

Minnesota Women:

State Government Employment

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Preface

A quiet revolution has taken place in this century. Women have been entering the labor force in increasing numbers, and in Minnesota today more than half of all women age 16-64 are employed outside the home.

In the 1950's and 1960's this increased labor force participation was due to older women entering the job market — women whose children were almost grown. In the late 1960's and 1970's, however, increasing numbers of younger women have joined the workforce, so that by 1975 sixty percent of Minnesota women age 20-34 were employed outside the home. These are women in their childbearing years, and they bring to the working world new sets of needs and expectations — needs relating, for example, to child care and flexible schedules.

The causes for the influx of large numbers of women into the labor force are many and complex. Among them are the following:

INCREASED LONGEVITY. The average life expectancy for a woman born in 1900 was 48 years; by 1976 the life expectancy for women had increased to 76 years. It is estimated that the average woman today has 40 years of active life after her last child has entered school.

LABOR-SAVING DEVICES. As production has moved outside the home, technology has taken over many traditional household tasks. The result has been a shift in the role definitions for women.

LOWER BIRTH RATES. Due largely to birth control, birth rates have dropped dramatically. Among women ages 14-44, the average number of children is now 1.9. This trend toward fewer children is likely to continue. In 1967, two out of three married women

expected to have three or more children. Seven years later, only one out of three married women expected a family that large.

INCREASED DIVORCE RATE. In 1950, the ratio of marriages to divorces was 7:1; at the present time it is 3:1, with over half of all divorces occurring when the woman is under the age of 30. This trend has resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of single-parent households. Between 1960 and 1975 the number of Minnesota female-headed households with dependent children more than doubled.

INFLATION. The state of the American economy has led to an increase in the number of two-income families. In Minnesota the number of two-income families filing tax returns jumped from 26% of all married couples in 1963 to 59% of all married couples in 1974.

Women work not only for economic independence but, like men, out of economic necessity. In most cases women are supporting themselves, supporting dependent children, and/or supplementing their husband's income to pay for the necessities of life.

Despite these economic and social realities, women often continue to labor under an outmoded set of assumptions, policies, and behaviors on the part of employers. Their positions and salaries suggest that the old image of women working for "pin money" has not been eradicated. Even though a majority of women work out of economic need, the average woman worker earns less than three-fifths of what a man does, even when both work full-time year round.

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Public Employees Homen This report is concerned with the extent to which women are granted equal access to jobs and to economic security by a major employer of women in Minnesota: the State itself. It will examine the position of over 12,300 women currently employed in state service. Where do women work? How well are they compensated? What are their opportunities for growth and advancement?

The assumption behind the report is that only with such information at hand can decisions be made regarding the employment of women which reflect the massive social and economic changes of the last decades. The State of Minnesota can play a leading role in developing employment policies and practices which are responsive to the realities of women's lives. In the words of one woman, "The State should be a model employer because it, more than any other organization, has as its purpose the good of all its citizens, including the citizens who work for it."



"We want to be acknowledged as having special talents, training, and value. We aren't undereducated. We are products of one of the most sophisticated educational systems in the nation."

Testimony from a member of Women in State Employment, November 12, 1976

Summary of Findings

The work of women, whether in the home or in the marketplace, has traditionally been undervalued. Minnesota state government em-

ployment provides no exception.

In a study undertaken by the Council on the Economic Status of Women in November and December of 1976, seven hours of testimony were heard detailing the position of women in state service. Additional evidence was obtained in the form of written reports and documents. The overwhelming conclusion to be drawn from this testimony is that the State of Minnesota actively discriminates against women employees, who are clustered in a limited number of low-paying jobs. Although over 40% of the state's employees are women, only a token few occupy leadership or policy-making positions. Clear also from the evidence is that discrimination against women is not random and isolated, but effected systematically through a variety of employment policies, practices, and procedures.

As this report proceeds to highlight the major findings and recommendations emerging from the study, it might be borne in mind that women are not the sole victims of employment inequities. The State of Minnesota, in systematically excluding women and other protected classes from the full exercise of their potential, jeopardizes its own capacity to creatively address social and environmental needs. Meanwhile, the state's citizens, who constitute the reason-for-being of the system itself, are heavily subsidizing the perpetuation of discriminatory policies and practices.

The findings generated by the Council on the Economic Status of Women fall into two major clusters: (1) those describing the current position of women in Minnesota state employment, and (2) those identifying policies, practices, and procedures which have contributed to the maintenance of this position. I. WITH RESPECT TO THE CURRENT POSITION OF WOMEN IN STATE SERVICE, EVIDENCE SHOWED THAT:

Women in state government receive lower pay than do men.

Job classifications tend to be sex-segregated.

Women are concentrated in fewer job classifications than are men; these job classifications do not always reflect the responsibilities of the job holder.

Women are underrepresented in managerial, supervisory, and professional positions.

II. WITH RESPECT TO POLICIES, PRACTICES, AND PROCEDURES HAVING DISCRIMINATORY EFFECTS ON WOMEN, EVIDENCE SHOWED THAT:

State civil service rules and procedures have created barriers to women's advancement and opportunities.

Few programs have been developed for career advancement in state service, and those which exist reinforce discriminatory patterns.

Information about existing career ladders and opportunities are not published or adequately communicated to women.

Violations of state and federal laws and abuses of civil service rules are relatively common.

State affirmative action programs have not adequately addressed the special needs of women.

Systematic methods of data collection and analysis regarding the employment of women have not been adequately developed by state agencies.

Programs which speak to the needs of women — such as child care and part-time, shared-time, and flex-time employment — are not available.

Discussion of Findings

The body of this report will take up the major findings identified by the Council and provide evidence from the testimony which supports these findings. The aim is not to be exhaustive, but rather to suggest the nature and magnitude of the problem. Among the issues the Council did not investigate were the effects of basing state salaries on private sector salaries; fringe benefits, including parental leave and insurance programs; and supplemental benefits, including parking privileges and the use of state cars.

SALARIES

Data regarding salary inequities was provided from a number of sources, including a report entitled, "The Position of Women as a Disadvantaged Group in Minnesota State Government." Compiled by the Twin Cities Chapter of the National Organization for Women, the study was based on the payroll

of January 20, 1976, and covered 28,944 state employees. The study showed that:

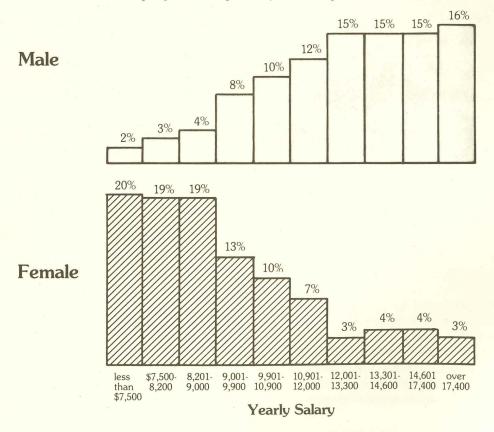
The average salary for the 16,664 male employees was \$13,670 while the average yearly salary for the 12,300 female employees was \$9,480 – a difference of \$4,190.

Even when corrected for differences in age and years of employment, the disparity between average salaries for men and women was \$3,790 a year.

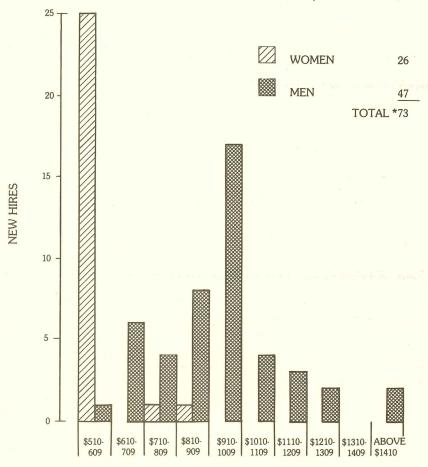
The average salary for a woman after twenty years of state service was the same as the average beginning salary for a male employee.

The following chart on the distribution of salaries in Minnesota state government employment shows that over 90% of all women employees earn less than the average salary of male state employees:

Distribution of Salaries in Minnesota State Government Employment by Sex, January 1976



SALARY RANGES OF NEW EMPLOYEES MINNESOTA HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT, JAN-AUG, 1976



SALARY PER MONTH

*Permanent full-time classified employees

The Title IX Report* from the Minnesota Department of Education confirmed this salary pattern. In the Department of Education, 94% of all jobs paying \$6,000 - 7,999 per year are held by women, while 92% of all jobs paying over \$25,000 per year are held by men. Again, years of employment do not explain the disparity. Analysis of salary within years-of-service categories reveals that not only is the disparity maintained with years-ofservice to the state, but the disparity actually grows larger with years-of-service. Thus, while the disparity between average yearly salaries for men and women employed five years or less is \$5,787, the difference between average salaries for men and women employed fifteen years or more is \$9,015.

A study of appointments within the Minnesota Highway Department from January 1 - August 27 of 1976 illustrates the potential impact of initial or entry-level salary upon income disparities. As the chart above indicates, nearly all women were hired at the \$510 - 609 per month level, while most men were hired at the \$910 - 1,009 per month level. Even if given a comparable rate of promotion, it would be extremely difficult for women to compensate for this initial difference in pay.

^{*}Title IX is a federal law prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex in education programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance. Among its implementing regulations is the requirement that all such agencies conduct an institutional self-evaluation designed to identify and remediate discriminatory patterns, practices, and procedures.

Salary inequities are often considered to be solely a function of the fact that women are clustered in the traditionally lower-paying jobs. Testimony showed, however, that salary disparities exist even within job categories. "Just last week," one witness testified, "the Department of Education hired a male employee without experience at a salary \$300

a year more than a woman in the same job classification who is an excellent employee and has had 16 years' experience with the State of Minnesota."

The Title IX Report of the Department of Education included an analysis of men's and women's salaries for both the supervisory and professional categories:

	SUPERVISORY		PROFESSIONAL
	Men (77)	Women (30)	Men (247) Women (102)
\$25,000+	27.3%	3.3%	0.4% 0.0%
16,000-24,999	61.0%	43.3%	63.2% 39.2%
13,000-15,999	10.4%	10.0%	25.1% 41.2%
10,000-12,999	1.3%	43.3%	11.3% 19.6%

The above data illustrate that even when women obtain positions in the higher-paid job categories, they continue to be subjected to discrimination in pay. The Twin Cities NOW Report states, "The message that the existence of this type of discrimination gives

to a prospective women worker is clear. It indicates that her work is valued less than that of her male colleagues and that competition with them for recognition and promotion may be both difficult and unfair."

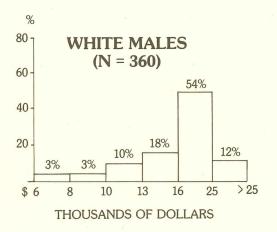


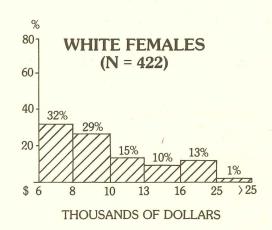
"The vast majority of women in state service still face a status quo of unequal pay, deadend jobs and discrimination that, in some ways, is more pernicious than a decade ago."

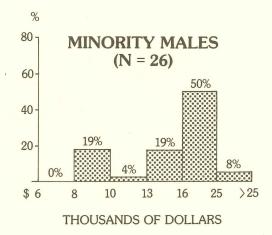
Testimony from a union member, November 1976

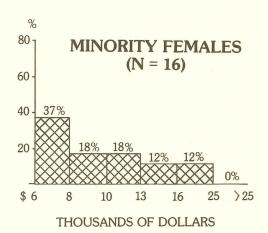
The following bar graph, taken from the Department of Education's Title IX Report, illustrates that both white and minority women are clustered at the lowest salary ranges:

SALARY DISTRIBUTION BY RACE AND SEX, DEPT. OF EDUCATION, SEPTEMBER 1976









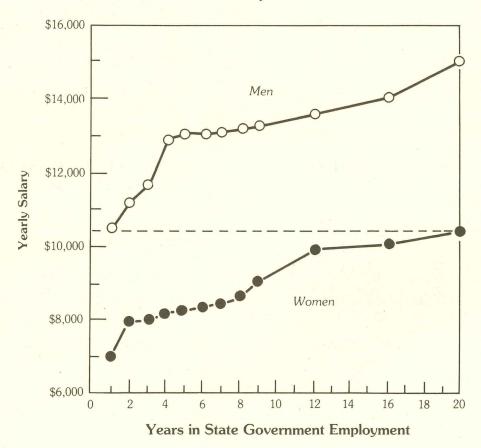
That women are discriminated against in terms of salary is evident. It must be pointed out, however, that two concepts of discrimination are involved. The first concept, supported by state and federal law, calls it a discriminatory practice to pay a man and a woman performing the same job functions different salaries. Because most women are working with other women for low rates of pay, this concept has not been particularly helpful in removing salary inequities.

As yet not prohibited by law is the pervasive discriminatory practice of assigning higher salaries to occupations held predominantly by men and lower salaries to occupations held predominantly by women. As one person testified, "The financial values of

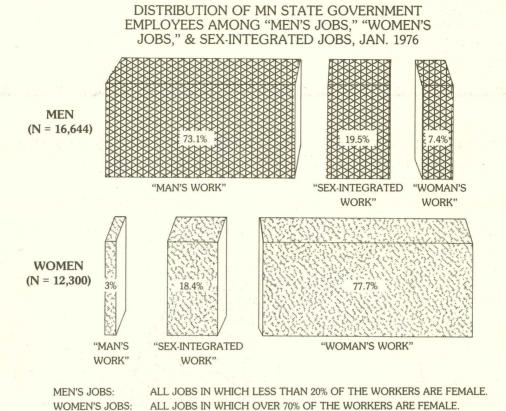
work have been assigned in relation to 'men's' and 'women's' work. The highest beginning salary for any clerical position, including seniors, is 11% less than the orientation rate for laborers. The comparable position descriptions clearly indicate that greater skills and training are required for the clerical employees."

Such situations have suggested the need to expand the concept of "equal pay for equal work" into the broader notion of "equal pay for work of equal value." Given the current sex segregation in many jobs, the demand is now for studies of "comparable worth" to determine which jobs — regardless of who holds them — are equivalent in skill and responsibility and which should, therefore, receive equivalent salaries.

Median Yearly Salary for Men and Women by Years in Minnesota State Government Employment, January 1976



One of the most dramatic patterns in state government employment is the degree of job segregation by sex. The following chart shows the distribution of men and women workers according to the percentage of females in their job classification:



Clearly very few persons work in sexintegrated jobs; most Minnesota state employees occupy positions that are predominantly "men's work" or "women's work." Minority women, according to the testimony presented to the Council, are further segregated by being confined largely to jobs related directly to services to their own minority group.

The relationship of job segregation to salary is striking:

39% of all men in state government work in job classifications whose total employment is more than 90% male. Their average salary is \$13,450 per year.

39% of all women in state government employment work in job classifications whose total employment is more than 90% female. Their average salary is \$8,600 per year.

Thus, on the average, 'women's work' is paid 62% as much as 'men's work.'

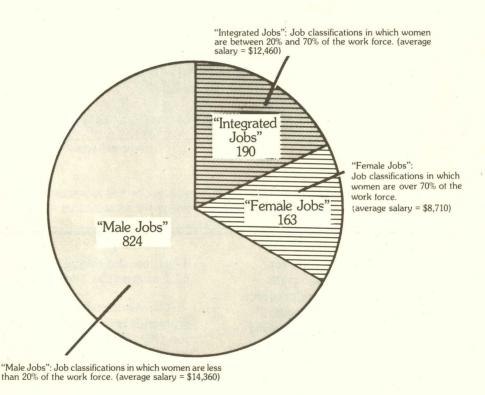
The devaluation of work performed by women is reflected also in the fact that their job titles often bear little relationship to their work responsibilities. One witness told the Council:

"The Community College Cashier (Account Clerk classification) has been at the College since October 10, 1965. Only one buildings and grounds worker makes less than she does, and he has just completed his 6-month probation period. Since July, 1973, the "account clerk" has handled the All-College Fund (collections, balancing, and deposits) which includes State fees, Community Services monies, and the various All-College accounts. We are talking about an annual figure of \$421,000."

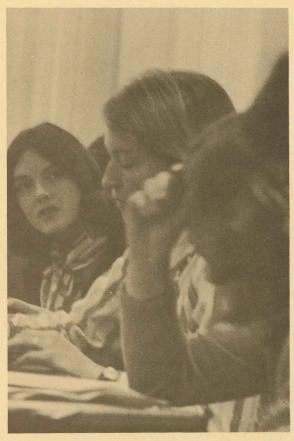
JOB CLASSIFICATION

Disparities between job title and level of responsibility are made possible by the fact that women are clustered in large, undifferentiated job categories masking widely varying skills and talents. As the following chart illustrates, there are five times as many job classifications in "male jobs" in state civil service than there are in "female jobs":

Number of Minnesota State Government Job Classifications by Percent of Women in Each Classification January 1976



The careful differentiation and classification of jobs held by men permits them to gain promotions, salary increases, and job title changes as their levels of responsibility increase. Testimony presented to the Council suggested that this is not true for women. As cited above, their responsibilities may increase dramatically with no change in job title or pay.



"The increase of women in the classified service in the State of Minnesota has done little more than increase the size of traditional woman's occupations. More women are clerks than ever before and more women are underpaid than ever before."

Testimony from a union member, November 12, 1976

Findings

- Women in state government employment receive lower pay than do men
- Job classifications tend to be sex-segregated
- Women are concentrated in fewer job classifications than are men, and these classifications do not always reflect the responsibilities of the job holder
- State civil service rules and procedures have created barriers to women's advancement and opportunities
- Few programs have been developed for career advancement in state service, and those which exist reinforce discriminatory patterns
- Information about existing career ladders and opportunities are not published or adequately communicated to women
- Violations of state and federal laws and abuses of civil service rules are relatively common
- State affirmative action programs have not adequately addressed the special needs of women
- Systematic methods of data collection and analysis on the employment of women have not been developed by state agencies
- Programs which speak to the needs of women, such as child care and flexible scheduling, are not available

Recommendations

- That the state establish ongoing data collection and information systems regarding employment
- That each state agency be required to conduct a self-evaluation of employment policies, practices, and procedures similar to that required under Title IX
- That employee grievance procedures be improved
- That a woman's advocate office be established in the Governor's Office
- That programs for upward mobility be established in state service
- That a handbook be developed describing existing opportunities for upward mobility
- That civil service recognize the Certified Professional Secretary
- That more state employment be offered on a part-time or flexible-time basis
- That day care for state employees' children be made available in the Capitol area
- That further study be made of the following issues:
 - (1) Training and staff development programs
 - (2) "Comparable worth" of various job classifications
 - (3) The job classification system, including how jobs are classified and the extent to which classifications match responsibilities
 - (4) Affirmative action policies and programs, including how goals are set and implemented
 - (5) The relative effectiveness of the Department of Human Rights in resolving complaints within state government employment

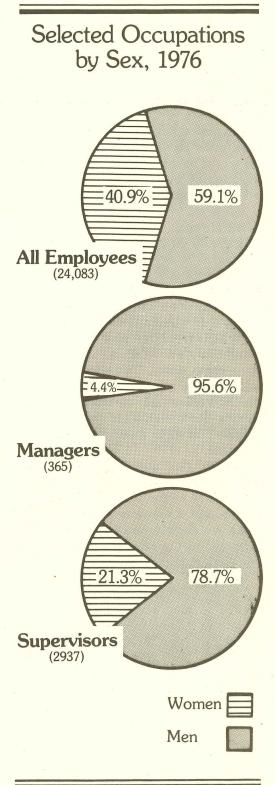


MANAGEMENT JOBS

Given the preceding evidence on job segregation, it is not surprising to find that very few women in state government occupy positions in the management, supervisory, and professional categories. The Minnesota Department of Education is a case in point. In this state agency women hold 95.8% of all clerical positions but only 29.9% of all professional jobs, 28.0% of all supervisory jobs (including typing pool supervisors), and 12.9% of all management jobs. Yet over half of all Department of Education employees are women.

That these figures are indicative of discrimination is evidenced by comparison with those for the existing labor pool. Since 56% of all Master's Degrees and 21% of all Doctorates in education are earned by women, it is unlikely that lack of professional credentials can explain the absence of women in the agency's decision-making roles. Moreover, since 60-70% of all teachers in the labor force are female and 29% of all certificates in school administration are held by women, neither does lack of experience account for the underrepresentation of women. Such an extensive disparity between talent pool availability and the distribution of women in policy-making roles suggests that the State of Minnesota is not effectively attracting, hiring, promoting, or retaining qualified women for leadership roles.

The chart at right, based on unpublished data of the Department of Personnel, compares the distribution of women in all of state service with their distribution in management and supervisory categories. As the figures illustrate, although over 40% of all state employees are women, only 4.4% of top management are women. Similarly, in the Career Executive Service, few women are represented. The Career Executive Service was established by statute in 1969 to give high level civil service employees salaries which are up to 20% above the usual ceilings for their job classifications. Of 133 career executives in January 1976, only 5 were women.



"The personnel system hasn't recognized in a systematic, functional way that the most significant factor in employment practices in this decade is the influx of women into the job market."

Testimony from a member of Women in State Employment, November 1976

Women comprise over 40% of the state's workforce. But as the preceding sections of the report have shown, women employees are clustered in low-paying, dead-end jobs. How women advance — or how they fail to advance — within the state employment system is thus a critical topic.

It should be noted at the outset that "advancement" has two meanings in the context of the testimony presented to the Council. The first is consistent with the notion of "equal pay for work of equal value," and argues that women could "advance" simply by being adequately compensated for their current levels of skill and responsibility. As one witness stated, "We want the system to find ways to reward merit in the fields in which women are currently employed, because these fields are important. We shouldn't have to leave the field to get rewarded."

Clearly, this notion of advancement demands reassigning values — both financial and social — to the work of women. It might also prompt a new look at the varied roles which are already encompassed (but not recognized) in the category labeled "clerical." One clerical employee stated:

"Some clerical positions could be broadened so that women could have an actual hand in the administrative tasks and policy-making within their office. As of right now, I don't feel that the professional staff realize that the majority of the clerical staff are bright and intelligent people who do have some important contributions to make."

The more conventional notion of "advancement," however, means progress upward on a "career ladder." How do women in state

employment fare, given this route?

Not very well, according to testimony presented to the Council. Most women in state government are clerical workers "locked into a job caste," according to one witness, "that is basically a closed system." Despite a March 1974 amendment to Executive Order 76* which ordered state agencies to develop opportunities based upon career ladders, such "ladders" have not often been forthcoming. A union representative told the Council that "most appointing authorities have been and are resisting the development and implementation of career ladders."

A central problem addressed by witnesses is the absence of ladders which permit an employee to move from clerical positions into technical or professional work. And even within existing ladders, there are declining proportions of women on the higher rungs. To quote one witness, "One would assume that since the clerical series is dominated by females, they would advance proportionately. Between 84% and 99% of the employees in the clerk/typist/steno series, beginning through senior, are female. The Executive Series, the only ordinary means of advancement, shows: Exec I's - 81% female, II's -56%, and III's - 30%. One wonders how many of the male III's worked their way up from the steno pool."

Problems with career ladders are compounded by a training and development program which has not functioned in the interests of the advancement of women. According to witnesses, training programs tend to make women more efficient at their present jobs (which are usually low-paying), while training for men is designed to prepare them for promotions and salary increases. One witness stated, "There should be training that is accessible and related to job opportunity — not the job you're already stuck in. You shouldn't have to be a supervisor to learn how to be one."

Many training courses are, in fact, designed to train supervisors after they have been appointed to positions. This practice is sanctioned by the following personnel rules:

^{*}Executive Order 76 provided for the establishment of affirmative action programs in all state agencies. It was signed by Gov. Wendell Anderson in March 1974.

PERSONNEL RULE 164: "The Commissioner shall require each department head to provide supervisory training for all persons appointed to supervisory positions."

PERSONNEL RULE 166: "Employees appointed to a position or class which has a training requirement that must be met before the employee gains permanent status shall have one year from the date of appointment to fulfill this requirement. The employee shall gain all rights, privileges, and benefits at the end of the normal probationary period . . . The probationary period for employees assigned to the management compensation schedule may be extended to a maximum of two years to provide sufficient time to complete mandatory training requirements."

Existing workforce data suggest that men have been the primary beneficiaries of this policy; few women appear in supervisory and management positions, despite the fact that personnel rules would allow them to be trained while on the job. It seems possible that such a policy permits the application of a "double standard" by which men are automatically promoted, then trained, while women are prevented from assuming management positions on the grounds that they "lack administrative experience."

"Getting a promotion shouldn't have to mean that you have to start all over again — at the bottom."

Testimony from a member of Women in State Employment

Data presented earlier in this report showed that over 40% of the state's employees are women, most of whom are clustered in lowpaying jobs. The potential impact of a training and development program on the economic status of women is thus enormous. Yet a Department of Personnel representative told the Council that funds were not available for training for upward mobility for women and minorities. (The total training budget for fiscal year 1976 was \$1,319,236 with \$81,307 spent on tuition reimbursement alone.) The evidence presented to the Council suggests that present policies and practices of training and development programs do not function in the interests of women's career advancement.

More extensive analysis of training and development programs is rendered difficult by the absence of data in accessible form. Only recently has the Department of Personnel training staff begun to record data by the sex of participants in training programs.

An additional factor preventing analysis and evaluation of results is that each department administers its own training and development budget in addition to utilizing programs run by the Department of Personnel. When the Council sought data from the Department of Personnel by agency, it was learned that many departments had not submitted the required training reports. This situation would not seem to lend itself to accountability for training results.

Other policies and practices which create barriers to women's advancement are listed below in the witnesses' own words:

"Secretarial skills are a hindrance rather than a help in the reclassification process. Department management has been advised by a Personnel Department staff member not to mention that a candidate possesses these skills or that such skills are required when trying to upgrade, for example, from Senior Clerk Stenographer to Executive I or Executive II."

"Notification of testing days and other related information is very difficult to obtain from the Department's Personnel Office . . . they never seem to know anything for sure. I know many people who wait half a year to take a test, and the test ends up coming and going before they even know about it."

"Individuals can be appointed to a position "provisionally" which sometimes eliminates chances for present state employees to be considered for promotions. "Provisional" employees usually have not been tested for the position before they are appointed. Their experience in this position counts when, after the position opening is announced, all applicants are being considered, thus eliminating others who may be more qualified than the "provisional" appointee."

"The promotional rating form as it is currently worded, scored, and used, has effectively screened out women and minorities."

PERSONNEL PROCEDURES

Many witnesses provided examples of violations of civil service rules and/or of state and federal law. Many of the abuses cited related to the circumvention of open-posting of vacancy announcements for positions. A witness from one state agency told the Council:

"It is my understanding that all open positions within State Departments must be officially posted for 10 days to allow potential candidates the opportunity to bid on the position. The position of which I speak . . . was, in fact, posted November 16th. Hence, it appeared that the closing date for bidding should have been extended to November 26th . . . however, November 18th was listed as the last bidding date."

Another individual testified that openposting of positions is sometimes circumvented in order to provide employment for the relatives of management:

"I still marvel at how easily and quickly family kin can obtain a high-paying, high-titled position. More than once I have seen managers getting their family and relatives into the department. No job advertisement ever seems to be announced, yet they suddenly have the position (and usually not the training or experience)."

Other witnesses told the Council of pressures — both economic and political — put on them by supervisors. A sample of such testimony follows:

"Of what value are the job descriptions? They are written by supervisors to please someone at the head of the department and also to please the personnel office. You either sign or don't get a raise and you are told this at the time you are called in to sign it."

"I had worked for the same agency for three years, and when I went to apply for a higher classification in the same series, the Civil Service department really bogged down, and nothing happened for a long time. I then found out that there was a highly placed person who did not like me for political reasons who had instructed Personnel not to promote me."

"I have experienced what you might call bribery. I was given an option to transfer to a vacant position in another part of our department. Declining the offer, I received much pressure from my supervisor in an attempt to change my mind. He stated, among other things, that if I went to this position I would get my position upgraded immediately upon arrival; whereas if I stayed at my present position, he would not consider ever upgrading my position, regardless of promotional test results."

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES

Employees experiencing these apparent abuses face, according to testimony, an absence of recourse. If women use the grievance procedure, said a representative of Women in State Employment (WISE), the result is "being blackballed when it comes to promotion or raise in your agency, or even if you change agencies." Another individual stated, "Several of us did file charges of coercion and harassment and won, but it sure was hell at work afterwards for some of the employees."

According to one witness, the absence of a responsive grievance system resulted in many women being afraid to testify at the public hearings upon which this report is based. Some women chose to submit written, anonymous statements through Women in State Employment to avoid recrimination. Two women who did testify at the Council's December hearing did file complaints with state and federal enforcement agencies alleging that they had received reprisals due to their appearance before the Council.

"The personnel system is said to be slow and bureaucratic in exchange for protecting employees from political or discriminatory whim. If that were true, it might be tolerable. But it is slow and bureaucratic, and as often as not is only another tool for discrimination, recrimination, and political whim."

Testimony from a member of Women in State Employment, November 1976

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS

That affirmative action programs have been unsuccessful in terms of women is clear from the data on the salaries and the positions women hold in state government employment. This section of the report will attempt to examine reasons why affirmative action has not served to recruit, hire, retain, or promote women in state employment.

Because affirmative action is a resultsoriented mechanism for overcoming the effects of past discrimination, it requires the identification and correction of all employment practices which have discriminatory effects, as evidenced by employment statistics. Affirmative action thus relies upon ongoing, systematic data analysis.

Testimony presented to the Council suggests that many state agencies do not monitor data regarding employment patterns in a systematic fashion. Most in-depth data collection has been done under outside pressure from federal enforcement agencies (as was the case with the Title IX Report in the Department of Education) or pressure from political groups. Even then, witnesses revealed, participants in employment studies often face obstruction from agency personnel. Because ongoing data monitoring is essential to affirmative action decisions, the absence of data collection and the resistance to studies of employment patterns suggests that state agencies have not yet taken affirmative action seriously.

Lack of enforcement of compliance also undermines affirmative action efforts. Part 6, Section 601d of Executive Order 76 provides that:

Under rules and regulations issued by the State Director of Equal Opportunity, if an agency is placed in other than a COMPLIANCE status it shall make positive efforts within a reasonable time limitation as established by the State Director to secure compliance with the provisions of this Policy by methods of conference, conciliation, mediation, and persuasion before proceedings shall be instituted under Subsections (a) through (c) of this Section, or before it shall have its contracts or grants cancelled or terminated in whole or in part under Subsection (a)(1) through (c) of this Section for failure to comply with the provisions of this Policy.

The Executive Order itself would appear to lack necessary rules and regulations to implement the "policy"; an agency cannot and will not be expected to be in "compliance" until and unless "compliance" and the means to determine "compliance status" are carefully defined. Moreover, "reasonable time" is very likely not sufficiently precise to motivate agencies to comply.

Enforcement is also undermined, according to one witness, because no meaningful sanctions are imposed upon agencies found to be out of compliance:

". . . Sanctions are only meaningful if those sanctions are used against those who, through their actions, are responsible for the non-compliance, and if those sanctions by application will correct the problem . . . Top management is responsible for the implementation of the affirmative action policy. If a state agency is not in compliance and does not intend to be, it is not top management that suffers a loss of employment because funding and/or grants have been cancelled; no, it is the classified state employee who becomes the innocent victim and who suffers the loss of employment with the loss of funding. Some sanction!"

Below are other reasons cited by witnesses as reasons for the failure of affirmative action:

- Affirmative action officers are almost invariably in personnel departments in the state agency system, reporting to the personnel director. This situation results in a conflict of interests, since the affirmative action officer is likely to resist filing a grievance or complaint against his/her own supervisor.
- Affirmative action, in theory, is charged with overcoming the effects of past discrimination. This massive task is generally assigned to one individual who has no budget and no decision-making power in the agency.
- At the time of the hearings, in one state agency the personnel director was also functioning as the EEO officer, the affirma-

tive action officer, and the Title IX coordinator. This situation left employees with no internal recourse with respect to employment concerns.

• Affirmative action programs have often failed to recognize that the needs of women are different from the needs of other protected groups. The problems of women are not, for example, underrepresentation in the workforce as a whole, but rather pay and position in that workforce.

Additionally, affirmative action in state employment has been handicapped by personnel policies which have disparate effects on women. One such policy is basing entry-level salary on past salary history. Because women have traditionally been confined to low-paying jobs, this practice serves only to perpetuate the pattern.

Similarly, the experience and training rating of applications can be used to women's disadvantage. Such ratings often assign points for longevity in a previous position. Because women's career patterns differ from men's, often including volunteer work, part-time employment, and periodic absences from the labor force, they are penalized by a scoring system which weights longevity in a particular job. A women who has held a variety of jobs might have had as much experience as a man who has held one job for 15 years; the woman, under the present scoring system in some agencies, would probably receive a lower rating.

The structure and composition of affirmative action staffs was also discussed in testimony heard by the Council. Some witnesses suggested that because most state agencies appropriate only one position for affirmative action, the needs of all protected groups are not necessarily understood or addressed. Women, for example, have not been well-represented in the ranks of affirmative action officers. The result, according to one witness, can be divisiveness: "By offering such a limited and falsely precious slice of the pie, (the personnel system) only sets up minorities and women to fight about who gets the bigger slice of the slice. This is wrong."

Other testimony suggested that because of the magnitude of affirmative action needs in state government employment, agencies be required to have an affirmative action staff with representatives from a number of protected classes.

"We have had fanfare and promises and affirmative action which sets its pace by counting a minority woman employee twice toward fulfilling the goal of equal opportunity."

Testimony from a member of Women in State Employment, November 1976

PROGRAMS ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF WOMEN

The economic status of women is directly related to their parental and family status. This has been particularly true in the last decade as younger women, of childbearing age, have entered the workforce. Sixty percent of all Minnesota women age 20-34 are in the labor force.

Testimony presented to the Council cited the inability of women to secure adequate child care facilities as a major obstacle to their full participation in the workforce and to their attainment of higher levels of income. A representative of the Minnesota Children's Lobby stated, "Because child-bearing and child-rearing are often socially placed within the responsibilities of women, these activities often keep women from attaining higher levels of education, jobs, and ultimately economic status."

The burden is particularly heavy for single-parent women who number approximately 59,000 in Minnesota. A witness explained, "These women are often unskilled and, whether in training or on the job, they are in a lower economic status. From these low wages the cost of day care must be subtracted — costs ranging from \$35.00 to \$40.00 per week for full-time, eight-hour-a-day care. It is nearly impossible for these women to make it financially without welfare assistance."

Programs to help alleviate the problems of employed parents fall into two major categories: those which provide child care and those which offer flexibility in work schedules. At present, the State of Minnesota has no provision for either kind of support. Yet the relationship of these services to attracting and retaining qualified women in state service is obvious. Parents are often dis-

couraged from employment by inconvenient, inadequate, or expensive child care coupled with rigid work hours.

In February of 1977, Representative Stanley Enebo (DFL-Minneapolis) introduced legislation for the establishment of a State-supported pilot day care center in the Capitol complex. Enebo commented on his bill, "If anyone should set a standard, it should be the state... We should be the most positive proponent of affirmative action and good working conditions. It is time the employer acknowledges the family responsibilities and problems of the employee."

Before drafting the bill, Enebo and his staff circulated a questionnaire to state employees to assess the extent of interest in child care. Over 55% of those returning the questionnaire favored the establishment of a child care center, including many employees who no longer have preschool children. Many single employees and those expecting to have families indicated interest also.

"The AFDC program is needed because society has dictated that women care for children and because women's employment ordinarily does not result in sufficient earnings to support a family. I am concerned with the adequacy of AFDC payments. It should give us all pause to know that the median salary for women is about at the same level." Commissioner, Minnesota Department of Public Welfare, November 10, 1976

While child care facilities speak to the needs of many employees with preschool children, it is flexible work schedules which appear to best meet the needs of parents of children of school age. A representative of the Citizens League appeared before the Council and outlined various options of organizing work schedules. One of these options is "flex-time" employment, a means of granting employees more discretion in planning their work hours. Generally, all employees must be at work during a "core" part of the day - from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m., for example. Workers then have the option of when to begin and end their eight hours anytime between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m.

According to the witnesses describing this plan, its primary advantage is for parents of

school age children: "In two parent families with both parents using flex-time, conceivably one parent could begin work at nine and the other end work at three, leaving both ends of the school day covered. One-parent families could at least be home with their children either before or after school."

Another means of flexible work scheduling is to divide jobs into more units of work. This can be done by replacing a full-time position with two part-time positions or by creating a "job-sharing" situation in which two persons coordinate their work. An example of the first type is Hennepin County's division of several full-time social worker positions into a number of part-time positions by splitting the case-loads of workers. Pressure for this option came from young mothers in the welfare department who wished to combine their careers with family responsibilities.

An example of the "job-sharing" option is the position of project resource coordinator at the Community Design Center in Minneapolis. The job was filled with two persons working part-time. The nature of the job required some overlap in their hours and daily communication regarding their responsibilities.

A major obstacle to the provision of such options by employers is concern about administrative costs and fringe benefits. While some additional expense may be involved for the employer, those costs may be offset by the increased productivity which has been found to be characteristic of part-time employees.

The Citizens League has urged both public and private employers to demonstrate leadership in providing flexible work scheduling available to employees. Several states, including Wisconsin and Massachusetts, have designated a quota of state service jobs which must be offered as part-time jobs or positions with "flex-time" options. The Citizens League urges agencies to make flexible-schedule options available in all categories of employment — not only the lower-paying jobs.

Additionally, the Citizens League urges that child care and flexible work options be seen as issues that favorably affect men as well as women and which would allow "a very necessary expansion of the role of fathers in child care and family life in general."

"We want a voice to represent us in administering the policies that affect women as women. Current vehicles don't work. The grievance procedure invariably results in being blackballed when it comes to promotion or a raise in your agency, or even if you change agencies. Women are afraid to use it. Women were even afraid to submit their testimony here today. Some have written anonymous testimony for fear of reprisals."

Testimony from a member of Women in State Employment, November 12, 1976



Recommendations

In light of the testimony presented to the Council, members believe that substantial changes must be made within the state civil service system. Recommendations endorsed by the Council include the following:

1. That the state establish ongoing data collection and information systems regarding employment.

Systematic data collection and analysis is essential for the identification of employment patterns which require modification. The Council recommends that the state institute data collection and information systems, perhaps through one central agency.

2. That each state agency be required to conduct a self-evaluation of employment policies, practices, and procedures similar to that required under Title IX.

The Council recommends that each agency conduct a self-evaluation designed to identify potential sources of employment discrimination.

3. That employee grievance procedures be improved.

Testimony submitted to the Council suggested that current grievance procedures are not utilized by many employees, who fear being "blackballed" by their agencies. Existing grievance procedures should be evaluated in terms of their responsiveness and their independence from charged parties.

4. That a woman's advocate office be established in the Governor's Office.

The Council supports the creation of a position for a woman's advocate. The individual holding this position would monitor employment data from state agencies; receive informal complaints; participate in the development of a standard procedure by which agency heads are evaluated; and advise the Governor with respect to issues which affect women.

5. That programs for upward mobility be established in state service.

The Council supports legislation which would require the provision of upward mobility programs for state employees in low-paying occupations. Such programs would include career and educational counseling as well as training.

- 6. That a handbook be developed describing existing opportunities for upward mobility. Testimony received by the Council suggested that employees lack useful information regarding existing opportunities for advancement. The Council is working with the Department of Personnel toward the creation of a handbook on career ladders and mechanisms for advancement in state service.
- 7. That civil service recognize the Certified Professional Secretary.

The Council supports legislation which would grant recognition to the Certified Professional Secretary program in state employment. A bill has been introduced which provides an automatic pay increase for those individuals who pass the Certified Professional Secretary examination.

- 8. That more state employment be offered on a part-time or flexible-time basis.

 The Council supports measures which would provide more part-time and flex-time working arrangement for state employees. Research is being conducted on the possibility of legislation to meet this objective.
- 9. That day care for state employees' children be made available within the Capitol area.

 The Council has gone on record supporting legislation for the development of a pilot day care center in the Capitol complex.

- 10. That further study be made of the following issues:
 - (a) Training and staff development programs;
 - (b) "Comparable worth" of various job classifications;
 - (c) The job classification system, including how jobs are classified and the extent to which classifications match responsibilities;
 - (d) Affirmative action policies and programs, including how goals are set and implemented;
 - (e) The relative effectiveness of the Department of Human Rights in resolving complaints within state government employment.

Conclusion

It has been the intent of this report to focus attention upon and to document the serious problems of women employed in state government service. The findings and recommendations generated by the Council provide a significant opportunity for the State of Minnesota to demonstrate its commitment to equal employment rights for its citizens. This commitment will require changes in practices, policies, and attitudes which have contributed to the position of women described in this report.

That the state will successfully meet this challenge is suggested by its reputation for concern with human rights, enlightened social policy, and the quality of life of its populace. Women, however, will not be the sole beneficiaries of a more equitable employment system. The State itself stands to gain better public service from a work force encouraged to perform at its full potential; increased credibility in the private sector; and respect from its people, who know from experience that the State is a just and humane employer.

About the Council

Purpose

In 1976 the Minnesota State Legislature established the Council on the Economic Status of Women. The legislation creating the Council states that its role is to "study all matters relating to the economic status of women in Minnesota, including matters of credit, family support and inheritance laws relating to economic security of the homemaker, educational opportunities, career counseling, contributions of women to Minnesota's per capita and family incomes and state revenues, job and promotion opportunities, and laws and business practices constituting barriers to the full participation of women in the economy."

In addition, the Council shall also study "the adequacy of programs, services and facilities relating to families in Minnesota including single-parent families and members beyond the nuclear or immediate family."

Members

Eighteen members serve on the Council: five senators appointed by the Committee on Committees, five House members appointed by the Speaker, and eight public members appointed by the Governor, Legislative appointments are:

SENATE

Nancy Brataas, Rochester Bill Luther, Brooklyn Center John Milton, White Bear Lake Allan Spear, Minneapolis Emily Staples, Wayzata

HOUSE

Linda Berglin, Minneapolis Stanley Enebo, Minneapolis Mary Forsythe, Edina Phyllis Kahn, Minneapolis Russell Stanton, Arco

PUBLIC MEMBERS

Lurline Baker, Duluth Virginia Erhard, New Hope JoAnn Kronick, So. St. Paul Verna Lunz, Fairmont Sandra Melberg, Minneapolis Jane Preston, White Bear Lake Carol Ryan, St. Paul Anne Siren Levig, Virginia

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE COUNCIL ON THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF WOMEN

November 12, 1976

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Department of Personnel

Stanley Gardner
Director of Affirmative Action,
Department of Personnel

Charlotte Striebel
National Organization for Women

Avis Foley Hennepin County Women's Political Caucus

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Diana Danielson
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Women in State Employment

December 9, 1976

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This is the second in a series of reports by the Council on the Economic Status of Women, 400 SW State Office Building, St. Paul, MN 55155.

COUNCIL STATUS WOMEN