>Current Status-U.S.</u>	<u>Current Status-Global</u>
<u>Nationality of Women</u>	Inter-Amer. Conf. 1933	Dec. 26, 1933	May 12, 1934 by President Roosevelt		Ratified with reserv. June 30, 1934	
<u>Political Rights of Women (IA)</u>	OAS 1948	May 2, 1948	Jan. 13, 1949 by President Truman		Pending in Foreign Relations Committee	16 OAS States (ratified or acceded to)
<u>Civil Rights of Women (IA)</u>	OAS 1948	May 2, 1948				15 OAS States (ratified or acceded to)
<u>Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of others</u>	U.N. 1950					in force July 25, 1951 (42 countries now adhere)
<u>Political Rights of Women (UN)</u>	U.N. 1952		July 22, 1963 by President Kennedy	1967	Pending in Foreign Relations Committee	in force July 7, 1958 (79 countries now adhere)
<u>Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages</u>	U.N. 1962	Dec. 10, 1962				in force Dec. 9, 1964 (29 countries now adhere)
<u>Nationality of Married Women</u>	U.N. 1957					in force Aug. 11, 1958 (51 countries now adhere)



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Who made
these suggestions?
B.C.H.

Mrs. Ford -

Attached is a list
of people being
recommended for the
Commission. Some
of the suggestions
are good but, on the
whole, I'm not
impressed. What do
you think?

Shirley

REARU
YOND LIBRARY

✓ ARMSTRONG, Anne Legendre
(R)

DOB 1927. Residence: Texas
Ex-White House Counselor; Republican
National Committeewoman; Businesswoman

✓ ATHANASAKOS, Elizabeth
(R)

DOB not available. Residence: Florida
Ex-municipal judge; active in politics,
voluntary and community activities,
women's affairs.

BOERSMA, P. Dee
(R)

DOB 1946. Residence: Washington
Research Associate, Zoology, Ohio State
University; active in women's affairs.

✓ CAMACHO, Ruth Waldman
(Spanish Surname)

DOB not available. Residence: Maryland
Physician; businesswoman (Vice President
Machro Systems, Inc.); active in social
welfare programs; representative of World
Health Organization/Pan American Health
Organization at international conferences.

COOK, Marlow Webster
(R)

DOB 1926. Residence: Kentucky
Ex-U.S. Senator; co-sponsor of Equal
Rights Amendment

✓ CUNNINGHAM, Evelyn
(R)
(Black)

DOB not available. Residence: New York
Special Assistant to Governor of New York
and Director, Women's Unit, Governor's
Office. Chairperson of U.S. Delegation and
President of 16th Assembly of the IACW.

DUNN, Winfield
(R)

DOB 1927. Residence: Tennessee
Former Governor of Tennessee. Formerly
dentist.

EISENHOWER, Julie Nixon
(R)

Journalist, daughter of former President
and Mrs. Nixon.

FRASER, Arvonne
(D)

DOB not available. Residence: Minnesota
Ex-President Women's Equity Action League;
Advisor to U.S. Delegation to U.N. Commission
on Status of Women; President of consulting
firm "Advise and Consult"; wife of U.S.
Representative Donald M. Fraser.

GELB, Richard Lee

DOB 1924. Residence: New York
President of Bristol Meyers; active in
voluntary and community activities.



✓ GRASSO, Ella T.
(D)

DOB 1919. Residence: Connecticut
Governor-elect, State of Connecticut
(first woman to be elected to a governor-
ship); ex-U.S. Congresswoman; educator;
active in women's affairs, volunteer and
community activities.

✓ GRIFFITHS, Martha
(D)

DOB not available. Residence: Michigan
Ex-Congresswoman; lawyer; well known for
interests in, support for, and intro-
duction of legislation in the fields of
health, education, welfare, and women's
rights, including the Equal Rights
Amendment.

HARRIS, Patricia R.
(D)
(Black)

DOB 1924. Residence: Washington, D. C.
Lawyer, educator. Former Ambassador to
Luxembourg; active in community relations
civil liberties and women's rights.

✓ HERNANDEZ, Aileen C.
(Spanish surname)

DOB not available. Residence: California
Ex-Commissioner, U.S. Equal Employment
Opportunity Commission. Active in labor,
minority and political affairs.

HERSHEY, Lenore

DOB 1920. Residence: New York
Managing Editor and Executive Editor,
Ladies Home Journal.

HORNER, Matina S.

DOB 1939. Residence: Massachusetts
President and Dean of Radcliffe.

✓ HUTAR, Patricia
(R)

DOB 1926. Residence: Illinois.
U.S. Representative to the Commission on
Status of Women of Economic and Social
Council.

✓ JOHNSTON, Rita Z.
(R)

DOB not available. Residence: Maryland
U.S. Delegate and Vice Chairman, Inter-
American Commission of Women. Member of
Advisory Committee to U.S. Center for
International Women's Year and consultant
on finance to the Center.

✓ KING, Billie Jean
(R)

DOB 1943. Residence: California
Sportswoman. Born in Hawaii.

LAWRENCE, Mary Wells

DOB 1928. Residence: New York/Texas
Chairman of the Board of Wells, Riche, Greene,
Inc. (advertising), New York City.



McLEMORE, Eugene L.
(R)
(Black)

DOB 1942. Residence: Mississippi.
Lawyer. Active in Republican Party of
Mississippi. Executive Director of
Mississippi Health and Economic Devel-
opment Foundation.

MOESEL, Rodd
(R)

DOB 1954. REsidence: Oklahoma
Youth leader. Active in community
activities and Republican Party activities.

REDDY, Helen

DOB 1944. Residence: California
Singer/Entertainer. Wrote and sang
"I Am a Woman".

✓ RUCKELSHAUS, Jill
(R)

DOB 1937. Residence: Indiana
Ex-White House Consultant on women's
affairs.

✓ THOMAS, Helen A.

DOB 1920. Residence: Kentucky
Journalist -- U.P. International

THOMAS, Marlo

DOB not available. Residence: California
Actress. Supporter of women's movement

✓ WAUNEKA, Annie Dodge
(Indian)

DOB not known. Residence: Arizona
First woman elected to 74 member Navajo
Tribal Council. Active in tribal health
education.

WEDEL, Cynthia

DOB 1908. Residence: Michigan
Psychologist. Former Member of President's
Commission on Status of Women; active in
women's activities and church affairs.

WHITMAN, Marina V.
(R)

DOB 1935. Residence: Pennsylvania
Educator. First woman appointed to
Council of Economic Advisers.

✓ WOODCOCK, Leonard
(D)

DOB 1911. Residence: Michigan
President, United Auto Workers



Mr. Parker Vice President of Bennington. Works for his wife, Dr. Parker, who is President of Bennington.

Antonia Brico Conductor of Denver Symphony Orchestra

Katherine Hepburn Actress

Hanna Gray Vice President of Harvard. Will probably become President of the University of Chicago.

Jean Spencer Head of the college system in Maryland.

Kit Bond Governor of Missouri. Leading exponent of the ERA (Missouri is a critical state)

Casy Eike Represents young people

Mr. Miller Vice Chancellor of UCLA

Libby Coonz Formerly director of women's bureau at the Dept. of Labor. From North Carolina.

Richard Cornell Executive Director of National Association of Manufacturers. Leader in business community for greater participation of women in business affairs.

Sylvia Roberts Lawyer. Chairman of the American Bar Association. Her recognized field is equal rights.

Barbara Walters



Gerald Brauer Minister. Formerly with the Theology Seminary in Chicago.

Sister Joel Read President of Alverno College. One of the leading nuns in this movement

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Cunningham or Poston Both blacks. Cunningham was Director of Womens Union for the governor of N.Y. Poston is Chairman of the Civil Service Commission for N.Y.



N.H.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MRS.. FORD
FROM: PAT LINDH *PL*
SUBJECT: National Commission for International Women's Year

The advantages of your serving as Chairperson of the National Commission for International Women's Year are numerous. Some of the most compelling reasons are as follows:

1. Your personal commitment to equality of women's rights and responsibilities is recognized and acclaimed.
2. Your stature would elevate the work of the Commission to priority consideration on the national agenda.
3. Your unique position in American life assures maximum interest and response on the part of the American people.
4. Your participation will communicate to the nations of the world U.S. leadership and commitment to equality of men and women as set forth in the United Nations Charter more than a quarter of a century ago.
5. Your leadership will capture the imagination of women and men from all sectors of our society.
6. The First Lady "makes" news and your visibility as Chairperson would open up media channels that would help inform the American people as to what remains to be accomplished to achieve equal rights and responsibilities for women.
7. Your personal commitment of time, energy and talent would underscore the importance of utilizing the potentialities of women for the continuing development of the nation and the cause of peace in the world.

While stating the reasons why your leadership as Chairperson of the Commission would contribute so significantly to the year, we recognize that you have heavy responsibilities and other duties to which you must give attention.



Therefore, it would seem advisable to structure the National Commission in such a manner as to allow for your maximum participation but to provide for an Executive Vice Chairperson to take responsibility for procedural matters during Commission meetings and to be available to chair the meetings in the event of your absence. The Vice Chairpersons of the three major subcommittees encompassing the theme of International Women's Year: Equality, Development, and Peace, could be called upon to chair segments of the meeting pertaining to their subject area. A parliamentarian versed in Commission rules and procedures should be present at all sessions to advise the Chairperson.

It should be kept in mind that in addition to the 35 members of the Commission, under Federal Advisory Committee Act regulations, the public can attend all plenary and subcommittee sessions of the Commission. Meetings will be crowded and sessions could run long. Thus, the sharing of responsibilities can be of benefit in conducting the business of the Commission without overburdening any one individual.

The Executive Vice Chairperson could serve the additional function of coordinating activities of the Commission with the Secretariat located in the Department of State which would relieve the Chairperson of this administrative task.

Other activities and events that you may wish to participate in during the year are as follows:

1. Celebration of birthday of Susan B. Anthony on February 15, 1975, at Seneca Falls, New York, site of the first Women's Rights Convention held in 1848. The concept for a celebration ceremony on this day was suggested originally by Representative Margaret Heckler. The idea behind this event is not only to tie in with International Women's Year but also to give impetus for final ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.
2. Other states where ERA ratification is pending and action is expected soon:

Missouri -- Middle of February
Oklahoma -- End of January
North Dakota -- Second week of February
Indiana -- First week of February

Consideration should be given to special events for International Women's Year celebrations and programs by women's and men's organizations in major media centers within these states or in state capitols.



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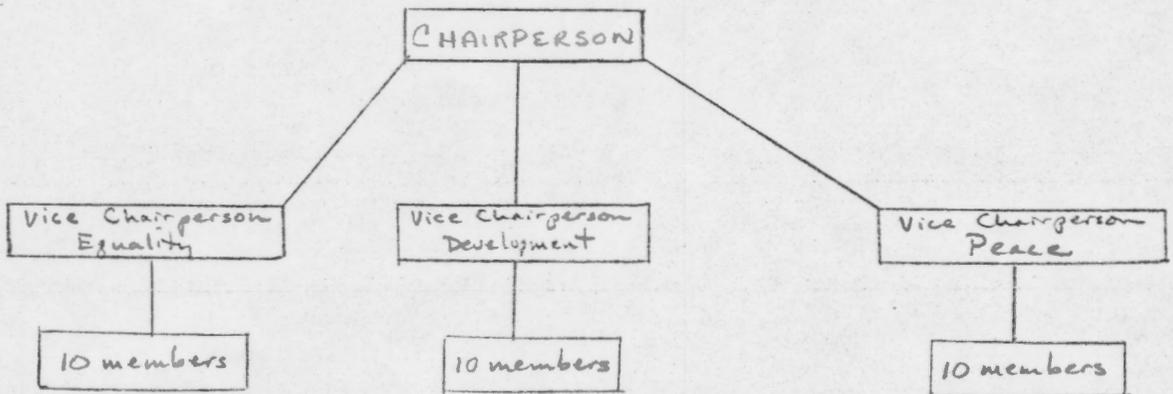
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IWY STRUCTURE AND TASK FORCES



TASK FORCES

- I. EQUALITY - to promote equality between men and women.
 - A. Chairperson will ask for each agency's plan for IWY including its objectives, program implementation, priorities, and timetables for accomplishment.
 - B. Vice-Chairperson, with staff, will review each plan and call various agencies in to meet with the Task Force members to discuss the plans including any omission of issues of concern to women in this area of equality.
 - C. Task Force will continue to monitor with periodic reviews of objectives. (MBO)
 - D. State Department experts will prepare a summary for the Task Force on international conventions - ratified or not and why,



on declarations and recommendations relating to the rights and responsibilities of women and progress to date on implementation - why and why not. These include, but are not limited to, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Declaration on Social Progress and Development Decade, and the programme of concerted international action for the advancement of women.

- E. Recommendations should include those areas not addressed by agencies or addressed in an unsatisfactory manner and should be done immediately upon review. Final recommendations could include those items not covered during the year or those items promised by agencies for a later date, like the Bicentennial. Recommendations should also be made on whether or not to ratify conventions. An update on the recommendations and their implementation



from declarations and meetings should be a part of the report of this Task Force, as this is also an agenda item for the International Conference.

II. DEVELOPMENT - to ensure the full participation of women in all aspects of national and international life.

- A. Task Force will inventory U.S. initiatives for improving the status of women in developing countries - Percy Amendment and other bills including those relating to family planning. (AID)
- B. Task Force will inventory U.S. initiatives for improving the status of women in rural life in the U.S. - training, education, health care and social services. (HEW and Agriculture)
- C. Task Force will study the impact of U.S. women in the overall development and advancement of our country including the government sector as well as the private, of the untapped resources of women to contribute to the national culture, development and spiritual



values through their work in voluntary activities as well as in the labor market and home management.

- D. Recommendations should cover use of U.S. funds for women in developing nations; use of U.S. funds and services available for women in rural communities of the U.S.; integration of women in the U. S. government - appointive, elective, and career employees, in the private sector - business, industry, etc.; and in voluntary activities and home management.

III. PEACE - to recognize the contribution and the potential of women in the promotion of friendly relations and cooperation among nations and in building a structure of peace.

- A. Task Force will select a limited number of foreign policy issues for an in-depth study. Suggestions include detente, inflation or the economy, interdependence, quality of life (population, food, and environment), trade.
- B. Task Force will explore ways in which women can assist with the evolvement of a stable international order.



- C. Task Force will explore communication and exchange programs among women leaders throughout the world.
- D. Recommendations should cover women's contribution and stake in the foreign policy issues selected, women's contribution to a structure of world peace, and suggested ways to improve communications and exchange programs among women leaders throughout the world.

DRAFT: KRK: 8/6/74

