Conference on Women & Economic Development Planned

Public policy decisions have specific impacts on women that are different from impacts on men. In the past, the specific concerns and needs of women often have not been taken into consideration in public policy decisions. In order to help ensure women's active participation in planning state policies for economic development, the Women's Resource Center, along with the Montana Women and Economic Development Task Force, and Bitterroot Educational Resources for Women, are sponsoring a conference, "Montana's Economic Development As If Women Mattered." The conference will be held in Missoula, at the University of Montana on Friday and Saturday, September 28-29, 1984. Academic credit is available.

Economic Development Can Benefit Women

Economic development is a major concern in Montana. We've all heard and read about it in the media. Many of us worked to pass Initiative 95 to get the state involved in promoting economic development to diversify the Montana economy and invest Montana capital in Montana businesses. To implement the Initiative the Governor and Legislature created the Build Montana Program which is now beginning to develop state policies. However, many of us don't really understand what economic development policy means, the equity issues involved, and how important it is for women to be incorporated into this decision-making process.

The economic development policy of the past created the status quo economy of today where women do not have equal access to jobs, capital or training and are in the majority of the poor. If we are interested in economic equity for women, we have to make sure that current economic development efforts benefit women more equally. We can't leave the decisions up to the same people as before; women's interests have to be directly represented or nothing will change.

Economic development policy has specific impacts on women as a group, impacts that are often different than on men. This is because Montana has a sex segregated economy. Whether working as employee or employer, the large majority of Montana working women are only found in certain occupations and in certain economic sectors. While more and more Montana women are working in the labor market (currently 49% of nonfarm and salary jobs are filled by women), the large majority of women work in secretarial and clerical positions and in the retail and service sectors. These occupations are characterized by low wages and little chance for advancement. Women who work full time in Montana make $.53 for every $1 men make (this is less than the national average and comparatively less than 60 years ago). It is still true that women who are college graduates make less than men who are high school dropouts.

The number of woman-owned businesses is increasing but remains a small percentage of the total. Data on Montana woman-owned businesses is not available but nationally women are the owners of 2.8 million small businesses.
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT continued from page 1

businesses; approximately four times as many as in 1978. The large majority of woman-owned businesses are in the retail and service sectors. Most of these businesses are very small, severely undercapitalized and the owners often have limited business skills. However, these micro businesses may offer more real chance of changing rural women’s economic status than entry into traditional women’s minimum wage jobs. Increasing opportunities for self employment may be essential for improving women’s economic status in Montana because, as suggested by the National Clearinghouse on Women and Economic Development, small business is the major producer of new employment in rural areas and the rural small business woman can produce a moderate to good income while keeping a flexibility that allows her to be in close touch with her family.

At the same time women are locked into minimum wage, dead end jobs, their economic responsibilities are increasing. Growing numbers of women are economically self sufficient. There has been a large increase in female headed households and families in the last 10 years. Currently women head over one fourth of U.S. households; the median income for female headed families is less than 50% of male headed families. More than one third of families headed by women are below the poverty line, two out of three adults who are poor are women. Many of these women literally cannot afford to work at traditional women’s minimum wage occupations. By the time they deduct child care and transportation expenses from their wages, they have less money than if they stay at home with their kids and receive AFDC payments.

“Currently women head over one fourth of U.S. households; the median income for female headed families is less than 50% of male headed families. More than one third of families headed by women are below the poverty line, two out of three adults who are poor are women.”

Another group of women experiencing poverty because of current economic policies are those over 65. Women are almost twice as likely to be poor as men over 65. Because the economic value of women’s work within the home has not been recognized and the fact that these women were largely employed in traditional women’s occupations with low wages and little if any retirement provisions, they have fewer opportunities to receive Social Security payments, pensions, or other retirement benefits. This group will continue to grow if women’s economic status does not change.

Today, Montana’s basic industries do not employ women in significant numbers. Natural resource development, including agriculture, forestry and mining, is the main sector of Montana’s economy. The 1980 Census shows 16% of the jobs in this sector are filled by women; the majority of these are in support occupations such as secretary and clerk with less pay and chance of promotion. In the energy resource development industries there are even fewer women. 7% of the jobs in mining and 8% of the jobs in construction are filled by women; again the majority of these are in support capacity. The benefits of the jobs created directly by resource development are not equally shared by men and women.

The secondary effects of energy resource development are also not equally shared. As the cost of living goes up in rapidly expanding resource development areas, women are not hired for the higher waged jobs and must often work at more than one minimum wage job in order to support themselves and their families. Also, the amount of domestic violence in these energy resource development areas is often very high and women are the primary victims.

So, if the state of Montana decides to focus its economic development policy and investment resources on promoting natural resource development, women won’t benefit from this development effort equally with men. Resource development companies are very large and capital intensive; very few small businesses are directly involved. Unless very strong affirmative action programs are developed and enforced by the state, developing this sector of the economy does little to open new job opportunities for women. One important question to ask of any proposed development would be, for every $100,000 invested, how many jobs are created for men? how many jobs are created for women? at what wage? Then compare with investing in small businesses in the retail and service sectors.

If we want to improve women’s economic status in Montana it does matter which sectors of the economy are developed. Retail and service sector development are important in order to improve women’s employment opportunities; promotion of self employment options and occupational restructuring to provide opportunities for career advancement in these areas could be very important. It does matter where money is spent for research and development projects. Why not invest available state funds in the development of day care and home health care service alternatives as well as in high technology energy development projects? It does matter how capital is made available. Small businesses need capital in different amounts than do large companies. The way loans are made and secured can promote or deny access of woman-owned businesses to state investment funds. Small woman- or minority-owned businesses require small, flexible loan options that don’t require previously established credit ratings; a very different approach than the financial packages requiring
minimum loans of over $75,000 and triple A credit ratings as was originally proposed to the Build Montana Program.

In order for women to benefit more equally from Montana’s current economic development efforts, we have to look at access issues. Women must be able to get what is available now—capital, training, fundamental business skills, non-traditional jobs. We also have to look at self employment issues—new ways to promote the self employment opportunities of women: capital and technical assistance, support for research and development. And to affect the largest number of Montana working women we have to look at comparable worth issues. Traditional women’s occupations must be re-classified and compared to traditional men’s occupations so that jobs requiring comparable skills and experience would be paid a comparable wage.

It is important for women to support state investment in economic development efforts. We believe it is the role of the government and public policy to promote and protect the interests of all citizens, those who have not had equal access to the benefits of the system as well as those who have. We must encourage the state to address the equity issues inherent in economic development policy and to use its limited resources to support policies that expand women’s opportunities for self employment and access to better paying jobs and occupational advancement. Specifically, those of us working for economic equity must develop and lobby for economic development policies and programs that 1) create jobs in economic sectors where women are working, 2) require the hiring of women and minorities in all types of occupations, 3) create training programs that provide women and minorities with entry level job skills, 4) provide capital in forms accessible to small businesses, 5) provide technical assistance to women and minority owned businesses, 6) provide special encouragement to women’s small businesses through set-aside state purchasing and cooperative marketing programs, 7) establish comparable worth policies, and 8) address the accessibility of day care as an economic policy rather than an individual problem.

The conference ‘‘Montana’s Economic Development As If Women Mattered,’’ September 28 & 29, in Missoula is designed to discuss these issues and to develop policy recommendations. For further information, see the article in this newsletter about the conference.

SUMMER at the WRC

The Women’s Resource Center offices have been open weekdays from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., and it has been an active summer for all of us working here! Rachael Simpson, no longer officially co-coordinator at WRC, is now assisting co-coordinator Maureen Jones in the office in the afternoons. Rachael is currently working with Candace Crosby, Judy Smith and Sheila Smith organizing the upcoming conference on women and economic development (see article this newsletter).

Along with her regular duties as co-coordinator, Maureen Jones is working with Judy Smith on two other important projects: a traveling film series and the gender-gap campaign. Donna Carter, who has been producing the Feminist Forum radio program (Sundays on KUFL at 7:30 p.m.) now has her job funded through work-study at the WRC. Donna attended a National Public Radio/Radio Production Workshop the first week in August.

Elizabeth Marshall’s project creating the Montana Women’s Resource Directory is completed and we are now selling the useful directory for $2.00 (see this newsletter for information on how to get your copy). Martha Bowes, a Women’s Studies major at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana is going to school at the U of M this summer and putting in many hours of volunteer work at the WRC.

Lynn Picard is back at the office helping out and Patti Southard has decided to join us as a volunteer. Welcome!

Of the three summer Brown Bag films shown (Killing Us Softly, She’s Nobody’s Baby and Union Maids) Killing Us Softly was the most popular and well-attended. The film explores images of women in advertising and stimulated an exciting discussion. Some participants expressed an interest in showing the film to junior and high school age people. We also discussed the offensive advertising that we find in Missoula and many of us committed ourselves to making formal complaints to the perpetrators of such advertising locally.

We are already preparing for a busy Fall here at the Women’s Resource Center. There are three work-study positions to be filled: co-coordinator, volunteers coordinator, and newsletter coordinator; and we will be hiring at the beginning of Fall Quarter. Volunteers are always welcome so we hope to see a lot of new faces soon!
Reagan’s Worldwide Assault on Abortion

The Reagan Administration’s latest assault on reproductive freedom is directed at the whole world. At the U.N. International Conference on Population held in Mexico City August 6-13, the U.S. delegation reported that the Reagan Administration will deny funds to any non-government family planning programs that perform or “promote” abortions, even if they use their own funds. One of the organizations which will be drastically affected is International Planned Parenthood.

Other conference participants’ (140 nations in all) reactions ranged from confused to angry. Rafael Salazar, Colombia, noted that “In the U.S. itself, abortion is legal.” Gertrude Sigurdsen, head of Sweden’s delegation, said 200,000 women died of illegal abortions last year. She stated, “All women in the world need to have safe and legal abortions.”

James Buckley, U.S. delegation chief said, “the U.S. does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs.” The Supreme Court has upheld abortion as a constitutional right. There is a serious question of the legality of the Reagan position since the award of government funds cannot be conditioned upon the denial or forfeiture of constitutionally protected rights.

now available

Montana Women’s Resource Directory

...a directory of organizations in Montana with a stated purpose of political, educational or community work centered on women’s issues....

Over 100 listings of crisis lines, family planning centers, midwives, pro-choice organizations, displaced homemaker programs, Native American women’s centers, N.O.W. chapters, resource centers, domestic violence centers, and more. Alphabetical listings by city. Phone numbers and addresses included for all listings.

To receive a copy of the Montana Women’s Resource Directory, contact the Women’s Resource Center at 243-4153, University Center, University of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812. The price of this valuable resource is only $2.00.
COMPARABLE WORTH:
Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value

The struggle for pay equity is expected to be one of the major economic issues of the 1980's. It's been twenty years since passage of the Civil Rights Act and twenty-one since Congress enacted the Equal Pay Act. And yet, women's economic status continues to lag behind. The pay gap between men and women is greater in 1984 than it was in 1964. The number of poor women is increasing at such a rapid rate that a new phrase has been coined: the feminization of poverty.

Women have made progress under the Equal Pay Act which requires equal pay for equal work. However, one of the major stumbling blocks to equality is the kinds of jobs and ranges of salary that women earn. Eighty percent of all women work in the "pink collar ghetto" (traditional women's job areas). Many believe the solution to these economic disparities lies in promoting comparable worth.

Comparable worth is a theory that holds that discrimination exists when workers of one race, sex or ethnicity in one job category are paid less than workers in another job when both are performing work that is not the same but is of comparable skill, effort and responsibility. In one noted case nurses in the city of Denver were paid $100 less per month than tree trimmers.

The National Academy of Sciences conducted a study entitled "Women, Work and Wages: Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value." The study concluded: 1) jobs which were viewed by society as "women's" jobs did indeed pay less than "men's" jobs; 2) a bias exists both in the evaluation system for classifying pay and in the market place. Many jobs pay less simply because women are employed in them. Since traditional pay differentials were established when discriminatory wages were legal and widely accepted, it is impossible to view current wages as set solely by the free market; 3) Job segregation is common today and is an important source of the wage differential. This segregation can only be partially accounted for by self-selection of careers; 4) Finally, comparable worth merits consideration where women are systematically underpaid. Appropriate objective measures for the value of a job to an employer should be developed. Even though measurement of jobs is ultimately subjective, standards and measures of job worth can be provided by job evaluation systems.

Recognizing the need to address pay disparities, the 1983 Montana Legislature asked the Department of Administration to study the relationship between state employees' paychecks and their sex. Due to the conclusions of the Personnel and Labor Relation's Study Commission and the work of groups such as the Women's Lobbyist Fund the legislature recognized that pay disparities exist between women and men due both to overt sex discrimination and subtle biases which undervalue women's work.

Statistics for state government employees in Montana for a typical 15 month period ending March 31, 1982 show that:

1) the average female employee earned only 69.4% as much as the average male employee;
2) females held 90.2% of all clerical positions, 32.5% of all professional positions, 17.8% of all managerial positions, and 1.7% of all skilled craft jobs; and
3) compared to large private-sector employers in Montana (in 1978), a woman employed by state government is half as likely to be a professional or managerial employee as her private-sector colleague.

In May of 1983, a classification enhancement project was launched to develop a new quantitative point factoring method. Job evaluation methods and techniques were researched and a tentative set of measurable job factors were selected for measurements. A fourteen-member Advisory Council was appointed to advise the Department of Administration on appropriate standards of job worth for Montana State Government. Virginia Bryan, a Billings attorney, nominated by the Women's Lobbyist Fund serves as Chairperson.

The Legislature also required the Department of Administration to continue reporting the status of equal pay for comparable worth until comparable worth is achieved.

Consider the following statistics: In 1980 full time women workers had average annual earnings of $7,415 less than men. Even women working at the same jobs as men earned less than men. Studies have shown that of the $.40 wage gap between women and men workers, $.20-.30 is attributable to sex discrimination.

It's clear from the data cited above that a substantial part of the earnings gap between women and men results from an employment distribution that is highly different by sex. We don't know exactly why women continue to work in jobs that have been female intensive. There's a high probability that much of their occupational choice is the result of discrimination in recruiting, hiring and promoting, sexual harassment, lack of adequate vocational counseling, sex stereotyping and family responsibilities.

Significant progress has been made in Montana but it's important that women track both the progress of the Department of Administration's report on comparable worth and the 1985 legislative action. If you are interested in more information or would like to work on a comparable wealth task force, contact Laurie Lamson, President, Women's Lobbyist Fund, P.O. Box 1099, Helena, Montana 59624 (telephone: 442-7378).

by Joanne Sullivan
Women's Lobbyist Fund Board Member
State N.O.W. Conference Brings Feminists Together
by Candace Crosby

This was a conference where the superstars appeared as well as the many women in Montana who have been working on issues important to women over the past several years.

The superstars were Gloria Steinem and Holly Near. The speech Steinem gave at the luncheon drew more than 1,000 people. She reported on the recent poll published in Ms emphasizing that many people believe the women's movement has only just begun. And she thanked those in the audience who have worked hard over the years—fighting for the ERA, working for women's rights on the job, trying to work through changing family relationships. Steinem emphasized the need to defeat Reagan in the fall and encouraged each person to make a personal commitment to help get friends to vote, to not lose because of the pessimism that Reagan is sure to win.

Holly Near also talked about the defeat of Reagan, and her personal commitment to spend the fall touring and encouraging people to vote. Her songs were interspersed with stories and commentary which made the concert seem more like a living room gathering on a Saturday night than a formal one-way presentation.

The conference also had many workshops that were educational and provided an opportunity for networking. Topics ranged from economic development and comparable worth to feminist burnout to rural organizing and survival as a feminist in a small town. These sessions gave people who live and work in Montana (and the surrounding states) a chance to renew their energy, to see how many of us are working toward the same ends even though our ways of getting there are different.

It was exciting to see and hear the superstars, but more than that was the encouragement of seeing the large number of people who care about women's issues and will be here fighting for them over the next year.

Make checks payable to Economic Development Conference. Mail to WRC, University Center, UM, Missoula, MT 59812.
Montana’s Abortion Control Act is Unconstitutional
by Sally Mullen

An ad hoc steering committee has been working toward repealing and/or replacing the Montana Abortion Control Act. This group, which has been meeting since March, is composed of interested individuals and organizations from around the state, including the American Civil Liberties Union, National Organization for Women, Planned Parenthood, U of M Women’s Resource Center, Blue Mountain Women’s Clinic, Yellowstone Valley Women’s Clinic, and Montanans for Choice. Perhaps the most compelling reason to address the Montana Abortion Control Act (MACA) is that the possible re-election of Ronald Reagan would provide him with the opportunity to fill up to five Supreme Court seats. In such a scenario, it is easy to envision that the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision which legalized abortion might be overturned and that the right to abortion would become subject to regulation by the states.

For years, abortion providers and pro-choice advocates have felt the MACA to be both punitive and restrictive. In fact, the statement of legislative intent which prefaces the MACA declares that “it is the intent of the legislature to restrict abortion to the extent permissible under decisions of appropriate courts or paramount legislation.” Fortunately, recent Supreme Court decisions have made the MACA appear to be unconstitutional in several areas.

There are three major areas of concern in the Montana statute. The first involves the segment of the statute which places upon the physician the responsibility to discuss:

a) the stage of development of the fetus, the method of abortion to be utilized, and the effects of such abortion method upon the fetus;
b) the physical and psychological effects of abortion; and
c) available alternatives to abortion, including childbirth and adoption.

In a June 1983 Supreme Court decision involving the City of Akron, Ohio and the Akron Center for Reproductive Health, the Court struck down an Akron ordinance strikingly similar to this section of the MACA. The Court determined that the required information was not necessarily relevant to the woman’s decision and that the doctor was not the sole person able to deliver the information.

The second major area of concern deals with that part of the MACA which states that “No abortion may be performed upon any woman in the absence of the written notice to a parent, if living, or the custodian or legal guardian of such woman if she is under 18 years of age and unmarried.” In a number of cases dating from 1979 on, the Supreme Court has held that mature minors have a right to make their own choices regarding abortion without parental consent or consultation, that legislation intended to restrict minors’ access to abortion must provide timely opportunity for the minor to demonstrate her maturity, and that the sole criterion in the case of immature minors must be what is in their best interest.

The third major area of concern is the provision in the MACA which declares that “No abortion may be performed within the state of Montana after the first three months of pregnancy, except in a hospital licensed by the department” (of health and environmental sciences). In the Akron Decision the Supreme Court held that regulations cannot depart from “accepted medical practice” and that the hospitalization requirement for second trimester abortions is not reasonably related to the State’s interest in the health of pregnant women. Recent technology has made second trimester abortion procedures available and safe on an out-patient basis, thereby overriding the necessity of costly hospitalization.

The strategy of this steering committee includes educating, networking with groups throughout the state, looking at possible model legislation, fundraising and looking at possible legal recourse. If you feel you or your organization can help in any way, please contact Missoula Planned Parenthood, 235 East Pine, Missoula, Montana 59802, phone 728-5490.
About the Montana Women's Resource....

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— Calendar of Events
— Meeting Room
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