

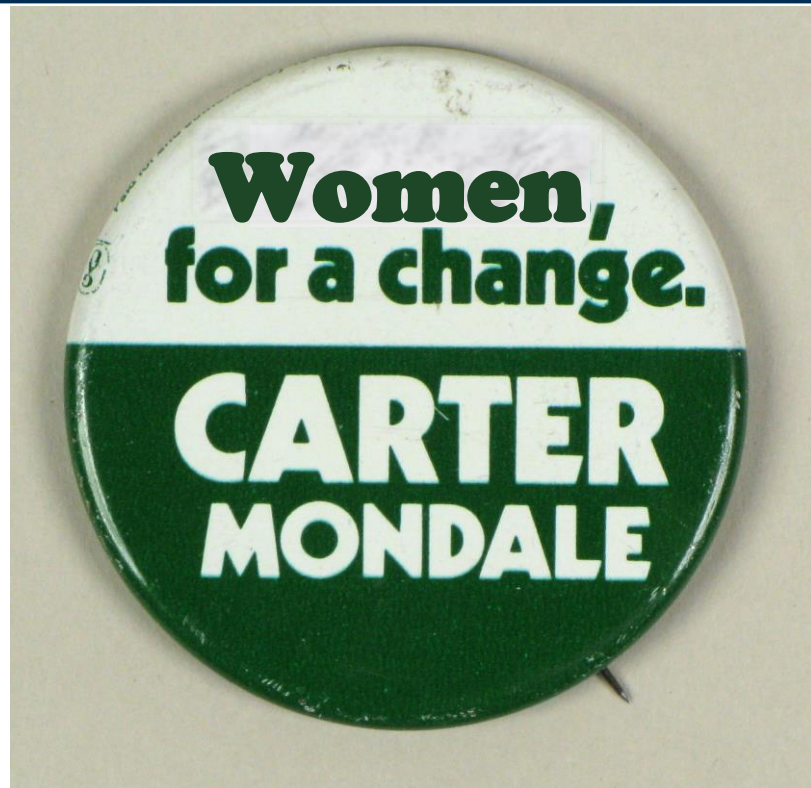


NATIONAL
ARCHIVES

THE
Jimmy Carter
PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

Women, for a Change: Gender Equality & the Carter Administration

Grades 8-12



Program Overview

- 1976: A Campaign for Change
- Making Change Happen
- Support for Equal Rights Amendment
- 1980: Running on Change

Right: President Carter Signing Legislation for the Equal Rights Amendment, 10/20/1978 (National Archives Identifier: [181970](#))



Document Analysis Worksheets

Be Your Own Historian!!!

1. Meet the document.
2. Observe its parts.
3. Try to make sense of it.
4. Use it as historical evidence.

- [Available for novice & secondary learners](#)
- [Available in Spanish](#)

Analyze a Written Document

Meet the document.

Type (check all that apply):

<input type="checkbox"/> Letter	<input type="checkbox"/> Speech	<input type="checkbox"/> Patent	<input type="checkbox"/> Telegram	<input type="checkbox"/> Court document
<input type="checkbox"/> Chart	<input type="checkbox"/> Newspaper	<input type="checkbox"/> Advertisement	<input type="checkbox"/> Press Release	<input type="checkbox"/> Memorandum
<input type="checkbox"/> Report	<input type="checkbox"/> Email	<input type="checkbox"/> Identification document	<input type="checkbox"/> Presidential document	
<input type="checkbox"/> Congressional document	<input type="checkbox"/> Other			

Describe it as if you were explaining to someone who can't see it.
Think about: Is it handwritten or typed? Is it all by the same person? Are there stamps or other marks? What else do you see on it?

Observe its parts.

Who wrote it?

Who read/received it?

When is it from?

Where is it from?

Try to make sense of it.

What is it talking about?

Write one sentence summarizing this document.

Why did the author write it?


Quote evidence from the document that tells you this.

What was happening at the time in history this document was created?

Use it as historical evidence.

What did you find out from this document that you might not learn anywhere else?

What other documents or historical evidence are you going to use to help you understand this event or topic?

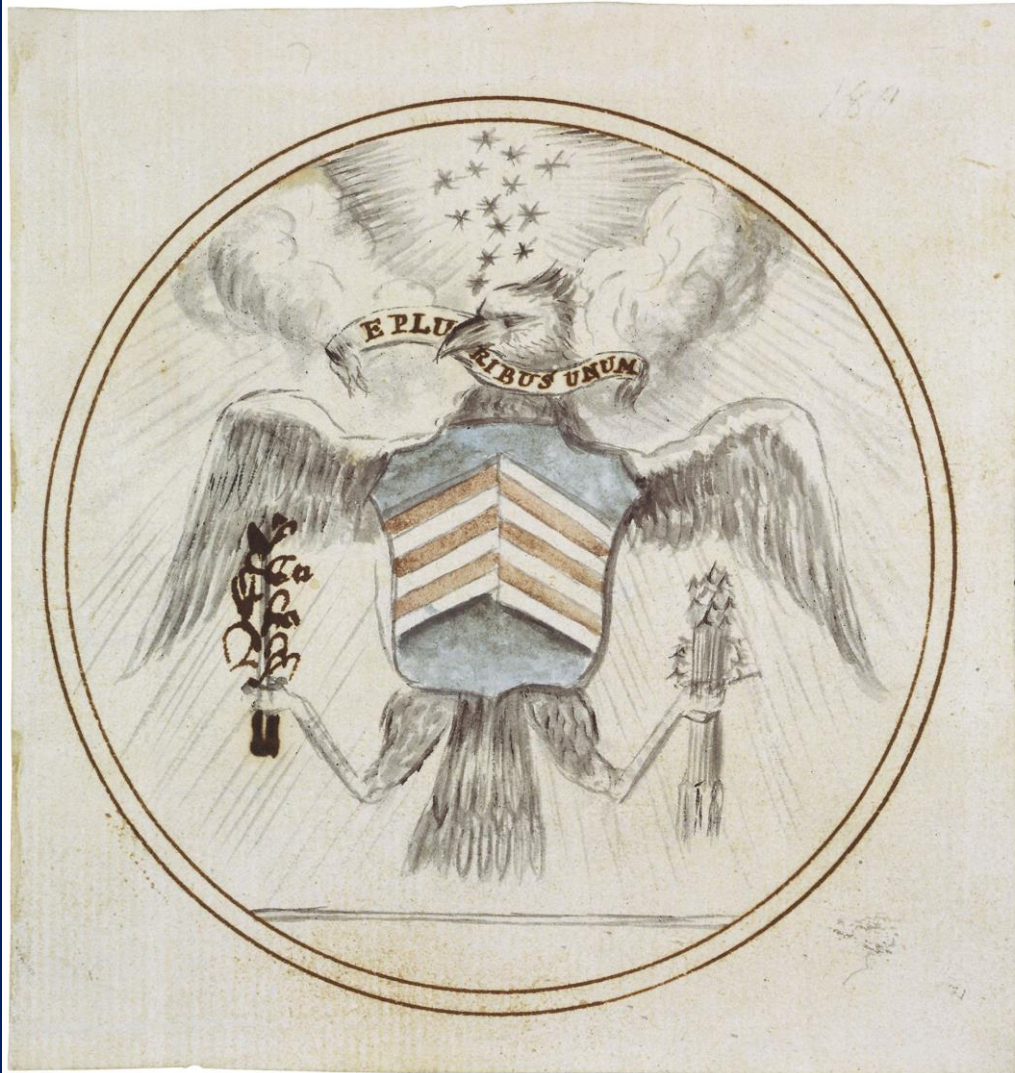


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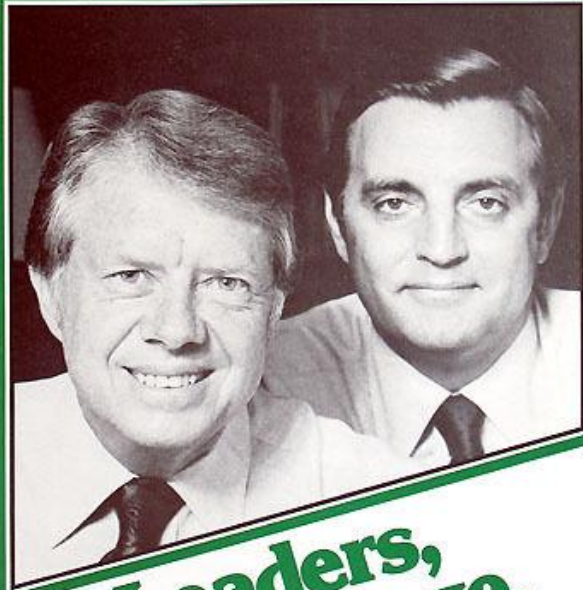
Out of Many, One

How has our
nation's motto,
E Pluribus Unum,
guided political,
social & economic
change over time?
What does it mean
to you?

Right: Design for the Verso of the Great Seal of the United States, 1782
(National Archives Identifier: [595257](#))



Jimmy CARTER
Walter MONDALE



**Leaders,
for a change.**

**VOTE
DEMOCRATIC**

Printed and authorized by 1976 Democratic Primary Campaign Committee, Inc.

1976: A Campaign for Change

Left: Carter-Mondale 1976 Presidential Election Campaign Poster (Carter Library)

1976: Women & The White House

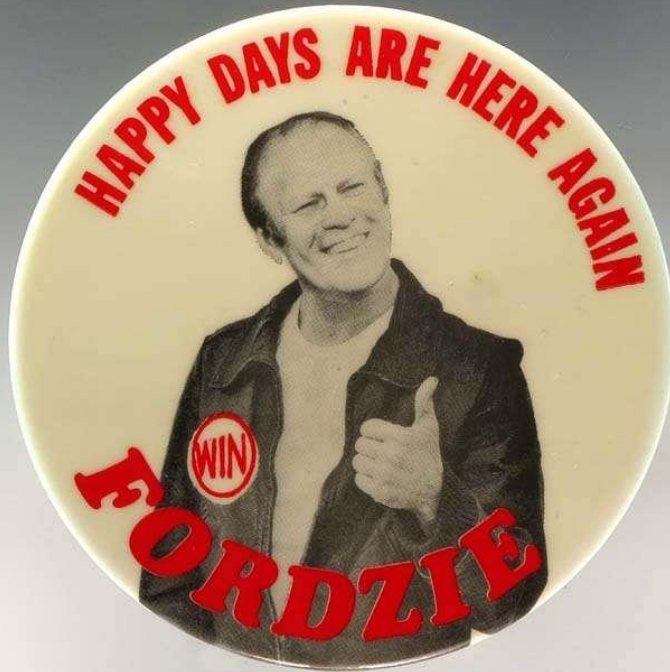
Ford Administration

- Women account for 12% of appointees in the Ford Administration
- [Carla Hills](#) only female Cabinet Secretary (Housing & Urban Development)
- President Ford supports passage of the [Equal Rights Amendment](#)
- Approves [Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974](#)
- Signs [Proclamation on Women's Equality Day, 1974](#)

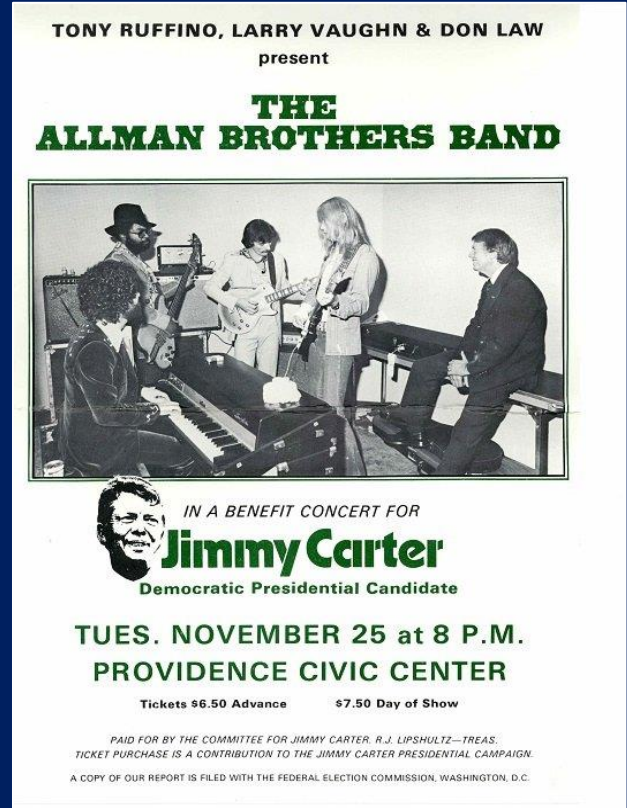
Right: National Security Council Discussing the Situation in Vietnam, 4/28/1975 (National Archives Identifier: [186800](#))



1976: Different Appeals to Voters



Left: Campaign Button with President Ford as Fonzie, 1976 (National Archives Identifier: [28360684](#)) Right: The Allman Brothers Band Concert Poster, 11/25/1975 (Carter Library)



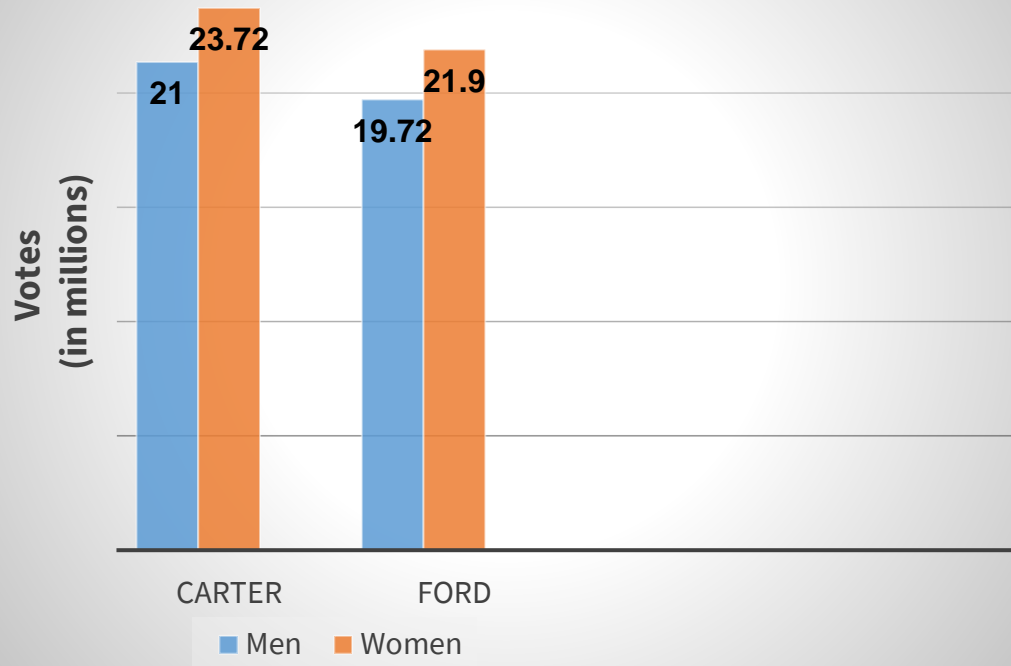
Women Turn Out for Carter (& Ford)

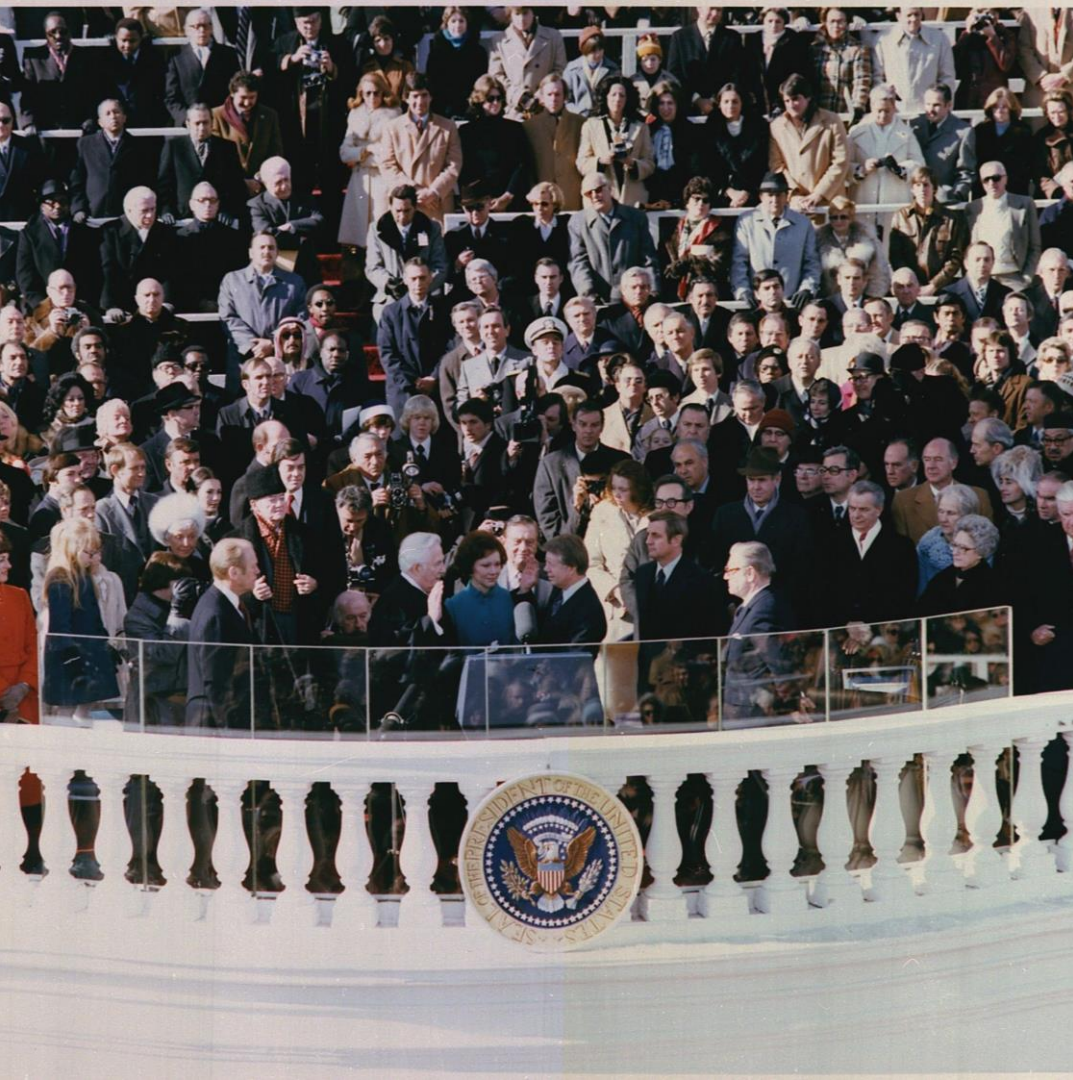
Equal Support Among Sexes

- Carter captures 52% of male & female voters (Ford gets 48% of each)
- Electoral College Victory of 297-240
- Women comprise more than 52% of total voter turnout w/45.62 million votes cast
- More people vote in 1976 than any previous election, but total voter turnout down 10% from 1964

Right: Bar graph showing 1976 Presidential Election results for each candidate by gender (Data from [U.S. Census Bureau](#))

1976 General Election Results by Gender





Making Change Happen

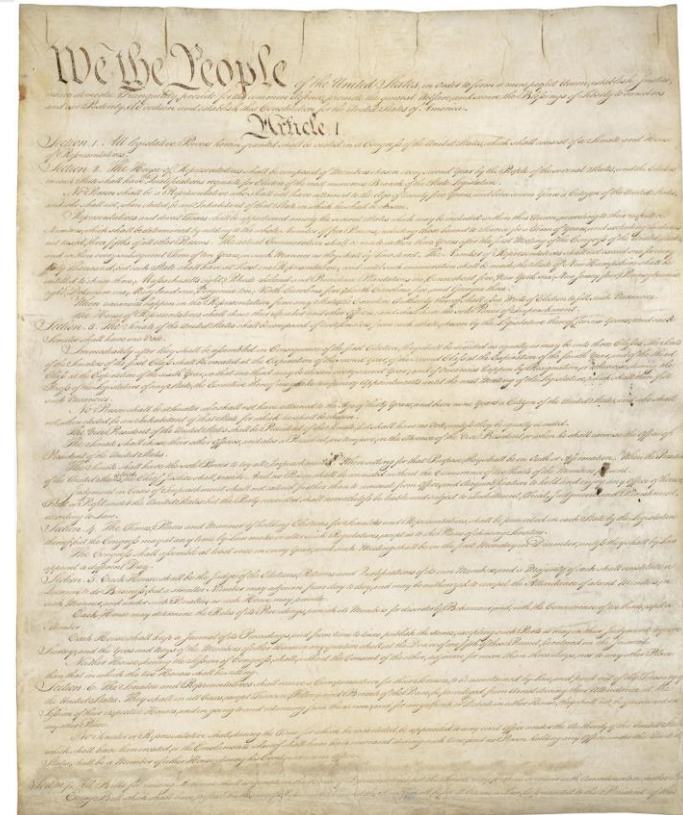
*Left: Jimmy Carter Inauguration, 1/20/1977 (National Archives
Identifier: [173353](#))*

Constitutional Context

What Constitution-based solutions were available to President Carter to address Gender Equality?

- Congressional Legislation ([Article I, Section 1](#))
 - Subject to approval or veto by the President
- Executive Action ([Article II, Section 1](#))
 - Powers not relegated to other branches, nor explicitly denied to the Executive
- Presidential Appointments ([Article II, Section 2](#))
 - Ambassadors, other public Ministers & Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, & all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for; subject to confirmation by the Senate

Right: The Preamble and Article I of the United States Constitution (National Archives Identifier: [1667751](#))



Executive Action

- Carter creates [Task Force on Women Business Owners](#)
- Carter appoints prominent women in business to administration (e.g., Juanita Kreps)
- Number of businesses owned by women rises from 1.9 million in 1977 to 2.5 million in 1980 (33.4% gain)

[Read Carter's Remarks to the Task Force on Women Business Owners, 6/28/1977](#)

Left: Jimmy Carter addresses the Task Force on Women Business Owners, 6/28/1978 (National Archives Identifier: [180131](#))

Executive Action



Building on Ford's Work

- Carter expands membership of National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year from 35 to 45 ([Executive Order 11980, 3/29/1977](#))
- Upon expiration of its congressional statute, Carter creates the Advisory Committee of the International Women's Year ([Executive Order 12050, 4/4/1978](#))

Left: Jimmy Carter meet with the Advisory Committee of the International Women's Year, 1/12/1979 (National Archives Identifier: [182989](#))

Executive Order 12050 (4/4/1978)

“The Interdepartmental Task Force is designed to promote equality for American women by ensuring that the needs of women are recognized and incorporated into Federal policies and programs”

- Established National Advisory Committee for Women (up to 30 members) to work with Executive Branch
- Established Interdepartmental Task Force to review and implement recommendations of the 1977 National Women’s Conference
- Sarah Weddington appointed special assistant to President Carter, head of task force

Right: White House News on Women, Vol. 1, Issue 1, (National Archives Identifier: [135889046](#))



Notable Administration Appointments



Midge Costanza

Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

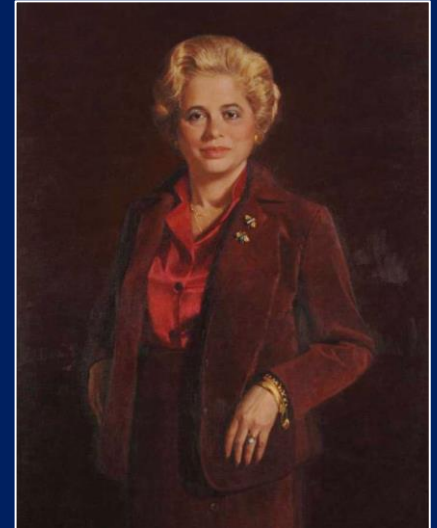
(National Archives Identifier: [177217](#))



Juanita Kreps

Secretary of
Commerce

(Photo courtesy of U.S.
Department of Commerce)



Patricia Roberts Harris

Secretary of Housing &
Urban Development;
Secretary of Health,
Education & Welfare

(National Archives Identifier: [7316017](#))

CARTER INITIATIVES

Carter Steps Up Effort To Bring Women To Bench



"We are working with every Senator in the Government to encourage their submissions to me of names selected by commissions which include both women and minority representatives. I can't give you an exact number yet, but whenever possible, we will have a representative number of blacks, those who speak Spanish, and women."

President Carter.
Interview, 1-10-79

When President Carter took office, no women had ever served on the U.S. Supreme Court. Only one woman was serving as a Federal circuit court judge and only one other woman ever had. The proportion of women that had ever served on the District courts was less than three percent.

President Carter has taken a number of steps to increase the number of women serving on Federal circuit and district courts. As a result of these actions, the

Administration anticipates that in the near future women will sit on at least eight of the eleven circuits and that the number of women on the district bench will at least double.

Important Developments

Chief steps taken in this effort include:

- Appointment of a U.S. Circuit Court Judge Nominating Commission and a system of panels or commissions in each of the circuits across the country to recommend candidates to the President on the basis of merit. These independent commissions notify the public of judgeship vacancies and make recommendations to the Attorney General.
- Establishment of standards and guidelines including affirmative action provisions to be used by Senators in recommending candidates to the Justice Department for District Court positions. The President reviews all District Court nominations for a particular state before sending them to the Senate.

Augmenting this effort will be the effects of the recently enacted Omnibus Judgeship Act, which has created 152 new Federal judgeship positions, including 35 vacancies at the circuit court level and 117 at the district court level. These new vacancies should allow the President additional flexibility in bringing women to the Federal bench, especially at the circuit level where his influence is more direct.

Further Support For More Women In The Judiciary

The Administration has complemented these initiatives with the following actions:

- A woman in the Justice Department has been given the full-time assignment of locating women to be considered by Senators and Committees for judgeships.

- Briefings have been held in the White House to inform interested groups on how to be most influential in the selection process.
- The President has sent personal letters to Senators and Committees asking their cooperation in including more women in the names submitted to him.
- At the President's request, Attorney General Bell has been meeting those participating in the selection process to seek their help in including additional women in the selections.

Carter Recommends Women To Senate

Phyllis Kravitch was sworn in as a judge for the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on April 10. Other women who have been recommended for Federal judgeships by President Carter to the Senate for consideration are:

Joyce Hens Green (District Court, District of Columbia), Gabriella Kirk MacDonald (District Court, Texas), Marylou Robinson (District Court, Texas), Dolores Sloviter (Third Circuit Court of Appeals), Cornelia Kennedy (Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals), and Harriet Taylor (Superior Court, District of Columbia).

Green's and Taylor's nominations are to fill current vacancies. The other nominations are for judgeships created by the Omnibus Judgeship Act.

The Justice Department has approved a number of other qualified women for nomination to judgeships. Security investigations on these candidates are now in progress.

Judiciary Appointments



Left: Carter Initiatives from White House News On Women, Vol. 1, Issue 1 (National Archives Identifier: [120547194](#)) Right: President Carter with Ruth Bader Ginsburg at Reception for Women Federal Judges, 10/3/1980 (National Archives Identifier: [136050236](#))

Legislating Change

Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

- Women previously subject to termination from employment as a result of pregnancy
- An amendment to Title VII of the [Civil Rights Act of 1964](#)
- Prohibits discrimination based upon pregnancy

Left: A baby care class for new and expectant mothers at Loretto Hospital in New Ulm, Minnesota, 10/1974 (National Archives Identifier: [558172](#))

The Equal Rights Amendment

Right: Torch relay from Seneca Falls, New York to Houston, Texas, 1977 (National Archives Identifier: [7452296](#))

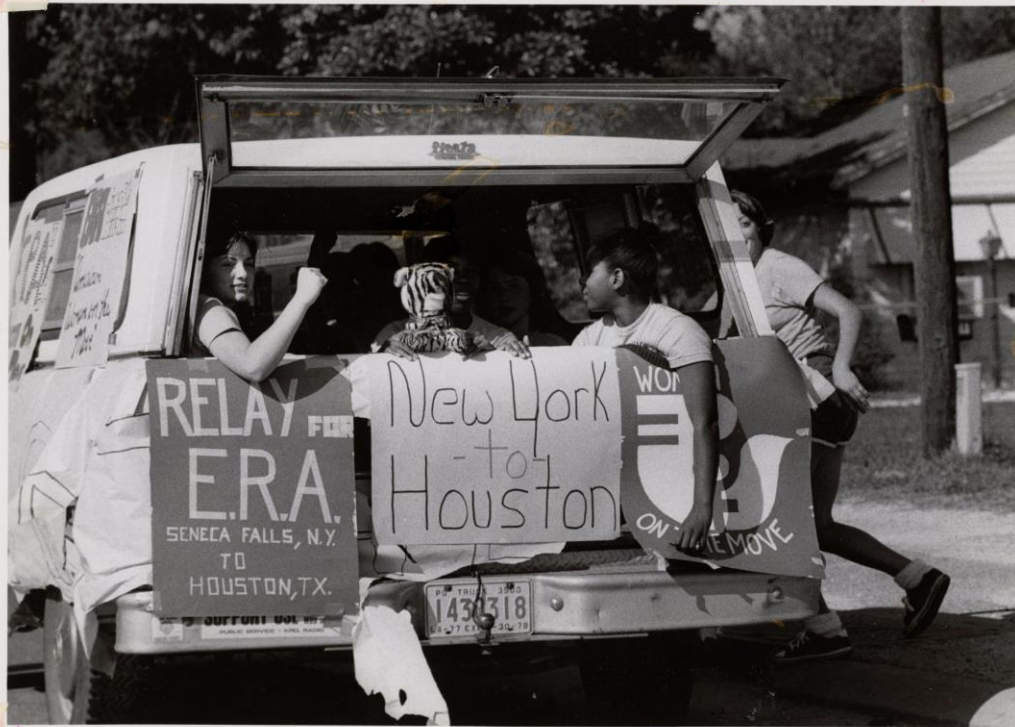


PHOTO BY PAT FIELD

Jacket 253-622 Illus No. 345A
Width 29 pi. Depth 2 1/2 Focus 58 %
☒ Sq. Ht. ☐ Line ☐ Comb. ☐ Sil'te ☐ Broad

10 - 1.70

Equal Rights Amendment of 1972

Joint Resolution

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women.

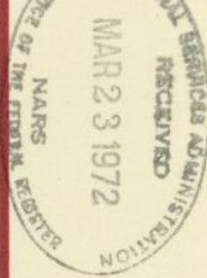
Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

"SEC. 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification."



Article V: Amendment Ratification Process

Proposal must
pass by two-thirds
majority in both
Houses of U.S.
Congress...

OR

Two-Thirds of the
States hold a
convention &
approve
proposal...



National Archives Identifier: [6219856](#)



National Archives Identifier: [6219850](#)

...THEN

Three-fourths or 38 of the 50 states
must vote for ratification



National Archives Identifier: [44266110](#)

Buying Time for the ERA

- Article V makes no mention of ratification deadlines or a process to impose one; Supreme Court decides in [Dillon v. Gloss \(1921\)](#) that Congress has this power ([18th Amendment](#))
- **Debate:** The ERA contained a seven-year deadline in its proposal clause, but not the language voted on by states
- Congress passes & Carter signs deadline extension to 6/30/1982, buying time for 3 more states to ratify to reach 38

Right: Jimmy Carter signing extension of the Equal Rights Amendment, 10/20/1978 (National Archives Identifier: [181981](#))



JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution :

“ ARTICLE —.

“SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

“SEC. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

“SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.”

Champ Clark,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Thos. R. Marshall

Vice President of the United States and

President of the Senate.

THE ERA: FULL PARTNERSHIP FOR WOMEN

The Equal Rights Amendment must be ratified.

The story of American democracy is a story of struggle and growth. Over the past two hundred years, basic human rights and liberties originally enjoyed by only a minority have been extended to protect many more Americans. The ERA is simply the next chapter in this inspiring story.

Since the turn of the century, women have made dramatic progress -- including the Constitutional guarantee of the right to vote. Yet, in many ways the 51 percent of our population who are women are still second-class citizens today. The choices and opportunities open to them remain limited unfairly.

Over the years, women have suffered from job discrimination and unequal pay, and the families they help support have also suffered. In the last 20 years, the earnings gap between men and women has actually widened. In some states, women who are married still are deprived of legal and economic rights. Women have been denied the right to own property, bring legal suits, and even buy automobile insurance in their own names.

Much has been done to redress the inequality of women by a number of States and the Congress. I have directed my entire Administration to do everything possible to advance the status of women. I have pushed vigorously to increase the number of women in the Federal judiciary. But all these efforts still are not enough. Because the principle of equality between men and women is not yet part of our Constitution, the laws affecting women could be changed easily to reduce current safeguards. The only way to achieve full legal equality for women is to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

The ERA is not a novel idea. It was first introduced in 1923. The fight for it began when my mother was a young woman. After careful and lengthy debate, Congress submitted it to the States for ratification on March 22, 1972. All but three of the necessary 38 states have ratified it. Last year Congress passed, and I signed, legislation extending the ratification deadline to June 30, 1982.

As a husband, a father, and a grandfather, I support the Equal Rights Amendment. The ERA does not say that men and women are the same. It simply says that the law cannot penalize women because they are female. I do not believe my daughter should have fewer rights than my sons.

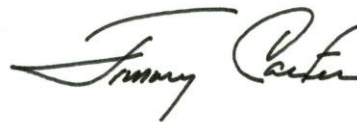
The ERA does not impose new roles or unfair responsibilities on women. The ERA will not alter our traditional family structure. It simply gives women the legal rights that every human being deserves and that American men now enjoy.

As Governor of Georgia, I supported the Equal Rights Amendment. As President, I will continue to strongly support ratification of the ERA. My wife Rosalynn and my daughter-in-law Judy have spent countless hours speaking for the Amendment throughout the country.

The last six Presidents have advocated the ERA. The Congress of the United States has voiced its support for the ERA twice -- once when the Amendment was passed in Congress and once again when the time limit for ratification was extended. Both the Democratic and Republican parties support the Amendment, and there is widespread support by a substantial majority of Americans for the ERA.

The United States was founded two centuries ago on a Constitution that promised justice, liberty, and equality for all men. Only an Amendment in our Constitution can guarantee women the same rights and opportunities. Today, the United States proudly speaks out on behalf of human rights for all the people of the world. We must be no less vigilant in our defense of human rights at home.

I urge you to join me in championing the cause of equal rights by supporting the Equal Rights Amendment so that all of us can be full partners in our beloved Nation.



Support From the First Lady



- Active supporter of ERA, speaking out in public speeches, fundraisers & press conferences
- Receives numerous women's organizations at White House
- Regularly reached out to legislators in unratified states to garner support
- Participates in White House strategy sessions to help organize campaigns in unratified states

Left: Rosalynn Carter speaks at the National Women's Conference, 11/19/1977 (National Archives Identifier: [176939](#))

1977 National Women's Conference

- Held November 7-11, 1977, in Houston, Texas to address issues & topics concerning women
- Notable attendees included First Ladies Rosalynn Carter, Betty Ford & Ladybird Johnson
- [Declaration of American Women](#) read aloud by Maya Angelou
- Culminates in 1978 report, *The Spirit of Houston*

Right: Rosalynn Carter with Betty Ford and Ladybird Johnson at the National Women's Conference, 11/19/1977 (National Archives Identifier: [176924](#))





STOP Equal Rights Amendment

National Chairman:
Phyllis Schlafly
Box 618
Alton, Illinois 62002

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF ENDORSERS AGAINST ERA

Mrs. Arthur Eisenhower,
Kansas

Mrs. Gordon Lamont,
New York

Senators' wives:

Mrs. Sam J. Ervin, Jr.
North Carolina

Mrs. Paul Fannin,
Arizona

Congressmen's wives:

Mrs. K. Gunn McKay,
Utah

Mrs. W. R. Poage,
Texas

Mrs. John P. Saylor,
Pennsylvania

Mrs. Sam Steiger,
Arizona

Mrs. Charles E. Wiggins,
California

Ms. Patricia S. Lindh
Special Assistant to the Counsellor
for Women's Programs
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Lindh:

Several people have sent me a copy of a letter you are sending out on White House stationery about the Equal Rights Amendment. In this letter you state that "We [presumably you and the President] are convinced that it [ERA] will not abridge any personal liberties presently guaranteed under the law."

I have a daughter who will be 18 years old in a couple of years. Will you please tell me how you can assure her that her "personal liberties" NOT to be required to register for the draft, which are "presently guaranteed under the [Selective Service] law," will not be "abridged" by ERA?

Thanking you for your reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

LEGAL ADVISERS

Mrs. Claire B. Ford
Florida

Miss Evelyn Pitschke
Indiana

Mrs. Regina C. Cooper
Louisiana

Mrs. Filomena Mennite
New Jersey



November 18, 1974

Opposition to the ERA



Left: STOP ERA Letter from Phyllis Schlafly, 11/18/1974 ([Ford Library](#)) Right: STOP ERA booth at the first National Women's Conference, 1977 (National Archives Identifier: [24520410](#))

Concerns About the ERA

- Women would be required to register for Selective Service (The Draft)
- Labor Law protections for women could be questioned
- The right to alimony during separation/after divorce may be jeopardized
- The tendency for women to win custody of children in divorce cases potentially compromised

Right: Woman Wearing a "Stop ERA" Badge, 1977 (National Archives Identifier: [7452309](#))



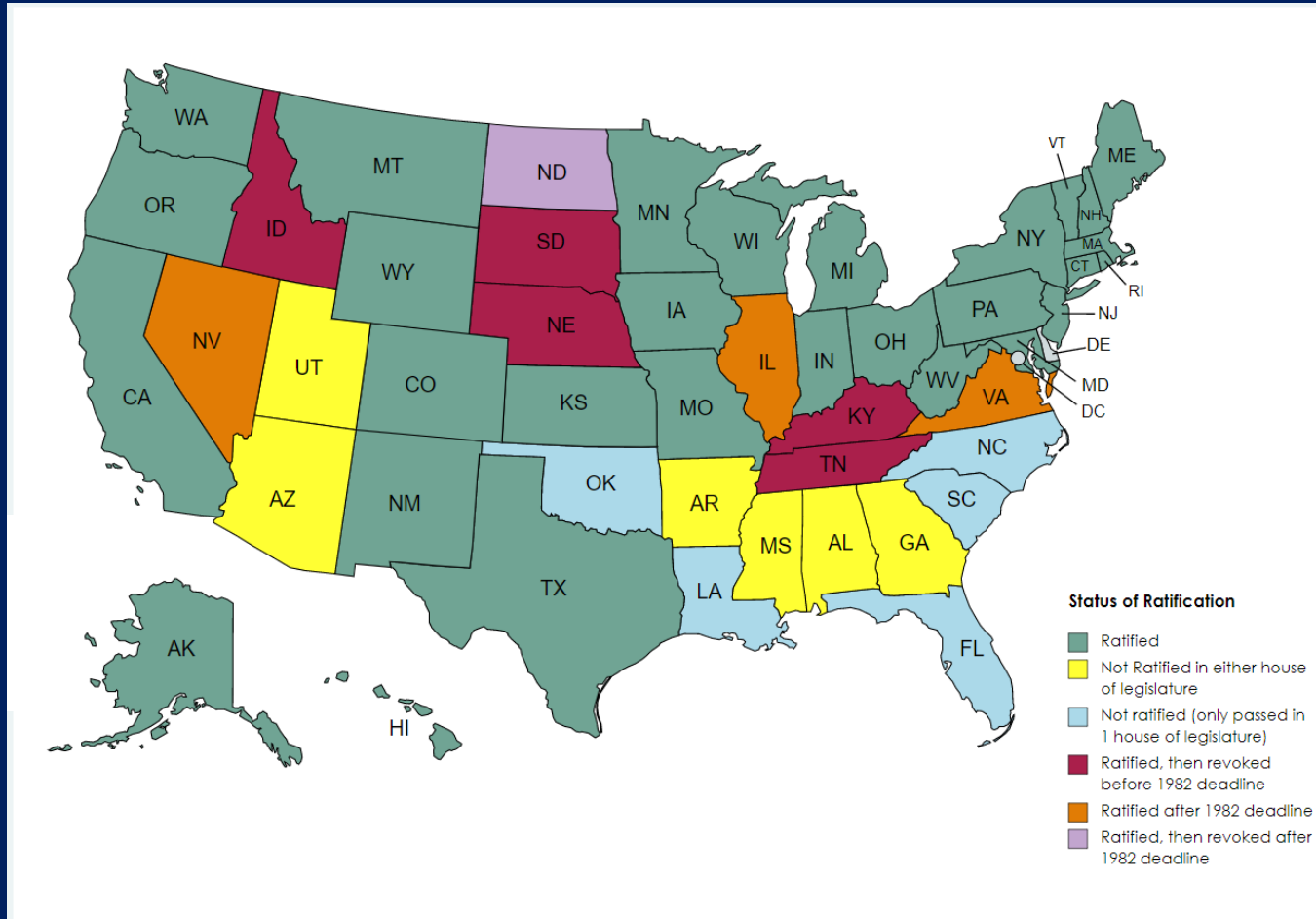
Carter's Optimism

- 4 -

President Carter has never waived in his outspoken support of the ERA. In public statements, in interviews with the media, in directives to members of his Administration, he has made clear his commitment to ERA ratification. On October 23, he summed up his assessment of what needs to be done to win passage:

"We've got to divide up the responsibility; we've got to organize our own forces effectively; we've got to share information; we've got to put aside the inclination that we all have to find a scapegoat on which to blame a temporary setback; we've got to share information about progress; and we need never to be deterred. Our course is a proper one, our time is right. And I predict that next year we will win. I'm determined to do so if you'll help me."

Complex Results With No Ratification



To Legislate or Amend?

Are state or federal laws an adequate substitute for a Constitutional Amendment? What do you see as the advantages & disadvantages of each option?

1980: Running on Change

Right: Women appointees under the Carter Administration (Carter Library)

HONORING A COMMITMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES

"I will appoint qualified women early in my Administration and in substantial numbers. They will not be a few token positions at the top of my Administration, but in jobs of importance throughout the government."

Jimmy Carter, June 13, 1976: Sea Island, Georgia



White House Assistants to the President



People Not Placed

The women on this poster were appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The list is effective as of July 1979.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE: 1979

U.S. CONGRESS

The 96th Congress has 17 women members. The 95th Congress and the 87th had 20 women, the highest number to date. In U.S. history, 103 women have served in the Congress compared to 11,400 men. Ten states have never sent a woman to Congress.

Senate

The 96th Congress has one woman senator. In 1979 Nancy Kassebaum was the first woman to enter the Senate without previously serving in the House of Representatives or being appointed to fill the unexpired term of a man. Since 1922, 14 women have been appointed or elected to the Senate.

House of Representatives

The 96th Congress has 16 women House members; 7 of them come from two states. Out of the 435 members of the House, the largest number of women to serve at the same time was 19 in 1975.

FEDERAL JUDICIARY

No woman has ever served on the U.S. Supreme Court. There are four women Court of Appeals judges out of 97; and 14 women district court judges out of 417.

STATE LEGISLATURES

The number of women serving in state legislatures throughout the country has more than doubled from 305 (4.1%) in 1969 to 767 (10.3%) in 1979.

STATEWIDE ELECTIVE AND CABINET OFFICES

The number of women in state cabinet level or equivalent executive positions has increased from 84 (10.3%) in 1975 to 97 (10.7%) in 1977. All women incumbents who sought reelection to their statewide posts in 1979 won their races.

Governors	Ella Grasso (Connecticut) and Dixy Lee Ray (Washington) are the only women ever elected chief executive of a state in their own right. Three other women have succeeded their husbands in office.
Lt. Governors	In 1978 a record was set with the election of 4 new women Lt. Governors, which increased the number of women in this post to 6.
STATE JUDICIARY	Out of about 5,940 positions in October, 1978, 110 women (1.8%) served as judges in appellate courts and trial courts of general jurisdiction.
LOCAL OFFICE	In 1977, 9,930 women composed 7.8% of officials at the local level, compared to 5,931 (4.4%) in 1975. The number of women in mayoralties and on municipal and township governing bodies has increased by more than 36% since 1975.
CARTER ADMINISTRATION	Approximately 21% of all Presidential appointments made by Jimmy Carter by May 1979 are women compared to 12% made by the previous administration, an increase of 75%.
U.S. CABINET	The Carter Administration is the first to have two women cabinet members at one time: Juanita Kreps, Secretary of Commerce, and Patricia Harris, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Prior to 1977, only three other women have ever held federal cabinet positions.
OVERALL	Women currently represent an estimated 8-10% of elected office-holders nationwide, in contrast to 4-6% in 1975.

May 1979

Appealing Directly to Women



Carter/Mondale 1980 Campaign Ad [#611a](#) featuring Mary Tyler Moore on Women
([Carter Library](#))



Carter/Mondale 1980 Campaign Ad [#632](#) featuring Spotlight on Women Working
([Carter Library](#))

Carter's Diversity Legacy

Equal Rights and Protections

- Extension for 3 years of ERA Ratification Deadline
- D.C. Voting Rights Amendment
- Anti-Boycott Law
- Issuance of 504 Regulations to ensure rights of handicapped
- Mandatory Retirement - raised from 65 to 70 in private sector and eliminated from civil service
- Wiretap Protection Act - first controls on foreign intelligence wiretapping
- Appointments
 - o Senior Management - appointment of more blacks, Hispanics and women to Cabinet, sub-Cabinet, White House and other senior management positions than any other President
 - o Judgeships - appointment of more blacks, Hispanics and women than all previous 38 President combined
- Minority Business - tripling of federal purchases from minority-owned businesses

Concluding Discussion

Do you think it is important for the people serving in our government to reflect our nation's diversity?
Why or why not?



Further Inquiry & Resources

- [The Record of Jimmy Carter \(National Archives Identifier: 143373\)](#)
- [Records of the Office of the Assistant to the President for Women's Affairs \(Carter Library\)](#)
- [Records of Anne Wexler as Special Assistant to the President \(Carter Library\)](#)
- [Opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment \(Carter Library\)](#)
- [Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library's Digitized Holdings Related to Women's Rights](#)
- [The Equal Rights Amendment and You \(Education Activity, Grades 8-12\)](#)