



“INTERSECTIONAL GENDER ANALYSIS.”

Great concept, jargon-y term. It sounds like something out of an academic textbook. (Oh wait, it definitely is.)

But, underneath those eleven syllables is a profoundly powerful framework: a framework that is worth your attention.

This toolkit is a means to pull back that curtain and take your organizing to the next level. You will learn how to ask new questions that could dramatically change your day-to-day work and the underlying systems in our country that keep some people down and help some people up.

THIS TOOLKIT IS A PLAYBOOK FOR HOW TO WIN BIG.

And we’re going to break it down, put it back together, and do it in a way that feels engaging and highly practical.

We’re here to make this easy and fun, so come along with us on a magic carpet gender ride (wink).

WHY YOU SHOULD DEFINITELY KEEP READING

MANY PEOPLE THINK SEXISM IS A RELIC OF HISTORY,
SOMETHING THAT WAS SOLVED BY THE SUFFRAGETTES AND
THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT OF THE 1970S.

Today, the majority of college grads are women, women were represented in the 2008 election at the highest levels of debate, and a woman may take the White House in 2016. Articles about women's leadership are published everyday, and there is increasing public understanding that women's economic strength is critical to the health of the economy and the nation. These are all tremendous hard fought achievements, won after centuries of organizing, that deserve a huge HIGH FIVE!

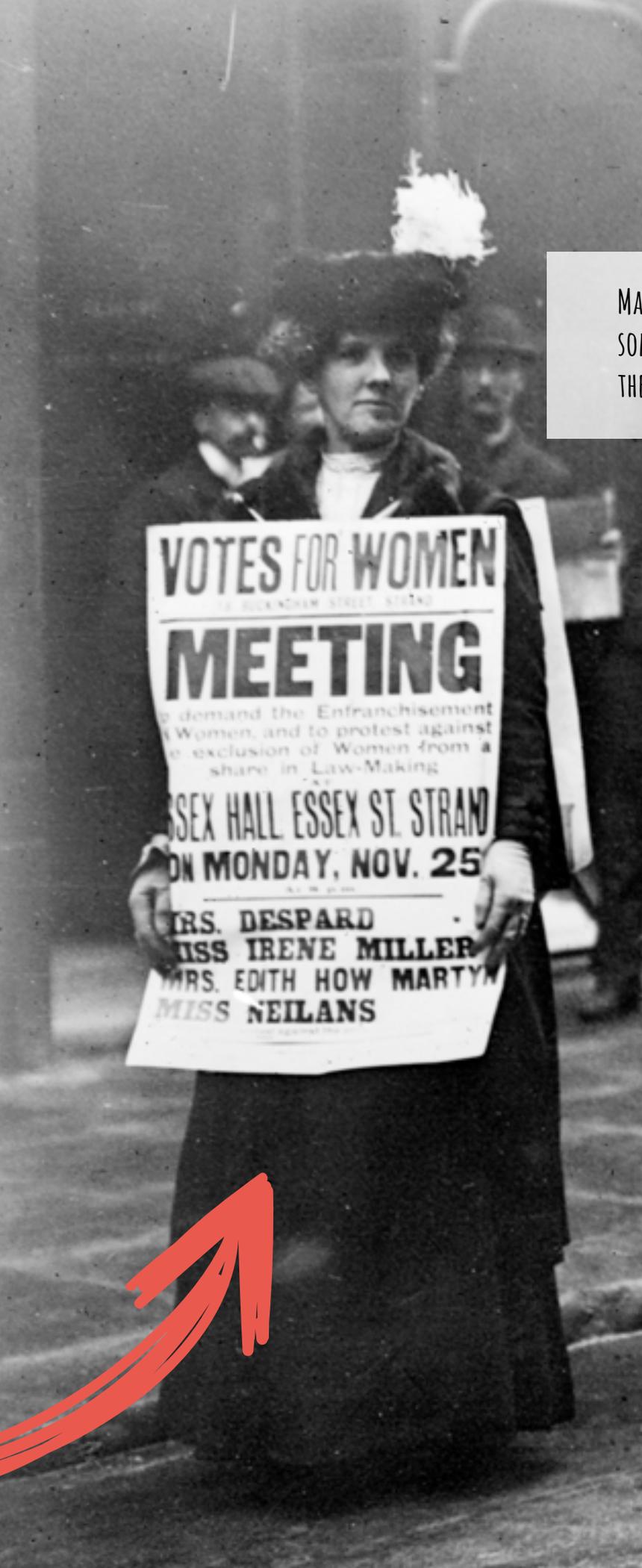
BUT SEXISM IS NOT A THING OF THE PAST.

Here's how we know: women are still paid less than men for equal work. Women are fired for being pregnant. Women are still frequently relegated to the lowest paid and most vulnerable industries. Women's reproductive freedom is on the legislative chopping block every year in increasingly destructive ways. We could keep going, but you get the point.

It's clear that gender (much like race, class, and other identities) is a powerful means for keeping us in our places and can therefore be a hugely powerful lens for liberating us from them.

A gender lens will add impact to your work and get your constituency to perk up their ears and take notice. And that's the goal, right?!

This set of tools shouldn't feel like a task you have to add to your already long to-do list. We are presenting proven strategies you will want to use to help adapt your work to be the best it can be.



TO START US OFF, LET'S TAKE A DEEPER DIVE INTO GENDER AND ECONOMIC SECURITY. THAT'S RIGHT, IT'S TIME FOR SOME

statistics:

WOMEN ARE STILL PAID ONLY

79

CENTS FOR EVERY DOLLAR PAID TO MEN

FOR BLACK WOMEN, THAT NUMBER IS

60
CENTS

FOR LATINAS:

55
CENTS

(LUDICROUS)

15% OF TRANSGENDER PEOPLE REPORT MAKING LESS THAN \$10,000 A YEAR, A POVERTY RATE NEARLY FOUR TIMES THAT OF THE NON-TRANS POPULATION.

WHILE WOMEN IN ALL RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS EXPERIENCE HIGHER POVERTY RATES THAN WHITE NON-HISPANIC MEN, NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN HAVE THE HIGHEST POVERTY RATE OF ALL AT **28%**

THE MAJORITY OF WORKING WOMEN ARE PAID LESS THAN **\$30,000** A YEAR.¹

WOMEN MAKE UP **two-thirds** OF MINIMUM WAGE EARNERS

NEARLY HALF OF ALL SINGLE BLACK AND LATINA WOMEN HAVE LITTLE TO NO WEALTH OR STRUGGLE IN DEBT.



A WOMAN WORKING FULL TIME, YEAR ROUND AT THE FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE IS PAID JUST \$14,500 ANNUALLY – PUSHING HER \$3,000 **below the poverty line** FOR A FAMILY OF THREE.

IN 2014, 14.7% OF WOMEN WERE TRAPPED IN POVERTY. FOR BLACK AND NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN, WE IMPOVERISHED THEM EVEN FASTER – NOW 1 OUT OF 4 CAN'T MAKE ENDS MEET. THE POVERTY RATE FOR LATINAS IS 23%.

Okay, so what do all these statistics add up to? Think about what it's like to be a woman working full-time being paid minimum wage, and now imagine that you're still responsible for most of the child and elder care in your family. Or, imagine what's it's like to be a transgender woman of color in a workplace that can legally discriminate against you by paying you less. It doesn't compute. For families at most income levels, our workplace policies are miles behind how we actually live. Women are shouldering the burden to make ends meet, and communities are shuddering beneath the weight of that burden.



SABRINA JENKINS



Even today – despite talk of economic improvements – a vast majority of low-income women are still struggling to gain financial ground after the Great Recession.

You might remember Sabrina Jenkins, who was First Lady Michelle Obama's guest at the 2014 State of the Union.

Sabrina is representative of many women who are just one health issue, one car problem, or one missed bus ride away from unemployment and poverty. Sabrina, 45 years old, is a single mom raising a teenage daughter. While caring for her daughter on her own, Sabrina joined the Air Force. But when her mother became ill she left paid work to resume caring full-time for her daughter and ailing mother. Though she went to back to college, graduating with a 3.7 GPA and a Master's degree, she currently struggles to make ends meet in South Carolina—one of the states where women of color have some of the lowest average salaries in the nation.

Even though Sabrina has a job working for the Charleston County Housing and Redevelopment Authority, she teeters at the edge of the poverty line as she strives to pay off \$90,000 in student loans, pay for medications and health care, and

pay for living necessities such as food, rent, and other expenses as her daughter prepares to apply to college.

Sabrina is one of millions of American women who are both the family breadwinners and are paid salaries that keep them near or below the federal poverty level. They cannot amass any savings because their net assets are zero or less. Sabrina, however, is one of the lucky ones. At least the First Lady of the United States has plucked her out of the haystack. Most women like Sabrina go unseen, without any political capital. This is especially true in states like South Carolina, where onerous voter ID laws target low-income Black and Latino voters, effectively disenfranchising them. Even when people want to vote for a candidate who is progressive on the economic and social issues that most impact their lives, they might be barred from doing so.

In short, Sabrina represents millions of working women in this country, women who are still burdened by the remnants of sexist and racist policies that constrain their access to economic and political opportunity.

SO...YEAH. OUR WORK ISN'T DONE.

AS PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZERS, WE SHOULD ALL BE WELL VERSED IN THE WAYS THAT BOTH RACE AND GENDER IMPACT OUR WORK AND CONSTITUENCIES.

While there are currently more tools available to help organizations integrate a racial justice lens and understand structural racism in a comprehensive way, it is the integration of a race and gender lens that will allow you to more fully realize your work.

One of the questions to start with is whether or not the people in your organization have an understanding of structural sexism. Even if the majority of your members (and your staff) are women, that doesn't always mean that a gender analysis is being used. Identity doesn't necessarily equal analysis.

So, could all levels of staff speak to how gender plays a role in keeping women marginalized? And, do your programs speak directly to the needs of women of color and working women as women?

If not, then keep reading. We are here to support you through this journey, and to demonstrate how adding a gender lens to your organizing, or further focusing the one you already have, will help you engage more members and lead you down a path toward more wins.

AND WE
LOOOOOVE
WINS.



THE PROOF: WHY ARE WE MAKING GENDER SUCH A BIG DEAL?

WHEN WE TALK ABOUT "GENDER" HERE, WE ARE REALLY SIGNALING THE NEED TO TALK ABOUT SEXISM. SEXISM, SIMPLY PUT, IS WHEN STEREOTYPICAL PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN AND MEN RESULT IN DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN.

But, it's complicated. We want to make sure to convey that we're not talking about Second Wave Feminism, which often ignored the realities and needs of women of color and other communities, but instead an awareness of intersectional sexism.

Intersectional sexism is when the effects of gender are brought together with the societal effects of race, class, sexual orientation, and immigration status. When we look through that lens, we see the compounded effects. Devon DB, a blogger for the Daily Kos breaks it down exactly right when he writes:

One of my friends is a Muslim woman.

Due to her being a woman, she must deal with the misogyny in American culture, from the intellectual belittling of women (the constant mantra of women being viewed only as 'emotional') to the never-ending comparison of women's bodies to a standard of beauty that exists only in the mind. Yet, she must also deal with the stigma that comes from being a Muslim in a society that is not only quite ignorant of Islam, but also has been taught to hate Muslims and everything to do with Islam. Due to this, she is confronted with Islamophobic misogyny where she is belittled due to her gender, but also considered as a danger to society because of the stereotyping of her religion."

Intersectional sexism is sneaky and smart. It seems to work on its own without people at its helm, morphing to maintain its power as progressives make small gains. It appears to dictate, in a kind of automatic way, the odds that keep women, women of color, and transgender people across gender identities from getting a fair shake.

Yet, we know there are helmsmen at the wheel of the ship. Institutions, politicians, wealthy donors, and other policy-makers play big roles in orchestrating who gets access to economic, political, and social opportunities. But, there are ways to fight them. To unveil gender bias where it hides is to discover new paths toward organizing, advocacy, and lasting policy and cultural change.

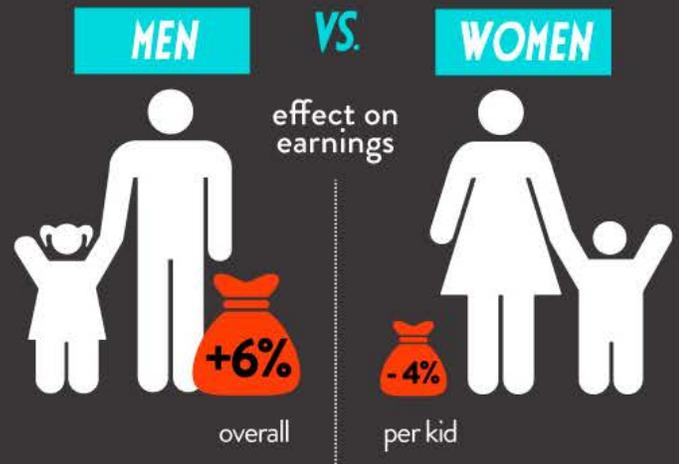
Men, too, are affected by sexism, especially now that the roles of fathers are changing. It's important to recognize that. In many families, today's dad is no longer the stereotypical married breadwinner and disciplinarian from yesteryear. Think Don Draper (*Mad Men*, the first three seasons) in his dapper suit. Instead, these days he might be single or married; externally employed or a stay-at-home parent; gay or straight; an adoptive parent or a stepparent. He might be the primary caregiver for children or other family members. The sexist belief that men are ill-suited as caregivers and ideally built for the workplace is just another way gender stereotypes are hurting us.

And, it's not just women whose economic stability is affected by sexism. Breadwinning continues to be a key part of how Americans understand masculinity. But, as a greater number of men begin to shun traditional gender roles and take on more responsibility for family caregiving, they are treated more like women in the workplace and punished thusly. This is indicative of what some researchers call "mismatch between workplace and workforce." In fact, between 2006 and 2010, the number of family responsibility discrimination cases brought by men rose 300%.

So while women still bear the burden of a 'diaper penalty' men are also starting to experience similar discrimination in higher numbers.

In this curriculum, we highlight wage discrimination in its many forms because how much employers pay is not only an issue of fairness, but also an issue of how well you can take care of your family. For example, because women are increasingly the heads of households, women need salaries that take into account all that women are responsible for. The barrier to fair pay for women is akin to having one hand tied behind your back while you try to build your house.

WHAT HAVING A CHILD DOES TO YOUR CAREER:



But that's okay because men are still mainly the breadwinners, right?



women are the **sole** or **primary breadwinner** in **40%** of households with children

WHAT HAVING A CHILD DOES TO YOUR CAREER:

WOMEN WITH KIDS VS. WOMEN WITHOUT



mothers are paid **7 to 14 percent less** than women without children for equivalent work

THIS DIAPER PENALTY IS FULL OF CRAP!

LET'S CHANGE IT! THESE GROWN-UP SOLUTIONS ARE ALREADY WORKING IN OTHER COUNTRIES:



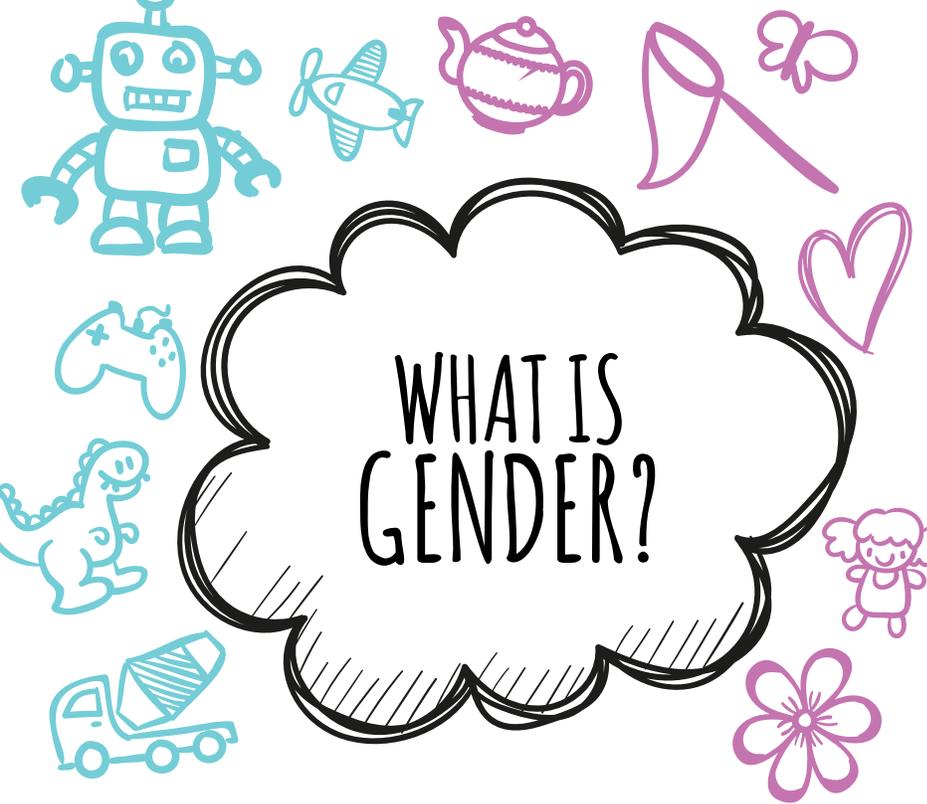
affordable, high quality preschool and child care for all families



paid parental leave



equal pay for equal work



“Gender” in our society manifests, too often, as the roles we decide different biological sexes must play —pink for girls, blue for boys. Later it’s dolls and play kitchens for girls and toy soldiers and trucks for boys. Girls are made to keep their lovely dress clean and boys are told not to cry because it’s not manly.

These gender roles are policed all through our lives. And as adults, people and social norms regulate how we perform our gender, constraining access to economic opportunity and social status.

What starts out as a harmless pink blanket, might mean that throughout your life, you are paid at least half a million dollars less over your lifetime.

ABSURD, RIGHT?!

WHAT ABOUT TRANSGENDER PEOPLE?

Clearly, any gender lens worth its salt sheds light on how gender stereotypes and discrimination affect transgender and gender non-conforming people.

Gender non-conforming people such as trans identified people have psychological selves that differ from their sex assigned at birth. It’s estimated that 2-5% of the world’s population is transgender, according to the Transgender Law and Policy Institute

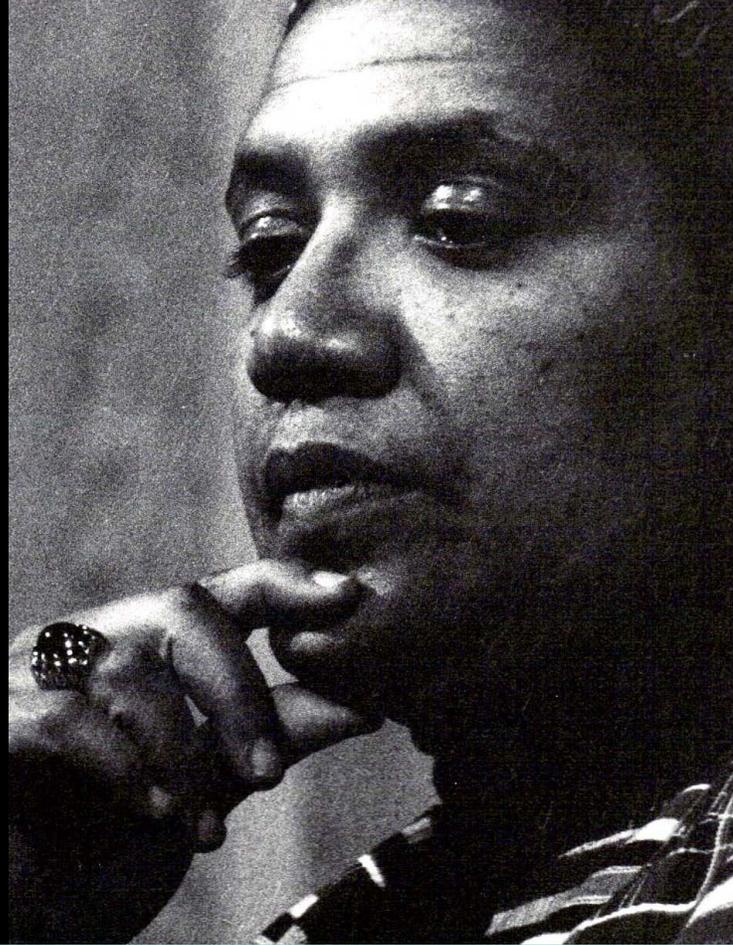
Gender non-conforming people are subjected to profound gender discrimination across almost every issue from employment and immigration to criminal justice and physical assault. In many ways, trans people, particularly trans people of color, are amongst the country’s most vulnerable populations. There is currently, for example, no federal law that prohibits job discrimination in the private sector for transgender people.

As a result, more than 1 in 4 transgender adults have been terminated from at least one job due to bias, and more than 3/4ths have had a colleague discriminate against them in the workplace. That’s, like, almost every trans person.

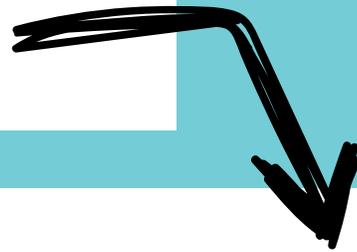
According to the National Center for Transgender Equality, “Biased refusal to hire, privacy violations, harassment, and even physical and sexual violence on the job are common occurrences and experienced at even higher rates by transgender people of color. Many report changing jobs to avoid discrimination or the risk of discrimination. Extreme levels of unemployment and poverty lead many to become involved in underground economies—such as sex and drug work—in order to survive.”

Given this context, a comprehensive gender lens must take into account the lived experiences of trans folks, and other gender non-conforming people.

**THERE IS NO
SUCH THING
AS A SINGLE
ISSUE STRUGGLE
BECAUSE WE DO
NOT LIVE SINGLE
ISSUE LIVES.
AUDRE LORDE**



THE INTERSECTIONS



Gender is where we get on board in this curriculum, but it's not our last stop.

Race, class, sexual orientation, and gender identity intersect with gender to make us who we are. It is at these intersections where discrimination is also most prevalent. Highlighting what happens in our society not only to women broadly speaking, but specifically to poor women, women of color, queer women, etc., is a crucial part of applying a gender lens to any issue, any political change, and any progressive activism. As Audre Lorde famously put it, "There is no such thing as a single issue struggle because we do not live single issue lives."

Lorde's words encapsulate the need for incorporating a gender analysis into economic equality work. In fact, her words point to the central reason why there's a need for this guide.

SEXISM ALWAYS
INTERACTS WITH
AND IS EMBOLDENED
BY RACISM, AND
RACISM ALWAYS
INTERACTS WITH AND
IS EMBOLDENED BY
SEXISM.

SEXISM HAS BECOME SUCH A PART OF OUR SOCIETY, IT IS OFTEN DIFFICULT TO EVEN SEE. SO, LET US POINT IT OUT TO YOU. HERE ARE SOME MORE **NOT-SO-FUN** ECONOMIC FACTS:

1

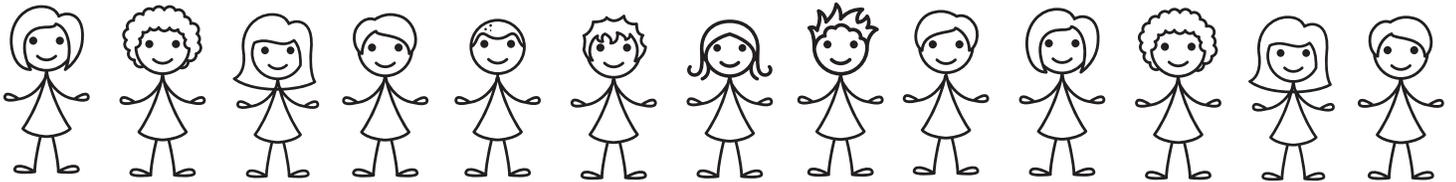
Of the highest paid and most powerful professions in the world, women dominate the top positions in...
(YES, YOU READ THAT RIGHT.)

ZERO

SEE? THERE ARE SO FEW, WE CAN FIT THEM ALL ON THIS PAGE.

2

There are only 13 women out of all 190 heads of state.
Read it again: 13.



3

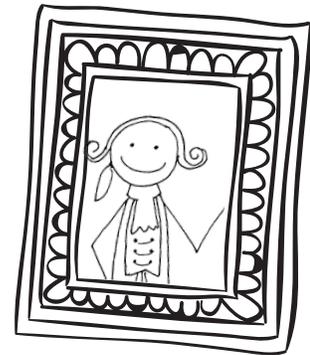
Of all the people in Parliament in the entire world, only **22%** of them are women.

4

There have been 43 American presidents and (*drumroll please*)...all of them have been men.

5

Only 21 Fortune 500 companies have women CEOs (a measly 4.2%), and many leadership teams and corporate boards at those companies are still **all male**.



THIS MEANS ONE THING: MEN ARE STILL MAKING THE BULK OF THE DECISIONS AND CONTROLLING THE MAJORITY OF THE MONEY.

6

Women are docked between \$500,000 and \$1 million over their working lives because they are paid less than men for their work.ⁱⁱⁱ

THAT'S SO MUCH MONEY!



7

In every part of the US, annual child care can cost more than what families spend on food each year.^{iv} In half of all states, **child care expenses exceed rent.**^v

AT THE INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER AND OTHER IDENTITIES, THE STATISTICS ARE EVEN LESS FUN. CHECK THESE OUT.

8

If a Black woman and a non-Hispanic, white male work the same job, she will have to work an additional

26 YEARS

after he retires to make the same amount over the course of their careers.

For a Latina woman, that number is **33 YEARS.**



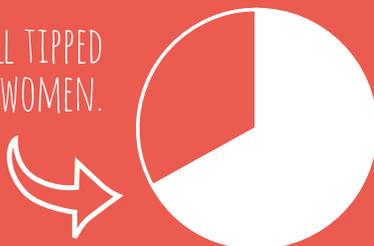
9

More than 40% of single women with children live in poverty.^{vi}

10

Women, who are more likely to be in tipped professions, are also more often subjected to sexual harassment because they depend upon customers' tips, confined to hourly wages far below the minimum wage.

2/3RDS OF ALL TIPPED WORKERS ARE WOMEN.



When you are a woman living off tips, you are forced to tolerate whatever a customer might do to you, how they touch you, treat you, or talk to you. Because the customer is always right. Because the customer pays your income, not your employer.^{vii}

Saru Jayaraman, co-founder of ROC-United

People in tipped positions/professions are twice as likely to be confined under the poverty line and three times as likely to be forced onto Food Stamps as the average worker. According to federal standards, employers are allowed to pay tipped workers as little as **\$2.13** an hour.

11

Women with disabilities are among the most impoverished groups in the United States.

Women with disabilities are more likely than men with disabilities to:^{viii}

have unpaid bills: **48% VS 40%**

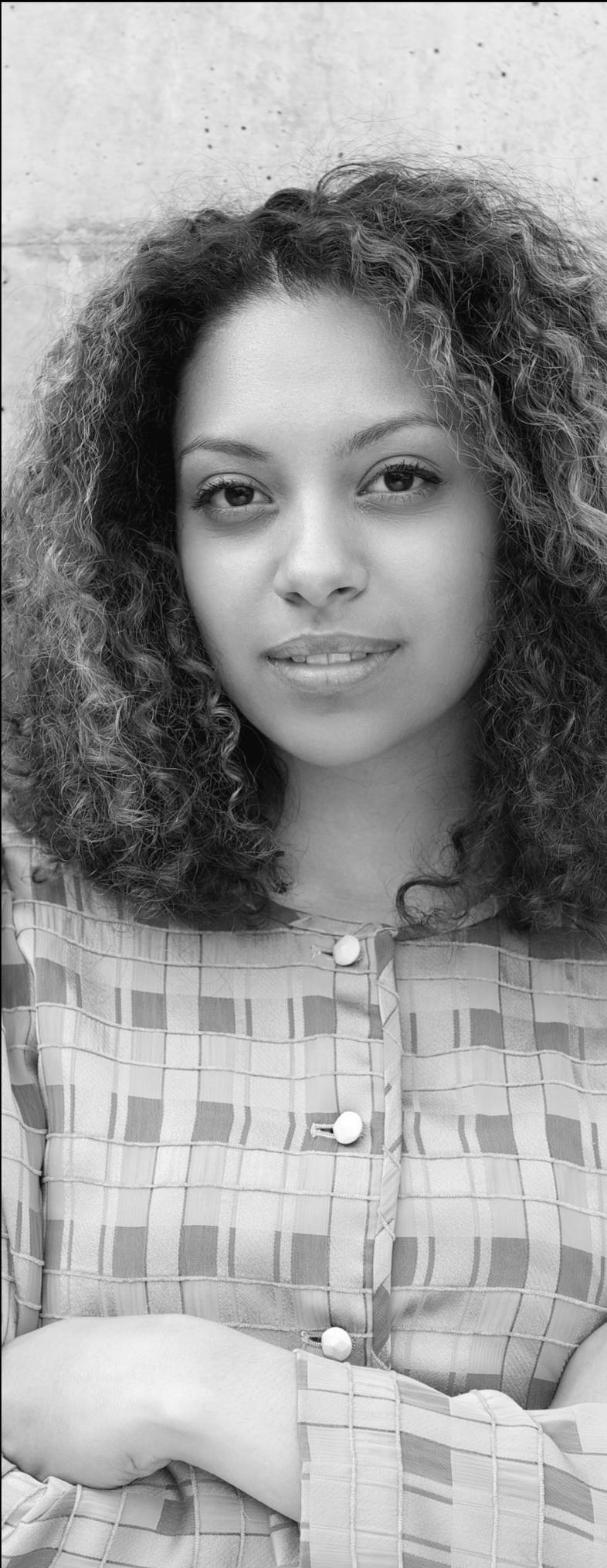
have difficulty covering monthly expenses: **36% VS 27%**

report an unexpected income drop: **35% VS 26%**

12

Of all LGBTQ people, lesbian couples of color are more likely to have children. But, they also experience much higher rates of unemployment and poverty. In 2012, the poverty rate for Black lesbian couples was **21.1%**; for Latina lesbian couples, the rate was **19.1%**; for Native American lesbian couples, the rate was **13.7%**; and for Asian Pacific Islander lesbian couples, it was **11.8%**. These numbers stand in stark contrast to white lesbian couples who had poverty rates of **4.3%**.^{ix}

WE'LL STOP HERE EVEN THOUGH WE COULD GO ON. AND ON. AND ON.



IF NOT NOW, WHEN? IF NOT US, THEN WHO?

In short, we've got to pay attention to gender—you and me.

WE CANNOT LEAVE IT UP TO SOMEONE ELSE.

We lead with gender here and always because it helps us understand the full impact of economic policies and structures that bend families toward breaking. Gender (as it intersects with race and class) is a particularly telling indicator of the well-being of our people and our nation. Studies show that in countries where women aren't held back from economic empowerment, not only are women's human rights advanced, but these nations prosper overall as well. Increased happiness and health?! Sounds pretty good to us!

So, it is our progressive movement that needs to put gender on the table, and keep it there. As Emi Kane from INCITE! points out, "The transformative potential of a movement is only as present as the strength or voice of the most marginalized." This toolkit's goal is to help you leverage your potential and scale your work to the next level.

The Payoff:

WHAT THESE GENDER TOOLS WILL GET YOU

We do not expect that everyone using this curriculum will incorporate a gender analysis because *it is the right thing to do* and because *it creates a truly progressive platform* from which to make social change across issues.
(Though, we can hope, right?!)

We are also here to prove that including a gender lens in your work will **HELP YOU WIN**.
And who doesn't like winning?

1

A gender lens is powerful. We fight for issues that are deeply personal. Using a gender lens has the potential to rally more people and in a more substantive way.

4

Knowing more about how your issue impacts your constituents in more nuanced ways will help you win more campaigns and defend against potential attacks down the line.

2

A gender analysis will give you a fuller and more complete understanding of the issues that you work on. Otherwise, there's a gaping hole in the puzzle.

5

Not having a gender lens means **participating in that very same discrimination** that you're actively fighting against—don't make the work harder for the rest of us, or for yourself.

3

Having an agenda that moves women is how you get and keep the women's vote. Everyone wants the women's vote, but you won't be able to sustain it over time unless you're authentically addressing the real concerns that matter to women, and in a way that speaks to their lived experiences directly.

6

When you bring a gender lens to economic issues, **things get better for everyone, not only women, but for all of us.**

YOU MIGHT BE THINKING, "OKAY, I GOT IT, YOU'VE MADE A STRONG CASE."



You might be tempted to close this document and get back to your crazy-long list of new emails, or scroll through Facebook looking for cute animal videos. But, don't! If you do, you'll be missing out on a chance to bring further depth, and greater impact, to your work.



IT SHOULDN'T BE THIS HARD
TO MAKE IT WORK

Highlight:

THE CHILD CARE PROBLEM

Ainsley Stapleton, 36, an accountant based in Arlington, Virginia, is squarely middle class. With three children, all of whom are in preschool or day care, she has no choice but to hand over 87.6% of her take-home pay to finance the care that she needs in order to go to work in the first place.*

Yvette Nunez, a mother of three in Brooklyn, had to quit her job at a grocery store because she couldn't afford day care. As a result she was forced to go on government assistance.

College professor Carla Bellamy and her husband, who is a composer and executive director of a music organization, live in New York and have a combined

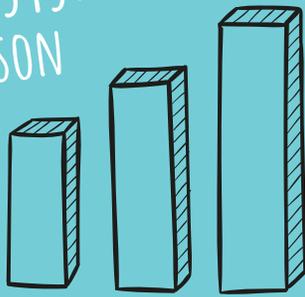
income of over \$110,000, and they have trouble affording child care. "Our entire disposable income," says Bellamy, "goes to child care."^{xi}

Women and families of all economic classes (unless you're like, suuuper rich...) struggle to pay for child care in the United States.

Have you ever noticed that the lack of quality affordable child care in this country is a huge problem? Why in every state does child care for two kids cost more than the rent?! Take a look at the next page for a bleak rundown of what it looks like in two different states:

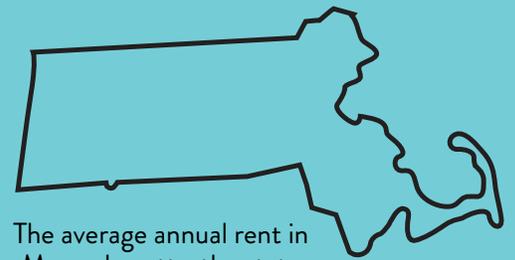
CHILD CARE COSTS: A BLEAK COMPARISON

The average annual cost of full-time care for an infant in center-based care ranges from **\$4,822 in Mississippi**



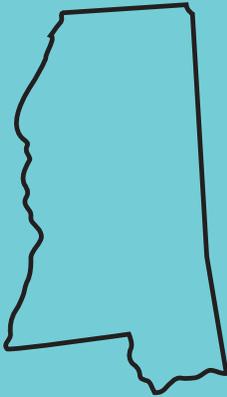
to **\$17,062 in Massachusetts**^{xii}

(WHOA)



The average annual rent in Massachusetts, the state with the highest child care costs, is **\$12,756**.

$(\$17,062 > \$12,756)$
(child care costs > rent)



Though child care costs are relatively low in Mississippi, they are **still nearly as much as a year's rent**.

Mississippi is the state with the **highest poverty levels** and the **lowest salaries** in the nation.



If you're a family of four in Mississippi and are paid an annual salary below the poverty threshold of \$20,090, after paying for rent and two kids in child care, you'll have about

\$4,400 left over for utilities, health care, food, transportation, clothing and other living expenses.

FOR THE YEAR! IMPOSSIBLE.

THOSE NUMBERS DON'T ADD UP.

Now let's go a step further and think about some of the underlying issues. The first is that the care of children should be something that we as a society value. Clearly, right now, we don't. We should be doing right by our kids. And if moms and dads are financially prohibited from providing adequate child care, we as a society suffer.

Additionally, while child care is often prohibitively expensive, the people actually doing the caregiving work are paid little. In 2011, the median income for a person providing child care was \$19,430 per year, less than that of a parking lot attendant.^{xiii} What does that say about what we value?

And, a study by the Center for the Study of Child Care Employment at University of California Berkeley has collected decades of research to suggest that the quality of American child care is "mediocre at best." Only 10% of child care centers provide high quality care for children. And a great deal of child care centers provide care unworthy of our children.

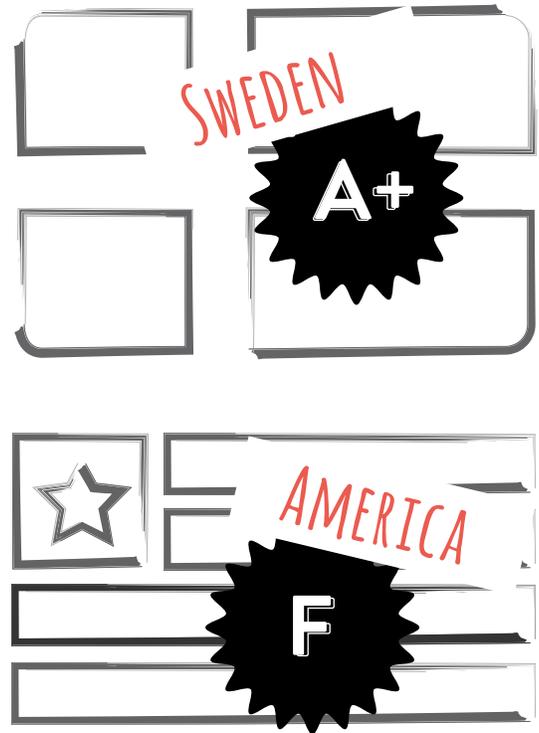
It's obvious that this is unacceptable. And it's no coincidence that child care in the United States remains one of the biggest hindrances for working mothers (both single and married) trying to make it work. But why? Why does the impossible get piled on top of women, who are kept responsible for caretaking in most families?

"The United States has always been profoundly uncomfortable with the idea of supporting child care outside the home, for reasons that inevitably trace back to beliefs over the proper role of women and mothers. At no point has a well-organized public day care system ever been considered the social ideal," New Republic writer Jonathan Cohn points out.^{xiv}

Wait, so hold up. **Are we saying that one of the reasons the United States undervalues child care is that structural sexism indirectly communicates to women that raising their kids is their principal responsibility?** Yes. Yes, we are. And, as important, it reflects a lack of value of women's work more broadly.

Think about it for a minute. Professions that are considered “women’s work,” like elder care, teaching, nursing, and also, of course, anything domestic, continue to be undervalued, underpaid, and insecure. And this holds the United States back.

But it doesn’t have to be this way. Other countries have figured out that good child care matters—that it doesn’t just support families and help them struggle less, but that it builds good economies and makes people generally happier and less stressed. Check out Sweden, a country that once struggled with a child care system that failed parents with long wait lists and unregulated care. In the 1990s, the national government capped costs for families by setting maximums on how much parents pay and rewarded municipalities with extra funding to subsidize. This worked. Now, almost every Swedish toddler heads off to preschool with trained educators, whether or not there’s a parent at home full time.



Highlight:

PAID PARENTAL LEAVE

Just as child care costs, quality and availability create an unworkable equation, we also make it nearly impossible for new parents to care for their own kids. Parental leave in the U.S. ranks among the most inexcusable in the world. Among developed countries, we’re dead last in maternity leave policies. And dads here get zilch bonding time with baby, too.

The current law on the books, the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) that was signed into law in 1993, only guarantees the ability to return to a job after taking unpaid leave, and with all of the other qualifications of employment length and size of the company, it means 40% of all U.S. workers have no job-protected leave at all.^{xv}

THE CHILD CARE
PROBLEM’S CLOSE
COUSIN

Among developed countries, we’re dead last in maternity leave policies. And dads here get zilch bonding time with baby, too.



ONE WORD:

Yikes.



So, to summarize, even if women (and increasingly more men) want to stay home to care for and bond with their children in the first few months of their lives, they can't even do that. Hmmmmm. What out-of-touch wisdom yielded these policies?

IS THERE ANOTHER WAY?

It really seems unfair to bring up Finland because, they're like, the second happiest country on earth and everything is better there (or so we hear...).

But, here goes anyway. After all, wouldn't it be nice to model ourselves on one of the happiest countries? Not only do parents of newborns in Finland receive a "baby box" with a bunch of stuff lots of new parents need (including outfits in different sizes and a "winter suit" to get through minus 20 degrees), but the box itself doubles as a bed complete with mattress.

Finland also mandates four months paid maternity leave. In addition, moms and dads can share six more months of parental leave with pay. After that, when the tot is ready for day care, "kids can either continue staying home with their mothers until they reach school age, or parents can instead send them to a publicly subsidized child-care center, where the providers are all extensively trained. The cost is on a sliding scale based on family income, but the maximum comes out to about \$4,000 a year."^{xvi}

But, again, it's just a magical wonderland there so let's look closer to home at Canada. In Canada, paid parental leave ranges from 17 to 52 weeks. Let's emphasize paid again.

However, there are some standout companies in the U.S. that provide paid parental leave, even without the government forcing them to. Technology companies are leading the charge, in some cases providing up to a full year of parental leave! And Susan Wojcicki, the CEO of YouTube writes explicitly about how paid parental leave is good for the bottom line:

"After California instituted paid medical leave, a survey in 2011 by the Center for Economic and Policy Research found that 91% of employers said the policy either boosted profits or had no effect. They also noted improved productivity, higher morale and reduced turnover....When we increased paid maternity leave to 18 from 12 weeks in 2007, the rate at which new moms left Google fell by 50%."^{xvii}

So, do we need a gender lens to address these problems?

≧ YES, YES, AND YES! ≦

It's time that child care and parental leave policies become the rule, not the exception.

FINLAND

AWESOME THINGS THE FINNS DO TO HELP NEW PARENTS

(NOT THAT WE'RE JEALOUS OR ANYTHING)



Every family with a new baby receives a Baby Box full of stuff new parents need, like clothes and diapers (plus it doubles as a baby bed!)



FOUR MONTHS

paid maternity leave

plus,
moms and dads can share



SIX MORE MONTHS

of parental leave
with pay

AND THEN (because that's just not quite great enough)



kids can either continue staying home with their mothers until they reach school age

OR

attend publicly subsidized child-care centers



VS

12 WEEKS

unpaid leave

if you work for a company with 50 employees or more

AMERICA

CLEARLY OUR WORK ISN'T FINNISH-ED YET

(ba dum ching!)



IF YOU'RE NOT MOVED BY THE IDEALISM OF
"GOOD POLITICS," LET'S GET PRACTICAL:

WOMEN



We'll talk more later about the Minnesota Women's Economic Security Act (WESA), but for now it's our shining Exhibit A (and B and C and...well, it's really all you need to see) on how women vote and what a powerful vote that is. WESA went into effect on August 1, 2014. Although there's still more work to be done, it provides the most expansive host of benefits that protect women from workplace discrimination and works to ensure fair wages and equal pay. It's also proactive in its encouragement of women-owned businesses and women obtaining non-traditional high paying jobs. According to Lee Roper-Batker, president of the Women's Foundation of Minnesota, **"Nothing else like this is happening in the nation.**



xviii

HERE'S WHAT HAPPENED:

Organizers paid attention to women as women and recognized the particular challenges that women and children face. It paid off.

Debra Fitzpatrick, program director at the Center on Women and Public Policy at the University of Minnesota (which was a founding member of a big coalition of progressive groups that got this law passed) puts it this way:

"I can't [stress] enough that legislative leaders decided that women voters mattered. That's in two-fold ways important. First, women as voters are being seen as a bloc that's going to be important to winning elections. Second, there was increased recognition that women's incomes are really important to families and the future of the State of Minnesota."^{xix}

WESA passed because legislators felt the groundswell of pressure from their constituency. It's just that simple.

Want a better chance of winning your campaigns?

A gender lens is the way to do it. Of all eligible voters who reported voting in 2012, 71.4 million of them were women compared to 61.6 million men.^{xx}

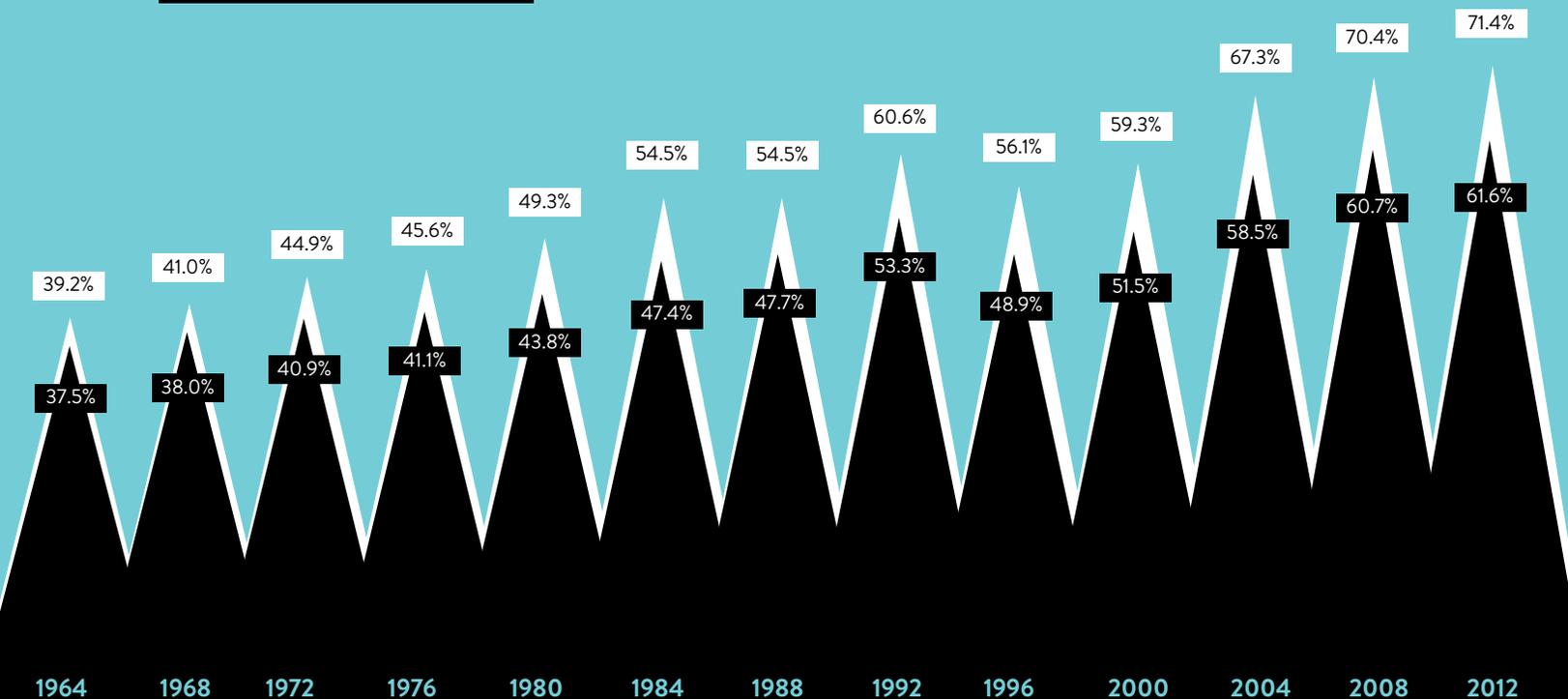
THE TAKEAWAY (AGAIN):

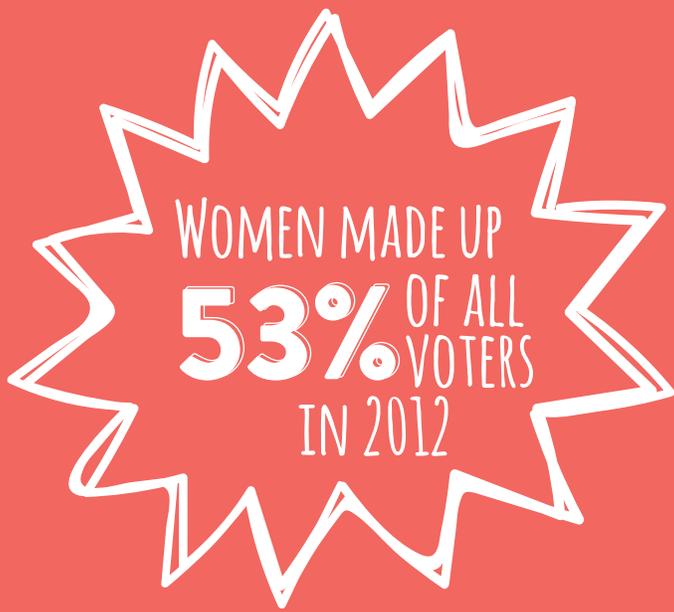
WOMEN
VOTE

WOMEN REPORTED VOTING

VS. MEN REPORTED VOTING

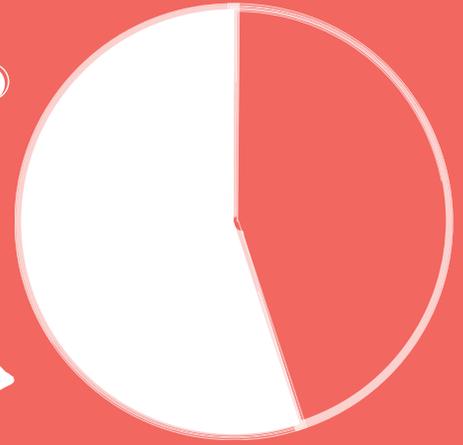
Presidential Elections (1964-2012)





Check out this chart that shows women voters were crucial to President Obama's win in 2012:^{xxi}

WOMEN MADE UP
55%
OF OBAMA
VOTERS



Compare 55% of women voting for Obama to 44% of women voting for Romney. That's a 10-point difference. But who were those women and which groups of women really made that wide gap happen? Applying an intersectional gender lens reveals that women of color were critically important to Obama's win. In a groundbreaking report "Women of Color: A Growing Force in the American Electorate," it's revealed that in 2012, Black women voted at a higher rate than any other gender, racial, or ethnic group, and along with other women of color, played a major role in Obama's victory.^{xxii} That sounds pretty irrefutable to us.

But, let's look toward the future as well. So far, we know that women vote more than men, that they are voting at increasingly higher numbers, and that they are crucial to winning elections. Harris tells us, as well, that "women are the largest voting bloc and women of color are the fastest growing segment of that group."

The gender gap in elections is striking— not only in terms of how many women vote, but importantly, what they vote for. They support in higher percentages almost every major progressive issue we hold dear. The Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University reports that women are:

- More likely to favor a more activist role for government;
- More supportive of programs to guarantee health care and basic social services;
- More supportive of firearm restrictions;
- More supportive of same-sex marriage; and
- More likely to favor legal abortion without restrictions.

Further, the Pew Research Center finds that there are big gender gaps in progressive issues like economic security, health care, environmental protections, diplomacy over military intervention, and birth control. Women support these issues far more than men.

Many progressives already know they need to pander to women in order to win electorally. But, imagine how bright the future would be if candidates, electeds, and organizers actually followed-through on their promises, and worked for substantive change on the issues that disproportionately impact women?

Perhaps we should take a cue from President Obama on this one:

"You can measure how well a country does by how well it treats its women. Some folks still talk about women's issues as if they're something separate, over there, and economics is over here – that's nonsense. When women succeed, America succeeds. It's pretty straightforward."^{xxiii}

Let's synthesize: if you want to win campaigns, appeal to women voters of all races. If you want to appeal to women voters, frame your issues in ways that matter to women. Use a gender lens, and then follow-through on those appeals.



WHERE DO MEN FIT IN?

The reality is, we don't live in the 1950s anymore where the societal expectation is that men will be the sole breadwinner and homemaking is the only option for women. (Though, of course, many women never had the option of only staying home to begin with.) But increasingly, younger women and men are sharing all the responsibilities—both inside and outside the home.

Also, let's get real: families look all kinds of ways. Heterosexual nuclear models with one mom, one dad and a couple of dimple-cheeked doe-eyed children are just one way a contemporary family might look. There are a million others. More than 1/3rd of all children in the U.S. live with a single parent, and this number is rising. Sometimes a teenage son might join a single mom to be financially responsible for the household and provide caretaking. Other times two moms are raising children. Or two dads.

Across our culture, the roles of women and men are changing, especially among younger people and Millennials. More men see themselves as caregivers and therefore are also affected by attitudes and policies that devalue caregiving because it was historically seen as the province of women.

Men are and must be actors in this fight for economic justice - not just allies or bystanders - because increasingly, **it's their fight, too.**

6 COMMON OBJECTIONS TO USING A GENDER LENS

(in case you're thinking any of these things...
or get asked by someone who is)

1

WE WORK ON PROGRESSIVE ISSUES, NOT "WOMEN'S ISSUES."

Good answers:

- Women are not a special-interest group. They are 51% of the population, making every issue an issue that impacts women. (Side note: Imagine if we called men a special interest group? Yeah, we think that's hilarious too.)
- When people say "women's issues," they are usually referring to reproductive rights. And while reproductive rights are a crucial component of a woman's ability to live a full and healthy life, it is not the only issue (or necessarily even the most important issue on a day-to-day basis) that women are facing. Women are whole people who care about (and are impacted by) every issue.

2

WE WORK ON POVERTY ISSUES, NOT "WOMEN'S ISSUES."

Good answers:

- Women represent 2/3rds of all minimum wage workers; 23% of minimum wage workers are women of color. That makes poverty an issue that requires a strong gender lens.
- It also means that issues like child care, typically thought of as a "women's issue," is also a poverty issue. When you use a gender lens, you work on poverty issues in a more foundational and thorough way. When you add gender, you're looking at the problem more holistically, which means you'll find deeper and more impactful – solutions.

3

TALKING ABOUT GENDER TURNS PEOPLE OFF. WE'RE AFRAID WE'LL LOSE A BIG CHUNK OF OUR CONSTITUENCY IF WE TALK ABOUT GENDER.

Good answers:

- Many of your constituents are women. It's impossible to talk about one part of a person (such as their race) without talking about the others (such as their gender). It fractures a person and the issues that affect them when you do.
- You'll miss important issues affecting your constituencies that intersect with what you're already doing – sexual harassment at work, equal pay for equal work, and hiring bias based on gender.
- Gender stereotypes and discrimination impact everyone negatively, including men and boys. Therefore, using a gender lens will help men and boys as well.

6 COMMON OBJECTIONS TO USING A GENDER LENS

(continued)

4 WE'RE MORE FOCUSED ON RACE THAN GENDER.

Good answers:

- A racial justice lens should never go without a gender justice lens because people are more than one thing.
- Poor women of color are often the most vulnerable populations as they are the most disenfranchised. When you advocate for women of color, and push through policies that affect them, you are more likely to make substantive change that affects the broadest range of people.

5 WE ARE IMPROVING WOMEN'S LIVES IN POSITIVE WAYS ALREADY WITHOUT TALKING ABOUT GENDER EXPLICITLY. WHY DO WE HAVE TO TALK ABOUT IT?

Good answers:

- Yes, *working to improve* women's lives is great. What's even better? Actually *analyzing* the ways in which history, culture, and power influence women's access to economic opportunity, and then *calling it out* explicitly. That's how we really raise awareness.
- Women and men have different needs, different vulnerabilities. Being aware of these needs and vulnerabilities is important because it helps get to the roots of the problems and design more effective solutions, instead of working on a surface level.
- When you are silent about your gender analysis, that silence is, in fact, your gender analysis.

6 TALKING ABOUT GENDER AND WOMEN'S ISSUES, ESPECIALLY ISSUES AFFECTING GENDER NON-CONFORMING PEOPLE, CAN BE CULTURALLY ALIENATING TO SOME PEOPLE OF COLOR, AND OTHERS.

Good answers:

- It's discriminatory to assume that people of color can't or are not willing to talk about women's rights and the rights of gender non-conforming people.
- Real progressive work often involves difficult conversations—you know this. There was once a time when people said that people of color couldn't handle LGBTQ rights issues, and we now see more organizations that focus on issues specifically affecting LGBTQ people of color.
- Taking on the hard stuff, when it's right, is what it means to be a true leader.

WHAT A GENDER LENS FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE MIGHT LOOK LIKE



Case Study #1

You may have heard a story about Debra Harrell, an African American mom from South Carolina who was arrested for allowing her nine-year-old daughter play in a nearby park while she worked at a nearby McDonald's. If Debra were to be incarcerated, she could face up to 10 years in jail.

The media has presented Debra as an inattentive mother who left her young child alone. Our gender lens, however, sheds a bright light on what is otherwise a story cloaked in rhetoric about “good parenting.”

The truth is that Debra needed to work in order to pay her bills and support herself and her little girl. Because Debra's daughter's laptop had been recently stolen from their home, the child asked if rather than playing around on the computer at the McDonald's where Debra worked, she could hang out at a nearby park. She had a cell phone if she needed her mother. It seemed like a reasonable solution.

Further, check out the economic situation in which Debra made her choice:

- The Federal minimum wage is \$7.25.
- Most McDonald's in South Carolina pay \$7.25 per hour.
- If Debra worked 40 hours a week, she made \$290 per week before taxes.
- The average cost for child care in South Carolina is \$6,280 per year.
- If Debra worked 40 hours every single week for a year, her salary before taxes would be \$15,080.
- Child care would cost Debra at least half her salary.

Women like Debra are caught between a rock and a hard place, trying to make ends meet by working full time, but still not having enough money to pay for basic expenses, such as after-school care for her child. This is a dire situation, not simply because Debra is a parent, but also because she is a woman and African American.

The median income for Black women in South Carolina is \$27,948 compared to \$48,640 for white, non-Hispanic men.

That's 57.5 cents on the dollar, amounting to a wage gap of \$20,692.

Using a gender lens to look at this case allows us to see the nuances of Debra's situation, and the broader context in which she was forced to make a hard parenting decision. A gender lens shows us that part of the solution to Debra's situation, instead of criminalizing her as an individual, is to address the tremendous wage gap so that African American women are paid a living wage. If Debra had been paid what white men in South Carolina are paid, she would most likely have been able to afford child care and ensure that her child was safe.

High quality child care needs to be more affordable, and support both the role of the paid caregiver (many of whom are parents themselves) and the parent's need for child care. This is the way toward a healthy society, economically and otherwise.

A gender lens expands an investigation of Debra's situation so that it's possible to see not only the full spectrum of concerns and problems for her, but for hundreds of thousands of women like her who face similar quandaries around work and child care.

If we were to buy into the media framing of the situation, we'd be looking at a set of policy issues that don't even get close to addressing the real problem.

CASE STUDY #2

CRIMINAL IN-JUSTICE

& THE CECE MCDONALD CASE

It's easy to spell out the injustices that take place at every point in our criminal justice system. From gratuitous stop & frisks and arrests, to excessive sentencing practices and mass incarceration, it's easy to see why so many people call the system "broken."

TO APPLY A GENDER LENS TO THE ISSUE OF INCARCERATION IS TO UNCOVER A WEALTH OF OFTEN UNHEARD INFORMATION.

As the Center for American Progress states:

"Women are now incarcerated at nearly double the rate of men in this country, yet they receive little attention in criminal justice reform measures. This population has gender-specific needs that differ from men in prison, primarily owing to the fact that they are often the primary caregivers of their children before incarceration and are disproportionately victimized by emotional, physical, and sexual abuse in their past. Instead of investing in counseling treatment for such traumatic pasts and rehabilitative treatment for substance addiction, the criminal justice system continues to detain women



CECE MCDONALD



at extraordinary rates for primarily nonviolent drug-related offenses.^{29xxiv}

In fact, the number of women incarcerated has grown by more than 800% over the last three decades. For women of color, it's even worse: Black women are three times more likely than white women to be incarcerated, while Hispanic women are 69% more likely than white women to be incarcerated.

Further, there are few greater threats to the well being of trans women of color, than the under-protecting and over-policing of their bodies by the criminal justice system.

A 2012 study by the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs found that "transgender people across the U.S. experience three times as much police violence as non-transgender individuals. Those numbers are even higher for transgender people of color. Even when transgender people were the victims of hate crimes, 48% reported receiving mistreatment from the police when they went for help."

Take the case of CeCe McDonald. She is a young Black transgender woman from Minneapolis who was taunted, verbally



LAVERNE COX & CECE McDONALD

assaulted with homophobic, transphobic, and racist slurs, then physically assaulted by a group of white people drinking outside a bar as she and her friends walked to purchase some groceries. CeCe fought back and ended up, in self-defense, stabbing her primary attacker, Dean Schmitz, who was high on cocaine and methamphetamine. He died from the chest wound. CeCe, just 23 years old at the time and facing up to 80 years in prison, accepted a plea bargain of 41 months for second-degree manslaughter.

TRANS ACTIVISTS AND ALLIES ORGANIZED THE FREE CECE CAMPAIGN, WHICH HIGHLIGHTED THE INTERSECTING OPPRESSIONS THAT TRANS WOMEN OF COLOR FACE.

They crowd-sourced funding to produce a video to tell CeCe's story and garner media attention. The viral effect of the media attention was staggering as videos supporting CeCe proliferated. Melissa Harris Perry highlighted the case on her MSNBC show, and actress/trans activist Laverne Cox became one of her most public advocates. CeCe was released after 19 months in prison.

Activists took what the courts would not allow as evidence—considerations of gender, sexual orientation, race, and class—and made those intersections the center of their awareness raising campaign on behalf of CeCe. They

powerfully articulated that she was convicted for “daring to survive a hate crime.” Or as Laverne Cox said, **“So often our lives are treated as if they don’t matter. The act of walking down the street is often a contested act—not only from the citizenry but also from the police.”** In this way Cox, and other supporters, spoke to the double victimization of trans women of color—first by the public, then by the criminal justice system that is mandated to protect them.

Applying a gender lens to police violence, however, does much more than show that women of color, like men of color, are victimized by police. It shows that the police attention to gender is one of policing gender itself. “I think most people are familiar with racial profiling,” says attorney and activist Andrea Ritchie. “But I think people are less familiar with how gender is really central to policing in the United States. That includes expectations in terms of how women are supposed to look, how men are supposed to look, how women are supposed to act and how men are supposed to act.”

As pioneers of the LGBTQ movement, this is in no way the beginning of trans and gender non-conforming folks standing up in defense of their own rights and survival. But finally, slowly but surely, there is a sea change happening, and we are all finally starting to sit up and take notice that there is so much more work to be done.



WHEN YOU USE A GENDER LENS,
YOU WIN, WIN, WIN

(here's how)

CASE STUDY #3

THE RETAIL WORKERS BILL OF RIGHTS

Jobs with Justice San Francisco used a gender lens to pass some of the most progressive workers rights legislation in the history of the United States.

The Retail Workers Bill of Rights is groundbreaking labor legislation that:

- **Promotes full-time work and access to hours for workers who need it;**
- **Encourages fair, predictable scheduling of workers;**
- **Discourages abusive on-call scheduling practices;**
- **Prohibits discrimination of part-time workers;**
- **And makes it so that if companies are sold, workers must be allowed to keep their jobs during the 90-day trial period (at the very least).**

According to Sarita Gupta, Executive Director of Jobs With Justice, “The gender lens we used for the Bill of Rights gave [us] a very deep understanding of what choices workers were having to face constantly.” JwJ learned that the effort to raise the minimum wage is just part of what women needed in San Francisco. When you run a minimum wage campaign without regard for gender, says Gupta, women can become completely invisible. The narrative becomes “what low wage workers need are higher wages,” but that in and of itself is not enough.

With a coalition of allies including groups like the California Work and Family Coalition, Gupta says they went out and talked to women workers, including a lot of women workers at big box stores, particularly Walmart, and discovered that using a gender lens allowed their organization to arrive at a deeper analysis and more impactful solutions.



WE WOULD NOT HAVE COME TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF WAGES AND SCHEDULES AND THE INEXTRICABLE WAY IN WHICH THEY'RE LINKED HAD WE NOT BROUGHT A STRONG GENDER LENS INTO THE SPACE.

As we were doing the pregnancy accommodation campaign at Walmart and talking more deeply with workers there, we began to really understand the complexity of what women are facing especially if they are responsible for care in their families. There were a slew of issues that came up that then led us to imagine this Retail Workers Bill of Rights and bringing the wage increase together with predictable schedules instead of treating them as separate things. This is a policy package that will actually move the needle for women workers," she says.

This investigation of what women retail workers were experiencing, says Gupta, taught them that "we need to come up with a new narrative—not just the policy package—but an organizing approach of women workers that actually addressed all of these issues in order for them to be willing to take the risk to organize in their work places. Because otherwise it's not worth it, not worth the risk. You're a woman in a low wage job and you don't want to lose the job and the only demand is higher wages, you're going to go with increased wages because that alone can be enough. But if it's wages and schedules and on call pay, then there's really an incentive to want to take a risk and push for those demands to be met."

So what's the takeaway? The group was initially using an approach based just on wages but after the gender lens was applied, the approach became about wages and predictable hours and job security. This combination of issues made organizers and workers much more interested in the fight and much more willing to take risks. The landmark legislation went into effect on January 5, 2015.

HOW TO WIN 8 STEPS TO VICTORY



#1

ASK WOMEN

BROADEN YOUR
ANALYSIS

#2



#3

CHANGE YOUR
CAMPAIGN TO ADDRESS
WOMEN'S NEEDSSHIFT THE
NARRATIVE

#4



#5

SHIFT THE
ORGANIZING APPROACHGET NEW ALLIES &
CONSTITUENCIES

#6



#7

EXPAND
YOUR BASE

#8

WIN!





CASE STUDY #4:

THE WOMEN'S ECONOMIC SECURITY ACT

In 2014, a coalition of progressive groups in Minnesota got sweeping legislation passed to improve the economic lives of women and families statewide. The Women's Economic Security Act (WESA) works to close the gender wage gap; increases the minimum wage; expands access to high-quality affordable child care; expands family and sick leave for working families; protects women from discrimination in the workplace; enhances protections for victims of violence; encourages women in non-traditional high wage jobs and small businesses; and helps the economic security of older women.

This is a tremendous first step on the path towards dream legislation!

SO, HOW DID THEY DO IT?

The story of WESA in Minnesota is an important one to tell. The story of its passage is not just about the savvy organizing work of one organization, but is also about how some organizations in the coalition shifted the way they had been looking at their work. A number of groups in the coalition had not previously worked explicitly on gender or understood the power of using a gender lens. Once they did, they used their power to help WESA become a shining reality. Turn the page for TakeAction's story.

*That's Minnesota
Governor Mark Dayton
signing the Women's
Economic Security Act
into law.*



EVERY SINGLE ECONOMIC JUSTICE ISSUE WE WERE WORKING ON DISPROPORTIONATELY IMPACTED WOMEN.

Dan McGrath
Action Minnesota

TakeAction Executive Director Dan McGrath says,

“For years we had had funders approach us about working on issues such as paid sick leave. Our response was that that’s a good issue, that’s an important issue, but it feels like there are lots of things we could be working on. Why work on this in particular? Then we started to go through a shift in our organizational thinking and in our organizing strategy and we started to realize that as opposed to our putting an issue at the forefront and then thinking about who we needed to organize toward that issue, we needed to make a shift and think about who are the people who needed to be knit together in order to build a larger movement in order to make more substantive and bolder change in the state. You know, we’d already been doing some work along those lines in the African American community, and we’d been doing some work with white working class folks. And, then, suddenly we came to the idea that for women to be an organized constituency in our state there is quite a bit more organizing to be done.”

TakeAction used its wealth of experience as community organizers, extensive relationships in the state, and policy know-how and organized their constituency in support of WESA— knitting together women from a range of backgrounds across the state. TakeAction also ended up taking the lead on the earned sick leave portion of the bill, while other partners led on other pieces of the legislation.

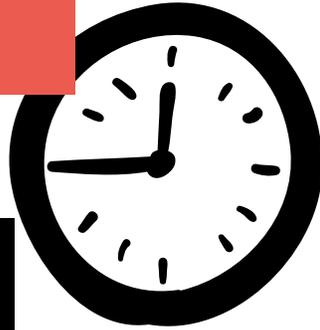
Now, says Dan, “The most invigorating part of our organizing work is the work we are doing organizing women-- as women-- around their economic security. That is particularly true in Northeast Minnesota where there’s a big constituency of low-income women and women of color.” It was both through the work with the coalition and the shift in focus that TakeAction could see clearly that “every single economic justice issue [they] were working on disproportionately impacted women.”

IN THIS EXAMPLE, EVERYONE WINS.

HOW A GENDER LENS CAN BROADEN YOUR ANALYSIS AND PUT IT ON THE MAP

Case Study #5

INVOLUNTARY PART-TIME WORK



Now, let's look at an economic trend: involuntary part-time work. (It's called "involuntary" because it means people want and are available for full-time work, but have had to settle for part-time because their employer doesn't give them enough hours or because they can only find a part-time job.) Statistics reveal that within involuntary part-time work in the U.S., women and men are nearly equally represented. On the surface it seems as if gender is not a factor. Women and men are both forced into low-wage part-time positions when they'd like full-time work, regular hours, health insurance, and more job security.

As soon as a gender lens is applied, however, and we examine how the negative fallout from involuntary part-time work puts a disproportionate burden on women, we begin to see the full spectrum of how the increased numbers of involuntary part-time workers is not just an individual problem, but a problem that affects, and disenfranchises, entire communities.

As the primary caretakers of both children and aging parents, when women are stuck in involuntary part-time work, they often have to make the choice between going to work and taking care of family members in need.

And, of the 12 million single parent households in 2013, 80% were headed by women. Many single mothers want full-time work, not part-time work, and here's why:

- When you work part-time you don't get benefits such as paid sick days or vacation.
- When you work part-time, you are often subject to erratic and last minute scheduling, which makes lining up child care nearly impossible.
- When you work part-time, you make less money. Part-timers often earn less per hour than full-time workers with similar education, skills and experience.^{xxv}

When women's schedules are changed at the last minute and they can't find childcare or elder care in a pinch, the results can be grim: women are forced to choose between caring for a loved one or losing a paycheck – or even worse, a job. That's bad for women and families, and bad for the economy. The unpredictability of schedules can push women out of the workplace and into full-time unemployment.

Here are two alarming statistics from a December 2014 *New York Times* article that focuses on the gendered differences of why people leave the workplace:

- After rising for six decades with a peak of 75% in 1999, **rates of working women in America have fallen to 69%.**
- "Of nonworking adults aged 25 to 54 in the United States, **61% of women said family responsibilities were a reason they weren't working, compared with 37% of men.**"

A gender lens reveals that the growth of contingent work (part-time work and temporary work), with its non-family friendly policies and practices, contributes significantly to pushing women out of the workplace, and in some cases, more deeply into poverty.

Achieving a family-friendly workplace means addressing issues such as paid parental leave and child care, alongside more broad-based concerns like paid sick leave and higher wages. This is just one of many examples that show how a gender analysis deepens our understanding of issues and helps leaders develop more comprehensive strategies focused on making substantive multi-pronged change.

HOW A GENDER FRAME CAN DEEPEN YOUR WORK!

CASE STUDY 6: THE "NO-MATCH LETTER"

A "no-match letter" is a notice sent by the Social Security Administration to employers to inform them that an employee's name or social security number reported by the employer does not match their name or social security number in SSA records. No-match letters disproportionately affect immigrant workers because the SSA and the Department of Homeland Security use them as way to suss out those who are undocumented. Jobs with Justice in DC, however, forged an unlikely alliance after understanding how the no-match letters also affect transgender people.

At a National Workers Rights Board Hearing about the SSA no-match letters, transgender activist John Otto provided a testimonial on the letters' impact on transgender people, who disproportionately receive these letters because of name changes related to gender. As a result, a group was formed called Private Work, a network for people who identify as LGBTQ and a constituency group of the AFL-CIO, who all have a vested interest in addressing the impact of 'no match' letters. Private Work has organized their chapters around the issue of no-match letters and encouraged them to connect with immigrant rights organizations. This is a great example of how a gender lens can broaden your coalitions, and therefore, your base of constituents and organizing power.

This joining of forces created an entry point for the LGBTQ community to say "this is our issue too," and allowed immigrant rights groups to gain increasing support and leverage by adding to their constituency and numbers.

The gender frame opened up the possibility for a powerful and unlikely workers' rights alliance.

HOW TO WIN 5 (MORE) STEPS TO VICTORY

CONSIDER THE
RANGE OF GENDER
IMPACTS, NOT
SINGULARLY THE
IMPACT ON WOMEN



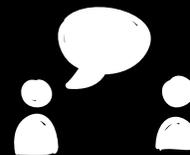
#1

BROADEN YOUR
ANALYSIS

#2

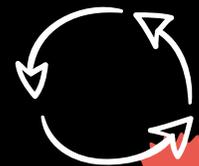


BUILD UNLIKELY
ALLIANCES



#3

BUILD MORE
POWER IN A
RECIPROCAL WAY



#4



#5

HELP
MORE
PEOPLE

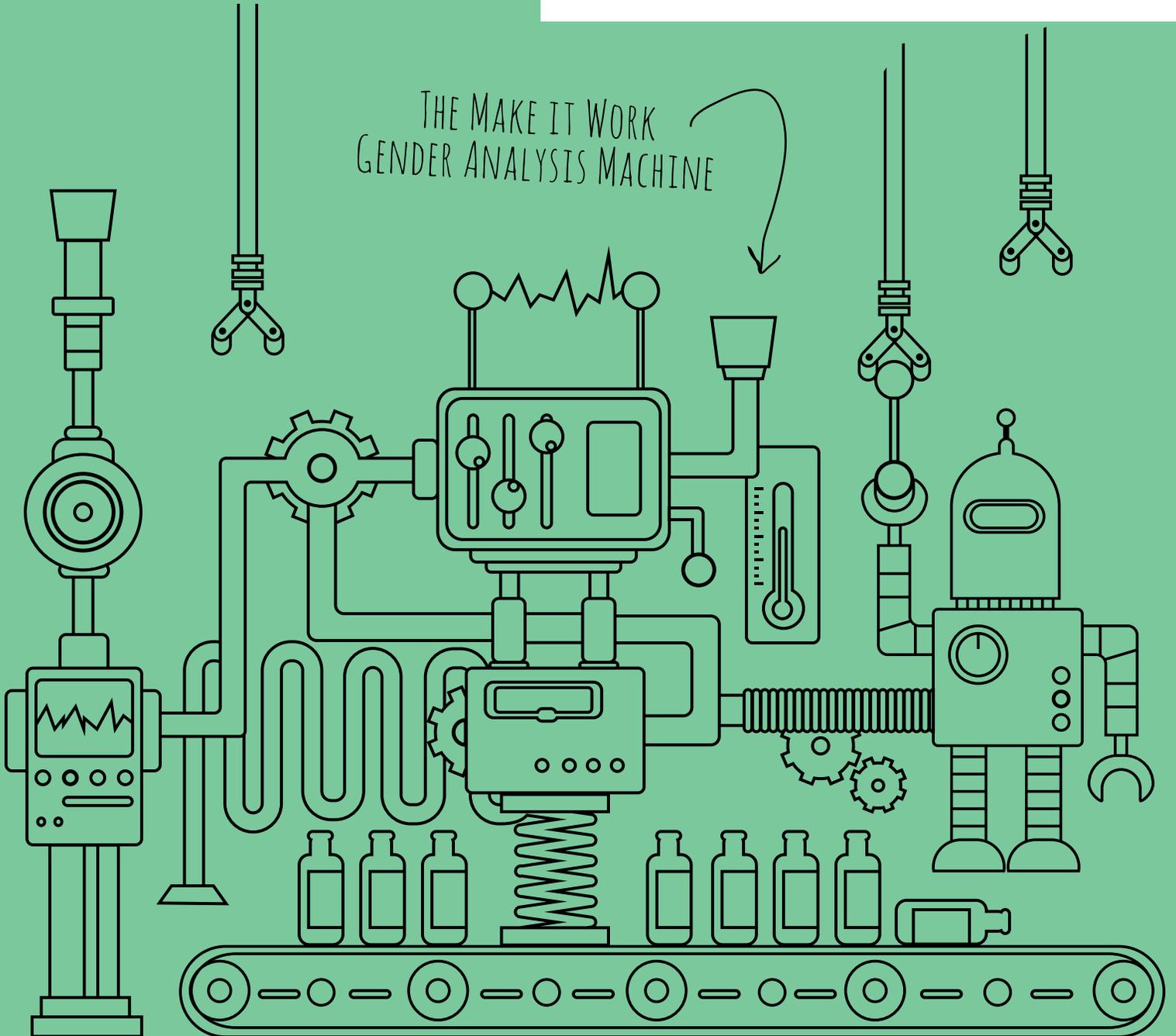


EVERY ISSUE NEEDS A
GENDER LENS

TAKE A LOOK

The moment you apply a gender lens to any social justice issue you reveal the true dimensions of that issue, whether it be LGBTQ rights, education, immigration, criminal justice, economic inequality, or racial justice. In this next section, we take two issues through the “**Make It Work Gender Analysis Machine**” to unveil the gender injustices that hide within issues that appear to have nothing to do with gender on the surface.

THE MAKE IT WORK
GENDER ANALYSIS MACHINE





EXAMPLE #1: EDUCATION

The majority of statistics on education and education reform focus on the role race plays when young people are not able to complete their educations and fulfill their dreams. Few of these statistics focus specifically on girls. The official blog of the U.S. Department of Education fails to mention gender at all, despite the fact that girls of color are being pushed out of school, pulled out of school, and over-policed at alarming rates.

HERE ARE SOME STATISTICS THAT INCLUDE A RACE LENS:

- Only two out of three Latino high school students and three out of five of Black high school students attend schools that offer the **full range of math and science courses**, defined by the Office of Civil Rights.
- Nationally, Black students are three times as **likely to be suspended** than their white peers. Latino students are 1.5 times more likely to be suspended than their white peers.^{xxvi}
- Students of color are more **likely to go to schools with lower-quality facilities** such as temporary, portable classrooms. A recent study found that 45% of schools with more than 50% of students of color have temporary, portable buildings compared with only 13% of schools with less than 6% of students of color.
- Students of color are more **likely to be assigned to inexperienced, out-of-field, academically weaker, and less effective teachers** than are other students.
- Black and Latino students are **disproportionately channeled into the school-to-prison pipeline**.
- One in four African American and nearly one in six Latino students still **attend “dropout factories,”** high schools where fewer than 60% of students graduate.

These statistics are vitally important to understanding the disproportionate impact that failing education systems and increased criminalization have on young people of color.

NOW, LOOK AT WHAT HAPPENS WHEN GENDER AND RACE COME TOGETHER AS AN ANALYTICAL TOOL.



A powerful recent report by Kimberle Crenshaw highlights the specific impact of the school-to-prison-pipeline on Black girls. It tells the story of a six-year-old girl who was arrested in school for having a temper tantrum, a 12-year-old girl who faced suspension and criminal charges for writing “hi” on a locker room wall, and girls as young as five being handcuffed and arrested.^{xxvii}

Crenshaw takes an intersectional approach to reveal how race and gender stereotypes play a significant role in driving Black girls out of school and into the juvenile justice system.

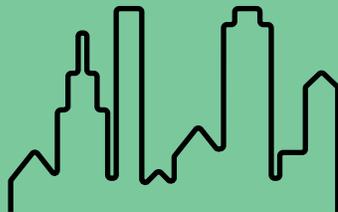
THE FINDINGS ARE STARTLING:



In Boston, Black girls comprise

61 percent

of all girls disciplined, compared to white girls, who represented only **5%** of girls disciplined.



In New York City during the 2011-2012 school year,

90 percent

of all girls expelled from school were Black. **No white girls** in the entire city were expelled.



Increased numbers of law enforcement and security personnel within schools **actually make many girls feel more unsafe**, due to the zero tolerance policies, intimidating metal detectors, and other security protocol, all of which make them **less likely to attend school**.

Black girls are punished more harshly than other girls at school, which often leads to their leaving school and being put into the juvenile justice system. Once in the system they continue to be punished more harshly than any other group of girls.



Black girls are the FASTEST GROWING POPULATION in the juvenile justice system.

THE TAKEAWAY:

When looking at the problems in our education system through a race lens only, this specific impact on Black girls was impossible to see. It is only through the use of a race and gender lens together that the true problems become apparent. It is only from this comprehensive perspective that effective and lasting solutions can be drawn.

ON THE ROAD to East Hampton, NY, one of the most posh vacation spots in the country, there is sometimes a man with a giant sign leaning against his massive pickup truck. It reads: “WHEN THEY JUMPED THE FENCE THEY BROKE THE LAW.” The irony of where he’s chosen to launch his one-man campaign is not lost on most. The Hamptons is where the top one percent spend their summer vacations, and the service industry (from construction to domestic work, and landscaping to restaurant work) is populated with people from Jamaica, Guatemala, Russia, Ecuador, and Mexico.

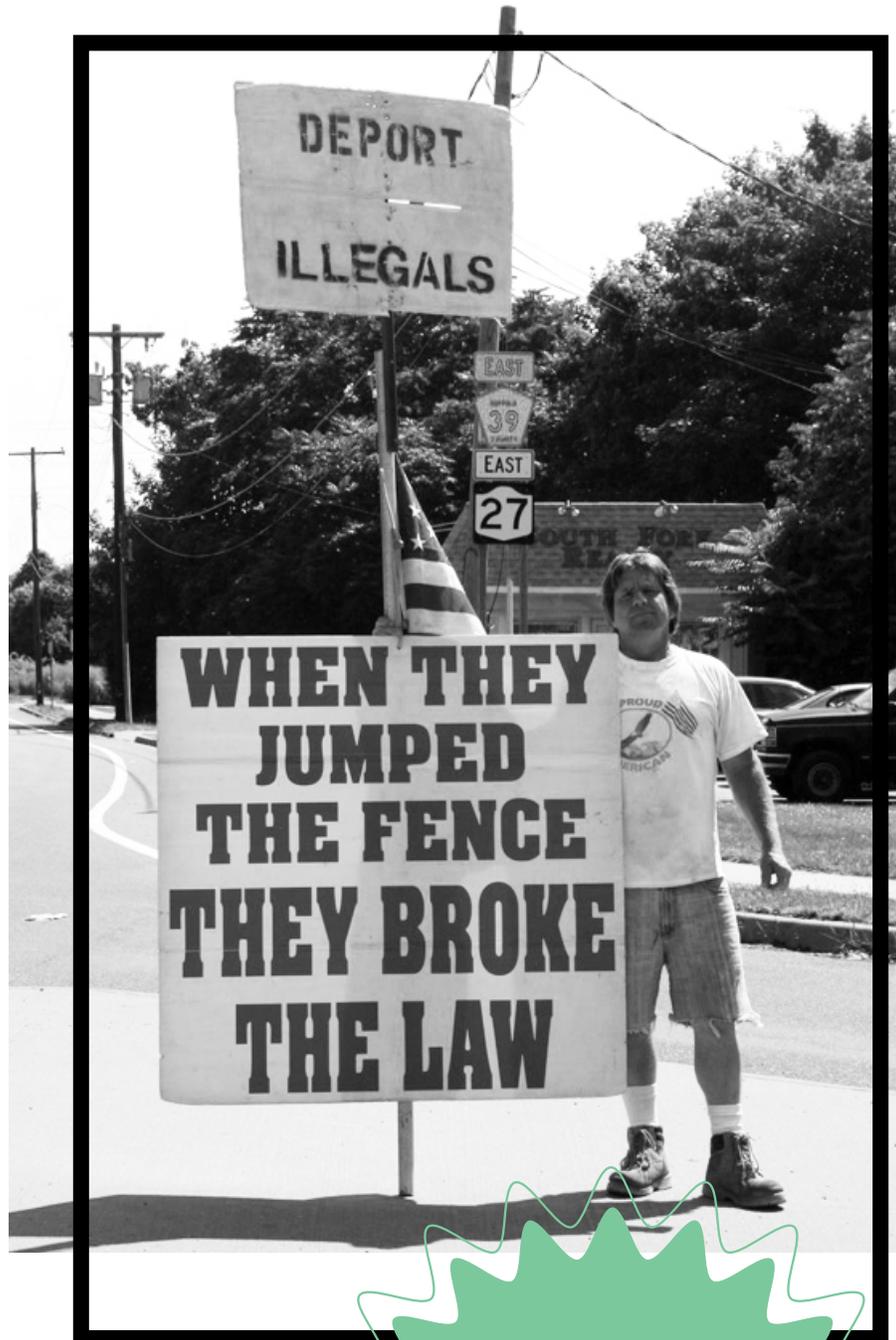
Though the mainstream rhetoric about immigration usually has to do with “the law,” “foreigners taking American jobs” and “freeloaders,” the real immigration story is the one of millions of hard working folks contributing in undisputable ways to American culture and the economy. Additionally, the fact that three-quarters of all immigrants to the United States are women and children is a fact that cannot be ignored.^{xxviii}

We Belong Together, an initiative by National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and the National Asian Pacific American Women’s Forum (NAPAWF), is a campaign to lift up the voices of immigrant women and centralize immigration reform as a women’s issue. Undocumented immigrant women in

the United States face an onslaught of vulnerabilities that, really, boggle the mind in the way they overlap and feed into each other. It’s like one injustice creates another.

Nearly 60% of undocumented women work in informal economies—economies that are neither taxed nor monitored by government and in which workers tend to get paid “under the table” or in cash. These economies include restaurant work, domestic work, garment labor, and caregiving, among others.

They often receive no pay stub with their weekly pay and are thereby not eligible for one of the pathways to citizenship, which requires proof of employment. Being undocumented and not having legal permission to work in well-regulated sectors make women particularly vulnerable to abuse by both men who sponsor their visas and by their employers. Visas tend to favor male-dominated industries, so men are often the holders of work visas, which make women reliant on the men in their lives.



EXAMPLE #2:
IMMIGRATION

QUICK FACTS:

As a result, immigrant women are three to six times more likely to experience domestic abuse than US-born women, regardless of their partner's immigration status. We Belong Together explains, "Abusers usually take advantage of the partner's immigration status, isolation and economic dependence because of visa restrictions" to stay in the relationship.

And, if you're undocumented, you're much less likely to call the police. Especially in states like Arizona, the threat of deportation is a very real one due to laws like SB 1070, a wide-ranging anti-immigration law requiring law enforcement to try to ascertain whether a person is in the country illegally during routine traffic stops and other encounters.

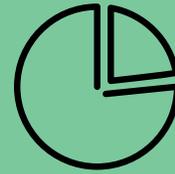
A few years ago, NDWA was very successful in bringing a gender lens to this issue by framing SB 1070 as an issue of violence against women. Ai-jen Poo, Director of NDWA, recalls a hearing before the Women's Congressional Caucus and several other members of Congress:

One woman, a survivor of domestic violence, said that before SB 1070 she had to call the police five different times to report her abuser and that she'd probably be dead right now if she couldn't call the police... And her sisters in the community aren't going to do that now. She doesn't know what's going to happen. It's already difficult enough for women to break silence around violence against women and now more women are going to face violence in silence because they're afraid to call the police. Some people are going to die.

Applying a gender lens to immigration shows how undocumented women are particularly vulnerable to anti-immigrant sentiment and legislation. It also shows how much immigrant women contribute to the economy.

Two fields—domestic labor and caretaking—are projected to grow exponentially over the next 20 years as 75 million Americans reach retirement age. The overall demand for direct-care workers, who are predominantly women, and often immigrants, will also increase dramatically.

So, while the narrative we often hear is about how immigrants are some kind of drain on the American economy such that they should be punished and/or deported, the reality is quite different. Women, especially, are deeply affected by immigration policies that refuse to recognize both the dignity of, and the essential economic and societal contributions of, the work that many undocumented workers take on to support their own, and other people's, families. Immigration is not often thought of or framed as a women's issue, but women are deeply and uniquely impacted by our broken immigration system.



three-quarters of all immigrants to the United States are **women and children**

Nearly **60%** of undocumented women work in informal economies

meaning they aren't taxed or regulated by the government



Undocumented women often receive no pay stub with their weekly pay and so aren't eligible for one of the pathways to citizenship

Being undocumented and not having legal permission to work in well-regulated sectors make women particularly vulnerable to abuse

Immigrant women are **3 to 6x** to experience domestic abuse than US-born women

THE STEP-BY-STEP GUIDE

So far, we've been asking you to self-assess, tell your own stories, and ask some hard questions. Now it's time to put your organization's work through the "Make It Work Gender Analysis Machine."

READY, SET, GO!



SEE THE "ADDITIONAL RESOURCES" SECTION FOR SOME SUGGESTIONS.



ALSO CHECK OUT THE ORGANIZATIONAL ASSESSMENT ON PAGE 46

HOW TO START THE CONVERSATION

When starting a conversation about gender (and race and class, and other identities), there can be some difficulty in finding the right language to use. We suggest that you begin by looking for articles, statistics, stories, or other sources of media that can open up a conversation with your co-workers or team members.

We suggest that you bring statistics into your conversation that indicate just how gender discrimination and inequity impacts women across races, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation. That way, it's not just about the people in the room and your stories, experiences, or analyses, but those stories and experiences are bolstered by a broader context. This additional context can also help to open up the conversation, so that no one person or team of people feel defensive.

We also know that in many instances, there might be some gender hierarchy to contend with. Male leaders, what's required here is that you are aware of these potential barriers and try your best to open up a space for everyone to speak freely about their experiences, both personal and professional. That might mean stepping back from the conversation to allow for other voices to occupy it.



CREATE A SHARED LANGUAGE

Go back to the work you did in Work Breaks 1 and 2 and list all the words and phrases you came up with to talk about gender and its intersection with race and class and any other identities that resonated with your group. List, as well, any stories that you have in common and experiences that you share. Let this be the foundation upon which you will build language for your own organizational gender analysis.

This language will shift and evolve as it is applied to the range of specific issues your organization works on, but this is a good place to start so that a range of stakeholders can have a say in developing a powerful set of language around gender from everyone's own experiences.

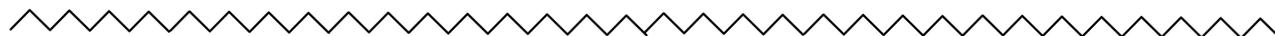




LOOK UNDERNEATH THE SURFACE: DO YOUR RESEARCH

This is an important step and it may take some time. Conduct research or partner with an organization that can help you do research to see what the gender differences are in terms of who is affected by the issues you work on.

For example, if you do work on criminal justice, what's the common narrative when it comes to who is affected by police brutality? Now, find out how women and girls, trans women, women of color, families, communities, and family structures are affected. Most importantly, don't just rely on statistics. Talk to women themselves. Hear their stories. Stories often reveal what statistics cannot. And, they might lead you to other kinds of research that you didn't know you needed to do. Be open to letting personal stories lead you to specific and unexpected research areas.



ASK SOME HARD QUESTIONS

Reconvene after the research has been done and present that research to key leaders, key constituents and other stakeholders. Brainstorm together to answer the following questions:

- What are the public messages and public policies that legitimize and facilitate these differences?
- How might we frame our issues differently given this new, expanded information?
- What new issues now intersect with the issues we've already been working on? (For example, think back to that unlikely connection between immigration and trans rights and how trans activists found themselves invested in immigration policy in new ways.)
- How might this new information help us broaden the base of our constituency?
- How might this new information affect how we approach particular campaigns? (For example, how Jobs with Justice looked at its campaign for high wages through a gender lens and then discovered the campaign had to be about higher wages and predictability of hours.)
- How have the narratives been shifted? What are the new narratives you want to tell? In short, how you going to change your game?



REACH OUT TO NEW PARTNERS, BUILD ALLIANCES

This process will inevitably give you a bunch of new ideas about strategic partners. When you look to women's and LGBTQ organizations to partner on this work, it's important to come in with your own agenda, your own analysis, instead of relying on them to do your gender work. But, we are sure you'll have no problem with this now! (See steps 1-4) 😊

PLAYING A GOOD GENDER GAME

After going through this curriculum, we hope you've begun to develop a gender analysis that expands how you think about your work. But beyond that, we want to help you strengthen your gender analysis so you can broaden your base and better strategize to win campaigns across a range of social justice and progressive issues.

We want your gender game to be better than the gender game that gets played on everyone in our society all the time – in the ways women get stereotyped and families devalued, in the ways that transgender and gender non-conforming people have few legal protections, and in ways all the varied family structures are not reflected in societal norms and workplace policies. A good gender game means being able to clearly see the ways our identities - gender, along with race and class and a host of others - come together to create barriers for individuals and entire communities. This curriculum challenges you to look below the surfaces, to re-write the narratives, and to respond with deeper, more insightful organizing and campaign strategies.

UPPING YOUR GENDER GAME IS
A SERIOUS AND POWERFUL PLAY.

WE INVITE YOU TO
THE BIG LEAGUES



IT DOESN'T END HERE

This gender analysis curriculum is one step, but it's not an end game. The hope is that you can continue to develop your gender analysis as the months pass.

HERE ARE THREE SUPER EASY THINGS TO DO:

1

Conduct one or two refresher courses throughout the year to highlight the work that has already been done, successes that you've seen, and where your organization can continue to grow.

2

Once your gender analysis is in place and you begin to see its positive effects, share your success story with us so we can inspire even more organizers, strategists, movement builders, and policy makers to take up a powerful gender lens.

3

Talk back to this curriculum. Think about what else you need this tool to do. How would you reshape it? What do you need now? Tell us what new gender resources would help. Reach us at makeitworkcampaign.org.

ASSESSING YOUR ORGANIZATION'S GENDER ANALYSIS: ARE YOU A TORTOISE, A DOLPHIN, OR A CHEETAH?

WE'RE NOT GONNA LEAVE YOU HANGING.

We understand that starting the conversation about gender, gender and race, gender and sexuality and gender identity isn't easy. This extension of Workbreak 3 provides a fun, more in-depth step toward understanding where your organization is starting in relation to individual and organizational knowledge, assumptions, and behaviors when it comes to gender equality.

Here we provide a way to help you begin to identify the gaps in your organization's culture, beliefs, and practices. However, what these gaps open up are opportunities to fortify your organization's existing work and deepen your staff and leadership's ability to take up a gender lens. Now it's time to figure out if you're primarily a tortoise, a dolphin, or a cheetah.

Tortoises move slowly, at a .17 mph. Dolphins can move through water at 40 mph, a pretty darn good pace. But, cheetahs are by far the fastest mammals and can accelerate to 60 mph in 3 seconds.



Each participant gets a worksheet. For each question, check the box most appropriate.

- **TORTOISE:** Organization is moving pretty slowly or not at all.
- **DOLPHIN:** Organization has taken the first steps and started conversations. Things are looking good for progress.
- **CHEETAH:** Organization is fully on board and has taken fast and in-depth action. You're leading the pack!

Adapted from an assessment developed by the Western States Center

PROGRAM

1. Does your organization talk about issues using language having to do with gender in general?
2. Does your organization talk about issues and how they intersect with gender and other identities having to do with race, gender identity, and sexual orientation?
3. Does your organization talk about its issues in a way that includes an awareness of women, and especially women of color and low-income women, as constituents, and how they are disproportionately impacted by the issues you work on?
4. Does your organization advocate for the inclusion of an intersectional gender lens when working in coalition or partnership with other groups?
5. Is there any attention paid to the specific vulnerabilities of trans women and gender non-conforming people as they intersect with the issues on which you work?
6. Do your organization's programmatic goals seek to address the needs of women and transgender people?

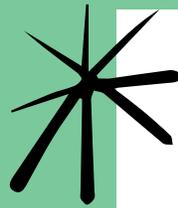


STAFF, MEMBERS, AND BOARD

1. Does your organization have women, particularly women of color, in decision-making roles and on its board of directors?
2. Is gender, gender identity, and sexual orientation part of the diversity that your organization seeks among its staff, leadership, and membership?
3. Are there any transgender people on your staff or board?
4. Do you have regular trainings and discussions at both the member and staff levels about intersectional sexism and gender oppression?
5. Have you had a conversation with your board about using an intersectional gender lens?

CULTURE AND POLICIES

1. Do people in leadership positions support and lead discussions of power and oppression especially as they relate to gender?
2. Do you have a system in place if sexism and gender oppression arise in the workplace?
3. Does the culture of your organization allow everyone to speak up during meetings and express their leadership?
4. Does your organization have a generous paid leave policy for new mothers and fathers?
5. Does your organization offer paid sick leave to employees at all levels, for personal use and to care for a sick relative?
6. Does your organization create a family-friendly environment, including flexibility and predictability in scheduling?
7. Are all kinds of family make-ups valued, affirmed, and welcomed in the ways your organization comes together as a community?



RESEARCH RESOURCES

HELP WITH RESEARCH

The **Labor Research and Action Network** (LRAN) brings together workers' rights organizations, academics, and students in a dynamic collaborative effort to build workplace and economic power for working people in this country. The online listserv and database connects scholars and practitioners working on worker rights campaigns. There is a \$25 annual fee to access the list and data.

<https://lrnetwork.org>

Organizations might also reach out to graduate programs in gender, sexuality, labor, and related studies if you have a particular research need to be filled. Graduate students are often in need of employment and are skilled in research techniques. Below is a sampling of graduate programs. You might also consider reaching out to a college or university in your state or community, which might have more local or state-specific data available or would be willing to do local or state-specific research.

- **American University's Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program**
(Offers both MA and PhD programs)
american.edu/cas/wgs/index.cfm
- **CUNY School of Professional Studies Master's Program in Labor Studies**
sps.cuny.edu/programs/ma_laborstudies
- **The M.S. Program in Labor Studies at the University of Massachusetts**
umasslearn.net/programs/graduate/labor-studies-ms

RESEARCH ALREADY AVAILABLE

University of Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education conducts research and education on issues related to labor and employment. They have a broad range of publications accessible from their website at no cost on a broad range of issues with a particular focus on California. They also conduct leadership training for labor leaders. Labor Center workshops and leadership development schools build the capacity of unions and community organizations to address a rapidly changing and challenging political and economic environment. laborcenter.berkeley.edu

The Center for American Progress has a range of papers on labor, women, and families on its website under the tag "Labor and Work." americanprogress.org

The Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) conducts rigorous research and disseminates its findings to address the needs of women, promote public dialog, and strengthen families, communities, and societies. IWPR works with policymakers, scholars, and public interest groups to design, execute, and disseminate research that illuminates economic and social policy issues affecting women and families and to build a network of individuals and organizations that conduct and use women-oriented policy research. iwpr.org

The Transgender Law Center (transgenderlawcenter.org) and the **Transgender Economic Empowerment Initiative** (teeisf.org/) have partnered to focus on the economic well being of transgender people. They offer a range of resources including publications that highlight the overt discrimination of transgender people in public accommodations, the workplace, health care, and immigration.

The Pew Research Center is "a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world." They have a range of data on how U.S. trends and policies affect women. pewresearch.org

TO UP YOUR GAME



RESEARCH ALREADY AVAILABLE (CONTINUED)

The Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers promotes greater knowledge and understanding about women's participation in politics and government and to enhance women's influence and leadership in public life, and is recognized as a leading source of scholarly research and current data about American women's political participation. cawp.rutgers.edu

The Insight Center for Community Economic Development is a national research, consulting, and legal organization dedicated to building economic health in vulnerable communities. In particular, see report "Lifting As We Climb: Women of Color, Wealth, and America's Future" (Spring 2010) for data on wealth disaggregated by race and gender. insightcced.org

American Association of University Women advances equity for women and girls through advocacy, education, philanthropy, and research. aauw.org

RESOURCES ON MEDIA PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN

Ms. Magazine's "No Comment" Archive: Ms. Magazine's long-running documentation of sexist print advertising. Find more information at: msmagazine.com/nocommentarchive.asp

The Top Five Sexist Super Bowl Ads: A visual exposé on the seemingly fun and harmless ads shown during recent Super Bowls: msmagazine.com/blog/2013/02/04/top-five-sexist-super-bowl-ads-2013

The Representation Project: The Representation Project uses film as a catalyst for cultural transformation. The organization seeks to inspire individuals and communities to overcome stereotypes that limit, so that everyone regardless of race, class, gender, age, ability, and sexual orientation can fulfill their human potential. Begun by Jennifer Seibel Newsom, whose film, *Miss Representation* premiered at Sundance in 2011, The Representation Project emerged out of an overwhelming public demand for ongoing education and social action in support of the film's message. The film exposed the ways in which mainstream media contributes to the underrepresentation of women in positions of power and influence. In 2015, Newsom's film *The Mask You Live In*, which also premiered at Sundance explores how America's narrow definitions of masculinity harm men, boys, and society at large. Find more information at therepresentationproject.org

GLOSSARY OF ★ TERMS

GENDER: People use the word “gender” in a lot of different ways. When we use “gender,” we mean the socially constructed norms that women and men are asked by societies to fulfill. While biological sex is largely determined by genetic and anatomical characteristics, gender characteristics are learned over time. Gender is an acquired identity as opposed to a natural one. In addition, gender, of course, does not refer only to women and girls. Everyone has been socialized to identify with a particular gender including men and boys.

INTERSECTIONALITY: Intersectionality is when forms or systems of oppression, discrimination, or domination are linked. Sexism and racism and classism coming together to discriminate against poor women of color, is an archetypal example of intersectionality.

TRANSGENDER: A term for people whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from what is typically associated with the sex they were assigned at birth. Transgender people may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms – including but not limited to transgender. Use the descriptive term preferred by the individual. Many transgender people are prescribed hormones by their doctors to change their bodies. Some undergo surgery as well. But not all transgender people can or will take those steps, and a transgender identity is not dependent upon medical procedures. (For more terms related to transgender check out the GLAAD Media Reference Guide on Transgender Issues <http://www.glaad.org/reference/transgender>)

GENDER NON-CONFORMING: Refers to people who do not follow other people’s ideas or stereotypes about how they should look or act based on the female or male sex they were assigned at birth.

LGBTQ: Acronym for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

STRUCTURAL RACISM: “Structural Racism is the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics – historical, cultural, institutional and interpersonal – that routinely advantage whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color. It is a system of hierarchy and inequity, primarily characterized by white supremacy – the preferential treatment, privilege and power for white people at the expense of Black, Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, Arab and other racially oppressed people.”^{xxix}

STRUCTURAL SEXISM: Structural Sexism is the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics—cultural, historical, institutional, and interpersonal—that routinely privilege men while producing cumulative and chronic adverse effects for women. Like structural racism, it is a system of preferential treatment, hierarchy and inequity, privilege and power for men at the expense of women.

Often structural sexism manifests in society as sexual objectification of women, fear and hatred of women, assumption of women’s weakness or proclivity toward hysteria or inability to control emotions, the inherent desire to stay at home with children instead of going to work.

Transgender people are also deeply affected by structural sexism. It becomes a way to regulate them into the performance of gender that society prefers.

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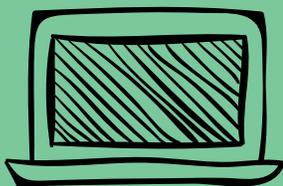
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