

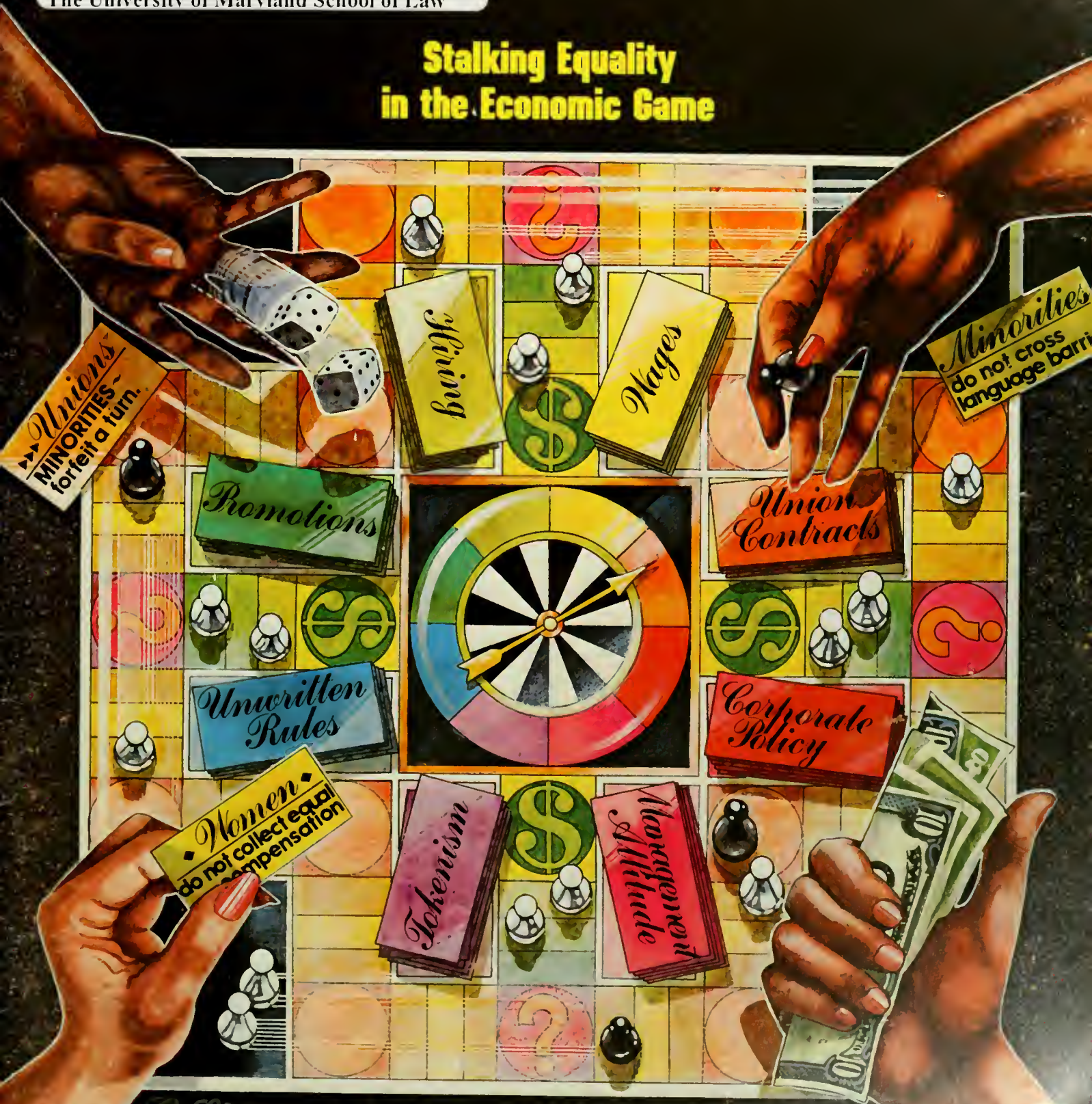
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The Civil Rights Quarterly  
**PERSPECTIVES**

SUMMER-FALL 1981

Thurgood Marshall Law Library  
The University of Maryland School of Law

**Stalking Equality  
in the Economic Game**



Liberating Indian Artifacts  
From Museum Cases

Vilma Martinez: Soft-Spoken,  
Outspoken Chicana Leader

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## Guest Editorial

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### Bilingual Elections: Affordable, Needed, Manageable

by Henry Der

Opponents of bilingual elections—in which language minority citizens are entitled to registration information, ballots and poll assistance in their native languages—charge that they are too costly, that these citizens do not want to learn English, and that the Federal bilingual elections law is unworkable. In fact, the costs of bilingual elections have been grossly exaggerated, language minority citizens do want to learn English and vote, and bilingual election laws can work if local officials want them to work. The act of casting a ballot is one of the most unifying forces in our nation. Extending the basic right of voting to language minority citizens will hasten the day when they and their children enter our nation's mainstream.

In California, officials have been especially vigorous in claiming that bilingual elections are overly expensive. Even before the 1975 bilingual election laws were enacted, the San Francisco Registrar of Voters predicted that trilingual elections (Chinese, Spanish and English) would cost the city \$2 million; the secretary of state estimated a statewide expense of \$20 million. But San Francisco spent only \$40,250 on trilingual ballots in the first election covered by the law, and the state spent only \$278,000 on such ballots in the first statewide primary covered by the law. Costs in many areas, such as Los Angeles County, have dropped dramatically every year since 1976. Bilingual elections have consistently cost less than 5 percent of what California officials have predicted. And compared to total election expenditures by government, bilingual election costs are easily manageable, even minor.

Chinese Americans recognize the importance of language skills in erasing the tradition of discrimination against them. They want to learn English, a fact made clear by the heavy enrollment of Chinese American adults in English night classes. But language minority citizens can be familiar enough with America, if not yet with English, to vote; they keep a close eye on public affairs through their native-language media. There is no reason to penalize language minority citizens in voting because they do not understand the often-complicated English on a typical ballot.

Officials must realize that the printing of bilingual ballots or ballot pamphlets, or the conspicuous posting of a bilingual facsimile ballot, is not enough to comply with the law. Bilingual poll assistance is also badly needed. If there are not enough well-trained bilingual poll workers, language minority voters may be too intimidated to even enter a polling place. What is *not* needed is the attitude expressed by one-time San Francisco Registrar Thomas Kearney; "damn chinks, they shouldn't get something special." Not surprisingly, San Francisco's compliance with the bilingual election laws improved remarkably when Kearney left the Registrar's office.

Better outreach to language minority voters, more and better trained poll workers, and increased cooperation between election officials and minority community groups can all improve the situation. But most important is a change in attitude. Bilingual elections must not be viewed as an expensive, unnecessary tool for promoting ethnic separation, when in fact they promote patriotism. They are essential to making all Americans a part of the democratic process. ♦

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*Henry Der is executive director of Chinese for Affirmative Action, a San Francisco-based group which promotes civil rights for the Chinese American community.*

The Civil Rights Quarterly  
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SUMMER-FALL 1981

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DEPOSITORY MAR 0 1982

## Black English Debate Is Red Herring

In his excellent article, "Giving Good Weight to Black English," (Spring 1981 *Perspectives*) R.C. Newell hits on the central issue surrounding the Ann Arbor case—attitude. It strikes me that the case ultimately is less about black dialect and its use or misuse in the classroom than it is about the attitudes of teachers toward cultural pluralism and of students toward education.

We can no longer ignore the linguistic diversity of America. As educators, we must prepare ourselves not only to be receptive to but also knowledgeable about the cultural, social, and linguistic backgrounds of all of our students, be they black Americans, American Indians, Hispanic Americans, or the recent Asian immigrant groups. But teachers alone cannot bring about the changes mandated in the Ann Arbor case. Parents, students, community leaders, the media—in short, *society* must reaffirm the importance of a literate democracy.

Literacy cannot be legislated or taught without the motivation of the student, no matter how much respect for cultural dialects a teacher has. In a rapidly changing and increasingly technological society, literacy appears to be diminishing on all fronts. Students do learn from models, both in and outside the classroom, and they must sense that we as a society still value language in all of its complexity, and that reading and writing are the keys to our humanity.

As for the debate over standard English, I think that is a red herring. We live in a communications age, and we must be able to communicate with each other across cultural backgrounds, as well as social and economic class, in a common language. But the learning of that language does not have to be a



brutalizing experience. It is my hope that the Ann Arbor case will have begun to demonstrate to all educators the importance of those virtues we pride ourselves on—tolerance and respect for human diversity and human dignity.

### Dexter Fisher

Former Director of English Programs  
Modern Language Association  
New York, New York



## Anecdotes Versus Analysis

Phillip Clay's article, "A Title...But Little Else," (Spring 1981 *Perspectives*) calls attention to a much-neglected subject: the experiences of young black professionals. The neglect is understandable. After all, by most standards, these young men and women have achieved all the trappings (good and bad) of the American dream. They have good train-

ing, impressive titles, relatively high salaries, health club memberships, 2.2 children, mortgages, professional jealousies, alimony payments, and executive-level Excedrin headaches.

But as Clay points out, they also have something else: the ever-present factor of race, something which is as real in corporate offices as it is on assembly lines. However, racial factors may operate more subtly among professionals: Sophisticated people have more sophisticated ways of controlling primitive prejudices. The problem is to understand the subtleties, so that we can figure out how to address them.

Clay describes the experiences of a number of young black professionals. I suspect that most of us can identify with his anecdotes; certainly I can. I once held an impressive title, but couldn't quite figure out how to convert it into real power. When my white colleagues were invited to a crucial decision-making meeting, I found myself sitting at my desk writing the definitive analysis of an inconsequential issue. Finally, it occurred to me that none of my colleagues—black or white—cared much whether I had real influence within the organization. In part, this is because power within a bureaucracy usually is perceived in zero-sum terms; the more clout I have, the less everyone else has.

Thus, while I empathize with Clay's anecdotes, I must note that they do not do much to advance our understanding of bureaucratic politics or of the subtle race-related factors that daily affect the careers of young black professionals. Anecdotes, in short, are not a substitute for sharp analysis.

For example, I question the analytic usefulness of Clay's distinction between the "old" professions (law, medicine, engineering) and the "new" professions (urban planning, policy analysis, social

## Letters

services). Does he intend us to infer that blacks in the new professions have experiences substantially different from young blacks in old professions? It might be more useful to distinguish between black professionals in line management positions and those in staff positions, or between those in private industry and those in public service.

Further, if it is true that black professionals are being judged primarily by white professionals, then painting the experience of blacks provides only part of the picture. It is equally important that we explore the views of the whites who hold the real power. Do whites consciously exclude blacks from meetings in which the real decisions are made? Are blacks regarded as the resident experts on black affairs, regardless of their actual positions within the organization? And how do blacks respond to this stereotyping? Is it really true that whites—as a result of socialization, old-boy networks, and the like—know something that blacks don't know? Or is it simply that whites are better at faking it? These questions are beyond the scope of Clay's work, but they merit attention.

Clay may be correct when he states that blacks tend not to be part of the classic old-boy network, and that they do not learn the subtleties of bureaucratic politics at their parents' dinner tables. But there are ways to compensate for these "deficiencies." Breakfast meetings, sororities, testimonial dinners and other networks are not unique to whites. Blacks have them. The problem is that we have not used them effectively to train and enhance the careers of young black professionals. One reason for this oversight is that blacks have become prisoners to the myth of meritocracy. We have come to believe that individual merit is a substitute for group support, and that career success is determined



by how well we perform between the hours of 9 and 5 and how assiduously we observe the bureaucratic protocols.

The truth is that nobody—black or white—makes it to the top of the heap simply by doing a job well and following the rules. What blacks must do, in addition to demonstrating competence on the job, is learn how to make the rules and the networks work for them. Mr. Clay has raised an important issue. I hope he can help us resolve it.

**Edwin Dorn**  
Executive Director  
PUSH-Excel Institute  
Washington, D.C.



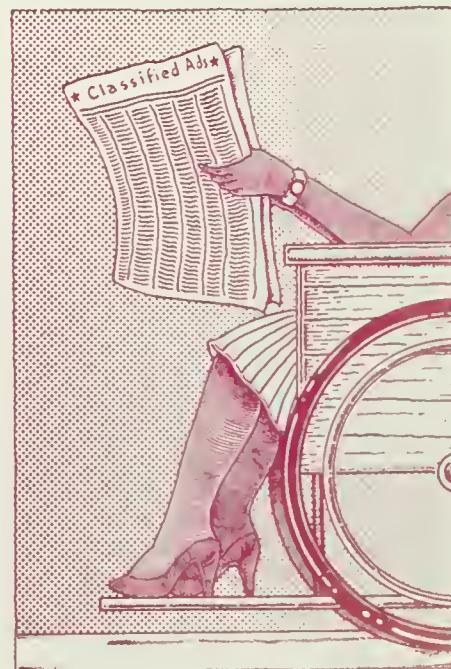
### What If She Were a Disabled Black Woman

I am favorably impressed with the comprehensiveness, depth and writing

styles of articles appearing in *Perspectives*. Your table of contents page notes that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is established, in part, to "serve as a national clearinghouse for information concerning denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap, or national origin."

In light of your avowed concern for "handicap," a concern shared by some 35,000,000 Americans who experience a disability in varying degrees (not to mention those who have a disabled member in the family) it would be appreciated if some attention could be given to this area. In the Fall 1980-Winter 1981 issue, the article entitled, "Wanted: Employment Agencies That Don't Discriminate," pointed out that a black woman has two strikes against her. What if she were a disabled black woman?

I look forward to reading some outstanding articles in *Perspectives* which



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# Letters

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sensitize and educate your readers to all of the facts concerning the disabled.

**Franklin B. Stagg**

Director, Bureau for Handicapped Persons  
Louisiana Department of Health and Human Services  
Baton Rouge



## Losing Languages

The message in your Spring article, "Bilingual Life in an Anglo Land: Seventeen Hispanic Voices," was a compelling one.

If we continue to trample the rights of other Americans because we are offended or intimidated by their ability to speak other languages, we will be the biggest losers in the long run.

After two years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Nicaragua, I am only just beginning to sense the vital relationship among culture, communications and civil rights.

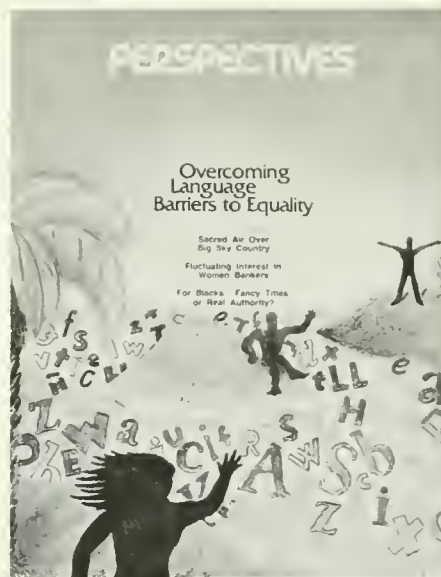
**Barbara Franklin**  
Washington, D.C.



## A Fan Looking For Improvement

I was impressed with the Fall-Winter edition of *Perspectives*.

The articles were well-written and interesting. I especially enjoyed the use of color, graphics and blurbs to enhance the stories. I was bothered, however, by the garbled ending to "Wanted: Employment Agencies That Don't Discriminate" and several typos I found. It's too bad they had to flaw an otherwise superior publication. Since I write, edit and produce a monthly magazine for the Iowa State Association of Counties, I am probably more aware of these kinds of



mistakes than most of your readers.

Thank you for producing such a timely and provocative publication. I look forward to the next issue, and anticipate reading it cover-to-cover as I did this month.

**Peggy Huppert**  
Communications Specialist  
Iowa State Association of Counties  
Des Moines



## A Satisfied Reader/Writer

I was delighted to receive copies of the Fall-Winter *Perspectives*. It looks very good and reads even better---even my article, "Private Clubs Under Siege."

**Samuel Rabinove**  
Director, Discrimination Division  
The American Jewish Committee  
New York, New York

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Editor's Note: Reader response to Perspectives articles is welcome. Address letters to: Editor, Perspectives, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1121 Vermont Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20425.

# Up Front

by F. Peter Model

## Coffee, Tea & Dignity: A Postscript

The "Love Airline" will have to be sexually integrated. So ruled U.S. District Judge Patrick Higginbotham this summer in shooting down Southwest Airlines' curious claim that it was entitled to bar employment of men seeking to become flight attendants and ticket agents, according to a UPI dispatch out of Dallas.

The case began in June 1980, when 29-year-old Gregory Wilson was turned down as a flight attendant applicant with the 10-year-old Texas-based carrier, also known as "The Love Airline" (as in Love Field, its Dallas home base). Up until the time Judge Higginbotham read the riot act to Southwest Airlines, its president, Howard D. Putnam, steadfastly refused to hire men.

There was method to Putnam's practice, it seems: while other airlines were buffeted by economic turbulence (see *Perspectives*, Spring 1980), Southwest reaped the ill wind, clocking \$28 million in profits last year on the sheer power of sexism. Aloft, its flight attendants wore hot pants, cowboy-belted sweaters and go-go boots. Most passengers are male.

In filing his class action suit, Wilson said he wasn't applying to the Dallas Cowgirls or the local Playboy Club, but to an airline that had a government franchise to fly hither and yon. Especially yon, since under deregulation Southwest now flies outside of Texas, making its discrimination a Federal case.

For its defense, the "Love Airline" argued that since sex was such a crucial part of its marketing mix, it merited, as its lawyers phrased it, an "occupational qualification under Federal law."

The judge wasn't having any of that. In his 24-page opinion, he tartly ob-



served that "'love' is the manner of the job performance, not the job performed."

## Hayes Seizure Nets Oglala Sioux \$106 Million; Lawyers \$10.6 Million.

Indian activist Russell Means calls them "parasites." His brother Bill—like Russell, a member of the Oglala Sioux tribe—describes it as "the largest rip-off of Indian claims money in the history of this country."

Pretty strong words, but then they're talking about no small change: \$10,595,943 to be exact, which is what the U.S. Court of Claims awarded three Washington lawyers this past spring, for having successfully completed 24 years of litigation that netted the Oglala \$106 million in long-overdue compensation for

Federal confiscation of their land.

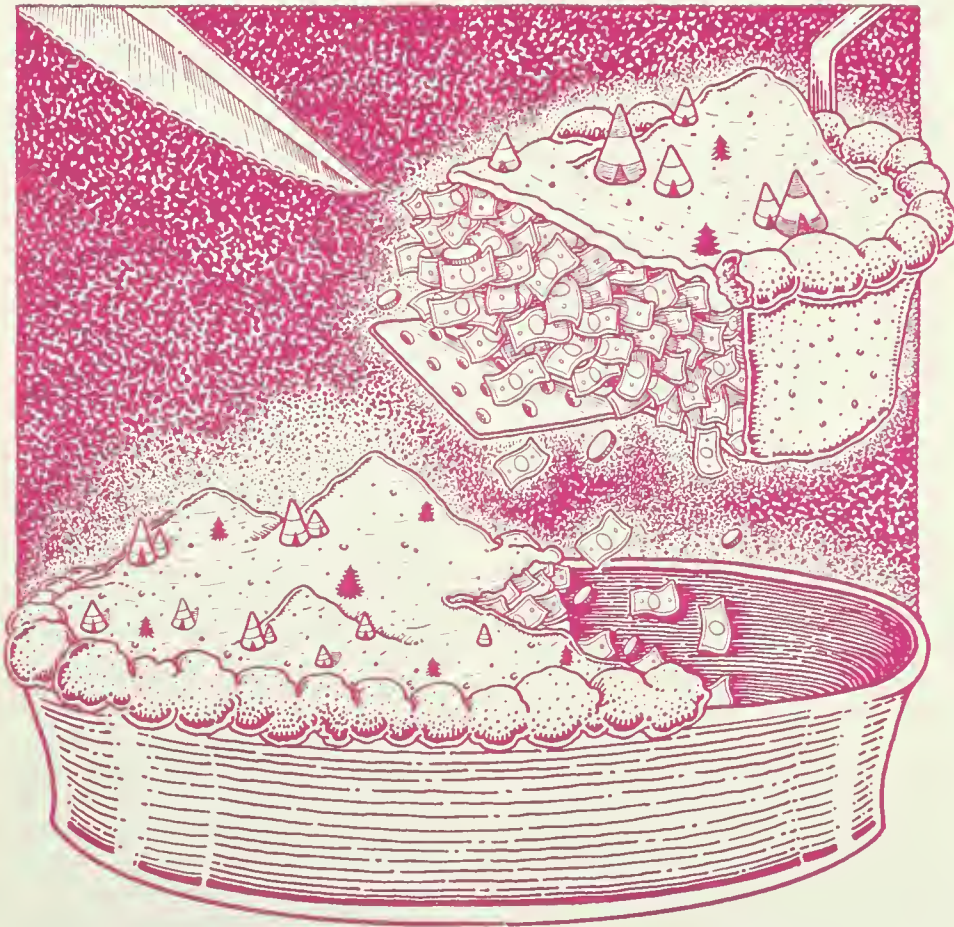
Back in 1956, Marvin J. Sonosky, then 48, teamed up with another partner in the politically-active firm of what is now Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman—Arthur Lazarus Jr. who was 30—and a third lawyer, independent Indian law specialist William H. Payne, then 48, to tackle a case all of Washington had come to regard as virtually hopeless. The case had been in the courts since 1923, and had suffered innumerable setbacks. In fact, the Sioux had already lost the case twice by the time the Messrs. Sonosky, Lazarus and Payne took it on a contingency-fee basis.

The case involved some seven million acres of sacred Black Hills land in South Dakota that the Rutherford B. Hayes Administration seized in 1877, in direct abrogation of an 1868 Treaty with the Sioux. There had been gold in them thar hills, and 46 years later, the Sioux sued. Taking on this "virtually hopeless" case in 1956, Sonosky recalls, was a "definite gamble."

What Sonosky and his associates did was to lobby through Congress two laws to reverse earlier court rulings that would have sharply curtailed the Sioux Nation's compensation. They then set about convincing both the now-defunct Indian Claims Commission and the U.S. Supreme Court that the Indians had been "shamefully cheated and exploited" and that therefore they should be entitled to more than twice as much as any previous Indian claim.

In June 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with them—awarding the Oglala \$17.5 million, the equivalent of the land's value 104 years ago, plus \$88.4 million in annual five percent interest since 1877. If and when the award is distributed among the estimated 60,000 Sioux, each will get from \$1,500 to \$2,000. In that context, the \$10.5 million

*F. Peter Model is a freelance writer living in New York City.*



the lawyers will get does appear to be excessive.

During the 23 years Sonosky, Lazarus and Payne fought the good case, however, they netted a total of \$3,500, or \$152.17 a year before the three-way split. But instead of awarding Sonosky, et. al. the standard \$75 a hour the Justice Department allows to lawyers suing the government, Justice applied the legal maximum of 10 percent under the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946.

It would take about a year for the Court of Claims to weigh the protests.

On May 20, 1981, Chief Judge Daniel M. Friedman, in a 10-page opinion, found nothing excessive in the award and he praised the lawyers for their "outstanding services" and "remarkable achievement."

For their part, the Oglala would rather let the Government keep its money and give them back the Black Hills. According to the *New York Times*, two or three of the eight plaintiff tribes fear that by taking the money they would forever extinguish their claims to the land. Until the matter is finally resolved, the \$106 mil-

lion continues to garner interest in a government trust account.

## The Norwegian That Links Hispanics

The Hispanic Link has grown from a gleam in the eye of Charles Ericksen to a nationwide newspaper syndicate serving—at last count—more than 80 outlets with a thrice-weekly column in both Spanish and English. Ericksen, from Los Angeles, served as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' public information head from 1978 to 1979. During that time, he was intrigued to learn that despite the presence of some 20 million Hispanics, there were no Hispanic writers being syndicated in U.S. newspapers.

"It wasn't for lack of talent," he now says, "but for lack of initiative on the part of newspaper publishers."

Married to a native of Oaxaca, Mexico, and the father of five *mestizo* (half Indian, half white) children, Ericksen bridled at the way they were treated while they were growing up in the Mexican American barrios of East Los Angeles. As he told Tim O'Leary of the *Washington Star*, "every part of them that was Hispanic in culture was given no value by the schools or anybody. They were only measured by the part of them that was Anglo."

Clearly, the nation's newspapers were shirking their community responsibilities by ignoring the "Hispanic link" between those parts of the country made up of different Hispanic backgrounds and the dominant (Anglo) society. "Most newspapers take a very narrow view of the benefits which a bilingual or bicultural people bring to society...."

And so, after leaving the Commission in December 1979, the 51-year old journalist moved into a less-than-fashionable office on N Street, N.W. in Washington, D.C. and established The Hispanic Link News Service. He then went out and



## Up Front

corralled "the best Hispanic minds and writers in the nation," often calling on fellow journalists he had met and worked with over 30 years in journalism.

*¡Bravo!* to Charlie Ericksen's *Causa*.

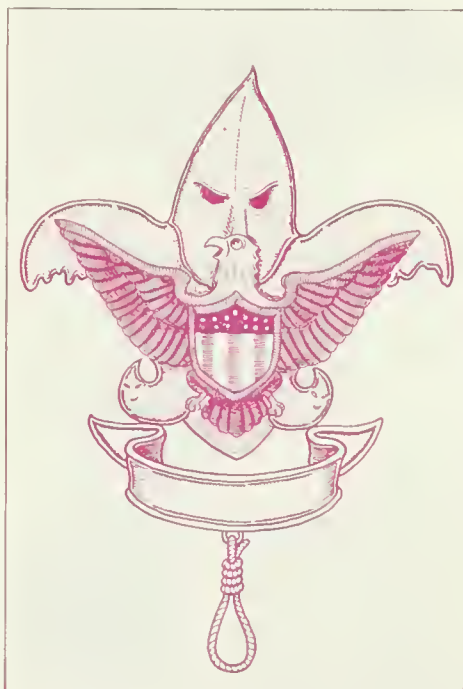
### Be Kind, Courteous, Thrifty...And Get Rid of the Sheet

"James W. Farrands, head of Connecticut's Ku Klux Klan, has been relieved as leader of local Boy Scout and Brownie troops."

It sounds like a bad joke, a scene from Jim Crow days mistakenly spliced with a loose strand of Disney. In fact, it's a UPI dispatch out of Shelton, Connecticut, reported in the July 14 *Washington Star*.

Among the entangling circumstances was Farrands' position as organizer of a Klan rally in nearby Meriden the weekend before his dismissal. Three people were injured in the rally, another ten were arrested and local officials swore to arrest Klan leaders if they tried to demonstrate in Meriden again. And around the time of the dismissal, an 18-year-old Eagle Scout-designate in Farrands' troop allegedly admitted his own Klan membership in an interview with a local reporter. Both Farrands and the scout later denied the story—"he's going to be my son-in-law," Farrands told the *Hartford Courant* in speaking up for the young man—but the allegations didn't help Farrands keep his jobs.

The 46-year-old tool and die maker launched a counterattack, accusing the media of unfairly badgering him, promising a lawsuit to regain the scouting posts and denying that his role as state commander of the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan should interfere with his role as master of Boy Scout Troop 88 and Brownie Troop 2. He offered that he had never discriminated against non-white scouts: "my attitude was, 'Hey,



you can do for me, I can do for you, just don't come messing with my daughter.'" And there were harsh words for his new critics: "Where were they when we needed rides to camping trips?"

Scouting leaders were angry and terse. "We believe that KKK [and Girl Scout] goals are incompatible," declared Miriam Healey of the Girl Scouts' Connecticut Trails Council, announcing Farrands' firing. The national Boy Scout council, backing up its vote to dismiss the Klan leader, made clear that neither scouts nor scoutmasters could join the KKK and remain associated with scouting. Farrands begged to differ. "The Boy Scouts is a real right-wing organization, whether you like it or not," he said. "They believe in patriotism and against communism...the same things I believe in." He compared his current desire to become the Connecticut KKK's Grand Dragon to his past lust for leadership,

saying that "when I joined the scouts, I wanted to become an Eagle Scout."

The Boy Scouts said Farrands is the first KKK member to be discovered in and ejected from their organization, and there is little evidence of Klan infiltration into Lord Baden-Powell's brainchild. So the next time you're offered help crossing the street or cookies on your doorstep, you probably needn't be prepared for anything but a friendly arm or some chocolate chips.

### Farrands Responds

*Editor's Note: In accordance with Commission Policy, Mr. J.W. Farrands was given an opportunity to respond to the Up Front item "Be Kind, Courteous, Thrifty...And Get Rid of the Sheet." His unedited response follows:*

Perhaps you should look back a bit further to what scouting is responsible for.

To serve God, country, and mankind are promises of every boy scout in America.

Good leadership, discipline, loyalty, years of service, dedication to ones country, family, friends, and set goals will bring each scout to the highest rank of great honor.

The National Boy Scout Council recognizes such fine qualities in young men and are awarded the highest of awards. The Eagle Scout Medal.

Few scouts carry on this loyal, trustworthy, cheerful and reverent responsibility for life. To some it's their patriotic duty to continue to keep alive this great national organization.

I, J.W. Farrands, did just this for more than twenty five years for America and will continue to do so.

You say, "Get rid of the sheet?" When all other fraternal organizations, lodges, and religious orders to

likewise?

Another correction for your article about Meridan should state that the ten arrested were *NOT* klansmen. A klanslady was severely wounded and numerous police were hurt.

Your error pertaining to J.W. wanting to become an Eagle Scout should read; I was an Eagle Scout.

Thank you for listening.

J.W. Farrands  
Shelton, Conn.

## It Ain't No Way to Treat A Spy

In the world of intelligence, where Richard Burton comes in from the cold, James Bond meets women, people wear trenchcoats and the walls have ears, Bernice Turbeville is not one of its more famous personalities, at least not yet.

Then again, nobody has ever before sued the Central Intelligence Agency for sex discrimination in its covert activities division. Whether or not the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia rules for Turbeville in the class action suit she filed in July, the 35-year veteran of the intelligence community has written herself a small page in the record book anyway, as the July 24th Washington *Post* reports.

Turbeville was hired by the Strategic Services Unit of the War Department in 1946, joined the CIA at its founding in 1948 and by 1953 had climbed from clerk to intelligence analyst, at a GS-9 civil service level. There she stayed for the next 11 years, alleges the suit, until her consistently strong Fitness Reports earned her a GS-10 rating. Fourteen years and a formal equal employment opportunity complaint later, she reached her current GS-12 level.

In 1980, the agency made her permanent chief of the Latin American desk in the covert division. Her attorney John



Grad says she served for three distinguished years as acting desk chief, but that soon after getting the job permanently she started receiving poor performance ratings from male supervisors.

"She wasn't incompetent when she was doing the job as acting desk chief. This is total retaliation. When she started getting noisy, all of a sudden she was incompetent," he charges, referring to her EEO claim, its rejection by the agency and her now-pending appeal. Grad also claims that Turbeville is still a GS-12 although desk chief is a GS-14 position, and that despite holding the formal rank of an Operations Officer she is treated in pay and benefits more like a lower-ranking Intelligence Analyst.

"There is a consistent pattern of women being relegated to low GS levels in the DO (the Directorate of Operations, CIA's covert branch) and to positions that have small potential for advance-

ment, and of professional women being shunted away from managerial positions," says the formal complaint, which cites numerous statistics to show that Turbeville and her fellow female spooks have gotten the short end of the stick.

Statistics aren't all that Turbeville claims to have on her side, though. Grad also included in the complaint an array of "powerful anecdotal evidence" against the CIA. Among the examples: one supervisor "complained in a written report about her 'potted plants' as a possible security hazard.... Said supervisor also suspected a 'bitching session' incident by the complainant.... It has also been complained that agent Turbeville snacks in the morning on coffee and danish."

Such charges remind Grad of "a George Carlin routine. Potted plants are a security risk—it's hysterical to me. The only thing I can think of is they thought there were bugs on them. Blatant craziness."

Turbeville is asking the court for back pay, an order making her a GS-14 and another order declaring CIA practices illegal and mandating an affirmative action plan for the agency. When last heard from, she and Grad were awaiting the agency's legal rebuttal to her seven-page complaint. "They won't deny knowing Bernice Turbeville, but they will deny all charges of discrimination," predicts Grad.

The CIA, explained public affairs officer Kathy Pherson when contacted for the agency's views on the matter, refuses comment on any issue under litigation. So Turbeville will wait to meet them in court, "fed up" with her treatment over the past several years, according to Grad, and anxious to pursue the issue "as a matter of pride." Five hundred female CIA agents wait with her, watching what they say when a fern is in earshot.

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# Speaking Out

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## The Legal Godsend

by Michael Matza

**T**he first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers," Shakespeare's Dick the Butcher suggested in part two of the dramatic history of King Henry VI.

Some Americans are now intent on giving a new twist to that refrain: "Kill only the lawyers who serve the poor."

Alas (as Shakespeare would have said), the writing is on the wall. For no matter how budget slashers package and sell it, the assault on the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) tells poor folk—the handicapped, aged, and minorities among them—to say goodbye to their civil rights. Those targeting the corporation for extinction are trying to turn back the clock to the time when social progress and the civil legal needs of the poor were left to the charity of those lawyers inclined to donate their services. Historically, their number was small; current proposals for tax incentives notwithstanding, their ranks would remain small today. To be an advocate in court for the poor has always been a thankless job.

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### Lawyering for the poor has always been a thankless job.

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Perhaps that's why, in the middle of a turbulent decade, the task of representing America's recently redefined underclass—the "truly needy"—fell to the Office of Equal Opportunity, which provided legal aid for the poor beginning in 1965. In 1974, to insulate legal assistance for those who could not afford it from the partisan pressures of the executive branch and from the whims of philan-

thropists, Congress created the independent, non-profit Legal Services Corporation. Whereas the Constitution—buttressed by the Supreme Court's 1963 *Gideon v. Wainwright* decision—guaranteed a lawyer to every person accused of a crime, Congress now guaranteed a lawyer to every poor person bringing civil complaints before the courts.

From the start, the goals of the corporation were high-minded, egalitarian and controversial. If LSC is abolished or severely cut back (the House voted to reduce its budget by 25 percent and added 18 restrictive amendments to its reauthorization bill on June 18), equal access to the courts for even the poorest among us will be tragically short-lived as well. After all, only last year did LSC achieve the level of staffing and expanded coverage to boast that it could guarantee *one* lawyer for every 5000 of the nation's poor.

"It's CETA over here, and subsidized housing over there. Food stamps over here, and Legal Services over there. It's a systematic kiss-off of the low-income constituency. The cornerstones around poor people are being removed one by one," says Robert Spangenberg, who in 1967 became founding director of Boston's first federally-funded civil law project and now works for a Cambridge-based consulting firm. Spangenberg was there in the early days of the civil rights movement, when clients and tenants would routinely conduct sit-ins at housing authorities and local welfare offices. In those days, he recalls, officials would sit down too, and the two sides would begin to negotiate. "But that mode for resolving the problems of poor people is out," he says. "And the message is clear. If negotiation is out, what do they need lawyers for?"

They need them, of course, for every-

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## Speaking Out

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thing under the sun. They need them for protection against the well-financed and well-deployed legal machinery of businesses and landlords, and they need them as the first and often the only line of defense when the bureaucracy that so closely regulates their lives runs amok. LSC has added a new dimension to the struggle for minority rights in the South, for example, where it spent \$4 million in 1974 and some \$60 million in 1980. In the West, it has been a conduit for services to long-exploited Native Americans; LSC, in fact, spends more per capita on Indian service than on any other segment of the population. And just as often, LSC handles mundane cases of law enforcement, not law reform. National Defeat Legal Services Committee chairman Howard Phillips considers LSC "a federally funded church of legal services" and characterizes its budget as "a \$300 million slush fund for the radical Democratic left." He, and other such opponents of the Corporation who accuse it of indulging in large-scale "social engineering," are misinformed.

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**Opponents see LSC as "A Federally funded church of legal services."**

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The files of Legal Services for Cape Cod and Islands (LSCCI), a typical LSC-funded office, illustrate just how ordinary most Legal Services work turns out to be. Of 693 new cases opened by LSCCI in 1980, more than half were of the administrative-law variety—negotiations and hearings precipitated when a Federal social-service agency moved to terminate a recipient's benefits. Add to this

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## Speaking Out

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the fact that Legal Services, by its own estimate, wins eight out of 10 cases it litigates, and the reason the poor so desperately need advocates emerges in stark relief. In this context, it's also apparent why those who oppose government spending for social services view such advocacy as a subversive activity. "If trying to get individuals, institutions and government agencies to live up to and within the law on behalf of poor people is radical," says LSCCI Director Thomas Lebach, "then we're probably guilty."

William McNally, Lebach's counterpart at LSC's Greater Boston Legal Services, says that providing legal services for the poor is actually less radical than the alternative. "The devastating thing is the message you send to poor people when you tell them that they won't be able to channel their disputes through the court system," he says. "The example I always use is the dinette-set case. If one of our clients buys a new dinette set and the leg falls off, he can call his lawyer, who'll call the guy who sold it to him and threaten a suit if it's not replaced or repaired. You take the client's lawyer away, and he's got no choice but to go down to the store and punch the guy who sold it to him in the nose."

Federally subsidized legal aid to the poor does more than avert the violence born of frustration. Last year on a total budget of \$321 million, 300 LSC-funded programs, employing 5300 lawyers and 2500 paralegals in 1450 offices offered civil legal assistance to 1.2 million low-income people. These clients resided in every one of the nation's 3000 counties; 57 percent were white, 30 percent black, 10 percent Hispanic—and only 20 percent were employed. One-third of the cases concerned domestic matters, more than a tenth involved the frequently strained relationships between

landlords and tenants, and half of all cases were settled in a month or less. Many clients were guided through bureaucratic hearings unfathomable without counsel; others gained free access to a legal remedy that otherwise would have been beyond their means to pursue.

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### Providing legal services for the poor is less radical than the alternative.

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A great many LSC cases are on behalf of low-income people whose meager resources are literally taxed to their very limits—the elderly, the handicapped, and those for whom lack of fluency in English can be a barrier to pursuit of their rights. One such case was described in the Final Report of the White House Mini-Conference on Legal Services for the Elderly, which was held in Washington on January 29. The case involved an 81-year-old nursing home patient from Connecticut who was transferred to a nearby hospital after suffering a "possible stroke." Shortly thereafter, her room, which she had paid for with Medicaid for almost two years, was given to a resident who was able to pay for it privately. Although hospital medical tests did not reveal a condition requiring hospitalization, the nursing home refused to give the old woman back her bed until she acquired a court order requiring it—something she never could have done without the help of a Legal Services attorney.

For older Americans living on fixed incomes through Supplemental Security, Social Security, or railroad retirement or veterans benefits, elimination of Legal Services would be particularly onerous. A 1978 amendment to the Older Americans Act earmarks some \$11.8 million to be spent annually on legal services to

the elderly, but as block grants for social services become the wave of the future, that money is likely to be up for grabs. This Spring, there was a recommendation to end all LSC funding and a proposal for legislation amending the Older Americans Act to remove the requirement that area agencies spend some of their budget on legal services. For America's 1.3 million institutionalized elderly, 95 percent of whom cannot afford private counsel, that had to come as a shock.

Problems with inadequate housing, restrictive income-maintenance requirements, unfair consumer practices, inadequate health care, and discrimination, especially in employment, work a particular hardship on those with limited English speaking ability. Their legal needs are met by Legal Services attorneys or are met not at all. The migrant and seasonal workers of the Southwest are prime examples. Their employer-provided housing is often dilapidated, they are harassed as "wetbacks" despite being legally admitted aliens, and they are often made to work in pesticide-saturated fields without the minimum-wage and maximum-hour protections to which they are entitled. If they assert their rights on their own, they are threatened with replacement by easily available foreign workers. For this segment of the low-income population, the Legal Services lawyer who speaks their language and visits them at their rundown quarters is a godsend. Private attorneys have neither the interest, the specialized knowledge, or the capacity to supply such dedicated legal help in all the places it is needed.

To dismantle a Federal entitlement program that works is a sign of the times. The war on poverty may well be over, but the war on the poor has only just begun. ♦



# Sacred Objects

## Secular Laws

by Stan Steiner

**M**y heart is in these medicine bundles," said Andy Natonaban a Navajo medicine man. On the floor of the museum's offices was a pile of old sacks and suitcases full of hundreds of sacred objects of the Navajo people. These religious and ceremonial "artifacts" were being given back to the Indians by the white museum curators. Four medicine men had come from the reservation to bless the sacred objects and take them home.

A ceremonial of the media was also taking place. Some thought it blasphemous, but television crews were there to film what newspapers had called "something unique" in white/Indian relations: "Instead of taking, the white man would be giving back."

One of the medicine men objected to the crews' presence. Perhaps to neutralize the evil eye of the television camera, the old man stepped before it and sprinkled some corn pollen on its lens. He anointed the forehead of the cameraman with pollen, as with holy water. And the startled cameraman jumped backwards.

The medicine men then began a quiet chant in celebration. It was a "song of joy," they said. "Each of these sacks, bundles and suitcases represents the blood of the Navajo Nation," said

Natonabah. "We will take them home and teach the younger generation what these things mean."

Some of the medicine bundles had been stored for so long in the museum's vaults that the sacred herbs had turned to dust; the medicine men would return these to the earth of the Sacred Mountain of Arizona and New Mexico. But eight medicine bundles were still usable, and so were many prayersticks and ceremonial feathers.

The students at the Navajo Community College in Chinle, Arizona would use the sacred objects in learning to perform "ceremonies in a *hogan* [the traditional Navajo house] on the campus," explained Harry Walters, the curator of the college's Cultural Center.

It was in August, 1977 that the curators of the Wheelwright Museum of Santa Fe, New Mexico, decided to return their collection of sacred objects to the Navajos. "That was the year before the American Indian Religious Freedom Act was enacted," said anthropologist Harry King, chairman of the museum's Board of Trustees; "We did it voluntarily."

But why?

The museum had collected the sacred objects when curators "sensed the whole culture was dying," the curator said. "But the Navajo culture did not die. It changed, it grew, it could not be locked up as artifacts. The Navajos changed. We didn't. We were the custodians of antiquity, the presumptuous

interpreters of another culture's religion...."

So the curators decided to give back the sacred objects not only because the Navajo people needed them, but for their own sake. To "gain harmony in our own work, to honor the creative tension between preservation and perseverance which has sustained the Navajo Nation itself," they said.

And so the four medicine men gathered up the old sacks and suitcases containing the sacred objects. They loaded them on their jeeps for the long journey home; said Natonabah, "I am taking my blood back to the reservation."

Not many museums have followed the magnanimous and enlightened lead of Wheelwright curators.

After much controversy, the Denver Art Museum did reluctantly return a figure of a Zuni "War God" that the tribe demanded back. So did the Milliecent Rogers' Museum in New Mexico; similarly, Phoenix's Heard Museum, returned its deeply religious kiva masks to the Hopis. The New York State Museum talked of returning twenty-six sacred wampum belts to the Onondagas of the Iroquois Nation, but in the end would not part with its horde because, they said, the Onondaga would not build a museum to exhibit them. The people wished to use these belts, which recorded the tribe's history, in their worship.

To the tribal people, the sacred objects are not artifacts to be exhibited to tourists anymore than are the altars of St. Patrick's Cathedral to its worshippers. Onondaga leader Oren Lyons

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has expressed this point of view succinctly:

Religion as it has been said and still is practiced today on the reservation permeates all aspects of tribal life. The language makes no distinction between religion, government and law. Tribal customs and religious ordinances are synonymous. All aspects of life are tied into one.

Yet curators at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. refused to return the Zuni "War Gods" and numerous sacred objects stored in their collections for religious use by the Zunis until the Indians build museums to exhibit them. Building such museums is "practically impossible for most tribes," says Bowen Blair, editor of *Environmental Law*, even if they are inclined to do so.

Of all the problems posed by sacred objects in museums, none is more disturbing than that caused by the differing concept of religion in Indian and non-Indian societies. Said the 1979 *Task Force Report of the Interior Department on the American Indian Religious Freedom Act*: "For the larger religions the deity is the Creator who institutes natural laws, [while the] tribal religions regard the world as a continual process of creation, and their concept of creator is simply one of identity, not of functions."

In the original notes of *Suggested Guidelines for Museums*, issued by the North American Indian Museum Association, the idea was put simply: "To some, *all* is sacred, and *all* is religious."

The conflicting views of sacred objects and religious practices are reflected in the conflicting interpretations of the laws that govern their preservation. Even the venerable Antiquities Act of 1906 is "unconstitutionally vague," said a ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, because it does not define an "object of antiquity," or even a "ruin," though the Act was meant to prohibit the exploitation of "objects of antiquity" and "ruins" on Federal or tribal lands without "permission" of the Indians involved.

Nonetheless, the Act encouraged such exploitation "for the benefit of

reputable museums" if sacred objects unearthed were to be exhibited in "permanent preservation in public museums." Neither "reputable" nor "permanent preservation" was defined.

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-341) is equally terse. It was meant to redress "the abridgement of religious freedom for traditional American Indians" by government agencies by guaranteeing their "freedom to believe, express and exercise the traditional religions [through] access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects and freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites." The freedom of Indian religion was broadly based, in the Act, on the First Amendment.

But none of its terms were defined, either. If a sacred "site" is a mountain or river, what then? If a "ceremonial and traditional rite" has to be performed at the location of a uranium mine, what then? If a "sacred object" is in the possession of a museum, what then?

"Ceremonials and traditional rites" often take place at a mountain, river, cave or butte that has religious importance. The earth itself is a sacred object—it is the church, and the earth's natural phenomena are the altars of Indian religions. In one of its rulings, the U.S. Indian Claims Commission noted the affinity of Indian religion and the earth:

The native religion...does now and has for centuries tied them closely to the land...the people by their prayers and religious functions keep the land producing and the land keeps the people....

Though the Religious Freedom Act makes but passing reference to "access to sites" of worship, it has encouraged Cherokees and Navajos to seek its protections in the hope of safeguarding their shrines and sacred objects.

On the Little Tennessee River, the Cherokee, with the aid of the National Indian Youth Council, went into court to block the Tellico Dam from flooding their ancestral homes and tombs. The court ruled against them, and now their sacred sites are beneath water.

So are 10,000-year-old archeological sites, the tombs of 700 dead whose skeletons were removed in a truck, and the "Cherokee Jerusalem," Chota. The public was more interested in a tiny fish, the snail darter, than in the Cherokee's right to access to their sacred sites.

And in the Southwest, the Navajo, led by four medicine men, asked the courts to halt Lake Powell's inundation of their sacred Rainbow Arch Monument by water and tourists; they consider "the arch itself to be a God," it is said. The U.S. 10th Circuit Court of Appeals in Utah, in November 1980, denied the Navajo religious claims because they had no "property interest" in the Arch, as in a church, and the medicine men had not been "trained" by their government. Besides, the court reasoned, the religious training of the "alleged" medicine men "took place years ago." In any event, the need for water "outweighs the plaintiff's religious interest," the court said. It made no ruling on the constitutionality of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

(As this is written, the Navajo await a U.S. Supreme Court ruling on their religious right to protect and worship at the sacred site of *their* "God.")

To define an Indian religion seems beyond the abilities of the government, as perhaps it should be. "Government cannot make theological decisions," the North American Indian Museum has said. Indeed, the responsibility of state and Federal governments is neither to "define" nor "determine" a religion. Their task is to protect its practice.

The dilemma facing museum curators has not been entirely of their own making. Historical rituals help shape museum collectings as they shape the work of any other profession. Curators are "schooled in acquisition," wrote the art historian Clemency Coggins. "They believe that an object acquired by a museum is necessarily in a better place than it was;" for they know best how to preserve it.

Still, to preserve a sacred object in a museum case, like an animal in a zoo cage, not only protects it but changes it. Though the object may loom larger in the public eye, it is diminished.



In the early days of museum exhibits, it was not uncommon to see a life-sized Indian made of clay or papier-mache sitting sorrowfully in a display case. Who can forget the forlorn "real-life" Indians preserved in glass that once disgraced New York's American Museum of Natural History? Their resplendent feathers and religious regalia did not conceal their sad demeanor.

The native people were exhibited like stuffed animals. And sacred objects were often displayed like dinosaur bones. In the sterile isolation of a museum case, they were frozen in time and space—denied their proper role as sources of renewal and lifeblood for a living religion that would outlast bans on tribal religious practices on reservations. The museums came to feel obligated to preserve the supposedly vanishing cultures of the tribes.

Even now there are anthropologists who "persist in thinking that the Creator put Indians on earth so that [they] can treat them like so many chessmen on a board," Pueblo anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz has bitterly said. Lakota anthropologist Bea Medicine has criticized the "our Indian" approach, in which a curator selects a particular tribe or aspect of tribal culture which then becomes "his" field of expertise, or "her" Indians.

These attitudes have often arisen from a sense of cultural superiority. In his comments on Margaret Mead's fine study of adolescence in Samoa, Flathead anthropologist D'arcy McNickes noted that Mead's purpose was to preserve the Samoan folkways (on paper, that is) so that the islanders could better understand themselves. "Simple people, primitive people," Mead said, lived in societies that "never attained the complexity of our own," so a trained student could master the "fundamental structure of a primitive society in a few months" of study.

And so, who could better preserve and understand the sacred objects of the Indian people than the curator? If a tribal society was dying or was being extinguished by a white society, its sacred objects fallen into disuse and their meanings lost, it then became the ironic obligation of museums to preserve whatever survived.

The essence of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act was the recognition by whites that the Indian people should and could preserve their own religious objects and beliefs. It reflected the demands of the "New Indian" movement of the Sixties and Seventies, and the revival of old Indian beliefs.

The new attitude first emerged in the white world at conferences held at the University of Chicago in 1954 and 1960. There, following the lead of tribal scholars and the guidance of anthropologist Sol Tax, white scholars recognized that "despite external pressures and internal changes, most of the present identifiable Indian groups residing on reservations...will continue indefinitely as distinct social units, preserving their basic values, personality and Indian way of life." In this sense, the recognition that the "use and possession of sacred objects [was] necessary for the exercise of religious rites and ceremonies" was not granted to the Indian people by the government. Congress merely legalized the reality of the enduring and evolving strength of the Native American spiritual world.

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### Scared objects were often displayed like dinosaur bones.

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"No matter what the white man says or does he cannot give or take away the spirits," Navajo leader Anne Wauneka once said. "He does not control the spirits. He is controlled by them."

To such contemporary Indians, their sacred objects have never been objects at all, for they are "beings," the physical embodiment of spiritual forces. Nor are they merely works of art to hang on walls or place in the glass cases of museums, for they possess the power to harm or heal, to curse or bless.

And nowhere are distinctions between the two views of sacred objects more sharply delineated than in the case of the so-called Zuni "War Gods."

The War Gods are carved figures about two feet high. On the mountains

and mesas of the Zuni Reservation, the sacred figures are placed in secret and hidden shrines. There, beneath the turquoise sky, they guard the land and the people against both natural and human enemies.

The Zunis sometimes say these "War Gods" are not symbols of their "Gods;" they are "spiritual beings." And they do not merely control "War;" they maintain the balance of life between man and the earth, between death and rebirth. The Zunis call them *Ahayu:da*.

Governor Robert Lewis of the Zuni Pueblo, requesting that museum curators return the *Ahayu:da* to their shrines, has spoken of them as "very powerful spiritual beings" who, if they were not returned to "their rightful place," might in their wrath destroy the museums in which they were displayed.

"The *Ahayu:da* have very great and destructive powers," Lewis wrote. "When the *Ahayu:da* are [taken] away from their shrines they cause earthquakes, fires, floods, storms and other violent destructions, [because] religious leaders cannot pray to them to use their powers for beneficial ends."

And so, not only for the sake of the Zuni, but for the safety of the museums, the curators had better return the *Ahayu:da*, at once.

Besides, they were stolen property, said the Governor. He echoed the complaints of the many Native American leaders who have accused the museums of, knowingly or unknowingly buying sacred objects that have been stolen from the tribes. "The only way [the *Ahayu:da*] can be removed," Lewis said, "is by theft."

More importantly, the needs of the *Ahayu:da* could not be met by the curators. In the museums, the *Ahayu:da* might be lovingly displayed in an air conditioned, perfectly controlled atmosphere. But the curators' attempt to preserve them violated and defiled the Zuni religion.

On their mountains and mesas the *Ahayu:da* were displayed in the sun and wind, the rain and snow; for as "spiritual beings" of the earth and sky they had to evaporate and dissolve in the elements. They had to return to the Father Sky and Mother Earth. ♦

# As Harmful as Sticks and Stones

by John Algeo

Juliet was wrong. Oh, to be sure, she was right in a sense when she said, “That which we call a rose / By any other name would smell as sweet.” But things and people cannot escape names, and names can tag those who receive them with a scent—sweet, sour or pungent. So Romeo and Juliet’s brief affair came to a bad end not because they were star-crossed, but because they were name-crossed lovers—she a Capulet and he a Montague. Juliet was wrong in supposing that we can set the world right by changing the names of things or people. The truth is more nearly the other way around. If we set the world right, names will change in accord.

Humans have probably always invented derogatory names for those we dislike; one can imagine early *Homo sapiens* looking at the Neanderthals from over the hill and muttering something like “Snoogs!” When the Greeks discovered that foreigners could not speak Greek, they called them *barbaroi*: “babblers, stammerers.” But the use of invective seems not to be an exclusively human trait. Linguist Archibald Hill mentions a chimpanzee that learned Ameri-

can Sign Language and combined the signs for “dirty” and “cat” to produce the label “dirty cat” for another monkey. Only the lack of speech keeps the animal world from hurling epithets as do the worst of humans.

To be sure, abusive terms can be used good-naturedly when everybody in the exchange belongs to the group denoted by the term and shares the same attitude toward it. Blacks may banteringly call one another *nigger*, but a white—however sympathetic and otherwise part of the group—cannot appropriately use the term. Invective may even be ritualized, as it is among black adolescent street gangs in “the dozens” or “sounding”—wherein two youths exchange imaginative insults centering on each other’s family, particularly their mothers, the aim being to top the other person’s insult in exggeration, grotesqueness and humor. Insult is also ritualized, with a good deal less finesse, in the way military drill instructors address new recruits.

A derogatory name for a group is occasionally accepted and promoted to the status of a term of pride, like *Yankee*, which was probably first used by British troops to ridicule the colonials—witness “Yankee Doodle.” But after the Battle of Lexington, “New Englanders began the process of dignifying the nickname,” says the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. Similarly, *cracker* began as a term of derogation for

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Southerners, derived from the verb *crack* in the sense "boast," thus marking a "braggart." More recently it has become a term of local pride especially in Florida and Georgia. One way to handle abuse is to turn its language around so that it becomes praise, a method best pursued by those confident of their own worth.

An insulting name's original purpose is to label and thereby libel foreigners (especially foreigners in our midst), the lower classes, country folk, those of other races, women, or for that matter any group forming an easy target. The fertile imagination of English-speakers has produced a great array of ethnic insults, and we have borrowed a good many others (since verbal abuse is not the exclusive prerogative of American society).

No group escapes being deprecated by someone. The questionnaire for the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (now being edited by Lee Pederson at Emory University) included a question about "neutral, jocular, and derogatory terms" for a country person. Popular among the more than 200 responses were *clodhopper*, *country boy*, *country bumpkin*, *cracker*, *hayseed*, *hick*, *hillbilly*, *hoosier*, *peckerwood*, and *redneck*. But there were also such imaginative responses as *backwooder*, *red bone*, *sodbuster*, *soupage*, and *swamp stomper*, all primarily Southern terms for Southern rustics. Other regions of the country are equally productive in thinking up insults for the non-urban population.

Derogatory language about women is subtler and more complex. There are, of course, overt insults like *slut* and merely vulgar words like *broad*, as well as a wealth of sexual terms whose effect, even when they are used with good humor, is to depersonalize a woman. But such terms are not the chief language problem women face. More pervasive and serious are hidden put-downs that masquerade as compliments and that women are as likely to use as men, for example *girl* and *lady*.

*Girl*, referring to a mature female, is more commonly used by women (particularly middle-aged, middle-class women) than by men, although men use it too. It flatteringly suggests youth and attractiveness; its subliminal signal, however, is that the person so named is immature, unreliable, frivolous and inconsequential.

Men sometimes refer to themselves as *boys*, as in "a night out with the boys." But the latter term connotes daredevil rascality, a sowing of wild oats, things our culture expects should precede a settling down to decent responsibility. Boys are expected to grow up to be men; girls remain girls forever. And while *girl* has the "affectionate" form *girlie* that men may use, *boy* has no parallel diminutive for use by women. A female general assistant is a *girl Friday*; her male counterpart is a *man Friday*. A woman's close acquaintance may be her *girlfriend*; an adult male does not have a *boyfriend*. Using *girl* for a woman of mature years announces to the world that she is Nora, still in her doll's house.

Even more insidious is the use of *lady* for *woman*. What could be more respectful than expressions like *cleaning lady*

and *sales lady*, combining egalitarianism and chivalry? Almost anything, suggests linguist Robin Lakoff in *Language and Woman's Place*. The more demeaning a job, says Lakoff, the more likely a woman holding it will be called a *lady*. Though we may talk about the lady who is a clerk at Woolworth's, we are unlikely to talk about the lady who is a justice on the Supreme Court. Though we may talk about the lady dean at a finishing school, we are unlikely to talk about the lady dean at Berkeley. The euphemistic use of *lady* only trivializes the word.

Such is the history of all euphemisms. A word like *smell* starts off meaning any sensation perceived by the nose, but comes to mean an unpleasant sensation. The relative age of the following words corresponds roughly to the degree of unpleasantness that persons associate with them: *stink* (first used in 725), *stench* (893), *smell* (1175), *odor* (1300), *scent* (1375), *perfume* (1533). Euphemisms invented for unpleasant things are contaminated by one's attitude toward the thing, and the word loses its euphemistic value. Moral: the world needs new attitudes, not new euphemisms. "Unless we start feeling more respect for women and, at the same time, less uncomfortable about them and their roles in society in relation to men," says Robin Lakoff, "we cannot avoid *ladies* any more than we can avoid *broads*."

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## Take care of the social realities behind words and the words will follow along.

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*Black* also has an instructive history. The English word *black* was used for skin color as early as the 9th century. In the 13th century, the term *bloman* (from *blo*, "blackish blue, leaden-color," plus *man*) was used. By the 16th century, there were such terms as *black Moor* or *blackamoor*, *Ethiopian*, and the forms *negro*, *nigro*, *neger*, *niger*, and *nigger*, borrowed from Latin and the Romance languages. (Originally the *negro* forms were all basically neutral.) In the 17th century, *colored* was first used to describe blacks and *black* itself was revived as a noun, translating the *negro* words. *Afro-American* was introduced in 1890. The relatively recent spurning of the "fancy" and euphemistic terms, with a return to *black* as an all-purpose term used with pride and confidence, is an encouraging sign. Lakoff's remarks about women apply here too; when we start feeling more respect for blacks and less uncomfortable about them and their roles in society in relation to whites, we can stop the great euphemism hunt.

In *Alice in Wonderland*, the Duchess tells Alice: "Take care of the sense and the sounds will take care of themselves," by which Lewis Carroll is punning on the proverb "Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves." The Duchess' advice is bad for poets, but valuable when applied to derogatory names—if we take care of the social realities that lie behind words, the words will follow along. When a rose really smells sweet, what we call it doesn't matter. ♦

## Close Up

### Vilma Martínez:

by Henry Mendoza

**V**ilma Martínez, the president and general counsel of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, remembers visiting her father in a hospital a few years ago. A construction worker, he had fallen off a roof and was in danger of being permanently disabled.

She went to the hospital not only to visit, but to "tell those doctors that this poor Mexican had a daughter who could sue them if they didn't take care of him. And I said to my father, 'You know that if this had happened while I was in college, I would have left college and come and supported the family as best I could because I was the oldest.... You can't say to me that every individual can make it on his or her own because that's not how life is. You know there are certain other things that come into it.'

"And that's why it's important to have a civil rights organization like MALDEF playing that type of role for the Mexican American people. All of us need breaks in life."

Her father said he understood. Then he said, "*Mija, no tienes corazón.*" Daughter, you have no heart.

Vilma Martínez replied matter-of-factly, "*Corazón no, pero entendimiento sí.*" A heart perhaps not, but understanding yes.

Her father recovered completely and soon thereafter made his first contribution to a Mexican American rights organization. "But it wasn't MALDEF," she laughs.

Vilma Martínez has headed MALDEF for eight of its thirteen years, and at age 37 is widely seen as one of the nation's most effective civil rights advocates. Her



accomplishments have not been without opposition.

In San Antonio, Texas, where Martínez was born and raised, the high schools were divided by career levels. She remembers telling her father that the vocational-technical school he attended would be fine for her. "And he said no, that I should go to the academic high school. So then I fought the administration in the junior high school so I could go to academic high school. 'Don't get your hopes up,' they told me.

"At the academic high school I was the treasurer of the National Honor Society, and I asked the advisor how I could go to college, how to apply. No one in my family had even applied for college. She never told me. I was bitter about that. It was obvious to me that she wasn't going to tell me how to apply because she didn't want Mexican Americans to better themselves, and I wrote off to the University of Texas and asked, 'How does one apply?'"

Martínez financed her own education at UT at Austin by washing beakers and test tubes in a biochemistry lab. She breezed through UT in two and a half years, mostly because each term she was afraid she would not have enough money for the next: "I just wanted to get through. I'm a goal-oriented person. A

### Mexican Americans' Friend in Court

let-us-get-the-job-done person.... My father had told me 'You're going to get married, you're going to have children, you'll never make it.'" After graduating from UT, she went home and handed her diploma to her father. "Daddy, I don't want you ever to tell me that I can't make it," she told him.

A faculty member in the biochemistry lab advised Martínez to apply to "one of those liberal Eastern schools," since counselors refused to help her get into law school at UT. Columbia did accept her, and in 1967 she earned her LLB; in 1978, Columbia presented Martínez with the school's highest alumni award. "I like to go back to UT and tell them that story," she smiles.

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**"EDUCATION CASE REACHES HIGHEST COURT—The U.S. Supreme Court will hear arguments this fall in *Doe v. Pilyer*, the MALDEF suit challenging the right of Texas public schools to deny access to undocumented children by charging them tuition.**

**"The high tribunal's decision will have nationwide significance for education of the undocumented," says Education Litigation Director Peter Roos. Essentially it will be the court's pronouncement on whether undocumented children are covered by the equal protection clause of the Constitution."— MALDEF Quarterly Newsletter, Spring 1981**

**"TIME TO APPLY FOR MALDEF LOANS—MALDEF's Loan Forgiveness Program is now accepting applications for the 1981-82 academic year. The program awards loans to qualifying Hispanic law students in need of financial aid. Twenty students received MALDEF loans during 1980-81.**

**"The \$1,000 loan will be totally forgiven if, for one year, the recipient**

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*Henry Mendoza is a reporter for the Los Angeles Times.*

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# Close Up

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*provides legal services to low-income people of Latino descent.”— MALDEF Quarterly Newsletter, Winter 1981*

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She likes the often-used “velvet-glove” description of her style—and she is very much a Chicana, so it is a brown velvet glove she carries. She rarely lets her guard down, which explains why her father learned a lesson in his hospital bed. And why President Carter, after addressing a group of Hispanic leaders, was told by her: “At some point, Mr. President, I hope to brief *you* on issues that concern the Hispanic community.”

“I guess it comes down to this—it makes me so angry to be told you’re a zero and you’re not as good as I am. I remember when I was growing up, I would be very bitter about some of the discrimination that I could see or hear about or read about. And it was my mother who always said to me that it was alright to be angry and bitter, but it was not alright to have it ruin me. In effect, she was saying ‘What are you going to do about it?’ That helped me enormously, because that’s really how I try to operate.

“A lot of my initial motivation was because I had been told that I could not succeed. The answer isn’t anger. It has to be channelled. Because your anger, your tears, your feelings, don’t accomplish anything for anybody. I think the day you realize that is the day you try to do something. And I opted for that very knowingly.”

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*“In November 1974, along with 17 other Latino leaders, Martínez met with President Ford to discuss bilingual education, Federal jobs and the emerging ‘undocumented alien’ problem. ‘There was an abundance of charm,’ said Martínez after the meeting, ‘but no commitments.’ MALDEF’s*

*government advocacy would soon reach a new level of sophistication. The institution’s voice in Washington, where high-level decisions affecting Chicanos were being made, began having a stronger impact.”— MALDEF: Diez Años, 1978*

*“By the 1990’s, Latinos will be the largest minority in this country. We must gain jobs, education and political representation that is commensurate not only with our numbers but with the wealth of skill and experience that we have to offer the nation.*

*“By expanding present programs and by extending its methods for producing social change beyond the courtroom setting, MALDEF hopes to become an even more potent advocate for Chicanos and for all Latino Americans during the 1980s.”— Vilma Martínez, MALDEF: Diez Años*

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Martínez serves on the University of California Board of Regents (where she got to know Attorney General William French Smith), on the California Federal Judiciary Selection Committee and as chairperson of a commission on U.S.-Mexico relations. President Carter named her to his committee on ambassadorial appointments. Weekends are kept free for the family; she, her attorney husband and their two children live in the fashionable Hancock Park district of Los Angeles. She works several days a week out of MALDEF’s Los Angeles regional office. Otherwise she commutes to the organization’s San Francisco headquarters.

MALDEF was founded in 1968; Martínez was a member of its board of directors and an attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense Fund before taking the MALDEF helm in 1973. The

group has matured into a major civil rights force under her direction.

“I wasn’t quite 30 when I took over MALDEF, and I remember my staff breathed a sigh of relief when I turned 30. They didn’t want to have a boss under 30,” she says of early days at the organization. In its first years, MALDEF faced much civil rights turmoil in the country and depended largely on well-intentioned but inexperienced attorneys. There was a heavy emphasis on legal services work for individuals then, as well; today MALDEF handles only class action suits.

“We were reacting a lot to the problems, instead of sitting back very coldly and saying, ‘well, this is where we ought to spend the time and money.’ One of the things that was very important to me was to diversify the funding base and to turn it into a Chicano institution, and not just the brainchild of private philanthropy. MALDEF was a struggling civil rights organization striving to become an institution against all odds. And that’s the challenge that appealed to me, because I believed the Mexican American people in this country needed an organization to represent them.”

Since Martínez took over, the organization’s budget has more than quadrupled from its then-level of \$600,000. The staff of 80 works out of offices in Denver, Chicago, San Antonio and Washington as well as Los Angeles and San Francisco.

One of her goals in 1973 was to make MALDEF “a top-notch law firm. However, I quickly discovered that making it into a top-notch law firm wouldn’t be enough, because we could win cases and our people would still lose rights. I remember winning *Serna v. Portales*, establishing that people had the right to bilingual education in school. But the people of Portales still didn’t have it be-

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# Close Up

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cause we couldn't keep the political pressure on the school district. So I decided that we needed a community education component."

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***"'Ahora Sí!'—a phrase which roughly translates as 'our time has come'—was the theme for a massive effort this year to assure a full 1980 census count of Hispanics. MALDEF-designed bilingual slide shows were presented to hundreds of community groups in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Texas by our community coordinators. They explained how filling out census forms could bring better political representation and improved public services to Latinos. Three hundred copies of our slide show were distributed at cost to outside groups, who in turn circulate them. A half-million bilingual census brochures were distributed to Chicanos, Puerto-riqueños, Cubanos and other Latinos from Florida to Washington State.... We described [to officials] the flaws that had produced a gross Hispanic undercount in 1970. We issued strong warnings about census plans that could be equally devastating in 1980. We also exhorted government leaders to assure publicly that census answers would remain completely confidential."*— MALDEF Annual Report, 1980**

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"So MALDEF has gone beyond just the legal actions, and we've become not the law firm that I envisioned but a multi-disciplined entity. Yes, we have lawyers, but we also have community education people who work with our community to represent themselves. And we even created a media coordinator position to help us talk to the press, so that we could educate the people of the country to what a Mexican American was."

Martínez also formed a division of research and policy analysis. "We knew, for example, that 21 percent of our population is permanent resident alien. Not undocumented, but permanent resident alien, eligible for citizenship after five years.... And yet we have the lowest naturalization rate of any group in the history of the nation. We wanted to find out why, so our division of policy studies and research studied it. The reason why our people don't become naturalized, we think, is because they don't know how. They don't know where. So that suggests we need a community education program on naturalization. And not just at MALDEF—we want to get the Immigration and Naturalization Service to do naturalization, not just immigration raids."

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***"A major law school admission study was published this year. It is a good example of the applied research in which MALDEF is interested. The study is a carefully documented investigation of current law school admissions techniques and of historical and legal issues affecting minorities.... One study has begun on the declining enrollment of whites in colleges and universities and its potential impact on Latinos. Another report attempts to discover the reasons for low academic achievement among Hispanics. A preliminary study tried to discover why many Mexican-origin people living in the United States do not become naturalized citizens."*— MALDEF Annual Report, 1980**

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She worries that the country is preoccupied with the graying of America, while the median age of Hispanics is ten years below the national average. "We're not in sync with the rest of the country in that sense. The other manifestation of

this worry I have is in schooling. We are only now looking to the educational system to educate and prepare our community for full and effective participation in the system. And the educational system, which has traditionally played that role, is in a mess and is failing us. And even worse, is being abandoned by the middle class in the United States. I really worry about that." California, she notes as an example, has gone from being the second-ranked state in per-pupil expenditure to being the 17th.

Another worry: "When we moved MALDEF headquarters from San Antonio to San Francisco, there was a small legal services role for the corporation. Now legal services is under attack, a very serious attack. So I think the pressure on us to try and do legal aid-type work is going to be there again."

In reviewing MALDEF's record, she stresses its cooperation with other public-interest groups. It has worked with the Southwest Voter Registration Project, the NAACP, Common Cause and many other organizations, in litigation, lobbying and various other efforts.

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***"As a lawyer, I know quite well that the legal statuses of Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans and Puerto Ricans—not to mention all the Central and South American folk—are very different. And the potential legal tools available to each group vary. But I ain't no dummy, either, and the political reality is that we are increasingly becoming, as Hispanics, more politically sophisticated. We're beginning to learn to put aside our differences, to learn that there are issues on which we have varying opinions and on which we should stay out of each other's way, but that there are other issues on which we should stand united.... We are not a monolith. We are***

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# Close Up

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*developing a middle-class community. There is a strong and vibrant tradition of helping yourself and a conservative work ethic within my own community.” —Vilma Martínez, quoted in **Changing of the Guard: Power and Leadership in America** by David Broder, 1980*

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“You know, there are all kinds of power: the power of money, the power of the vote, the power of knowledge that comes to you through education so often. But also the power to achieve in five to seven years what otherwise might have taken us 20 or 30 years. The way I look at it, there’s just too much potential right now to scapegoat our people once again for the economic ills confronting all Americans. During the Depression this nation repatriated the Mexicans. During the ‘54 recession, Operation Wetback ferreted out all those ‘illegals’ and shipped them back to Mexico to create more jobs for American citizens. We are hearing the same kind of talk today, the same kind of talk. And it hurts me to say that it comes from a group as distinguished as the Select Committee on Immigration and Refugee Policy.

“But I will fight that scapegoating every chance I get. We should be looking for constructive, realistic solutions tailored to the real problems. The real problems are ineffective job creation, poor educational opportunities and discrimination in the job market.”

Widespread use of the phrase “illegal alien” bothers her, partly because she thinks it technically wrong and partly for its implications: “By calling people illegal aliens they refuse to look at the fact that these immigrants are here doing honest work, taking care of all of us, our yards, our restaurants, the hotels, our homes—our very own children, our own beautiful, wonderful, pampered children. It’s hon-

est, caring work. And for us to say these are illegal aliens is to miss the goddamn boat.... What are they doing once they get across the border except caring for us, *caring* for us? It really offends me.”

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*“The latest immigration plans are extremely disappointing to the Latino community. In order to remain in the country, immigrants would have to work and pay all taxes yet be eligible solely for medical benefits. Other benefits such as education, underwritten by their tax contributions, would be denied to them. Workers may stay in the country for ten years. During that time, they would be forbidden from bringing their spouses or children. After a decade of work and upon proof of English ability, the visa holder could apply for permanent residency.... The employer sanctions proposal is a sham designed not to address any immigration problem but to appease big business and those who reap tremendous benefits from the labor of the undocumented. They give the impression that employers will no longer be able to hire undocumented workers. But employers will not be prosecuted if they can prove they inspected an applicant’s social security card or other identification. Thus, we will have the status quo—but with more bureaucracy, more paperwork, and the opportunity to discriminate against Americans who ‘look foreign.’”— Vilma Martínez, press statement in response to new immigration package, July 30, 1981.*

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Conservatism’s rise is doing little to dilute her zeal. “I’m not running scared. I’m running better prepared, and I’m dedicated to running. I’m ready. That’s MALDEF’s job.... This is all that I can give, you know. I don’t have a play I can

write, I don’t have a movie I can produce. I am not an actress, I am a lawyer. I know how to litigate. I even know something about putting a business together, because to develop MALDEF I had to become an entrepreneur— assembling a strong staff, meeting a payroll, taking calculated risks to continually improve our service.”

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*“In the evening, much of the legal and corporate and labor establishment in California attended a \$100-a-plate dinner at which Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., praised the Legal Defense and Education Fund as a ‘yeasty element’ in the democratic process and pledged his continuing support for the organization and for the Mexican American community.”— Report on MALDEF’s tenth anniversary dinner, the New York Times, June 15, 1978*

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*“If affirmative action were truly ‘preferential treatment’ amounting to discrimination against white males, the lessened opportunities for this group would be accompanied by prejudice or bigotry against them, as it always was for black, Hispanic and female workers. This is clearly not the case; no one argues that white men are physically, intellectually or morally incapable of holding responsible positions.”— Vilma Martínez, testifying before the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities, July 15, 1981*

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“I will win some and I will lose some, and you don’t need to tell me that because I know it better than you. I’m happy as an advocate. I do what I enjoy doing. I enjoy speaking out on issues that matter to me.”

It’s a role that fits her like a glove. ♦

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# Whatever Happened to "Full Employment"?

by Isaiah J. Poole

**N**ineteen eighty-three is little more than a year away, but the nirvana for the unemployed that was to arrive then—"full employment"—is not even on the horizon. Instead all Rep. Augustus Hawkins of California sees is handwritten letters from the unemployed in his Watts district pouring into his Washington office, pleading for help to find work and for legislation to help curb unemployment, and expressing frustration and hopelessness. "Do we need another country where revolution seethes?" asked one such writer, sensing the restlessness in her neighborhood.

The letters make dismal reading for the representative and his staff, especially because three years ago Hawkins secured passage of a bill that promised to deal with one of the most critical economic and civil rights issues of the decade.

That bill was the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act, popularly known as Humphrey-Hawkins after its sponsors, Hawkins and the late Sen. Hubert Humphrey. It is not a bill you hear talked about either on ghetto street corners or in the halls of government these days, although some still see it as the guiding light of national economic policy and its passage was a top priority of civil rights and labor leaders through much of the 1970s.

Signed by President Carter in 1978, the bill promised co-

ordinated fiscal, monetary and programmatic actions to lower adult unemployment to 4 percent and the inflation rate to 3 percent by 1983, with special attention paid to minority and youth unemployment. But both government and private economists generally expect unemployment to be in the 7 percent range by 1983 and inflation to run at an 8 percent annual rate.

Opponents of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill had called the legislation noble but unrealistic at best, and highly damaging to the economy at worst. Even some supporters of its concepts called the bill a paper tiger that would make no difference for the unemployed.

The record seems to support the skeptics. Hawkins, though, insists that the fault is not with the bill but with the nation's policymakers. "The bill has not really been implemented or observed," he said in an interview, "and like any law that is subject to violation, the violation of the law does not make the law any less sound or desirable." Conceding that the only sanctions that could be imposed for such "violations" are at the ballot box, he said that "a large amount of the rejection of the previous administration at the polls was due to the fact that, instead of supporting and implementing the law, they violated it."

If the 1981 *Economic Report of the President* is right about its projection of 7 percent unemployment in 1983, and if historic employment patterns remain unchanged, unemployment rates among blacks and Hispanics will be above 13 percent. Minority teenage unemployment will run, by official statistics, more than 33 percent. That is based on the historic pattern of black unemployment being double that of

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*Isaiah J. Poole is Washington correspondent for Black Enterprise magazine.*





whites, and of black teenage unemployment being roughly five times the national average.

Hawkins felt strongly that, to confront this problem, the Federal economic policy apparatus had to base itself firmly on a commitment to full employment as a top priority, with practical methods and time frames to achieve tangible goals. Hawkins also hoped the bill would end "highly discriminatory" economic policy decisions that left an underclass of hard-core unemployed, much of which is black and Hispanic. The bill's early versions mandated structural programs to deal with poor schools, the flight of businesses from minority neighborhoods and similar problems.

"First of all, we felt that economic growth was necessary in order that there would be, in simple terms, an enlarging of the pie," Hawkins explained. "And this would be done through direct fiscal and monetary policies using the Federal budget to expand housing, education, job training, transportation and so forth to improve our cities....But in addition to that, we needed to target certain programs to

the disadvantaged because they would be overlooked in this general prosperity."

What went wrong? Hawkins lays the basic blame on a lack of commitment to the key provisions of the act, but sees other problems as well. While programs like the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) do exist to aid the unemployed, "we haven't targeted the money wisely," he admits. More fundamentally, Hawkins said, "we haven't achieved a balanced growth."

Some feel the bill was mortally wounded when, to win congressional and White House support, its sponsors dropped the provision that would have required the Federal government to provide public service jobs to make up the difference between full employment and the actual national unemployment rate. Concern about high inflation and Federal deficits forced the scuttling of that concept and the adoption of lower inflation as an equal goal with lower unemployment.

"The Humphrey-Hawkins bill as passed and signed by



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President Carter was non-administrable," said Bernard Anderson, an economist for the Rockefeller Foundation. "You can't fight unemployment and inflation simultaneously." Whether that premise is true or not, it is clear that neither the Carter administration, which signed the bill, nor (thus far) the Reagan administration have dealt with both problems at the same time. In fact, while the government says inflation has finally dropped below double digits, black unemployment has risen a full percentage point in the last year. "You cannot pass a law and eliminate economic inequality," concluded Anderson, adding that the civil rights movement may have misjudged the intractability of the minority unemployment problem.

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### **The price of failure will be increased crime, tension and racial alienation, warns Hawkins.**

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David Swinton, an economist at the Urban Institute, agrees that the inflation clause compromised the employment goals of the act. Making the two priorities equal "obviously was not the philosophical intent of the original framers of the bill. They really wanted to move the country toward full employment. Full employment was to be elevated to...the highest priority." That philosophical intent was changed, in the administration of the act, into "policies that will result in at least short-term higher employment," according to Swinton.

But as the 1980 report of the National Commission on Employment Policy points out, "the economy is not providing policymakers with easy choices." Because of the severity of general economic problems, the NCEP report reaches a conclusion shared by many economists and policymakers in the executive and legislative branch:

The hard fact that economic policymakers must face is that all of their options involve short-term costs in exchange for uncertain long-term gains. Meanwhile, poor economic performance will mean severe labor market problems for the disadvantaged and for those workers who lose their jobs in plant shutdowns.

Still, Hawkins emphatically believes that the Humphrey-Hawkins bill's objectives for lower youth and minority unemployment were not unrealistic. He cited successful full-employment policies in other countries to support his point:

Sweden, for example, spends a lot more money on actually providing job training for citizens, so that every citizen who wants to be trained for a particular career has the opportunity. And they spend the money to make the person more productive. Japan is another example in which youth in high school begin to learn a career.... As a result of that there is no youth unemployment in Japan. Most of the countries follow the full employment concept; that is, they want to employ a people.

But there is a big difference between relatively homogeneous countries like Sweden or Japan and the United States; minorities here have long been deprived of educational and employment opportunities, creating a self-perpetuating status of economic deprivation that persists even without deliberate discrimination. That is why Hawkins has also been pushing a vigorous program of government-mandated private-sector affirmative action. Hawkins calls deliberate efforts to overcome discrimination in the job marketplace an integral part of a full employment policy, and he has used his chairmanship of the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities as a forum for the discussion of affirmative action policies.

Hawkins favors job training for the unskilled and semi-skilled, which he says can clearly lower the unemployment rate. A report edited by Frank C. Pierson for the W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research backs him up, saying that general economic prosperity reduces the unemployment rate to 6 percent and that relatively brief training programs and work experience opportunities for the hard-core unemployed, if tied closely to private sector needs, could help lower unemployment an additional 0.6 percent. More intensive training programs, combined with a removal of structural barriers that tend to keep blacks separated from long-term job opportunities, could reduce that rate even further.

Hawkins also endorses a program of enterprise zones, which could bring jobs into inner-city areas and spark spin-off housing and commercial revitalization, providing more job opportunities. Already-existent tax breaks for hiring the hard-core unemployed could also be better promoted and utilized. He questions, however, whether controversial changes in the minimum wage and other labor laws being debated in Congress would be beneficial.

Whatever the mix of solutions that are used, there is a "need to put the different policies toward the structurally unemployed into a single, integrated framework," according to Pierson. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill was meant to offer that framework. Hawkins would concede that those who call the act a shell are somewhat correct; but he would call it a shell into which the nation must pour ideas, resources and commitment to make equal opportunity an economic reality.

If the nation fails to do so, Hawkins says, the price will be increased crime, tension and racial alienation. "I would say that we have a domestic situation that to me is real threatening.... We already know that crime is increasing and I would say that if there is not an outright civil outbreak such as experienced during the 1960s and which we had in Miami more recently, then [high minority unemployment] certainly would lead to a tremendous increase in crime and violence on the streets and in the schools."

Full employment, to Hawkins, is not just sound economic policy. The architect of what became a "paper tiger" has not lost sight of his goal. To him, full employment remains the critical ingredient in the glue needed to hold the U.S. together in the 1980s. ♦



# Hardship, Hard Times and Hard Hearts

by Tom W. Smith

In his seminal examination of race relations in this society, Gunnar Myrdal noted a Swedish proverb: "When the feed-box is empty, the horses will bite each other." Since Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* appeared in 1944, most research has confirmed the link between individual hard-

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*Tom W. Smith is Senior Study Director of the General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago. He is author of numerous books and articles in the field of social change and public opinion.*



ship and racial prejudice; people lower on the socio-economic ladder are more likely to hold prejudiced opinions, use derogatory language, and participate in racist groups and racist violence. But American history shows little link between general hard times and racial intolerance.

Evidence comes from studies of membership in racist organizations and political movements. "You think the influential men belong here?" asked an observer of the Ku Klux Klan during the 1920's. "Then look at their shoes when they march in parade. The sheet doesn't cover the shoes." Studies of the Northern supporters of racist politicians and of lynch mobs show disproportionate membership from lower socio-economic groups.

Since prejudice is more prevalent among those groups, one might suspect it would be highest when the economy was depressed. But, as said previously, our country's past reveals little connection between hard times and prejudice. The anti-Catholic and anti-black riots in the urban Northeast during the Jacksonian period have often been linked to early industrialization and participation by the working class, but their timing had little to do with economic peaks and slumps. The anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant Know-Nothing party of the 1850s flourished during prosperous times, not depression. Klan activity peaked in the 1870s, 1920s and 1960s, not generally times of economic decline; the 1870s saw significant depression, but Reconstruction is a better explanation for the rise of the Klan than is the Panic of 1873. The Great Depression of the 1930s spawned no obvious upsurge in racist activity, and there is little if any historical tie between the state of the economy and racial lynchings.

(There is a possible connection between hard times and sexism. The 1977 General Social Survey conducted by the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center asked a national sample, "Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?" Only a third disapproved. But when the phrase, "If there is a limited number of jobs," was added to the question, disapproval doubled to two-thirds.)

Much of the relationship between prejudice and hardship is caused by education, upbringing and personality—none of which is much affected by declining real income or increasing unemployment. Also, while people are worse-off during economic slumps, they may feel no worse off than anybody else, possibly lessening prejudice. And rather than blaming minorities for hard times, Americans tend to blame the gov-

ernment and "elitist business": railroads in the 1870s, trusts and gold speculators in the 1890s, the stock market and capitalists in general in the 1930s, government big spenders and oil sheiks more recently.

While it is difficult to link hard times with prejudice, the connection between prejudice and hardship is clear. In part, prejudice is simply a product of ignorance. As a student in Eugene Hartley's classic study *Problems in Prejudice* remarked, "I don't know anything about them; therefore I would exclude them from my country." Education can erode such narrow-mindedness by helping people form a more sophisticated world view. Educated people are less likely to see the world as a simplistic place where "bad" leaders or groups are to blame for misfortune. They also take impersonal forces into account. Education can further reduce prejudice by explicitly teaching tolerance, pluralism and fairness, as well as by bringing people of different backgrounds together in friendly social settings. And by strengthening self-esteem, educational achievement can reduce psychological stress and make people less likely to use minority groups as scapegoats for personal failures.

To the prejudiced, racism can seem almost "logical." Low

status whites and blacks often compete for the same unskilled jobs and the same inner-city housing, as well as for use of parks and recreational resources, public works services and control of schools. Such direct, intense competition leads to hostility and prejudice; as one white stated in the 1940's, "If both whites and niggers get laid off, that'll be bad. I'm gonna eat. I know how to use a gun."

Economic insecurity creates psychological distress that can manifest itself in racism. People with little education and few job skills face the perennial threat and periodic reality of long unemployment. Even when employed, they can barely afford basic living expenses. Illness, old age and other calamities can only be worried about or ignored. This insecurity causes frustration and pressures, which sometimes lead to alcoholism, child abuse, and the like—and sometimes to racism. "You just have to have something to aim at," in the words of one prejudiced individual. Minority groups may be blamed for economic distress, as the Nazis blamed the Jews for the hyper-inflation of Weimar Germany, or they may simply be a target for displaced hostilities, as Southern blacks traditionally were.

Members of the lower socio-economic group also tend to



have more negative views of society and other individuals, to be alienated, cynical, and pessimistic. They see strangers as especially untrustworthy and hostile. Lack of trust in democratic institutions and values is also typical in such people. Their troubled view of the world, sometimes called "working-class authoritarianism," fosters prejudice.

In eight surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center from 1972 to 1980, prejudice has been measured with the Treiman scale, which gauges attitudes of whites on intermarriage, school desegregation, interracial socializing, neighborhood integration and black activism. The results in the accompanying charts show that people in higher socio-economic classes were consistently more likely to hold tolerant opinions on at least four of the five issues.

Job security appears to be the one exception—those who have been unemployed for a month or more in the last ten

years are *more* tolerant. But this is actually not an exception. A disproportionate number of those who had been unemployed were young, and younger respondents were less prejudiced overall. Their youth, and not their unemployment, accounts for their greater tolerance.

All of the anticipated connections between hardship and prejudice get some support from the data. Education has the single largest impact on reducing prejudice. The connection between income and prejudice confirms that economic insecurity also contributes to the association. The role of competition is not directly addressed by the Treiman results, but other data show a connection. People who strongly supported social welfare spending were asked about their support for government spending to aid blacks. Those with less than a high school education slightly favored increased support. But among the college educated, support was more than three times higher. Whites from lower socio-economic groups seem likely to view blacks as competition for government dollars, while better-off whites see spending for blacks as a social necessity.

Social alienation is much higher among the less educated, lower income earners and the less prestigiously employed, according to the survey results. Alienation is thus a link among the various causes of prejudice, as well as a cause of prejudice itself. But alienation is produced by the factors that shape a lower-class person's life over many years, and not by the short-run performance of the economy.

## Percentage Giving Non-Prejudiced Response to Treiman Scale Issues (Broken Down by Aspects of Socioeconomic Status)

Education:	%
Less than High School	28.2
High School Graduate	50.1
Some College +	70.0
<b>Occupational Prestige:</b>	
Low	39.0
Low-Middle	45.2
Middle-High	52.7
High	65.3
<b>Family Income:</b>	
Bottom Third	39.3
Middle Third	48.3
Upper Third	61.2
<b>Extended Unemployment During Last 10 Years:</b>	
Yes	58.1
No	48.1
<b>Perceived Social Class:</b>	
Lower	37.0
Working	46.3
Middle	53.4
Upper	58.4
<b>Degree of Social Alienation:</b>	
Low = 1	70.2
2	60.4
3	48.2
High 4	35.4

## Education has the single largest impact on reducing prejudice.

While the tie between status and prejudice has been demonstrated repeatedly, the lower socio-economic group has not remained a repository of intolerance. All groups have become steadily more tolerant over the last forty years; the lower group of today is less prejudiced than the upper group of only 15 years ago. And while status-related differences in prejudice have remained stubbornly present, this situation can change. In 1944, when only 40 percent of whites believed in equal job opportunities for blacks, those with less than a high school education were much less willing to grant equal employment rights than the college educated. By 1972, when 97 percent of whites endorsed equal job opportunities, the difference between the less educated and the college educated had fallen from 27.5 to 6.9 percentage points.

In the last 20-odd years, business, labor, schools, governments and other institutions have actively encouraged racial harmony. These efforts, together with increasing friendly contact among all white and black groups, could further diminish the gap in tolerance between the upper and lower classes.

As Myrdal suggested, hungry horses tend to bite each other. The association between economic distress and racial prejudice, however, is a bit more complex than our hungry horse parable. We might instead coin an American proverb: hardship, but not hard times, make people hard-hearted. ♦

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# The Shibboleth of the Shrinking Pie

by Barbara R. Bergmann

**M**any people believe that when unemployment is high and the economy stops growing, it gets harder—or impossible—to reduce employment discrimination. “There are just no jobs to be had,” they say.

Frequently, the metaphor of the pie is invoked. If the economic pie is growing, then it is supposedly easier for women and minorities to get a larger slice. When the pie is shrinking or not growing, those who already have a large slice successfully resist attempts by those with a small slice to get fairer treatment.

These arguments are often used by people who devote their lives and careers to bettering the employment possibilities of women and blacks, as though believing them relieves their guilt at the slow fulfillment of goals for fair employment.

A case can be made that the “just no jobs” argument and the pie metaphor are misleading with regard to equal employment opportunities. This does not mean we should be indifferent to policies designed to remove economic slack and to get unemployment rates down. Obviously, low unemploy-

ment rates are highly desirable. Bad times hurt a lot of people, and hurt blacks and other minorities disproportionately. Low unemployment rates, however, will not by themselves root out the employer practices which keep women, blacks and Hispanics in inferior jobs at low pay. Likewise, high unemployment rates need not prevent progress in rooting them out.

The historical record is instructive in this regard, as shown by the accompanying graph of incomes and unemployment rates for the period 1955 to 1978. The percentage of the average income of black males who worked full time all year to the average income of white males is a good index of the progress of employed black men in this 28-year period; the steadily climbing black line shows that the percentage of black male to white male incomes rose from 55 percent to 74 percent.

The red line shows that in contrast to the progress made by black men, white women have made no progress at all relative to white men; in fact, their position has deteriorated somewhat.

Considerable improvement in the position of black women relative to white men is seen in the path of the grey

line. Black women, though, have had to overcome a double burden of discrimination. The reduced burden of race discrimination is bringing them face to face with sex discrimination. Black women have almost achieved the not-very-good position relative to white men at which white women are stuck, and if they are to make more progress it will be through the lessening of sex discrimination.

The graph also shows the unemployment rate for the entire labor force. It shows that the five years following the 1964 enactment of the Civil Rights Act outlawing employment discrimination were years of very low unemployment generally. Since 1970, however, economic conditions have deteriorated considerably. Progress in equalizing the labor market position of disadvantaged groups with the labor market position of white men does not appear to be strongly dependent on low unemployment rates. Between 1965 and 1969, the percentage of black male to white male income rose five points. In the years between 1969 and 1973 the unemployment situation worsened considerably, yet the gap between white male and black male incomes was reduced another five points. After 1974, the gap closed very slowly, but the worsening unemployment picture did not prevent some progress. By 1978,

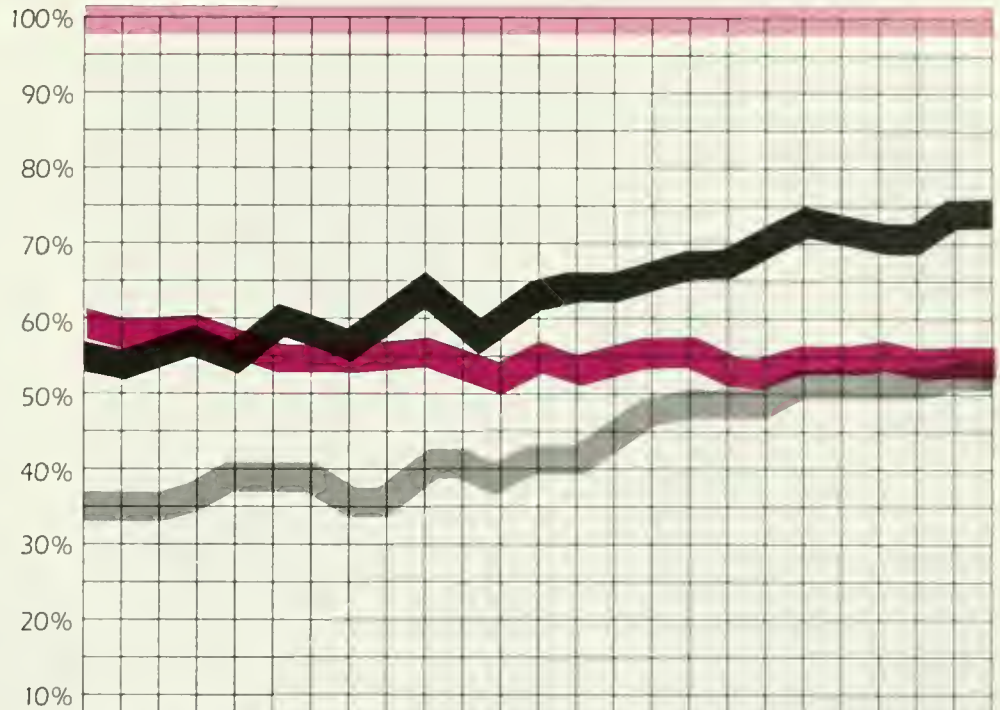
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*Barbara R. Bergmann is a professor of economics at the University of Maryland and author of numerous articles about labor markets.*



## INCOMES RELATIVE TO WHITE MALES, 1955-1978

- WHITE MALE
- BLACK MALE
- WHITE FEMALE
- BLACK FEMALE



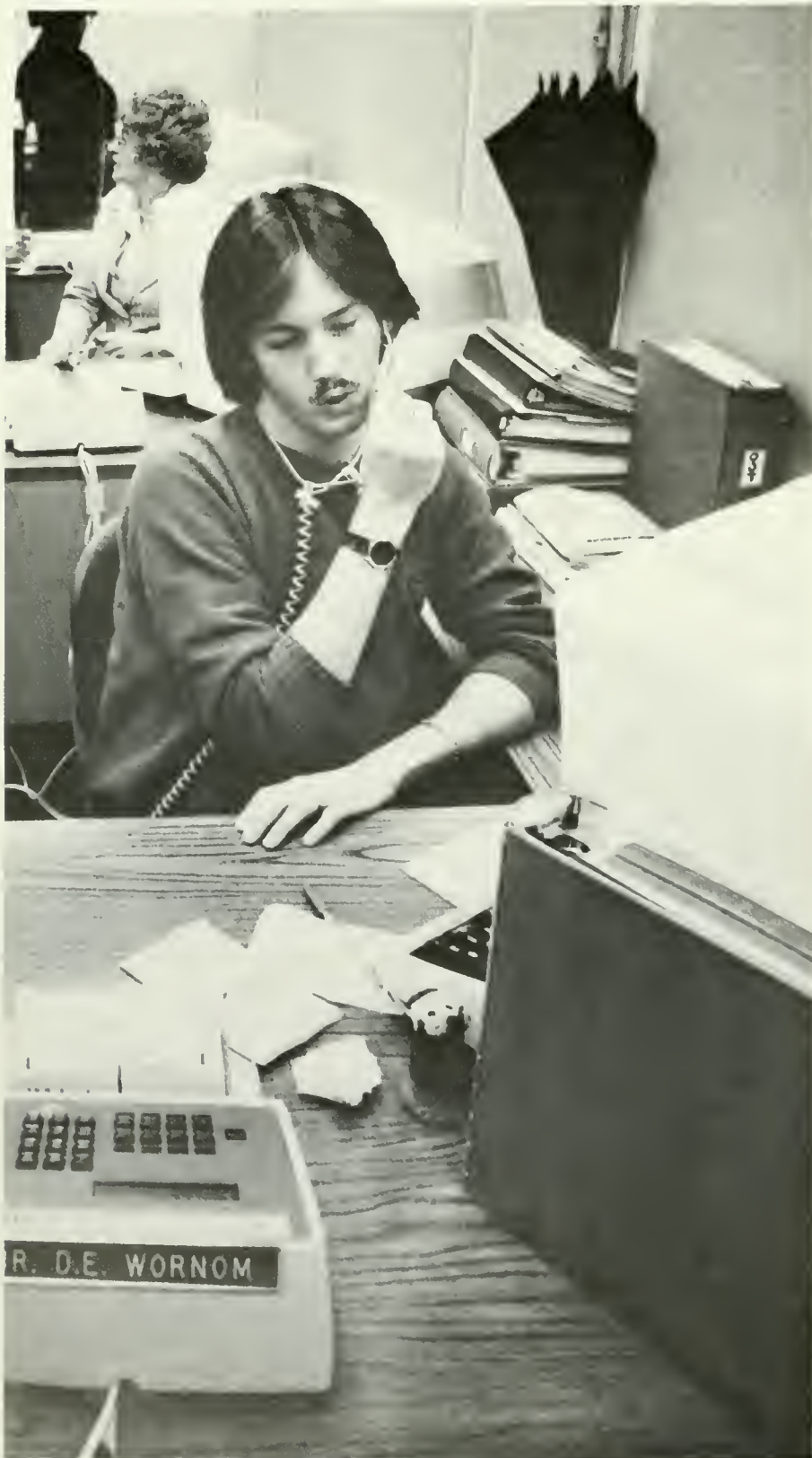
## UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR ALL WORKERS, 1955-1978



\* Change in method of calculation introduced in 1974

Source: income figures are from U.S. Bureau of Census **Current Population Reports** Series P-60<sup>A</sup>, No. 123 **Money Income of Families and Persons in the U.S., 1978**

Unemployment rates are from U.S. Bureau of Labor **Employment and Earnings** May 1981



the average income for black males was the closest it had ever been to the average income of white males.

For black women, the picture is not dissimilar to that for black men. For white women, good times and bad times for the economy seem to have had little effect on their position relative to white males. Lack of progress has been their story throughout the entire period.

Progress in equalizing employment opportunities requires more than a low unemployment rate. Full employment of blacks and women working in their traditional occupations is better than lots of unemployment, but is not the same thing as progress towards a non-discriminatory labor market. Equal opportunity means the entry of women and blacks in large numbers into the kind of jobs which have been denied them, in management, administration and crafts. These jobs offer high pay and the possibility of advancement up the ladder. White males are only 52 percent of the employed people, yet they have 70 percent of the jobs as managers and administrators and 86 percent of the crafts jobs.

When unemployment rates are low, and white male labor is scarce, are employers more inclined to take women and minority males into jobs previously reserved for white males? The answer depends on employers' reasons for restricting jobs to white males in the first place. Sociological evidence suggests that race and sex segregation of occupations is in part attributable to an attempt by employers to duplicate in the workplace the social relations which exist in the larger society. The employer who segregates avoids having men bossed by women, or even having men associate with women as equals. Employers figure that avoiding such unconventional configurations avoids friction. Similarly, keeping blacks in positions where they never supervise whites or mingle with them on an equal footing avoids arousing resentment on the part of those whites—whether few or many—who are inclined not to accept change easily.

Employers' interest in a smoothly

running workplace is not just an interest in avoiding unpleasantness. Productivity suffers if even a few men and women, or whites and blacks, feud on the job. Keeping everyone in the place traditionally assigned to them by race and sex means that everyone knows the etiquette of interaction.

Do low unemployment rates make it easier or harder for employers to put women and minority males in jobs which are unconventional for them? While low unemployment rates make it hard to find white men for vacancies, and so make off-brand candidates more attractive, a tight labor market also makes the white males the employer already has more independent

and less flexible in accepting race and sex integration of the workplace. It is these very white males who are most likely to have experience valuable to the employer, and whom the employer can least afford to lose. Another consideration is that when unemployment rates are low, demand for the firm's product is likely to be high. It is at such times that the firm can least stand disruption of its production process. A disproportionate share of a firm's profits are made during times of prosperity and tight labor markets, and those are the times when sticking to tried and true staffing patterns and not rocking the boat may seem the most attractive strategy for the firm.

Hiring is not like handing out pieces of pie. A white male worker may get regular increases in his real wage and be secure in his job. But if he ordinarily avoids associating with blacks and women as equals or resents having them as his supervisor, then his bigger piece of the wage pie may not prevent him from harrassing newcomers of the 'wrong' race or sex.

If breaking past customs of excluding blacks and women from good jobs is not easy in prosperous times, isn't it simply impossible in bad times? The fallacy in the "just no jobs" argument is that it ignores the fact that even in a year of no growth, there are millions of hirings and millions of promotions. For example, between 1979 and 1980, total employment in manufacturing fell by about 700,000 jobs. Yet during that period, about 7,500,000 jobs were filled by hiring new people. Labor turnover goes on in good times and bad times. The rate of new hires in manufacturing is about 3 percent a month, which adds up to about 36 percent of the work force each year. If blacks and women had their share of the good new jobs in manufacturing, and had had a fair share of the promotions which were given out in manufacturing in 1980, considerable progress would have been registered in a year in which the number of people in jobs was actually shrinking.

This analysis suggests that integration of the workplace is not likely to be much easier, if at all easier, in times of low unemployment and general prosperity than it is in recession periods. It further suggests that the integration of employment is tough to accomplish at any time, but worth working for at all times. By all means, let us work for policies which create jobs enough for those who want to work. But successful economic policies can never substitute for direct pressure on employers to break down segregation of jobs by race and sex. Nor can lack of success of these policies to create prosperity and tight labor markets be used as a valid excuse to slow the drive for equality in employment. yellow red blue green black ♦





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# Blacks and Labor:

## From Union Periphery to Union Leadership

by Everett J. Freeman

**T**wenty years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. stood before the fourth convention of the AFL-CIO and delivered an address memorable both for its oratorical virtuosity and its message: "Negroes," he said, "are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and a few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs—decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old-age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in their community."

Today, the vast majority of blacks are working people, there are still "pitifully few" blacks with assets at the million dollar mark, and blacks continue striving for the same objectives as organized labor: better wages, shorter hours and decent working conditions. But today's black workers are

more likely to be union members, on a proportional basis, than are white workers. Moreover, increasing numbers of black workers are aspiring to and winning high office in their unions. The growing black presence in the American labor leadership may be the civil rights movement's most underrated achievement.

Labor Department data show that while blacks constitute 11.6 percent of the civilian noninstitutional labor force, they make up 14.2 percent of the total membership in labor unions. Roughly one of three black wage or salary workers has union representation; only one of every four white workers can claim the same. Blacks have entered the ranks of organized labor *en masse* and are represented extensively at the collective bargaining table by unions, many of which excluded blacks or relegated blacks to segregated locals a quarter century ago.

There has been a relentless push by

black workers themselves to gain a place in the regular labor movement. A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979), organizer and leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, originally spearheaded the black workers' campaign to secure union membership and union office. At convention after convention, Randolph spoke against union segregation, racial indifference, and the AFL-CIO's failure to eradicate bigotry. His single-minded persistence, he once said, made it possible for other black workers to "keep alive" the issue of the black role in the labor movement.

Other contributing factors to the increase in black union membership include the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination by unions as well as employers; presidential orders requiring employers to develop affirmative action plans; favorable court rulings in civil rights cases; shifts in the occupational make-up of the labor force occasioned by the technological revolution of the 1960's and 1970's; the entrance of women in large numbers and on a permanent basis into the labor force and non-traditional jobs; growing public sector employment and

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*Freeman is instructor of Labor Studies at Unversity College, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. He is working on a national statistical profile of black union leaders, the first of its kind ever undertaken*

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the accompanying spread of public sector collective bargaining laws; and the success of the labor-civil rights coalition in the fight for jobs and equality.

Between 1968 and 1978, unions gained the greatest number of new members in those areas where black employment was the most concentrated: teaching, service, clerical, and governmental. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) registered a membership increase of 180.2 percent between 1968 and 1978, according to Labor Department statistics. Union membership among teachers skyrocketed 203 percent. Service employee unions gained 236,000 new members for a 60 percent membership jump during the period, while the Communication Workers Union enjoyed a 42.3 percent growth in membership. The Retail Clerks union claimed 183,000 new dues-paying members, an increase of 33.2 percent for the decade. Many of the individual union membership gains have been eroded, however, due to cutbacks and layoffs resulting from the economy's decline. The rate of membership growth of some unions has also lessened because of recent union mergers.

While there are no figures available, the consensus among black union leaders is that the number of black union officials is growing. They credit the open character of unions. According to Clayola Brown, the first black woman to head the Education Department of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, even those unions with poor race relations records are "accepting the fact that blacks are as responsible as whites when placed in positions of leadership in the union." Ernest Rice McKinney, a former CIO organizer, college professor and labor historian, shares that view. "James Johnson, who heads the AFL-CIO's South Carolina Labor Council, does not head the South Carolina labor movement on the basis of his blackness," observes McKinney. Johnson runs that operation because he "functions as a trade unionist and not a race man."

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## Women, Labor Unions and the Civil Rights Movement

by Cynthia McCaughan

On a hot July day in 1978, 100,000 people marched in Washington for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. One of those speaking at the U.S. Capitol, demanding passage of the bill extending the time for ERA ratification, was a representative of the AFL-CIO—an example of the growing involvement of the labor movement in areas of special interest to women.

Thirteen million women have poured into the permanent workforce in the last decade; today, there are more than 44 million woman workers. Almost seven million belong to unions and employee associations. Women make up a third of all organized workers.

Involvement of women in union affairs has also increased steadily, accelerated by the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in 1974. CLUW, formed by trade union women and men with special concerns for working women, is dedicated to union organizing, promoting affirmative action, encouraging political action and increasing the participation of women within their own unions. CLUW also tries to increase understanding and cooperation between the women's movement and the labor movement.

Some unions have formed women's committees and departments, sparking debate over the effectiveness of different approaches. There is agreement, however, that whatever structure is used must not isolate or pigeonhole women's issues, but integrate women into the labor movement mainstream.

Recent milestones in female union participation include the election of the first woman unionist to the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Joyce Miller, and the appointment of the first woman director of an AFL-CIO department, Dorothy Shields. But, although more women now hold positions at the regional and national levels of unions, women are still underrepresented both as elected and appointed officials.

There is increasing recognition on the part of women workers that a union contract is the most effective means of gaining and maintaining justice and equality on the job. In light of the growing attacks on enforcement of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action programs, the collective bargaining agreement is becoming increasingly important for addressing concerns such as pay equity, child care and affirmative action. Still, 80 percent of working women are not organized.

As women become increasingly sophisticated in their political activities, as the women's movement grows and as women continue to join union and community activities, added strength is created for the civil rights coalition. This is vital.

The cost of division is high. The challenge to women, minorities and the labor and civil rights movements is to move together toward social and economic justice. We see an increased strength both in the civil rights movement and the labor movement from the added resources of active, participating women.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, is keenly aware of the growing importance of women both on the job and in the labor movement. He told a December press conference: "I do see the emerging role of women in the workforce as a vital issue that we've got to be responsive to, and I think that to a great extent our future depends upon the extent of our capacity to respond to it."

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*Cynthia McCaughan is coordinator of Women's Activities for the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights.*

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## Hispanic Workforce: Growth and Inequality

by Alfredo C. Montoya

The Hispanic labor force in the United States grew much faster in the period 1973–77 than did the overall U.S. workforce because of a higher rate of population growth for Hispanics and their lower median age, which has meant a much lower rate of retirement.

Most significant in this 1973–77 growth has been a 33 percent increase in the number of Hispanic women in the workforce—more than double the 15 percent increase among all U.S. women. And while the male Hispanic workforce has grown only 17 percent, that's more than three times as fast as the growth in the workforce of all U.S. males.

In contrast to the public image of Hispanics as primarily agricultural workers, most are found in the manufacturing sector, followed in descending order by the service, trade and transportation sectors. Agriculture ranks only fifth, followed by insurance, real estate and mining. Hispanics are also concentrated in industries with little union tradition or a history of employer hostility to unions, like hospitals and educational institutions. Finally, Hispanics are employed in industries which have recently migrated heavily to the South and Southwest.

Since these industries are largely unorganized, they have the lowest wages. For example, average weekly earnings are \$131.92 a week for those involved in personal services like laundry, hair cutting, household domestic or shoe repair. By way of comparison, skilled workers in the railroad industry average \$344.51.

Unlike black workers, Hispanic workers are not showing increased numbers in government employment. Using their overall representation in the workforce of 4.6 percent as "parity" for Hispanics, their Federal employment rate is far below parity at 2.5 percent. And nationally, Hispanics make up only 2.3 percent of state government employees, even counting states where their percentage of the workforce is far above their 4.6 percent national share. Nor are those Hispanics with government jobs doing very well: in the Federal government, Hispanics are disproportionately represented in the lower paying, primarily clerical jobs, with few in top positions.

In the Hispanic workforce, 26 percent are union members—slightly above the rate for all U.S. workers; U.S. blacks also make up a percentage of union members well above their percentage of the workforce. High Hispanic union membership is a reality in spite of Hispanic concentration in largely unorganized industries.

The unionization rate for Hispanic workers in eating and drinking establishments is 11.2 percent, twice the overall rate in the industry. In personal services other than household, the unionization rate is 13.9 percent for the total workforce but 24 percent for the Hispanic workforce. The same phenomenon holds true for hospital workers (16.6 percent overall, 25.5 percent among Hispanics), Federal government workers (16 percent and 24.3 percent), apparel workers (27.5 percent and 30.5 percent) and food workers (41.3 percent and 53.2 percent).

The most encouraging sign for the future of Hispanic workers may be union enrollment. In addition to immediate advances in wages and job security, the union contract plugs Hispanics into a comprehensive political and legislative program with goals that exactly match the worker advancements Hispanics so sorely lack.

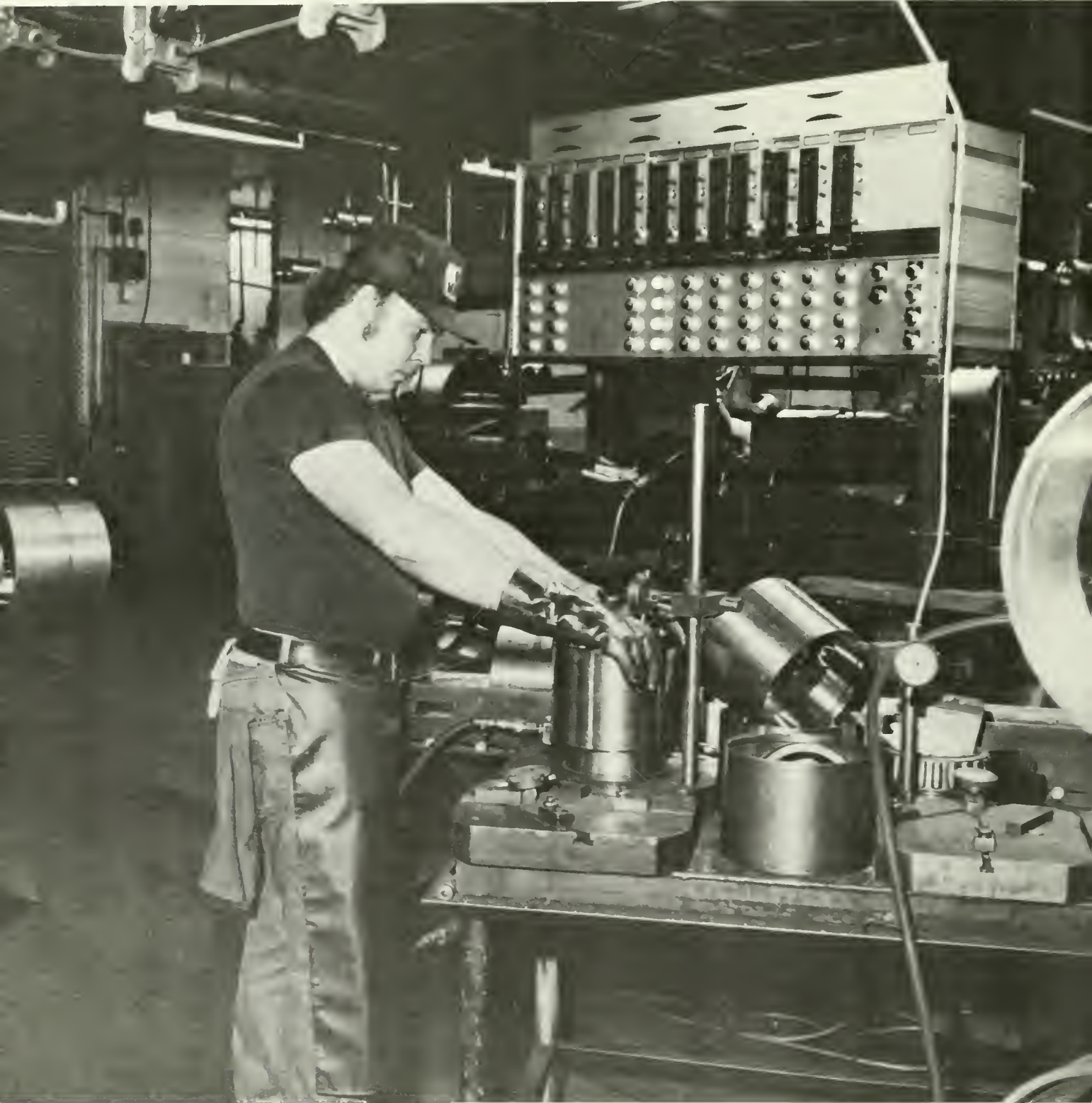
*Alfredo C. Montoya is director of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement.*

Black union leader's also indicate that the most important factor in the growth of black leadership has been rank-and-file participation in the local unions. This participation has often been in the form of black caucuses and *ad hoc* committees, as in the case of the American Federation of Teachers, the steelworkers and the UAW; more frequently, the participation has been a matter of black rank-and-file members showing up at union meetings and getting involved.

Marc Stepp, a UAW vice president and director of the union's Chrysler Department whom the *Wall Street Journal* calls "the most powerful black leader in U.S. labor," says black workers hold the real power in unions today: "Many local unions in urban areas are dominated by blacks. Blacks go to the union meetings because the halls are in urban areas. Blacks don't have boats or summer cottages, so they go to the union meetings on weekends." Stepp also attributes the success of organizing drives in the South to heavy black support of unions. According to Stepp, "blacks are the mainstay on the picket line because black workers know without the union they have no chance.... In representation elections in Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana, our union relies on black workers to vote the UAW in."

S.J. Gates is one of those black union leaders contributing to the rise of Southern unionism. A proud man with a military bearing honed by twenty-four years as a U.S. Army intelligence sergeant, Gates is an AFSCME Council 79 vice president and president of AFSCME Local 3053 in Orlando, Florida. The local has around 525 members, half of whom are black.

"After retiring from military service, I got a job as a delivery man for the Orange County school system," says Gates, 56. He and 22 other non-instructional employees, 11 of whom were black, set up an organizing committee in March 1977. Gates drafted a constitution, served as acting president following certification of the local as





bargaining agent in 1978, and was elected president without opposition in June, 1979.

The local's survival is threatened, he says, by a failure to increase white membership. "Our problem down here," he notes, "is that whites don't join our local because they feel AFSCME is the union for blacks."

Black AFSCME representative Linoria Powell thinks the problem can be overcome with "lots of political education."

To increase white membership in his local, Gates plans to step down as union president at the end of his current term of office and support the candidacy of a "white woman we've been working with." Explaining his decision to surrender the presidency at a time when blacks are seeking a greater share in union leadership,

Gates says: "It is simply a matter of priorities; we have to have our priorities together. Is it better for me to stand up and say I am president to 10 people behind me or to have a white woman stand up with 1,000 people behind her? You can't buy beans with prestige!"

Ernest McKinney, a close associate of A. Philip Randolph for 60 years and, at 94, perhaps the dean of labor activists, thinks he has learned some lessons concerning blacks and the labor movement worth sharing. "We must eliminate from the labor movement every vestige of race," he says in his measured cadence, "and that includes in the end racial controversies created, perhaps unwittingly, by black workers. The black worker is really tired of fighting the race issue on top of having

to fight for decent wages. Given the opportunity to be rid of the race issue, I assure you the black worker wouldn't choose all this trouble.... The place of the black worker is in the labor movement because we are fundamentally wage earners. Where else can we go?"

Wayne U. Brooks, a 30-year-old, black photoengraver at the Washington *Post*, thinks it makes more sense for blacks to seek union office than to "wait around hoping to be promoted to foreman." Sipping a draft beer at Peggy's Bar, a favorite hang-out of *Post* employees and "common folks," Brooks talks about his union role. "I was elected in a shop with only three blacks," he says of his position as shop delegate for Local 285, Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO), the *Post* photoengravers' union. "I took the shop delegate job because I can do what needs doing, plus I can learn about management and what management is doing and be one step ahead of the game."

Brooks plans to run for a position on the local's executive board in the future, and has strong opinions on the future of blacks in union leadership. "We got to stop calling ourselves friends of the labor movement on account of the civil rights thing. We are the union; we are the folks paying dues, just as much as the whites. You don't pay dues to be somebody's friend. The unions need blacks and we need the union security. It is to my advantage to be involved with circumstances that control my life, like the union; and as far as I'm concerned, it ain't about friendship. It's about my vested interest."

The growing involvement of blacks in the hierarchy of American labor may well create a more cohesive labor-civil rights coalition, one in which blacks use unions to achieve civil rights gains as well as collective bargaining objectives. What we are certain to witness is a strengthened labor movement in which black workers see themselves not just as friends of labor but as influential union members and leaders. ♦

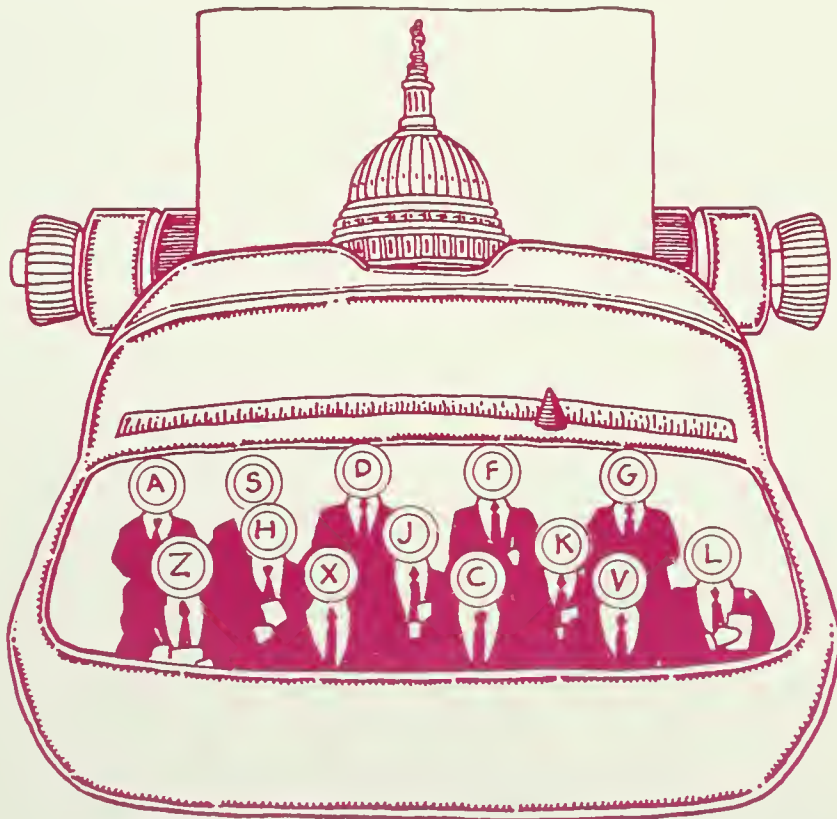


Bill Lucy, Secretary/Treasurer of AFSCME, conducting staff meeting. AFSCME has a membership of 1.2 million.

# The Media

## Washington's Press: The Core of the Corps is White and Male

by Stephen Hess



**R**eporters in Washington lead a good life. In pay and prestige, they are comfortably middle-class. They get front-row seats at important events. They meet interesting people. They travel, sometimes to exotic places. Their bosses tend to leave them alone. There's very little red tape in their work and a lot of ego gratification. And should

they tire of their jobs, the contacts they have made will assure other offers from government, trade associations and corporations.

Washington reporters are also overwhelmingly white males, and that makes a difference in the news we read and hear.

As shown in my 1978 survey (recently published by the Brookings Institution), of the reporters in Washington who cover national government for American newspapers, wire services, television, radio, magazines and specialized publications, 80 percent are men and 96 percent are white. There are demographic similarities among male and female re-

porters. Take education, for example. The percentage of male and female reporters that attended graduate school is the same. The percentage of males and females that attended private colleges and universities is almost the same. When categorized by race, 48 percent of white reporters and 41 percent of black reporters had some graduate school training, 33 percent of the whites and 29 percent of blacks hold graduate degrees.

The one big difference is age. Female reporters are younger than male reporters and black reporters are much younger than white reporters. Nearly 84 percent of the women are under 40 years of age, while 52 percent of the men are under 40. Nearly 53 percent of the black reporters are in their twenties and only 6 percent are over 40. (Black female reporters, on average, are older than black male reporters.)

The higher percentage of women and blacks among younger Washington reporters might seem a sure sign of eventual change in the makeup of the press corps. The reasoning would be that older reporters, heavily white and male, die or retire first and younger reporters, more heavily black and female, become their replacements. That reasoning is probably wrong.

Many of the young reporters now in Washington will become journalism dropouts, if they follow typical career patterns in the news business. The superstars of the news media are usually brought to Washington in mid-career. So to predict the future composition of the Washington press corps it is more useful to look at hiring in the rest of the country—and the latest information is very discouraging. A statistical analysis released at the latest meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors concluded, "The number of minorities

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# The Media

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entering the daily newspaper industry last year represents the smallest annual increase in minority employment in daily newspapers since 1977." This study by Northwestern University's School of Journalism found that 63 percent of the nation's daily newspapers employ no minority journalists, down 3 percent from the previous year.

In discussing national reporters in Washington (as distinct from those who cover the *city* of Washington for the local media), "black" is virtually synonymous with "minority." My sample was very large, 38 percent of the press corps, yet only one minority respondent was not black. As I noted in my book *The Washington Reporters*, this makes "other minority groups—Asians, Latinos, Native Americans—collectively, one person removed from nonexistent."

There are major differences in where male and female reporters work in Washington; women are employed in the less prestigious places, such as specialized publications. When the Washington press is divided into influential and non-influential organizations, 28 percent of the women and 38 percent of the men work for the influentials. On the other hand, while blacks have a much harder time getting hired, they are more likely to find jobs in major organizations like the TV networks, and the *Washington Post*. Operations with the lowest percentage of black reporters are specialized publications, regional news services, chain-owned newspapers and the wire services.

Women also get less desirable assignments than men. Three highly prestigious beats—diplomacy, the presidency and politics—have the lowest percentage of women. In part, this reflects the informal seniority system in Washington news bureaus; men, having been around longer, get the pick of the beats.

Women are much more likely to cover law, regulatory matters and domestic agencies. These beats may produce many top stories but senior men do not want them. Blacks tend to get more desirable assignments, primarily because of their relatively greater presence in broadcasting, which, more than the print media, concentrates resources on the elite beats.

But if journalists are given the same events to cover, do their backgrounds make a difference in what will be reported? And if the composition of the press corps is different, will different events be chosen for coverage?

There is much greater dispute among reporters over the first question. Black reporters—both men and women—tend to say that it makes a difference. Con-tends a black male reporter on a major Eastern newspaper, "If you're going to operate in some wonderland, you can say that your background doesn't color your story." A woman who works for an important paper in the Middle West agrees: "It does make a difference in my coverage that I'm a black. My sources will be different. In covering the [House] Rules Committee, for example, I'll interview Shirley Chisholm. I know her, while a white reporter might not." Black women reporters, when interviewed for my study, generally stressed their blackness, rather than their femaleness.

On the other hand, female reporters responding to my survey often claimed that their gender does not affect how they cover a story. The prevailing view held by black reporters seems more true. But maybe both are right. When four unidentified newspaper stories—two written by women, two by men—were given to students at Harvard and Syracuse last year, the students were unable to guess the gender of the reporters. Both male and female students were

equally wrong in their guesses. I know of no comparable experiment that has tried to determine reporters' race from their copy.

There is no dispute on the second question. Black reporters and white women reporters firmly believe that the mix of news that is published and broadcast would be different if there were more of them in the press corps. Says the only women in a twelve-person newspaper bureau, "I don't want to be typed as a women's issues reporter. But no one else will do these stories. The male reporters might not refuse to do them, but they don't generate them on their own." A black woman reporter says, "Minority business is important to me, although it's only a small matter in the total economy." Obviously the reporters are talking about the "discretionary stories" written after the President, the Supreme Court and the top events of the day have been covered.

During one week in April, 1978, I ranked the subjects of all Washington dateline stories that appeared in 22 newspapers around the country, the three TV networks' evening news programs and a news magazine. Of 29 types of stories, those about civil rights were tied with veterans' affairs for twenty-third place. Perhaps there were so few civil rights stories because there were no protest rallies or because there were no key congressional votes or court decisions on this subject during the week.

But it is also true that there were so few civil rights stories because there were so few minority reporters. Washington reporters have immense freedom to pick their own subjects. And to this degree, a black woman reporter was right when she told me: "The news will not change until the people writing the news change." ♦

### BOOTSTRAPS FOR THE SHOELESS: Civil Rights in the Gilded Cage

by Gregory D. Squires

At a time when economic gaps between white males and everybody else appear intractable, the Federal government proposes major cutbacks in civil rights enforcement and other social programs. This seeming paradox cannot be explained solely by ignorance, insensitivity or prejudice.

What we are witnessing is a new expression, explicitly stated in recent months, of a philosophy that has long been part of our cultural heritage—the trickle-down approach to social problems. For generations, Americans have believed that by making the rich richer and expanding the total pie, all groups would ultimately benefit, though perhaps not equally. Some of our nation's most popular slogans—frontier spirit, manifest destiny, benign neglect, reindustrialization—embody this belief. As *Business Week* recently argued:

In the U.S., during the past 20 years, policy has emphasized improving the quality of life, particularly attempts to redistribute income to low income groups and minorities and to create an egalitarian society. Now it is clear that the government cannot achieve such goals, no matter how admirable, without economic growth. And the U.S. cannot have economic growth in the future unless its industrial base is modernized.... It will be a hard pill for many Americans to swallow, the idea of doing with less so that big business can have more.

Enter George Gilder, chief philosopher of the current version of trickle-down. In *Wealth and Poverty*, hailed by the head of the Reagan administration's transition

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team as "a brilliant book that will serve as an inspiration and guide for the new administration," Gilder argues that the key for improving the life chances of minorities and restoring strength to the American economy is to unleash the entrepreneurial spirit. Racial minorities and the poor in general must be inculcated with the attributes that enabled the wealthy to get that way: a willingness to work hard, take risks, and have faith in the future. Central to the development of these traits is the traditional family, since the family disciplines the male breadwinner, whose biological advantages make him better able to bring home the bacon. Women, in Gilder's scheme, should be kept barefoot and pregnant.

Public policy implications of Gilder's theory are clear. We need tax cuts and deregulation to free more dollars for productive investment and job creation. Unfortunately, from his perspective, government has instead given us a series of well-intentioned but misguided liberal programs: welfare, social security, unemployment compensation, affirmative action. This approach, Gilder laments, fosters dependence when what is needed are policies that encourage risk-taking and entrepreneurship.

Because "it is hard to find discrimination anywhere [and] blacks are being induced to see it everywhere," Gilder concludes that "the antidiscrimination agencies have become an enemy of black progress nearly as deadly as the welfare system." These agencies create dependence and stifle the only salvation for blacks, "the greater aggressiveness of men, biologically determined but statistically incalculable, that accounts for much of their earnings superiority." The biological differences do not end there, however. "A related male trait—manifested in every human society but just as hard to capture in a computer

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study—is aptitude for group leadership.”

Antidiscrimination and poverty programs compound the troubles they create for blacks by giving jobs to women that black males might otherwise get. And when women do not literally take jobs away from men, the money women earn invites more dire consequences:

When the wives earn more, the men feel a decline of urgency in their work and a loss of male nerve and drive...the antidiscrimination drive can only reap a harvest of demoralization, work-force withdrawal, and family breakdown, and a decay in the spirit of work, family, and faith on which enduring upward mobility depends. The crucial goal of all antipoverty policy must be to lift the incomes of males providing for families....

Another impediment to black progress is the obligation antidiscrimination agencies have placed on many employers to hire on the basis of job-related objective criteria, such as educational credentials. Gilder asserts that these criteria have put a new burden on the employer:

Because he cannot any longer exclude, on a subjective hunch, a young black who seems unsuitable as he would exclude any other applicant, he decides to upgrade his labor force, excluding everyone without credentials, including stable blacks he might have hired before.

When such criteria are employed as part of an affirmative action plan, and other groups like women are included in the plan, blacks are victimized again because they are forced to compete with

Yale coeds molested by their tutors, ex-addicts denied reemployment, as-

sistant professors at Smith rejected for tenure, and telephone operators who discover, years later, that what they had always wanted was to climb a pole.

The problems of black women, however, are summarily dismissed since “there is very little evidence that black women suffer any discrimination at all, let alone in double doses.”

Not surprisingly Gilder concludes, “There is no way to reconcile the interests of black men with the causes of feminism.... The main impact of feminism is to take jobs and promotions away from these men and give them to educated women.”

There is no room in Gilder’s scenario for any social structural barriers to upward mobility such as inheritance or property relations, not to mention discrimination. The only differences between the rich and the poor are individual, psychological, or attitudinal. Economic distinctions between men and women are primarily a function of biology. And the plight of racial minorities is produced by a combination of these factors compounded by government intrusion.

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### **Racism and sexism are real and will not magically disappear with economic growth.**

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If a black steelworker loses his job after 30 years and is forced to take unemployment compensation because the company can make more money by shifting production to a low-wage third world country with no environmental regulations, presumably Gilder sees a worker too dependent on government

and an employer who should be congratulated for his entrepreneurship. If one of the current effects of a tool and die maker’s past discrimination is to deny a promotion to a female machinist because of her low seniority, presumably Gilder sees a woman who is taking a job away from a black male, and possibly destroying her family in the process. But chief executive officers of Fortune 500 companies need not share credit for their success with the employees whose labor makes their bosses’ six-figure salaries possible—nor with municipal services which facilitate the safe production and distribution of goods and services from the producer to consumer, public universities which train many of the highly skilled workers, or taxpayer-supported hospitals which keep the executives and some of the employees healthy.

Throughout the book Gilder disparages social scientists who use statistical evidence to link unemployment and discrimination with poverty, because such an approach misses the point that “wealth is a product less of money than of mind.” By explaining poverty in strictly individual terms, Gilder offers a classic example of “blaming the victim.” Gilder would have us believe that biology accounts for the economic advantages men enjoy over women and indirectly for the privileged position of whites compared with blacks. And if only government would permit employers to indulge their feelings and hunches, jobs would soon open up for blacks. In a few pages, Gilder dismisses social structure as having any bearing on inequality and dispenses with history altogether.

If *Wealth and Poverty* were just one of the hundreds of books published each year that disappear with the next academic fad, its deficiencies would be of little consequence. But such apologies

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for privilege have much currency today. The significance of this latest version of trickle-down ideology rests not so much in its validity as in the considerable power wielded by those who are formulating public policy around it. Dispensing with Gilder-style mythology will involve political action more than intellectual debate.

But myths die hard. For some, Horatio Alger lives. For many others, he is a convenient ideological tool. But racism and sexism are real and will not magically disappear with economic growth. And it is not at all clear that the supply-side approach will in fact stimulate growth.

Yet unlike other supply-siders, Gilder offers a moral as well as economic case for capitalism. On the grounds that "capitalism begins with giving," and because individuals can enrich themselves only by producing for others, he concludes that under capitalism the golden rule is also economically sound.

History, though, is filled with instances where entrepreneurs failed to provide for certain groups what society has deemed essential goods and services. Occasionally the market has denied basic constitutional rights for some segments of the community. In many of those cases, the public sector has stepped in to cushion the hardships created by the market. Despite the violence surrounding the early years of union organizing, few would quarrel with the fact that the 1935 Wagner Act sanctioning collective bargaining has contributed substantially to major improvements in the lives of blue collar workers, and more recently those of white collar workers as well. Few will challenge the notion that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work, a goal which was furthered by the Equal Pay Act of 1963. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is hailed today as a

landmark even by some of those who opposed it in the early 1960s.

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### The meat-ax approach rationalized by Gilder cannot be justified.

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Phillip R. Newell Jr. of the United Presbyterian Church expressed the feelings of Youngstown's religious community regarding the morality of capitalism after a New Orleans-based conglomerate closed the steel mill it owned in that Ohio community, leaving 4,000 steelworkers jobless with no prior notification:

Private corporations organized within the prevailing economic system have social and moral responsibilities and [this conglomerate] is an example of a part of that system which has failed to meet those responsibilities.

The market produces many social costs. The flight of capital from central cities to the suburbs, from the snowbelt to the sunbelt and from the U.S. to foreign shores—though perhaps profitable for the corporations involved—contributes to joblessness, declining tax revenues and municipal services, increasing rates of alcoholism, crime, divorce, suicide, and other social costs which do not show up on corporate balance sheets. Minority workers and minority neighborhoods are far more likely to suffer these adverse consequences. Many realtors continue to systematically steer homeseekers to racially homogeneous neighborhoods, thus limiting the choice for all and the quality of housing for minorities. Old-boy networks continue to dominate many job markets. Virulent racism is still alive, as recent Ku Klux Klan and other hate-group violence

shows. Sweatshops in the garment industry relying almost completely on female labor are springing up throughout the U.S., with some women making less than one dollar an hour for work-weeks up to sixty hours long.

We need the public sector to conduct the public's business, to assure a proper balance between legitimate private and public needs, and to preserve everybody's civil and constitutional rights. Its inefficiencies must be eliminated whenever possible, but the meat-ax approach rationalized by Gilder and a mushrooming field of academic apologists cannot be justified. Neglect, no matter how benign, will not eliminate racism or sexism from the social fabric of America. ♦

### Discrimination Begins at Home

by Martha Farnsworth Riche

#### WOMEN AND HOUSEHOLD LABOR

Edited by Sarah Fenstermaker Berk  
Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980. 295 pp.  
\$9.95.

#### THE ECONOMICS OF WOMEN AND WORK

Edited by Alice H. Amsden  
New York: St. Martin's, 1980. 409 pp.  
\$18.95.

#### HOMEMAKERS: The Forgotten Workers

Rae Andre'  
Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981.  
312 pp. \$15.

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### THE NEW ENTREPRENEURS: Women Working From Home

Terri P. Tepper and Nona Dawe  
Tepper

New York: Universe, 1980. 240 pp.  
\$10.95.

Although women today work in a greater variety of jobs, the Biblically-sanctioned ratio between what men and women should earn—60 percent, according to the Book of Leviticus—remains inviolate. Four more recent books show that equal pay, equal opportunity and affirmative action won't bring about real equality without the abandonment of what Rae André's *Homemakers: The Forgotten Workers* calls the Domestic Double Standard: the idea that work done in the home for no pay is not work.

Before they go work, women already have a job—housework. Because our society is based on the exchange of work for wages, work done in the home is not considered productive work—not by the government, which neither accounts for it in production statistics nor compensates it in the case of unemployment or retirement; not by the people who benefit from it (attitude surveys show that people consistently underestimate their spouse's household labor); and not by household workers themselves.

This was not always so. Before the Industrial Revolution, men and women performed separate tasks in a joint work place, the farm, and each was considered to be working for the joint family welfare. When work moved off the farm into industry, women as well as men moved with it. Contributors to both *Women and Household Labor* and *The Economics of Women and Work* assert that a need to limit competitive pressure on wages led to the exclusion of women

from industry and commerce during the nineteenth century and to their enshrinement in the home as the guardians of the family's spiritual welfare. Acceptance of this myth required denying the productive aspect of domestic labor, for if women realized that they were working in the home for no pay, they might want to return to work for pay.

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### The Domestic Double Standard: work done in the home for no pay is not work.

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Whether you accept this explanation or not, the devaluation of the work women do in the home has been by now fully assimilated into our culture and our laws. Rae André cites the Western farm wife who recently after a lifetime of working side by side with her husband, found herself assessed \$35,000 in estate taxes when he died—taxes he would not have been liable for had she died. In most states, the law assumes that unless a wife can prove that she has contributed financially to jointly-owned property, she hasn't contributed to it.

Another reason for not crediting women for the work they perform at home is the assumption that labor-saving appliances have diminished it. But time-use studies reported in *Women and Household Labor* and *The Economics of Women and Work* indicate that nonemployed women spend at least as much time in household work as their grandmothers did. In 1924 the average work week for a housewife was 52 hours; in the 1960s it was 55 hours. John P. Robinson cites more recent data in *Women and Household Labor* indicating that it was only in the 1970s that the

time women spent on housework and family care began to decline—by 22 minutes a day. Robinson found that husbands were spending less time on household work too. Moreover, he found no connection between improved household technology and the reduction of time spent on housework.

According to Joann Vanek, increased standards are the explanation. She discovered, for example, that housewives now spend more time on laundry, despite their washers and dryers, than women did in the Twenties when they had to bring water from the well, heat it on the stove, and wash the clothes by hand. Today, people have more clothes and wash them more frequently. Today's housewives also spend more time on child care, since they take more responsibility for children's social and mental development as well as their physical well-being. Clearly, housewives have used the time saved them by technology to increase the quality of their output.

The way employed women allocate their time supports this interpretation. They spend an average of 26 hours a week on household work, less than half as much time as do nonemployed women. They do not hire out more household tasks, nor do their husbands increase their share of household chores outside of spending a few hours more a week with the children. In order to take on a full-time job, these women have turned housework into a part-time job—and won themselves America's longest work week in the process.

Housewives are sensitive about their families' perceptions of the value of their work. Vanek found that housewives "schedule work so that it is visible to others as well as themselves." Her quotation of Hungarian sociologist S. Ferge is apt in this context: "The results of housework are accepted as natural and



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are only noticed when they are absent.”

Given that women who only work long hours at home are relatively unappreciated, have no pay or benefits and depend for their employment security on a personal relationship, why do more than half of all married women stay at home? Christine Bose, in *Women and Household Labor*, says it might be to gain status. She found that both men and women assign substantially more social prestige to the occupation of housewife than to the occupations that best approximate what a housewife does: grade school teacher, administrative assistant, waitress, housekeeper, maid, short order cook, and so on. Only 30 percent of the traditional women’s occupations ranked higher than housewife, and they all require a more than average investment in education and training. Being a housewife is thus especially attractive to working class women, since they gain status and do work as interesting as anything they would otherwise qualify for.

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**So many women have funneled themselves into occupations paralleling their household labors that they’ve driven down their wages.**

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Bose thinks society awards more status to housewives as an incentive: “The social status of homemaker is a stick to men and a carrot to women. It can cut competition for a limited number of jobs and can help obtain much work in the home needed for society without having to pay for it.” In the same vein, sociologist Ann Oakley contends that sex stereotyping of both paid and unpaid labor systematically devalues female labor as intermittent, interruptable, unproductive,

marginal, less skilled, and so on. This stereotype “endows women with the status of a labor reserve to be drawn on during periods of national needs [such as wartime],” and sent home as soon as they compete with men for jobs.

These assertions may sound like feminist sour grapes, but in her contribution to *Women and Household Labor*, Nona Glazer offers documentation. She shows how public decisions about providing day care or making welfare mothers work vary according to how much women’s work is needed, and how public opinion about how much the family and children suffer if a mother works varies according to how much unemployment men are experiencing.

Whether one agrees with her conclusion that it suits the needs of both capitalist and socialist economies “to have a core of unpaid workers who have some built-in flexibility in their productivity,” it is hard to disagree with her contention that women’s economic lives are organized around the assumption that they alone are responsible for housework and child care. Women have chosen occupations that they can combine with these tasks—becoming a nurse, not a doctor. Or employers make these decisions for them, believing that married women can’t travel or work long hours, and therefore can’t succeed in executive positions. These expectations are self-fulfilling since only highly paid women—doctors or executives, for example—can pay someone else to perform household tasks for them.

But with the exception of the Marxist and radical economists included in *The Economics of Women and Work*, the economists in this collection say that women’s low earnings cannot be due to employer discrimination; a firm could gain an edge on its competitors by hiring women away from lower paid occupa-

tions by offering them more than they were earning but less than men were getting. The problem is that women have funneled themselves into occupations that parallel and complement their household labors—nursing, apparel, canning, textiles, and the like—thereby driving down their wages because there are so many of them.

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**Women should hire one another to do their household work or child care in order to qualify for Social Security.**

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Since women have expected their domestic responsibilities to shape their careers, they have had less incentive to invest in education that would qualify them for higher paid jobs. Moreover, they haven’t stayed on the job long enough for employers to offer them the on-the-job training that leads to advancement. Their job turnover rate has been high partly because they have returned home to raise children or quit when their husbands were relocated, and partly because the jobs they had chosen lacked the promotion ladders that made continuous employment attractive. Jacob Mincer and Solomon Polacheck attribute 70 percent of the difference in wage rates between married men and women to job experience and post-high school human capital investment. They conclude that this is the price married women paid for acquiring human capital in family life.

Mincer and Polacheck’s explanation of women’s lower incomes is soundly based in economic theory, although women without husbands to compensate them for their lower returns might wonder why they must bear the cost of soci-

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ety's investment in children and family life. For women, an even more grating use of economic theory is Gary Becker's explanation of how married couples allocate their time. Becker says it is economically proper for wives to do most of the household labor—and work a longer work week than men, even if they are employed full-time—because their wages are lower and they are relatively more efficient at housework. As Richard A. Berk points out in *Women and Household Labor*, this defines the problem away. It leaves women no way out of the kitchen, unless they marry men who earn the same or less than they do. Since Isabel Sawhill, another contributor to *The Economics of Women and Work*, shows that marital stability is greater when husbands make more than their wives do, this door seems closed too.

Reducing occupational segregation by sex is only a partial solution. Women will not be able to choose jobs incompatible with their domestic tasks as long as they are given, and accept, primary responsibility in the home. Nor will they advance in such occupations without a reorganization of either the job or the home.

Reorganizing things at home means getting men to give up some of their leisure or some of their commitment to their own advancement. Barbara Bergmann suggests in *The Economics of Women and Work* that reducing the occupational segregation of women might reduce men's wages (because of more competition) more than it would increase women's, especially if improved wages encouraged more women to get to work. Attempts to end employment discrimination meet greater resistance when those who are better off must give something up, rather than merely work with those of a different complexion or culture.

In *Homemakers*, Rae Andre looks at a variety of compromise solutions: paying

women for housework, including income maintenance while mothering; granting Social Security credits for housework; and establishing income protection within the marriage contract, perhaps by setting up a special account to provide a full-time wife and mother with the retraining she will need to make up for the time she took out of the labor force. If women are going to continue to do the lion's share of housework, rather than burden themselves with another job, Andre suggests that they hire one another to do their housework or child care. They would then qualify for Social Security and its related life and disability insurance, which she calculates would be worth the cost of the taxes they would have to pay. Or, she suggests, they might form cottage industries that they could combine with housework.

According to the stories of *The New Entrepreneurs: Women Working from Home*, cottage industries may provide women with creative satisfaction but not with much money. Only 18 of the 98 women the authors interviewed were making \$16,000 or more. The same problems facing other women workers prevail; women choose occupations that are an extension of housework or that are intermittent and can mesh with child care.

But when women choose to go into "male" business they suffer discrimination in obtaining credit, which is essential in the market place. And for some women, this problem can be compounded by racial or ethnic discrimination. Said one woman, "I've got two strikes against me. I'm not only a woman contractor, I'm a Polish woman contractor.... So far I haven't built any houses upside down."

Women employed outside the home have America's longest work week. Expecting women who already work a 26-

hour a week job at home to compete on an equal basis with men who don't is unfair. Eliminating this situation requires eliminating sex stereotyping at home and on the job. For example, both men and women need to be eligible for leaves of absence when a child is born and both need flexible hours of paid employment. Otherwise, asking men to share household tasks equally is futile. But until men assume more responsibility for housework, all women will remain second-class workers. ♦

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