

OCTOBER 2019

# ANSWERING AMERICA

QUESTION 10: WHAT IS THE ONE BIG THING  
WE CAN DO TO FIX OUR ECONOMY?

**THE BUSINESS CASE  
AGAINST TRUMP'S AGENDA**



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# QUESTION 10:

## WHAT IS THE ONE BIG THING WE CAN DO TO FIX OUR ECONOMY?

ANSWER:

SUPPORT WORKING WOMEN



Q10  
GENDER GAP

THE  
ARGUMENT

PROGRESS IS  
STALLED

SAVE THE  
ECONOMY

SECOND  
SHIFT

\$1 TRILLION  
IMPACT

TRUMP  
RECORD

GLOBAL  
COMPETITION

BIPARTISAN  
SUPPORT

REPRODUCTIVE  
HEALTH CARE

WORKING  
FAMILIES

WOMEN  
OF COLOR

ENDNOTES

# THE ARGUMENT

**1** Women's progress in the workplace has stalled. They remain overrepresented in low-paying jobs, underrepresented in high-paying jobs, overworked at home, and undermined at the office.

**2** Women are America's largest potential driver of economic growth. By simply helping women match men's labor force participation, we could grow our economy by \$1 trillion.

**3** Our competitors invest three times more supporting working women than the U.S. does. The U.S., once a leader, now ranks 20th out of the world's 22 advanced economies on women's labor participation rate.

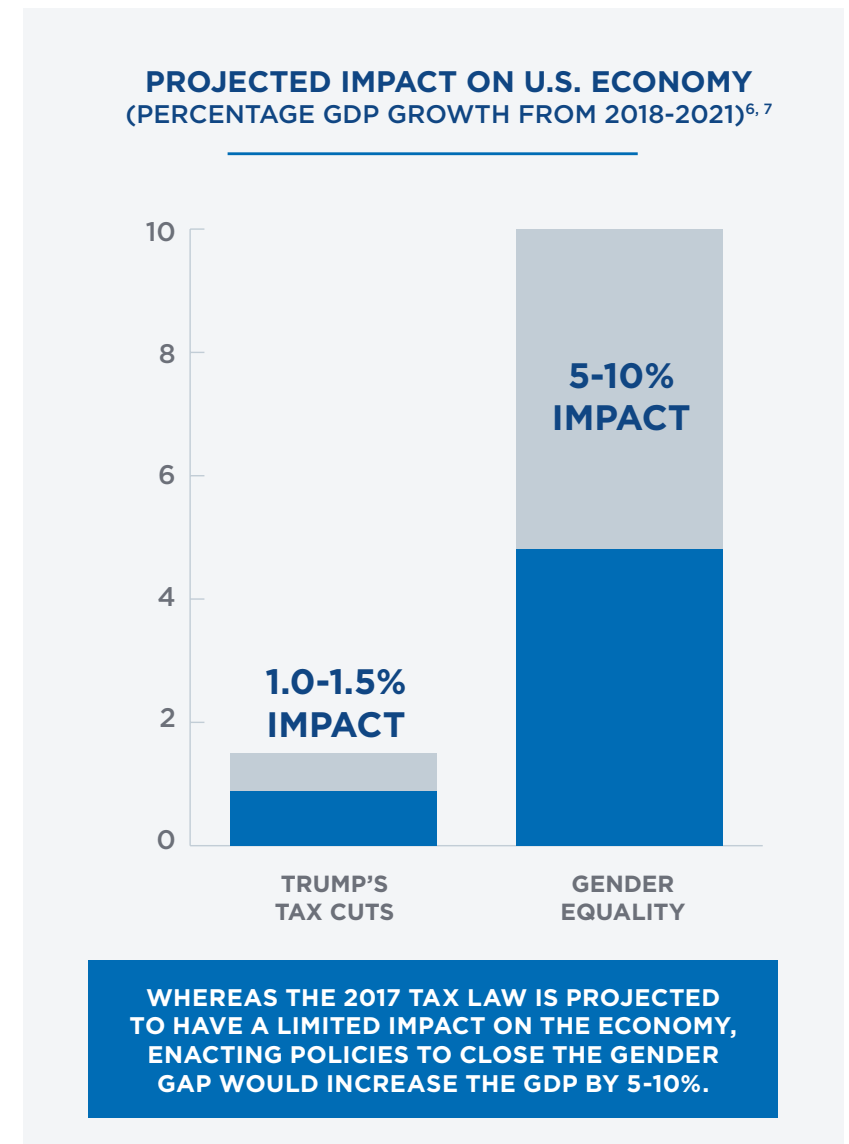
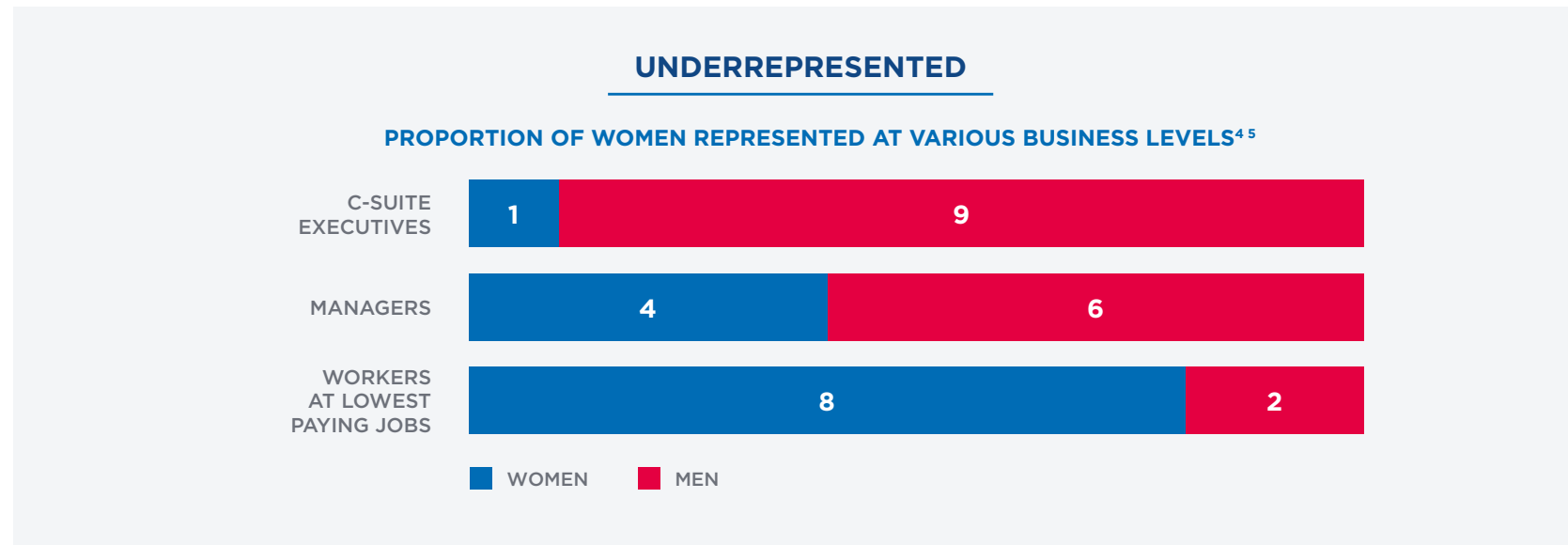
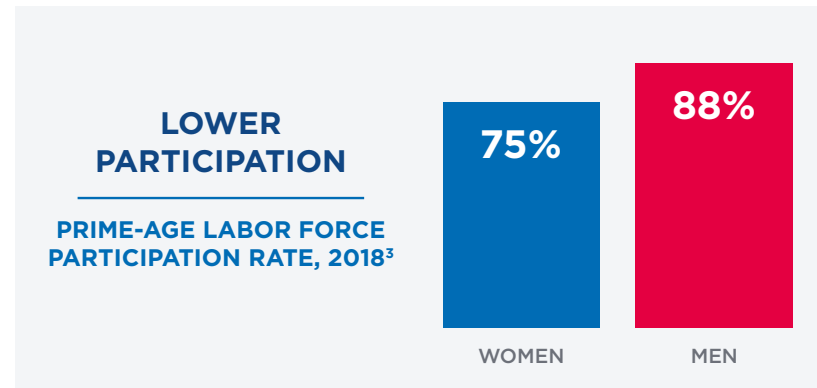
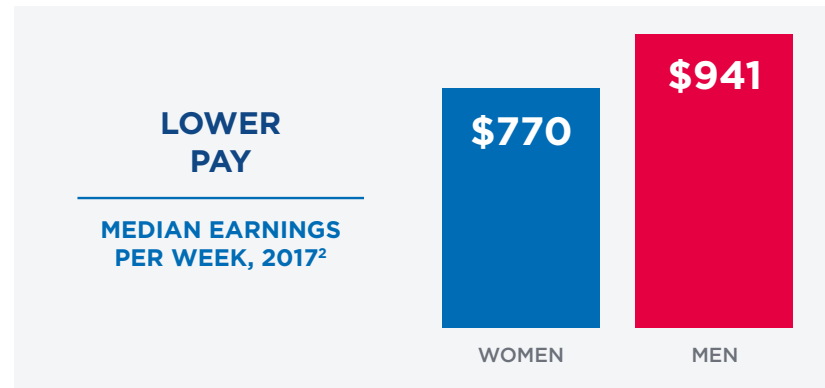
**4** Meanwhile, the Trump Administration and Republicans in Congress have restricted reproductive health care and family planning services; proposed spending cuts for after-school programs, on-campus child care for students, and child care assistance for low-income working families; and opposed equal pay measures, overtime pay reform, and stronger sexual harassment laws.

**5** It's simple: the biggest driver of our economy is women, and they cannot realize their potential in the workplace if government makes it harder for them to plan their families, raise their children, and work in safety.



# WOMEN'S PROGRESS IS STALLED, AND TODAY'S GENDER GAP = \$1 TRILLION IN LOST INCOME

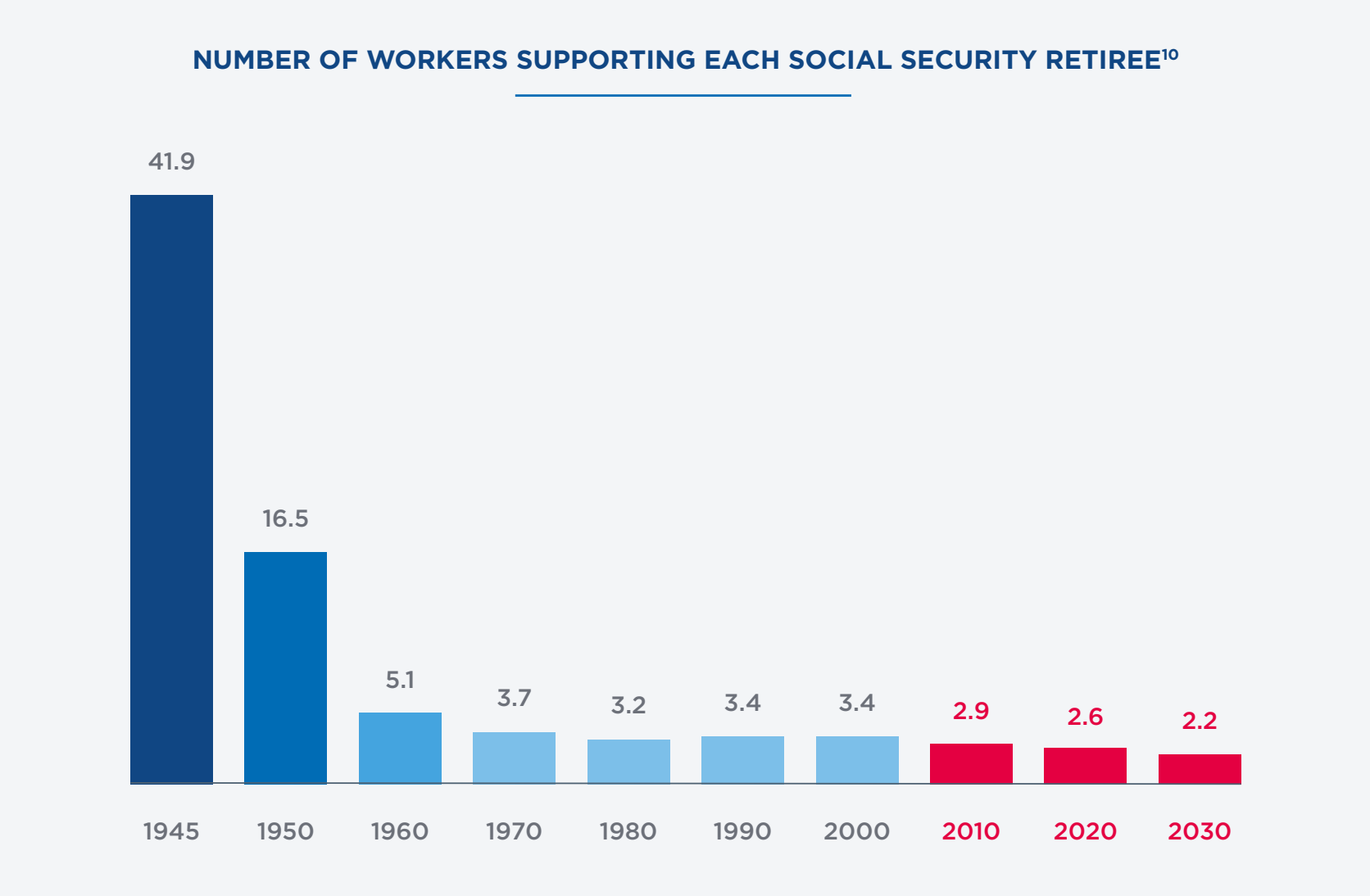
Women who work full-time earn just 82% of what their male counterparts earn.<sup>1</sup> Women earn less, in part, because they tend to work in jobs and industries that pay less. In other words, they are overrepresented in low-paying jobs and underrepresented in higher paying ones.



# ELIMINATING THE GENDER GAP IS OUR BEST MEANS OF SAVING AMERICA'S ECONOMY FROM LONG-TERM DECLINE

Our labor force participation is at a 40-year low. The Congressional Budget Office projects the U.S. workforce will grow by only 0.5% per year over the next decade, about one-third as fast as it did from 1950 to 2007. Slow workforce growth means economic growth is unlikely to match late 20th century levels.<sup>8</sup>

S&P Global recently lowered its estimate for the potential long-term average annual growth to just 1.8% — one percentage point lower than the 2.75% estimate it issued 15 years ago. Helping women enter and succeed in the workforce would also offset the ongoing drag to our economy (and Social Security) by retiring baby boomers. In 2000, 3.4 workers supported every Social Security beneficiary. Today, 2.8 workers do. By 2035, it will be 2.2 workers.<sup>9</sup>



# MOTHERS' "SECOND SHIFT" AT HOME IS UNDERMINING THEIR SUCCESS AT WORK

We cannot help women succeed in the workplace without recognizing the unequal distribution of work at home. Mothers are two to three times more likely to manage critical household chores than fathers. Economists refer to this household work as a "second shift" for mothers who work outside the home. Citigroup estimates the economic value of this household work at approximately 23% of our GDP, or \$4.5 trillion each year.<sup>11</sup>

Women are nearly twice as likely to take time off work to care for a family member than men are. In fact, they are more likely to quit their job to care for their family than a man is to take time off his job to do so. Economists describe the result of this disparity in household responsibilities as "the family gap," which means women's pay decreases with childbearing. Women without children (average age of 30) earn 90% of what men in the same age group make. But women with kids earn only 73% of what men in the same age group make.<sup>12</sup>

**VALUE OF WORK MANAGING HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILY?  
\$4.5 TRILLION, ACCORDING TO CITIGROUP**

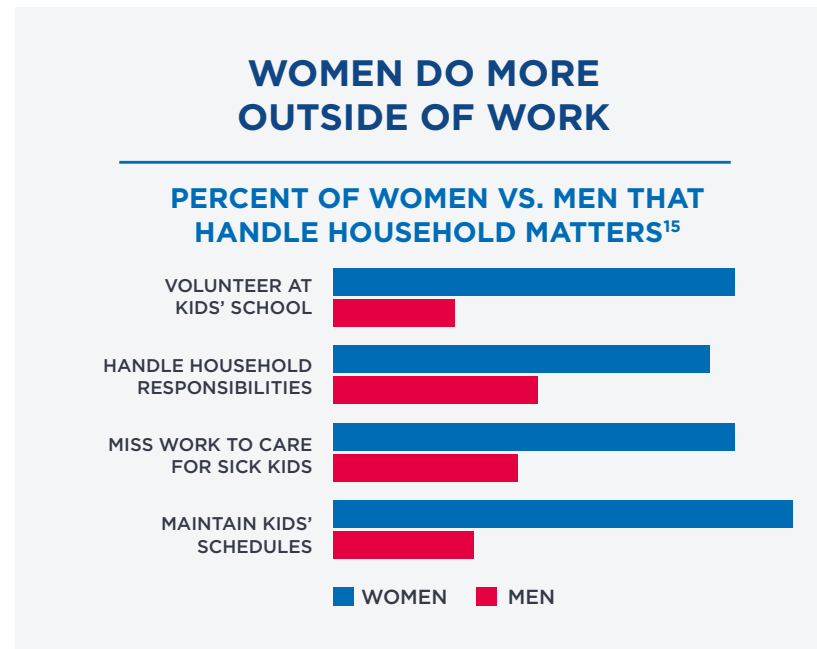
The proportional loss of wages is significantly higher for highly educated women in high-paying jobs. These women lose 21-33% of their lifetime earnings after having a child, compared with a 10-14% loss for women with lower-skilled jobs. The impact of the "family gap" on all women drops if women delay childbearing until 30.<sup>13</sup>

**2 IN 3**  
**MOTHERS ARE SUBSTANTIAL BREADWINNERS<sup>14</sup>**

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**41%** EARN AS MUCH OR MORE THAN THEIR PARTNER.

**23%** EARN AT LEAST 25% OF THEIR HOUSEHOLD'S INCOME.



**FAMILY LEAVE<sup>16</sup>**

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**39%** MOTHERS TAKE TIME OFF

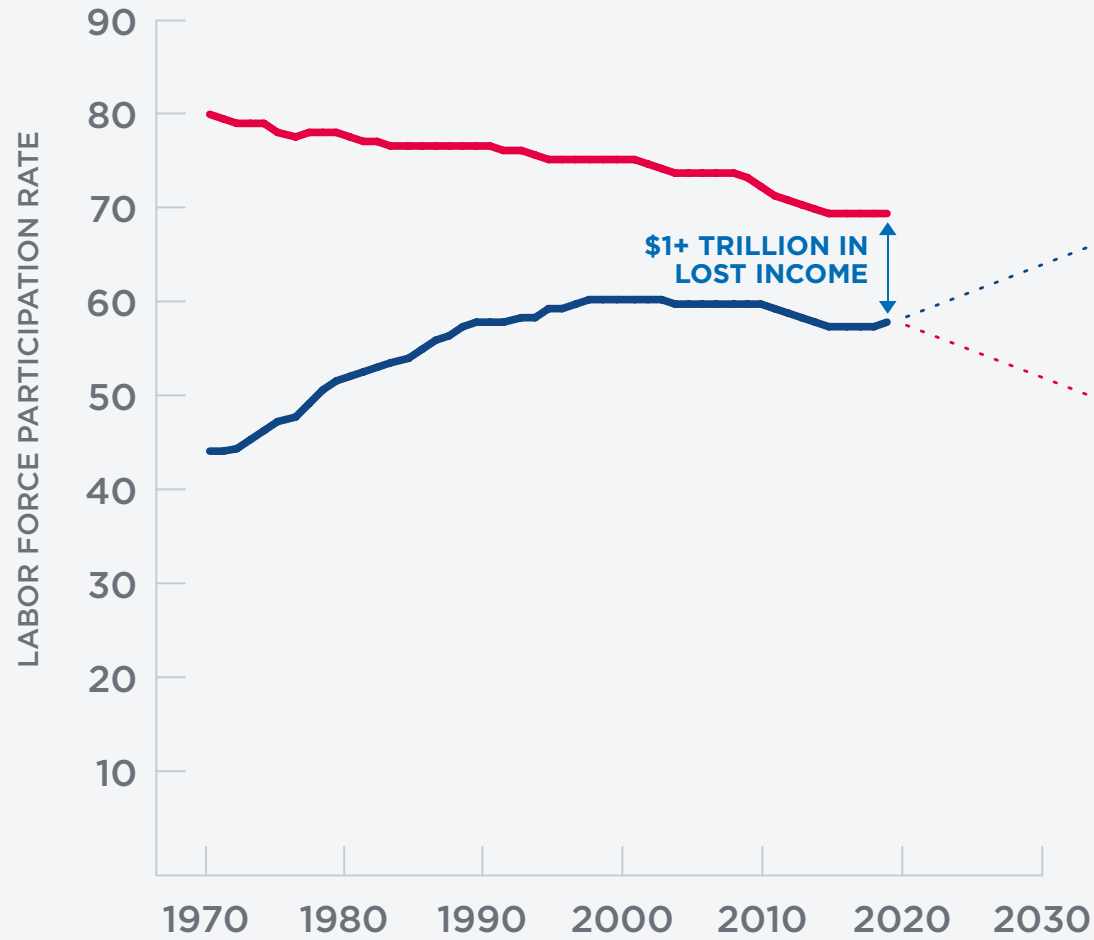
**25%** MOTHERS QUIT

**24%** FATHERS TAKE TIME OFF



# GOVERNMENT CAN HELP WORKING WOMEN OR IT CAN MAKE THEIR LIVES HARDER

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY GENDER<sup>17</sup>



## SUPPORT WORKING WOMEN

- OFFER MORE FAMILY PLANNING SUPPORT
- HELP WITH CHILD CARE, FAMILY LEAVE
- PROMOTE EQUAL PAY
- ADDRESS WORKPLACE HARASSMENT



If women entered and stayed in the workforce at the rate they do in Norway, the U.S. would add \$1.6T to its economy.<sup>18</sup>

## UNDERMINE WORKING WOMEN

- RESTRICT FAMILY PLANNING
- IGNORE CHILD CARE, FAMILY LEAVE, EQUAL PAY, AND WORKPLACE HARASSMENT



Women remain overrepresented in low-paying jobs, underrepresented in high-paying jobs, and overworked at home. Our economy shrinks while our competitors' economies grow.

■ WOMEN

■ MEN



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# TRUMP AND REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS WANT TO MAKE IT HARDER

**Reproductive health care:** Proposed a gag rule for Title X health care providers that will impact the four million people relying on this funding for affordable care.<sup>19</sup>

**Afterschool programs:** Proposed cutting 21st Century Community Learning Centers — a program providing high-quality afterschool programming in low-income neighborhoods.<sup>20</sup>

**Equal pay:** Attempted to halt the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's ability to collect pay data by race and gender from large companies, which would have made it easier for companies to underpay women and hide evidence.<sup>21</sup>

**Sexual harassment:** Rescinded Obama Administration guidance that required education institutions to support individuals who experienced gender-based violence.<sup>22</sup>



**Eight million women rely on publicly funded birth control through Medicaid and Title X.<sup>23</sup>**

**More than two million people rely on the 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program.<sup>24</sup>**

**81% of women and 43% of men say they have experienced some form of sexual harassment or assault in their lifetime.<sup>25</sup>**



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# OUR COMPETITORS SPEND THREE TIMES MORE SUPPORTING WOMEN – AND IT’S BOOSTING THEIR ECONOMIES

Once a leader, the U.S. now ranks 20th out of 22 advanced economies in prime-age female labor participation.<sup>26</sup>  
 In 2015, other OECD members spent over three times more subsidizing family benefits (as a share of GDP) than the U.S.<sup>27</sup>



Sweden, which has the highest women’s LFPR, also has the second-highest fertility rate. By making it easier for women to support their families, Sweden makes it easier to have more children.<sup>28</sup>



“The reason Canadian women are much more likely to be in the workforce than their U.S. counterparts comes down to three decades of public policies and business incentives.<sup>29</sup>”

- BETH ANN BOVINO  
 CHIEF ECONOMIST  
 S&P GLOBAL

## WOMEN’S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE<sup>30</sup>

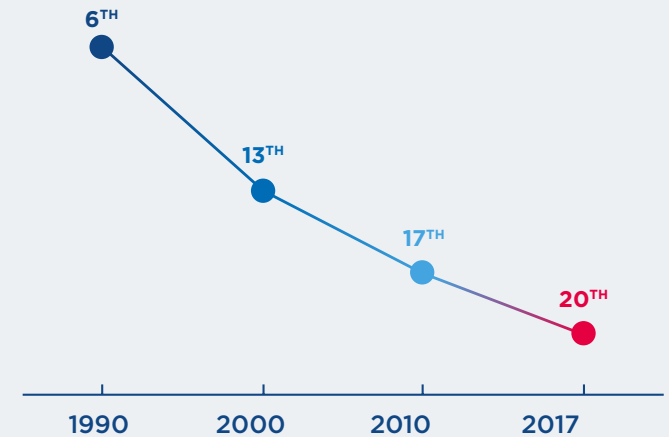
U.S. = 66.2%  
 CANADA = 74%

“While Canada began adjusting public policies and business incentives over three decades ago, the U.S. is just recently considering solutions, and these initiatives seem far from implementation.”<sup>31</sup>

- Citi GPS,  
 Women in the Economy II  
 (November 2017)



## U.S. RANKING FOR LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE, 1990-2017<sup>32,33</sup>



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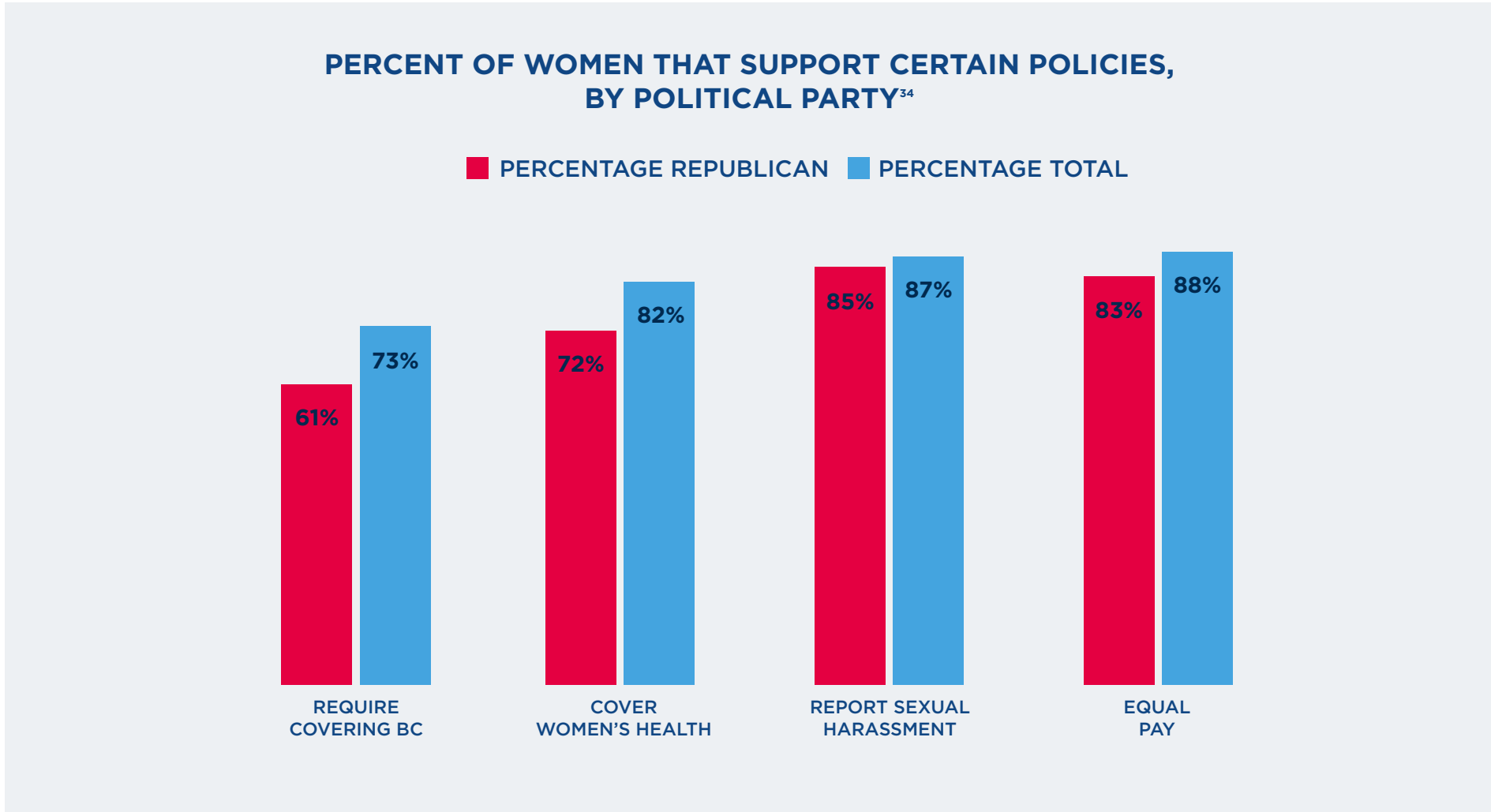
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# SURVEY: WOMEN-FRIENDLY POLICIES ENJOY BIPARTISAN SUPPORT

Across party lines, majorities of women support access to birth control, health care coverage, and stronger sexual harrassment protections.



“ Equality doesn't have to be a partisan issue. Women across the board share many of the same policy priorities.<sup>35</sup> ”

- MARGIE OMERO  
GBA STRATEGIES,  
POLLSTER

# WOMEN EXECUTIVES ON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH CARE

Business Forward conducted a survey with GBA Strategies and Bellwether Research & Consulting (December 2017).<sup>36</sup> The poll surveyed 1,500 American women across age, race, professional status, educational attainment, geographic area, and political spectrum on their perspectives on the issues facing women in the workplace today.

Eighty-six percent of women executives believe that being able to time and plan parenthood is critical to a woman's professional development and her family's financial security — and 90% believe access to birth control is critical to family planning. There is significant evidence to support these beliefs. For example, 10% of the narrowing of the gender pay gap during the 1980s and 31% during the 1990s can be attributed to early access to the Pill.<sup>37</sup> Access to contraception helps women pursue higher degrees of education and become established in professional careers. The Pill accounted for over 30 percent of the increase in the proportion of women in skilled careers from 1970 and 1990.<sup>38</sup>

## TIMING PARENTHOOD MATTERS

HOW IMPORTANT HAS THE ABILITY TO PLAN IF AND WHEN TO HAVE CHILDREN BEEN FOR YOUR ABILITY TO PURSUE YOUR PROFESSIONAL AND CAREER GOALS?<sup>39</sup>

(PERCENT THAT BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT)

EXECUTIVES



TOTAL



## BIRTH CONTROL IS CRITICAL TO TIMING PARENTHOOD

HOW IMPORTANT HAS ACCESS TO BIRTH CONTROL BEEN IN YOUR ABILITY TO PLAN THE SIZE OF YOUR FAMILY?<sup>40</sup>

(PERCENT THAT BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT)

EXECUTIVES

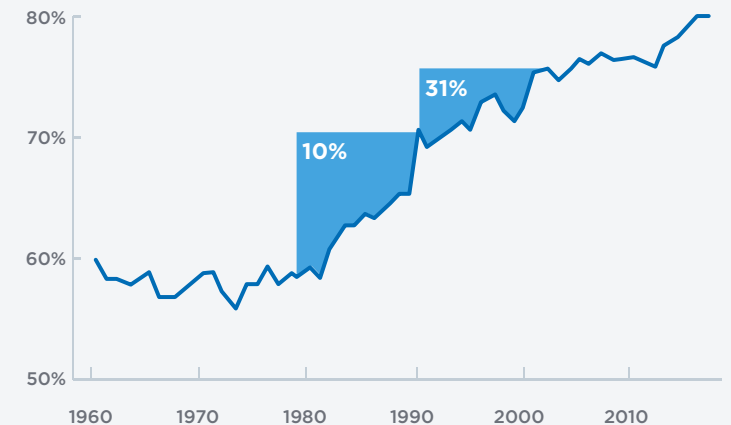


TOTAL



## LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND BIRTH CONTROL

10% OF THE NARROWING OF THE GENDER PAY GAP DURING THE 1980S AND 31% DURING THE 1990S CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO EARLY ACCESS TO THE PILL.<sup>41</sup>



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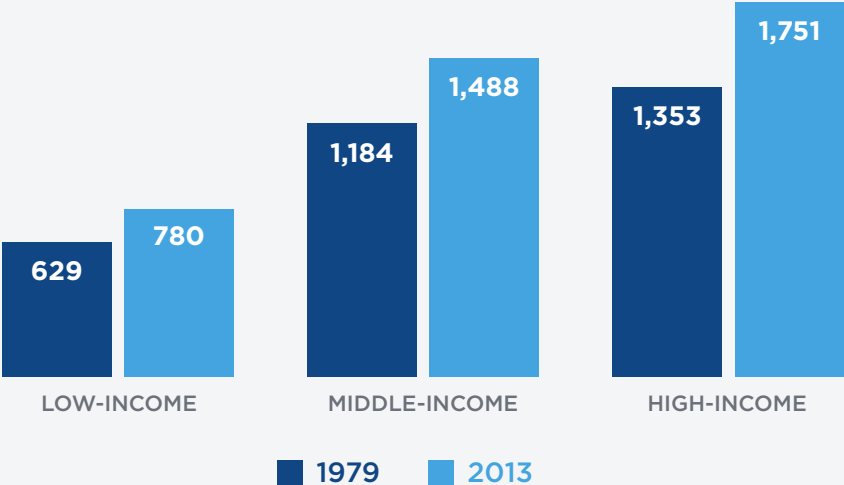
# GENDER GAP FOR WORKING FAMILIES AND WOMEN OF COLOR

Across income groups, women have kept their families close to even by working more and earning more per hour. Without picking up more hours, low and middle-income families could have seen their incomes drop more substantially.

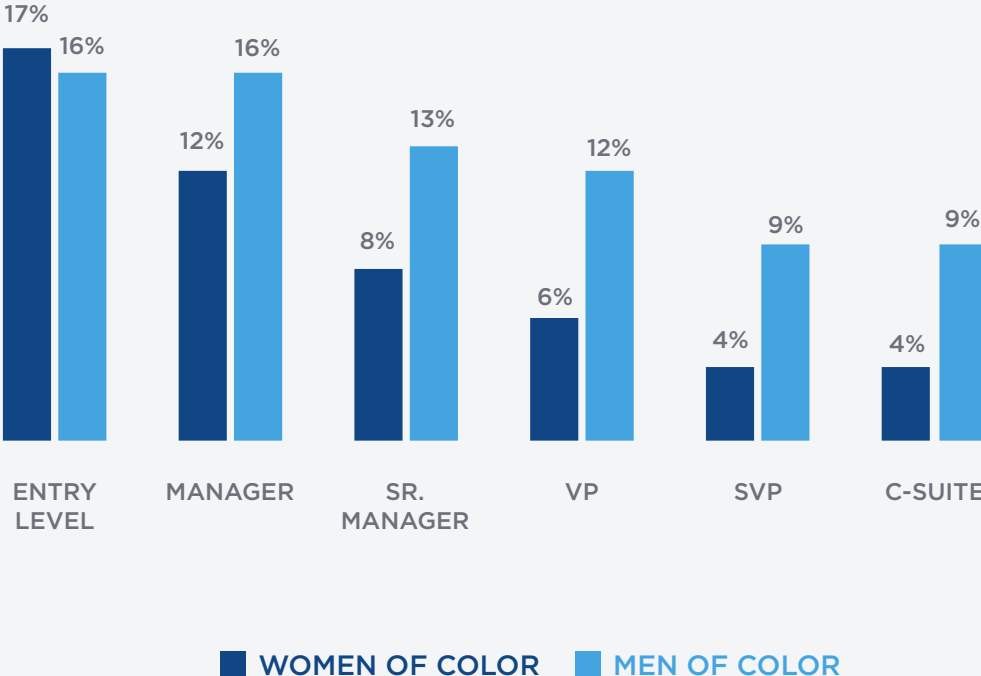
Women of color face greater institutional barriers to promotion in the workplace and are overrepresented in low-paying jobs and underrepresented in high-paying jobs.

**AVERAGE ANNUAL HOURS WORKED BY WOMEN, BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS<sup>42</sup>**

Between 1979 and 2013, low-income families saw their incomes fall by 2.0%, from \$23,697 to \$23,224. Those incomes would have fallen substantially more if women in these families had not increased their average number of hours worked; low-income women worked three more hours, middle-class women worked six more hours, and professional women worked eight more hours per week.



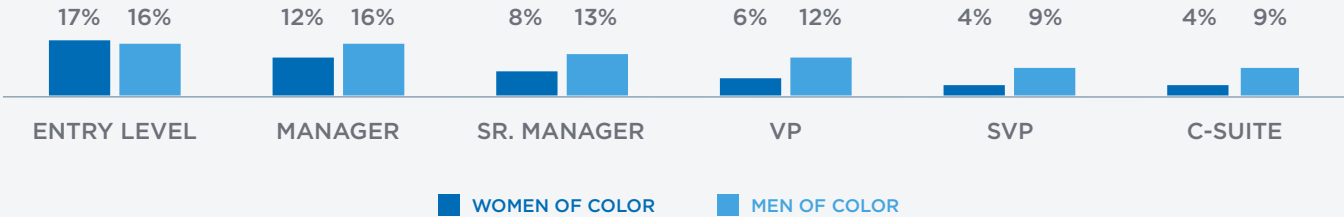
**REPRESENTATION IN THE CORPORATE PIPELINE<sup>43</sup>**



# REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH CARE'S IMPORTANCE TO WOMEN OF COLOR

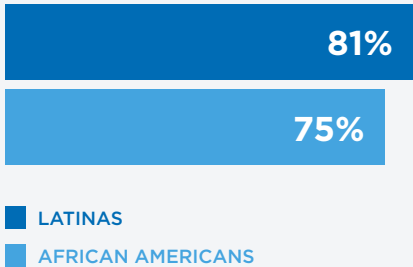
## REPRESENTATION IN THE CORPORATE PIPELINE<sup>44</sup>

Women of color face greater institutional barriers to promotion in the workplace, and that suggests access to reproductive health care matters more to their careers.

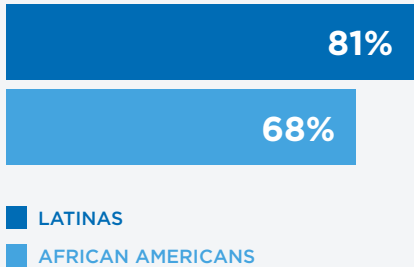


## FREEDOM TO PLAN FAMILIES<sup>45</sup>

How important has the ability to plan if and when to have children been for your ability to pursue your personal professional or career goals? (% that believe it's important)



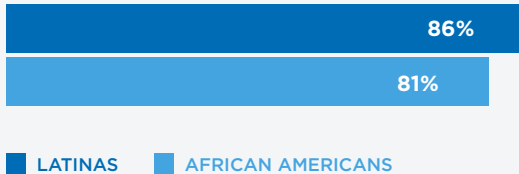
How important has access to birth control been in your ability to plan the size of your family? (% that believe it's important)



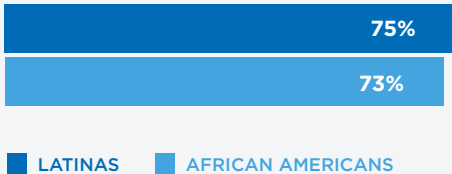
## ACCESS TO BIRTH CONTROL AND HEALTH CARE<sup>46</sup>

Women of color overwhelmingly support requiring insurance to cover birth control and making sure all women have coverage for routine medical care like mammograms and pap smears — even if they don't have health insurance.

REQUIRE COVERAGE FOR WOMEN'S ROUTINE MEDICAL CARE



REQUIRE COVERAGE OF BIRTH CONTROL



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GENDER GAP

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PROGRESS IS  
STALLED

SAVE THE  
ECONOMY

SECOND  
SHIFT

\$1 TRILLION  
IMPACT

TRUMP  
RECORD

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COMPETITION

BIPARTISAN  
SUPPORT

REPRODUCTIVE  
HEALTH CARE

WORKING  
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