



Policy Brief on the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

TO: The U.S. Congress
FROM: Justice Revival: A Christian Voice for Human Rights¹
DATE: October 20, 2021

The U.S. Constitution occupies a revered place in our nation’s collective identity. Its words are both a memorial to the wisdom of the Framers and an appeal to achieve in greater measure the perfection of our Union.

The Constitution originates with the American people and enumerates the powers that the people grant to the government.² Recognizing and securing liberty against government encroachment is a primary purpose of our nation’s founding charter. In designating our government’s limitations, the Constitution enables Americans to secure, preserve and extend our natural human rights and freedoms.³

Therefore, *We the People* have the privilege and duty to change the Constitution when it impedes the realization and enjoyment of individual liberty. Today, over half of all Americans hold unrequited aspirations to meaningful equality, freedom, and safety from rights violations. U.S. women continue to petition for equal citizenship stature and equal protection under the law.

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution is a basic human rights reform, which guarantees that “equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.”⁴ Passed by a bipartisan supermajority of Congress in 1972 and now ratified by three-quarters of state legislatures, it has met all the constitutional requirements of an amendment. Congress has the power and duty to eliminate the arbitrary deadline imposed on ERA ratification, and to finally make true equality the law of the land.

Recognizing the ERA as the 28th Amendment is fundamentally the right thing to do—from the perspective of American democratic values, human rights ideals, and the religious conviction that all people are equal in dignity and worth before God. Because the ERA is right and just, it will have a multitude of beneficial effects—empowering Congress to enact legislation that safeguards against sexual violence, child marriage, female genital mutilation, pregnancy discrimination, unequal pay, and other abuses of women and girls, and requiring the judiciary to ensure women equal protection under the law in the same measure afforded to others.

This brief explains our religious and ethical support for the ERA and outlines many of the positive legal implications of this long-sought reform. Attached to this brief is an Interfaith Statement of Support for the ERA, which over 500 faith leaders from a multitude of religious traditions across the United States have signed so far.

I. The ERA Affirms the Equal Human Dignity of All Americans

As a diverse, ecumenical Christian community formed to advance a moral vision of human rights in the United States, Justice Revival supports constitutional equality for women and for all Americans based on our faith convictions. We advocate in collaboration with a national interfaith movement of organizations and leaders similarly committed to equality through the ERA. This coalition (known as #Faith4ERA) shares the conviction that adopting the ERA is the moral and just course of action.

The U.S. Constitution is the highest statement of our nation’s principles and values. To affirm gender equality within this revered document is to affirm and respect the deeper truth of equal human dignity and worth of all people. This reform is a necessary and vital step toward correcting for the wrongful subjugation, oppression, and degradation of women and other minorities.

We understand through the sacred text of Genesis that humankind is made in the divine image irrespective of gender (“in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them”),⁵ and that women, like men, possess sacred and equal human dignity and worth. (Gen. 1:27). This is the foundation for all natural human rights.⁶ As stated in the Interfaith Statement in Support of the ERA:

all people are equally valuable in the sight of their Creator, and thus deserve equal regard in human laws and legal systems.⁷

Jesus of Nazareth, whose life and teaching serve as our highest ethical example, welcomed and included women in his ministry, and offered them respect that far exceeded the culture of his time. Women played important leadership roles in the early Christian movement as apostles, priests, and martyrs; over the centuries they have been counted among the saints, reformers, and defenders of our faith.⁸ Today, women serve as ministers, pastors, deacons, and bishops through many of our traditions.⁹

Despite the role and contributions of women in our faith, Christian institutions have too often suppressed rather than advanced women's equality, reflecting and reinforcing patriarchal human prejudices. Today, however, our religion collectively celebrates the 19th Century Evangelical Christian leaders who advocated for women's suffrage and against violence in the home.¹⁰ They, too, were inspired by the radically egalitarian message of the Christian Gospel. ("In Christ there is no Greek or Jew, slave or free, male or female." Gal. 3:28.)

We see growing Christian consensus today in decrying violence against women and sexual abuse in the church, which were too long obscured and tolerated based on efforts to subordinate women. The heretical medieval contention that woman is a "malformed man," less reflective of God's image, has fallen by the doctrinal wayside along with theological justifications for chattel slavery and racial apartheid.¹¹

For Christian authorities who relent from overt ideologies of male supremacy, there remains no religious basis for excluding women from equality before the state. Differences among the genders and human life in all its diversity cannot justify the U.S. Government in treating some as lesser than others; nor can personal beliefs about the nature of marital relationships, which are and should be the private province of individual liberty, largely beyond the purview of the state.¹²

At the heart of Christian faith is an ethical injunction to love one's neighbor as oneself. Jesus named this as part of the "Great Command," inextricably intertwined with love and devotion to God. Theologian Soren Kierkegaard explained that earnest love of neighbor should lead us inevitably to full equality:

"The neighbor is the absolutely true expression for human equality. In case everyone were in truth to love his neighbor as himself, complete human equality

would be attained. Everyone who loves his neighbor in truth, expresses unconditionally human equality.”¹³

A just society is one in which institutions and laws affirm the equal dignity of human beings, uphold peoples’ interests with equal regard, and defend in equal measure the freedom of all citizens.¹⁴ Explicit constitutional equality is an essential moral foundation for a just and upright society characterized by mutual regard among its citizens.

II. Numerous Human Rights Commitments Call for Equality & Non-Discrimination

The United States has made numerous, legally binding commitments to respect the principles of equality and non-discrimination, which are foundational to human rights. Every major human rights instrument our nation has endorsed, including the landmark Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), obligates our government to eschew discrimination based on sex, as well as race, religion, and other factors.¹⁵

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which the U.S. Senate ratified in 1992,¹⁶ requires equality before the law and equal protection of the law, regardless of sex.¹⁷ The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), ratified in 1992, emphasizes the interconnectedness of sex and racial discrimination.¹⁸ The Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), ratified in 1994,¹⁹ addresses violence against women. CERD and CAT also highlight the duties to avoid and prohibit gender discrimination. Equality under the law, to which the Senate has repeatedly committed, begins with equal citizenship stature according to the Constitution.²⁰

Eighty-five percent of countries worldwide explicitly protect women’s rights or prohibit gender discrimination in their constitution, but the United States is not among them.²¹ The lack of a basic gender equality provision in our constitution undercuts U.S. leadership and credibility on women’s human rights globally.²²

In recent decades, the United States influenced the drafting of constitutions in Iraq and Afghanistan,²³ both of which explicitly guarantee equality or non-discrimination based on sex or gender.²⁴ The best U.S. hope for protecting hard-won women’s rights advances in these and other countries rests on diplomatic influence and moral authority. Without an ERA, the United States is poorly positioned to advocate for women under threat. For the

sake of women facing oppression around the world, the United States should practice what it preaches and explicitly protect women's rights in its constitution.

III. The ERA Will Empower Congress to Better the Lives of U.S. Women and Families

Adopting the ERA is the moral and just course of action, and it will better the lives of American women and their families. The Equal Rights Amendment will enable Congress to take the bold action needed to safeguard against violence, abuse, and discrimination against women and girls.

In the United States today, women often still face gender-based violence and discrimination without sufficient legal protection or remedy. Women workers are consistently paid less than men and harmed by pregnancy discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace. In the darkest corners of our society, women and girls are robbed of their freedom and bodily integrity through harmful cultural practices, child marriages, and human trafficking.

Too often Congress is constrained in responding to these problems by the limited constitutional bases for legislation, or thwarted by judicial rulings that strike down or limit legislation already passed. The ERA will provide the constitutional foundation for more effective laws to redress and prevent the prevalent abuses women suffer every day in this country. This includes sexual and domestic violence, pregnancy and pay discrimination, female genital mutilation, child marriage, high maternal mortality, and other injustices detailed below.

With the ERA in place, Congress will have the power to address pressing national concerns like the challenges working parents face in trying to earn a living while caring for their families. The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has revealed the urgent need to provide more supportive policies and alternatives, so that parents are not forced out of the labor market. The ERA will provide a constitutional basis for legislation that meets this need.²⁵

The text of the ERA explicitly endows Congress with the power to enforce it through legislation.²⁶ This means, for example, that the federal civil remedy in the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA)²⁷ and the 1996 statute criminalizing female genital mutilation,²⁸ both of which were struck down due to lack of constitutional foundation, would have been supported by the ERA. The duty will rest with Congress to bring the Amendment's purpose

to fruition through a legislative program²⁹ that promotes fundamental and substantive equality.³⁰

IV. Women and Girls Face Pervasive, Gendered Abuses, which the ERA Will Address

A. Violence Against Women

The U.S. Constitution currently offers limited basis for Congress to legislate on the urgent national problem of violence against women, which impacts one in three U.S. women.³¹ In *U.S. v. Morrison*, the Supreme Court struck down the civil rights remedy of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), holding that Congress did not have the constitutional authority to create a civil remedy for violence against women.³² This decision meant that Christy Brzonkala, who was a freshman in college when she alleged being raped by two football players, could not sue her assailants under VAWA, and it left all survivors without a crucial federal avenue to sue their abusers.³³

Consider the tragic case of Jessica Lenahan, whose three young daughters were abducted by Jessica's violent, unstable husband, in violation of a court restraining order against him.³⁴ Despite a mandatory arrest law for this type of violation, police ignored Jessica's repeated pleas for help. As a result, the girls were murdered by gunshot wounds to the head.³⁵ The Supreme Court held that Jessica had no right to protection and the police bore no responsibility for the murders.³⁶ It denied her justice entirely.

These two tragic cases are currently the federal word on violence against women, leading a human rights expert to observe, "there is little protection afforded to domestic violence victims."³⁷ In the words of one legal scholar, "Women have been shut out of the legal system on this issue."³⁸ The ERA would grant Congress further constitutional authority to pass much needed laws to protect women against pervasive, often lethal sexual and intimate partner violence.³⁹ In a country where intimate partner homicide against women is on the rise, claiming four lives each day, this action is urgent.⁴⁰

B. Female Genital Mutilation

Female genital mutilation (FGM) is a violent form of gendered injustice, which involves total or partial removal of the external genitalia, causing tremendous, lifelong physical and

psychological harm.⁴¹ The CDC estimates that over half a million women and girls in the United States are at risk or have been subjected to FGM.⁴²

In a recent case, an emergency room doctor who performed FGM on girls as young as seven years of age faced no criminal penalty—because a federal court held that Congress had exceeded its constitutional limits in enacting the FGM Act of 1996, which criminalized the practice.⁴³ In response to the court’s ruling, Congress passed the Stop FGM Act of 2020, endeavoring to ground the law in Congress’s Commerce Clause powers.⁴⁴ Still, a federal prosecutor must prove an interstate aspect in each case, which means this crime persists largely beyond the reach of federal law enforcement.⁴⁵

The ERA would provide a reliable constitutional basis for legislation banning FGM, which would give victims a far greater chance of securing justice and hope for eliminating the practice.

C. Child Marriages

Nearly 300,000 child marriages took place in the United States between 2000 and 2018,⁴⁶ and state laws are failing to protect girls from this abuse. Child marriages have devastating and long-lasting financial,⁴⁷ physical,⁴⁸ and mental⁴⁹ effects on the girls who are subject to them. Young married girls are at heightened risk for sexually transmitted infections⁵⁰ and have higher maternal mortality rates.⁵¹ The economic effects are also dire, with one study finding that early marriage “is a better indicator of future poverty than dropping out of high school.”⁵²

U.S. girls can be legally married off, including to men who raped them,⁵³ before they can legally consent to sexual activity, stay in a women’s shelter, or file for divorce in all but six states.⁵⁴ The ERA would give Congress desperately needed constitutional foundation for federal legislation to prevent child marriage.⁵⁵

D. Pregnancy Discrimination

Pregnant workers have no constitutional right against workplace discrimination, and they can lose wages, their job, or their child without a legal remedy.⁵⁶ The Supreme Court ruled that pregnancy discrimination is not discrimination “on the basis of sex” under the Equal Protection Clause, because women are not denied protection available to men.⁵⁷ Justice

Brennan dissented, saying “surely it offends common sense”⁵⁸ to fail to recognize pregnancy discrimination as sex-based.

Congress responded by passing the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA); however, the Court’s interpretation of the PDA allows many employers to refuse basic accommodations to pregnant employees, like carrying water bottles, extra bathroom breaks, and lighter lifting duties.⁵⁹ Pregnant workers also suffer because the United States is the only high-income country that does not guarantee any paid maternity leave,⁶⁰ contributing to the country’s egregious status as having the highest rate of maternal mortality in the developed world.⁶¹ Many pregnant women in physically strenuous, low-paying jobs face a choice between physical health or financial stability.

The ERA would provide the basis for “fundamental and substantive” equality—that is, giving women equal regard in view of their biological capacities for childbearing, rather than neglecting mothers’ needs based on an unfair, formalistic comparison to a male norm.⁶² The ERA should be a priority for any lawmaker concerned about mothers’ well being and ability to care for their children.

E. Pay Discrimination

Women in the United States are consistently paid less than their male counterparts for the same work. A working woman today can expect over her career to earn half a million to \$800,000 less than men in similar jobs.⁶³ The pay gap contributes to women having higher rates of poverty: one study found that women’s poverty rate would be cut in half if the gender pay gap were eliminated.⁶⁴ Mothers are especially hard hit by the disparity in pay, with around a quarter of single mothers living in poverty.⁶⁵ One study found that “if single working mothers received equal pay ... two-thirds would receive an increase in their pay, and their ‘very high poverty rate’ would also be cut in half.”⁶⁶

The court-imposed standard for proving pay discrimination on the basis of sex is incredibly high, essentially requiring an explicit, stated policy that uses gender as a factor for pay.⁶⁷ Likewise, the Equal Pay Act creates a high burden for plaintiffs challenging discrimination, and allows employers to avoid accountability with even the most pretextual of defenses.⁶⁸ The ERA would provide a new standard to guide the Court’s approach to pay discrimination, with potential to overcome the broad interpretation the Court has given to employers’ defenses.⁶⁹

F. Sexual Harassment

Pervasive sexual harassment of women in the workplace exacerbates the economic disparities between men and women workers,⁷⁰ and causes lifelong psychological⁷¹ and physical⁷² trauma. Sexual harassment often motivates women to leave jobs early, robbing them of career advancement opportunities and creating financial instability.⁷³ Although sexual harassment is proscribed as sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the law only applies to organizations with fifteen or more employees,⁷⁴ leaving women without legal recourse in many jobs where they arguably need it most, including domestic and caregiving work.⁷⁵ Courts' interpretation of Title VII has narrowed the definition of what constitutes sexual harassment, resulting in fewer victories for victims.⁷⁶ The ERA would provide a more effective legal basis for passing legislation that rigorously protects women from sexual harassment.

G. Human Trafficking

Insufficient protection of women's rights has grim consequences. Workforce discrimination and violence against women compound women's economic disadvantage.⁷⁷ Women in poverty are especially susceptible to exploitation, including labor and sex trafficking.⁷⁸ Some 14,500 to 17,500 people are trafficked into the United States each year, and the number of trafficking victims within the country is even higher.⁷⁹ Approximately 82 percent of the trafficking victims served by the U.S. Department of Justice's Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) are women.⁸⁰

Many women who fall prey to labor traffickers work as domestic servants, earning very little and working long hours.⁸¹ Domestic work is excluded from protection under anti-discrimination and other labor laws.⁸²

Women and girls caught in sex trafficking struggle to escape because of the psychological, economic, and legal power traffickers hold.⁸³ Victims may be unjustly criminalized under prostitution or immigration laws, which prevents them from gaining future employment or securing government benefits.⁸⁴ The ERA would lay the foundation to address the systemic root causes of this horrendous cycle of exploitation and abuse.

The Equal Rights Amendment is a critical, foundational step toward ending each of the gender-based abuses described above. It will significantly improve the lives of U.S. women

and families, by providing a constitutional basis for bold laws and policies designed to eliminate this litany of gendered harms.

V. The ERA Is Needed to Ensure Women Receive Equal Protection

The ERA is necessary to ensure women receive the same standard of “equal protection” as other groups under the Constitution. It will mean a heightened level of judicial scrutiny for classifications based on gender—so that sex discrimination is evaluated with the same constitutional standard as racial or religious discrimination.⁸⁵

Despite a series of incremental gains over the last five decades,⁸⁶ to this day the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment fails to provide women the same level of protection against State discrimination as other groups.⁸⁷ The Supreme Court has held that gender-based classifications are subject only to “intermediate scrutiny,” a muddled legal standard prone to a wide array of judicial interpretations,⁸⁸ inconsistent application,⁸⁹ and less rigorous judicial review than the “strict scrutiny” standard, which is applied to racial and religious classifications.⁹⁰ By applying a less stringent standard to classifications based on sex, the Court sends a signal that sex discrimination is less serious than other types of discrimination.⁹¹

The problematic intermediate scrutiny standard is, to some degree, a byproduct of the unfinished effort to enshrine gender equality in the Constitution. In a 1973 case challenging sex discrimination under the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court chose not to apply the higher standard of strict scrutiny in part because some justices anticipated that gender equality would be secured with the Equal Rights Amendment,⁹² the passage of which was widely anticipated at the time. The Court deferred to the federal and state legislatures on whether to recognize women as full, equal citizens.⁹³

Legal scholars,⁹⁴ most state courts,⁹⁵ and former Supreme Court Justices⁹⁶ agree that adoption of the ERA will lead the courts to apply strict scrutiny to measures that categorize based on sex, resulting in more predictable outcomes,⁹⁷ less judicial discretion,⁹⁸ and greater chances of success for plaintiffs challenging sex discrimination.⁹⁹ The strict scrutiny standard will put a higher burden on the government to justify use of a sex based classification.¹⁰⁰

In legal terms, the ERA is expected to lead courts to designate sex as a “suspect class” that receives “strict scrutiny,” meaning sex-based classification will be permissible only if there is a “compelling governmental interest” that the measure is “narrowly tailored” to achieve. Previous Supreme Court comments in sex-discrimination cases¹⁰¹ and the jurisprudence of state courts analyzing their own state constitutions’ equality provisions¹⁰² affirm this expectation. This change is urgently needed, in light of jurisprudence that has limited judicial recourse for survivors of sexual and intimate partner violence,¹⁰³ imposed onerous and unrealistic burdens on plaintiffs in wage discrimination cases,¹⁰⁴ and left pregnant workers vulnerable to dangerous employer demands.¹⁰⁵

Taking sex discrimination seriously protects men as well as women. In the case of *Nguyen v. INS*, for instance, the Supreme Court upheld a law that requires unwed American fathers to meet additional bureaucratic burdens to establish U.S. citizenship for their children, as compared to unwed American mothers.¹⁰⁶ Under strict scrutiny, the Court would have more likely considered non-discriminatory alternatives,¹⁰⁷ rather than resorting to parental stereotypes that disadvantage fathers.¹⁰⁸

Strict scrutiny review is a “minimum dignity” and a long overdue protection for women facing discrimination from the State.¹⁰⁹ In the apt words of one scholar, “[a]s long as official gender inequality is not considered seriously by the courts, women will not be taken seriously.”¹¹⁰

VI. Existing Constitutional Protections for Women are Contested and Vulnerable

Even the moderate patchwork of protection women currently receive under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment is contested and vulnerable to being diminished or overruled, particularly under the current Supreme Court. When the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868 to extend the privileges of citizenship to formerly enslaved African American men, lawmakers did not consider women of any color worthy of inclusion.¹¹¹ The Supreme Court did not apply the Equal Protection Clause to women until 1971,¹¹² over a century later, as noted above.

Despite the hard won gains for women’s rights over the last five decades, some Supreme Court Justices would still challenge the Fourteenth Amendment’s application to sex discrimination as a betrayal of its original meaning. The late Justice Antonin Scalia, a

constitutional originalist, claimed that the Amendment does not prohibit sex discrimination because it was not originally intended to do so.¹¹³ He said:

Certainly the Constitution does not require discrimination on the basis of sex. The only issue is whether it prohibits it. It doesn't. Nobody ever thought that that's what [the Fourteenth Amendment] meant. Nobody ever voted for that.¹¹⁴

The Court currently includes four Justices who follow Scalia's originalist interpretation of the Constitution and two Justices who move legal doctrine in an originalist direction.¹¹⁵ As these Justices look to the original public meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment for guidance,¹¹⁶ they could adopt the same position Scalia did with regard to the Fourteenth Amendment. This would make judicial precedents that protect women against exclusion from juries,¹¹⁷ professions, public universities,¹¹⁸ and legal agency to administer estates,¹¹⁹ vulnerable to reversal. It would allow for a massive rollback of women's legal stature and basic rights in numerous areas of public life, from education to civil rights to citizenship.

The ERA is necessary to safeguard against any further erosion of women's equality under the law. It would buttress the contested, piecemeal protections of the Fourteenth Amendment with a systematic and unequivocal guarantee of equal citizenship.

Note that heightened scrutiny does not mean a bar on all sex-based classifications: single sex bathrooms, locker rooms, and prisons will still be protected by Court safeguards on privacy,¹²⁰ and well-justified measures like women-only shelters for abuse survivors will meet this standard.¹²¹

VII. The ERA Does Not Mandate Abortion Rights, but Addresses Root Causes of Abortion

If equality under the law is a core moral and democratic value, it need not and must not conflict with a moral and just response on reproduction and abortion. In fact, the ERA would protect women's rights *and* advance their children's well-being by empowering and prompting lawmakers to address many serious challenges that contribute to miscarriage, abortion, and high maternal mortality, including: the heightened risk of violence against women during pregnancy;¹²² disparate economic hardship faced by women and mothers due to pay inequity;¹²³ lack of access to quality maternal and post-natal care; and dangerous pregnancy discrimination in the workplace.¹²⁴ These forms of gendered injustice harm the unborn, as well as women; the ERA would require taking them seriously.

Despite the rhetoric on both sides, constitutional equality would not mandate a resolution to the abortion debate. There is no federal precedent in U.S. law for grounding abortion rights in legal equality. To the extent that a right to abortion is presently protected under the U.S. Constitution, it is based on legal theories of privacy and due process, not the Equal Protection Clause.¹²⁵ There is next to no mention of abortion in the legislative history of the ERA; the overwhelming focus is on a range of other areas where gender equality is lacking.¹²⁶ The ERA dates back to 1923, five decades before *Roe v. Wade*, and was passed by Congress before this decision.

Pro-life legislators in Illinois, Nevada, and Virginia have voted in recent years for their state's ratification of the ERA.¹²⁷ They know that the ERA is about equality, not abortion.¹²⁸ Illinois state legislator Dan Brady explained:

... after this [ERA] vote is done, I will continue to be a strong pro-life representative with a strong pro-life voting record. I've been taught that all individuals are made in the image and likeness of God. We have dignity and rights endowed by our Creator. This includes both men and women. If you believe that, then I can find no reason any longer why our United States Constitution should not reflect the same.¹²⁹

State courts' interpretations of equality provisions in state constitutions reach varied results, but are not binding on the Supreme Court in any event. Twenty-six states have such provisions, and while several state courts have reached extremely limited rulings on medically necessary abortions, Texas and Pennsylvania courts held that public funding restrictions on medically necessary abortions were consistent with their states' equality guarantees.¹³⁰

There is no evidence that the Equal Rights Amendment would mandate a new basis for abortion rights. The aspirations of pro-choice advocates and the apprehensions of equality opponents are not authoritative. Abortion may continue to be a difficult issue for our democracy, but equality should be an easy one. Greater respect for women's dignity and rights is the most just, humane, and promising route to reducing the prevalence of abortion, which has divided our nation for the last 50 years.

VIII. The Time Limit on Ratification Can and Should Be Removed

In light of the historical subjugation of women in this country, their intentional exclusion from the privileges of citizenship, and the unabated and myriad forms of gender-based oppression that have long caused serious harm to women and girls, the arbitrary seven-year time limit imposed by Congress on ERA ratification was manifestly unjust and unconscionable from the outset.

Today, Congress can and should remove this time limit on ERA ratification. Article V of the U.S. Constitution, which sets forth the amendment process, does not contemplate any time limits on the ratification process.¹³¹ In 1992, the Twenty-Seventh Amendment was ratified two hundred years after being passed by Congress in 1789.¹³² The ERA, passed less than fifty years ago, is likewise timely for ratification, and Congress has the power to say so.¹³³ When the 92nd Congress placed the time limit in the proposing clause of the ERA instead of the amendment itself, it reserved for Congress the power to change this time limit, which Congress has already done once.¹³⁴ The current Congress likewise has the authority to change or void the ratification time limit by joint resolution.¹³⁵

Congress is well within its power to abolish the arbitrary deadline on ratification of the ERA imposed by an earlier congress. To do so will respect the will of the people as expressed through the state ratification process and the ERA's widespread popular support. The persistent problems of injustice U.S. women and girls face today underscore the ERA's essential role in combating gender discrimination. The majority of Americans agree that the ERA is warranted.¹³⁶ With no legal barrier to removing the ratification deadline, Americans will recognize that a vote for or against eliminating the deadline on ERA ratification is a vote for or against equal citizenship and human rights.

Endnotes

¹ Justice Revival is an ecumenical Christian, faith-based nonprofit organization with constituents across the country. Its mission is to inspire, educate, and mobilize fellow Christians to defend and uphold human rights in the United States. This brief was written by Allyson McKinney Timm, JD, MDiv, MBA, Founder & Executive Director of Justice Revival, Charlie Palladino, JD, and Megan Perry, law student, with significant research assistance from Carrie L. Evans, JD. Our thanks go to Amy Jo Conroy, JD, for her detailed comments and suggestions on an earlier draft.

² See Ronald Reagan, *Farewell Address to the Nation*, RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM (Jan. 11, 1989), <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/farewell-address-nation>; Ronald Reagan, *President Reagan on the Signing of the Constitution*, THE FEDERALIST SOCIETY (Sept. 17, 2018); James McClellan, *The Heritage Lectures: The Constitution from a Conservative Perspective*, THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION, http://thf_media.s3.amazonaws.com/1988/pdf/h157.pdf (last accessed July 8, 2021).

³ Hon. William H. Pryor, Jr., *Justice Scalia on Federalism and Separation of Powers*, 2016 NATIONAL LAWYERS CONVENTION, 79 (Nov. 17, 2016).

⁴ *Proposed Amendment to the United States Constitution*, H.R.J. Res. 208, 92d Cong., 2d Sess., 86 Stat. 1523 (1972) (Section 1 of the ERA) [hereinafter ERA].

⁵ Genesis 1:27 (New Revised Standard Version).

⁶ See, e.g., DAVID P. GUSHEE, *THE SACREDNESS OF HUMAN LIFE: WHY AN ANCIENT BIBLICAL VISION IS KEY TO THE WORLD'S FUTURE* 231, 372-78, 382, 382-87 (2013) (summarizing scholar Jeremy Waldron's conclusion that John Locke's political thought, grounded in his biblical interpretation, refuted the idea of "God-given or natural law [of] subordination of women to men."), (exploring the "sacredness of life" ethic as the theological foundation for human rights), ("Since the beginning of my career I have taken the egalitarian position. I still believe that one aspect of honoring women's lives is for Christian churches and families to abandon their objections to a fully egalitarian understanding of the roles of males and females in every sector of life.")

⁷ For the full Interfaith Statement in Support of the ERA, see Appendix A.

⁸ See, e.g., ELIZABETH GILLAN MUIR, *A WOMEN'S HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH: TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF FEMALE LEADERSHIP* (2019); KAREN J. TORJESEN, *WHEN WOMEN WERE PRIESTS: WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN THE EARLY CHURCH & THE SCANDAL OF THEIR SUBORDINATION IN THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY* (1993); ELDON JAY EPP, *JUNIA: THE FIRST WOMAN APOSTLE* (2005).

⁹ See MUIR, *supra* note 8, at 345-362.

¹⁰ NANCY A. HARDESTY, *WOMEN CALLED TO WITNESS: EVANGELICAL FEMINISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY* (1999).

¹¹ See PHILIP B. PAYNE, *MAN AND WOMAN, ONE IN CHRIST: AN EXEGETICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDY OF PAUL'S LETTERS* (2009) (finding through three decades of research and rigorous exegetical analysis that the Apostle Paul consistently affirmed the equal standing of men and women through his theology, instruction, and practice).

¹² See *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965) (holding, for the first time, that the Constitution provided the right to personal privacy: "the marriage relationship lies within the zone of privacy created by several fundamental constitutional guarantees."); See also, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Dec. 8, 1948, G.A. Res. 217A (III), at art. 12 [hereinafter UDHR] ("No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.")

¹³ DUNCAN B. FORRESTER, *ON HUMAN WORTH: A CHRISTIAN VINDICATION OF EQUALITY* 97-98 (2001).

¹⁴ See *id.* at 6, 31, 33 ("A decent society is one in which there is a recognition in policy, procedures and structures of the equal worth of human beings."), ("Liberty is, in fact, equality in action, in the sense [...] that all men are equally protected against the abuse of power, and equally entitled to insist that power should be used, not for personal ends, but for the general advantage."), ("[D]oing justice seems to involve a predisposition to equal regard for people's interests").

¹⁵ UDHR, *supra* note 12, at art. 1, 2, 7, 10, 16, 23.

¹⁶ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [hereinafter ICCPR], Dec. 16, 1966, 999 U.N.T.S. 171.

¹⁷ See, e.g., *id.*, at art. 2, 7, 26.

¹⁸ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, General Recommendation No. 25, *Gender Related Dimensions of Racial Discrimination*, para. 3, U.N. Doc. A/55/18, annex V (Mar. 20, 2000) ("Recognizing that some

forms of racial discrimination have a unique and specific impact on women, the Committee will endeavour in its work to take into account gender factors or issues which may be interlinked with racial discrimination.”)

¹⁹ Committee Against Torture, General Comment No. 2., *Implementation of Article 2 by States Parties*, para. 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GC/2 (Jan. 24, 2008) (“State reports frequently lack specific and sufficient information on the implementation of the Convention with respect to women. The Committee emphasizes that gender is a key factor. Being female intersects with other identifying characteristics or status of the person such as race, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, age, immigrant status etc. to determine the ways that women and girls are subject to or at risk of torture or ill-treatment and the consequences thereof.”)

²⁰ Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 18, *Non-discrimination*, para. 11, CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.1 (Nov. 21, 1989) (“The Committee has observed that in a number of constitutions and laws not all the grounds on which discrimination is prohibited, as cited in article 2, paragraph 1, are enumerated”); Security Council Resolution 1325, *Women, Peace, and Security*, para. 8 (c), U.N. Doc. S/Res/1325 (Oct. 31, 2000) (“Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary”); *Women’s Rights are Human Rights: A legal and constitutional framework which guarantees women’s rights at the national level is fundamental for women to access justice*, OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (2014).

²¹ World Policy Analysis Center, *Constitutional Equal Rights Across Gender and Sex*, WORLD POLICY CENTER (2020), <https://www.worldpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/Fact%20Sheet%20-%20Constitutional%20Equal%20Rights%20Across%20Gender%20and%20Sex.pdf>.

²² *Report of the Commission on Unalienable Rights*, DEPARTMENT OF STATE COMMISSION ON UNALIENABLE RIGHTS (2020) <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Draft-Report-of-the-Commission-on-Unalienable-Rights.pdf>.

²³ MICHELE BRANDT, JILL COTTRELL, YASH GHAI, & ANTHONY REGAN, *CONSTITUTION-MAKING AND REFORM: OPTIONS FOR THE PROCESS* (2011). <http://regnet.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/files/ROL/Brandt%20et%20al%20-%20Constitution%20Making%20Handbook%20%282011%29.pdf>

²⁴ World Policy Center. “Does the constitution explicitly guarantee equality or non-discrimination across sex and/or gender?”, WORLD POLICY CENTER, <https://www.worldpolicycenter.org/policies/does-the-constitution-explicitly-guarantee-equality-or-non-discrimination-across-sex-and-or-gender>.

²⁵ H.R. Rep No 116-378, 116th Congress, at 6 (2020), available at <https://www.congress.gov/116/crpt/hrpt378/CRPT-116hrpt378.pdf>.

²⁶ Section 2 of the ERA provides, “The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.” ERA, *supra* note 4. As the House Judiciary Committee Report recognized in 2020, “[T]he ERA would empower Congress to enforce its provisions through legislation.” From the House Judiciary Committee Report “Removing the Deadline for the Ratification of The Equal Rights Amendment.” H.R. Rep No 116-378, 116th Congress, at 6 (2020), available at <https://www.congress.gov/116/crpt/hrpt378/CRPT-116hrpt378.pdf>.

²⁷ See *United States v. Morrison*, 529 U.S. 598 (2000).

²⁸ See *United States v. Nagarwala*, 350 F. Supp. 3d 613, 630-31 (2018).

²⁹ See generally, Barbara Brown, Thomas Emerson, et al., *The Equal Rights Amendment: A Constitutional Basis for Equal Rights for Women*, 80 YALE L.J. 871(1971) at footnote 119.

³⁰ JESSICA NEUWIRTH, *EQUAL MEANS EQUAL* 49 (2015).

³¹ U.S. women face a one in three chance of intimate partner violence. See American College of Obstetricians & Gynecologists. *Intimate partner violence*. Committee Opinion No. 518. *Obstet Gynecol* 2012; 119:412–7. [https://www.acog.org/clinical/clinical-guidance/committee-opinion/articles/2012/02/intimate-partner%20violence#:~:text=Research%20confirms%20the%20long%2Dterm,in%20the%20United%20States%2011](https://www.acog.org/clinical/clinical-guidance/committee-opinion/articles/2012/02/intimate-partner%20violence#:~:text=Research%20confirms%20the%20long%2Dterm,in%20the%20United%20States%2011.). U.S. women face similar odds of workplace sexual assault. See Center for Talent Innovation. *What #MeToo Means for Corporate America*. Key Findings. 2018. <https://coqual.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/CoqualWhatMeTooMeansKeyFindings090720.pdf>. U.S. women have a one in five chance of experiencing rape or attempted rape in their lifetimes. See Black, M.C., Basile, K.C., Breiding, M.J., Smith, S.G., Walters, M.L., Merrick, M.T., Chen, J., & Stevens, M.R. (2011). *The National Intimate Partner and Sexual*

Violence Survey (NISVS): 2010 Summary Report. NATIONAL CENTER FOR INJURY PREVENTION AND CONTROL, CENTER FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION, https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/nisvs_report2010-a.pdf.

³² Sally F. Goldfarb, *The Supreme Court, The Violence Against Women Act, and the Use and Abuse of Federalism*, 71 *FORDHAM L. REV.* 57, 69 (2002).

³³ Bruce Shapiro, *Kavanaugh and the Case of the Vanishing Rape Victim*, *THE NATION*, <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/brett-kavanaugh-and-the-case-of-the-vanishing-rape-victim/> (last accessed July 22, 2021).

³⁴ *Town of Castle Rock, Colo. v. Gonzales*, 545 U.S. 748, 754 (2005).

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ *Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Its Causes and Consequences*, UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL, "https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/17session/A.HRC.17.26.Add.5_AEV.pdf" (last accessed Jun. 29, 2021).

³⁸ Catharine A MacKinnon, *Toward a Renewed Equal Rights Amendment: Now More Than Ever*, *EQUAL HARVARD JOURNAL OF LAW & GENDER* 37 (2013-2014) at 576.

³⁹ See JESSICA NEUWIRTH, *EQUAL MEANS EQUAL* 69 (2015).

⁴⁰ Since 2014, the number of women killed by an intimate partner increased from 3 women per day to nearly 4 women per day. Carol A Lambert, MSW, *The Number of Women Murdered by a Partner Is Rising*, *PSYCHOLOGY TODAY* (September 3, 2019) <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/mind-games/201909/the-number-women-murdered-partner-is-rising>.

⁴¹ Jean Galbraith, *Department of Justice Declines to Defend the Constitutionality of a Statute Criminalizing Female Genital Mutilation*, 114 *AM. J. INT'L L.* 289, 290 (2020) (quoting Pub. L. 104-208, at § 645(a)).

⁴² Andrea Bottner, *Congress Delivers an Early Holiday Gift to Women and Girls in America*, *THE HILL*, <https://thehill.com/opinion/civil-rights/530859-congress-delivers-an-early-holiday-gift-to-women-and-girls-in-america> (last accessed Jun. 30, 2021).

⁴³ See Galbraith, *supra* note 41, at 289; see also *United States v. Nagarwala*, 350 F. Supp. 3d 613, 630-31 (2018).

⁴⁴ See Bottner, *supra* note 42; see also *Stop FGM Act of 2020*, 18 U.S.C.A. § 116 (West, Westlaw through PL 117-36 with the exception of PL 116-283, Div. A, Title XVIII, which takes effect January 1, 2022).

⁴⁵ Victoria F. Nourse, Remarks at a Meeting of the ERA Coalition (October 1, 2021).

⁴⁶ Sophie Lewis, *New York Bans Child Marriage-Only the Sixth State to Officially Do So*, *CBS NEWS*, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/new-york-ban-child-marriage-law-governor-andrew-cuomo/> (last accessed July 27, 2021).

⁴⁷ Girls who get married before adulthood are likely to drop out of school, and thereby become financially dependent upon their spouse. Should the marriage end in divorce, which 70-80% of child marriages do, the woman often finds herself in poverty. See Rachel L. Schuman, *State Regulations Are Failing Our Children: An Analysis of Child Marriage Laws in the United States*, 60 *WM. & MARY L. REV.* 2237, 2351-52 (2019).

⁴⁸ Young girls' undeveloped physiology can cause grave danger when delivering children. Also, because of younger girls' lack of power in marriage, they often do not have a say in sexual practices and are thus at heightened risk for contracting sexually transmitted infections. See Sanyukta Mathur, Margaret Greene, Anju Malhotra, *Too Young to Wed: The Lives, Rights, and Health of Young Married Girls*, *INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN*, <https://www.issueab.org/resources/11421/11421.pdf> (last accessed July 27, 2021).

⁴⁹ Girls who marry at a young age have higher rates of depression and are more likely to suffer a psychiatric disorder. See Schuman, *supra* note 47, at 2353 ("[W]omen who married as children had higher rates of depression, nicotine dependence, specific phobias, dysthymia, and antisocial personality disorder.")

⁵⁰ Mathur, *supra* note 48. ("Young women generally enter into marriage with partners who are much older and more sexually experienced. In these marriages, women have little negotiating power in sexual behavior and practices, putting them at greater risk of contracting reproductive and sexually transmitted infections.")

⁵¹ Schuman, *supra* note 47, at 2353 ("There is a strong correlation between early child marriage and childbirth. This is concerning because girls who give birth at a young age face serious health consequence, including higher maternal morbidity rates, higher risks of obstructed labor, pregnancy-induced hypertension, and

suffering from obstetric fistula.”); Mathur, *supra* note 48 (“[Y]oung married girls experience much higher levels of maternal mortality and morbidity than do women who bear children when they are older.”).

⁵² Schuman, *supra* note 47, at 2351-52 (“[E]arly marriage is a better indicator of future poverty than dropping out of high school.”)

⁵³ Statutory rape laws create exceptions for spouses, thereby incentivizing rapists to marry their victims to avoid criminal punishment. See Erin K. Jackson, *Addressing the Inconsistency Between Statutory Rape Laws and Underage Marriage: Abolishing Early Marriage and Removing the Spousal Exemption to Statutory Rape*, 85 UMKC L. REV. 343, 344-45 (2017); Nicholas Kristof, *A 14-Year-Old Bride, Wed to Her Rapist, Playing on a Jungle Gym*, N.Y. TIMES, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/opinion/sunday/child-marriage-rape.html> (last accessed July 27, 2021); Moni Basu, *Sherry Johnson Was Raped, Pregnant, and Married by 11. Now She is Fighting to End Child Marriage in America*, CNN, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/29/health/ending-child-marriage-in-america/index.html> (last accessed July 27, 2021); *Child Marriage in the United States: A Serious Problem With a Simple First-Step Solution*, TAHIRIH JUSTICE CENTER, <https://www.tahirih.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Tahirih-Child-Marriage-Backgrounder-2.pdf> (last accessed July 27, 2021).

⁵⁴ Sophie Lewis, *New York Bans Child Marriage-Only the Sixth State to Officially Do So*, CBS NEWS, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/new-york-ban-child-marriage-law-governor-andrew-cuomo/> (last accessed July 27, 2021); *Child Marriage in the United States: A Serious Problem With a Simple First-Step Solution*, *supra* note 53.

⁵⁵ Schuman, *supra* note 47, at 2356, 2374; Jackson, *supra* note 53, at 357.

⁵⁶ *Id.* at 37; see also Jessica Silver-Greenberg & Natalie Kitroeff, *Miscarrying at Work: The Physical Toll of Pregnancy Discrimination*, N.Y. TIMES, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/21/business/pregnancy-discrimination-miscarriages.html> (last accessed July 22, 2021).

⁵⁷ See JESSICA NEUWIRTH, EQUAL MEANS EQUAL 38-39 (2015).

⁵⁸ *General Electric Co. v. Gilbert*, 429 U.S. 125 (1976).

⁵⁹ See Dina Bakst, Elizabeth Gedmark, and Sarah Brafman, *Long Overdue: It is Time for the Federal Pregnant Workers Fairness Act*, A Better Balance: THE WORK AND FAMILY LEGAL CENTER, <https://www.abetterbalance.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Long-Overdue.pdf> (last accessed July 23, 2021) (“In an extensive review of post-Young pregnancy accommodation cases conducted for this report, A Better Balance found that in over two-thirds of cases, despite the new *Young* standard, courts held employers were permitted to deny pregnant workers accommodations under the PDA”); Lara Grow, *Pregnancy Discrimination in the Wake of Young v. UPS*, 19 U. PA. J. L. & SOC. CHANGE 133, 135 (2016) (“[T]he Court’s new formulation nevertheless fails to clarify how a plaintiff identifies the appropriate comparator . . . Moreover, following *Young*, it remains unclear precisely how dramatic the differential between an employer’s treatment of pregnant and nonpregnant workers must be for a plaintiff to successfully prove that the employer’s policy significantly burdens pregnant employees”).

⁶⁰ Joia Crear-Perry, *Paid Maternity Leave Saves Lives*, BLOOMBERG OPINION, <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2021-06-24/paid-maternity-leave-would-help-relieve-america-s-maternal-mortality-crisis> (last accessed July 2, 2021).

⁶¹ Roosa Tikkanen, Munira Z. Gunja, Molly FitzGerald, Laurie Zephyrin, *Maternal Mortality and Maternity Care in the United States Compared to 10 Other Developed Countries*, THE COMMONWEALTH FUND, <https://www.commonwealthfund.org/publications/issue-briefs/2020/nov/maternal-mortality-maternity-care-us-compared-10-countries> (last accessed July 2, 2021).

⁶² NEUWIRTH, *supra* note 57, at 49; see also Neil S. Siegel & Reva B. Siegel, *Struck by Stereotype: Ruth Bader Ginsburg on Pregnancy Discrimination as Sex Discrimination*, 59 DUKE L. J. 771 (2010) (argues the ERA would move the Supreme Court away from the framework they adopted in *Geduldig*, which holds pregnancy discrimination does not constitute sex discrimination).

⁶³ Stephanie Bornstein, *Equal Work*, 77 MD. L. REV. 581, 599 (2018).

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ Robin Bleiweis, Diana Boesch, and Alexandra Cawthorne Gaines, *The Basic Facts About Women in Poverty*, CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/women/reports/2020/08/03/488536/basic-facts-women-poverty/> (last accessed July 29, 2021).

⁶⁶ Bornstein, *supra* note 63, at 599.

⁶⁷ Take for example the case of *Wal-Mart v. Dukes*. In 2001, female Wal-Mart employees sued the company for sex discrimination under Title VII, providing statistical evidence of men being paid more and promoted more often than women. The Supreme Court held that even if the allegations of sex discrimination were true the employees would not have a claim of sex discrimination because while Wal-Mart may have allowed a culture of sex discrimination, it did not have an identifiable policy of discrimination. This holding demonstrates the power corporate entities are granted in permitting and promoting a discriminatory culture while still operating within the law. See Brief for Respondents at 21-22, *Wal-Mart Stores, Inc. v. Dukes*, 564 U.S. 338 (2011) (No. 10-277); JESSICA NEUWIRTH, *EQUAL MEANS EQUAL* 23 (2015).

⁶⁸ Employers can claim a number of defenses for pay disparities under the EPA, such as merit, seniority, productivity, and a catchall, “any factor other than sex.” Employers can also use prior pay of employees as a defense, leading to a situation in which “[e]mployers can continue paying women less than men because other employers have paid women less than men, without violating the Equal Pay Act or Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.” NEUWIRTH, *supra* note 57, at 19. In *Kouba v. Allstate Insurance Company*, a woman was paid \$175 less a month than her male colleagues, but Allstate claimed that using prior salary as a factor for current pay was a “factor other than sex,” and therefore, “a legitimate reason under the law to pay women differently than men.” *Id.* at 18. The Ninth Circuit ruled in Allstate’s favor. *Id.* at 18-19. See also Bornstein, *supra* note 63, at 606-07.

⁶⁹ The Court has said that it is not their job to “roll aside all history” and “take over the job of leveling out centuries of discrimination.” NEUWIRTH, *supra* note 57, at 31. The ERA, however, could provide the basis for the Court to address discrimination. *Id.* The Court has interpreted employers’ defenses so broadly “that it has effectively become a loophole that allows some employers to successfully defend discriminatory pay practices that sound impartial or gender neutral on the surface.” Robin Blewis, *The Equal Rights Amendment: What You Need to Know*, CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/women/reports/2020/01/29/479917/equal-rights-amendment-need-know/> (last accessed Aug. 19, 2021). The ERA “could strengthen arguments to close this loophole.” *Id.*

⁷⁰ See *Limiting Our Livelihoods: The Cumulative Impact of Sexual Harassment On Women’s Careers*, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, <https://www.aauw.org/app/uploads/2020/03/Limiting-our-Livelihoods-Full-Report.pdf> (last accessed July 29, 2021) (“The negative consequences of sexual harassment can have a ripple effect, impacting women’s earnings throughout their careers, their income in retirement and their poverty levels”).

⁷¹ *Id.* (“Review of research shows that women who have experienced sexual harassment report severe and long-lasting negative mental health consequences, such as depression and post-traumatic stress.”)

⁷² *Id.* (Sexual harassment can result in physical health effects and can create a dangerous work environment with an increased risk in accidents).

⁷³ See *Limiting Our Livelihoods: The Cumulative Impact of Sexual Harassment On Women’s Careers*, *supra* note 70 (“Women may reduce their hours or leave a job entirely to avoid harassing behavior. When women leave a job due to sexual harassment, research indicates that they often move to a job of lower quality or with lower pay. This impacts women’s short- and long-term economic security as they earn less and ultimately retire with less income”); *Workplace Sexual Harassment*, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, <https://www.aauw.org/issues/equity/workplace-harassment/> (last accessed July 29, 2021) (“In AAUW’s survey, 38% of women who’d been harassed said it contributed to their decision to leave a job early, and 37% said it disrupted their career advancement.”)

⁷⁴ Equal Employment Opportunities, 42 U.S.C.A. § 2000e(b) (West, current through PL 117-28 with the exception of PL 116-283, Div. A., Title XVIII, which takes effect January 1, 2022).

⁷⁵ Alexia Fernández Campbell, *Housekeepers and Nannies Have No Protection from Sexual Harassment Under Federal Law*, Vox, <https://www.vox.com/2018/4/26/17275708/housekeepers-nannies-sexual-harassment-laws> (last accessed July 29, 2021).

⁷⁶ *Limiting Our Livelihoods: The Cumulative Impact of Sexual Harassment On Women’s Careers*, *supra* note 70. (“For instance, some federal courts have interpreted the “severe or pervasive” standard so rigidly that obtaining relief has become extremely difficult, even where egregious harassment is alleged. For example, in *Brooks v. City of San Mateo*, a female employee’s superior, among other egregious behaviors, forced his hand under her sweater and bra and touched her bare breast while she was taking a 911 call. The Ninth Circuit held that no hostile

environment harassment had been established because the supervisor had only touched his employee a single time, which was not sufficient to meet the “severe or pervasive” standard. Over time, this standard has grown increasingly burdensome to prove, with some lower courts interpreting only the most outrageous conduct as unlawful despite Congress’ intent to afford broad remedial protections”).

⁷⁷ Robin Bleiweis, Diana Boesch, and Alexandra Cawthorne Gaines, *The Basic Facts About Women in Poverty*, CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/women/reports/2020/08/03/488536/basic-facts-women-poverty/> (last accessed July 29, 2021).

⁷⁸ *Trafficked: Three Survivors of Human Trafficking Share Their Stories*, UN WOMEN, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2019/7/compilation-trafficking-survivors-share-stories> (last accessed July 29, 2021) (“Wherever there is poverty, conflict, and gender inequality, women’s and girls’ lives are at-risk for exploitation”); Neha A. Deshpande & Nawal M. Nour, *Sex Trafficking of Women and Girls*, 6 REVIEWS IN OBSTETRICS & GYNECOLOGY e22, e24 (2013), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3651545/> (last accessed July 29, 2021) (“Traffickers and/or pimps commonly recruit potential victims who are either economically or socially vulnerable. These include women and girls who are susceptible to poverty, societal isolation, drug addiction, violence in the family, a history of child sexual abuse, family dysfunction, school failure, or a history of criminal behavior”).

⁷⁹ U.S. Department of Justice. *Report to Congress from Attorney General John Ashcroft on U.S. Government Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons in Fiscal Year 2003*. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (2004). <https://www.justice.gov/archive/ag/annualreports/tr2003/050104agreporttocongresstvprav10.pdf>

⁸⁰ *2018 NCVRW Resource Guide: Human Trafficking Fact Sheet*. THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR VICTIMS OF CRIME (NCVRW), https://ovc.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh226/files/ncvrw2018/info_flyers/fact_sheets/2018NCVRW_Trafficking_508_QC.pdf.

⁸¹ *The Typology of Modern Slavery: Defining Sex and Labor Trafficking in the United States*, POLARIS PROJECT, <https://polarisproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Polaris-Typology-of-Modern-Slavery-1.pdf> (last accessed July 29, 2021).

⁸² *Human Trafficking: Modern Enslavement of Immigrant Women in the United States*, ACLU, <https://www.aclu.org/other/human-trafficking-modern-enslavement-immigrant-women-united-states> (last accessed July 29, 2021).

⁸³ Victims face legal barriers to escape when traffickers seize documents. Money and fear can be a barrier to escape. See Deshpande & Nour, *supra* note 78, at e24.

⁸⁴ *How are Survivors Criminalized by Legal Systems*, DRESSEMBER, <https://www.dressember.org/blog/survivor-criminalization> (last accessed July 29, 2021).

⁸⁵ Sarah Stephens, *At the End of our Article III Rope: Why We Still Need the ERA*, 80 BROOK. L. REV. 397 (2015) at note 94, citing Brown, *et al. infra* note 142. “Thus, laws which restrict reproductive autonomy would be subject to the strict scrutiny standard regardless of whether absolute scrutiny could apply under the ERA.” Stephens, at 412, note 94.

⁸⁶ Reva B. Siegel, *Gender and the United States Constitution: Equal Protection, Privacy, and Federalism*, in THE GENDER OF CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE 306–332 (Beverly Baines & Ruth Rubio-Marin eds., 2004).

⁸⁷ See generally Caroline Marschilok, Jessica Moran, Danna Seligman, Aislinn Toohey, *Equal Protection*, 18 GEO. J. GENDER & L. 537, 541 (2017) (strict scrutiny applies to race, alienage and national origin, whereas sex discrimination is only subject to intermediate scrutiny under the Equal Protection Clause). The Supreme Court created the standard of immediate scrutiny in *Craig v. Boren*, 429 U.S. 190 (1976). The standard requires that the classification made on the basis of sex serve an important governmental interest and that the means employed to reach that interest are substantially related to the ends. Deborah Brake, Donna Lenhoff, Sharon Elizabeth Rush, Elizabeth Schneider, Ann Shalleck, *Centennial Panel Two Decades of Intermediate Scrutiny: Evaluating Equal Protection for Women*, 6 AM. U.J. GENDER & L. 1, 22 (1997). Justice Rehnquist dissented in *Craig v. Boren* saying that the new intermediate scrutiny standard was “so diaphanous and elastic as to invite subjective judicial preferences or prejudices relating to particular types of legislation, masquerading as judgments whether such legislation is directed at ‘important’ objectives or, whether the relationship is ‘substantial’ enough.” *Craig*, 429 U.S. 190, 221 (Rehnquist, J., dissenting). It has allowed the Court to apply the standard more

or less stringently without overruling precedent. Herman D. Hofman, “Exceedingly [Un]Persuasive” and Unjustified: *The Intermediate Scrutiny Standard and Single-Sex Education After United States v. Virginia*, 2015 MICH. ST. L. REV. 2047, 2061 (2015). The vague language means that any Court could apply a less stringent interpretation of the standard, permitting less justified discriminatory laws to stand. Donna Meredith Matthews, *Avoiding Gender Equality*, 19 WOMEN’S RTS. L. REP. 127, 130 (1998).

⁸⁸ The little guidance (and consistency) from the Supreme Court has given lower courts broad discretion as to what constitutes an important government interest and what means are substantially related to achieving it.

⁸⁹ See Linda J. Wharton, *State Equal Rights Amendments Revisited: Evaluating Their Effectiveness in Advancing Protection Against Sex Discrimination*, 36 RUTGERS L.J. 1201, 1213 (2005) (“Lower courts, commentators, and even Supreme Court Justices, have criticized the intermediate scrutiny standard as vague, poorly defined and malleable, providing insufficient guidance in individual cases and giving broad discretion to individual judges in deciding the importance of a state interest and whether the classification is substantially related.”); Sarah M. Stephens, *At the End of Our Article III Rope: Why We Still Need the Equal Rights Amendment*, 80 BROOK. L. REV. 397, 408, 411-12 (2015) (“The ability of the Equal Protection Clause to eliminate sex discrimination is limited by the Court’s inconsistent application of the intermediate scrutiny standard and its refusal to subject claims of sex discrimination to the strict scrutiny standard”) (“These apparent contradictions are not unexpected when one considers the difficulty in applying the vague intermediate scrutiny standard. The intermediate scrutiny standard occupies the middle ground somewhere between rational basis and strict scrutiny, and therefore its application by the Supreme Court and the lower courts has proven to be unpredictable. Intermediate scrutiny is not functional because it does not provide a clear and consistent rule.”); Donna Meredith Matthews, *Avoiding Gender Equality*, 19 WOMEN’S RTS. L. REP. 127, 138 (1998) (“Intermediate scrutiny in particular has come under fire for being ill-defined, making outcomes unpredictable. In somewhat of an understatement, one commentator noted that ‘the meaning of this test is less than clear. [I]t is one which neither prohibits the use of all gender classifications nor one which requires the justices to defer to legislative decisions[] and results in ad hoc judgments”).

⁹⁰ See Caroline Marschilok, Jessica Moran, Danna Seligman, Aislinn Toohey, *Equal Protection*, 18 GEO. J. GENDER & L. 537, 556 (2017) (“Compared to application of the strict scrutiny standard, where the Court has more precisely articulated the relationship that is necessary to satisfy that standard’s ‘narrowly tailored’ requirement, it is less clear what represents an acceptable means/end fit when applying intermediate scrutiny.”); Wharton, *supra* note 89, at 1213-14 (“A recent quantitative analysis of equal protection decisions supports these criticisms, finding that, in contrast to the ‘relatively predictable outcomes’ under the strict scrutiny and rational basis standards, ‘when courts apply the intermediate standard, litigants alleging sex discrimination are nearly as likely to win as they are to lose’)” (quoting Lee Epstein, Andrew D. Martin, Lisa Baldez & Tasina Nitzchke Nihiser, *Constitutional Sex Discrimination*, 1 TENN. J. L. & POL’Y 11, 67 (2004)); Norman T. Deutsch, *Nguyen v. INS and the Application of Intermediate Scrutiny to Gender Classifications: Theory, Practice, and Reality*, 30 PEPP. L. REV. 185, 191 (2003) (describing how the purpose of a distinction under intermediate scrutiny need not be as compelling as in strict scrutiny, nor do the means need to be as narrowly tailored to the ends as in strict scrutiny); Brent L. Caslin, *Gender Classifications and United States v. Virginia: Muddying the Waters of Equal Protection*, 24 PEPP. L. REV. 1353, 1359 (1997) (“Intermediate scrutiny grants less deference to legislative will than rational basis but is less difficult for governments to satisfy than strict scrutiny”).

⁹¹ See Deborah Brake, Donna Lenhoff, Sharon Elizabeth Rush, Elizabeth Schneider, Ann Shalleck, *Centennial Panel Two Decades of Intermediate Scrutiny: Evaluating Equal Protection for Women*, 6 AM. U. J. GENDER & L. 1, 24 (1997) (“Intermediate scrutiny . . . has not sufficiently emphasized the serious harm of gender discrimination”); Donna Meredith Matthews, *Avoiding Gender Equality*, 19 WOMEN’S RTS. L. REP. 127, 130 (1998) (“As long as official gender inequality is not considered seriously by the courts, women will not be taken seriously.”)

⁹² *Frontiero v. Richardson*, 411 U.S. 677, 692 (1973) (Powell, J., concurring) (“There is another, and I find compelling, reason for deferring a general categorizing of sex classifications as invoking the strictest test of judicial scrutiny. The Equal Rights Amendment, which if adopted will resolve the substance of this precise question, has been approved by Congress and submitted for ratification by the States. If this Amendment is duly adopted, it will represent the will of the people accomplished in a manner prescribed by the Constitution. By acting prematurely and unnecessarily, as I view it, the Court has assumed a decisional responsibility at the

very time when state legislatures, functioning within the traditional democratic process, are debating the proposed Amendment”).

⁹³ *Id.* (“It seems to me that this reaching out to pre-empt by judicial action a major political decision which is currently in process of resolution does not reflect appropriate respect for duly prescribed legislative processes.”)

⁹⁴ Sarah M. Stephens, *At the End of Our Article III Rope: Why We Still Need the Equal Rights Amendment*, 80 BROOK. L. REV. 397, 412 (2015) (“Passage of the ERA would require that courts use a strict or absolute scrutiny standard”); Martha F. Davis, *The Equal Rights Amendment: Then and Now*, 17 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. 419, 432 (2008) (“[A] federal ERA would almost certainly result in a higher level of constitutional scrutiny for sex-based classifications than the current intermediate scrutiny applied under the Equal Protection Clause”).

⁹⁵ Most courts in states which have enacted state ERAs review government actions which discriminate based on sex using the strict scrutiny standard. Some states apply an even more rigorous, absolutist standard. Linda J. Wharton, *State Equal Rights Amendments Revisited: Evaluating Their Effectiveness in Advancing Protection Against Sex Discrimination*, 36 RUTGERS L. J. 1201, 1240-41 (2005).

⁹⁶ In *Frontiero*, Justice Brennan, writing for a plurality of the Supreme Court, supported subjecting sex classifications to strict scrutiny review. Justice Brennan wrote, “[S]ince sex, like race and national origin, is an immutable characteristic determined solely by the accident of birth, the imposition of special disabilities upon the members of a particular sex because of their sex would seem to violate ‘the basic concept of our system that legal burdens should bear some relationship to individual responsibility’ ... And what differentiates sex from such non-suspect statutes as intelligence or physical disability, and aligns it with the recognized suspect criteria, is that the sex characteristic frequently bears no relation to ability to perform or contribute to society.” *Frontiero*, 411 U.S. 686. At the time of the judgment, the ERA had passed Congress and been ratified by 30 states. Justice Stewart was confident in the ERA’s ratification and did not sign onto Justice Brennan’s opinion because of his belief in slow change. Justices Powell, Burger and Blackmun also did not join Brennan because they believed that applying strict scrutiny to sex classifications in *Frontiero* would be akin to judicial preemption of a political decision (the ratification of the Amendment) which was being considered. Four Justices, therefore, believed that the ERA had the potential to change the level of judicial scrutiny. Lenora Lapidus, *Ruth Bader Ginsburg and the Development of Gender Equality Jurisprudence under the Fourteenth Amendment*, N.Y.U. REVIEW OF LAW & SOCIAL CHANGE, <https://socialchangenyu.com/harbinger/ruth-bader-ginsburg-and-the-development-of-gender-equality-jurisprudence-under-the-fourteenth-amendment/> (last accessed Aug. 6, 2021).

⁹⁷ Joan A. Lukey & Jeffrey A. Smagula, *Do We Still Need a Federal Equal Rights Amendment?*, 44 BOSTON B.J. 10, 28 (2000); Davis, *supra* note 94, at 437; Deborah L. Brake, *Sex as a Suspect Class: An Argument for Applying Strict Scrutiny to Gender Discrimination*, 6 SETON HALL CONST. L. J. 953, 962 (1996); Stephens, *supra* note 94, at 412.

⁹⁸ Stephens, *supra* note 94, at 412; Davis, *supra* note 94, at 435, 437.

⁹⁹ According to an empirical study, scholars discovered that when courts apply the intermediate scrutiny standard, plaintiffs claiming discrimination have a 47% of prevailing. Under the strict scrutiny standard, the percentage of plaintiffs who win their cases increases to 73%. The findings led the researchers to the conclusion that “[f]or those desiring a larger number of equality-oriented outcomes, the task is to convince courts to elevate sex to a suspect class.” Lee Epstein, Andrew D. Martin, Lisa Baldez, Tasina Nitzschke Nihiser, *Constitutional Sex Discrimination*, TENN. J. L. & POL’Y 11, 49, 67 (2004).

¹⁰⁰ Robin Bleiweis, *The Equal Rights Amendment: What You Need to Know*, CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/women/reports/2020/01/29/479917/equal-rights-amendment-need-know/> (last accessed Aug. 5, 2021).

¹⁰¹ See *Fronterio v. Richardson*, 411 U.S. 677 (1973). In this case the Court held (8-1) that the government regulation in question violated the Fifth Amendment, the disagreement among the Court centered on what standard of review should be used for “sex.”

¹⁰² Martha Davis, *The Equal Rights Amendment: Then and Now*, 17 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. 419 (2005) at 458.

¹⁰³ *United States v. Morrison* 529 U.S. 598 (2000). In this case the Court struck down the provisions of the *Violence Against Women Act* that allowed for a federal civil remedy for victims of gender-motivated violence. The Court held that neither the Commerce Clause nor Fourteenth Amendment empowered Congress to legislate this private remedy; *Town of Castle Rock v. Gonzales*, 545 U.S. 748 (2005). In this case the Court held the

Respondent (a survivor of domestic violence) did not, for Due Process Clause purposes, have a property interest in police enforcement of the restraining order against her husband.

¹⁰⁴ *Wal-Mart Stores, Inc. v. Dukes*, 564 U.S. 338 (2011). The Supreme Court held that even if there were a pattern of lower pay and promotion for women at every one of Walmart's 3,400 stores nationwide, Dukes could not bring a class action suit because there was no single, identified company practice that produced this outcome for all women.

¹⁰⁵ *Geduldig v. Aiello*, 417 U.S. 484 (1974) (held that excluding women who experienced employment disability because of pregnancy from a California disability insurance system for private employees did not violate the Equal Protection Clause because the program does not "discriminate with respect to the persons or groups eligible for its protection," and it was not "invidious discrimination."); *General Electric Co. v. Gilbert*, 429 U.S. 125 (1976) (held that an employer could exclude from disability coverage women who are unable to work because of childbirth or pregnancy).

¹⁰⁶ See generally *Tuan Anh Nguyen v. I.N.S.*, 533 U.S. 53 (2001).

¹⁰⁷ JESSICA NEUWIRTH, *EQUAL MEANS EQUAL: WHY THE TIME FOR AN EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT IS NOW* 77-78 (2015).

¹⁰⁸ *Nguyen*, 533 U.S. 53, 87 (O'Connor, J., dissenting) ("There is no reason, other than stereotype, to say that fathers who are present at birth lack an opportunity for a relationship on similar terms."); Caroline Marschilok, Jessica Moran, Danna Seligman, Aislinn Toohey, *Equal Protection*, 18 *Geo. J. Gender & L.* 537, 564 (2017).

¹⁰⁹ Donna Meredith Matthews, *Avoiding Gender Equality*, 19 *Geo Women's Rts. L. Rep.* 127, 130 (1998); Deborah Brake, Donna Lenhoff, Sharon Elizabeth Rush, Elizabeth Schneider, Ann Shalleck, *Centennial Panel Two Decades of Intermediate Scrutiny: Evaluating Equal Protection for Women*, 6 *Am. U. J. Gender & L.* 1, 26 (1997).

¹¹⁰ Donna Meredith Matthews, *Avoiding Gender Equality*, 19 *Geo Women's Rts. L. Rep.* 127, 130 (1998).

¹¹¹ Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Reflections on Sex Equality Under Law*, 100 *Yale L.J.* 1281, 1283 (1991).

¹¹² *Id.* at 1284; *Reed v. Reed*, 404 U.S. 71 (1971).

¹¹³ Stephanie Condon, *Scalia: Constitution Doesn't Protect Women or Gays from Discrimination*, CBS News, Jan. 4, 2011, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/scalia-constitution-doesnt-protect-women-or-gays-from-discrimination/> (last accessed Aug. 11, 2021).

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

¹¹⁵ Clarence Thomas. *Rosenkranz Originalism Conference Features Justice Thomas '74*, YALE LAW SCHOOL, <https://law.yale.edu/yls-today/news/rosenkranz-originalism-conference-features-justice-thomas-74> (last accessed Jun. 25, 2021). Amy Coney Barrett. *AP Explains: Originalism, Barrett's Judicial Philosophy*, AP News, <https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-amy-coney-barrett-us-supreme-court-courts-antonin-scalia-038ec1d4de30d1bd97a0ce3823903f0c> (last accessed Jun. 25, 2021). Brett Kavanaugh. *Trump Picked Kavanaugh. How Will He Change the Supreme Court?*, POLITICO MAGAZINE, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/07/09/donald-trump-brett-kavanaugh-supreme-court-218963/> (last accessed Jun. 25, 2021). Neil Gorsuch. *Neil M. Gorsuch, Justice Neil Gorsuch: Why Originalism is the Best Approach to the Constitution*, TIME, <https://time.com/5670400/justice-neil-gorsuch-why-originalism-is-the-best-approach-to-the-constitution/> (last accessed Jun. 25, 2021). Samuel Alito and John Roberts. *John O. McGinnis, Which Justices Are Originalists?*, LAW AND LIBERTY, <https://lawliberty.org/which-justices-are-originalists/> (last accessed Jun. 25, 2021).

¹¹⁶ Originalists have a complicated relationship with stare decisis. Scalia himself was willing to reverse precedent because of his "insistence on original intent as the only legitimate source of constitutional authority." Robert A. Burt, *Precedent and Authority in Antonin Scalia's Jurisprudence*, 12 *CARDOZO L. REV.* 1685, 1687 (1990-1991). Others believe that precedent should be followed in certain cases, like nonconstitutional issues, but "[w]here a determinate original meaning can be ascertained and is inconsistent with previous judicial decisions, the precedents should be reversed and the original meaning adopted in their place." Randy E. Barnett, *Trumping Precedent with Original Meaning: Not As Radical As It Sounds*, 22 *CONST. COMMENT.* 257, 269 (2005). See also Steven G. Calabresi, *Text, Precedent, and the Constitution: Some Originalist and Normative Arguments for Overruling Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, 22 *CONST. COMMENT.* 311, 346 (2005); Akhil Reed Amar, *Foreword: The Document and the Doctrine*, 114 *HARV. L. REV.* 26, 133 (2000).

¹¹⁷ *J.E.B. v. Alabama*, 511 U.S. 127 (1994).

¹¹⁸ *United States v. Virginia*, 518 U.S. 515 (1996).

¹¹⁹ *Reed v. Reed*, 404 U.S. 71 (1971).

¹²⁰ *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965) (The Court held, for the first time, that the Constitution provided the right to personal privacy); Barbara Brown, Thomas Emerson, et al., *The Equal Rights Amendment: A Constitutional Basis for Equal Rights for Women*, 80 *YALE L.J.* 871 (1971) at 901 (“Similarly, the right to privacy [articulated in the *Griswold* decision] would permit the separation of the sexes in public restrooms, segregation by sex in sleeping quarters of prisons or similar public institutions, and appropriate segregation of living conditions in the armed forces.”)

¹²¹ No legislature, court, or Attorney General in any state has mandated the elimination of private spaces for men and women. See e.g., *65 Md. Op. Att’y Gen.* 108 (1980); Maryland Attorney General (in a state using “absolute scrutiny” as its standard of review for sex-based classifications) opined that their state ERA allows for sex-specific homeless shelters.

¹²² “[P]regnant and postpartum females aged 10-29 years were twice as likely to die of homicide than their non-pregnant or postpartum counterparts.” Illinois Department of Public Health Maternal Mortality Review Committee Working Group. *Higher Risk of Homicide Among Pregnant and Postpartum Females Aged 10-29 Years in Illinois, 2002-2011*. (September, 2016). <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/27500340/>.

¹²³ In 2014, 75% of abortion patients were poor or low-income. GUTTMACHER INSTITUTE. *Characteristics of U.S. Abortion Patients in 2014 and Changes Since 2008*. May, 2016. <https://www.guttmacher.org/report/characteristics-us-abortion-patients-2014>

¹²⁴ Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Toward a Renewed Equal Rights Amendment: Now More than Ever*, 37 *HARV. J.L. & GENDER* 569 (2014) at 578. (“An ERA, as a constitutional amendment, would expand the congressional authority to legislate.”); Patricia Seith, *Congressional Power to Effect Sex Equality*, 36 *HARV. J.L. & GENDER*: 1 (2013) at 12. (“Historically, framers of the ERA envisioned accompanying legislation to effect post-ERA change. From the beginning, Section 2 of the ERA stated, ‘Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.’ Though the wording of Section 2 of the ERA changed slightly between 1923 and 1972, the intent was the same – to authorize Congress to enact legislation to enforce the amendment.”); H.R. Rep. No. 116-378, 116th Congress, at 6 (2020), available at <https://www.congress.gov/116/crpt/hrpt378/CRPT-116hrpt378.pdf>. (The report from the House Judiciary Committee in 2020 states, “Because the ERA would empower Congress to enforce its provisions through legislation.”). Therefore, the ERA would enable Congress to pass legislation that would relieve some of the unequal burdens women face that lead to abortions. In its May, 2016 report “Characteristics of U.S. Abortion Patients in 2014 and Changes Since 2008,” the Guttmacher Institute explains in 2014, 75% of abortion patients were poor or low-income and “pregnant and postpartum females aged 10-29 years were twice as likely to die of homicide than their non-pregnant or postpartum counterparts.”

¹²⁵ *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973) (holding the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment contains an inherent right to privacy, which includes a woman’s right to choose whether to have an abortion); *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, 505 U.S. 833 (1992) (upholding *Roe* by stating that constitutional protection of a woman’s decision to terminate her pregnancy derived from the Fourteenth Amendment’s Due Process Clause.)

¹²⁶ Barbara Brown, Thomas Emerson, et al., “The Equal Rights Amendment: A Constitutional Basis for Equal Rights for Women,” 80 *YALE L.J.* 871(1971) (Core to the legislative history on the ERA, this article, which was entered into the Congressional Record, makes no mention of abortion rights.); see generally, House Committee on the Judiciary. “Equal Rights Amendment.” In an April 30, 2019 hearing, Rep. Carolyn Maloney stated the ERA has “absolutely nothing to do with abortion.” In the same hearing Rep. Jackie Speier declared the ERA is “not a stalking horse for abortion.” <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-116hrg41176/html/CHRG-116hrg41176.htm>

¹²⁷ The following ERA-supporting Illinois legislators have been endorsed by the Illinois Federation for Right to Life (IFRL): Steven Andersson, Dan Brady, Jim Durkin, David Harris, Chad Hays, David Olsen, Robert Pritchard, Sue Scherer, Grant Wehrli, David Welter, and Christine Winger. See *Illinois Federation for Right to Life*, VOTE SMART, <https://justfacts.votesmart.org/interest-group/1264/illinois-federation-for-right-to-life>. Nevada pro-life legislators Heidi Gansert and Jill Tolles received endorsements from Nevada Right to Life. *2020 Endorsements for Nevada’s General Election*, NEVADA RIGHT TO LIFE, <https://nevadarighttolife.org/2020/10/09/526/>. The following are

Virginia legislators who received an “F” on NARAL’s 2020 scorecard and voted for the ERA: Jeffrey L. Campbell, Carrie E. Coyner, and Glenn R. Davis. *2020 Legislative Scorecard*, NARAL: PRO-CHOICE VIRGINIA, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1h4YnGBCKYgEA-dq8hOcfWqEhowTMwE_H/view.

¹²⁸ Steve Anderson, “The Absence of an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) Relationship to the Issue of Abortion.” GOP4ERA (January 3rd, 2021) <https://gop4era.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/ERA-and-Abortion-White-Paper-Andersson.pdf>.

¹²⁹ 100th Gen. Assemb., Reg Sess., 141st Legislative Day, (Ill. 2018) (statement of State Rep. Dan Brady) <https://www.ilga.gov/house/transcripts/htrans100/10000141.pdf>.

¹³⁰ *Id.*

¹³¹ In *Dillon v. Gloss*, the Supreme Court held that Congress may set reasonable time limits in the text of an amendment per its Article V authority to designate the mode of ratification. *Dillon v. Gloss*, 256 U.S. 368, 376 (1921). However, the Court has never considered whether either a time limit can bar an amendment from ratification once all constitutional requirements have been met, or if the time limit in the proposing clause is unchangeable. Brief for ERA Coalition, et al. at 11, as Amici Curiae Supporting Plaintiffs, *Virginia v. Ferriero*, 466 F. Supp. 3d 253 (D.D.C. 2020) (No. 20-242).

¹³² Brief for ERA Coalition, et al. at 11, as Amici Curiae Supporting Plaintiffs, *Virginia v. Ferriero*, 466 F. Supp. 3d 253 (D.D.C. 2020) (No. 20-242).

¹³³ In *Coleman v. Miller*, the Supreme Court held that the amendment process was a political question and, thus, a question for Congress to settle, which “in many cases would involve ... an appraisal of a great variety of relevant conditions, political, social and economic.” *Coleman v. Miller*, 307 U.S. 433, 453 (1939). Article V and *Coleman* have been interpreted to give Congress “powers to include the modification and lifting of amendment deadlines.” Robinson Woodward-Burns, *The Person Who Changes the Constitution*, THE ATLANTIC, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/01/person-who-changes-constitution/605104/> (last accessed Aug. 9, 2021).

¹³⁴ Allison L. Held, Sheryl L. Herndon & Danielle M. Stager, *The Equal Rights Amendment: Why the ERA Remains Legally Viable and Properly Before the States*, 3 WM. & MARY J. WOMEN & L. 113, 126 (1997). Yale Law Professor Thomas Emerson explains that the ERA’s time limit was procedural and, therefore, “reviewable and subject to revision.” *Id.* at 129. This means that the proposing clause is “merely legislative” and Congress has the power “to adjust, amend, or extend its own legislative action with new legislative action.” *Id.* at 130. See also Brief for ERA Coalition, et al. at 2-3, *supra* note 132.

¹³⁵ Held, Herndon & Stager, *supra* note 134, at 128.

¹³⁶ *Three in Four Americans Support Equal Rights Amendment, Poll Shows*, THE GUARDIAN, <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2020/feb/24/equal-rights-amendment-era-poll-congress> (last accessed Aug. 9, 2021).

Appendix A

Interfaith Statement of Support for the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

I. Introduction

As leaders who represent a diversity of religious traditions in the United States, we are united in the shared values of love and concern for the whole of humanity; respect for the inherent dignity and worth of the human person; and principled commitment to justice, human rights, and freedom from oppression. We are likewise united in the hope and aim of advancing the realization of human equality, liberation, flourishing, and reconciliation, as imperatives of our faith.

Together on this basis, ***we call for the immediate adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution***, a basic human rights reform that acknowledges the fundamental truth of human equality by extending full citizenship rights to all Americans, regardless of sex, and correcting for the intentional, historic exclusion of women from our nation's founding legal document.

II. We honor humanity in all its fullness and equality of inherent rights

As people whose religious beliefs are central to our respective worldviews, we honor the wonder of humanity in all its fullness and diversity. We attest that every person is deserving of love, belonging, and just treatment.

The Divine, by nature, transcends all categories of human gender. Humanity, which bears the image of the Divine according to many of our traditions, likewise transcends socially constructed categories of gender. People of all gender identities and sexual orientations have sacred dignity and worth that merits respect in the form of human rights, including equal treatment under the law.

We acknowledge that women and people of all gender identities and sexual orientations have inherent human rights to life, health, safety, and bodily integrity, and the right to live free from discrimination.

III. We lament theological views that have caused or condoned oppression

Any system of hierarchy that establishes or perpetuates the superior or inferior status of any group or class of human beings is, in our view, morally wrong and ultimately harmful. Patriarchy, misogyny, sexism, heterosexism, homophobia, and transphobia are invidious forms of systemic injustice, which compound and multiply other systemic injustices like racism, classism, ageism, ableism, and xenophobia.

We recognize that systematic subjugation of women and gender and sexual minorities is embedded in the economic, social, political, cultural, and religious structures of our society, and that it intensifies human suffering and degradation. Although targeted minorities suffer the most, any system of injustice offends the human dignity of every person, and limits our possibilities as individuals and a society. Oppression of any kind inevitably breeds violence, which offends our religious commitment to peaceful coexistence.

In humility, we acknowledge and lament the ways that religion—at times, within our own traditions—has too often functioned to reinforce rather than resist gender-based discrimination, exclusion, and subordination. We grieve the harm and damage done by the morally indefensible ideology of male supremacy. We mourn the wounds imposed by homophobia and heterosexism.

Any attempt to justify the subjugation or exclusion of women or gender and sexual minorities—including the denial of their basic human rights—based on religious beliefs, is wrong.

Consistent with the value of hospitality modeled in all of our faith traditions, it is our desire and intention to love, welcome, and stand in solidarity with all who are oppressed, derided, or treated as lesser based on their gender or sexuality. We affirm our respect for the inherent and equal human rights of every person, without exception or qualification.

IV. We are troubled by continuing threats to women and gender & sexual minorities

Unjust treatment, degradation, and exploitation of women and gender & sexual minorities are sins, and should be a central concern of any ministry that seeks to integrate faith and justice.

Women in this country continue to experience discrimination and disadvantage in nearly every sphere of life. They face a one in three chance of domestic abuse at home, similar

odds of workplace sexual assault, and a one in five chance of suffering rape or attempted rape in their lifetimes. A 2018 survey named the United States among the ten most dangerous countries in the world for women. Women are underrepresented in leadership roles across government at the local, state and national level, the private sector, and the religious sphere. They experience a gender wage gap of 18% on average; for women of color the gap is even wider and the COVID-19 pandemic is making it worse. The World Economic Forum recently ranked the United States 53rd out of 153 nations for gender parity.

Those women already burdened by discriminatory treatment based on race, color, socio-economic status, religion, nationality, ability, sexual orientation, or other status, suffer the harshest effects of gendered injustice.

The hostile environment gender and sexual minorities face takes a physical, psychological, and economic toll on these vulnerable communities. One in three LGBTQIA+ youth reports experiencing threats or physical harm based on their identity. Although the LGBTQIA+ community makes up a reported 4.5% of the U.S. population, its members suffer a staggering 18.5% of hate crimes. Forty percent of transgender adults have attempted suicide, and lesbian, gay, bisexual youth are five times more likely to attempt suicide than their heterosexual peers.

The LGBTQIA+ community has a collective poverty rate of 21.6%, compared to 15.7% among others; for transgender individuals the poverty rate is 29.4%. LGBTQ+ youth make up an estimated 20-40% of youth experiencing homelessness.

V. We remain mindful of historic and enduring legal subjugation of women in the United States

The U.S. legal system at its origins was grossly unjust to women in this nation. It was influenced by British common law, under which married women were regarded as the personal property of their husbands and denied a legal identity of their own, including any right to own or maintain property gained through their labors. Enslaved women were considered chattel, and endured forced pregnancy and unspeakable abuse at the hands of the men who owned them, including the vast majority of men who signed the U.S. Constitution.

Although many religious women were very active in promoting the abolition of slavery during the 19th Century, women were denied constitutional protection under the Reconstruction Amendments following the Civil War. They did not gain any constitutional regard until the 19th Amendment afforded women the right to vote in 1920. Black and Brown women in many states were prevented from exercising this right until the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Not until the early 1970s were women granted any other constitutional protection against gender discrimination. To this day, the Equal Protection Clause of the

Fourteenth Amendment provides less protection against gender discrimination than other forms of discrimination.

The present degree of constitutional and statutory protection has remained inadequate to remedy the social ills that continue to weigh heavily on women, including persistent gender-based violence, widespread workplace sexual harassment, and underrepresentation of women in public and private leadership. Women are overrepresented in low wage labor and vulnerable to pay and pregnancy discrimination. They face a grave threat to health, in the form of a racially disparate maternal mortality rate.

The combined effects of these many injustices not only hinder women from fulfilling their full human potential, but also prevent them from earning livelihoods, caring for their families, and contributing to their communities as they otherwise could. The existing legal framework is deficient and unable to redress these harms.

The unabated sex discrimination in this country from its founding to the present day is a sin.

VI. The Equal Rights Amendment

For nearly a century, advocates have called for the full equality of women to be acknowledged and protected under the U.S. Constitution.

The arguments in favor of the ERA are numerous. As people of faith, we believe first and foremost that the ERA should be the law of the land because equal rights represent the morally virtuous course of action, which respects a fundamental theological truth:

all people are equally valuable in the sight of their Creator, and thus deserve equal regard in human laws and legal systems.

Further, the ERA carries potential for numerous benefits not only for women but for our nation as a whole, by promoting greater justice and ameliorating human suffering. Notably:

1. The ERA will empower and call upon the Congress to take action to forbid and prevent gendered forms of injustice, such as sexual and domestic violence, pregnancy discrimination, the gender gap in wages, the high maternal mortality rate, and the challenges both women and men face in seeking both to earn a livelihood and to care for themselves and their families.
2. The ERA is widely anticipated to heighten the scrutiny with which courts evaluate government actions that discriminate based on gender—so that sex discrimination is viewed with the same judicial hermeneutic of suspicion as discrimination based

on race or religion. The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment has never been applied equally to women.

Although it may not be possible to foresee with certainty all of the ways our courts will interpret and apply the constitutional mandate to safeguard the rights of women and all marginalized genders and prohibit sex based discrimination, it is nonetheless crucial that we establish such a mandate. ***Without a firm constitutional foundation of equal citizenship for all people, the structures of our justice system will continue to fall short of the noble ideal of “equal justice under law.”***

We further recognize equality before the law, as reflected in the ERA, to be a cornerstone principle of human rights, which the United States is duty-bound to respect based on its ratification of the United Nations Charter and affirmation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, historic documents for which we reaffirm our support, as well as customary international law. We are conscious that the United States is one of only eighteen countries in the entire world that lacks an express constitutional provision to safeguard women's rights or prohibit gender discrimination.

We are aware that a committed countermovement with a religious identity of its own continues to oppose the ERA. After careful consideration, however, we are not persuaded by its various arguments against the ERA. These appear primarily rooted in misapprehension about the ERA's anticipated consequences, and notably fail to speak to the primary ethical issue of whether equal human rights is, indeed, a principle of justice to which the faithful are called. With due respect, we are firm in our conviction that equality of dignity and worth before God necessitates equal treatment by the state.

To oppose human equality in all its forms is a sin.

VII. We call our nation to adopt the Equal Rights Amendment without delay

It is for these reasons that we, the undersigned leaders of a diverse array of faith traditions, do exhort our government and its officials to take all appropriate measures to ensure the ERA is fully integrated into the U.S. Constitution without delay.

We call on the current Congress to pass and the President to approve legislation that removes the time limit that the 92nd Congress imposed on the ratification process. We further call on Congress to acknowledge the force and effect of all 38 state ratifications now on record, including those of Nevada, Illinois, and Virginia. We call on the National Archivist to fulfill his ministerial duty and publish the ERA as the 28th Amendment to the Constitution, now that it has been duly ratified by three-fourths of U.S. states.

We are aware of continuing political and legal debates over the particulars of the ratification process, and note that our religious ethical commitment to the ERA as a matter of equal justice and human rights leads us to support adoption of the ERA through any and all appropriate legal means.

We pray for a speedy resolution to all procedural issues, and immediate integration of the Equal Rights Amendment into the U.S. Constitution. We shall continue to advocate until it is so integrated.

Signatories

Luis Gutierrez	Editor	Mother Pelican	Montgomery	AL
Vanessa Ryerse	Pastor	Vintage Fellowship	Springdale	AR
Salena Petersen-Keesecker	Coordinator	Guadalupe Presbyterian Church detention ministry	Phoenix	AZ
Ruth Wootten	Social Worker	Retired	Tempe	AZ
Frank Bergen	priest associate	Episcopal Church of St. Matthew	Tucson	AZ
Noelle O'Shea	Pastoral Associate	St Rita in the Desert Parish	Vail	AZ
Kim Crecca	Founder	AZ Inmate Families & Friends Association	Tucson	AZ
Barbara Rapp	pastoral care	Desert Hills Lutheran Church	Green Valley	AZ
Douglas Gee	Former Elder	Evangelical Free Church of America	Flagstaff	AZ
Will Agee	Ambassador of Grace	Gods' Grace Outreach ministries, International	El Cajon	CA
Mary Kay Will	Retired	United Methodist Church	Upland	CA
Donald Clark	Convener	Network for Environmental & Economic Responsibility	Pleasant Hill	CA
Glenda Hope	Retired Presbyterian Clergy	Presbyterian	San Francisco	CA
Kim Wayne	House Church attendee	Please Select	Oakland	CA
Kevin Buchanan	Interim Pastor	St. Andrew Presbyterian Church	Sacramento	CA
Lori Dick	Retired Clergy	Metropolitan Community Church	Claremont	CA
Amy Kelly	Board of Trustees	UU San Francisco	San Francisco	CA
James Batten	Retired	United Methodist Elder	Concord	CA
Judith Stanton	Retired		Dana Point	CA
ROBERT Salinger	Retired		Claremont	CA
Allen Gildard	Semi-Retired Pastor	Grace Community Church (The Family of Grace)	Apple Valley	CA
William Christwitz	Servant	CCCHHII	Clearlake	CA
Will McGarvey	Exec. Director	Interfaith Council of Contra Costa County	Pleasant Hill	CA
James Dwyer	Retired Elder	United Methodist Church	Claremont	CA
Jeffrey Spencer	Sr. Pastor	Niles Discovery Church	Fremont	CA
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Eileen Altman	Associate Pastor	First Congregational Church UCC	Palo Alto	CA
Diane Mettam	Pastor (Retired)	United Methodist Church	Eureka	CA
Betsy Dodd	Elder for Faith in Action	Calvary Presbyterian Church	San Francisco	CA
martha gurvich	Clerk	Wilton Quaker Meeting	Norwalk	CA
Alexia Salvatierra	Assistant Professor of integral Mission and Global Transformation	Fuller Theological Seminary	Pasadena	CA
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Manjot Pannu	Trustee	SCIR	MORAGA	CA
Victor Floyd	Pastor	Calvary Presbyterian Church (USA)	San Francisco	CA
Valerie McEntee	Street Pastor		San Bruno	CA
Kit Tobin	Priest	Episcopal Church	Corning	CA
Carol Dague	Retired	Lititz Moravian Congregation	Lancaster	CA
Marguerite Shuster	Retired	PCUSA	Sierra Madre	CA
Jennifer Gee	Elder	Calvary Presbyterian, San Francisco	San Francisco	CA
Paula Elizaabeth	UCC Minister	United Church of Christ	San Diego	CA
Jeffrey Spencer	Senior Pastor	Niles Discovery Church	Fremont	CA
Philip Sanfilippo II	Retired		Redwood City	CA
Charles Alger	Interim Pastor	First Congregational Church of Santa Barbara	Oceanside	CA
Mariam Beth Rodger	Community Interfaith Minister	Sufi Ruhaniat International	Long Beach	CA
John Buehrens	Past President	Unitarian Universalist Association	San Francisco	CA
L Barrett	Pastor	First Friends Church a Quaker meeting	Whittier	CA
Susan Skoglund	Ruling Elder	PC USA	Highland	CA
David Palma-Ruwe	Pastor	St. Paul's Lutheran, ELCA	Rancho Palos Verdes	CA

Jamie Mack	Pastor	North Fresno Church	FRESNO	CA
Lori Adams-Brown	Podcast Host	A World of Difference podcast	Los Gatos	CA
Hala Hijzai	Board Member	San Francisco Interfaith Council	San Francisco	CA
Vina Verman			Concord	CA
Howard Lindsay	Associate Pastor	Grace Tabernacle Community Church	San Francisco	CA
Ani Zonneveld	President & Founder	Muslims for Progressive Values	Los Angeles	CA
Joann Lee	Associate Pastor	Calvary Presbyterian Church	San Francisco	CA
Vanessa Rush Southern	Senior Minister	First Unitarian Universalist Society of San Francisco	San Francisco	CA
Valarie Kaur	Sikh Activist & Founder of the Revolutionary Love Project	Revolutionary Love Project	Los Angeles	CA
Dominic DeLay	Priest	Dominicans	Menlo Park	CA
Fred Harrell	Sr. Pastor	City Church San Francisco	San Francisco	CA
Deborah Wright	Clergy	PCUSA	Sausalito	CA
Bakhtavar Desai	Co-Chair, Interfaith Activities Committee	Federation of Zoroastrian Associations of North America	Fairfield	CA
Giovannina Fazio	Retired	Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur	Belmont	CA
Abigail Albert	Minister	All Faith Center	Poway	CA
Lee Grayson			Davis	CA
Beth Singer	Senior Rabbi	Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco	San Francisco	CA
John Weems	Chief Business Development Officer	BPM	Walnut Creek	CA
Michael-Ray Mathews	Deputy Director & Chief Faith Officer	Faith in Action (formerly PICO National Network)	San Jose	CA
Robert Winzens	Pastor	St. Francis Chapel	San Diego	CA
Marilee Muncey	Deacon	St. Francis Episcopal Church, Turlock, CA	Merced	CA
Annie Steinberg-Behrman	Senior Pastor	MCC San Francisco	San Francisco	CA
Scott Clark	Pastor	First Presbyterian Church San Anselmo	San Anselmo	CA
Peter Levenstrong	Associate Rector	Episcopal Church	San Francisco	CA
Sharon Brous	Founder and Senior Rabbi	IKAR	Los Angeles	CA
Amy Hockman	Elder	Calvary Presbyterian Church	San Francisco	CA

Marci Glass	Pastor & Head of Staff	Calvary Presbyterian Church	San Francisco	CA
Dwayne Eason	Pastor	Church of the Good Shepherd	Oakland	CA
Tosca Lee	Owner	Heavenly Hands	San Francisco	CA
Vanessa Ruda	Elder	Lancaster	Lancaster	CA
Sally Dyck	Bishop	United Methodist Church	Napa	CA
Dr. Charlene Han Powell	Senior Pastor	First Presbyterian Church of Berkeley	Berkeley	CA
Cara Meredith	Author, Speaker, & Activist		Oakland	CA
Jan Thornton-Irvine	Retired Clergy	UMC	Hillsborough	CA
Arica KING	Director	Awakening Souls LLC	Thornton	CO
Tisa M Anders	Founder/CEO	Writing the World, LLC	Lakewood	CO
Richard Kohlman	Retired	Community of Christ	Timnath	CO
Jean East	Co-member	Loretto Feminist Network	Lakewood	CO
Michelle Ferrigno Warren	Author & Activist	Christian Community Development Association	Denver	CO
			COLORADO	
DAWN BROADBENT	Retired		SPRINGS	CO
Marrton Dormish	Minister	The Refuge	Broomfield	CO
Lauren Grubaugh	Associate Rector	St. Timothy's Episcopal Church	Littleton	CO
Harvey Johnson	Pastor	St Paul Evangelical Lutheran in Calhan, CO	Colorado Springs	CO
Lois Kaufmann			Middlebury	CT
Carolyn Sharp	Professor of Homiletics	Yale Divinity School	Old Saybrook	CT
Maria Hammons	Clergy - Pastor	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	New London	CT
Kim Harding	Artist		Milford	CT
	Professor of Practical			
Dr. Joyce Ann Mercer	Theology & Pastoral Care	Yale Divinity School	Hamden	CT
Lucille Fritz	Pastor	HCC United Church of Christ	Shelton	CT
Grace Ferris	Pastor	St Wilgefortis TransMISSION	Glenville	CT
Richard Kremer	Pastor	Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church	Avon	CT
Ros Berger	Author	Sojourners	Washington	DC
Jennifer Butler	CEO	Faith in Public Life	Washington	DC
	Director, Washington	United Church of Christ, Justice and Local Church		
Sandy Sorensen	Office	Ministries	Washington	DC

Aundreia Alexander	Associate Minister	Covenant Baptist United Church of Christ	Washington	DC
Jamie Manson	President	Catholics for Choice	Washington	DC
Aaron Mulhollen			Washington	DC
Adam Taylor	President	Sojourners	Washington	DC
Ginger Gaines-Cirelli	Senior Pastor	Foundry United Methodist Church	Washington	DC
Moya Harris	Executive Minister	Metropolitan AME Church	Washington	DC
Sandra Ovalle	Director of Campaigns and Mobilizing	Sojourners	Washington	DC
Kirsten Powers	Columnist & Political Analyst		Washington	DC
Paola Gleghorn	Women & Girls Campaign Coordinator	Sojourners	Washington	DC
Kate Kelly	Founder	Ordain Women	Washington	DC
Jonathan Maresca	Fellow	Sojourners	Washington	DC
Allyson McKinney Timm	Executive Director	Justice Revival	Washington	DC
Marilyn Coronado	Member Board of Trustees	Miami Shores Community Church	Miami, FL	FL
Joseph Stock	Retired	United Church of Christ	Ormond Beach	FL
Norma Johnson	Elder	Presbyterian USA	Temple Terrace	FL
Michael Ireland	Retired	American Baptist	Groveland	FL
Brian McLaren	Author, Activist & Public Theologian		Marco Island	FL
David Troxler	Pastor	First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)	Daytona Beach	FL
Bob Hoffman, D. Min.	Retired	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	Cape Coral	FL
Carol Harlow	Vestry member	St. Catherine of Alexandria Episcopal Church	Tampa	FL
Sue Safford	Elder	First Presbyterian Church	TALLAHASSEE	FL
John Danner	Senior Pastor	Sanibel Congregational United Church of Christ	Fort Myers	FL
Mary Tracy Sigman	Dharma Teacher	Rissho Kosei-kai of Fort Myers	Fort Myers	FL
Ray Simms	Associate Pastor	Metropolitan Community Church	Safety Harbor	FL
Heather Drake	Pastor	First Love Church	Ocala	FL
Dennis Drake	Pastor	First Love Church	Ocala	FL
Joyce Myers-Brown	Clergy	United Church of Christ	Atlanta	GA
Marcia MacKillop	Parish Associate	Presbyterian Church of Lawrenceville	Lawrenceville	GA
Linda Jones	Retired	Barnesville First UMC	barnesville	GA

Harry Knox	Pastor and Human Rights Activist		Quitman	GA
T. Wesley Stewart	Retired	GPC	Johns Creek	GA
Pam Driesell	Pastor	Presbyterian Church (USA)	Atlanta	GA
Jody Andrade	Minister	Presbyterian Church USA	Atlanta	GA
Earl Menchhofer	Retired	United Church of Christ	Conyers	GA
Meghan Tschanz	founder	faith and feminism	Athens	GA
Valerie Wayne	Professor Emerita	University of Hawaii at Manoa	Honolulu	HI
Linda Norrington	Waiola Church moderator	UCC	Kihei	HI
Rex Piercy	Pastor	Hanapepe (HI) United Church of Christ	Hanapepe	HI
Phyllis Meighen	Retired clergy	ReSource for Christian Spirituality	Lihue	HI
Kyle Lovett	Minister	United Church of Christ	Honolulu	HI
Darline Balm-Demmel	Retired	United Methodist Church	Cedar Falls	IA
Diane Rapozo	Retired	Sisters of Charity, BVM	Dubuque	IA
Jonathan Heifner	Associate Pastor	St. Paul's United Methodist Church	Cedar Rapids	IA
Kathleen Keefer	Synod Representative	Presbyterian Women PCUSA	Clarinda	IA
Paul Shaver	Pastor	Ivester Church of the Brethren	Grundy Center	IA
John Pawlikowski	Professor Emeritus of Social Ethics	Catholic Theological Union	Chicago, IL	IL
Mark Merrill	Supply Preacher	Bushnell Presbyterian Church	Macomb	IL
Paul Kopka	Pastor	Lebanon Lutheran Church, Chicago	Chicago	IL
Jessica Rodzen	Advocate	Catholic Activist	Skokie	IL
Mariette Kalbac	Retired	Wheaton Franciscan Sisters	Wheaton	IL
Mary Hoover	LCPC	Satya Counseling	Park Ridge	IL
Mary Carton	Admin	IBVM	Carol Stream	IL
Grant Swanson	Deacon	Urban Village Church	CHICAGO	IL
Sandra Maria Van Opstal	Co-Founder & Executive Director	Chasing Justice	Chicago	IL
Mary Grace Crowley-Koch	Pastor	Spirit of the Living God	Mt. Prospect	IL
Howard Friend	Congregational Consultant	Parish Empowerment Network	Berwyn	IL
Betty Birkhahn-Rommelfanger	Clergy	United Methodist	Skokie	IL

Charlotte Long	Divinity Graduate student	University of Chicago	Chicago	IL
Rose Mary Meyer	Retired		Chicago	IL
Robert Jarrett			Decatur	IL
Dee Peppard, BVM.	Retired Pastoral Associate	BVMs	Arlington Heights	IL
Henry Schwarzmann	pastor	UMC	Greenwood	IN
Teresa Hord Owens	General Minister & President	Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)	Indianapolis	IN
Kathleen Haller	Retired	ELCA	Fort Wayne	IN
Daren Huber	Student Associate Minister	Downey Avenue Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)	INDIANAPOLIS	IN
George M Melby	Retired	Clergy	Kansas City	KS
Mary Pat Lenahan	Retired	Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth	Leavenworth	KS
Steve McCormick	Professor of Theology	Nazarene Theological Seminary	Kansas City	KS
Maureen Fiedler	Former Host	Interfaith Voices	Nerinx	KY
Donald Seeger	Pastor	Retired PCUSA	Louisville	KY
Sarah Holland	Author & Co-Host	Pantsuit Politics	Paducah	KY
Sylvia Sedillo	Executive Director (1979-1983)	Las Hermanas	Nerinx	KY
Jim Cessna	Retired Pastor	Conservative Baptist	Fairplay	KY
Kathy Grosh	Psychologist	Humanistic Wellness Center	Monroe	LA
Callie Winn Crawford	Retired Pastor	United Methodist Church	New Orleans	LA
Catherine Lachman		RRCC	Lafayette	LA
Eileen Kennedy			Baton Rouge	LA
Phoebe Knopf	Faith-based activist	Brighton Allston Congregational Church	Boston	MA
Valerie Copeland	Lead Pastor	Neighborhood Church of Dorchester	Boston	MA
Nancy Wichmann	Pastor	East Parish United Methodist Church	Waltham	MA
Kim Manion	Pastor	Blackstone Valley United Methodist Church	Whitinsville	MA
Carl Chudy	Interfaith Outreach Coordinator	Metrowest Interfaith Dialogue Project	Holliston	MA
Ken Langston	Executive Director	Disciples Center for Public Witness	Annapolis	MD
Mary E. Hunt	Co-director	Women's Alliance For Theology, Ethics, And Ritual (Water)	Silver Spring	MD

Louise Gregg	CPE Supervisor/Pastoral	Retired	BALTIMORE	MD
Pace McConkie	Director	Robert M. Bell Center for Civil Rights in Education	Baltimore	MD
Naomi Hemme	Volunteer	Justice Revival	Frederick	MD
Lori Kronser	Elder	PC/USA	Bowie	MD
Diann Neu	Codirector	Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics and Ritual	Silver Spring	MD
Cynthia Lapp	Lead Pastor	Hyattsville Mennonite Church	Hyattsville	MD
Linda Harrison	Priest	The Old Catholic Church, Province of the US	Germantown	MD
WILLIAM Aldridge	Associate Dean	Wesley Theological Seminary	Brandywine	MD
Ken Howard			Germantown	MD
John Marchese	Executive Director	Quixote Center	Greenbelt	MD
Abhi Janamanchi	Senior Minister	Cedar Lane Unitarian Universalist Church	Bethesda	MD
Anne Derse	Deacon	St. John's Norwood Episcopal Church	Bethesda	MD
Anne Stewart	Pastoral counselor	Cornerstone Counseling Center	Tracys Landing	MD
Amanda Katz	Executive Director	Jewish Coalition Against Domestic Abuse	Rockville	MD
Eloyce Cartwright	Ministerial Staff	Real Power AME Church	Upper Marlboro	MD
Anali Martin	Staff Associate	Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics, and Ritual	Silver Spring	MD
Patrick Carolan	Coordinator of Catholic Outreach	Vote Common Good	Silver Spring	MD
Cathey DeSantis	Retired	Detroit Catholic Pastoral Alliance	Detroit	MI
Janet Persyk	Retired	Adrian Dominicans Sisters	Adrian	MI
Nola Galluch	Retired Pastoral Counselor	Christian Reformed Church	Grand Rapids	MI
Sherwin Weener	Retired	Reformed Church in America	Hudsonville	MI
Curt Roelofs	Retired Chaplain	Christian Reformed Church	Grand Rapids	MI
Fran Mayes	Retired	MCC	Whitmore Lake	MI
Andrew Vanover	Pastor		Grand Rapids	MI
Rosemarie Pace	Retired	Pax Christi Metro New York	Middle Village	MI
Belinda Bauman	Author, Education, & Gender and Development Specialist		Grand Rapids	MI
KIMBERLY EDWARDS	Associate Minister	New St Mark Baptist Church	Detroit	MI
Mary Hulst	University Pastor	Calvin University	Grand Rapids	MI
Emily Hassler	Retired	UCC	Buena Vista	MI
Alvin Dungan	Retired clergy	Transfiguration Lutheran (ELCA)	Edina	MN

Katherine Wojtan	Executive Director	Mary's Pence	Saint Paul	MN
Harry Hartigan	Pastor	St. Theresa's Parish - CACINA	South St. Paul	MN
Melissae Bletsian			Minneapolis	MN
Tom Uphaus	Retired	First Congregational UCC	La Crescent	MN
Mary Gravelle			Maplewood	MN
Andy Johnson	Associate Professor of Psychology	Bethel University	Saint Paul	MN
Heidi Waldmann	Retired	Indiana University Health North Hospital	St. Paul	MN
James Deshotels	Retired		Robertsville	MO
Craig Scandrett-Leatherman	Public Technology Assistant	St. Louis Public Library	St. Louis	MO
Mary Ann McGivern	Member	Sisters of Loretto	St. Louis	MO
Julie Burr	Congregant	Calvary	Saint Charles	MO
Damien Lake	Associate Conference Minister	United Church of Christ	Columbia	MO
Martha Alderson	Member	Loretto Feminist Network	Kirkwood	MO
Roger Harms	Retired pastor	Trinity Lutheran Church	Dexter	MO
Elizabeth Kammien	Co-member	Sisters of Loretto	St. Louis	MO
Rosemary Jackson-Moore	Pastor	Family Of Love Divine	Florissant	MO
Arunima Sinha	Executive council	Religions For Peace, USA.	Columbia	MO
Ruth Sheets	Minister/Teacher	Pennsylvania Southeast Conference U.C.C	Brookhaven	MS
Marilyn Russell	Deacon	United Church of Christ of Toms River	Jackson	MS
Scott Stearman	U.N. Representative	Cooperative Bapitst Fellowship	Jackson	MS
Dorothy Starshine		Quaker	Great Falls	MT
Mikael Broadway	Associate Professor	Shaw University Divinity School	High Point	NC
Art Smoker	Retired Minister	Mennonite Church USA	Mars Hill	NC
Duke Lackey	Pastor	UMC	Raleigh	NC
Al Peuster	Retired	Lutheran Church	fayetteville	NC
Joyce Hill	Lay person	UMC	Asheville	NC
Margaret Yocis	Associate	Sr of Charity Cincinnati	Durham	NC
Sandra Stilling-Seehausen			Cary	NC

Robert Taber	National Co-chair	Latter-day Saint Democrats of America	Fayetteville	NC
David Morris	Minister	Unitarian Universalist Congregation of the Outer Banks	Kitty Hawk	NC
Jennifer Pavlovitz	Designer	Pavlovitz Design	Wake Forest	NC
Donna Fowler-Marchant	Minister	United Methodist Church	Fayetteville	NC
Katherine Griffin	Woman	Unitarian Universalist	Wilmington	NC
Laurie Hays Coffman	Chaplain	United Methodist Retirement Homes	Durham	NC
Marilyn Weiler	Pastor	Pine Grove UMC	Kernersville	NC
Gina Barrow	Lead Pastor	Carrboro UMC- NCCUMC	Carrboro	NC
Jaye White	Director of Outreach Ministry	NC Conference of the United Methodist Church	Fayetteville	NC
Marti Hatch	Mental Health Counselor	United Methodist Church	Fuquay-Varina	NC
Katey Zeh	CEO	Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice	Apex	NC
Andrew Phillips	Pastor	United Methodist Church	Carrboro	NC
Rebecca McKinley	Retired		Apex	NC
Jeff Olson	Mission and Services	Chapel in the Pines	Chapel Hill	NC
Shannon Dingle	Author & Activist		Raleigh	NC
James Pettiford		NAACP	High Point	NC
Donna Olsen	Senior Minister	Hope 4 All UHM Interfaith Community	Grand Forks	ND
Elizabeth Peterson	Retired	Retired	Lincoln	NE
Margaret Stratman	Member	Servants of Mary Sisters	Omaha	NE
Ronald Dieter	Pastoral Psychotherapist	NH Pastoral Psychotherapy Association	Manchester	NH
Carroll Arkema	Marriage & Family Therapist	Service for Counseling	Pompton Lakes	NJ
Kathryn Riss	Pastor	Whispering Knoll Assisted Living	Piscataway	NJ
Mary Aktay	CD	Global Ministries University	Pompton Plains	NJ
Sonia Ketchian	Co-Minister	Unitarian Universalist congregation of the Palisades	Fort Lee	NJ
Dan Clark	Ohio Director	Faith in Public Life Ohio	Newark	NJ
Charles Graham	Therapist	Self Employed	Haddonfield	NJ
Nadine Rosechild-Sullivan	Minister	Word of Fire Ministries/Chestnut Hill Spiritual Counseling	Egg Harbor Twp	NJ

Randall Balmer	Professor	Dartmouth College	Santa Fe	NM
Sharon Palma	Member of the Sufi Faith	Loretto Community	Corrales	NM
Erica Lea-Simka	Pastor	Albuquerque Mennonite Church	Albuquerque	NM
Kris Johnson	Engineer	Water Utility	Albuquerque	NM
Kenneth Bordner	Retired Episcopal priest	ECUSA	Santa Fe	NM
Christina Wisdom	Spiritual Director	Walkways, LLC	Santa Fe	NM
Eileen Zamora	Lay Leader	MissionGathering Church	Spring Valley	NV
Teji Malik	Sikh	Interfaith Council of Southern Nevada	Henderson	NV
S. Cama	Member	Religions for Peace	Tappan	NY
Joan Agro	Congregational Secretary	Sisters of St. Dominic of Blauvelt, New York	Blauvelt	NY
Susan Joseph Rack	Pastor	First Presbyterian Church of Baldwin	Baldwin	NY
PAUL RACK	Retired	PCUSA	Baldwin	NY
Joyce de V elder	Retired pastor	Reformed Church in America	Gansevoort	NY
Jean Fallon	Member	Maryknoll Sisters	Ossining	NY
Bruce Knotts	Director UUA Office at the United Nations	Unitarian Universalist Association	New York	NY
Eileen McCann	CSJ Justice Committee	Sisters of St. Joseph	Brentwood	NY
Burton Visotzky	Professor	Jewish Theological Seminary	New York	NY
Serene Jones	President and Johnston Family Professor for Religion and Democracy	Union Theological Seminary	New York City	NY
Jacqui Lewis	Senior Minister	Middle Collegiate Church	New York	NY
Liz Theoharis	Director at Kairos Center for Religious Rights and Social Justice	Union Theological Seminary	New York City	NY
Angela Buchdahl	Senior Rabbi	Central Synagogue	New York City	NY
Carol Currier-Frighetto	Pastor	St. Paul's United Church of Christ	Manhattan	NY
Jill Jacobs	Executive Director	T'ruah: A Rabbinic Call for Human Rights	New York City	NY
Sunita Viswanath	Co-founder	Sadhana: Coalition of Progressive Hindus	Brooklyn	NY
Susan Barnett	Founder	Faiths for Safe Water	New York City	NY
William Liss-Levinson	Chair, Board of Trustees	Academy for Jewish Religion	Yonkers	NY

Paulette Peterson	Psychologist	Board member Loretto Link	New York	NY
Barbara Pfohl	Volunteer	Sisters of St. Francis Stella Niagara N.Y.	Niagara Falls	NY
Ross Murray	Senior Director	GLAAD	New York	NY
Rachel Timoner	Senior Rabbi	Congregation Beth Elohim	Brooklyn	NY
Ann Marie Karl	Attorney at Law	U. Methodist Church	Katonah	NY
Patricia Plogmann	Retired		Harrison	NY
Jayne Pickett	Teacher	Holy Child	Tarrytown	NY
Dolores Pomerleau	Co-Founder	Quixote Center	Brentwood	NY
Onleilove Alston	US Coordinator	Mother of The Nations	New York City	NY
Kelly Brown Douglas	Dean & Bill and Judith Moyers Chair in Theology	Episcopal Divinity School at Union Theological Seminary	New York City	NY
Susan Roll	Associate Professor (Retired)	Saint Paul University	Clarence Center	NY
Patrick Zengierski	Director of Campus Ministry	Newman Center at Buffalo State	Buffalo	NY
Willa Rose Johnso	Pastor	Greenwood Baptist Church	Brooklyn	NY
Gale Nattiel			Walden	NY
Sunita Viswanath	Cofounder	Hindus for Human Rights	BROOKLYN	NY
Lance Hurst	Pastor	First Presbyterian Church of Glen Cove	Glen Cove	NY
Mamta Shaha	Chair, Jaina Women's Committee	JAINA	New York	NY
Janice Hunter	Elder	Oak Hills Presbyterian Church	Cincinnati	OH
Sue Sutton	Retired		Dayton	OH
Ann Duff	Retired Social Worker		New Franklin	OH
Rev. Haroldo Nunes	Executive Director	Open Arms Ministries	Orrville	OH
Sheilamarie Tobbe	Coordinator of adult literacy programs	Ursuline Sisters of Cleveland	Pepper Pike	OH
Diane Novak	Sister	Sisters of Notre Dame	Chardon	OH
Jeanne Marlowe	Workshop leader	International Women's Writing Guild	Columbus	OH
Karen McGuire	Member	Unitarian Universalist	Gahanna	OH
Colette Harrison	Vice-president	Interfaith Forum of Greater Dayton	Dayton	OH
Susan Smith	Director/Founder	Crazy Faith Ministries	Columbus	OH

Stephen Makovec		Living Beatitudes Community	Centerville	OH
Kathleen Bean	Pastor	Living Beatitudes Community	Centerville	OH
Dan Divis	Pastor	St Mary Parish	Lorain	OH
Beth Long-Higgins	Executive Director	Ruth Frost Parker Center for Abundant Aging	Marion	OH
John C. Dorhauer	General Minister and President	United Church of Christ	Cleveland	OH
Larry Trover	Retired Lutheran pastor	ELCA	Columbus	OH
Michael Schuenemeyer	Minister and Team Leader - Health & Wholeness Advocacy	United Church of Christ	Cleveland	OH
Ruth Becker	Retired clergy	ELCA	Cranberry Twp	OH
Sharon Pardi Clegern	Pastor	PRPC church	Cincinnati	OH
Ron Shultz	Pastor	Neighborhood Network/Family of Faith	Akron	OH
Mark Pettis	Ecumenical and Interfaith Relations Manager	United Church of Christ	Cleveland	OH
Kenneth Daniel	President & CEO	United Church Homes	Marion	OH
Tarunjit Butalia	Executive Director	Religions for Peace USA	Dublin	OH
Anne Slater	Board President	First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia	ARDMORE	OK
Bob Lawrence	Authorized Minister, Retired	United Church of Christ	Tulsa	OK
Vickie Holler	Director of Member Services	The Center for Individual's with Physical Challenges	TULSA	OK
Katie Wilkes				OK
Dean Sigler	Writer, blogger		Aloha	OR
Bob Hannigan		1st Cong UCC	Corvallis	OR
Marianne Duddy-Burke	Executive Director	DignityUSA	Medford	OR
Warren Aney	Elder	Southminster Presbyterian Church	PORTLAND	OR
Evelyn Stewart	Elder	Westminster Presb. Church, Portland, OR	MCMINNVILLE	OR
Daniel Bell	Protestant Chaplain	Tufts University	Medford	OR
Charlotte Wells	Rector	The Church of the Redeemer, Episcopal	Pendleton	OR
Georgina Galanis	NGO Representative	The Good News Agency	Astoria	OR
Nok Alena Jones	Educator	Eugene Science Center	Eugene	OR

Maria Studer	Clerk of Session	United Presbyterian Church	Levittown	PA
Dat Tran	Youth Pastor	Vietnamese Mennonite Church	Upper Darby	PA
Paul and Elizabeth Mojzes	Professor emeritus of religious studies	Rosemont College (PA)	West Chester	PA
REGINA BANNAN	President	Southeastern PA Women's Ordination Conference	PHILADELPHIA	PA
Linda Theophilus	Senior pastor	Emmanuel Lutheran Church	Pittsburgh	PA
Sharon L Regan	RN	Individual	Newton Centre	PA
Beth Appel	Pastor	Presbyterian Church (USA)	Willow Street	PA
Margaret Rose Ritchey	Choir & former treasurer	Sixth Presbyterian Church	Bethel Park	PA
Carl Vacek	Associate Pastor	Franciscan Friars, T.O.R.	Altoona	PA
Susan Worrell	Clergy - Counselor	Hope Christian Counseling	Kennett Square	PA
Tonya Eza	Pastor	Grace Lutheran Church	Johnstown	PA
Elyse Wechterman	Executive Director	Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association	Wyncote	PA
Jean Richardson	Executive Director	Kirkridge Retreat and Study Center	Stroudsburg	PA
Ann Zech	Member	St. John Chrysostom Church	West Chester	PA
Maurice Harris	Rabbi	Reconstructing Judaism	Glenside	PA
Lisa Sharon Harper	Founder & President	Freedom Road	Philadelphia	PA
Micah Weiss	Assistant Director for Thriving Communities and Tikkun Olam Specialist	Reconstructing Judaism	Philadelphia	PA
Mary Ehling	Retired	Sisters of IHM	Scranton	PA
Jayne Byler	Pastor	Stahl Mennonite Church	Johnstown	PA
Megan LeCluyse	Campus Minister and Director	The Christian Association at the University of Pennsylvania	PHILADELPHIA	PA
Gary Roth	Retired	None	Emlenton	PA
David Walker	Clergy	Dallas United Methodist Church	Shavertown	PA
Rosechild Sullivan	Minister	Active clergy and educator, Word of Fire Ministries	Philadelphia	PA
David A. Ames	Retired	Episcopal Priest	Providence	RI
Jean Hawxhurst	Ecumenical Staff Officer	The Council of Bishops of The United Methodist Church	Simpsonville	SC

First Name Last Name	Position	Organization	City	State
Marie Fortune	Founder	FaithTrust Institute	Crossville	TN
Cherie White	Retired	Title	Nashville	TN
Melody Winderweedle	Lead pastor	Ekklesia	Chattanooga	TN
Charlotte Gilman	Stephen Ministry Leader	ELCA	CEDAR CREEK	TX
Martha Ann Kirk	Professor	University of the Incarnate Word	San Antonio	TX
Ginger Watson	Pastor	United Methodist church	Fort Worth	TX
Ed Triem		Presbyterian Church, USA	Brenham	TX
Hannah O'Donoghue	Spiritual director	Catholic Religious	Austin	TX
Leonard Stacy Cowan	Senior Leader	The Praying Place	Aubrey	TX
Rashna Ghadialy	Member	ZANT	Coppell	TX
Thomas Jolly	Ordained clergy	Andrews United Methodist Church	Andrews	TX
Joy Durrant	Vice Moderator for Justice and Peace	Presbyterian Women	Austin	TX
Kara Van de Kieft	Elder	Alamo Heights Presbyterian Church (PCUSA)	San Antonio	TX
Cynthia Ruiz	Deacon	Episcopal Church in North Texas	Fort Worth	TX
Celeste Kearney	Member	uucava	ARLINGTON	TX
Mark Wilkinson	Rector	St. Paul's Episcopal Church	Katy	TX
Mark Meeks	Minister	Capitol Heights Presbyterian Church	Bailey	UT
Elizabeth Hunter	Deacon	Retired, Diocese of Utah	Salt Lake City	UT
Kay Rodgers	Retired	UCP	Reston	VA
Johanna Hancock	Member	Episcopal church	Timberlake	VA
Deborah Lewis	Director & Campus Minister	The Wesley Foundation at UVA	Charlottesville	VA
Adam Bowling	Pastor	First United Presbyterian Church of Dale City, VA	Dumfries	VA
Adam Bowling	Pastor	First United Presbyterian Church	Dale City	VA
Aaron Miller	Musician/Seminarian	Trinity UMC Richmond/Wesley Theological Seminary	Richmond	VA
Ruth Kverndal	Co-Founding leader	Diversity Awareness Partners	MERCER ISLAND	WA
Marc Laverdiere	Retired		Bellingham	WA
Claire Alkire	Retired Special Educator		Sequim	WA

Jackie Grove	Senior Warden	St. John's Episcopal Church, Snohomish	Lake Stevens	WA
Reed Price	Mission Council Vice President	Eagle Harbor Congregational Church	Bainbridge Island	WA
Ellem Carpentier	Interpreter	Ln Interpreting	Bellingham	WA
Michael Denton	Conference Minister	Pacific Northwest Conference of the United Church of Christ	Seattle	WA
Sheldon Burkhalter	Retired pastor	Mennonite	Seattle	WA
Doug Daman	Council Moderator	Suquamish United Church of Christ	Poulsbo	WA
Jeannine Grammick, SL	Co-Founder	New Ways Ministry	Mount Rainier	WA
Erin Grayson	Associate Minister	Rolling Bay Presbyterian Church	Bainbridge Island	WA
Mark Lancaster	Buddhist Priest	Generous Heart Sangha	Bainbridge Island	WA
Kevin Long	Seminarian	Market Square Presbyterian Church	Marysville	WA
Brenda McNeil	Pastor & Professor of Reconciliation Studies	Seattle Pacific University	Seattle	WA
Pamela Barr	Deacon	Presbyterian Church	Bainbridge Island	WA
Traci West	Professor of Christian Ethics and African American Studies	Drew University Theological School	Madison	WI
Robert Loshuertos	Retired		Madison	WI
Paula Dail	Emerita Research Professor of Social Welfare and Public Policy	ns	Madison	WI
Cecile Adams	Retired	Member of The United Methodist Church	Muskego	WI
Eileen Harrington	Mission Activities Director	Loretto Community	Madison	WI
Jennifer Emert	Pastor	Algoma United Methodist Church	Algoma	WI
Tim Schaefer	Pastor	First Baptist Church of Madison	Madison	WI
James M/ Dixon	Priest	Society of Jesus	Wauwatosa	WI
Judy Peterson	Public Pastor		Marinette	WI
David Cooper	Assisting Priest	St. Matthias, Milwaukee, WI	Franklin	WI
Samantha Coggins	Campus Minister	Westminster Foundation of WV	Morgantown	WV
Elisabeth Fiorenza	Krister Stendahl Professor	Harvard Divinity School	Cambridge	
Sig Arnesen	Retired	ELCA	Lebanon	

Michael Haines	Elder	Ocean Hts. Presbyterian Ch.	Egg Harbor Twnshp.
Wayne Teel	Professor	James Madison University	Keezletown
Judy Bierbaum		Trauma therapist	Alb
Katherine Salinaro	Deacon	Episcopal Church	Hercules
Rosea Brown	Teacher	ssnd	mankato
Jan Salas	Elder	Redwoods Presbyterian Church	Santa Cruz
Michael Doran	pastor	UMC	VERGENNES
BETSY SOWERS	Minister for Earth Justice	Old Cambridge Baptist Church, Cambridge	Cambridge
Marvin Shank	Retired hospital chaplain	Mennonite Church Eastern Canada	London
Bea Eichten	Member	Franciscan Sisters	Tacine
Barbara Brandt	V.P.	Unitarian Universalists of Clearwater	Dunedin
Anthony Green	Bishop	Saint John of God Parish - CACINA	Schenectady
Kathleen Greenaway	Social Justice Secretary	St. Joseph University Parish	Buffalo
KAREN BLOOMQUIST	theologian at large	ELCA	OAK Harbor
Barbara Brinkley	Lay person	United Methodist Church	Jonesboro
David Hubner	Retired Minister	Unitarian Universalist Association	Sudbury
Gary Nettleton	Retired Minister	United Methodist Church	Wells
MONICA CROSS	Pastoe	First Christian Church of Oakland	Richmond
Nancy Whitt	Member	Religious Society of Friends (Quaker)	Birmingham
Therese Stawowy	Comember	The Loretto Community	San Rafael
Deborah Shipp	Retired Clergy	HopeGateWay	Wells
Beverly Brazier	Clergyperson	Whitehorse United Church of Canada	Whitehorse
Shantia Wright-Gray	Retired	UCC	Ocean Park
Tim Scheffel	Retired Pastor	ELCA	Cibolo
Anne Sims	Pastor	Oriental United Methodist Church	Oriental
Jenny Pratt	Retired	Evangelical Lutheran Church of America	Broken Arrow
Livingstone Jacob	Pastor	Baptist convention of south Africa	Durban
Melonie Harnish	Pastor	United Methodist Church	Williamsport
Joanna Lawrence Shenk	Associate Pastor	First Mennonite Church of San Francisco	El Cerrito
Rachelle Brown	Clergy	Metropolitan Community Churches	Rayne
Arnold G Beerens	Retired pastor	Chapel By The Sea, Clearwater, FL	GOWEN

Maura McGrath	social justice worker	Congregation of Notre Dame	Montreal
Barbara Holzhauser	Retired	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	Mentor on the Lake
Joseph Uecker	N		Odessa
James H. Alphen	Co-Founder	New Horizons	Salem
Vicki Ix	Vicar	St. John's Episcopal Church	Florence
Arielle Vaverka	Librarian	Public library	Irving
Gustav Kuether	Retired Clergy	United Church of Christ	BELLEVILLE
Tricia Tedrow	Minister	Presbyterian Church (USA)	Payson
Susan Patch	Chaplain	THAH	Kensington
Jill Susskind	Preschool teacher	Serendipity Home Preschool	Santa Cruz
H. Scott Matheney	Chaplain Dean of Religious Life	ELMHURST University	ELMHURST
Kathy Khang	Board Vice Chair	Christians for Social Action	St. Davids
Jenniffer-Beth Fulton	Retired teacher /activist	United CHurch of Canada	North Vancouver
Nathan Smith	Retired Regional Minister	Christian Church in Illinois and Wisconsin	Maineville
Doreen Jannotta	Retired	Catholic Deacon's wife	Arlington Heights
Brian Lothridge	Pastor	United Methodist Church	Rome
Joyce Day	Pastor of Congregational Care	St. James UMC	Winterville
James Wilson	Honorably Retired Pastor	Presbyterian Church (USA)	Carpinteria
Drew Willson	Pastor	Boulevard United Methodist Church	Richmond
David Merwin	Business Owner	Amway	Upper Arlington
Christine Beebe	Retired Rector	St. John's Episcopal Church	Mankato
Hope Vickers	Pastor	United Methodist Church	Southport
Karen Russo			Newtown Square
Sheryl Johnson	Associate Pastor	Ginter Park Baptist Church	Richmond
Terri Echelbarger	Pastor	Metropolitan Community Church	San Mateo
Don Mosley	Communication	Jubilee Partners	Comer
Elisabeth Schussler			
Fiorenza	Faculty	Harvard University, Harvard Divinity School	Cambridge,
Felipe Lozada-montañez	Bishop Emeritus	ELCA	Dorado

Joanne Tooley	Pastor	The United Church of Moscow	Moscow
Margery Schleicher	Retired Clergy	Michigan Conference of the UMC	CHELSEA
Jessica Campbell	Pastor	Hamilton United Methodist Church	Neptune
Lorm Loeurm	Executive Director	Life and Hope Association	Siem Reap
Morgana Sythove	Global Trustee	URI	ZEIST
Dura Ioan	Professor	University of Constanta	Constanta
J. Verdonk	Chair	Transman Foundation	Wijk bij Duurstede
Abdul. Rashid.	President Council Of Global Spirituality.	University Of Karachi	Karachi
Jean Morrissey			Hollison
Jackie Minnock	Theologian	None	DUNDALK