

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library  
Digital Library Collections

---

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

---

**Collection:** Barr, William: Files  
**Folder Title:** [Women's Issues: Resource Manual  
on Women's Issues] (4)  
**Box:** 15

---

To see more digitized collections visit:  
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:  
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: [reagan.library@nara.gov](mailto:reagan.library@nara.gov)

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>



EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT- see following pages

## E.R.A. FAVORED DESPITE POLITICAL ADVERSITY

As time ran out last June on the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, it had the solid support of the American people, as had been the case throughout its stormy 10-year course through the ratification process.

The extent of the public's backing was indicated by the fact that a majority favored having the Amendment reintroduced, though skepticism outweighed optimism about its future passage.

In its final referendum on the measure, conducted June 11-14, the Gallup Poll found 56 percent of persons who had heard or read about it (90 percent of the total) favoring ratification of the E.R.A., with 34 percent opposed, a level of public support similar to that found in Gallup surveys conducted since 1975.

Proponents of the Amendment have vowed to reintroduce the measure in Congress, a move supported by 56 percent of the aware public and opposed by 37 percent. However, even among those in the survey who favored reintroduction of the measure, opinion was closely divided about its chances for ratification, with 46 percent feeling it would be passed and 39 percent that it would not. And among those who opposed re-offering the Amendment (almost all of whom were averse to it), 80 percent believed the new Amendment would fail.

Gallup 8/62

## EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Question: "Have you heard or read about the Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution which would prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex?"

(Asked of those who had heard or read about the E.R.A.) "Do you favor or oppose this Amendment?"

June 11 - 14, 1982

	Heard/ read	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>10%</b>
<b>SEX</b>				
Male	89	55	36	9
Female	90	57	33	10
<b>RACE</b>				
White	91	54	36	10
Non-white	81	77	16	7
<b>EDUCATION</b>				
College	97	61	32	7
High school	89	56	34	10
Grade school	76	44	42	14
<b>REGION</b>				
East	87	67	24	9
Midwest	94	52	38	10
South	85	51	40	9
West	95	56	32	12
<b>AGE</b>				
Total under 30	87	67	25	8
18 - 24 years	86	66	27	7
25 - 29 years	90	66	23	11
30 - 49 years	93	56	35	9
Total 50 & older	88	49	40	11
50 - 64 years	92	51	39	10
65 & older	84	45	41	14
<b>INCOME</b>				
\$25,000 & over	95	56	37	7
\$20,000 - \$24,999	93	59	30	11
\$15,000 - \$19,999	89	56	36	8
\$10,000 - \$14,999	89	51	34	15
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999	87	62	28	10
Under \$5,000	70	54	33	13
<b>POLITICS</b>				
Republican	90	44	46	10
Democrat	89	64	27	9
Independent	94	56	33	11
<b>RELIGION</b>				
Protestant	89	53	36	11
Catholic	89	58	36	6
<b>OCCUPATION</b>				
Professional & business	96	59	32	9
Clerical & service	89	62	30	8
Manual work	88	58	32	10
Non-labor force	82	44	43	13
<b>CITY SIZE</b>				
1,000,000 & over	91	67	24	9
500,000 - 999,999	93	65	28	7
50,000 - 499,999	93	58	36	6
2,500 - 49,999	89	48	38	14
Under 2,500, rural	85	46	40	14
<b>LABOR UNION</b>				
Labor union families	92	58	34	8
Non-labor union families	89	56	34	10

### EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (Based on heard/read except as noted.)

	NATIONAL	Men	Women
<b>LATEST</b>			
Favor . . . . .	.56%	55%	57%
Oppose . . . . .	.34	36	33
No opinion . . . .	.10	9	10
<b>1981</b>			
Favor . . . . .	.63	63	63
Oppose . . . . .	.32	32	32
No opinion . . . .	.05	5	5
<b>1980</b>			
Favor . . . . .	.58	61	54
Oppose . . . . .	.31	28	34
No opinion . . . .	.11	11	12
<b>1978*</b>			
Favor . . . . .	.58	62	55
Oppose . . . . .	.31	29	33
No opinion . . . .	.11	9	12
<b>1976**</b>			
Favor . . . . .	.57	59	55
Oppose . . . . .	.24	23	26
No opinion . . . .	.19	18	19
<b>1975</b>			
Favor . . . . .	.58	63	54
Oppose . . . . .	.24	22	25
No opinion . . . .	.18	15	21

\* Special telephone survey. All other measurements taken by personal interviews.  
\*\* Based on all respondents.

### AWARENESS OF E.R.A.\*

	Percent having heard/read about E.R.A.		
	NATIONAL	Men	Women
<b>LATEST</b> . . . . .	.90%	89%	90%
<b>1981*</b> . . . . .	.88	89	87
<b>1980</b> . . . . .	.91	92	90
<b>1978**</b> . . . . .	.90	n.a.	n.a.
<b>1976</b> . . . . .	.90	89	90
<b>1975</b> . . . . .	.91	n.a.	n.a.

\*\* Special telephone survey.  
\* In the 1981 survey a split ballot was used. See Report No. 190, p. 24.

RE-OFFERING E.R.A.

Question: (Asked of those who had heard or read about the E.R.A. :) "As you may know, the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment runs out the end of this month. Would you favor or oppose having this measure re-offered so that the states could have another chance to vote on it?"

	June 11 - 14, 1982		
	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
NATIONAL	56%	37%	7%
SEX			
Male	51	43	6
Female	61	32	7
RACE			
White	54	40	6
Non-white	75	14	11
EDUCATION			
College	55	40	5
High school	58	36	6
Grade school	51	36	13
REGION			
East	62	30	8
Midwest	54	40	6
South	52	42	6
West	57	37	6
AGE			
Total under 30	64	32	4
18 - 24 years	64	30	6
25 - 29 years	65	34	1
30 - 49 years	55	38	7
Total 50 & older	52	41	7
50 - 64 years	53	41	6
65 & older	49	42	9
INCOME			
\$25,000 & over	55	42	3
\$20,000 - \$24,999	58	35	7
\$15,000 - \$19,999	54	41	5
\$10,000 - \$14,999	54	36	10
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999	66	28	6
Under \$5,000	55	35	10
POLITICS			
Republican	42	52	6
Democrat	65	29	6
Independent	57	37	6
RELIGION			
Protestant	54	40	6
Catholic	59	36	5
OCCUPATION			
Professional & business	53	41	6
Clerical & sales	66	27	7
Manual workers	59	35	6
Non-labor force	49	43	8
CITY SIZE			
1,000,000 & over	59	30	11
500,000 - 999,999	66	30	4
50,000 - 499,999	61	35	4
2,500 - 49,999	52	41	7
Under 2,500, rural	46	48	6
LABOR UNION			
Labor union families	60	36	4
Non-labor union families	55	38	7

WILL E.R.A. PASS IF RE-OFFERED?

Question: (Asked of those who had heard or read about the E.R.A.): "Just your best guess, if the Equal Rights Amendment is re-offered, do you think it will or will not be passed by the required 38 state legislatures?"

June 11 - 14, 1982

	<u>Will</u> <u>pass</u>	<u>Won't</u> <u>pass</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>
NATIONAL	33%	54%	13%
SEX			
Male	32	56	12
Female	33	52	15
RACE			
White	31	56	13
Non-white	46	35	19
EDUCATION			
College	32	58	10
High school	33	54	13
Grade school	30	43	27
REGION			
East	34	50	16
Midwest	29	56	15
South	34	57	9
West	35	52	13
AGE			
Total under 30	42	49	9
18 - 24 years	45	46	9
25 - 29 years	37	53	10
30 - 49 years	30	60	10
Total 50 & older	29	51	20
50 - 64 years	31	53	16
65 & older	25	50	25
INCOME			
\$25,000 & over	33	60	7
\$20,000 - \$24,999	31	56	13
\$15,000 - \$19,999	31	57	12
\$10,000 - \$14,999	37	45	18
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999	30	50	20
Under \$5,000	33	52	15
POLITICS			
Republican	28	60	12
Democrat	35	51	14
Independent	33	54	13
RELIGION			
Protestant	31	54	15
Catholic	33	54	13
OCCUPATION			
Professional & business	33	57	10
Clerical & sales	42	52	6
Manual workers	35	54	11
Non-labor force	22	55	23
CITY SIZE			
1,000,000 & over	33	44	23
500,000 - 999,999	34	59	7
50,000 - 499,999	34	55	11
2,500 - 49,999	31	57	12
Under 2,500, rural	32	56	12
LABOR UNION			
Labor union families	31	56	13
Non-labor union families	33	53	14

# Hatch to defy Right on airing

By George Archibald  
Washington Staff Writer

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, a prominent conservative, intends to defy New Right leaders by holding hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment as a way to defuse the issue, according to Senate Judiciary Committee sources.

His plan is to proceed with hearings ahead of the House, which has scheduled its own hearings for early June.

Hatch had been under considerable pressure from Phyllis Schlafly, national Stop-ERA leader, and other conservatives not to bring up the volatile feminist issue. Schlafly had argued in private meetings with Hatch and New Right strategists that Senate hearings would provide a forum for emotionalism and advocacy by pro-ERA groups, which would dominate media coverage.

The Constitution subcommittee, of which Hatch is chairman, informally went out on word this week that ERA hear-

ings tentatively set for May 20 would not be held, giving credence to reports the Utah lawmaker had bowed to Schlafly's wishes.

But Senate sources said Hatch, who opposes the ERA, was only "buying time" with the hearing postponement so he could regroup from buffeting by activists on both sides of the issue. "We will still hold several days of hearings, starting May 20 or thereabouts," a subcommittee aide said.

ERA legislation, introduced by Sens. Paul Tsongas, D-Mass., and Robert Packwood, R-Ore., now has 57 co-sponsors — just 10 short of the two-thirds vote needed for Senate passage. The aide said at least three other lawmakers have announced they would vote for the measure.

"We're hemorrhaging, losing support, dying," the aide stated. "We've got to stop the hemorrhage, and the only way is to air the intellectual arguments."

"... We need to make it [ERA] controversial so senators feel the heat."

Several GOP political insiders reported that most Republican senators up for re-election in 1984 do not relish the thought of having to vote on the ERA, which would give Democrats a major issue to hammer them with. Only five of the 18 GOP incumbent candidates are co-sponsoring the legislation.

However, one source said Hatch's hope of defusing the issue with thorough hearings before the House Judiciary Committee starts its own hearings is shared by several key Senate leaders.

Also, Hatch "has got his back up" over insistence by New Right leaders that he cancel the hearings and let Schlafly set ERA strategy in the Senate, it was reported.

At a luncheon with Schlafly and other conservative leaders on April 11, Hatch was said to have "lost control," angrily telling the group its members could find another anti-ERA lawmaker to lead the battle if they insisted on directing it. He said he would "wash his hands of it," sources stated.

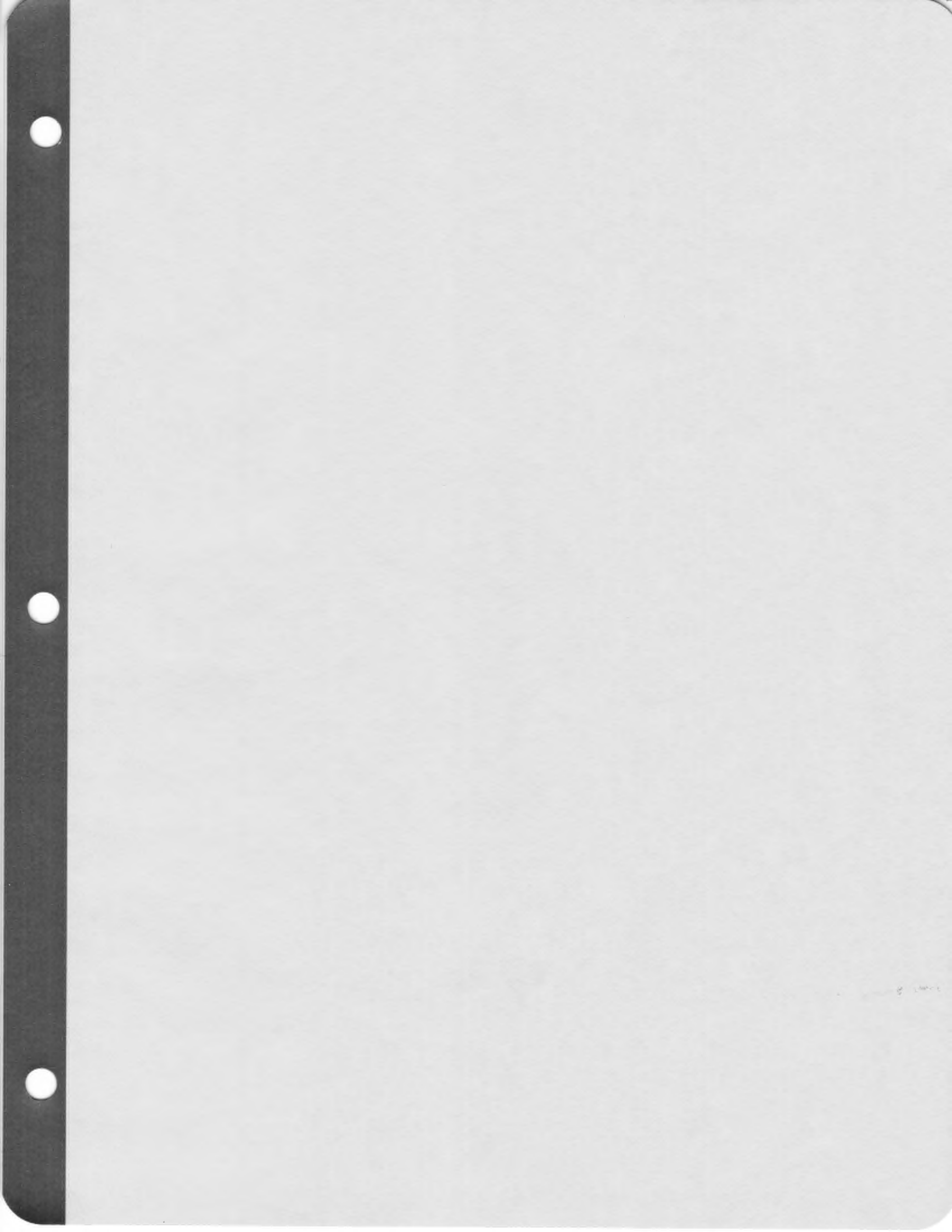
Schlafly met with President Reagan at the White House on March 21 to discuss ways to handle the ERA issue, which is a top legislative priority on the Democratic political agenda. She told the president the proposed constitutional amendment needed "to be cleaned up" with 15 to 18 changes "to make sure it does not take away women's benefits" under current laws, said a knowledgeable source.

Schlafly also reminded Reagan that he was elected with a mandate to handle other constitutional issues, including a human life amendment, the right of prayer in public schools and a requirement for balanced federal budgets, the source reported.

"She told the president that these issues should be handled before the ERA. He looked Phyllis in the eye and said, 'That's right,'" the source related.

ERA





GENDER GAP- see following pages

Friday, January 21, 1983

# JUDY MANN

## GENDER GAP

President Reagan has appointed two women to his cabinet—a woman a week, as one member of Congress put it—and the response has been a resounding “That’s nice.” There has been none of the gushingly favorable ink that he got with the appointment of Sandra Day O’Connor to the Supreme Court. Clearly the administration is trying to respond to its low rating with women, but it’s a safe bet that these appointments will have virtually no effect on the way Reagan is perceived by women voters.

They have become too disaffected with his policies to be courted successfully with appointments, which after all are only catching up lost ground, rather than breaking new territory. While President Reagan has repeatedly shown a talent for turning troubles into triumphs, his administration has seemed oddly incapable of coming up with responses to the gender gap—despite the fact that an administration analyst has warned that the gap could prove disastrous for the Republican Party in 1984.

The answers the administration has come up with so far, including the “50 States Project,” which involved removing sexist language from state laws, and the appointment of two women to the Cabinet, are essentially irrelevant to the issues causing him trouble with women voters. They are ‘60s and ‘70s style responses to problems of the ‘80s.

The administration’s own polling is showing that inflation, the economy, unemployment, and foreign affairs are the overriding concerns of women voters. The report on the gender gap prepared by White House analyst Ronald H. Hinckley singles out the growth of households headed by females as an important demographic trend that doesn’t lend itself to “Band-Aid approaches.” This group of women voters, many of whom are poor, black and on welfare, according to the report, shows the highest level of disaffection with Reagan of any group of voters.

Last December, when Congress was considering a \$5.4 billion public works job proposal, Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D-N.Y.) spoke out eloquently on behalf of the millions of unemployed women whose plight, as she gently put it, has not always received the attention it deserves.” She cited Bureau of Labor Statistics findings that unemployment among single women heading households in November was 12.5 percent, more than 3 percent higher than the rate for white men over the age of 20.

The jobs bill was abandoned by Congress in the face of a Reagan veto threat, but a working group of women’s organizations, including the League of Women Voters and the Business and Professional Women, is now trying to make sure that any jobs bill that comes out of this session of Congress will not subtly favor unemployed white males.

This is the kind of issue that has become important to organizations representing women. They also want to eliminate gender discrimination in the insurance industry and are lobbying for stronger child support enforcement, for childcare initiatives that help women heading households, and for increased tax credits for parents using day care. The Congressional Caucus on Women’s Issues will be reintroducing the Economic Equity Act, which has numerous provisions reforming private pension plans to benefit women, including lowering the age of eligibility for participation and requiring payment of survivor’s benefits to the widow of a vested worker who dies before retiring. It would permit homemakers to open independent retirement accounts and allow divorced women to include alimony in calculating how much they can contribute to IRAs.

The act also would give employers tax credits for hiring displaced homemakers and would provide for civil service pensions to be divided by state courts as part of divorce settlements.

The Economic Equity Act has enjoyed bipartisan support in Congress and it is an act that President Reagan, as he shapes his State of the Union message, ought to consider supporting. It would help working women heading families, homemakers, and women who will become widows. Women voters who are concerned about their economic well-being will be far more impressed with aggressive support for the Economic Equity Act than they will be by putting women in the cabinet.

In bygone eras, such appointments were symbolic gestures that women voters liked. In the ‘80s, it is something they take for granted.



Rep. Geraldine Ferraro

# 'Gender gap' theory of voting

## new just in name

By Wesley Pruden

WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

Caspar W. Weinberger, the secretary of defense, was trying to sell the MX missile to the Senate Armed Services Committee and he was having a rough day, and not just from dovish Democrats.

"I must tell you," said Sen. Roger Jepsen, a conservative Republican from the Iowa heartland, "that there is just a lot of opposition to defense spending out there."

Jepsen offered no instant analysis of the kind of skepticism he discovered in Iowa, but it is skepticism that had been noted elsewhere. Inevitably, others were quick to identify a familiar source — "the gender gap," the pollsters' No. 1 phenomenon of the 1982 congressional campaigns.

Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., who wants to run for president in 1984, told a group of feminists in Washington that the nation had its priorities "out of whack," wasting money on an unnecessary defense build-up, and he knew why.

"There are too many men in power in America," he said, and in 1984 the Democrats ought to give "serious consideration" to nominating a woman for vice president.

The gender gap — by which the pollsters mean that men and women, being different, tend to vote differently and that women most often vote with soft hearts and men with hard heads — particularly worries Republicans.

"Though only one winner (Mario Cuomo, Democratic candidate for governor in New York) can be attributed to the gender gap at the statewide level," a White House study of the recent elections noted, "continued growth of the gender gap in its current form could cause serious trouble for Republicans in 1984.

Ironically, some feminists have begun to question the notion that the gender gap is "a tender gap," and insist that women vote differently than men, when they do, mostly as a reflection of their economic concerns. The Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan studied presidential returns over the past 25 years and found that women do, indeed, vote differently, because they are more inclined to personalize economic issues.

What's mostly new about the gender gap is the label. Candidates have generally assumed, since women first voted in the 1922 elections, that certain appeals could be successfully addressed to women. Franklin D. Roosevelt promised American mothers in 1940 that he would not send their sons to fight a foreign war; Lyndon B. Johnson made a similar promise in 1964, that he would not "send American boys to do what Vietnamese boys ought to do."

Pollsters also have noted differences. The Gallup Poll found that 89 percent of the 1940 electorate thought a military draft was a good idea, but the sexes split sharply over whether women ought to be drafted, too. Only 44 percent of the men thought so, against a majority 52 percent of the women. Four years later, as the Allied armies gathered in England for the assault on Europe and the question no longer seemed academic, both sexes thought single women ought to be drafted if the only alternative was to conscript fathers, and by almost identical percentages. In any event, the services chose to draft fathers, and did so in the last months of the war.

And when the war was over, dozens of returning veterans marched straight into politics. The heroic smiles that decorated their campaign billboards and literature were not aimed at the men's vote.

The methodology of public-opinion polling has changed since then; pollsters insist their new "scientific methods" are much more reliable. Yet the newest of the polling techniques, the exit polls in which the three television networks asked departing voters to say for whom

they had voted, revealed gender gaps ranging from 3 to 6 points. These gaps were, in statistical terms, meaningless.

According to new Census Bureau statistics, nearly one-third of all families headed by women receive food stamps or are on Medicaid, or both, and skeptics of the gender gap conclude that women who vote for candidates promising to restore social-program cuts are not obeying an instinctive feminine sensibility so much as voting their pocketbooks, just as men do.

"The bottom line of politics is the 'grocery gap,'" says a Democratic politician in Tennessee. "If the economy turns around, nobody's going to be talking about a gender gap. And if it doesn't turn around, God help us, nobody's going to be interested in a gender gap, either."

The Washington Times

JAN 6 1983

# Poll Shows a Married-Single Gap

By ADAM CLYMER

## in Last Election

During and after last fall's election campaign, Republicans expressed strong fears that the increasingly Democratic leanings of women were creating a "gender gap" that threatened their party. But an extended analysis of the New York Times/CBS News Poll of actual voters on Election Day showed that the Republicans had another serious problem: the differences in voting preference between single and married voters.

Women voted more heavily for Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives than men did, by a margin of four percentage points, according to the poll of 7,855 voters as they left their balloting places.

But single voters of both sexes preferred Democrats over Republicans in the same House contests by 11 percentage points more than married voters did.

While the "gender gap," has been a statistically clear election phenomenon only since 1980, differences between married and single people can be found in post-election interviews conducted by the American National Election Studies of the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan at least as far back as 1974.

Those differences, however, have not aroused any significant academic notice. They varied somewhat from election to election, but in all cases the margins were smaller than those in the Times/CBS News poll of 1982.

The 1982 findings prompted Richard B. Wirthlin, President Reagan's poll taker, to say that single people of both sexes appeared to have been more vulnerable to the recession and to have voted Democratic as a result. "The marriage gap," he said, "is bigger than the gender gap."

Ann F. Lewis, political director of the Democratic National Committee, agreed. "Single people of both sexes feel more vulnerable, because they are more vulnerable," she said. "For example, they can't rely on the earnings of a spouse if they get laid off."

The Election Day poll showed that single people were more likely than married people to have had unemployment in their household in the last year, that they had less confidence in the eventual success of Mr. Reagan's economic program and that they had lower incomes.

In two of eight groups based on age and sex there was no significant difference in the voting patterns of married and single people. These were men 19 to 29 years old and women 60 and over. The younger married men were significantly more Democratic than other married men. The oldest group of married women was significantly more Democratic than other married women. Moreover, the oldest group of single women, many of whom were likely to have been married before, was less Democratic than most other single women.

### More Women Backed Democrats

The poll of voters in districts where the House race was contested did verify the existence of a clear difference in the voting patterns of men and women. Women backed Democratic candidates by a ratio of 57 to 40 percent. Men supported Democrats more narrowly, by 53 to 44 percent.

But the Times/CBS News Poll and other exit polls indicated that the "gender gap" may have had less electoral impact than many politicians expected, at least in part because of turnout. Women failed to vote in proportion to their majority of the population, the polls suggested, and cast only half of November's votes.

Republicans have argued that most of their political problems among women involved single women. One unhappy Administration adviser on women's issues, who insisted he not be named, reiterated that concern last week. He said the budget cuts had fallen very hard on single women, and that "There is also a very accurate perception that this Administration does not understand the needs of single women, in areas like day care for children, job opportunities and enforcement of support payment orders."

But the Times/CBS News Poll showed that Republican difficulties extended to single men, too. Married men divided their House votes evenly, 49 percent for each party, the poll showed. But single men gave Democrats 59 percent and Republicans 37 percent.

Unmarried voters of both sexes among those interviewed as they left

polling places Nov. 2 indicated they voted for Democratic House candidates by a ratio of 61 to 35 percent. Married voters divided only 50 to 46 percent for Democrats. Taken together, of all those voters polled, 55 percent of their votes went to Democrats and 42 percent to Republicans.

Mr. Wirthlin said that his post-election surveys had produced similar findings. "The evidence does suggest that the overlooked 'marriage gap' is a reflection of a higher degree of vulnerability to economic difficulties among singles than among married persons," he said.

Unmarried women, going 63 to 34 percent for Democratic House candidates in the Times/CBS News Poll, were the least friendly to President Reagan and his party. Only 36 percent of them, for example, said they approved of his handling of the Presidency, as against 50 percent of married women, 48 percent of single men and 58 percent of married men.

This poll and one conducted by ABC News also suggested that differences in voting patterns between the sexes might be more important in 1984 than they were in 1982, though greater Re-

Alderman, polling director for ABC News, said that his survey, with questions involving Mr. Reagan as a hypothetical candidate, indicated "the gap will be greater in 1984."

### Gap Differs on Reagan Questions

The married-single differences in the reported 1982 votes, measured by the Times/CBS News Poll, were at least twice as large as the male-female differences. But the two kinds of differences were of more nearly equivalent sizes, allowing for margins of sampling error, on questions directly involving Mr. Reagan.

For example, 53 percent of married persons said they would vote for Mr. Reagan if he was opposed by former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, as against 37 percent who preferred the Democrat. Among single persons, Mr. Mondale led, 45 to 41 percent. Overall, men split 53 percent for Mr. Reagan and 38 percent for Mr. Mondale; women divided evenly, with 43 percent for each and the rest undecided.

Another unusual finding from the poll was that there were no statistically significant differences in the reported votes among women in various age categories. Young men, however, heavily affected by unemployment, voted most for Democrats, 57 to 39 percent, and men 30 to 44 years old split almost evenly with a 50 to 47 percent Democratic lead.

Robert M. Teeter, president of Market Opinion Research, a polling company used by Republicans, said he thought the lack of differences among women in the various age categories was artificially, and perhaps temporarily, caused by concerns over Social

## Voting Patterns in 1982 House Elections

Voting by men and women in various demographic categories for each major party in House races that involved a contest. The 'gap' is the number of percentage points by which women's votes for Democrats exceeded men's votes for that party or, in two cases indicated by minus signs, by which men voted for Democrats in greater proportions than did women. For married people of both sexes, the overall split was 50 percent for Democrats, 46 percent for Republicans; among single people of both sexes the split was 61 percent Democratic, 35 percent Republican.

	MEN		WOMEN		Gap
	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	
<b>TOTAL</b>	53%	44%	57%	40%	4.0%
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>					
Married	49	49	52	44	4.0
Single	59	37	63	34	3.5
<b>AGE</b>					
18 to 29 years	57	39	56	40	-1.0
30 to 44 years	50	47	56	41	6.0
45 to 59 years	52	45	56	40	4.5
60 years and older	54	44	58	39	4.5
<b>ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME</b>					
Less than \$10,000	66	30	71	24	5.5
\$10,000-20,000	59	38	58	40	-1.5
\$20,000-30,000	54	44	55	42	1.5
\$30,000-50,000	46	51	49	47	3.5
\$50,000 or more	35	64	42	56	7.5
<b>REGION</b>					
Northeast	61	34	62	34	0.5
Midwest	44	53	53	44	9.0
South	55	42	58	39	3.0
West	51	46	55	42	4.0

Source: New York Times/CBS News Election Day voters poll

Security, which reduced the customary Republicanism of older women.

### 'Definable Vote' Suggested

But Kathleen A. Frankovic, director of surveys for CBS News, said the nearly identical results for women in different age groups suggested the development of "a definable women's vote." She said "Other factors such as age, that we think of as traditionally more important than sex, may not have operated among women."

One key to the eventual effect of the male-female political differences is actual voting turnout. Census Bureau studies, based on interviews taken several days after elections, have shown that women have increased their rate of voting over the years, and now are as likely to vote as are men in Presidential elections.

The census data for off-year elections is not as clear-cut as for Presidential elections. But it indicates that at least since 1966 women have cast more votes than men, even though their frequency of voting has sometimes been lower than that of men.

That may not have been the case in 1982. Although women constitute just over 52 percent of the voting age population, the Times/CBS News Poll and national polls taken by ABC News and NBC News all indicated women and men each cast 50 percent of the vote.

That finding was buttressed by the

evidence of separate polls taken by CBS News in 27 states. In none of those states did women appear to have voted at a percentage that exceeded their percentage of the voting age population. But in 15 of them they voted at a rate lower, by a statistically significant margin, than their share of the population. In the 12 other states there was no difference that exceeded the margin of sampling error of the polls.

For example, in New York women make up 53.8 percent of the voting age population, according to the Census Bureau. The CBS News data indicate they cast about 49.1 percent of the votes in November. In New Jersey women represent 53.2 percent of the voting age population and cast 49.5 percent of the vote.

Mrs. Lewis, of the Democratic National Committee, said that the Democrats were aware of this problem. She said "We've got to improve the work we do in turning out women voters." She said a number of approaches had been tried in 1982 and more would be tested in states which hold elections in 1983. The approaches included working with women's organizations and emphasizing women's concerns in television advertisements, she said, although "the only tactic that is sure to get people to vote is knocking on their doors, three times if you have to."

# The Marriage Gap

by Martin Plissner

It does not alliterate like the generation gap of the sixties or the currently fashionable gender gap, but there is a marriage gap among American voters which divides them more deeply than either of the above.

If you're twenty-five and voted for Congress in the last election, you're a little more likely to have voted Democratic than if you're fifty. If you're a woman, you're more likely to have voted Democratic than if you're a man. But the difference between the sexes, the gender gap, was less vast in 1982 than it was in 1980. Some of the Republican problem with women seems specific to Ronald Reagan, and he wasn't on the ballot in 1982.

But if sex did less to divide people into Democrats and Republicans in 1982, the marriage gap more than took its place.

In the exit polling done last year by CBS News and the *New York Times*, single men and women voted for Democratic congressional candidates by a margin of twenty-six percentage points. That's a bigger margin than in the Democratic House vote of 1964—the biggest since World War II. Had only singles voted, the Democrats might easily have gained sixty seats, instead of twenty-six. On the other hand, if only the marrieds (Democratic by just four points) had voted, Republicans would very likely have held their ground in the House—or even gained.

Married voters last November approved the way President Reagan does his job by a solid thirteen percentage points. Single voters *disapproved* by nine points. Married voters said they'd have chosen Reagan over Walter Mon-

dale by sixteen points. Single voters chose Mondale.

Nearly half of Mondale's prospective support comes from single voters. The same was true for Kennedy, on whom we also polled. It's easy to see where the bulk of the marrieds would go. Two-thirds of Reagan's support was married.

What some of the early studies of the gender gap largely overlooked is that Reagan's and the Republicans' problems are only to a limited degree with women as such. The biggest problem is *single women*. And the next biggest problem is *single men*.

Single women voted Democratic in the last election by twenty-nine points, disapproved of Reagan's performance in office by twenty points, and preferred Mondale by thirteen points. But married women voted Democratic by only eight points (well below the average of twelve for all voters), approved Reagan's handling of his job by eight and chose him over Mondale by ten.

On each of these measures, married women were more favorable to Reagan or the Republicans than were single men.

Current research data are not too helpful in explaining why there is this marriage gap. All polls ask the sex of their respondents. Far fewer ask if they are married.

It is tempting, however, to speculate. Married people are more likely to own real property and to worry about protecting it. They are more likely to have, or expect, children and, if so, to take a benign view of authority and a dim view of social disorder. They are more likely,

in other words, to respond to the conservative values which Republicans, and Reagan especially, talk about a lot. Republicans, who put "family, neighborhood and work" ahead of "peace and freedom" on the cover of their 1980 platform, knew their constituency.

If, as social scientists are currently telling us, marriage is coming back in vogue after a period in which the more experimental kinds of sexual arrangements were fashionable, that may be more helpful to the president and his party than any of the strategies coming from the competing political shops of the White House.

Before those Republican strategists conclude, however, that the solution to their problem with single women (and, for that matter, single men) is to marry them, there is one question they need to answer. Does getting married make you more Republican or is it that Republicans up to now have been a little more apt to marry? There was once a notion that, as people moved to the suburbs, they would become more Republican—like the people who were already there. Instead, these voters seem to have brought their old politics with them, and it is the suburbs which have grown more Democratic: The same could be true of the new marrieds.

Another feature of the marriage gap is how differently it seems to operate within the respective parties. Nearly half of those who call themselves Democrats are single. Only a third of the Republicans are single.

This suggests different strategies for seeking party nominations and for mobilizing constituencies in general elections—strategies already apparent in past and current campaigns. Democrats are more likely to be outraged by soaring rents and to talk about controls. Republicans are more likely to be aroused by property taxes. Democrats are more likely to be seen at gay rights rallies, have even put a gay rights provision in their party charter. Republicans almost uniformly shun the issue—when they are not on the other side of it. The incidence of both renters and homosexuals is presumably higher among singles.

One of Jimmy Carter's first acts in the White House was to advise those who were living in sin to marry. A Democratic president more conscious of the marriage gap might have left well enough alone. □





## HEALTH CARE

Women are the majority of consumers and (low-paid) providers of the American medical and health systems. Unfortunately, they have not been adequately or properly served. Over 70% of health research in this country is funded by the U.S. government. It is imperative that an appropriate percentage of federally funded research be focused on health issues of unique concern to women. Inclusion of these issues in the research priorities of the National Institutes of Health and the inclusion of women on NIH Review Panels are vital. In addition, vigorous oversight of the Women in Science Act, combined with a new initiative in Women in Health, should increase the number of qualified women researchers and the scope of women's health research.

In delivery of services, in health training schools, and in administration, women are concentrated in the lower rungs of power. Women are 75% of all health workers, yet only 10% of them are physicians.

Women are underserved in certain areas and overserved in others. Two surgical procedures for women-- hysterectomies and caesarian-sections--have increased dramatically in recent years. Women are also twice as likely as men to receive prescriptions for minor tranquilizers such as Valium and Librium. Educational programs for physicians and consumers, encompassing proper treatment for tension, neurophysical effects of drugs, and components of necessary surgery, are of paramount importance. Underservice is most strikingly apparent in the areas of "well-women services" and provisions for rural women.

American Psychological Association, Women's Programs Office  
Nancy Felipe Russo 833-4908

Girls Clubs of America  
Mildred Kiefer Wurf 659-0516

Mexican American Women's National Association (MANA)  
Wilma Espinoza 628-5663

National Organization for Women (NOW)  
Jane Wells-Schooley 347-2279

National Council of Jewish Women  
Mickey Salkind 296-2588

National Women's Health Network  
Belita Cowan, Elayne Clift 543-9222

Women and Health Roundtable  
Julia Lear 466-3544

# factsheet ON WOMEN

Published by Community Services • American Council of Life Insurance

Spring 1982

## WOMEN AND HEALTH RISKS

### Introduction

During the past several years, medical researchers have identified a number of health risk factors associated with the development of disease. A risk factor is defined as anything that can impair health and lead to disease. For example, within the next few years, women cigarette smokers' risk of death from lung cancer will approach 8 to 12 times that of women nonsmokers. The purpose of this fact sheet is to identify a group of controllable health risk factors that are either unique to women or of special importance to women. This should result in an increased awareness of areas in which women can assume responsibility for their own health.

There are two categories of risk factors, noncontrollable and controllable. Age, sex and heredity are noncontrollable risk factors. This fact sheet focuses on a group of controllable risks, namely:

1. Improper nutrition;
2. Obesity;
3. Lack of exercise;
4. Hypertension (high blood pressure);
5. Stress;
6. Smoking; and
7. Alcohol and drug abuse.

In addition, a special section is devoted to women's special risks regarding cancer.

### Risk Factor #1: Improper Nutrition

Improper nutrition (especially the overconsumption of fats, salt and alcohol) has been linked to heart disease, stroke, cancer, diabetes, arteriosclerosis, liver ailments and gall bladder disease. It is also a major cause of obesity. Diet is also believed to contribute to hypertension, which in turn is a risk factor for heart disease and stroke.

In addition, inadequate nutrition during pregnancy has been linked to problems with newborns including low birth weight, impaired fetal development, and the failure of children to reach full physical and mental potential.

Individual needs make exact dietary standards impossible to establish. However, it has been determined that:

- Iron intake is below the recommended daily allowance for nearly all women, particularly women in their childbearing years.
- Women who are pregnant or who are breastfeeding need more of many nutrients, especially iron, folic acid, vitamins A and D and calcium.
- Protein intake is below the recommended daily allowance for most adult black women and older white women.

Given what is known or suspected about the relationship between diet and disease, women (and men) would be healthier and reduce the risk of disease if they consumed:

- only enough calories to meet body needs and maintain a desirable weight;
- less fat and cholesterol, including butter, cream, hydrogenated margarines, shortenings and coconut oil;
- less salt;
- less sugar (it is estimated that Americans, on the average, eat 130 pounds of sugar and other sweeteners per year);
- more complex carbohydrates such as whole grains, cereals, nuts, fruits and vegetables; and
- more fish, poultry, legumes (peas and beans) and less red meat.

### Risk Factor #2: Obesity

Obesity is often defined as a 10 to 20 percent increase in body weight beyond the normal range for one's age, sex and height.

Too much body weight is a risk factor for diabetes, gall bladder disease and hypertension. In association with other risk factors, smoking for example, it can contribute significantly to heart disease. In addition to threatening physical health, in a society that admires slimmness and athletic ability, obesity can be a threat to social and mental well-being.

Obesity is a risk factor that is particularly prominent among women:

- Of all people aged 20 to 74, 23 percent of the women are obese compared to 13 percent of the men.

- 35 percent of women between the ages of 45 and 64, with incomes below the poverty level, are obese.
- 29 percent of women between the ages of 45 and 64, with incomes above the poverty level, are obese.

To lose weight, you must take in fewer calories than you burn. One pound of body fat contains 3,500 calories. To lose one pound of fat, it is necessary to burn 3,500 calories more than is consumed, either by selecting foods with fewer calories, by increasing activity or, ideally, both. Too drastic a weight loss in a short period of time is hazardous to a woman's health. It can lead to various health problems, and even death in some "crash diet" cases. It is important to note that since women (even thin women) have a higher percentage of body fat than men, women find it more difficult than men to lose weight.

### Risk Factor #3: Lack of exercise

Physical fitness affects health in a variety of ways. Studies indicate that there is a direct relationship between inadequate activity and overall heart disease mortality. Compared to non-exercisers, those who engage in regular physical activity have 1½ to 2 times lower risk of developing cardiovascular disease.

People who exercise regularly (generally defined as 15-30 minutes three to four times a week) report that they feel better and have more energy. Regular exercisers often lose excess weight as well as improve muscular strength and flexibility. In addition, many adopt a healthful lifestyle—they stop smoking and excessive drinking and tend to eat more nutritional foods.

In a 1971-1975 Health and Nutrition Examination Survey sponsored by the National Center for Health Statistics, women lagged behind men in the amount of exercise they reported:

Self-reported Degree of Exercise in 1971-75	Male	Female
Very active, had much exercise	63.6%	50.9%
Somewhat active, had some exercise	31.1%	42.3%
Inactive, had little or no exercise	5.3%	6.8%

However, by 1978-79, in a survey conducted by Yankelevich, Skelly and White for the General Mills American Family Report, women were found to be only slightly less likely than men to be regular exercisers.

Regular Exercisers in 1978-79	Percent
Men	37%
Women	35%
Working Women	37%
Nonworking Women	33%

### Risk Factor #4: Hypertension (High blood pressure)

Hypertension is one of the most important risk factors for heart attacks and strokes. Although men's rates of death from heart disease are higher than women's at all ages, heart disease is also the leading cause of death for women.

According to the National Center for Health Statistics, it was estimated in a 1975 study that 19 million adults between the ages of 25 to 75 suffered from hyperten-

sion. In ages 25 to 54, hypertension was more prevalent among men than women; however by ages 65 to 74 the rates were slightly greater among women.

The risk of developing hypertension increases with age. Since women outlive men by an average of eight years, methods to reduce this risk are important to learn. Excessive salt in the diet and stress are factors that contribute to hypertension. Obesity, a condition found in nearly twice as many women as men, is clearly related to hypertension.

Hypertension *cannot be cured* but it can be *controlled* through diet, exercise, relaxation therapy and medication. The real danger lies in undetected hypertension. Since 1972, as a result of education and screening efforts by government, voluntary health agencies, community leaders, medical societies and health care providers, the proportion of individuals with hypertension who know they have it has increased from 50 percent to more than 70 percent.

### Risk Factor #5: Stress

Stress is normal and inevitable. People under stress experience measurable changes in body functions—a rise in blood pressure, the secretion of adrenalin and other hormones into the bloodstream and a quickening of breathing. When stress or the reaction to stress is excessive, it may lead to a variety of physical and/or emotional problems, for example:

- excessive alcohol use;
- drug abuse;
- depression;
- cardiovascular disease; and
- gastrointestinal disorders.

Women's roles and responsibilities have undergone dramatic change in the last quarter century. Married women account for 57 percent of the total female labor force expansion since 1950. Households headed by women have increased 54 percent in the last decade. Quite naturally, as women assume more responsibilities, they subject themselves to greater amounts of stress. For example, many women find that trying to balance familial and employment responsibilities causes stress:

- The burden of job combined with family is cited as a major problem by 45 percent of women in blue-collar, clerical, sales and service jobs and 47 percent of women in professional, managerial and technical jobs.
- Child care is cited as a major problem by 29 percent of working mothers in blue-collar, clerical, sales and service jobs and 36 percent of those in professional, managerial and technical jobs.

Stress cannot be eliminated. But in some instances it can be reduced and stress-coping skills can be improved. Exercise, proper nutrition and a variety of relaxation techniques are some ways to cope with stress.

### Risk Factor #6: Smoking

Although many Americans today are preoccupied with dieting and exercise, some 50 million individuals

continue to endanger their lives by smoking cigarettes. Over the past 30 years, smoking has been documented to be a risk factor for various diseases, including emphysema and cancer.

With each successive generation, the smoking characteristics of women and men have become increasingly similar. And although the proportions of male and female smokers have declined (men more so than women), the average number of cigarettes smoked has increased. Moreover, recent data on smoking habits reveal that women aged 17 to 24 who smoke currently outnumber men of the same age who smoke.

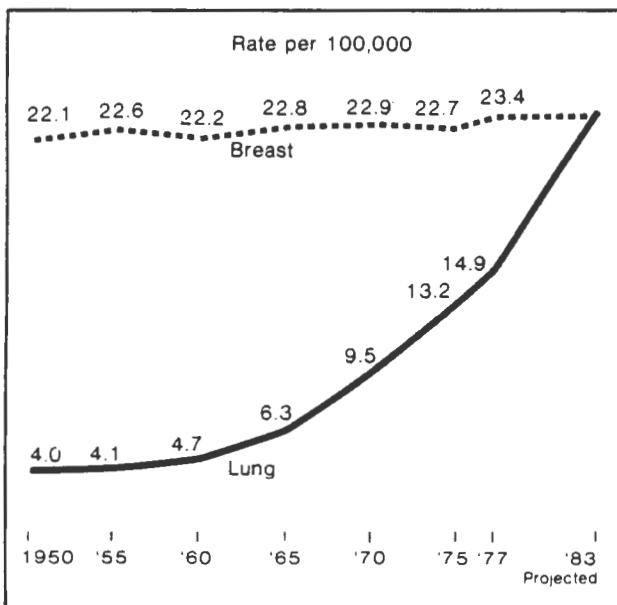
As women's smoking habits become similar to men's, their risk of developing smoking-related diseases becomes similar as well:

- The death rate due to lung cancer among women has increased four-fold since 1955, with the death rate expected to exceed that of breast cancer in this decade.
- Smokers have an increased risk of developing coronary heart disease, the most common cause of death in both women and men.

In addition:

- Women who take oral contraceptives increase their risk of heart attack tenfold if they also smoke.
- Pregnant smokers run the risk of retarding the growth of the fetus, and increase the risk of spontaneous abortion, fetal death and neonatal death.

Age-adjusted death rates from cancer in women



Source: Health Consequences of Smoking for Women, a report of the Surgeon General. Office on Smoking and Health, Public Health Service, Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, D.C., 1980.

### Risk Factor #7: Alcohol and Drug Abuse

Alcohol and drugs. Together or separately they exact a substantial toll of premature death, illness and disability in the United States.

Alcohol abuse is a factor in more than 10 percent of all deaths in the United States—about 200,000 per year. It is associated with half of all traffic deaths. Cirrhosis of the liver and primary liver cancer are both attributable to alcohol abuse. Excessive drinking during pregnancy may cause numerous problems with the fetus, including birth defects.

Alcoholism has long been regarded as a male disease but the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism estimates that out of 11 million alcoholics in the United States some 2 million are women. Alcohol-related deaths among women are estimated to run as high as 50,000 a year.

Drug abuse has also been regarded as a male problem and men do exceed women in illegal drug abuse. However, women far outnumber men in their use of legal prescription drugs.

Persons Ever Using Selected Prescription Drugs (in Millions)

	Women	Men
Tranquilizers	32	19
Sedatives	16	12
Stimulants	12	5

Source: Women and Health, United States, 1980. Public Health Reports, Public Health Service, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health and Surgeon General.

Women accounted for 43 percent of drug-related deaths in 1977 and approximately 60 percent of emergency room episodes for drug-related problems.

According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, a problem common among women is the abuse of psychoactive (mood changing) drugs in conjunction with alcohol. Surveys taken in the mid 1970s found that among women using relaxants and minor tranquilizers, two in five were heavy drinkers also.

### Women and Cancer

There is another vital health concern for women—cancer. It is the leading cause of death among women aged 30 to 54. The American Cancer Society estimates that 412,000 women were diagnosed with cancer in 1981 and 192,500 died from it. Among all women, mortality is increasing sharply from lung cancer and increasing slightly from cancer of the breast, ovary, pancreas, large intestine and leukemia.

Breast cancer is the leading cause of cancer death among women ages 35 to 55. Incidence of the disease has been rising since the mid 1960s, especially among women in their 20s and 30s. On average, one in 11 American women will develop breast cancer at some time in their lives. The risk is even higher for:

- women who have had breast cancer;
- women whose mother or sisters have had breast cancer;
- women who have never given birth; and
- women whose diets are high in animal fat.

Periodic breast self-examination reduces the risk of breast cancer going undetected and becoming fatal. A

# factsheet ON WOMEN

physician can explain this simple technique.

Although the incidence of breast cancers has increased, the incidence of cervical cancer mortality has declined, largely due to detection of the cancer by the Pap (Papanicolaou) smear. By 1973, 75 percent of all women over 17 had had at least one Pap smear. A Pap smear, the frequency of which is up to each woman's physician, is recommended for all women age 20 and over to reduce the risk of death from cervical cancer.

## Programming Suggestions

- I. Improper Nutrition and Obesity:
  1. Invite an expert to speak to your organization on:
    - a. the importance of a well-balanced diet;
    - b. the potential dangers of junk food and food additives;
    - c. the dangers of fad diets.
  2. With the appropriate agencies, monitor the diet in the public and private institutions in your community—schools, day-care centers, senior citizens' homes. If unsatisfactory, encourage the establishment of nutritional guidelines.
- II. Lack of Exercise:
  1. Have your organization sponsor informal women's sports efforts—softball teams, races, tennis and/or racquetball tournaments. Encourage local business sponsorship of these activities.
  2. Explore the possibility of having exercise facilities or programs established at work sites in your community.
- III. Hypertension:
  1. Invite a health care professional to conduct a mini-health fair for your organization. Activities that can be included are blood pressure readings and lessons in self-examination of breasts.
  2. Encourage other organizations, schools, businesses to conduct similar mini-health fairs in your community.
- IV. Substance Abuse:
  1. Implement a community awareness program with the assistance of the proper organization—American Cancer Society, American Lung Association, American Heart Association and/or American Dental Association—to encourage and support smoking cessation efforts.
  2. Implement a community awareness program, with the assistance of health professionals in your community, about the proper use of

drugs—prescription and over-the-counter—and the dangers of combining drugs and alcohol.

## V. Other Areas:

1. Organize, with the assistance of the American Red Cross, a program to learn basic first-aid skills and emergency care such as cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR) and the Heimlich maneuver.
2. Organize a program that presents the pros and cons of alternative health care methods, such as Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs), ambulatory centers, birthing clinics, home care and hospices.
3. Invite an expert to discuss ways families can combat the rising costs of health care.

## Resources

### Alcoholism

American Medical Association  
P.O. Box 821  
Monroe, WI 53566

National Council on Alcoholism  
Publications Department  
Suite 1405  
733 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10017

National Institute on Alcohol  
Abuse and Alcoholism  
National Institute of Mental  
Health  
5600 Fishers Lane  
Rockville, MD 20857

### Cancer

American Cancer Society  
Public Education  
777 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10017

American Medical Association  
P.O. Box 821  
Monroe, WI 53566

### Drug Abuse

American School Health  
Association  
P.O. Box 708  
Kent, OH 44240

National Clearinghouse for  
Drug Abuse Information  
5600 Fishers Lane  
Rockville, MD 20857

American Medical Association  
P.O. Box 821  
Monroe, WI 53566

### Heart Disease

American Heart Association  
Inquiries Section  
7320 Greenville Avenue  
Dallas, TX 75231

National Dairy Council  
6300 N. River Road  
Rosemont, IL 60018

National Easter Seal Society  
2023 W. Ogden Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60612

### Smoking

American Cancer Society  
777 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10017

American Dental Association  
1101 - 17th Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

American Lung Association  
1740 Broadway  
New York, NY 10019

*The Factsheet on Women is an occasional publication of the American Council of Life Insurance and the Health Insurance Association of America.*

*Additional copies can be obtained by writing to: Shawn Hausman, Community Services, American Council of Life Insurance, 1850 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.*



INSURANCE ; See Economic Equity Act

Women are discriminated against in many types of insurance in terms of availability of coverage and cost. This discrimination based on sex is prevalent in health, disability and life insurance and in pension and annuity programs. Legislation is pending which would prohibit discrimination in insurance based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

American Association of University Women (AAUW)  
Johanna Mendelson/Amy Berger 785-7760

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW)  
Judy Schub 293-1100

National Council of Jewish Women  
Mickey Salkind 296-2588

National Women's Political Caucus (NWCP)  
Carol Bros 347-4456

Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)  
Pat Reuss 638-4560

Women's Legal Defense Fund  
Judith Lichtman 887-0364





## INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS (IRAs)- See Pension/Retirement

### MARRIAGE TAX

It is estimated that as many as 54 million taxpayers are penalized by the income tax system because of their marital status. The tax system clearly favors the taxpayer with a non-working spouse who files a joint return. Single taxpayers (widowed, divorced or unmarried) pay up to 20 percent more than the single-earner married couple with the same income. Married couples where both spouses work pay a "marriage tax" to the government because their tax liability is greater than if they were two single persons with the same income.

American Association of University Women (AAUW)  
Johanna Mendelson 785-7765

Federally Employed Women (FEW)  
Lynne Revo-Cohen 638-7144

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW)  
Judy Schub 293-1100

National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC)  
Carol Bros 347-4456

Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)  
Pat Reuss 638-4560

### MILITARY

There are currently 162,000 women members of the active military force out of a total 212 million men and women. By 1985 the Department of Defense projects a goal of 245,000 women in all branches of the military.

Although many opportunities exist for women in the military in nontraditional occupational areas, there still exist provisions in the U.S. Code prohibiting women from serving in combat. Further legislative changes are needed allowing the respective branches of the service to establish utilization policies for women which will ensure better use of all personnel resources and enhance the career opportunities of military women.

There also exists the unresolved issue of whether women can be drafted. The constitutionality of the Military Selective Service Act of 1947 is currently being tested and awaits a Supreme Court decision.

American Association of University Women (AAUW)  
Johanna Mendelson/Amy Berger/Tricia Smith 785-7760

Federally Employed Women (FEW)  
Lynne Revo-Cohen 638-7144

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW)  
Judy Schub 293-1100

National Organization for Women (NOW)  
Jane Wells-Schooley 347-2279

Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)  
Pat Reuss 638-4560

### MINORITY WOMEN

Asian-American, Black, Hispanic and Native American women together make up at least 19% of the female population of the United States, representing diverse heritages, histories, traditions, cultures, and languages. They share a common problem - triple jeopardy - race, sex, and the resulting economic discrimination.

Coalition of 100 Black Women  
Helene Colvin-Wallace 225-3816

Mexican American Women's National Association (MANA)  
Wilma Espinoza 628-5663

### PENSIONS/RETIREMENT

The elderly poor in our society are disproportionately women. Whether they have been employed in the labor force or economically dependent on a spouse, they will face numerous problems including; age and employment discrimination; low income and insufficient pensions; lack of concern with women's irregular working patterns and homemaker contribution; inequitable vesting requirements; inadequate Social Security; lack of portability (non-transferral of pension credits); part-time work exclusion; non-existent or unassured survivor benefits to widows and divorcees. Retirement is funded from three principle sources, Social Security, pensions and savings; yet because of the problems listed above few women are able to get enough from these sources to meet their most basic needs. One out of two retirement-aged women will receive less than \$3087 each year. Compounding this problem is the likelihood that women will outlive their husbands by an average of 10-18 years - too long for savings or insurance to last, especially in inflationary times.

Areas needing reform in the current retirement income system are pensions (private and public) and Social Security.

#### Independent Retirement Accounts (IRAs)- See Private Pensions

#### Pensions

Public and private plans providing retirement benefits include federal, state and local government program plans established by private agencies (as defined by the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974-ERISA), and Independent Retirement Accounts (IRAs).

Although pension income can be a significant source of retirement income, less than half of the aged in every marital category receive such income. While 42% of married couples receive pension income, only 22% of unmarried women do so, as compared to 32% of unmarried men. Even when women do receive pensions, either through their own or through spouse's entitlements, they get a lower dollar amount from both public and private pensions.

American Association of University Women (AAUW)  
Tricia Smith 785-7760

League of Women Voters of the United States  
Katherine Lavriha 296-1770

National Coalition for Older Women's Issues  
Nancy King 872-1770

National Council of Jewish Women  
Mickey Salkind 296-2588

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW)  
Judy Schub 293-1100

National Organization for Women (WOW)  
Jane Wells-Schooley 347-2279

National Women's Political Caucus  
Carol Bros 347-4456

Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)  
Pat Reuss 638-4560

Women's Legal Defense Fund  
Judith Lichtman/Donna Lenhoff 877-0354

#### Private Pensions

Pension plans of private concerns include those established under the "Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) of 1974." ERISA applies to two types of employee benefit plans - pension plans, which provide retirement income to employees or deferral of income by employees for periods extending to or beyond the termination of employment, and welfare plans, which provide benefits in the event of sickness, hospitalization, death, disability, unemployment, etc. IRAs - annuities which allow for tax deferral - are considered private pensions.

Not all private pensions programs meet ERISA standards, and several problems of relevance to women went unresolved by ERISA. Of immediate importance are questions of pension vesting, and the amount of time an individual must work for an employer before being covered by (vested in) the pension plan, and transferability of pension credits.

#### Public Pensions

The basic national social insurance program - old-age, survivors, disability, and health insurance (OASDHI) - provides monthly cash benefits when earnings are cut off by old-age, severe disability or death. These programs also serve as protection against hospital and medical costs during old age and disability. Public pensions include OASDHI programs as well as Federal, state, and local government employee pensions, unemployment, and the railroad retirement plan as established in the Railroad Retirement Act.

Federally Employed Women (FEW)  
Lynne Revo-Cohen 638-7144

## Social Security

Since the beginning of the Social Security Program dependency has been a factor in entitlement to Social Security spouse's benefits. Congress under the Social Security Amendments of 1977 recognized this as being tantamount to sex discrimination and directed that efforts proceed to eliminate dependence as a factor in Social Security eligibility. The need for this change has been brought about by changes in traditional family roles; more married women are in the labor force, divorce rates are up, and both society and women themselves have changed their view of women.

Under current law married women workers, divorced wives, widowed homemakers under the age of 60, aged widows, and women working in the home suffer frequent and severe discrimination. In devising remedies for these problems, adequacy of coverage and equity in distribution are important criteria; however, reducing inequities for women workers while providing adequate protection for women with little paid work history create a tension between the goals of adequacy and equity.

A number of suggestions have been proposed to alleviate the inequities for women under Social Security including earnings sharing and a two-tiered benefit structure.

American Association of University Women (AAUW)  
Tricia Smith/Peg Downey 785-7760

Displaced Homemakers  
Alice Quinlan 347-0522

National Coalition for Older Women's Issues  
Nancy King 872-1770

National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW)  
Mickey Salkind 296-2588

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club (BPW)  
Judy Schub 293-1100

National Organization for Women  
Jane Wells-Schooley 347-2279

National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC)  
Carol Bros 347-4456

Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)  
Pat Reuss 638-4560

# factsheet ON WOMEN

Education and Community Services • American Council of Life Insurance

September 1981

Editor: Shawn Hausman

## WOMEN AND SOCIAL SECURITY

*The Factsheet on Women is an occasional publication of the American Council of Life Insurance on a variety of topics concerning women. This issue was compiled with the assistance of the Social Security Administration.*

*The recommendations and viewpoints presented here do not necessarily represent those of the American Council of Life Insurance or of the Social Security Administration. They are a composite of various proposals being discussed in the public arena.*

*Additional copies of the Factsheet on Women can be obtained by writing to: Education and Community Services, American Council of Life Insurance, 1850 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.*

### I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT PROVISIONS

Social Security provides benefits designed to replace part of the wages lost when a worker retires or becomes disabled. It was designed to be one part of a three-tiered approach to retirement — the other two are private pensions and personal savings. Though at first benefits were intended only for the retired wage earner, in 1939 the Act was amended to include benefits for workers' wives and widows. The amendments guaranteed aged wives a benefit equal to half the retired workers' benefit and widows a benefit equal to three-fourths (now 100 percent) of the workers' benefit. Dependents' benefits claimed before age 65 are actuarially reduced.

A wife or widow who has earnings of her own may receive benefits based on those earnings. If this benefit is less than the amount to which she is entitled as a dependent, she receives in addition the difference between her benefit as a worker and as a dependent. (Although originally supplemental benefits were available only to women, today both spouses are eligible for benefits as workers and as dependents.)

Social Security also provides hospital insurance and supplementary medical insurance for all qualifying individuals aged 65 and over and for all disabled individuals who have been on the benefit rolls for at least two years.

Today, Social Security is the basic income maintenance program in the United States.

- In 1979, \$104 billion in monthly benefits were paid to 21.8 million retired or disabled workers and 13.3 million survivors and dependents.

Issues concerning the adequacy and equity of the treatment women receive under Social Security deserve attention since women are the main beneficiaries of the system.

- Out of approximately 35 million people who received benefits in 1980, about 52 percent were women.
- In 1952 only 42 percent of women were insured in their own right for retirement and survivors' benefits as compared to 70 percent in 1978.
- Of all men receiving benefits in 1978 only one-half of 1 percent received them as dependent spouses (husbands or widowers) of female workers.
- Of all women receiving benefits in 1978, 46 percent were entitled to them only as dependent spouses or widows compared to 56 percent in 1968.
- Of all women receiving benefits in 1978, 13 percent received them both on the basis of their own earnings and as dependent spouses or widows compared to 7 percent in 1968.
- Of all women receiving benefits in 1978, 41 percent received them only on the basis of their own earnings compared to 37 percent in 1968.

Women who are eligible to collect benefits only as dependents of their husbands may receive benefits only when their husbands become disabled, retire or die. Women who are insured on the basis of their own earnings receive benefits in their own right and on their own schedule.

## II. CHANGING LIFESTYLES OF WOMEN

When the first Social Security benefits were paid in 1940, the system adequately served a society where the majority of the paid labor force were men; women were homemakers rather than wage earners and marriages were expected to last a lifetime. The lifestyles of women have changed dramatically since then.

1. The female civilian labor force increased from 12.9 million in 1940 to 44.6 million in 1980.
2. In 1940, women accounted for 24 percent of the total U.S. civilian labor force; in 1980, this figure was 43 percent.
3. By 1990, two-thirds of all women aged 25 to 54 are expected to be in the paid labor force compared to 55 percent in 1975.
4. In 1950, 37 percent of women who worked during that year were employed at year-round, full-time jobs; by 1978, 44 percent of working women were at such jobs.
5. The proportion of married women in the labor force increased from 22 percent of all married women in 1950 to 50 percent in 1980.
6. In 48 percent of married-couple families in 1970, the wife was a wage earner; by 1979, the wife was a wage earner in 54 percent of married-couple families.
7. The proportion of working mothers with children under 18 years of age increased from 22 percent of all mothers in 1950 to 55 percent in 1980.
8. In 1950, there were 34 divorced women for every 1,000 married women with husbands present; by 1979, the ratio more than tripled to 111 divorced women per 1,000 married women.
9. The number of families maintained by women increased 136 percent between 1940 and 1980 while the number of families in general rose by 82 percent.

## III. ISSUES

The underlying assumptions of the Social Security Act were: (1) at least part of income must be replaced after retirement and (2) income earners were men. Since the Social Security Act was adopted in 1935, increasing numbers of women have been seeking paid employment to either support themselves, their families or supplement family income. In addition, the economic value of homemaking and childcare is increasingly being recognized as part of the marriage partnership. This leads to a growing perception that wives should be considered economic partners of their husbands, not dependents. Therefore, the following questions have emerged concerning the *adequacy* and *equity* of the treatment women receive under Social Security.

### 1. Selected Issues Related to Adequacy:

#### A. The Averaging Period

Benefits are based on a workers' lifetime average earnings subject to the Social Security tax. Long

averaging periods generally result in lower benefits for women than for men because of the time women spend out of the paid labor force in homemaking and childcare activities.

### Distribution of Men and Women Receiving Monthly Benefits in 1976\*

Monthly Benefits	Percentage Distribution <sup>1</sup>	
	Men	Women
Up to \$159.90	10%	37%
\$160.00-219.90	11	23
220.00-279.90	14	19
280.00-339.90	25	13
340.00 or more	39	8

- About 60 percent of the women awarded Social Security benefits had monthly benefits of less than \$220 as compared to only 21 percent of the men.
- Only 21 percent of the women received monthly benefits of over \$280 as compared to 64 percent of the men.

<sup>1</sup>Totals do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

\*Source: Social Security and The Changing Roles of Men and Women. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (now Health and Human Services), 1979.

### B. Divorced Persons

- Divorced persons must wait until their ex-spouses retire, become disabled or die to receive benefits.
- Divorced persons receive up to 50 percent of their ex-spouses' retirement or disability benefit or up to 100 percent of their deceased ex-spouses' benefit. Parents' benefits are also payable to divorced persons if they care for a child under age 16 or a disabled child of any age.

(The age until which parents' benefits are payable was changed from 18 to 16 for new recipients. Parents presently receiving benefits for 16 and 17 year-olds will do so until August, 1983.)

- Like other persons, the ex-spouse of a retired or disabled person must be age 62 or older to qualify for benefits. However, parents' benefits are payable at any age. Benefits are payable at age 60 or older to a divorced person whose ex-spouse is deceased. If the divorced spouse is disabled, such benefits can start at age 50.
- Divorced persons can claim benefits as dependents only if the marriage lasts at least 10 years. Parents' benefits are paid regardless of the length of the marriage.

### C. Aged Surviving Spouses

Most aged surviving spouses are widows who depend primarily on Social Security for support.

- In 1976, 36 percent of all aged non-married women depended on Social Security for 90 percent or more of their income; for 74 percent Social Security represented more than 50 percent of their income.

- In 1976, 35 percent of aged widows had incomes below the poverty level compared to 9 percent of aged married couples.

## 2. Selected Issues Related to Equity:

### A. Duplication of Protection

- Under the dual entitlement provision, a woman gets the higher of her benefit as a spouse or surviving spouse or as a worker. The benefit she receives based on her years as a wage earner cannot be added to the benefit she is entitled to as a dependent spouse. This frequently results in a married employed woman receiving no or only slightly higher benefits than she would have received had she never worked.

**Effects of Duplicate Protection\***  
(Based on 1979 Monthly Benefit Formula)

	Portion of Benefit Payable for Wife			Total Payable
	Average Earnings	As Worker	As Spouse	
Couple A: Husband Wife	\$1,200 0	\$ 0	\$234	\$234
Couple B: Husband Wife	1,200 200	168	234	234
Couple C: Husband Wife	1,200 600	296	0	296

\*Source: Social Security Financing and Benefits. Report of the 1979 Advisory Council.

### B. One- and Two-Earner Couples

Spouses' benefits are not payable to two-earner couples (unless one spouse has low average monthly earnings). Two-earner couples, then, generally receive lower total benefits than a one-earner couple with the same average monthly earnings.

### January '81 Current Benefits For One- and Two-Earner Couples\*

	Smith's	Miller's	Brown's
<b>Earnings</b>			
Husband	\$16,000	\$ 8,000	\$16,000
Wife	0	8,000	5,750
TOTAL	\$16,000	\$16,000	\$21,750
<b>Benefits</b>			
As worker	\$ 549	\$ 336	\$ 549
As spouse	275	336	276
TOTAL	\$ 824	\$ 672	\$ 825

\*Source: Social Security Administration, 1981.

### C. Aged Survivors of One- and Two-Earner Couples

- The larger the proportion of the couple's earnings earned by one spouse, the higher the benefit for the aged survivor.

- The survivor of a two-earner couple generally gets a lower benefit than the survivor of a one-earner couple where both couples have the same average indexed monthly earnings.
- The surviving spouse of a one-earner retired couple gets as much as two-thirds of the total benefits that the couple was receiving; the survivor of a two-earner couple gets as little as 50 percent when the spouse had equal earnings.

## IV. Selected Recommendations

While it is clear that issues of adequacy and equity need to be addressed, the larger issue of the continued viability of the Social Security system dominates the public's concerns today. It is unlikely that ways to address the specific women's issues discussed here will be fully considered until methods of financing the total system are agreed upon.

Within this context, recommendations that affect the issues of adequacy and equity are being discussed and are presented here. Some have been proposed by the public sector, some by the private sector and some by organizations specifically concerned with women's issues. When deliberating changes in the Social Security system, it is important to bear two things in mind:

1. the possible increased costs such change will incur, and
2. ascertaining that changing the rules for one group will not adversely affect any other groups presently receiving benefits.

### A. Recommendations for Major Reform

**1. Earnings Sharing.** This plan is based on the premise that each partner in a marriage is entitled to credit for half the couple's combined earnings, regardless of the amount earned by each. Spouses' benefits are based on pre- and/or post-marriage earnings plus half the couple's combined earnings during marriage. Dependents' benefits for spouses would be eliminated.

**2. Modified Earnings Sharing.** This plan incorporates two changes into a pure earnings-sharing system.

**A.** A surviving widow(er) would inherit the deceased spouse's earnings credits for the years they were married. Benefits would be based on 100 percent of the couple's combined earnings plus credits from pre- or post-marriage earnings.

**B.** A higher earning spouse who is disabled or retires before his/her lower earning spouse would receive benefits based on the higher earner's full earnings record, rather than on half the couple's combined earnings.

Supporters of the pure earnings-sharing plan or the modified plan claim it is more equitable for the following reasons:

- Marriage would be treated as an economic partnership.
- Each person would have an independent earnings record.

# factsheet ON WOMEN

- Homemakers would receive credit for half the couple's earnings and would be entitled to retirement and disability benefits in their own right.
- Benefits for couples with the same combined earnings would be equal regardless of the amount earned by each spouse.
- The earnings of a working wife would increase the size of the couple's retirement benefit; a working wife's earnings would not duplicate her benefits as a dependent spouse.
- Benefits for divorced women would be based on half of the earnings of their ex-husbands for any number of years the marriage lasted.

Those opposed to earnings-sharing are so for a variety of reasons, including:

- The costs of initiating such a system are prohibitive and will come at a time when the entire system's viability is endangered.
- The plan must be structured to avoid allowing spouses with non-covered earnings to take unfair advantage of the system.
- An agreed upon method for determining benefits for children and young widows and widowers has not been developed.
- Increases in benefits for homemakers (they would become eligible for disability benefits and higher retirement benefits in their own right) would generally be offset by reductions in benefits for divorced and married men and in benefits for couples where one spouse does not work outside the home or earns less than one-third of the couple's income.
- Benefits will be transferred from divorced men to their ex-wives. Therefore, many divorced men and dependents from any subsequent marriage would receive less under earnings-sharing than under present law.

## **B. Recommendations for Specific Reforms**

Other recommendations for reforming the Social Security system are less broad in scope. In general, they would not eliminate the present system of dependent's benefits. These proposals are offered as an alternative to the fundamental changes required by an earnings-sharing plan. Some of these include:

- Providing Social Security credits for homemaker services.
- Providing greater equity between one- and two-earner couples by modifying or eliminating payment of dependent spouses' benefits. In general, methods to achieve greater equity in this

area would either increase the benefits payable to two-earner couples or decrease the benefits payable to one-earner couples.

- Providing for a shorter averaging period by which benefits are computed so that time spent out of paid employment would have less effect on benefit amounts of women workers.
- Providing for dropout years for childcare so that years that parents spend out of the paid labor force in childcare activities could be excluded from the averaging period.
- Reducing the 10 year duration-of-marriage requirement for divorced spouses.
- Permitting the surviving spouse to inherit the earnings credits of the deceased spouse.

The above listed recommendations carry both advantages and disadvantages and should be studied carefully and thoroughly before decisions can be made to support or oppose them.

## **PROGRAMMING RESOURCES**

The complexity of the issues surrounding Social Security requires a more thorough understanding of the facts and implications of the various changes proposed than we are able to provide in this fact sheet. To help the members of your organization study this issue, a resource list has been compiled for you.

### **Publications**

1. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Social Security Administration. **A Woman's Guide to Social Security**. SSA Pubn. No. 05-10127, August 1980. (12-page brochure)
2. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Social Security Administration. Office of Governmental Affairs. **Social Security and the Changing Roles of Men and Women**. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1980 (-311-267/191). (31-page summary)
3. **Your Social Security Benefits**. New York: Commodity Research Publications Co., 1981. (48-page handbook)
4. "Changes to Expect in Your Social Security." **U.S. News & World Report**, May 25, 1981, p. 26+.

### **Audiovisuals**

1. "Images of Aging": 20-minute film on retirement distributed by the American Council of Life Insurance. (Available after November, 1981. Contact Shawn Hausman, Education and Community Services, American Council of Life Insurance, for distribution procedure.)





PORNOGRAPHY- see following pages



January 1983

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY  
PRESIDENT

LEADING THE PRO-FAMILY MOVEMENT SINCE 1972

316 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Suite 203, Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 544-0353

## EAGLE FORUM

Hqrs. Office: Box 618, Alton, IL 62002 (618) 462-5415

### EAGLE FORUM'S PLAN TO ELIMINATE CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

Child pornography (the use of children in pictures, books or films to perform sex acts, or to pose in lewd positions or circumstances) should be absolutely prohibited by every state, as well as by Federal law.

State Legislatures, county boards, and city councils have a great opportunity in early 1983 to strike an effective blow against both child abuse and pornography.

As everyone knows, laws against pornography have been singularly ineffective. The police seldom bother to arrest porn peddlers, and prosecuting attorneys seldom bother to prosecute, because of their belief that the courts will reverse all convictions after the lawyers wrap the smut peddlers in the sacred mantle of the First Amendment.

In a unanimous decision on July 2, 1982, in New York v. Ferber (73 L.Ed.2d 1113), the U.S. Supreme Court opened up a real opportunity for effective prosecution and conviction.

The Supreme Court held that the prevention of the sexual abuse of children is "a governmental objective of surpassing importance" and that child pornography is not protected by the First Amendment. "Child pornography" is defined as the manufacture and sale of pornographic depictions of children.

The importance of this decision lies in the fact that child pornography can be prohibited even though it does not meet the difficult legal definition of "obscenity." Previous Supreme Court decisions had held that nothing is "obscene" unless it is "utterly without redeeming social importance." If the porn lawyers could argue that the material had any iota of "serious" literary, artistic or political content, then the pornography could be wrapped in the First Amendment.

The New York law upheld in the Ferber decision prohibits any pictures of children under age 16 in sexual conduct or in lewd positions or circumstances. To obtain a conviction, prosecuting attorneys now need show only that the materials portray under-age children in sexual poses.

Only 20 states have the strong New York-type law upheld by the Supreme Court. In these states, child pornography can be completely stamped out by the immediate arrest and prosecution of offenders. This should be done immediately, if it has not already been done. These 20 states are: Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The remaining 30 states and the Federal Government have weaker laws that are virtually unenforceable; they usually require proof that the child pornography meet the difficult legal definition of "obscenity." These states are Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, and Wyoming.

The Legislatures of these 30 states should promptly pass strong new laws that completely eliminate the sexual abuse of children for commercial exploitation by porn peddlers. Child pornography laws should apply equally to everyone, including bookstores, theaters, schools, and libraries. The selling or displaying of children in sexual acts or lewd positions cannot be tolerated by a civilized society.

County boards and City councils can pass effective ordinances, too. The Cook County Board (Chicago, Illinois) in December 1982 passed an excellent one.

We have examined the child pornography statutes in the 20 states that have the New York-type law upheld by the Supreme Court, and we recommend the Texas statute as the best. It is reprinted on the reverse of this sheet. All Eagle Forum members should urge appropriate action in their State Legislatures, county boards, city councils, or prosecuting attorney's office.

# TEXAS PENAL CODE

# Title 9

## PUBLIC ORDER AND DECENCY

## § 43.25

### § 43.25. Sexual Performance by a Child

(a) In this section:

(1) "Sexual performance" means any performance or part thereof that includes sexual conduct by a child younger than 17 years of age.

(2) "Obscene sexual performance" means any performance that includes sexual conduct by a child younger than 17 years of age of any material that is obscene, as that term is defined by Section 43.21 of this code.

(3) "Sexual conduct" means actual or simulated sexual intercourse, deviate sexual intercourse, sexual bestiality, masturbation, sado-masochistic abuse, or lewd exhibition of the genitals.

(4) "Performance" means any play, motion picture, photograph, dance, or other visual representation that is exhibited before an audience.

(5) "Promote" means to procure, manufacture, issue, sell, give, provide, lend, mail, deliver, transfer, transmit, publish, distribute, circulate, disseminate, present, exhibit, or advertise or to offer or agree to do any of the above.

(6) "Simulated" means the explicit depiction of sexual conduct that creates the appearance of actual sexual conduct and during which the persons engaging in the conduct exhibit any uncovered portion of the breasts, genitals, or buttocks.

(7) "Deviate sexual intercourse" has the meaning defined by Section 43.01 of this code.

(8) "Sado-masochistic abuse" has the meaning defined by Section 43.24 of this code.

(b) A person commits an offense if, knowing the character and content thereof, he employs, authorizes, or induces a child younger than 17 years of age to engage in a sexual performance. A parent or legal guardian or custodian of a child younger than 17 years of age commits an offense if he consents to the participation by the child in a sexual performance.

(c) An offense under Subsection (b) of this section is a felony of the second degree.

(d) A person commits an offense if, knowing the character and content of the material, he produces, directs, or promotes an obscene performance that includes sexual conduct by a child younger than 17 years of age.

(e) A person commits an offense if, knowing the character and content of the material, he produces, directs, or promotes a performance that includes sexual conduct by a child younger than 17 years of age.

(f) An offense under Subsection (d) or (e) of this section is a felony of the third degree.

(g) It is an affirmative defense to a prosecution under this section that the defendant, in good faith, reasonably believed that the person who engaged in the sexual conduct was 17 years of age or older.

(h) When it becomes necessary for the purposes of this section to determine whether a child who participated in sexual conduct was younger than 17 years of age, the court or jury may make this determination by any of the following methods:

(1) personal inspection of the child;

(2) inspection of the photograph or motion picture that shows the child engaging in the sexual performance;

(3) oral testimony by a witness to the sexual performance as to the age of the child based on the child's appearance at the time;

(4) expert medical testimony based on the appearance of the child engaging in the sexual performance; or

(5) any other method authorized by law or by the rules of evidence at common law.



PRESIDENT REAGAN- see following pages  
also see gender gap

OLYMPIA J. SNOWE  
2ND DISTRICT, MAINE

COMMITTEES:  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
SMALL BUSINESS  
SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON AGING

WASHINGTON OFFICE:  
130 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-6306

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 3, 1983

DISTRICT OFFICES:  
●  
IN MAINE, CALL TOLL-FREE  
1-800-432-1599  
●  
FEDERAL BUILDING  
202 HARLOW STREET, ROOM 209  
BANGOR, MAINE 04401  
(207) 942-6308  
●  
146 MAIN STREET  
AUBURN, MAINE 04210  
(207) 786-2451  
●  
440 MAIN STREET  
POST OFFICE BOX 722  
PRESQUE ISLE, MAINE 04769  
(207) 764-5124

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As Republican Members of Congress and as women, we found cause for optimism in your State of the Union address. You demonstrated a clear new awareness of the hardships currently confronting many women in this country. More importantly, you made a number of pledges to address some of the most difficult problems of our day, foremost among them the lack of legal and economic equity for women. Each of us shares a deep sense of commitment to these goals, and offers you her assistance and the promise of tireless effort in the U.S. Congress on behalf of the women of America.

The opening of the 98th Congress presents both the Republican Members of Congress and your administration with a prime opportunity for a critical reevaluation of the legal and economic inequities confronting women, and the initiation of new efforts to eliminate these barriers to full equality. We take this opportunity to present our concerns, and provide you with our recommendations for addressing these serious problems. Further, we would like the opportunity to sit down with you in the near future and develop a course of action for confronting this issue in the 98th Congress.

We believe the two pieces of legislation in the 98th Congress that would do the most to insure legal and economic equity to the women in this country are the Equal Rights Amendment and the concepts embraced by the Women's Economic Equity Act. A variety of other legislative and administrative remedies will be necessary during the next two years, as well. In particular, we are eager to review Justice Department proposals to seriously address the issue of child support enforcement.

The Women's Economic Equity Act has enjoyed broad-based bipartisan support in both the House and Senate. The original package was developed by Senator Durenberger, and cosponsored by twelve of the Senate's most prominent Republican members. Separate provisions of the bill address some of the major reasons that women are economically disadvantaged, particularly important are those that seek to

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
Page Two  
February 3, 1983

remedy pension inequities and child care burdens. We urge a prompt and comprehensive administration initiative to address women's economic situation, and believe endorsement of this legislation would represent a very important first step.

The Equal Rights Amendment continues to have the support of the vast majority of men and women in this country. We recognize your long-standing opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment as the formal means of eliminating the barriers to equality that women presently face. As you know, the ERA was reintroduced into the 98th Congress with the support of 280 House Members and 56 Senators. We regret that you do not share our position on this issue, but would ask that you let the Congress work its will.

Perhaps the most difficult problem for either the Congress or your administration to remedy is the problem of wage discrimination. Its causes are complex, and in many cases, deeply intertwined with our most basic institutions and socialization patterns. Yet, as we come face to face with a new phenomenon described as the "feminization of poverty," we can no longer accept or excuse the pervasive wage discrimination that has remained essentially unchanged throughout the 20th Century. Last fall the Social Security Commission confronted the demographic and economic changes that threatened the very survival of the Social Security program, and developed legislative proposals to insure its solvency. The ability of this Commission to translate complex demographic and economic causes into legislative remedies in the face of serious problems is encouraging. We thereby recommend the creation of a Commission to study the problem of wage discrimination and develop specific legislative proposals to begin to reverse one of the greatest injustices confronted by women in this country every day.

In the immediate future, we encourage a special focusing of attention within all new and existing programs with regard to occupation segregation and wage discrimination in the workforce. Any new block grants to stimulate advancement in math and science should have built in insurances that women will benefit equally. New jobs programs to help the unemployed should have a special component aimed at addressing the special employment problems women face. The proposed state grants to aid dislocated workers should recognize and address the problem of displaced homemakers, a prime example of the "dislocated worker."

We have a deep concern for the apparent disproportionate share of budget reductions that are directed toward programs of greatest benefit to women and children. The Women's Educational Equity Act Program, the only program which specifically addresses educational equity for women should be fully funded and vigorously administered. Further cuts in child nutrition, food stamps, and AFDC will have their greatest impact on women, particularly women who are maintaining families and represent one of the fastest growing poverty groups in the country today.



The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
Page Three  
February 3, 1983

In short, Mr. President, we support fully the pledges you made in the State of the Union address. It is now time to move beyond pledges to the enactment of specific legislation to remedy the fundamental legal and economic inequities women face daily. We believe passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, the Women's Economic Equity Act, and a strong attack on wage discrimination are urgently needed. Further, we strongly support strict child support enforcement laws and adequate funding levels for programs important to the economic well-being of the women in this country. We respectfully request a meeting with you to expand on these comments and to work with you to develop a course of action to remedy these problems.

Sincerely,

Claudine Schneider

CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER

Olympia Snowe

OLYMPIA J. SNOWE

5-6304

*Leslie  
Primmer*

Marge Roukema

MARGE ROUKEMA

Nancy Johnson

NANCY JOHNSON

5-4476

*Joan  
Hester*

Lynn Martin

LYNN MARTIN

Bobbi Fiedler

BOBBI FIEDLER

5-5811

*Liane  
Jensen*

## G.O.P. Women Ask For President's Help On Equity Measure

By ADAM CLYMER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — A usually uncomplaining organization of Republican women is pressing President Reagan to ease their political problems by facing and solving some of the economic problems encountered by women.

Leaders of the National Federation of Republican Women, an organization of active party workers who are generally well-to-do and not known for rocking political boats, told Mr. Reagan on Wednesday that women around the country thought his "Administration falls somewhere between being apathetic about women's issues to being antiwomen."

In a brief meeting at the White House, they told Mr. Reagan that they wanted him to seek re-election, according to Betty Rendel, president of the federation. But they also handed him a written statement saying they needed help, in the form of "some tangible evidence of concern for women — the 'average women.'"

Their warning was underlined this afternoon when the federation's board met in suburban Arlington, Va., and heard Robert M. Teeter, a leading party poll-taker, say, "The Republican Party is not seen as doing anything affirmatively for women."

Mr. Teeter, president of Market Opinion Research in Detroit, cautioned that even though he believed the perception to be false, "Republicans are seen as supporting discrimination in the work place."

The federation's call to Mr. Reagan included a number of steps that they said could "change the overall perception to one we can all publicize."

Specifically, they urged Mr. Reagan to support the proposed economic equity bill, a measure that would improve wives' pension rights, broaden eligibility for child care tax credits and expand Federal efforts to force child support payments.

They also asked him to "offer concrete proof of progress of your 50 States Project." That project involves efforts to get each of the states to eliminate provisions from their laws that discriminate against women. *Thelma Duggan*, the director of the project at the White House, was dismissed Wednesday by Faith Ryan Whitlatch, the new head of the Office of Liaison.