117th CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
SECOND SESSION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
The National Education Association is the nation’s largest professional employee organization, representing more than 3 million elementary and secondary teachers, higher education faculty, education support professionals, school administrators, retired educators, and students preparing to become teachers.

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We’ve come a long way in the 12 months since our last annual meeting and Representative Assembly. Nearly all public school buildings have reopened. We are meeting in person. The fruits of the American Rescue Plan Act, the single largest investment in public education in U.S. history, are ripening across the country. For the first time in a decade, funding for ongoing federal education programs has risen significantly.

I am especially thrilled that Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson will become the first Black woman on the Supreme Court when her mentor, Justice Stephen Breyer, retires this summer.

Judge Jackson’s story is my story. Our parents were educators. We both attended public schools. Her guidance counselor discouraged her from applying to Harvard, saying she would never get in. Some had low expectations for me, too, because I am a Black woman. Like Judge Jackson, I vowed not to let that stop me, and today I am president of our country’s largest labor union.

The Senate Judiciary Committee’s hearings were both exhilarating and painful to watch. Judge Jackson’s responses were calm, measured, and thoughtful—the embodiment of judicial temperament. Yet several Republican senators ranted, bullied, and interrupted her as she attempted to address the issues they raised.

When Sen. Cory Booker (D-NJ) noted her “grace and grit,” and expressed his own joy over her success, Judge Jackson wiped away tears as I dabbed at my own. In his words, “You got here how every Black woman in America who’s gotten anywhere has done—by being, like Ginger Rogers said, ‘I did everything Fred Astaire did but backwards and in heels.’”

Judge Jackson’s story is the story of public school educators all across this nation. With creativity and courage, strength and immense resilience,
we focus upon one goal: to ensure that every student—Black, White, Brown, Indigenous, Asian Pacific Islander, LBGTQ+, and those who are differently abled—can step boldly into their brilliance. We collaborate with parents, families, and all allies of public education to ensure our students have the access, opportunities, and support that will allow them to thrive.

But we labor today in the shadow of a once-in-a-century pandemic whose aftermath includes a mental health crisis among teens. Even in these highly contentious times, there is broad agreement that is the case. Yet it is not a major focus. Instead, vicious attacks—on educators, public education, women’s rights, and truth itself—dominate the conversation. The Supreme Court is preparing to overturn Roe v. Wade, according to a leaked opinion by Justice Samuel Alito, threatening reproductive freedom and other basic rights.

Public education, a foundational pillar of our democracy, is threatened as well. Under the guise of parental control, states are limiting discussion of fundamental aspects of our nation’s history and system of government. School boards are banning growing numbers of books, including classics of American literature.

The effort to channel the conversation in these directions is likely to increase in the run-up to November’s mid-term elections. Last year, NEA members and activists sent 600,000 emails and made 4,300 calls to members of Congress to advocate for students, educators, and public education. In the year ahead, we are going to need that level of engagement—and more.

Not just public education, but our democracy is at stake.

In solidarity,

Rebecca S. Pringle
President, National Education Association
June 1, 2022
We’ve had important victories this year. President Biden has nominated the most diverse group of federal judges in our nation’s history, including the first Black woman on the United States Supreme Court. After a decade of stagnation, federal funding for public education is rising. Dedicated public servants, including educators, are getting the debt relief they were promised. Long-overdue legislation strengthening protections against domestic violence and hate crimes is now the law.

We’ve also encountered serious challenges. Educator shortages are reaching crisis levels, especially in certain subjects. Exhausted educators are leaving the classroom. Students are experiencing a mental health crisis. Voting rights are imperiled. Far-right attacks on public education are growing and metastasizing—helping some politicians avoid addressing the issues about which parents, students, and educators truly care.

Attempts to ban books in the United States have surged to the highest level ever recorded in the 20 years the American Library Association has tracked the trend. Moreover, most of the targeted books are by—or about—Black and LGBTQ+ people.

“I recently asked my five-year-old son why books are important,” NEA member Samantha Hull, a school librarian in central Pennsylvania, said in testimony before a House subcommittee. “Here is what he told me: ‘The books are important because they help me learn because I can see new words, I can meet new people and I can go to places I haven’t been. They teach us to solve problems.’”

Like the little boy who was not afraid to say the emperor wore no clothes, Samantha Hull’s son spoke the truth. And when he did, he broke the spell woven by con artists who had convinced the people to deny what they could plainly see.

Ready to help improve classroom conditions, secure school funding, and advance social and racial justice for all? Go to nea.org/actioncenter and sign up for EdAction in Congress, our weekly update on what’s happening on Capitol Hill. Weigh in with your senators and representative on the issues of the day.

Remember: Every vote counts and every voice matters!
Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson will be the first Black woman to sit on the Supreme Court in its 133-year history.

“I am bursting at the seams with joy about the product of public schools being nominated to the Supreme Court! The totality of Judge Jackson’s experience—the product of public schools, a public defender, a working mother—represents all of America.”

—Marella McMillion-Holmes
Special education social worker, Trenton, New Jersey
Judiciary looks more like America
During his campaign, President Biden vowed to create a judiciary that looks more like America. He promised to nominate the first Black woman to the Supreme Court. He also promised to nominate people with diverse personal and professional backgrounds to the federal bench—until now, populated largely by white men from private corporate practice and state and federal prosecutors’ offices.

President Biden has delivered on all counts.

Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson will soon become the first Black woman to sit on the highest court in the land. In the Supreme Court’s 133-year history, just five women (none Black) and two Black men have served as justices; 108 have been white men. Judge Jackson will also be the first public defender to sit on the court.

“The confirmation of Judge Jackson means that our judicial system will finally have representation from one of the most systematically exploited demographics in American history. This nomination and confirmation are significant steps in bending the moral arc of the universe towards justice.”

—Winter Marshall-Allen
Special education teacher, Homer, Alaska
President Biden answers questions at a briefing on the COVID-19 vaccines that have averted more than 1 million deaths and more than 10 million hospitalizations.

President Biden’s judicial candidates—the most demographically diverse in U.S. history—include the first LGBTQ+ woman to serve on a court of appeals and the first Muslim American to serve as a federal judge. According to the Brennan Center, President Biden nominated 26 percent of all Black women now serving as active judges; nearly 30 percent of his judicial candidates have been public defenders.

**Pandemic spurs action in neglected areas**

The COVID-19 pandemic has been a catalyst for meaningful action on long-ignored challenges ranging from modernizing school buildings to closing the digital divide to ensuring no child goes hungry.

The **American Rescue Plan Act**, the largest investment in public education in U.S. history, continues to bear fruit more than a year after its enactment. The law included all three of NEA’s top priorities for pandemic relief: $170 billion in dedicated education funding for states and school districts; $350 billion in state and local aid to help avoid layoffs of educators and other public servants; and $7.2 billion for the Federal Communications Commission’s E-Rate program to equip students to do schoolwork at home.
Educator shortages have risen to crisis levels in mathematics, science, special education, and bilingual education.

Other provisions revamped the child tax credit to cut child poverty in half through the end of 2021; provided temporary tax credits to encourage employers to provide paid sick leave; and temporarily expanded Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and Pandemic-Electronic Benefit Transfer (P-EBT) benefits. U.S. Department of Agriculture waivers empowered schools to offer free meals to all students during the COVID-19 pandemic and its aftermath, but are set to expire at the end of June.

The Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act, signed into law in November, extends the Secure Rural Schools program and increases support for community services in rural counties in 41 states and Puerto Rico that have a limited tax base due to their proximity to federal land. The law also provides the means to begin eliminating lead service lines and pipes that remain in schools and childcare facilities, and to begin electrifying school buses to reduce harmful emissions.

THE LARGEST INVESTMENT IN PUBLIC EDUCATION IN U.S. HISTORY CONTINUES TO BEAR FRUIT MORE THAN A YEAR AFTER ITS ENACTMENT.

Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi stressed that the Build Back Better Act would help working families and make the tax code more fair.
Support for ongoing programs also rises

Tight budget controls severely constricted education funding for many years. As a result, ongoing education programs receive $7 billion less than they did a decade ago in inflation-adjusted terms. The federal share of support for special education services is less than 13 percent, far below the 40 percent Congress promised when it passed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).

In March, President Biden signed into law the final budget bill for this year, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2022. It funds the U.S. Department of Education and other federal agencies through September, an important victory. Republicans previously insisted on continuing resolutions that temporarily extend funding, but also freeze it.

President Biden’s FY2023 budget proposal is a statement of values we share. It would further increase support for programs targeting the students most in need—in schools with high-poverty rates through Title I, in children with disabilities through IDEA, and via full-service community schools. It would also beef up support for educator recruitment, further increase Pell grants, and take steps to ameliorate the mental health crisis.

<table>
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<th>The final FY2022 budget bill provided:</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>$1 billion</strong></td>
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<td>more for Title I, the biggest increase in a decade</td>
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<td><strong>$448 million</strong></td>
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<td>more for IDEA state grants</td>
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<td><strong>$45 million</strong></td>
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<td>more for community schools that more than doubles current funding, the biggest increase ever</td>
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<td><strong>$400</strong></td>
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<td>increase in the maximum Pell grant, the biggest in a decade</td>
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<td>Increased support for Historically Black Colleges and Universities and other minority-serving institutions</td>
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<td>Increased support for teacher residency programs</td>
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Members send 48,000 emails, get action on debt relief

More careers require post-secondary education than ever before, yet higher education is increasingly out of reach. Students and families—not public dollars—now fund the bulk of higher education costs. NEA helped make higher education more accessible and affordable in several ways this year.

After 48,000 of our members and activists sent emails demanding action, the U.S. Department of Education began making major changes in the badly broken Public Service Loan Forgiveness (PSLF) program. The department instituted a temporary waiver—in effect from October 2021 through October 2022—that has brought relief to tens of thousands of public service workers, like educators, and could ultimately help many more.

“As a public school social studies teacher, this moment is a powerful reminder of the awesome opportunity that we have to help our students not only understand the significance of Judge Jackson’s nomination, but also to let them know that just like it was for Judge Jackson sitting in her social studies class in a public school, everything is possible for them and we are here to help them every step of the way on their journey.”

—Brady Shutt
Social studies teacher, Iowa City, Iowa
At NEA’s urging, the department also agreed to broaden the waiver’s scope by allowing educators to revoke their Teacher Loan Forgiveness (TLF) awards. Many teachers took advantage of TLF without knowing it would affect their progress toward PSLF—often, because loan servicers provided misleading information.

Since October, about 113,000 individuals have received more than $6.8 billion in loan forgiveness—and the number continues to grow. In contrast, the PSLF program denied 98 percent of the applications filed and forgave just 16,000 borrowers in four years under the previous administration.

New Jersey elementary music teacher and NEA member Sean Manes discussed his experiences with PSLF during a roundtable with Secretary of Education Miguel Cardona. “I became eligible for loan forgiveness in June 2019,” Manes said. “But it took a full, additional year before I was able to get that discharged by the Department of Education.” With the help of NEA’s Office of General Counsel, he received $103,000 in loan forgiveness plus an $8,000 refund for overpayments.
NEA also advocated for the bipartisan **Consider Teachers Act**, signed into law in October. The bill fixes a system glitch: burdening teachers with unfair loans by converting TEACH grants (up to $4,000 a year) into loans they must repay with interest. It also gives teachers more time to complete service requirements in light of the COVID-19 pandemic.

**Help for victims of domestic violence**

First enacted in 1994, the **Violence Against Women Act** was a historic recognition on the part of the federal government that domestic violence devastates victims and degrades our society. As part of the 2022 Consolidated Appropriations Act, the law was improved and renewed through 2027.

The new version expands prevention efforts, supports and protects survivors, and holds perpetrators accountable for their violent actions. It increases resources for law enforcement and our judicial systems, including in Native communities, and improves access to essential support services—for example, health care and safe housing for victims.

**Lynching is now a federal hate crime**

The **Emmett Till Anti-Lynching Act**, signed into law in March, takes long-overdue action to address the horrific mutilation and murder of thousands of people, most of whom were African American. Local authorities were often
complicit in this terrorism well into the 20th century, while federal law largely ignored it.

“While this will not erase the horrific injustices to which tens of thousands of African Americans have been subjected over the generations—nor fully heal the terror inflicted on countless others—it is an important step forward as we continue the work of confronting our nation’s past in pursuit of a brighter and more just future,” Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) said.
Strengthening the educator pipeline

Educator shortages, an issue for decades, have risen to crisis levels in areas such as mathematics, science, special education, and bilingual education. COVID-19 and its aftermath have increased the need for student support. Yet America’s public schools have fewer educators than before the pandemic—a bad situation that threatens to get worse.

According to a survey of NEA members released in February, 55 percent of educators are ready to leave the profession sooner than previously planned. A disproportionate number of those weighing their options are Black and Hispanic/Latino educators (62 percent and 59 percent, respectively) who are already under-represented in the profession.

During a week of action in April, aspiring educators met virtually with their senators and representatives to discuss solutions like the Teacher, Principal, and Leader Residency Access Act (S. 3171/H.R. 3244). This bill would expand the Federal-Work Study program to cover educator residency programs that provide hands-on classroom experience—an approach that is especially useful in rural communities; in schools with high needs due to a lack of resources; and in special education, bilingual education, and STEM subjects.

Research suggests that residency programs cultivate gender and racial diversity and help reduce the stress that prompts many early-career educators to leave the profession within the first five years. Studies consistently show that 70 to 80 percent of educators who participate in residency programs are still with their school districts after five years.

The Mental Health Services for Students Act (S. 1841/H.R. 721) would help address the shortage of qualified caregivers and enlist them in school-based programs. Just 4,000 of the nation’s more than 100,000 clinical psychologists deal with children and adolescents, according to the American Psychological Association. The ratio of school psychologists is 1 per 1,211 students, far above the 1 per 500 students recommended by the National Association of School Psychologists.
Protecting our democracy

The Supreme Court invalidated the preclearance provision of the Voting Rights Act in *Shelby County v. Holder* in 2013 and further weakened the law in *Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee* in 2021. As the late Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg said in her dissent to *Shelby*, “Throwing out preclearance when it has worked and is continuing to work to stop discriminatory changes is like throwing away your umbrella in a rainstorm because you are not getting wet.”

Justice Ginsburg was right. A key element of the landmark voting rights law, first passed in 1965, preclearance sought to end the persistent, purposeful discrimination that curtailed the political participation of millions of Americans for a century after the Civil War.

Efforts to suppress the vote accelerated after the 2020 elections. According to the Brennan Center, at least 250 bills pending in 27 state
legislatures would make it harder to vote. Another 41 bills introduced in 13 states would undermine the election process itself.

These measures restrict absentee and early voting, require voters to show an ID at the polls, purge voter rolls, criminalize honest mistakes by election officials, and more. In Georgia, for example, it is now a crime to give food or water to voters, who must often wait in long lines, within 150 feet of a polling place or 25 feet of any voter standing in line.

Voting rights bills blocked by Senate GOP

The House has passed several bills to ensure free and fair elections, only to have them flounder in the Senate. Normally, a 60-vote supermajority is necessary to advance a bill to the Senate floor, where it can pass with a simple majority of 51 votes (fewer if some senators are absent or decline to vote).

More than a year ago, the House passed the **For the People Act (S. 1/H.R. 1)**, a comprehensive bill that rests on three pillars: reaffirming and expanding voting rights, strengthening oversight to end big money in politics, and ensuring an ethical government. It failed to advance in the Senate.

The **Freedom to Vote Act (S. 2747)**, a scaled back version of the For the People Act shaped by Sen. Joe Manchin (D-WV) and a group of moderate Democrats, met the same fate. So did the **John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act (S. 4/H.R. 4)**, a direct response to **Shelby** that would require states and localities with a history of voter discrimination to seek approval from the U.S. Department of Justice before changing their election laws.

The **Freedom to Vote: John R. Lewis Act (H.R. 5746)**, a combination of the two bills, also failed to muster sufficient support in the Senate.
Making America a better place to live

President Biden proposed action on multiple fronts to strengthen our nation’s human infrastructure—meaningful action on long-ignored challenges ranging from how we care for those who are ill or have fallen on hard times to ensuring every neighborhood has safe drinking water.

Initially, the plan encompassed universal pre-kindergarten for three- and four-year-olds as well as two years of free community college for all Americans, including Dreamers and part-time students. It would invest in educator recruitment and retention to address shortages and diversify the profession. Bigger Pell grants and institutional aid for Historically Black Colleges and Universities and other minority-serving institutions would make higher education more affordable and accessible.

The plan would also extend and make permanent provisions of the American Rescue Plan Act that cut child poverty in half. Other provisions would guarantee workers paid sick and family leave, lower the cost of prescription drugs, strengthen the Affordable Care Act, and widen access to Medicaid. And more.

The **Build Back Better Act**, the vehicle for these advances, passed the House but faltered in the Senate in the face of Republican opposition and divisions among Democrats. Work on a pared-back plan continues.

Strengthening retirement security

Led by the NEA Retired Legislative Committee, members are actively engaged in our push for committee and floor votes on legislation to repeal both the Government Pension Offset (GPO) and Windfall Elimination Provision (WEP). Together, these policies unfairly deny 2.5 million dedicated public servants, including educators, of Social Security benefits they have earned.
The WEP reduces the Social Security retirement, disability, spousal, or survivor benefits of people who work in jobs in which they pay Social Security taxes and jobs in which they do NOT pay Social Security taxes—for example, educators who take part-time or summer jobs to make ends meet. The GPO reduces the Social Security spousal or survivor benefits of people who get a government pension (federal, state or local) but did NOT pay Social Security taxes themselves.

The **Social Security Fairness Act (S. 1302/H.R. 82)**, **Social Security 2100 Act (S. 3071/H.R.5723)**, and **Safeguarding American Families and Expanding Social Security Act (S. 3070)** would fulfill NEA’s goal of fully repealing both the GPO and WEP. The **Public Servants Protection and Fairness Act (H.R. 2337)** starts to fix problems caused by the WEP, but does not address the GPO.
**Students most in need**

The **IDEA Full Funding Act (S. 3213/H.R. 5984)** would create a mandatory 10-year path to fully funding IDEA while the **Keep Our Pact Act (S. 72/H.R. 764)** would create a mandatory 10-year path to fully funding both IDEA and Title I of the Every Student Succeeds Act—critical programs for the students most in need.

Congress promised to pay 40 percent of the additional costs of special education services when IDEA was first passed, but has never come close; the federal share is now less than 13 percent—the lowest level in 20 years. Now is the time to fulfill America’s promise of equal opportunity for all students.

**Gun violence prevention**

We have reached a grim milestone: firearms, formerly the leading cause of death among African American children, are now the leading cause of death among ALL American children, according to the latest data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The New England Journal of Medicine analyzed the data and found that deaths from firearms rose by nearly 30 percent among children and adolescents between 2019 and 2020—more than twice the 13 percent increase in the general population.

More than a year ago, the House passed the **Bipartisan Background Checks Act (S. 529/H.R. 8)**, which would require a background check for every gun sold and most transfers, and the **Enhanced Background Checks Act (H.R. 1446)**, which would extend the initial background check review period from three to 10 days. The Senate GOP blocked both bills.

On May 14, 2022, a domestic terrorist took the lives of 10 Black people and injured three others shopping for groceries in Buffalo, New York—a hate-filled crime all too familiar to Americans. Four days later, the House passed the **Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act (H.R. 350)**, which would
create offices in the FBI, Justice Department, and Homeland Security Department to investigate and track domestic terror threats. The Senate GOP blocked the bill.

On May 24, 2022, a shooter legally purchased weapons of war on his 18th birthday and used them to kill 19 students and two teachers at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas. An 11-year-old girl smeared herself with a friend’s blood to make the shooter think she had also died. The survivors will remember and bear the psychological scars for the rest of their lives.

The School Shooting Safety and Preparedness Act (H.R. 5428) would inform efforts to make our schools safer. Provisions include defining “school shootings” to help identify trends and devise solutions, requiring the Secretary of Education to report annually on safety indicators, and requiring the National Center on Education Statistics to gather information on the existence—or absence—of safety measures at schools where shootings occur.

“What are you waiting for?” NEA President Becky Pringle asked Congress after the massacre at Robb Elementary School.
The Federal Extreme Risk Order Protection Act (H.R. 2377) was first introduced in 2018 after 17 people died in a mass shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. The bill would support “red flag laws” by temporarily restricting access to guns for individuals at an elevated risk of harming themselves or others.

As we go to press, Sen. Chris Murphy of Connecticut and some of his Senate colleagues are attempting to do something—anything—to make these uniquely American tragedies less likely. Previously a member of the House, Murphy represented the district that included Sandy Hook Elementary School, where 26 people were gunned down in 2012, including 20 children.

Education Support Professionals

The ESP Family Leave Act (S. 2621/H.R. 5348) would allow more hard-working ESPs to qualify for Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) benefits that allow them to care for themselves—or family members—without fear of losing their jobs when they are ready to return to them.

FMLA now allows eligible employees to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave for their own or a family member’s serious health condition, and up to 26 weeks for military-caregiver leave. To qualify for FMLA, the employee must work at least 1,250 hours in the 12 months prior to the leave—a threshold some ESPs have difficulty reaching due to their schedules and the limited school year.

Workers’ rights

The Public Service Freedom to Negotiate Act (H.R. 5727) would allow educators and other public service workers—nurses, EMS personnel, custodians, firefighters, childcare providers, transit operators, social workers, and more—to form a union and bargain over wages and hours, and exercise other key rights that come with having a voice on the job.

Over and over during the COVID-19 pandemic, we’ve seen these brave workers go beyond their job descriptions, putting themselves at risk to take care of the most vulnerable among us. Yet in many places, they don’t have a say in their working conditions or the jobs they do, despite their expertise and experience.
LGBTQ+ discrimination
The Equality Act (S. 393/H.R. 5) passed by the House would give LGBTQ+ Americans explicit protection from discrimination in key areas of life: employment, housing, credit, education, public spaces and services, federally funded programs, and jury service. The bill would amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Fair Housing Act, and other federal laws to include sexual orientation and gender identity as protected characteristics.

The current patchwork of laws—most states lack non-discrimination policies that include sexual orientation and gender identity—leaves many students and educators vulnerable to discrimination and sends the message LGBTQ+ Americans are second-class citizens.

Women’s rights
Women still earn just 82 cents for every dollar white men earn, with women of color earning even less. The Paycheck Fairness Act (H.R. 7/S. 205) passed by the House would require employers to demonstrate that gender is not the reason they pay employees different wages for the same jobs, prohibit employers from asking job candidates about their salary histories, and protect employees from facing retaliation if they discuss their pay with colleagues.

The Pregnant Workers Fairness Act (S. 1486/H.R. 1065), passed by both the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee and the full House of Representatives with strong bipartisan support, would create a uniform national standard for reasonable accommodations for pregnancy, childbirth, and related conditions.

The PUMP for Nursing Mothers Act (H.R. 3110) passed by the House would require employers to provide reasonable break time and a private, non-bathroom space for breastfeeding employees to pump during the workday.
Reproductive freedom

The **Women’s Health Protection Act (S. 4132)** would codify into law the right to reproductive freedom established nearly 50 years ago by the Supreme Court’s decision in *Roe v. Wade*. Since 1978, NEA has supported the right of our members to choose whether to have children and how to have a family.

A leaked draft of the majority opinion in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization* would overturn *Roe* as well as *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, threatening reproductive and other fundamental rights. (The court’s final ruling is expected in late June or early July, after we go to press.)

Having a child is one of the most important and personal decisions anyone makes. If *Roe* is overturned, women will soon lose the right to make that decision—based on their conscience and family considerations—in as many as 28 states. Poor women and women of color will suffer disproportionately due to lack of access to health care and family planning services—the consequences of an unplanned pregnancy can be dire not just for them, but the entire family.

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Americans support upholding *Roe v. Wade* by a 2-1 margin, according to a Washington Post-ABC News poll conducted shortly after the leak of a draft majority opinion, written by Justice Samuel Alito, that would overturn *Roe* as well as *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*. 