A Stronger California:
Securing Economic Opportunity for All Women

2015 Legislative Agenda: The Case for Support

California Legislative Women’s Caucus
Stronger California Advocates Network
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A Stronger California: Securing Economic Opportunity for All Women

Women play a pivotal role in spurring economic growth in California. Women comprise almost half the workforce our state and are primary income earners in many households. They influence the economy as decision-makers for their families, as consumers and as workers. In fact, California’s recovery from the Great Recession of 2007-2008 was due to growth in four industry sectors, and the majority of workers in those sectors are women.

While the contributions of female workers have brought California back from the recession, the jobs that have been created since then are holding back women’s full labor potential. More women are working part time than they were before the economic downturn. One in 5 women is working part time because she cannot find full-time work, which is a substantial increase in involuntary part-time work compared to pre-Recession numbers.

Women are being held back in other ways as well. The lack of affordable, quality child care and affordable housing makes it hard for women to provide safe and secure environments for their families. Women's earnings still are far too low compared to men’s in California, and women are disproportionately employed by jobs that pay minimum wage. Women are also disproportionately disadvantaged by the stresses of poverty and the constraints of the social services system.

Women are critical to a strong and vibrant California economy. Ensuring the economic security of all California women and their families will benefit all communities, including men, children and families who count on public policies to meet their basic needs, earn a decent living and care for their families. This will require a comprehensive approach that addresses the various obstacles faced by most, if not all, women in California at one time or another in their lives. Among the needs are child care, job training, public benefits during difficult times, equal pay for equal work, wages that enable women to support themselves and loved ones, and policies that support working families. That is why advocates, legislators, and other community members from across California have come together to promote an economic security agenda in 2015 that will:

- Build economic security by addressing poverty and helping women build assets to sustain them throughout their lives
- Improve access to affordable and quality early childhood care and education
- Ensure fair pay and job opportunities
- Support family friendly workplaces

This paper describes A Stronger California, a multi-year campaign that will advocate for this coordinated and comprehensive set of policies, all of which are necessary to offer the promise of strengthened economic opportunity and success for California’s women, families, and communities.
Why Women?

Women are more likely to be the primary caregivers in a family.\textsuperscript{5} Increasingly, they are primary income earners as well. Women are half the American workforce, and families depend on women’s income more than ever before. Mothers are breadwinners or co-breadwinners in 40 percent of American families. This share, the highest on record, has quadrupled since 1960.\textsuperscript{6} Single mothers head almost a quarter of households in California with children under the age of 18 and 73 percent of single-parent households overall, a group that is more likely to live in poverty, experience unemployment and have less access to traditional banking services, putting their savings and assets at risk.\textsuperscript{7}

Meanwhile, women have surpassed men in gaining advanced college degrees as well as bachelor degrees, part of a trend that is helping redefine who works and who stays at home to care for children. As women increasingly work outside the home, women with college degrees will soon outnumber men with college degrees in the workforce.\textsuperscript{8}

Yet across the nation, women typically are paid less than their male counterparts,\textsuperscript{9} are more likely to work in minimum-wage and low-wage jobs,\textsuperscript{10} are more likely to live in poverty,\textsuperscript{11} and have fewer opportunities to advance in their careers.\textsuperscript{12} The challenges of unequal pay and low wages that many women face – especially women of color – are compounded by the additional responsibilities many mothers bear, particularly single mothers.

Why California?

California is an important place to address women’s economic needs for several reasons. First, it is home to 12 percent of the country’s women – more than any other state.\textsuperscript{13} How we treat women in California sends an important message across the country.

Second, California has incredible wealth, while thousands of women live in poverty. California’s economy is the eighth largest in the world, and yet the state has the highest poverty rate in the nation: Nearly one-fourth (23.8 percent) of California’s population lives below the poverty line when taking into account tax credits and government benefits and expenses for items like child care and out-of-pocket medical expenses.\textsuperscript{14} The poverty rate is especially pronounced among women of color and single women living with children.\textsuperscript{15} Women in retirement are significantly more likely to live in poverty than are retired men.\textsuperscript{16}

Unlike several other states, California has not invested in important components of its infrastructure that affect women the most. For example, child care access is lower in California than in many other states. California ranks 27\textsuperscript{th} in the nation in access to early learning programs for 4-year-olds.\textsuperscript{17} Workforce development programs have not kept up with the need for job training in burgeoning fields. And the state has not acted on a number of other issues to protect its women and value their economic input. As a result, California women are vulnerable: They are not protected from discriminatory pay practices; they may
be subject to unfair scheduling practices at their jobs; and they are less able to build up assets to create a safety net for themselves and their families.

Why Now?

The challenges to economic security faced by California women and families present an opportunity. The data tells a clear story about the importance of increasing wages in reversing the trend of the ever-widening wealth gap and building an economy based on high-quality jobs. And public momentum is building: Seventy percent of Americans believe that women’s contributions are essential to our economy. Ninety percent of voters favor policies that help women achieve equal pay for equal work and raise wages for women and families. Policymakers across the country are responding to this call to action. Democrats in the U.S. House of Representatives have introduced a federal women’s economic policy agenda called When Women Succeed, America Succeeds: An Economic Agenda for Women and Families. States including Minnesota and Pennsylvania have demonstrated how lawmakers, advocates, businesses and individuals can come together to address and advance women’s economic security as a critical component to a vibrant state. The agenda President Barack Obama outlined in his State of the Union address further demonstrates the momentum behind policies that support working women.

California is poised to push this momentum further. The state has long been an influential leader in policy efforts across the country. It has an impressive history of progressive policy efforts (including pregnancy accommodation, marriage equality and paid family leave), which have had a domino effect on other states and Washington, D.C. As a forward-looking influencer, California is in a strong position to test new policy initiatives in the Legislature, unearth obstacles to enforcement, and report back on their impact on female workers and business alike.

Finally, the state is now in a financial position to invest in the economic success of women who have been central to California’s extraordinary financial recovery since the Great Recession. Coming from the brink of economic collapse, the state Legislative Analyst’s Office has projected a $5.6 billion surplus for fiscal year 2014-2015. The state can now be thoughtful about the future and build its capital by investing in smart policies that improve the economic future of the state, protect and build the economic strength of women and families, and increase the fairness and quality of their lives.

The Stronger California Agenda

The Stronger California Agenda reflects a visionary collaboration among advocates and legislators and is informed by our work with communities across California. The Agenda has four pillars that frame the policy initiatives critical to the economic security of women and families in this state. A complete list of the bills that advance the goals of these pillars can be found at the end of this paper.
Build Economic Security by Addressing Poverty and Building Assets

Despite a strong financial recovery since the Great Recession, policymakers continue to underfund services that have proven track records in reducing poverty in California. Over the past several years, policymakers have reduced the size of the CalWORKs grant (California’s Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, or TANF, program), reduced the amount of time a family can receive cash support (from a maximum of five to two years), reduced support for child care and reduced the number of hours of care available to Californians in need of the In-Home Supportive Services Program. During this same time period, research has documented the long-term and expensive costs of living in and growing up in poverty. This research repeatedly has demonstrated that early investments in moving children and families out of poverty bring long-term benefits to the individuals and the state’s economy. At a time when the California economy has experienced significant recovery and the fiscal health of the state is vastly improved, many Californians—particularly children and women—continue to be worse off than they were before the Recession.

The Stronger California Agenda includes a set of legislative proposals that would significantly address women’s poverty and improve policies that hold women back from building self-sufficient households for their families. For example, one bill would repeal CalWORKs’ policy of excluding a child from receiving cash assistance if he/she was conceived while the mother was already receiving aid. This backward policy has no proven effect in terms of reducing pregnancies and requires a woman to disclose highly personal information about her choice of contraception if she hopes to receive aid for a new child. It is estimated that repealing this Maximum Family Grant policy would reduce childhood poverty rates by 7.4 percent. Other policies included in the agenda would restore Social Security benefits to the federal poverty level and increase access to training and employment services, among other critical supports to lift California women and families out of poverty.

Expand Access to Affordable, Quality Early Childhood Care and Education

Few publicly supported programs offer an economic punch equal to that of early childhood care and education. Quality, affordable child care is the linchpin to advancing women’s economic security: It allows women to obtain an education, work and gain power in the workplace, society and government. Its impact on the long-term health, well-being and material success of children is profound. Child care centers and family child care homes are small businesses, often run by women, who support working families and contribute to job creation and economic development.

But in the short run, child care is expensive: In California, child care costs about $12,000 per year for an infant and $7,000 to $10,000 per year for a toddler. This high cost is particularly challenging to the budgets of low-income families, who typically spend 30 percent of their income on child care, compared to 10 percent spent by higher earners. The cost of center-based infant care exceeds 14 percent of the state’s median income for
married couples with children and is equivalent to 44 percent of the median income for a single mother.\textsuperscript{28}

During the Great Recession, California made substantial cuts to its child care infrastructure, slashing $1 billion from the child care budget and eliminating slots for 100,000 children. Last year’s state budget included funds to begin to rebuild the early childhood education system, but even with those new investments, the total number of child care slots is more than 20 percent below those available in 2007.\textsuperscript{29} The state’s recent reinvestments have focused heavily on preschool and transitional kindergarten programs. Parents with infants and toddlers still face scarce supply.

The Stronger California Agenda includes bills and budget requests that would greatly expand access to child care for low-income families and signal important reinvestments in California’s early childhood education system. Specifically, these policy initiatives would ensure 40,000 more child care slots for CalWORKs families, provide more training to child care providers, update the income eligibility thresholds so that more low-income working families qualify, and increase the reimbursement rates paid to child care providers in order to build the strength of that field.

**Ensure Fair Pay and Job Opportunities**

**Fair Pay**

The gender wage gap in California contributes to its high rate of poverty and adversely affects women in nearly every field, no matter their income or educational status. In 2013, a woman in California working full time, year-round earned a median of 83.9 cents for every dollar a man earned.\textsuperscript{30} This gap is even greater for women of color. For example, Latinas in California make only 43.6 cents for every dollar a white man makes – one of the worst Latina wage gaps in the nation.\textsuperscript{31} As a group, full-time working women in California lose over $33 billion dollars each year due to the wage gap.\textsuperscript{32}

This gender wage gap is caused by a variety of factors, including workplace discrimination, retaliation against workers who talk about pay, and pay secrecy that prevents workers from knowing about pay disparities. The Stronger California Agenda includes several bills to address these contributors to the gender wage gap, including policy initiatives to ensure equal pay for equal work, ensure protection from retaliation for workers who talk about pay, and better pay transparency among employers who contract with the state of California.

The Stronger California Agenda also includes a bill to raise the minimum wage to address another contributor to the gender wage gap – the segregation of women in low-wage industries with a depressed minimum wage. The majority (64 percent) of minimum wage workers are women.\textsuperscript{33} Of these, 60 percent support families: Forty percent are the sole breadwinners and 20 percent are co-breadwinners.\textsuperscript{34} Wages have remained mostly stagnant in California, while the cost of living continues to increase rapidly. According to the
Congressional Research Service, the purchasing power of the federal minimum wage has decreased steadily since 1968, when it was equal to $10.77 in today’s dollars. California’s minimum wage today is almost $2 shy of that high-water mark. In California, a minimum wage worker earning $9 an hour and working full time for 52 weeks would earn $18,720, which is lower than the 2014 estimated federal poverty line for a family of three ($19,094) and far lower than $74,777, the income needed for a moderate standard of living for a family of three, according to the California Budget and Policy Center Project. An analysis by the economist Sylvia Allegretto at UC Berkeley indicates that raising the minimum wage to $13 an hour would affect over 35 percent of the workforce—a total of 5.3 million workers in California. This amounts to $23.4 billion in additional earnings that will flow to households who are more likely to be in the bottom half of the income distribution.

**Develop Job Opportunities and Skills for a 21st Century Workplace**

California is facing a critical challenge in providing a workforce trained to meet the needs of the ever-evolving economy. By 2025, California is likely to face a shortage of workers with some postsecondary education but less than a bachelor’s degree. In fact, the future gap between this need and the state’s supply of workers with "some college" may be as high as 1.5 million – even larger than the projected 1 million-worker shortage of college graduates.

In addition to facing a shortage of trained workers, California is facing the reality that women and people of color remain under-represented in careers that pay higher wages and hold greater opportunity for advancement. Women remain over-represented in low-wage jobs. They represent a majority of employees in three occupational areas: health care practitioner and technical operations; sales and office; and education, legal services, community service, arts and media. Within these categories, women are more likely to be employed at the lower rungs of the career ladder. For example, in health care, women are more often the technicians and men the physicians and surgeons. Although sales and office occupations employ the most women, men hold the majority of supervisory positions, while women hold the majority of cashier positions.

Creating pathways to living wage jobs for low-income women has many dimensions, involving creating partnerships across systems and encouraging and supporting women to enter nontraditional employment as a way to secure better wages. The Stronger California Agenda includes the Earn and Learn bill, which would recognize workplace-based training as eligible for state funding.

**Support Family Friendly Workplaces**

Because women are working out of the home more than ever before, family-friendly work policies are essential. A third of parents report not having enough time with their children. Low-wage workers, in particular, are most likely to have insufficient time with their families. The proportion of households headed by single parents has more than tripled
since the 1960s, leading to more single mothers trying to earn enough to support families on their own. Single parents are more likely to be low-income than two-parent households, and this is especially true of single female-headed households.

Policies like paid time off when there is an illness in the family, when a baby is born or to take care of longer-term illnesses are critical to making the workplace tenable for women. But it is also important to ensure that work schedules are reasonable and are provided with enough advance notice to ensure that parents can find appropriate child care or juggle the other needs in their lives.

The Stronger California Agenda addresses these issues with one bill that would expand access to the protections of the California Family Rights Act and the benefits of the Paid Family Leave Act. Another that would ensure fair and predictable work schedules for many of California’s hourly workers. The agenda also would ensure that 370,000 home health care workers who care for California’s families have paid sick days, and that workers who must attend to child care emergencies are not penalized.

**Conclusion**

Women’s contributions to the California economy cannot be ignored, and the potential for women’s economic advancement cannot be overstated. The Stronger California Agenda offers a positive approach to securing economic opportunity for all women and strengthening families, communities, the workplace and the well-being of the entire state.

California’s strength, size and national significance make it a critical place to move the needle on economic policies for women. Now is the time to take stock of what we know about women’s needs and potential and to make substantive public policy improvements to fuel women’s success and strengthen our families. The network of advocates and policymakers behind the Stronger California Agenda has coalesced around this message and a body of proposals to make that happen.


3 Nationally, women make up the majority (59.6 percent) of those employed across the four industries combined. Within each specific industry, however, women only make up the majority of those employed in the 1) health care and social assistance sector (78.4 percent women) and 2) accommodation and food services sector (52.6 percent women). See Marisol Cuellor Mejia & Sarah Bohn, The California Economy: Employment Update, PUBLIC POLICY INSTITUTE OF CALIFORNIA (Dec. 2014), available at http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/jtf/JTF_EmploymentReviewJTF.pdf; BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, Table 16: Employed persons in nonagricultural industries by sex and class of worker (2013), available at http://www.bls.gov/cps cpsaat16.htm.

4 Prior to the Great Recession, fewer than 1 in 10 women were working part time because they could not find full-time work. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, Women’s Employment During the Recovery (May 3, 2011), available at http://www.dol.gov/_sec/media/reports/femalelaborforce/.


6 Wang et al., supra note 2.

7 Single mothers are more likely to live in poverty: Thirty-six percent of single mothers statewide live in poverty. Single mothers experience unemployment at significantly higher rates than single fathers (33 percent for women versus 24 percent for men), and this rate rises to 40 percent among single mothers with children under age 6. Rey Fuentes, Ann O’Leary and James Barba, Prosperity Threatened: Perspectives on Childhood Poverty in California, THE CENTER FOR THE NEXT GENERATION (Jan. 6, 2013), available at http://thenextgeneration.org/files/Prosperity_Threatened_Final.pdf.


Specifically, the maximum monthly cash grant for a family of three in high-cost counties was cut by 12 percent, from $723 in 2008-09 to $638 in 2011-2012. As a result, the value of CalWORKs grants dropped well below the deep-poverty threshold (defined as less than half the federal poverty level). The 2013-2014 budget agreement provided a 5 percent increase to CalWORKs grants effective March 2014. The maximum grant for a family of three rose to $670, providing a boost of more than $30 per month for families who continue to struggle in the aftermath of the recession. Yet even with this increase, grants will equal little more than 40 percent of the poverty line and will remain more than $50 per month below the 2008-2009 level. See CALIFORNIA BUDGET AND POLICY CENTER, CalWORKs in the Governor’s Proposed 2014-15 Budget: Assistance for Low-Income Families is Left Far Below the Poverty Line (Feb. 6, 2014), available at http://calbudgetcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/140206_CalWORKs_Governor_Proposed_Budget_BB.pdf.

Low-income children tend to lag behind higher-income children in terms of academic achievement, and children living in poverty often experience greater emotional and behavioral problems – such as acting out, depression, and anxiety – compared to their higher-income peers. In addition, low-income children are more likely to face a variety of health problems, such as low birth weight, obesity and chronic health conditions like asthma and hearing, vision and speech problems. The effects of poverty often follow low-income children into adulthood, affecting both their health and their economic prospects. Research shows that low-income children are more likely to have health problems as adults, to have less education and lower earnings, and to live in poverty later in life, compared to children who did not grow up in poverty. Children who are born in poverty spend at least half of their early adulthood in poverty. The negative effects of poverty can extend beyond the individuals affected to society as a whole in the form of lost productivity and wages, higher health care spending, and other social costs. See CALIFORNIA BUDGET AND POLICY CENTER, CalWORKs in the Governor’s Proposed 2014-15 Budget, supra note 23.

See, e.g., id.


BUREAU LABOR MANAGEMENT (BLS), Characteristics of Minimum Wage Workers, 2013, available at http://www.bls.gov/cps/minwage2013.pdf [hereinafter BLS Min. Wage Characteristics] (Table 1). This is true for both those 16 and older (62 percent) and 25 and older (64 percent). The term “minimum wage workers” refers to workers making the minimum wage or less.


StrongerCalifornia.org (March 24, 2015)


42 Wang, supra note 2.

The 2015 Stronger California Legislative Agenda

Ensure Fair Pay and Job Opportunities

Fair Pay
- California Fair Pay Act – SB 358 (Senator Jackson)
- Minimum Wage Increase and Indexing – SB 3 (Senators Leno and Leyva)
- Pay Equity for Women in the Workplace – AB 1017 (Assemblymember Campos)
- Equal Pay for Equal Work Act of 2015 – AB 1354 (Assemblymember Dodd)
- Eliminate Gap from Workers’ Compensation – AB 305 (Assemblymember Gonzalez)
- Equal Pay Day – ACR 50 (Assemblymember Gonzalez)

Job Opportunities and Skills for a 21st Century Workplace
- Earn and Learn Bill – SB 342 (Senator Jackson)
- Self-Sufficiency through Education and GI Bill Exemption Act of 2015 – AB 743 (Assemblymember Eggman)
- Basic Skills Innovation Strategies for the California Community Colleges – AB 770 (Assemblymember Irwin)

Expand Access to Affordable, Quality Early Childhood Care and Education
- Raising Child Care Quality and Accessibility Act – SB 548 (Senator de León and Assemblymember Atkins)
- Child Care Budget Request – Legislative Women’s Caucus
- Child Care Reimbursement Rates for Alternative Payment Providers – AB 188 (Assemblymember Garcia)
- Child Care Alternative Payment Programs and Eligibility – AB 233 (Assemblymember Lopez)

Support Family Friendly Workplaces
- Fair Scheduling Act – AB 357 (Assemblymembers Chiu and Weber)
- Expand Paid Family Leave – AB 908 (Assemblymember Gomez)
- Paid Family Leave Awareness – Budget Request
- Extend Paid Sick Leave to All Workers – AB 11 (Assemblymember Gonzalez)
- Job Protection for Parents with Child Care Needs – SB 579 (Senator Jackson)
- California Family Rights Act – SB 406 (Senator Jackson)

Build Economic Security by Addressing Poverty
- Repeal CalWORKs Maximum Family Grant – SB 23 (Principle Author: Senator Mitchell; Senators Liu and Hancock; Assemblymembers Chiu and Chu)
- Earned Income Tax Credit – SB 38 (Senator Liu) and AB 43 (Assemblymember Stone)
- Supplemental Security Benefits – Budget Request
- Supplemental Security Income and State Supplementary Payment (SSI/SSP) – AB 1394 (Assemblymember Brown)
- Improving Access to CalFresh Employment and Training – SB 521 (Senator Liu)
- Sales Tax Exemption for Diapers – AB 717 (Assemblymember Gonzalez)
- Work Opportunity and Recession Relief Act of 2015 – SB 306 (Senator Hertzberg)
The Stronger California Advocates Network

The Stronger California Advocates Network is a historic collaboration of advocate coalitions with deep experience working with communities affected by the four pillars of the Stronger California Agenda. The Network capitalizes on the strengths of our members to advance the economic security of women in California. We seek to promote policy reform in order to meet basic needs and provide better income support, achieve fair pay and working conditions, support workforce development, encourage asset building, and ensure work-family flexibility and access to quality child care. To learn more about this effort, see StrongerCalifornia.org.

9 to 5
American Association of University Women
California Asset Building Coalition
California Domestic Worker Alliance
California Employment Lawyers Association
California Hunger Action Coalition
California Partnership
California Child Care Resource & Referral Network
California Women’s Law Center
California Work and Family Coalition
Career Ladders Project
Center for Popular Democracy
Child Care Law Center
Courage Campaign
Equal Rights Advocates
Legal Aid Society-Employment Law Center
National Council of Jewish Women
Next Generation
Parent Voices
Raising California Together
Tradeswomen, Inc.
UltraViolet
Western Center on Law and Poverty
Women’s Foundation of California