Working Women: Problems and Prospects

Ruth Antoniades

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

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Working Women: Problems and Prospects

Abstract
A six-session course analyzing the role of women in the work force, trade unions, and community life; what lies ahead. Prepared especially for Trade Union Women's Studies, Cornell University, the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations by Ruth Antoniades, Research Assistant, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Keywords
trade unions, women, trade union women's studies, community women in the work force

Comments
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TRADE UNION

WOMEN'S STUDIES

WORKING WOMEN: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations
A Statutory College of the State University at
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
WORKING WOMEN: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

A six-session course analyzing the role of women in the work force, trade unions, and community life; what lies ahead.

Prepared especially for

Trade Union Women's Studies
Cornell University
The New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations

by

Ruth Antoniades, Research Assistant
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

April 1975

Any part of this course may be reproduced provided that acknowledgment is made of the source: Trade Union Women's Studies, NYSSILR, Cornell University.
Six sessions exploring concerns of women:

I. Women as workers.

II. Women at work, in paid employment -- occupations and earnings.

III. Legislation and contract issues.

IV. Women's participation in the trade union movement.

V. Women's position in a tight economy.

VI. A look at future prospects -- in jobs, in education and training, in legislation, in services and in the family.

Bibliography:


Session I.

A. Course Overview. Women at work.
1. *Six sessions* exploring concerns of women
---as workers
---at the workplace
---in Contract Issues and Legislation
---through Participation in Unions
---as affected by a tight economy
---looking at future prospects - in jobs, training, legislation, services, the family

2. *Format:* Informal discussion

3. *Assignments:* as indicated in syllabus and included in appendix.

B. Introductions.
1. Who are we? Members of the group can introduce themselves by giving your name and union, a bit about your family, your work, what portion of the week or year you are in paid work force, why you are interested in this course, etc.

2. What generalizations can be made about this group? For example are most single, married, heads of households, have younger or older children? What jobs do members have? What other interests or goals do they have?

"We must realize that the working wife and mother is not a modern invention. On the contrary, the non-working full-time wife and mother is a phenomenon that only modern affluency, that is, modern technology, has made possible."

--- Bruno Bettelheim

C. Women's Work
1. As far back as history is recorded, women have been economically productive within the family unit with the exception of ruling classes in the more affluent societies.
   a) Raising a family and doing work of marketable value was combined within the home.
   b) Industrialization forced people to separate these tasks. Women and children were first to leave home to work in factories; later joined by men. New dependency on wages for survival.
c) Economic need determined "woman's place". Women were welcomed as workers during periods of national emergencies.

2. Factors which have influenced the increased participation of women in the labor force:

a) Need for more workers - demand
b) Increased educational opportunities
c) Decrease in family size
d) Increase in number of women dependent on their own earnings
e) Change in length of work-life.

Assignment: As women increase in numbers in the labor force, what are the implications?

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Session II. Women at work

A. Women and Paid Employment
Discussion:
What are the jobs most of us have held?
What factors influenced the choice of these jobs?
Were these jobs full-time, part-time, or seasonal?
Have these jobs been in predominantly women's areas
and working with women?
(List on blackboard.)

How does the work profile of this group compare to
national averages?
(Chart)

1. Who works?
   Today more than half of all women between 18
   and 64 are in the labor force - 9 out of 10
   will work outside the home at some time in
   in their lives.

2. Why work?
   Nearly 35 million women are in the labor force
today because their talents and skills are
needed by the American economy. During the
decade 1963 to 1973, some 17 million additional
jobs were developed in new or expanding in-
dustries. Nearly 10 million filled by women
and more than 7 million men.

Women work for the same reasons men do.
Millions of the women who were in the labor
force in March 1973, worked to support them-
selves or others: 7.7 million were single
women workers; nearly 6.3 million were widowed,
divorced or separated from their husbands --
many also raising children. In addition 3.7
million were married women whose husbands had
incomes below $5,000 in 1972 and another 3
million whose husbands had incomes between
$5,000 and $7,000. The Bureau of Labor Statis-
tics estimates for a low standard of living for
an urban family of four was $7,386 in the Fall
of 1972.
### Where Work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JOB CATEGORIES</th>
<th>% OF FEMALE WORK FORCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clericals</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesworkers</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private household workers</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers and officials</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers and mgrs.</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts and Supervision</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonfarm labor</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Special groups:**
- Very young women (14 and 15) most likely to be babysitters; 73% do private household work.
- Single women (16 and over) slightly more likely to be in clerical work (just after h.s. graduation) and in professional jobs (just after college graduation).
- Non-white women (4.5 million in total) About one-fourth were in private household work and another one-fourth in service work.
- Older women (age 45 and over) were less likely to be in the clerical fields but more likely to be managers, either in an office or on a farm.

### When Work:

4 out of every 10 women work full-time for 50 weeks of the year. 3 out of every 10 women work part-time (less than 35 hrs/week.) Remaining 3 work full-time but only part of the year.

The jobs women hold are somehow related to work previously performed at home and identified as "women's work". For nine out of ten women this means service jobs, nurturing tasks and assistant roles. These include positions as secretaries, clerical workers, waitresses, teachers, nurses, telephone operators, laboratory technicians, bookkeepers.
B. Differential treatment of women in the labor market results in:
1. Concentration in low paying, entry level jobs.
2. Being viewed as secondary participants in labor market.
3. Lower earnings than men.

Women, working full-time, continue to earn only $3 for every $5 earned by men, and things are getting worse instead of better.

4. Discrimination on the job — inequality of opportunity in recruitment, employment, training, promotion and termination.
   inequality of pay while doing the same work
   psychological perception of employment capabilities i.e. myths concerning turnover and absenteeism

C. Minority Women
   About one-eighth of all women workers are of minority races (which according to Department of Labor data is "Persons other than white" -- Blacks, oriental and native American. Spanish origin persons are generally included in white population).
Readings: See appendix "Facts on Women Workers of Minority Races"; "Who is The Puerto Rican Woman?" From Civil Rights Digest, Spring 1974. "Who is the Black Woman?" Ibid.

Assignment: Discuss the concept of "Women's work" with several members of your family, co-workers or friends.

How is "woman's place" defined on your job? Are you asked to do things that would not be asked of a man in a similar position? What assumptions are made? Do you find yourself doing some of the same tasks on your job that you do at home that seem to be "expected"? Are women ever treated in ways that separate them from communicating with one another? that isolate them from male workers?

Are there pay differences based on sex in your job? How would you go about finding out?

Does your contract include anti-discrimination and equal pay for equal work clauses?

Look at your contract for specific items that affect you as a woman. Write down these provisions for next week's discussion.
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Session III. Legislation and Contract Issues

A. Historically, Federal and State laws have been developed to eliminate dangerous and inequitable conditions at the work place.

How have these laws had direct or indirect effects on working women?

1. **Protective legislation (1912-1913)**
   During the reform period of the decade preceding World War I, States began enacting protective laws for workers, covering (some applying only to women):
   
   a) maximum daily or weekly hours;  
   b) minimum wage;  
   c) days of rest, meal and rest periods;  
   d) limitation on night work

2. **Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938 - Minimum Wage**
   This legislation, also known as the Federal wage and hour law, establishes a minimum wage for the workers it covers, and requires premium pay for work beyond a specified numbers of hours.*

3. **Equal Pay Act of 1963 (of the FLSA), as amended**
   This law covers all employees, including executive, administrative, professional and outside sales. It prohibits employers from discriminating on the basis of sex in the payment of equal wages for equal skill, effort and responsibility and which are performed under similar working conditions.* Accepts confidential complaints by phone or in writing. Makes regular visits and spot-checks to employers. Powers of investigation and litigation.

   Title VII prohibits discrimination in hiring, upgrading, and all other conditions of employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. It covers private employers, labor organizations, and public employment agencies, and essentially invalidates protective legislation. Title VII is administered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, appointed by the President. Provides for filing written charge for an individual or "class" with EEOC. Referred by EEOC to State Division of Human Rights or local agency. Powers
5. **EEOC Guidelines on Sex Discrimination** cover:
   a) sex as a bona fide occupational qualification (bfoq);
   b) separate lines of progression and seniority systems;
   c) discrimination against married women;
   d) job opportunities advertising;
   e) employment agencies;
   f) pre-employment inquiries to sex;
   g) relationship of Title VII to the Equal Pay Act;
   h) relationship of Title VII to State laws.

   This Executive Order prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex by Federal contractors and subcontractors with more than $10,000 in contracts. Requires an Affirmative Action program with goals and timetables for correction of deficiencies for government contracts over $50,000. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the U.S. Department of Labor administers the order. Penalty is loss of contract.

7. **Sex Discrimination Guidelines** issued by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance. Guidelines to assure equal job opportunity for women on work paid for by Federal funds were issued by the Secretary of Labor on June 9, 1970.

8. **Executive Order 11478**: Equal Employment Opportunity in the Federal Government. Executive Order 11478 directs Federal agencies to formulate employment programs insuring non-discrimination. This order is administered by the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

9. **Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967**. This act prohibits discrimination in employment against persons 40 to 65 years of age by employers, employment agencies and labor unions, except where age is a bona fide occupational qualification (bfoq). Lost wages are recovered by enforcement agency.*

10. **Equal Rights Amendment**
    The ERA: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or
by any State on account of Sex" was passed by Congress in March, 1972. The amendment has been ratified by 34 state legislatures. Four more are needed before 1979.

11. **New York State legislation**
   a) New York State Law Against Discrimination (sex added) N. Y. State Division of Human Rights
      Similar to EEOC, except: written charges by individuals only, not "agent" or "class". Followed by conciliation conferences. If they fail, the case goes to public hearing (Agency defends the complainant); then an Appeals Board; and finally to State Courts.

   b) New York City Law Against Discrimination - N.Y. City Commission on Human Rights same as N.Y. State, but no overlapping jurisdiction.

   c) New York State Equal Pay Act - N.Y. State Department of Labor
      No history of handling complaints or adjudicating differences.
      Primarily studies and research.

   d) N.Y. State Equal Rights Amendment, pending.

*Enforced by the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor.


B. Contract Issues

"Girls, you must take this matter to heart seriously now, for you have established a union, and for the first time in woman's history in the United States, you are placed, and by your own efforts, on a level with men, as far as possible, to obtain wages for your labor...Keep at it now, girls, and you will achieve full and plenteous success."

--Susan B. Anthony, 1868, at Founding of Women's Typographical Union.
1. Basically, a contract governs wages, hours and working conditions. "Working conditions" can cover a broad spectrum of problems which workers feel affects their ability to perform their job. (See "Sample Contract", Union W.A.G.E., Sept.-Oct. 1974, No. 25, p. 7.)

SAMPLE CONTRACT

I. RECOGNITION & JURISDICTION

(1) **Coverage.** The provisions of this Agreement shall apply to all salaried employees, with the exception of those who have the right to hire and dismiss employees.

(2) **Union Shop.** All regular employees shall be members of the (union and local) after the completion of their probationary period.

II. HOURS

(1) The work week shall consist of five (5) consecutive days of seven (7) hours each, with one (1) hour for lunch, between the hours of 9:00 A.M. and 5:30 P.M., Monday through Friday.

(2) There shall be two (2) fifteen minute rest periods, strictly adhered to, per day for each employee, one in the morning and one in the afternoon.

(3) All time worked in excess of seven (7) hours a day, thirty-five (35) hours a week, or on Saturdays, Sundays or holidays shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half (1½).

III. HOLIDAYS

(1) Employees shall receive the following holidays with pay: New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Independence Day, Labor Day, Admission Day, Veteran's Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day. A holiday falling on Sunday shall be observed the succeeding Monday. When a holiday falls on Saturday it will be observed on Friday or Monday at
the discretion of the Office Manager. Notice of work on any of the above holidays shall be given at least four (4) days prior to the holiday, except in unusual emergencies.

(2) In the event a holiday falls during the vacation period of an employee, that employee shall be entitled to an additional day off for each holiday occurring during his or her vacation.

IV. Vacations

(1) All salaried employees shall receive vacations with pay on his or her anniversary date in accordance with the following schedule: Employees shall earn two weeks vacation annually after one year of service; after three years of service employees shall be entitled to a vacation of three weeks annually; after ten years of service employees shall be entitled to four weeks annually.

(2) Upon severance of employment, employees who have accumulated vacation credit shall receive full compensation for such credit.

(3) Choice of a vacation period is to be worked out in consultation with the Office Manager.

V. Sick Leave

(1) All salaried employees shall be entitled to fifteen (15) regular working days sick leave per year of continuous full-time employment, and such sick leave shall be cumulative at the rate of one and one-quarter (1 1/4) days per month provided the employee has worked during the month.

(2) Sick leave shall be counted as time worked for purposes of pension payments and other benefits.

(3) Permanent employees shall be entitled to an extension of sick leave for a reasonable length of time without pay and without loss of seniority.

VI. Leaves of Absence

Permanent employees may, upon request, be granted leaves of absence for good cause upon arrangement with the Employer, without loss of seniority. Any female employed for a period of one year or more shall be entitled to six (6) months maternity leave without pay and without loss of seniority. Extensions may be mutually agreed upon.
VII. SENIORITY

(1) The principle of seniority in promotions and transfers shall be recognized when employees are competent. All vacancies within the office shall be posted for a period of six (6) working days and employees shall be entitled to apply for new and/or vacant positions.

(2) New employees shall be subject to a thirty (30) day probationary period after which they become permanent employees.

(3) In the event of job openings former employees will be given prior consideration. Seniority of former employees will not be broken for a period of one year after his or her layoff.

VIII. SEVERANCE PAY

(1) Each employee shall be granted severance pay at the rate of one week's pay after one year's employment; two weeks pay after two years employment; and three weeks pay after three years employment; up to four weeks pay after four years employment.

IX. GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

In the event a grievance or dispute arises, the following grievance procedure shall be followed:

(1) Attempts at settlement shall be made by the employee and the supervisor of the department involved, in the presence of the shop steward if the employee desires. Failing settlement within three (3) working days, the grievance shall be referred to step 2.

(2) A conference between the employee and the members of a grievance committee designated by the Union and the Office Manager, at which step the grievance must be reduced to writing.

(3) Failing settlement at Step 2, either party may within three (3) working days submit the grievance to arbitration by requesting a list of arbitrators from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Within seven (7) calendar days from receipt of the list the arbitrator shall be selected by the parties by alternately striking names until one name remains. The first strike shall be determined by a flip of the coin.

(4) The decisions of the arbitrator shall be final and binding upon the parties hereto and the arbitrators fees shall be borne equally by both parties.
X. HEALTH PLAN

(1) The Employer will include all regular employees, after the probationary period, under a Dual Choice Health Plan.

(2) Any Health Plan which applies to regular employees shall apply to part-time employees on a pro-rata basis provided the employee agrees to pay the balance of the premium.

(3) Temporary employees shall be covered under the Health Plan after thirty (30) days employment.

(4) Permanent employees on unpaid sick leave shall be covered for six (6) months.

(5) Regular employees shall be covered by a dental plan. After thirty (30) days employment the Employer shall provide dental coverage for temporary employees.

XI. PENSION PLAN

The Employees agrees to contribute into a Trust fund for the account of each employee working under this Agreement, the sum of thirty-five cents (35¢) per hour paid for.

XII. WAGES

Schedule "A" is attached and hereby made part of this Agreement.

XIII. TERM OF AGREEMENT

The term of this Agreement shall be from ________________ to ________________ and shall be deemed renewed thereafter unless either party gives written notice at least sixty (60) days prior to expiration date.

"Because women are rarely active in unions, even when they are members, unions often reflect the attitudes of their male members; they fail to press for the elimination of sex differentials in union contracts and the enforcement of equal pay laws as vigorously as they pursue pay raises."


Discussion:
What items are in your union contract which offer benefits to women workers?
Is there an anti-discrimination clause?
Are maternity benefits and leave of absence indicated?
What are other women's issues which are included or which should be included?

Whether or not an employee must stop work in the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy, even with doctor's permission and able to work, is exclusively a women's issue.

2. Special Clauses
Other issues affecting all workers but of higher priority to women, include:

a) Maternity/paternity leave - "personal or medical necessity".
b) Affirmative Action
c) Dress-codes
d) Benefits for temporary and part-time workers
e) Personal time off

In the past many of these issues received less attention perhaps because women have been under-represented at union leadership levels where policies are set.

3. Other Fringe Benefits
a) Taft-Hartley amendments include:
   (1) Apprenticeship - 1959
   (2) Scholarships, Child Care - 1969
   (3) Prepaid legal - 1973

Assignment: What role have women played within the labor movement?


(Especially note pp. 22, 23, 40).

"Women Workers" resolution approved by the 29th Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, October, 1974.
Women have been entering the labor force in ever increasing numbers. The percentage of women to men in the total labor force has doubled since 1930. In the United States, there are now an estimated 33 million women workers, comprising 38 percent of the labor force. In Canada approximately three million Canadian women who work comprise 33.2 percent of the labor force.

The majority of women work for the same reason men do — because of economic need. Their earnings provide self-support. Many women are remaining single or marrying later. Many are forced to work through the death of their spouses, through divorce or separation. Many provide the sole support for a family. More than 22 percent of women workers are heads of households. In many families women are forced to work because a second wage is required to meet basic economic needs.

While the Amalgamated deplores the economic inequities which force women to work who would prefer to stay home, we insist on the right of every woman to work if she chooses to do so. Every woman who does work should be paid on the same wage scale as men doing the same or comparable work.

All too often, the children of working mothers do not get adequate care. The number of good child-development facilities is dismally small and the cost is frequently out of the reach of most parents. If women are to achieve the basic goal of full participation in our economy and our society, their decision to work or not to work should not depend on the availability of decent care for their children.

In spite of the needs of the economy to facilitate a division of labor which reflects the interests, values, talents and skills of individuals regardless of sex, women workers continue to experience discrimination in employment. Many are employed in traditionally low-wage industries and occupations. Many are still not covered by either federal or state legislation or collective bargaining agreements. Even when women perform the same jobs as men, they are frequently given less prestigious positions and receive lower pay. Women, working full-time, continue to earn an average of 60 percent of what men earn. The large percentage of women earning less than a decent living wage is an important factor in the persistence of poverty in both the U.S. and Canada.

Women, historically, were seen as second-class members of the labor force, except in periods of national emergency. Many companies refused to hire women. Many employers refused to include women in apprenticeship or training programs which would allow them to
qualify for better jobs. Many plants kept women segregated in separate departments or in separate lines of promotion so that their pay and seniority rights could never equal that of men. Often they were discouraged from bidding on jobs which men had previously held. Some companies attempted to fire women when they were pregnant or made them lose all seniority rights when they returned to work after childbirth.

The Amalgamated condemns such discrimination and the economic waste and injustice which it has produced. The ACWA has always been in the forefront in promoting the interests of working people through trade union objectives of raising wages, shortening working hours, protecting job security and improving the conditions of work. We have fought to eliminate job discrimination, to obtain full enforcement of the principle of equal-pay-for-equal-work, and to secure enlightened public policy toward the ends of improving and extending standards in labor legislation, in education, in training and in social programs for the benefit of all workers.

As Amalgamated members, women have always taken an active role. They have provided strong support as trade unionists, working side by side with men on the picket line, in organizing efforts, in collective bargaining and in seeking to achieve social and legislative goals. The large percentage of ACWA members who are women constitute an important part of our union's strength. Women have been encouraged to play an active part in local unions, to serve as officers, board members, business agents, bargaining committee members and paid staff at all levels.

For many years the labor movement, in fighting for improvements in the wages, hours and conditions of working people, successfully promoted state laws which historically protected working women from the severest and harshest forms of exploitation. This was done at a time when it was politically impossible to extend such protection to all workers. As a promoter of equal employment opportunity without regard to sex, the ACWA has found that many state laws which affect the employment of women restricted opportunity, such as preventing them from working at certain occupations or during certain hours. We condemn laws which arbitrarily treat women as a separate group with stereotyped characteristics. Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, protective laws that discriminate against workers are being nullified. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has found many of these laws discriminatory and has been upheld by the courts, in its findings. Today, programs on the state level should be directed towards establishing decent protective labor standards applicable to all workers, especially relating to working conditions affecting involuntary overtime, premium pay and adequate sanitary facilities.
A major cause of continuing discrimination is the lack of adequate enforcement of federal anti-discrimination legislation. There are still violations of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 which are being evaded by means of job definitions and job classification systems that perpetuate de facto sex discrimination. The strengthening of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission through the 1972 amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and more recent EEOC guidelines, should be thoroughly implemented so that women will no longer be handicapped as to hiring, promotion, and other aspects of discrimination in employment. Similarly, Executive Order 11246, prohibiting discrimination by employers working under federal government contracts should be fully enforced.

Recognizing that laws which restrict women needed to be withdrawn, and that those laws which are truly beneficial need to be extended to men, the Amalgamated has joined with the AFL-CIO in working for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The Amendment states:

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

The passage of the Amendment by Congress in March 1972 has already served to strengthen the determination of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to eliminate job discrimination. The ERA is needed to reinforce Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. And, as the 1973 AFL-CIO Convention pointed out, the ERA "has become a symbol of commitment to equal opportunities for women and equal status for women." The ERA would require that all laws be applied equally to both sexes.

Apart from employment, there are still other areas which have resisted equal opportunities for women, and appropriate federal and state legislation should be secured to correct such situations. Discrimination in education, limitations in vocational training, legal rights credit laws, property rights and restrictions on women's participation as citizens must also be removed. Both men and women have a stake in the long overdue elimination of such barriers.

Women are turning to the trade union movement in ever-increasing numbers as the only effective means of gaining and maintaining justice and equality. Their number continues to grow as organizing drives push forward. The importance of women as trade unionists must be recognized and their full participation encouraged. A good union contract is not only the most effective guarantee against economic exploitation, but is also the basis upon which true equality can be built.
In March 1974 a group of Amalgamated members joined 3,200 women unionists from 58 unions and 41 states at the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Since then, CLUW has worked to build a solid and ongoing structure through the formation of local chapters around the country. CLUW's purpose is to support activity to organized unorganized women, encourage affirmative action in the work place, political action and legislation and to strengthen their participation within their unions.

RESOLVED that the 29th Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO, CLC:

1. Reaffirms its commitment to the equality of women in all facets of society, and calls for equal opportunities for women economically, professionally, educationally at the work place, in all groups and organizations;

2. Continues to press its fight and play a key role in combatting discrimination at the bargaining table (for elimination of all wage differentials based on sex; sickness and accident benefits for pregnancy and maternity leave paid on the same basis as any other disability; job posting; and upgrading; in the courts; in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; and in campaigning to have state laws that protect women also extended to protect men;

3. Urges efforts by Congress to pass child-care legislation, similar to that adopted but vetoed by Nixon, providing a child-care program for the children of all workers who require such services;

4. Provide programs for staff and local union leaders on revisions in state laws affecting women. and provisions of federal, state and local laws and executive orders to eliminate sex discrimination. All local unions should continue policing possible violations of the sex discrimination provisions under fair employment laws there by opening up higher paying and skilled jobs for women;

5. Endorses the Equal Rights Amendment as a clear statement of commitment to the principles of equality of the sexes, and urges all members to work for ratification in the remaining state legislative bodies; and

6. Hails the formation of the National Coalition of Labor Union Women, encourages women members to join the Coalition, and pledges its continued support for the efforts of this new organization.
Session IV. *Women's participation in the trade union movement.*

1. Not enough is written about women's role in labor history, though women were active participants from the beginning.

2. The trade union movement has been in the forefront of the fight for equal pay and good working conditions for all workers; problems of women in unions have been reflective of problems in entire society.

   i.e. Protective legislation was considered as a positive, hard-won gain for women at a time when politically it was impossible to offer it to all workers.

3. Historically the problem of job segregation has been present; early craft unions excluded women. Some women's unions initiated.

4. Organizing efforts of the Women's Trade Union League and the CIO were specifically addressed to women workers.


5. Separate seniority lists and job classifications persisted in war industries. Women had high rate of turnover and absenteeism which stimulated some community services such as child care, but reinforced "women's work" categories and secondary labor force and union participation.

6. Women's increased continuous employment in the labor force and movement into traditionally male areas has increased their membership in unions.

   a) There are 4½ million women in trade union movement. Women are at least half the membership of 26 international unions; 4.7% of all union leadership.

   b) Ten unions with most women members

   *(continued)*
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Ten Unions with the Most Women Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total # Women</th>
<th>Comprise % of Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I.L.G.W.U.</td>
<td>353,870</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ACWA</td>
<td>289,500</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. IBEW</td>
<td>276,510</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Teamsters</td>
<td>255,000</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. CWA</td>
<td>231,860</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. UAW</td>
<td>193,130</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. SEIU</td>
<td>152,250</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. AFSCME</td>
<td>146,680</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Steelworkers</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. IUE</td>
<td>105,000</td>
<td>35%</td>
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7. Coalition of Labor Union Women

As Addie Wyatt, director of Women's activities for Amalgamated Meat Cutters, said in opening the Founding Conference, in Chicago, in March, 1974:

"People ask, 'Why are union women getting it together?' I say, 'Women everywhere else are doing it. It's time we did it.' People ask, 'Why can't the union resolve the problems?' I say, 'We are the union. We are going to stay in the family and we are going to make our union responsive to our needs. This is not divisive of our union.'"

See: attached Statement of Purpose, adopted at Founding Conference.

What does this mean to women within their unions?

Discuss: "How to get what you want through your union", Cornell, 1/4/74.

Assignment: In spite of laws, contract provisions and increased participation of women in the labor force and in unions, women are still under pressure to recognize "their place" in a period of high unemployment.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE
Adopted at the Founding Conference
March 23-24, 1974

Of the 34 million women in the work force—little more than 4 million women are members of unions. It is imperative that within the framework of the union movement we take aggressive steps to more effectively address ourselves to the critical needs of 30 million unorganized sisters and to make our unions more responsive to the needs of all women, especially the needs of minority women who have traditionally been singled out for particularly blatant oppression.

Women unionists work in almost every industry, in almost every part of the country. Despite their geographical, industrial and occupational separations, union women share common concerns and goals.

Full equality of opportunities and rights in the labor force require the full attention of the labor movement...and especially, the full attention of women who are part of the labor movement.

The primary purpose of this new national coalition is to unify all union women in a viable organization to determine, first—our common problems and concerns and, second—to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives. Through unity of purpose, the Coalition of Labor Union Women will seek to accomplish these goals. We recognize that our struggle goes beyond the borders of this nation and seek to link up with our working sisters and brothers throughout the world through concrete action of international workers’ solidarity.

ORGANIZING UNORGANIZED WOMEN
Since less than twelve percent of the women in today’s labor force are enrolled in labor unions, it is obvious that most working women are suffering economically. Statistics clearly demonstrate that the union member enjoys higher wages, better fringe benefits and working conditions and greater job security than the unorganized worker. The Coalition of Labor Union Women seeks to promote unionism and to encourage unions to be more aggressive in their efforts to bring unorganized women under collective bargaining agreements, particularly in those areas where there are large numbers of unorganized and/or minority women. CLUW will seek to create a greater awareness of the benefits of union membership. Within our intra, inter, and emerging union structures, we will work to encourage nonunion women to join us in the trade union movement.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE WORK PLACE
Employers continue to profit by dividing workers on sexual, racial and age lines. This encourages the segregation of job classifications and results in wages and benefit losses to women. The power of unions must increasingly be brought to bear, through the process of collective bargaining, to correct these inequities. The Coalition will seek to encourage women, through their unions, to recognize and take positive action against job discrimination in hiring, promotion, classification and other aspects of work. Women must learn what their rights are under the law. We must become more knowledgeable of the specifics of collective bargaining and of the contract clauses and workplace practices which discriminate against us. We must be informed about what is and can be done within the labor movement to correct these situations. We seek to educate and inspire our union brothers to help achieve affirmative action in the work place.

POLITICAL ACTION AND LEGISLATION
It is imperative that union women, through action programs of the Coalition become more active participants in the political and legislative processes of our unions. Movement for full employment and job opportunities and shorter work weeks without loss of pay, child care legislation, a livable minimum wage for all workers, improved maternity and pension benefits, improved health and safety coverage, expanded educational opportunities, mass action for final ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), guaranteed collective bargaining rights for all workers, the right to strike, and an extension of truly protective legislation for all workers, are only a few of the political action programs in which CLUW must participate. Whenever or wherever possible, CLUW urges union women to seek election to public office or selection for governmental appointive office at local, county, state and national levels.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN WITHIN THEIR UNIONS
The Coalition seeks to inspire and educate union women to insure and strengthen our participation, to encourage our leadership and our movement into policy-making roles within our own unions and within the union movement in all areas. The Coalition supports the formation of women’s committees and women’s caucuses within labor unions at all levels, wherever necessary. Additionally the Coalition will encourage democratic procedures in all unions.
HOW TO GET WHAT YOU WANT THROUGH YOUR UNION

1. Do you know your shop steward or closest union officer?
   Introduce yourself if you don't. Grievances can get quicker attention if your steward knows you and the department where you work.

2. What job benefits or programs are most important to you: money, hours, upgrading, child care, overtime, medical, pension, vacation, or something else.
   Have you kept your steward informed? Your union leadership wants to respond to your real concerns – that's the leadership's job.

3. The best way to get attention for what you care about most is to put in your own effort.
   Write a letter and put it on the bulletin board. Ask others to join with you. Volunteer to work for your interest. Do a whole job, start to finish, even if it's small. Go to meetings with some proposals -- meetings aren't rap sessions.

4. Make your sisters proud to be union members by showing a union concern about their problems.
   Ask what your friends' worries are. Talk about how to help get something done.

5. If you want to speak at a meeting, these ideas can help you:
   ** If you get nervous, write it down and read it.
   ** Say it in as few words as possible: "We have no maternity leave clause and 45 of us want one." "The contract helps the poorest people the most and I will vote in favor." Your message is clearer if it's short.
   ** Speak up, but don't shout. Speak to the question on the floor. Wait for the right moment. Try to speak after someone who has been windy and boring. Don't worry about applause or hoots; this is a meeting of your union, not a beauty contest.

(cont.)
6. Don't be surprised if you are asked or nominated to serve on a committee on a subject that concerns you.

Take the job: you can get results faster. If no one asks you, volunteer: other members will see you are willing to work hard for your cause.

7. If you find you are always secretary of the committee, say you'd like to be chairperson or vice-chairperson. If you think you deserve better, ask for it.

8. If you want to be on the negotiating team, the best way is to study until you know more than anyone else about the matter that interests you.

Read up, ask questions, come prepared to answer questions. What is the law? What do other contracts say? How many people are involved? Does this conflict with other parts of the contract?

9. When you negotiate, remember the goal.

Don't worry about being charming, or shy, or stubborn, or even boring. Hang in there if you think the issue is important. Forget about "me". Think "us". You are fighting for many others, too.
Session V. Women's position in a tight economy.

The increase in the number of women who work outside the home has been considered one of the most important changes in the American economy in this century. Relatively unnoticed has been the equally high rate of unemployment and the increasing gap between unemployment levels of adult men and adult women.

An understanding of the way that employment data is collected and the definitions used in measuring labor force participation and unemployment provides an insight into the relative economic position of women.

1. How is labor force participation counted?
   The Bureau of Labor Statistics definition of employment includes all those who did any work for pay or profit, full-time and part-time workers, unpaid family workers putting in at least 15 hours a week, and persons who have a job but are temporarily absent because of illness, vacation or other personal reasons.

   Cautions are in order as:

   data on persons entering and leaving the labor market are limited and technically unperfected - counts are determined on short periods of time, official concepts and estimates involve undercounts which change the picture of marginal areas of the labor force,

   unemployment is disguised; does not reveal underemployment or persons who would work longer hours or in a skilled job if such a job were available.

   "An understanding of these unemployment patterns and trends is a necessary component of a more complete picture of women's economic role and the division of labor by sex".


2. How are the "official" unemployment figures determined?

   Persons who did not have a job but were available for work during the survey week, who have made efforts to find work during the preceding four weeks are classified as unemployed. Also included are persons on layoff waiting to be recalled and those waiting to start a new job within thirty days.
3. The standard Department of Labor approach to unemployment divides unemployment into three categories:

a) Frictional unemployment is considered voluntary and temporary and is usually the time an unemployed person uses to find a desirable job. A person trained for one job does not accept any available job, at another level, but continues to look for the job he/she has been trained to do.

b) Cyclical unemployment is the loss of jobs which occurs in a recession as a result of the decrease in aggregate demand for products which reduces employment opportunities in those areas.

c) Structural unemployment results from long-term declines in specific geographic areas, industries, or skills, to the extent that workers in these areas, in marginal jobs, are considered unqualified for other positions or have their jobs eliminated.

4. What does this mean in absolute and relative unemployment rates of women workers?

While women experience a relatively high level of frictional unemployment as a result of movement in and out of the labor force; a relative lack of specific job focused training brings a susceptibility to cyclical layoffs and unemployment; and occupational and geographic immobility result in high level structural unemployment.

At the same time, the concentration of women in clerical and service occupations which are less affected by cyclical changes, lowers the unemployment rate of women relative to that of men in areas like construction.

5. What is the response to the "discouraged workers"? — the one who has given up on looking for a job or the "additional worker" who is the new "entrant" taking a first job in the labor market?

Women, minority persons, and teenagers comprise a large percentage of these groups.

6. What about "hidden unemployment"?

The way unemployment is counted overlooks persons who are not actively looking for work but who would like to work if jobs were available.

7. What policy recommendations have been made to deal with high level unemployment?

The increased participation rate of women and teenagers have been blamed by many as the cause of higher unemployment rates.
What solutions and problems arise in eligibility for unemployment compensation? Is the enforcement of eligibility requirements more stringent on women? (i.e. still seen as leaving for family reasons and as secondary wage earners).

A profound gap continues to separate the reality of women's economic situation from the discussion about women's place in today's economy.

When there is increased recognition of the:

a) low turnover rate and absenteeism of full-time women workers;

b) increase in single heads-of-households;

c) contribution rate of women in households with two adult workers.

Read: Draper, Anne. "The Explosion in Family Living Costs"

d) economic pressures of decrease in real wages coupled with rising prices;

e) the possibility of transitional unemployment of men, reflected by increased productivity and participation of women;

f) general unwillingness to think of women as equal participants in the labor force.

What are the alternatives and questions raised in government policy and trade union positions?

i.e. Public Service Employment --
Government as employer of last resort
Job creation (full employment)
Affirmative Action - Seniority

The task of economists today becomes one of not using "out-of-date sociological models of sex roles, but to analyze the separate labor markets that exist for men and women. If there are structural problems that prevent full employment, they consist of trouble spots in the economy, not in the labor force. They are barriers to the employment of people, whether they are black or white, male or female, under 20 or over 50...."

Carolyn Shaw Bell - "Age, Sex, Marriage and Jobs". The Public Interest, No. 30, Winter 1973, p. 87.
Session V. - Page 4

The woman-as-worker question remains dual and complex
-- on one side, there is economic exploitation;
-- on a second, there are social forms of discrimination and exploitation.

What are the prospects?

What programs are now available which aim at developing individual employability? What areas have been opened to women workers?

What range of supplementary, supportive services and benefits will eliminate inequities and barriers experienced by women as workers?
Session VI. Women workers - a look at future prospects.

There is beginning to be a break with traditional role definitions for men and women. With the increase in the number of married women who work, outside the home, new issues have been raised in relation to institutional changes - at work, in the community and in the family.

In jobs, in education and training, in legislation, in services and in the family, what changes are taking place which will have an effect on women who work?

In jobs, working women accounted for two-thirds of the increase in total employment in the 1960s, and for half (or more) of the gain in certain occupations, ranging from bookkeeping to bartending, according to reports based on the 1970 census.

Women are now considered to be more work-oriented (or career minded) and are spending more years at work because:

- more women are working after marriage;
- more women are postponing or foregoing being mothers;
- more mothers, even those with young children, are working;
- more older women are entering or re-entering the labor market.

Women are also beginning to move out of traditional "women's work" in lower-paying, entry-level jobs to the skilled trades.

Women registered gains in construction, mechanic and repair, and supervisory blue-collar occupations.

Of the roughly 80 trades which are listed in the census, most showed rates of increase for women that were higher than the rate of increase for men.

In education and training, changes are seen as women are qualified for a variety of jobs:

- education level has increased so that 71% of women today have high school diplomas (as compared to 50% in 1952);
- there is greater emphasis being given to opening vocational training for women at all skill levels, both in vocational schools and on-the-job programs;
special efforts have been made to open more apprenticeship programs to women; women are now found in more than 106 of the 370 occupations offering apprenticeship training, i.e. lithographer, meat cutter, second class engineer, and die maker.

In legislation, there has been a new look at areas where women workers have not been recognized as wage-earners, but as dependents such as:

- credit
- pensions
- social security
- taxes.

For example, legislation is being proposed to correct inequities in the social security system where a widower is not entitled to collect benefits based on his wife's earnings unless he can prove she contributed over 50% of his support. No proof is required for a widow collecting benefits.

In services and consumer needs of working households, hours and access are still based on the traditional model of the family. It is assumed that each worker is a part of a unit that includes a full-time person at home (housewife) who can take care of many of the necessities, such as going to the bank, insurance offices, health and welfare centers and schools, to name only a few.

While there has been an increase in labor-saving gadgets within the home, i.e. automatic washers and dryers, dishwashers, and other small appliances, etc., household administrative involvement has increased.

A small example in addition to those above: what about deliveries, gas-meter readings - all of which have been scheduled based on the assumption someone is always in the household? Some accommodation is beginning to be made with extended hours and mail-in meter readings.

Though many of these tasks are not regular happenings, they are urgent needs at one time or another and cause frustration to the worker who has nobody to whom to delegate such responsibilities.

Greater flexibility has now become available in some consumer areas, such as shopping centers in residential areas with varied hours, banking and medical offices; other services are less accessible. Community service agencies and schools continue to maintain limited schedules.
The United States Supreme Court, in a recent landmark decision, unanimously ruled unconstitutional a provision of the Social Security law on the grounds that it discriminated against women workers. This ruling will primarily benefit men, particularly widowed fathers of young children. Widowers with young children will now get the protection that widows with minors have traditionally received.

Noting that the Constitution "forbids the gender-based discrimination that results in the efforts of women workers, required to pay Social Security taxes, producing less protection for their families than is produced by the efforts of men," the Supreme Court justices struck a blow at the discrimination against women now implicit in Social Security law.

This discrimination is based upon an assumption, incorrect even when the Social Security system originated in 1935, that American society is made of nuclear families, each consisting of a wife and children solely dependent for financial security on a wage-earning husband and father.

The Court's decision represented a long overdue correction of an archaic assumption that "male workers' earnings are vital to the support of their families, while the earnings of female wage earners do not significantly contribute to their families' support." The "logical" extension of that absurd assumption was that the surviving spouses of women workers who had paid their Social Security taxes were not entitled to the same protection as the surviving spouses of men workers who had paid their taxes.

Social Security law also assumes that the loss of wages earned by a husband is a far more devastating loss than the loss of a homemaker's skills and child nurturing functions. Although this view is unfair to both male and female, the brunt of discrimination is borne by the nation's married women.

Here are some examples:

THE WAGE-earning wife—When she reaches age 65, the wage-earning wife is entitled to either her own earned Social Security pension, or half of her husband's, whichever is the larger amount.

Because women have traditionally been in jobs with lower wages than men and because they are in and out of the work force more frequently than men, average earnings are lower. Benefits based on average earnings usually result in women receiving lower Social Security benefits than men.

Inequity consists in the fact that the wife whose income may have been taxed all her working life—the current rate is 5.85 on annual wages up to $14,100—does not realize the full benefit of those taxes, as her husband and unmarried women do.

Even if her own benefit amounts to a larger monthly payment than she would receive as a dependent, she has paid taxes for many years on a full salary. These taxes have earned her only the difference between a dependent's monthly check and her own pension. Even if the difference is a substantial amount, the wage-earning wife receives less of a return for her Social Security tax money than any other American worker.

It is possible for a working couple to end up with less in total retirement benefits than another couple with the same total earnings where only the husband worked. This situation does not occur when the combined earnings of the couple are substantially above the maximum amount of earnings that any one worker can have counted toward Social Security benefits. The maximum is already up to $14,100 this year and it will be climbing rapidly and steadily.

A simple, practical way to correct this problem would be to base Social Security benefits for a working couple on their combined earnings.

This change has been introduced in several bills in recent years. However, Congress has not yet taken action on these changes.

THE "NON-WORKING" HOMEMAKER—Because unpaid work is not taxed by the Social Security Administration, no benefits accrue to a homemaker who spends her life nurturing children and maintaining a home, except as a man's dependent. In the event of her disability, there is no remuneration for the loss of her services, as there is in the event of disability of the male provider. Because homemaking is not recognized as significant "work," its loss through disability is uninsured.

If the present law did not require that a man submit proof that he was receiving at least one-half his support from his working wife at the time of her retirement or death elderly men could qualify for husbands and widowers benefits. There is no similar requirement for a wife or widow to get benefits based on the earnings of a male.

THE DIVORCED WIFE—If she cares for no dependent children of her former husband, she can receive no benefits from his Social Security pension unless she was married for 20 years or more and is at least 62 years of age.

Social Security law overlooks the fact that this woman may have contributed 15 years or more to raising a family and have lost her ability to compete in the job market for a self-sustaining wage. Benefits, in any case, do not begin until the husband retires or dies.

There are no benefits for a divorced husband or widow, no matter how long the marriage lasted and even if the divorced partner was in fact furnishing her former husband's support.

These are only a few instances of the inequities currently embodied in Social Security law.

If the Equal Rights Amendment is passed—the ratification of four more state legislatures is required before it becomes law—revision of the Social Security system to eliminate discrimination will be mandatory. In the meantime, the recent Supreme Court decision concerning survivors benefits has paved the way for future challenges to the system's most discriminatory aspects.
Trade union concerns for the off-the-job needs of members and their families has stimulated the initiation of practical measures.

Unions sponsor:

1) medical centers, health programs
2) housing projects
3) child care programs
4) pre-paid legal services
5) credit unions
6) retired members activities

Collective bargaining agreements have improved:

1) length of leisure-time -- holidays, vacation, and personal time off
2) pensions and fringe benefits
3) working conditions

Here the distinctions are beginning to breakdown for both men and women, as protective legislation and benefits are extended to all workers.

What will a change in hours of work, increased leisure and increased fringe benefits mean to the division of labor within the household?

"...the increased labor-force activity of women raising questions related to the future allocation of time among three choices: market work, home work and leisure."

-- Juanita Kreps

"Do All Women Want to Work? The Economics of Their Choice"


What has been the impact of women's expanded economic role on both the nature of marriage and the sharing of domestic responsibilities?


Does the notion of woman's dual role - at home and at work - continue to persist?

In the family, the male-breadwinner, female-homemaker, model nuclear family that is taken for granted in almost all domestic policies on any level (national, state or local) and in any area (education, child care, marriage, divorce) no longer exists.

The traditional prime roles or functions of the family have broken down:

1) economic function is outside the home;
2) educational function is specialized and no longer concentrated in the extended family;
3) sexuality and reproductive function is not limited to marriage.

This means that it is no longer functional for men, for women, for children -- for the institution of marriage or the family to consider exclusive assignments of child-rearing to one and provider to another which has been the policy which has restricted employment opportunities for women.

In addition to self-support and contribution to individual households, society is beginning to recognize that women are essential as workers. This is beginning to be worked out in terms of hours of work or part-time work. This is a different idea from the time when part-time work was seen only as freeing women for the responsibilities of the home. The details of shared-roles at home and work have in very few instances been worked out.

"In June 1970 a television program, THE ADVOCATES, was already debating "women's liberation" in the form of this question: 'So that women may work and men share the family tasks, should unions demand that everyone have the option to work full or half time?' A surprising 46% of the studio audience and a whopping 75.4% of the national television audience favored the affirmative. Esther Peterson, the judge in this debate, pointed out the complexity of the problem and the inadequacy of the way the question was formulated. Then came her conclusion:

My vote goes to those who are working for a society where no one is forced into a predetermined role on account of sex; a society where men and women have the option to plan and pattern their lives as they themselves choose. This society will require many things: a new climate of opinion which accepts equality of the sexes while still recognizing
human and biological differences; a society which provides day care and supplementary home services which make choice possible; a society where non-merit factors in employment such as sex do not count; a society which provides a new concept of training for both young men and women with an eye to employment and social usefulness along with active parenthood. And most important, a society that provides a shortened work day and work week with adequate pay for all workers -- thus permitting time for families to be together, for fathers to participate in family activities (including the care and raising of children) where both parents can develop to their fullest as human beings. It's a long way down the road, but it's coming."

Looking at legislation which is being developed in the area of full employment and at the re-examination of the quality of life which has been prompted by changes in today's economy, economists and policy makers are beginning to look at how shared roles in household and part-time work can benefit the total society. Their studies give them "reason to believe that as time goes on, a labor force that works shorter hours will develop its capabilities as it broadens its interests and education....The hours set free, moreover, although they do not add to the measured national product, are used in practice to add something to the unmeasured amenities of households and to the goodness of life."

Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein in Women's Two Roles (Home and Work) (1956) suggest that implicit in the question:

"What should women do?" is "an interest both in women's individual well-being and in the welfare of society."

In the United States, as men and women are equal before the law and many of the more glaring social inequalities have been minimized, the prospects for women workers being interchangeable participants in the labor force remains in the future.

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Credits for Readings  WORKING WOMEN: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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