RISKY BUSINESS

Women’s financial security in an uncertain economy
What You’re Saying

I have been a member of AAUW since 1980, and this was, by far, the most informative Outlook ever! The issues of contraception (is not) abortion, sex ed, VAWA, and sexual assault on campus have been around for a long time, and these articles showed members that they are still prevalent and of great importance to both women and men. I will be sharing these with my daughters (an OB-GYN and an eighth-grade teacher), as well as using them in lifelong learning classes I teach. Thanks!

SUSAN ARRUDA, AAUW WILMINGTON (DE) BRANCH

To say that access to birth control is “upended” by the Burwell v. Hobby Lobby decision is overstatement at best and misleading and untrue at the worst. This was a specific decision for a specific company, and yes, while it certainly sets precedents, this decision is hardly going to prevent a woman’s access or ability to pay for birth control. Yes, this case was about discrimination, as Ms. Maatz mentions in her blog on page 5, but the discrimination is not about limiting birth control but rather is about preventing discrimination against people of conscience.

BARBARA BAILEY, AAUW MOUNTAIN LAKES AREA (NJ) BRANCH

Congratulations to you on the current issue of Outlook. I have been a member since 1973 so I have seen the highs and lows of women’s issues. This is the best issue of Outlook that I remember seeing in all that time. Thanks for informing all of us, keeping us focused on our mission, and mostly, for having the courage to present the information in such an informative way. Kudos to all!

JUDITH HORAN, AAUW NATIONAL MEMBER FROM CALIFORNIA

“I am ever hopeful that if the court has a blind spot today, its eyes will be open tomorrow.”

U.S. SUPREME COURT JUSTICE RUTH BADER GINSBURG ON WHETHER THE MALE JUSTICES ON THE COURT UNDERSTAND WOMEN’S ISSUES

“One of the answers I gave at the conference was generic advice that was just plain wrong. I apologize. ... My advice underestimated exclusion and bias—conscious and unconscious—that can hold people back.”

MICROSOFT CEO SATYA NADELLA APOLOGIZING FOR HIS REMARKS THAT WOMEN SHOULDN’T ASK FOR RAISES BECAUSE KARMA WILL TAKE CARE OF THEM
Critics say the gender pay gap exists because women choose lower-paying jobs. But our society says “women’s work” is just worth less than men’s.
You pioneers are well on your way to the 2015 AAUW National Convention in San Diego. This is the second of four maps that will show you the way to convention, where you can brush up on your marketing skills and get inspired to expand your work in your community.

Collect the maps in Outlook, and get the last one at convention to claim your treasure. X marks the spot for an unforgettable experience!

This map is the second of four. Bring your maps to convention to collect a prize, while supplies last.
The Power of the Purse

In the not-so-distant past, women couldn’t own property or get a credit card without a husband to cosign. Our ability to control our economic lives allows us to learn, to live, to provide for ourselves and those we love. Economic security is deeply personal and deeply political.

Women today have access to unprecedented economic opportunities, but we also continue to face barriers. Why should smiling through sexual harassment be a requirement for women who work for tips? Why should minimum wage workers, the majority of whom are women, be paid below poverty-level wages? Why are women still clustered in low-paying “pink-collar” jobs? And why are such important jobs devalued?

In this issue of Outlook, you’ll read about these disconcerting issues and what we can do about them. You’ll also learn about the implications of colleges’ increasing reliance on adjunct professors who don’t have benefits, and you’ll get a peek into the turbulent—but, for some, thrilling—world of the growing freelance economy.

Women have always adapted to economic changes, and we’ve continued to do so after the Great Recession. At the same time that we’re charting our course through the economic unknown, we’re dealing with familiar frustrations, like the pay gap. We’re proud that the AAUW community is working on these issues from all angles.

For a more in-depth conversation about economic security and the many other issues women and girls continue to face, we invite you to join us at the 2015 AAUW National Convention in San Diego, June 18–21. You’ll hear the latest news on women’s issues, have discussions with friends, and build your leadership skills. (Plus, you’ll have a great time doing it!)

Another way to help empower women is to vote in our AAUW National Election. It’s your AAUW, and you need to help determine our agenda and leadership. AAUW is the country’s leading voice on women’s issues, so it’s vital that we are truly reflecting your voices. Voting begins April 15.

There are so many ways you can make your voice heard in our country and in our AAUW community. We look forward to working together in 2015 to empower women and girls where and when it counts.
"I’m no longer going to feel guilty for following my dreams. Focusing on my growth and caring for myself does not mean I’m selfish!"


"It is 2014 — we shouldn’t need a special issue on the fight to keep reproductive rights. Sadly, we do."

The AAUW Murfreesboro (TN) Branch reflects on the Fall issue of Outlook.

"Shame on the men who voted no!"

Sonja Barton reacted to the news that a minority of U.S. senators blocked the Paycheck Fairness Act from advancing. Again.

For Halloween, we gathered scary statistics about sexism.
From the AAUW Blog: How Women Fared in State Ballot Measures

**BY PATTY SNEE**

We won! On Election Day, AAUW’s and friends’ voices were heard loud and clear on ballot initiatives on issues including the minimum wage, paid sick days, and equal rights. Here’s the rundown on how our issues fared in state elections.

Workers and women got a raise: Voters in Alaska, Arkansas, Illinois, Nebraska, and South Dakota strongly supported minimum wage increases. In fact, in each and every state (red and blue), the measures received more votes than the winning candidates running statewide. Hundreds of thousands of workers will now be eligible, starting in 2015, for an hourly raise.

Paid sick days passed, too. In Massachusetts, Question 4 passed, giving more workers the family-friendly benefit of paid sick days. Employers with 11 or more employees will need to allow full- and part-time workers one hour of paid sick time for every 30 hours worked. (Other local jurisdictions in the country also passed paid sick days.)

*Read the full post online at www.aauw.org/blog.*
When the federal minimum wage was set in 1938, it was 25 cents per hour. The idea of establishing a floor for wages and a ceiling for working hours was revolutionary, but President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins had heard pleas from workers—many of them women and girls in textile factories—about the abuses and poverty they lived with while trying to make a living.

More than 75 years after Roosevelt and Perkins ushered in the Fair Labor Standards Act, the federal minimum wage is $7.25 per hour, and the many people who make the lowest wage that’s legally allowed live well below the poverty line.

Congress is gridlocked over whether to raise the minimum wage, but states and cities are being proactive. During November’s midterm elections, voters around the country sent a clear message—Americans need a raise. Voters in five states passed referenda increasing their minimum wages (see sidebar). In San Francisco, voters overwhelmingly approved a measure to gradually raise the city’s minimum wage to $15 an hour.

These increases mean that a majority of states—29 plus Washington, D.C.—will soon have minimum wages that are higher than the federal level (though some states, such as Oklahoma, are passing laws banning minimum wage hikes by cities). Partisan politics in Washington have repeatedly led to the demise of proposals to raise the federal minimum wage to $10.10 per hour and tie it to inflation. And the new Congress seems unlikely to increase the minimum wage, so cities and states will probably continue to take matters into their own hands. Even if U.S. senators and representatives don’t know what it’s like to live in poverty, nearly 30 million Americans still do.

Continued on page 8
A fast-food worker in New York City joins a rally for higher wages.
1968, the wage would keep a family of three above the poverty line. That dropped in the 1980s, when the minimum wage was enough to keep a family of two out of poverty. The $10.10 increase aims to get us back to the modest 1968 standard.

The Face of the Minimum Wage

Despite prevailing stereotypes, minimum wage earners are not mostly teenagers working part time for spending money. The average worker who would be affected by an increase is 35 years old and responsible for half of a family’s income. About 7.4 million are parents. Fifty-five percent are women—that’s about 15.5 million women. Thirty-one percent of these women have children.

Living on $15,000

People who work 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year and make the federal minimum wage will take home just over $15,000 annually, well below the $23,850 poverty line for a family of four. As a result, many families struggle to simply stay afloat. They make daily trade-offs between paying bills and putting food on the table. Many are forced to rely on public assistance. With no guaranteed paid sick days or family leave, many workers constantly worry about getting sick and losing a day’s pay. It’s a fundamentally unjust situation.

The Economic Policy Institute (EPI) estimates that if the minimum wage were gradually increased to $10.10 per hour by 2016—which would translate to $19,777 annually for full-time workers—approximately 27.8 million workers would get a much-needed raise.

The minimum wage wasn’t always so low in relation to the national poverty line. According to the EPI, at its zenith in

AAUW advocates

MEMBERS WORK TO RAISE THE WAGE

We keep saying it: Since women make up the majority of minimum wage workers, raising the minimum wage is a women’s issue. AAUW members across the country are advocating to make sure these workers get a raise.

AAUW of Minnesota members gathered support for the Women’s Economic Security Act, which will raise the state minimum wage to $9.50 per hour for large employers by 2016. Members of the AAUW Chicago Loop (IL) Branch helped pass a measure to incrementally raise the city’s minimum wage to $13 by 2019.

Even more progress came out of the 2014 midterm elections. Five states—Alaska, Arkansas, Illinois, Nebraska, and South Dakota—supported minimum wage increases. Alaska’s minimum wage will increase to $9.75 by 2016. Arkansas’ minimum wage will go to $8.50 by 2017, Nebraska’s to $9 by 2016, and South Dakota’s to $8.50 by next year. The measures in Alaska and South Dakota tie the minimum wage to an inflation index so that the wage will rise with the cost of living. Illinois voters also passed a nonbinding minimum wage measure, sending a message to state lawmakers that the citizens want action.

AAUW members were integral to these victories. Arkansas members surveyed candidates and invited them to a public forum, where they discussed their positions on the minimum wage with voters. Arkansas volunteers also worked with Arkansas Citizens First Congress, a coalition that advocates for a higher statewide minimum wage and other issues.

AAUW staff worked with AAUW leaders in states with minimum wage initiatives to contact voters by e-mail, postcards, and telephone. On Election Day, AAUW staff personally called hundreds of women voters to encourage them to vote and explain how minimum wage ballot initiatives help women.

You can get involved in efforts to raise the minimum wage! Stay informed by joining the Action Network at www.aauw.org/actionnetwork.
Harriet Bradley knows all too well what it’s like to be a woman living on $7.25 an hour. A home caregiver in Atlanta, Bradley watches as food, gas, and other living costs rise year after year, while her salary remains exactly the same.

“I have been with an agency for over nine years, and I am making the same minimum rate as when I started with them,” she explains. “No raises at all!”

Bradley adds, “I have no sick days or vacation days. I lose a day of pay whenever I take time off for any reason, whether it be to celebrate Thanksgiving with my family or to advocate for women at our state capitol. As a caregiver, I must keep my first aid training, CPR certification, and tuberculosis tests current, all of which I have to pay for myself.”

Women’s Work
It’s no secret that the gender pay gap remains a serious problem: Women still are paid just 78 cents for every dollar that men are paid. Although many factors contribute to the pay gap, one critical issue is that women make up the majority of low-wage workers. Nearly two-thirds of minimum wage workers are women, and 22 percent of minimum wage workers are women of color.

For example, women account for more than 70 percent of workers employed in low-wage sectors such as personal care and health care support.

“Our society does not properly value the work that women do—even when it is as crucial as caring for our loved ones,” explains Bradley, who advocates for the rights of working women and their families as a member of 9to5, an organization that advances working women’s issues and that collaborates with AAUW.

Raising the minimum wage is a promising tool to help reduce the pay gap between men and women. A recent White House report found that increasing the minimum wage to $10.10 an hour and indexing it to inflation could close about 5 percent of the gender wage gap.

“The minimum wage has been stuck at the same rate for too long,” says AAUW Vice President of Government Relations Lisa Maatz. “You could do nothing but work and still live in poverty. That’s not right. It doesn’t have to be that way.”

Bradley deserves a living wage, and although she doesn’t get paid enough, she gives so much of herself to her clients and to her community. An ordained minister, Bradley has been a volunteer jail chaplain and serves her church community at the Vinings Worship Center outside Atlanta.

“I know a lot of people who are down and out and just scraping by,” explains Bradley, who insists that her faith allows her to thrive: “Jesus Christ provides for me, taking away the struggle. But regardless, we—as caregivers, as women, as Americans—need and deserve an increase in pay.”

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Thriving or Surviving in the Freelance Economy
Rachel Sutherland marks the milestones of her life with tattoos. When she took a buyout in 2009 after 12 years as a reporter and editor for the *Charlotte Observer*, she ran four triathlons, celebrating each with a star on the top of her left foot.

This November, she got a new tattoo on her right arm: a cartoon-like thought bubble with an asterisk in the center, the logo for the public relations company she formed when she left the newspaper. Begun with the buyout money, a MacBook Pro, and a $15 desk from Ikea, Sutherland’s business now employs a part-time production manager and four contractors. Soon, she will triple the salary she made at the *Observer*.

“The tattoo is a constant reminder of what I can accomplish and how amazing it’s been to defy my own expectations,” she said.

But Sutherland is only one face of what is clearly a new economy. In October, Audrey Cefaly enjoyed a different kind of celebration. The web and graphic designer from the exurbs of Baltimore landed a full-time position with benefits at a start-up—the kind of job she had for 11 years before being laid off in 2011. She describes the interim three and a half years as “absolute hell”—a period in which she split her time between freelance clients and contracts, often working twice as hard for a third of the pay.

“It was just pervasive anxiety,” she said. “I was always juggling hours between clients and never knew how much money I was going to end up being paid at the end of each week.”

Two Worlds

Sutherland and Cefaly may seem like they come from different worlds. But according to historians, economists, and those living through it, that split picture is far from unusual. It’s been called “freelance nation” or the “gig economy,” and workers in this sector have common attributes. They juggle multiple jobs, market themselves, and are more likely to call home or a coffee shop their office than a cubicle farm. They are dreamers choosing to leave the gerbil wheel of corporate life and hardened realists forced to eke out a living any way they can.

The explosion of the independent sector—a motley group that includes everyone from temp workers to entrepreneurs—has occurred at the intersection of two trends: the disappearance of job security and its protective umbrella of health and retirement benefits and the rise of web-based tools that have dramatically shortened the once-arduous journey from big idea to business creation. Courting clients can now happen at the speed of a tweet.

“I think of this as a seismic shift in the economy in the same way that industrialization moved us from farm to factory,” said Richard Greenwald, a workplace historian and dean at Brooklyn College. Acknowledging the polarized portrayals of the trend, he nonetheless called them “beside the point.”

“For more and more Americans, this is going to become the reality,” he said.
Freelance by the Numbers
It is difficult to pinpoint the size of the independent sector. But studies put the number between 30 and 53 million workers out of roughly 140 million U.S. workers. A job in the traditional economy came with health care, retirement benefits, and a host of legal protections. Without that umbrella, a new economy needs new institutions to help navigate it. Organizations like the New York City-based Freelancers Union are attempting to fill that need. The union is known for its innovative solutions to health care and retirement benefits for its growing membership, which at 238,000 is up 410 percent from 2007, according to a 2014 survey by the organization.

But there is a bleaker side. In 2010, according to a Freelance Union survey, 12 percent of the organization’s New York City members received public assistance, and 29 percent earned less than $25,000 a year.

The Glass Ceiling
An online survey of 2,017 people by MBO Partners found that while women and men continue to pursue freelance work in equal numbers, they do it for different reasons. Seventy-one percent of women said flexibility is more important than making the most money, versus 58 percent of men. (The survey numbers reflect those who chose to work for themselves and those forced into the freelance life.)

Employers are losing a lot of talented women who choose freelance work over the glass ceiling.

But beneath those numbers, a clearer picture emerges. It’s about more than flexibility, said Steve King, a partner with Emergent Research, which conducted the MBO survey. “It’s about avoiding office politics, gender discrimination, and glass ceiling issues. Between these reasons, traditional employers are losing a lot of talented women as they turn to more fulfilling independent work.”

None of this is news to Elizabeth Vaughan, an attorney from Leesburg, Virginia. In 2007, she was a Social Security and disability lawyer with a Washington, D.C., firm. The job required her to travel a lot—which did not jibe with her and her husband’s plan to start a family. It didn’t help that her exit coincided with an upsetting discovery. One day, her assistant brought her a pile of letters from the printer that accidentally included a salary report. Vaughan learned that she made 20 percent less than a male colleague, even though they’d worked for the same length of time, and she had a better track record of winning cases. She left the firm with the issue unresolved and started a solo practice in adoption law and child-abuse prevention. Working from home, she makes twice what she did before while taking time out for her children, ages 3 and 5.

Her analysis is blunt: “As a woman, you can choose to send out your résumé in a bad economy so that you can try to work for a company that is going to pay you less than your male counterparts, penalize you promotions-wise for not working long hours, not accommodate your home obligations,
and subject you to sexual harassment in many cases. Or you could work for yourself. If you take health insurance out of this equation, it is simply not a very hard choice.”

**Millennials Come of Age**

According to the MBO survey, the generation that graduated from college during the recession is well-represented among freelancers. Asked in 2014 if an increasing number of their friends were working in the independent sector, 28 percent of recent graduates surveyed said yes—the largest group to do so.

A year and a half after graduating from James Madison University with an arts administration degree, Amanda Herman thought she’d have landed a job at a theater by now. Instead, she’s living with her parents and juggling a host of jobs: interning at a theater company just outside Washington, D.C.; substitute teaching; contracting at an audio book company; and house managing at another local theater. Along the way, she’s learned some important lessons—managing her hectic schedule with an app and grappling with the surprise expenses that independent workers often face.

At a previous internship at a theater in Florida, she was dismayed to discover that she had to pay self-employment tax on top of her meager stipend—which complicated her taxes and shrunk her refund. Although self-employed workers are supposed to be able to set their hours, Herman’s internship had her working long days, nights, and weekends. “One of the interns tried to talk to the management about it,” she recalled. Their response? “It’s legal. Sorry.”

Herman’s situation is not unique. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, “Misclassified employees are often denied access to critical benefits and protections.” Missing out on benefits sometimes makes Herman feel “unprepared” for the future. But she finds freedom as well as uncertainty as she navigates the gig economy.

“The women who are graduating from college this year will be delving into a job market that is unlike anything we’ve ever seen. Yet many workforce problems are depressingly familiar. Gender bias still affects hiring decisions, too many people don’t negotiate their salaries, and self-confidence limits the jobs women apply for. The targets for job-seekers and women leaders are constantly shifting, but there’s one place that can help college women navigate through their burgeoning educations and careers.

Every year, 1,000 college women gather at the National Conference for College Women Student Leaders (NCCWSL) to learn how to reach their fullest potential in today’s economic, political, and educational environments. At NCCWSL, attendees build leadership skills; get career advice; network with like-minded, ambitious women; and meet speakers who have already distinguished themselves as trailblazers. More than 50 workshops provide strategies on how to land a great job, how to resolve conflicts with co-workers, how to get into graduate school, how to fundraise, how to deal with prejudice at work, how to deal with stress, and so much more.

The 2015 conference is May 28–30 at the University of Maryland, College Park, and registration opens January 26. Tell the students in your life about NCCWSL, and support this conference by giving now at nccwsl.org.

“I’ve seen the recession hit, where a lot of people lost their benefits and savings anyway,” she said. “I feel like I’m doing the best I can right now. While I’m young and don’t have a family, I’d rather try to pursue what I want than wake up in 30 to 40 years and wonder, ‘What if?’”

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“Seriously, my plasma paid for [my daughter’s] daycare because I taught English as adjunct faculty.”

AN ANONYMOUS PROFESSOR

On a frigid campus right now, there’s a professor finalizing her syllabi for spring classes. She’s teaching a full course load, has a doctorate in her field, cares deeply about her students, and has an impressive vitae of articles and grants. After her first class, she’ll rush to make her shift delivering pizzas, because she can’t afford to live off what her university pays adjunct faculty.

According to the U.S. Department of Education, about half of university faculty are “contingent” employees, meaning that they’re not on the tenure track, whether they’re teaching a one-off class or have taught a full course load for decades. A 2012 survey from the Coalition on the Academic Workforce found that the median pay per course for adjunct faculty is $2,700. For faculty who teach three or more classes per semester, which 44 percent of respondents did, that’s as little as $16,200 a year.

“It’s a nice supplemental income, but this is not full-time work,” says Kip Lornell, a music professor at George Washington University. Lornell says he could live on the $15,000 salary GW offered when the school first hired him in 1999 only because his wife has a good job. So he split his time between caring for his daughters, teaching, and work for the Smithsonian. Lornell is classified as “regular part-time.” At GW, as at most universities, there are tiers of faculty, and if you’re hired as an adjunct, as Lornell was, you can expect paltry pay and benefits and little hope of getting a different classification.

But adjuncts all over the country are fighting back. Lornell and Associate Professor Rachel Riedner, who teaches writing and women’s studies, were among those who started the adjunct union at GW more than 12 years ago. The group is now part of the Service Employees International Union, which has 22,000 adjunct members. “Broadly, this is about
questions of respect and pay,” Riedner says. The union negotiated better compensation, job security, and benefits. But they still encounter a lot of resistance fighting for the people who, according to GW’s own reports, taught 41 percent of undergraduates and 38 percent of graduate students in fall 2013. Even though the university depends on their labor, “The positions are exploited and precarious,” says Riedner.

The U.S. House Committee on Education and the Workforce released survey results in January 2014 from hundreds of contingent faculty, and the testimony is appalling. One respondent describes selling plasma twice a week to be able to afford child care, another has to work 40 hours a week at Wal-Mart to pay the bills, and another says the health care plan costs more than she earns and that her retirement plan is to “work until they bury me.”

Tight budgets are the perennial justification for poor compensation, yet the price of college tuition has increased nearly 80 percent in the last 10 years. Meanwhile, the National Center for Education Statistics reports that less than one-third of institutions’ spending is on instruction. As Riedner says, the heart of the issue is that professors want to make their schools fair for everyone, by making colleges great places to work and affordable places for students.

Hannah Moulton Belec, who can be reached at belech@aauw.org, is the Outlook senior editor and a GW alum. One of her favorite professors is an adjunct who also waits tables.
servers, drivers, and hairdressers all over the country are paid barely more than $2 per hour, and it’s legal. The culprit? Tips.

The minimum wage was established in 1938 (see page 6), but the tipped wage was separated in 1966 with the understanding that tipped workers would earn the equivalent of minimum wage or more from tips. In the years since, the tipped wage has barely budged. At $2.13 an hour, it’s less than it was in the 1960s, when you account for inflation. And while a handful of states pay tipped workers the full federal minimum wage of $7.25 or more, about half stick to $2.13, and the rest fall somewhere in between. That comes out to a national median of less than $9 an hour—including tips.

“It’s always in the back of your mind: People tip people they like, and you want everyone to like you all the time, which can be really exhausting,” says Katy Markland, a full-time server at a wine bar in Washington, D.C.

A tipped worker, as defined by the U.S. Department of Labor, is anyone who takes in at least $30 per month in tips. Two-thirds of tipped workers are women, 40 percent are moms, 20 percent are single moms, and 40 percent are college educated. Tipped workers are twice as likely as the average worker to live below the poverty line, according to the White House. Because tipped workers seldom receive benefits like paid sick leave, working while ill or injured is also common.

Dealing with harassment is another problem that’s practically a job requirement for tipped workers. The restaurant industry alone accounted for an outrageous 37 percent of all sexual harassment complaints reported to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 2011.

Megan Morrison, who works a weekend shift at a Northern Virginia bar, was taking drink orders recently when a
customer stood up and started rubbing his crotch against her leg. Calmly, she said, “Please don’t,” and continued taking orders. Later, he wrote on her receipt, “Please don’t” in lieu of a tip.

Of course, sexual harassment at work is illegal. Yet many workers don’t fight back. Why let it go unchecked? “I feel obligated to,” admits Markland, “because I know it’s going to directly affect my income at the end of the day.”

Morrison agrees. “I often feel like I have to make the choice between making money and keeping my dignity,” she says. Morrison had her weekend gig before she got a job at AAUW helping branches and states run their websites. She kept serving because she enjoys it, so she thinks it’s a luxury to even be able to consider quitting over harassment. “Many of my co-workers have families depending on the tips they bring in, so they don’t feel like they have the option,” Morrison says.

Restaurants all over the country have started banning tips in favor of a good hourly wage, finding that their service is better, turnover is lower, and customers like knowing exactly what they’ll be paying.

But many workers still depend on customer whims for a paycheck. Maybe they shouldn’t have to. 🙈

Kathryn Bibler is an editor and writer for AAUW. She can be reached at biblerk@aauw.org.
Loosening the Pink Collar

BY SARA M. KAPLANIAK
In 1960, the top occupations for women were homemaker, secretary, retail worker, teacher, bookkeeper, waitress, nurse, seamstress, typist, and cashier. More than 50 years later, women’s jobs have evolved mostly in title: The top jobs include housekeepers, nurses, and home health aides, who are now doing the work that homemakers used to—just not in their own homes. Typing and sewing don’t appear on the 2014 list, and the only other addition is customer service.

Much has changed in the last few decades. So why are women still clustered largely in the same few jobs?

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy established a commission, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, to come up with recommendations for advancing women in the workplace and society. The report focused on education as a logical way to open doors for women.

Since then, women have made huge strides in education. In fact, they make up the majority of college students and nearly half of the students at professional schools. Women have also broken ground in the once male-dominated workplace. Women’s participation in the paid labor force increased from 37.7 percent in 1960 to 57.7 percent in 2012. More women than ever are also the primary or equal breadwinners in their households.

If women have made so many educational and career gains, why don’t more branch out into nontraditional careers?

The clustering of particular demographic groups in specific jobs is called occupational segregation. And this segregation might be less disconcerting if it weren’t for one fact: The fields that women dominate tend to be undervalued and underpaid. It is well-known that women working full time are paid just 78 cents for every dollar men are paid, and that gap has barely budged in the last decade. Critics often say that the 22-cent pay gap can be explained away because women consciously choose to work in some of the lowest-paying fields. But that perspective ignores the attitudes and barriers that—at every stage of a woman’s life—conspire to narrow her choices.

**A Gender Education**

The path to devaluing women in the workforce begins in childhood, starting with play. Look no further than gift catalogs featuring little girls pushing the smaller version of a high-end vacuum cleaner or playing with chalkboards, toy cash registers, and sewing kits.

Of course, gender stereotypes continue to prevail when girls start school. In *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now*, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development reports that, in spite of educational gains, girls remain less likely to study science, technology, and other subjects leading to more lucrative professions.

“Occupational segregation remains alive and well and reveals itself at an early age,” says Lisa Maatz, AAUW’s vice president of government relations. “Girls, and eventually women, continue to be pigeonholed into ‘pink-collar jobs’—receptionist, nurse, teacher, social worker—traditionally female occupations that are important and honorable but have been devalued and have limited trajectories in comparison to many fields dominated by men.”

This situation holds true at every level of education. Without a four-year degree, women tend to become child care workers or cashiers instead of air traffic controllers or tech support (two of the highest-paying jobs that don’t require a bachelor’s degree). AAUW’s *Women in Community Colleges: Access to Success* report shows that instead of training to become electricians, auto technicians, mechanics, welders, solderers, and brazers, women community college students
There's a pay penalty if you work in a women-dominated field.

gravitate toward culinary services, education, and health care. And women with bachelor’s degrees tend to become teachers and nurses instead of programmers or finance executives.

Recruitment and Retention
Even if girls and women are determined to pursue nontraditional fields, they’ll often face unwelcoming or downright hostile climates in certain professions, despite growth opportunities and better pay. These problems are so common that some companies are proactively seeking to change negative perceptions of their fields.

“We recognize that women now surpass men in attaining education at every level. And as a result, there is a lot of competition among companies in our industry to hire women trained in the STEM [science, technology, engineering, and mathematics] disciplines,” says Annie Adams, vice president of human resources at Norfolk Southern Railway, where women make up only 7 percent of the 30,000-employee workforce. “We already try to hire the best talent in order to be competitive. We need … more diversity to be sustainable.”

In 2012, Norfolk Southern hired the majority of its new employees into traditionally male-dominated positions such as conductor, track laborer, and fireman/oiler. According to Adams, women make up few of these workers and a small percentage of the company’s engineers. To reverse that trend, the company recruits university women majoring in civil, industrial, and mechanical engineering through trainee, internship, and externship programs before they graduate.

But recruiting women into traditionally male fields isn’t the only issue; retention is also a major problem. In a study of more than 1,000 MBA graduates entering the job market, University of Pennsylvania Professor Matthew Bidwell and University of Montreal Professor Roxana Barbulescu found that negative employer behavior was just one of the factors hindering women from pursuing and staying in highly lucrative jobs like those on Wall Street. Since women are more likely to have caregiving responsibilities, rigid workplaces and expectations of working long office hours affect women’s retention and career trajectory.

Christine Consiglio, an attorney in Camp Hill, Pennsylvania, is familiar with the situation. After nine years on the job full time, Consiglio’s employer accommodated a flexible, part-time arrangement so that she could care for her three young children. Now that the children are in school all day, Consiglio has been exploring new opportunities and even a career change.

“While many individuals have invited me to speak with them, most potential employers would not consider part time or flex time,” says Consiglio. “They want someone who can be in the office on a full-time basis.”

Undervaluing Women’s Work
There’s much to be done to reverse the trend of limiting girls’ and women’s aspirations: AAUW research recommends raising awareness at an early age of career and earnings prospects, combating stereotypes about what girls and boys can or should do, providing role models and support groups for girls and women pursuing nontraditional fields, offering informed and unbiased
career counseling, and advocating for workplaces that are free from sexual harassment and offer good work-life balance for all.

Women can and should enter male-dominated fields. But the people who work in women-dominated occupations—including the men in those jobs—also shouldn’t be underpaid and undervalued. According to the Institute for Women’s Policy Research, there’s an earnings penalty for working in women-dominated fields at every skill level, but the penalty is highest for fields that require a college degree. And historically, even after women enter fields once dominated by men, like medicine, the pay of those fields tend to decline. In some local and state governments, employers have implemented comparable worth strategies (see sidebar) to combat the tendency in our labor force to undervalue and underpay “pink-collar” jobs.

The issues surrounding women’s work have a reach that begins in childhood and extends into middle age and retirement. And for most women, there’s no quick fix in sight. But we have to keep probing these issues because, regardless of why the gender pay gap exists, that disparity typically costs women more than $400,000 in lost earnings over the course of their careers. That’s far too high a price for women—and their families and our nation’s economic prosperity—to endure.

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**SHOULD SECRETARIES GET A RAISE? COMPARABLE WORTH ASKS ABOUT WOMEN-DOMINATED JOBS**

We all know that our labor system puts a higher price tag on traditionally male-dominated jobs. The idea of paying women and men fairly for similarly skilled work is called comparable worth. For example, truck drivers and secretaries have similar educational backgrounds, but truck drivers typically earn higher salaries. Comparable worth strategies would address this inequity by evaluating job criteria—such as required skills, level of responsibility, and working conditions—to make sure jobs that are “worth” the same amount pay the same amount.

The AAUW-supported Fair Pay Act addresses comparable worth, and the Paycheck Fairness Act addresses a host of other measures that would help women get fair pay. But these bills have stalled in Congress. According to the Institute for Women’s Policy Research, nearly half of states have voluntarily conducted comparable worth analyses among their civil service jobs and made changes after finding bias. But there’s nothing binding on the books that requires employers, public or private, to do such analysis.

Women’s work being undervalued and underpaid simply because it’s “women’s work” is wage discrimination, but the courts haven’t seen it that way. The pay equity bills that AAUW supports would help clarify that it is in fact discrimination when jobs of equal value are paid less simply because they are traditionally associated with women.

The pay gap has barely budged in 10 years, but there are possible solutions at our fingertips. That’s why we’ll keep pushing for legislation that demands equal pay and requires comparable worth. No worker should have to live on less than she is worth.
You Decide AAUW’s Future in Our National Election

It’s almost time to vote in the 2015 AAUW National Election. From April 15 through June 19, you can cast your ballot online to select the next AAUW Board of Directors and vote on the proposed changes to our Public Policy Program and amendments to the AAUW Bylaws.

A voter guide with candidate biographies and details about the balloted issues will be posted on the AAUW website in late January. The voter guide will also be included with the Spring/Summer issue of Outlook. To vote online, you’ll need your member ID and voter PIN, which will be printed on the back cover of your Spring/Summer Outlook.

Although all members are encouraged to go paperless and vote online, you can request a paper ballot between April 1 and May 8 by calling 800.326.2289 or e-mailing connect@aauw.org. Results of the election will be posted on the website and announced at the AAUW National Convention in San Diego on June 20.

Make your voice heard in this election! Some branches are hosting voting parties at their meetings to make it easy for members to vote. Why not do the same in your branch? Find out more at www.aauw.org/resource/national-election.

Attention AAUW Artists!
The annual AAUW Art Contest is under way, and it is a terrific opportunity to share your work! Through January 28, you can submit your work, and you can vote online starting February 5. Enter your photography or a digital photo of your painting, drawing, sculpture, collage, or other form of artwork. Visit www.aauw.org/contests for details.

Screen Movies and Raise Money!
Did you know that you have free access to empowering films like Miss Representation and The Invisible War for screenings in your community? Follow the easy steps of AAUW’s Engage Your Community—Screen a Movie Program in a Box to find out how you can set up an event that will spread the word about important women’s issues and raise money for your branch at the same time. Through AAUW’s collaboration with Tugg, you’ll get the licensing rights to hold a public screening, an “in” with theater venues, and a convenient way for audiences to reserve tickets online. (Remember, it’s illegal to buy a movie and sell tickets to a public screening without a studio’s permission.) AAUW makes it easy—get more details from our Program in a Box, and schedule your spring screenings now!

Tech Conferences Spread to 8 More Sites in 2015
The AAUW National Tech Savvy Pilot Program is reaching eight new sites this year, bringing the total to 16 around the country. The one-day Tech Savvy conference started by engineer Tamara Brown
and the AAUW Buffalo (NY) Branch reaches middle school girls and their families. The girls learn about the fascinating careers that science, technology, engineering, and math can lead to, and the families get information about how to encourage their daughters. In 2015, the pilot program will help branches bring the conference to girls in California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Wisconsin. With support from Alcoa Foundation, there will also be an additional site in Ohio.

Mark Your Calendars for Equal Pay Day, April 14!
It’s time to start planning for Equal Pay Day, April 14, 2015. Equal Pay Day is the symbolic day when women’s earnings catch up to men’s earnings from the year before. It takes four extra months each year, thanks to the gender pay gap. In 2014, AAUW members organized more than 250 Equal Pay Day activities in 43 states. That’s double the number of AAUW activities in 2013 and nine more states!

What will your state or branch do to mark Equal Pay Day? As usual, AAUW will offer updated resources online to help you advocate for equal pay for equal work. You can also request free materials for your events by filling out the form at bit.ly/UpcomingPolicyEvents. For Equal Pay Day ideas and tips, visit www.aauw.org/article/how-to-equal-pay-day.

Sign Up Now for Convention Tours in San Diego
The fun at the 2015 AAUW National Convention doesn’t stop at our dynamic programming. When you’re planning your trip, be sure to take advantage of the many exciting convention activities in and around San Diego. You can enjoy champagne and sea breezes on a private catamaran or take a walking tour of the “birthplace of California” and nosh on an award-winning Mexican dinner and tequila tasting. You can also brunch in the lap of luxury at the Del Coronado Hotel, tour California’s historic missions, or enjoy a private lunch and wine tasting at a woman-owned vineyard. Visit convention.aauw.org for details, and book your spot! Contact Ann Hite at ann@travelsmartpartners.com or 502.249.0290 for more information.
Hawaii Community College Gets Child Care Grant after AAUW Survey

In the spring 2014 semester, students at Windward Community College in Kaneohe, Hawaii, conducted a survey to see how many students needed access to child care. The findings of the survey, which was supported by an AAUW Campus Action Project grant, were clear: There’s a huge demand for child care resources among students at the school. Just a few months later, the results of the survey laid the groundwork for the school to secure a federal grant worth nearly $10 million to offer child care and science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) programs at the school. “The AAUW survey made it possible to apply for the federal grant,” said Ardis Eschenberg, vice chancellor for academic affairs.

Approximately $5.2 million of the grant will be allocated to child care on campus over five years. The first few years will be spent turning an existing building into a facility designed specifically for infants and toddlers. The student survey showed that care for this age group is especially lacking—and expensive. Child care will be provided to student parents at no charge during the grant term.

“It’s very important for my preschool-age child to be in a steady, safe learning environment to enable me to focus on studying and attending college,” says WCC student Marisa Ibrahim.

AAUW’s 2013 research report Women in Community Colleges: Access to Success found that these schools were great training grounds for women in STEM and that limited access to child care disrupts the educational path of many mothers. Student parents consistently cite child care responsibilities as a reason for dropping out.

“We are very excited to be able to provide child care facilities on campus. Our students have waited long enough—it’s been 42 years!” says Eschenberg. The school, founded in 1972, was the only community college in Hawaii lacking a child care center.

Branches Take on Computer Science

For Computer Science Education Week in December, branches all over the country held events to introduce girls to computing. The AAUW Jefferson County (NY) and Cortland (NY) Branches held Hour of Code events to demystify computer coding in a one-hour tutorial, and AAUW of Maine also hosted an Hour of Code at Colby College. The AAUW Southern New Hampshire (NH) Branch held a coding event for middle and high schoolers and even young adults. In Virginia, the AAUW Alexandria (VA) and Portsmouth (VA) Branches secured mayoral proclamations for Computer Science Education Week to raise awareness about women’s under-representation in the field (women make up just 25 percent of the computing workforce) and the growing need for tech workers.
members and exchange ideas? Then take advantage of Daily Dialogues at the 2015 AAUW National Convention in San Diego! Formerly known as Special-Interest Groups, Daily Dialogues will bring members together to discuss a variety of topics, share experiences, and help each other find solutions. AAUW staff will be on hand to facilitate the conversations. Visit convention.aauw.org for more details.

California School District Strengthens Title IX Enforcement

When members of the AAUW Thousand Oaks (CA) Branch were concerned with how schools in the Conejo Valley Unified School District were addressing sexual harassment, discrimination, and bullying, they asked the district to revisit its Title IX guidelines. Title IX prohibits gender discrimination, including sexual harassment, in educational programs that receive federal funding. A few months later, Deputy Superintendent of Instructional Services Bob Iezza announced mandatory training for all district principals, clearer identification of Title IX coordinators, training for staff about how to handle complaints, and education for students about appropriate behavior and how to report harassment. The new practices will help identify and resolve issues of discrimination, sexual harassment, bullying, and cyberbullying. Iezza credited the branch’s request for initiating the renewed efforts. Check out the Know the Score Program in a Box at www.aauw.org to find out how you can advocate for Title IX.

Denison Students Speak Out as One against Sexual Assault

The AAUW student organization at Denison University in Ohio has been spreading the word on campus that even one sexual assault is too many. Activism Chair Haley Butters, a junior women’s studies major, has led the way in bringing the message to Denison through the One Student campaign against sexual assault. Members have been tabling at the student union and encouraging people to post photos on social media to raise awareness about the prevalence of campus sexual assault, how bystanders can help prevent it, and how to support survivors. Sports teams and even the university president have participated. Butters is making a poster of the photos to display all over campus with tear-away information and resources for survivors. “Many people on our campus have no idea where to go or who they can talk to,” Butters says. “It is my goal to increase awareness about not only the issue but how to safely report it if the survivor chooses to do so.”

Join the New Daily Dialogues at Convention

AAUW members all over the country are doing amazing advocacy work. Do you wish you had more time to connect with other
The Building Blocks of Economic Security

How can you be financially empowered if you don’t know the basics of money management? 2008–09 AAUW Community Action Grantee Jessica Jennrich launched a project that addressed just this issue by teaching low-income women in transitional housing how to manage and grow their money.

Jennrich’s program, which she started at the University of Missouri in 2008, stands out from other financial literacy services because it begins with the fundamentals, giving participants the building blocks of managing money. “We’re teaching women—many of whom are living alone for the first time in their adult lives—to balance their bank accounts, make a budget, and begin thinking about saving for the future,” she says.

Jennrich believes that ingrained gender stereotypes can put women at a disadvantage in getting a practical financial education. “Even going back as early as childhood,” she says, “often financial information on saving and investing is discussed between fathers and sons” but not mothers and daughters.

Now Jennrich directs the Grand Valley State University Women’s Center in Michigan. She also teaches in Grand Valley’s student leadership program and oversees the student food pantry. Next, she has her sights on addressing job recruitment and retention issues for low-income women of color.
2014–15 Fellow and Grantee Highlights

**Mabel Abraham**
AAUW American Fellow Mabel Abraham’s doctoral research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology examines how organizational processes and social networks can contribute to economic gender inequality. In her dissertation, Abraham examines how women and men entrepreneurs receive unequal benefits based on the ways they form and build social ties.

**Carmita McCall**
AAUW Career Development Grantee Carmita McCall’s work is in strengthening nonprofit and human service organizations, primarily in impoverished and underserved communities. At Valdosta State University in Georgia, she works on issues as varied as science, technology, engineering, and math; empowering girls; juveniles in the justice system; and public health.

**Sophia Dadas**
Sophia Dadas, an AAUW International Fellow from Morocco, is passionate about financial literacy as a way to improve the lives of women seeking independence. Dadas has served as volunteer chair of the Women in Leadership Foundation and worked for several years at a Canadian financial institution. She currently studies at Columbia University, where she also serves as co-president of the Women in Business student organization.

**Dawn Knasas**
As a U.S. Navy C-2 Greyhound pilot and mother of two, AAUW Career Development Grantee Dawn Knasas learned firsthand how challenging work-life balance can be—and she’s working on a solution. After completing her master’s at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, she intends to start a human resources consulting firm that will show engineering companies the benefits of integrating job sharing and part-time employees into their workforces.

**Anastasia Korolkova**
AAUW Selected Professions Fellow Anastasia Korolkova’s social policy research focuses on alleviating poverty through microfinance, conditional cash transfer programs, and workforce advancement initiatives. She is pursuing a master’s degree in statistics at the City University of New York, Baruch College. Her goal is to implement evidence-based antipoverty strategies using statistical tools.

**Yu Liu**
AAUW International Project Grantee Yu Liu is working to develop an Internet-based course on dementia patient care in China. Her course will teach nurses how to help families care for elderly people with dementia—a particularly beneficial program for women, who tend to fill the roles of community nurses and family caregivers.
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**HEADlines**

**WOMEN’S ISSUES IN THE NEWS**

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**More Women Elected, but What Will Congress Accomplish?**

Election Day 2014 sent more women to Congress, but that might not spell progress on women’s issues.

The 114th Congress, sworn in earlier this month, features the most women ever elected to national office. But with the total number of elected women still at less than 20 percent, that’s not nearly representative of our country’s population. In individual states, West Virginia and Iowa both elected women to the U.S. Senate for the first time, New York made 30-year-old Rep. Elise Stefanik the youngest woman ever elected to Congress, and Utah sent the first Republican African American woman, Rep. Mia Love, to the House.

State ballot initiatives related to women fared well in the midterms: Voters supported a higher minimum wage in five states, said yes to paid sick days for Massachusetts workers and some municipalities in New Jersey and California, and gave Oregon women equal rights in the state constitution. Colorado and North Dakota also rejected personhood amendments. AAUW members and staff worked tirelessly on all these initiatives.

But the good news from the states does not mean we should expect action on women’s issues in the U.S. Congress. With the GOP controlling the Senate and House and the addition of more tea party supporters in both chambers, it’s not clear how much collaboration will be possible between Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, House Speaker John Boehner, and President Barack Obama.

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**Higher Minimum Wage Means Fewer on Welfare**

The Economic Policy Institute recently reported that raising the federal minimum wage to $10.10 per hour—as proposed by the Fair Minimum Wage Act—would save the government more than $7.6 billion per year and bring 1.7 million Americans off public assistance programs. The report found that workers in the bottom 20 percent of earners receive more than $45 billion in government assistance each year. Nearly 45 percent of workers who would be affected by a minimum wage increase receive government assistance, including food stamps, housing, Medicaid, and more.

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**VAWA Regulations Become Final**

Nearly two years after the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act (VAWA) became law, new regulations for how schools should implement the law have been finalized. Now, all colleges and universities are required to report the number of domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking incidents.

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*Continued on page 31 →*
Who will you vote for in the AAUW National Election?

Voting opens April 15, but don’t wait until then to get to know your candidates and find out about important ballot initiatives! Go online to see who’s running for the AAUW Board of Directors and what else is on the ballot.

And why not make voting easy by having a voting day at your April branch meeting? A laptop or two can make your civic AAUW duty as easy as 1-2-3.

Visit www.aauw.org/resource/national-election today for everything you need to know. It’s your AAUW—make your voice count!

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that occur on campus every year. Schools must also provide prevention programming, support survivors, and allow students to bring an adviser of their choice to disciplinary hearings. The rules were negotiated by a group of college and university administrators, students, public health and education officials, and advocates and took months of meetings to hash out. AAUW documented the development of these regulations this spring. AAUW Government Relations Manager Anne Hedgepeth says that, overall, the new requirements will prompt schools to take important action to end campus sexual violence. The new rules take effect on July 1, 2015, but schools should already be making a “good faith” effort to follow these new provisions.

**Pentagon Report on Sexual Assault Shows Action Still Needed**

In December the Pentagon issued a report examining the U.S. Department of Defense’s efforts to prevent sexual assault in the military and measure the prevalence and response. The report found that assaults are decreasing, and that more victims are coming forward: 3,604 sexual assaults were reported in 2012, 5,518 in 2013, and 5,983 in 2014. There’s still much work to be done. About 4 percent of active-duty women were still victims of unwanted sexual conduct in the last year, many still aren’t reporting assaults, and very few of reported incidents result in conviction.

**Girl Scouts Poll Shows the Need for Women Leaders**

A new poll released by the Girl Scouts shows that even though many girls are interested and experienced in civic engagement, they still see politics as a “man’s world.” According to the survey of girls ages 11–17, 74 percent of respondents believe that if they choose a political career for themselves, they will have to work much harder than a man does to be taken seriously. Girl Scouts CEO Anna Maria Chávez remarked that “girls can’t be what they can’t see,” referring to the shortage of female role models among politicians and influencers. The poll emphasizes the need for programs like AAUW’s Elect Her, which teaches college women to run for office.

**Women and Men Agree: Gender Pay Gap Is a Top Problem**

A new Gallup poll reports that, when asked an open-ended question about the most important issues facing working women in America, both women (41 percent) and men (37 percent) listed fair pay as the top issue. The next most-common responses from both women and men are closely related issues: equal opportunity for promotion and advancement and ending gender discrimination. These findings mirror the national focus on equal pay and prove that ending gender discrimination is a priority for all Americans.
A Little House for Grown-ups

By Rachel Wallace

A long time ago, when all the grandfathers and grandmothers of today were little boys and little girls or very small babies, or perhaps not even born, Laura Ingalls Wilder sat down to write her life’s story in her own words.

Six tablets later, the retired newspaper columnist handed over the draft of Pioneer Girl to her daughter, Rose Wilder Lane. A famous author in her own right, Lane thought the manuscript had potential and sent it on to her agent, hoping a magazine or even a publisher would buy it.

The agent was not encouraging. But Lane, who was struggling financially and professionally, was determined to sell the story. She continued to edit, rewrite, and repitch until eventually she had developed two different versions of Pioneer Girl, a fictional story for children and a nonfiction one for adults.

Adapting the story for children proved to be the right move. Harper and Brothers bought the “juvenile manuscript” and started publishing the books in 1932. The rest is children’s book history.

But what of the original manuscript? More than 80 years later, Wilder’s dreams of publishing her autobiography have come true with Pioneer Girl: The Annotated Autobiography.

Editor Pamela Smith Hill’s introduction chronicles Wilder’s relationship with her daughter, who proved to be a controversial editor, and the trials and tribulations of their publishing efforts. And Hill’s annotations to the manuscript offer an impressively well-researched view of the Little House series and its author’s life.

PIONEER GIRL: THE ANNOTATED AUTOBIOGRAPHY

By Laura Ingalls Wilder, Edited by Pamela Smith Hill—South Dakota State Historical Society Press, $39.95

Dedicated fans, researchers, and academics will enjoy insights into everything from Wilder’s historical accuracy to the ties between the original manuscript and the future Little House series. Yet the true gem of Pioneer Girl: The Annotated Autobiography is Wilder’s own words. Even as a rough draft, the manuscript is full of suspenseful moments, poetic observations, and plain good storytelling.

Longtime fans will recognize the roots of Little House on the Prairie, but readers need not have read the books or seen the television show to fall in love with Wilder’s American tale.

Rachel Wallace is a writer living in Washington, D.C. You can reach her at rachel.lillian.wallace@gmail.com.
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Frances Perkins, the secretary of labor under President Franklin Roosevelt, was the architect of many of the benefits that American workers take for granted today, including the minimum wage, Social Security, and restrictions on child labor. Perkins was an AAUW member, the first woman appointed to a presidential cabinet, and the longest-serving secretary of labor.