

that the classification based on sex had “a fair and substantial relation to the object of the legislation.”¹⁸²⁷ However, the Court observed that the state already conducted individualized hearings with respect to the need of the wife, so that with little if any additional burden needy males could be identified and helped. The use of the sex standard as a proxy, therefore, was not justified because it needlessly burdened needy men and advantaged financially secure women whose husbands were in need.¹⁸²⁸

Various forms of discrimination between unwed mothers and unwed fathers received different treatments based on the Court’s perception of the justifications and presumptions underlying each. A New York law permitted the unwed mother but not the unwed father of an illegitimate child to block his adoption by withholding consent. Acting in the instance of one who acknowledged his parenthood and who had maintained a close relationship with his child over the years, the Court could discern no substantial relationship between the classification and some important state interest. Promotion of adoption of illegitimates and their consequent legitimation was important, but the assumption that all unwed fathers either stood in a different relationship to their children than did the unwed mother or that the difficulty of finding the fathers would unreasonably burden the adoption process was overbroad, as the facts of the case revealed. No barrier existed to the state dispensing with consent when the father or his location is unknown, but disqualification of all unwed fathers may not be used as a shorthand for that step.¹⁸²⁹

On the other hand, the Court sustained a Georgia statute that permitted the mother of an illegitimate child to sue for the wrong-

¹⁸²⁷ 440 U.S. 268, 281 (1979).

¹⁸²⁸ 440 U.S. at 281–83. An administrative convenience justification was not available, therefore. *Id.* at 281 & n.12. Although such an argument has been accepted as a sufficient justification in at least some illegitimacy cases, *Mathews v. Lucas*, 427 U.S. 495, 509 (1976), it has neither wholly been ruled out nor accepted in sex cases. In *Lucas*, 427 U.S. at 509–10, the Court interpreted *Frontiero v. Richardson*, 411 U.S. 677 (1973), as having required a showing at least that for every dollar lost to a recipient not meeting the general purpose qualification a dollar is saved in administrative expense. In *Wengler v. Druggists Mutual Ins. Co.*, 446 U.S. 142, 152 (1980), the Court said that “[i]t may be that there are levels of administrative convenience that will justify discriminations that are subject to heightened scrutiny . . . , but the requisite showing has not been made here by the mere claim that it would be inconvenient to individualize determinations about widows as well as widowers.” Justice Stevens apparently would demand a factual showing of substantial savings. *Califano v. Goldfarb*, 430 U.S. 199, 219 (1977) (concurring).

¹⁸²⁹ *Caban v. Mohammed*, 441 U.S. 380 (1979). Four Justices dissented. *Id.* at 394 (Justice Stewart), 401 (Justices Stevens and Rehnquist and Chief Justice Burger). For the conceptually different problem of classification between different groups of women on the basis of marriage or absence of marriage to a wage earner, see *Califano v. Boles*, 443 U.S. 282 (1979).