

rived at the intermediate standard that many had thought it was applying in any event.¹⁸²⁰ The Court first examines the statutory or administrative scheme to determine if the purpose or objective is permissible and, if it is, whether it is important. Then, having ascertained the actual motivation of the classification, the Court engages in a balancing test to determine how well the classification serves the end and whether a less discriminatory one would serve that end without substantial loss to the government.¹⁸²¹

Some sex distinctions were seen to be based solely upon “old notions,” no longer valid if ever they were, about the respective roles of the sexes in society, and those distinctions failed to survive even traditional scrutiny. Thus, a state law defining the age of majority as 18 for females and 21 for males, entitling the male child to support by his divorced father for three years longer than the female child, was deemed merely irrational, grounded as it was in the assumption of the male as the breadwinner, needing longer to prepare, and the female as suited for wife and mother.¹⁸²² Similarly, a state jury system that in effect excluded almost all women was deemed

classification, finding that inappropriate while the Equal Rights Amendment was pending. *Id.* at 691 (Justices Powell and Blackmun and Chief Justice Burger). Justice Stewart found the statute void under traditional scrutiny and Justice Rehnquist dissented. *Id.* at 691. In *Mississippi Univ. for Women v. Hogan*, 458 U.S. 718, 724 n.9 (1982), Justice O'Connor for the Court expressly reserved decision whether a classification that survived intermediate scrutiny would be subject to strict scrutiny.

¹⁸²⁰ Although their concurrences in *Craig v. Boren*, 429 U.S. 190, 210, 211 (1976), indicate some reticence about express reliance on intermediate scrutiny, Justices Powell and Stevens have since joined or written opinions stating the test and applying it. *E.g.*, *Caban v. Mohammed*, 441 U.S. 380, 388 (1979) (Justice Powell writing the opinion of the Court); *Parham v. Hughes*, 441 U.S. 347, 359 (1979) (Justice Powell concurring); *Califano v. Goldfarb*, 430 U.S. 199, 217 (1977) (Justice Stevens concurring); *Caban v. Mohammed*, 441 U.S. at 401 (Justice Stevens dissenting). Chief Justice Burger and Justice Rehnquist have not clearly stated a test, although their deference to legislative judgment approaches the traditional scrutiny test. *But see* *Califano v. Westcott*, 443 U.S. at 93 (joining Court on substantive decision). *And cf.* *Mississippi Univ. for Women v. Hogan*, 458 U.S. 718, 734–35 (1982) (Justice Blackmun dissenting).

¹⁸²¹ The test is thus the same as is applied to illegitimacy classifications, although with apparently more rigor when sex is involved.

¹⁸²² *Stanton v. Stanton*, 421 U.S. 7 (1975). *See also* *Stanton v. Stanton*, 429 U.S. 501 (1977). Assumptions about the traditional roles of the sexes afford no basis for support of classifications under the intermediate scrutiny standard. *E.g.*, *Orr v. Orr*, 440 U.S. 268, 279–80 (1979); *Parham v. Hughes*, 441 U.S. 347, 355 (1979); *Kirchberg v. Feenstra*, 450 U.S. 455 (1981). Justice Stevens in particular has been concerned whether legislative classifications by sex simply reflect traditional ways of thinking or are the result of a reasoned attempt to reach some neutral goal, *e.g.*, *Califano v. Goldfarb*, 430 U.S. 199, 222–23 (1978) (concurring), and he will sustain some otherwise impermissible distinctions if he finds the legislative reasoning to approximate the latter approach. *Caban v. Mohammed*, 441 U.S. 380, 401 (1979) (dissenting).