

Social Norms

Let Johnson's new
quicker waxing way
keep your floors
(and you)
looking beautiful

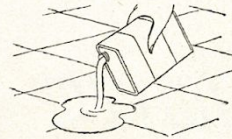
LINOLEUM

WOOD
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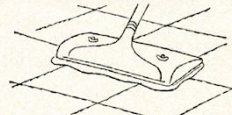
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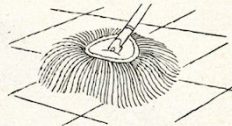
Quicker to do—
easier on you!



1. You don't wear yourself out scrubbing this new quicker waxing way. Beautiflor actually dry-cleans as you wax, removes many marks and stains that soap and water won't budge. Simply pour a small amount of Beautiflor onto your floor and you're on your way!



2. You clean as you wax! Rub Beautiflor into floor with wax applicator or clean cloth. Cover only small section—about the size of a card table top. Buff lightly while still moist. *Buffing while moist* is the key to easier, faster buffing in Beautiflor's quicker waxing way—don't let it set too hard. Continue waxing and polishing in small sections.



3. Your daily dust mop keeps floors scuff-free! Johnson's puts its finest hard-finish waxes into Beautiflor. It doesn't pile up in patchy-looking, uneven layers—never peels off. Your floors stay beautiful between waxings with the most casual care. And all the while they gleam with the deep, rich luster only a genuine wax finish can give.

Beautiflor

Johnson's finest wax
combined with dry cleaner

"JOHNSON'S" AND "BEAUTIFLOR" ARE REGISTERED
TRADEMARKS OF S. C. JOHNSON & SON, INC.

“Early Innovations.” *SC Johnson - A Family Company at Work for a Better World*, SC Johnson ,
www.scjohnson.com/en/search?text=beautiflor.



**Love's
Baby Soft.**

**Because innocence
is sexier than you think.**

Love's Baby Soft is that irresistible, completely soft, grown-up enough to be sexy, yet still comforting. Pure and innocent. It may well be the nearest fragrance around.

Love Cosmetics



**Cigarettes are like women.
The best ones are thin and rich.**

20 FILTER
KINGS
20 FILTER
KINGS

Silva
THINS

Silva Thins are thin and rich. Thin so they taste light. Lighter than other 100's. Lighter than most kings. Rich because—well, because rich is better.

**Silva Thins
are thin and rich.**

Advertisements produced in the 1970s

Anglely, Natalie. "Sexist Ads in 'The Seventies'." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 22 July 2015,

www.cnn.com/2015/07/22/living/seventies-sexist-ads/index.html.

Although we now think of postcards as mass-produced slips of paper (festively decorated with generic images or off-color jokes) to be sent to family and friends from vacation destinations, the social import of postcards during their "Golden Age" (1893-1918) rivals the power of the Internet in contemporary times. The postcard industry was technologically and artistically prepared to play a part in the 1908 presidential election, with postcards reaching the height of their popularity during that campaign. Although it would be impossible to quantify their direct effect on the election, postcards "offer a vivid chronicle of American political values and tastes."

- Catherine Palczewski, scholar for the University of Northern Iowa & collector of suffrage post cards



“Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive: Wall -- Ullman Mfg. Co. Series 138.” Edited by

Catherine H Palczewski, *University of Northern Iowa*, University of Northern Iowa,

sites.uni.edu/palczews/NEW%20postcard%20webpage/CryingBaby.html.

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“Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive: Holidays.” Edited by Catherine H Palczewski,

University of Northern Iowa, University of Northern Iowa,

sites.uni.edu/palczews/NEW%20postcard%20webpage/CryingBaby.html.

Although we now think of postcards as mass-produced slips of paper (festively decorated with generic images or off-color jokes) to be sent to family and friends from vacation destinations, the social import of postcards during their “Golden Age” (1893-1918) rivals the power of the Internet in contemporary times. The postcard industry was technologically and artistically prepared to play a part in the 1908 presidential election, with postcards reaching the height of their popularity during that campaign. Although it would be impossible to quantify their direct effect on the election, postcards “offer a vivid chronicle of American political values and tastes.”

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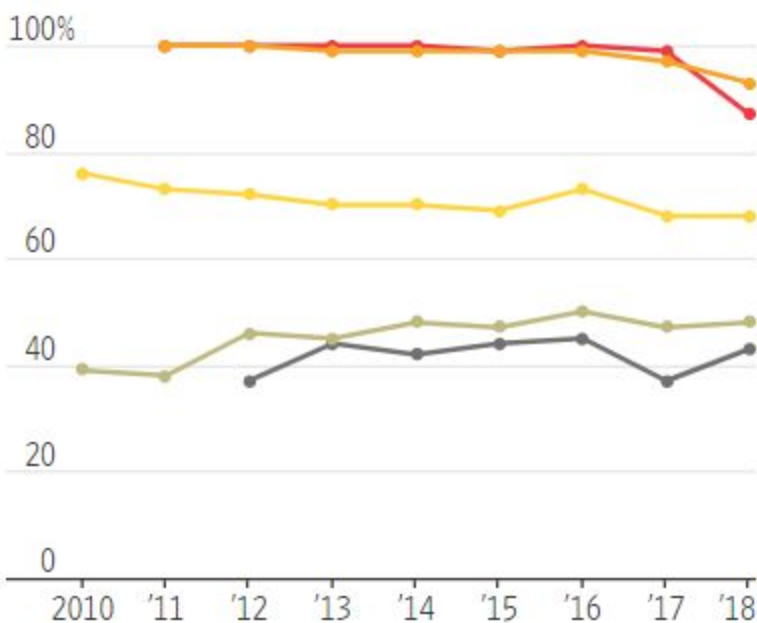
“Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive: Crying Babies.” Edited by Catherine H Palczewski,

University of Northern Iowa, University of Northern Iowa,

sites.uni.edu/palczews/NEW%20postcard%20webpage/CryingBaby.html.

Women as a percentage of ad-testing groups, by category

Laundry products Household cleaners
Food Drink Vehicles



Data taken from an article published in the Wall Street Journal titled “Some Marketers Moving Away From Dated Gender Targeting, Study Shows: But certain ad categories aren’t budging”. It seems from the explanation in the article that these are globalized trends, not just trends within the United States.

O'Reilly, Lara. "Some Marketers Moving Away From Dated Gender Targeting, Study Shows."

The Wall Street Journal, Dow Jones & Company, 28 Jan. 2019,

www.wsj.com/articles/some-marketers-moving-away-from-dated-gender-targeting-study-shows-11548673201.

Men Just Can't Do Women's Work

By DONALD K. EPSTEIN

I SHOULD explain at the outset that I am not one of those male chauvinists who feels that a husband's job is to putter around the toolshed and the garage while his wife spends roughly 100 percent of her time cooking, mending and vacuuming. I am quite at home in our kitchen, where I frequently bake bread, rolls and pastries; I have no problem with a needle and thread, having been taught at age 7 how to sew on a button so it never comes off again; and in 25 years of marriage, I have had ample time to earn my wings as pilot of our Hoover upright. As for the toolshed and the garage, I made sure when I bought my house that it didn't have a toolshed, and although it does have a garage, I spend as little time in it as possible—and certainly not puttering.

I mention these facts only to explain why, when my wife had to go out of town recently to look after an ailing parent, both of us were more than confident that I could take good care of myself and our home for a couple of weeks.

Well, the couple of weeks are over and my wife is back at home (her father is much better), but my thoughts about what a man can and cannot do around the house have been dramatically and permanently altered. I survived all right, but, darn it, there are some household chores that only a woman can perform. My wife suggested that I make a list of those tasks that were beyond my level of competence so that she could teach me those secrets that only women know. But I'll bet my pro-E.R.A. button that she won't be able to teach me or any other man. Take a look at my list and I'm sure you'll agree that there are certain domestic puzzles the male brain simply cannot fathom. In the meantime, I'm going out to the garage to putter with my carburetor.

1. How do I make the breading stick to the veal chop? Both the breading and the chop tasted fine, but I could have eaten them as



Doug Jamieson

gent, soil and stain remover, big-job cleaner, spray cleaner and liquid cleaner. Why can't there be one box of stuff that's good for everything?

3. I could not cope with our washing machine, because it has too many push-buttons. Does a normal wash speed go with hot, warm or cold water? Does the permanent-press cycle require three, six, nine or 12 minutes of wash time? Which of the three spin cycles is for delicate clothes? When the "variable water level" is set at "mini," which soak cycle should I use?

4. After spending more than an hour filling my cart at the supermarket, how can I wait in line to get checked out, load all of the groceries into the car, drive home and lug all of the bags into the house before the half-gallon of ice cream melts all over the 10-pound bag of potatoes?

5. How do I measure the right amount of spaghetti to cook for one person? There must be a better way than tossing the whole pound into the pot, eating as much as I can and throwing the rest away.

6. Do I take clean sheets from the top of the pile in the linen cabinet and put the freshly laundered sheets at the bottom of the pile?

An article taken from the New York Times published in 1982.

Epstein, Donald K. "Men Just Can't Do

Womens Work." *New York Times*,

October 31, 1982, vol. cxxxii, no.

45,483. p. 28.

**Excerpts from: “Sex Roles, Family and Society: The Seventies and Beyond”
(1980)**

John Scanzoni and Greer Litton Fox

“Men did their work in the public sphere and in exchange for it gained rewards and status in that same sphere....In contrast, the roles women performed consisted generally of what Nielsen (1978:9) calls use-value work-their goods and services were produced ‘for immediate consumption by the family or clan.’ Consequently, women had few resources by which to obtain status in the public sphere-the sphere that controlled their own destiny.” pg. 744

“For instance, the basic philosophy governing the decisioning of the traditional woman is ‘if the family does well, I do too’ (Scanzoni, 1978:116). Her interests are submerged into and identified with those of her husband and children. The kinds of proposals she makes, and the strategies she selects to support them, conform to the philosophy that the family group has primacy over her own individual interests. In complementary fashion, the traditional male reasons that ‘if I do well, the family does too’ (Scanzoni, 1978:116). His individual interests are primary-but “for the sake of the group” pg. 746

Scanzoni, John, and Greer Litton Fox. "Sex Roles, Family and Society: The Seventies and Beyond." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, vol. 42, no. 4, 1980, pp. 743–756. *JSTOR*,

www.jstor.org/stable/351822.

Labor Force Participation

WHY WOMEN WORK.

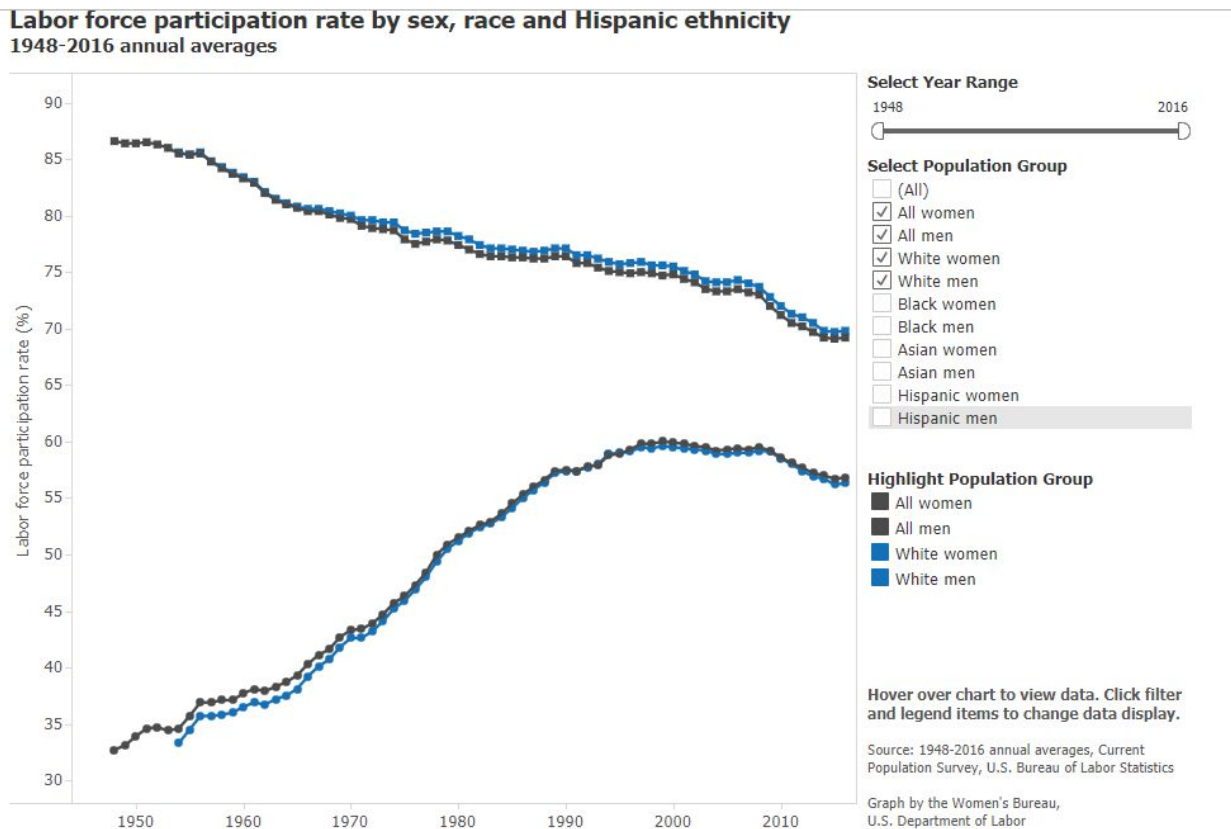
The persistency with which men critics insist upon regarding the woman wage-earner as an inexplicable problem is a discreditable reflection on their common sense says a writer in *Vogue*. Since the worker is everywhere in evidence there is no difficulty in observing many varieties of her. The majority of women wage-earners give every indication of being the victims of adverse circumstances, and only the craziest imagination could conceive that millions of women would voluntarily toil in mills and offices through summer's blistering heat, when trees and field flowers, woods and sea, seductively beckon to holiday making; or that in the bitter weather of midwinter they would brave the terrors of blizzard for less vital reason than to keep body and soul together.

This eternal discussion of the wage earner as a problem is simply imbecile. She is not a problem, nor a perversity, nor anything other than the result of a social evolution set in motion and maintained by man himself, who sits up, as his wont, and discusses as a deplorable phenomenon what is in reality an inevitable result. It is about time the preacher and the workman ceased inveighing against the wage-earning woman. It is as futile as it is silly.

An article published in the *Women's Journal* in 1903

"Why Women Work." *The Woman's Journal*, August 29, 1903, 280. *American Historical Periodicals* (accessed December 18, 2019).

https://link-gale-com.avoserv2.library.fordham.edu/apps/doc/ILBIHI939574085/GDCS?u=nysl_me_fordham&sid=GDCS&xid=cc7f3a1b.



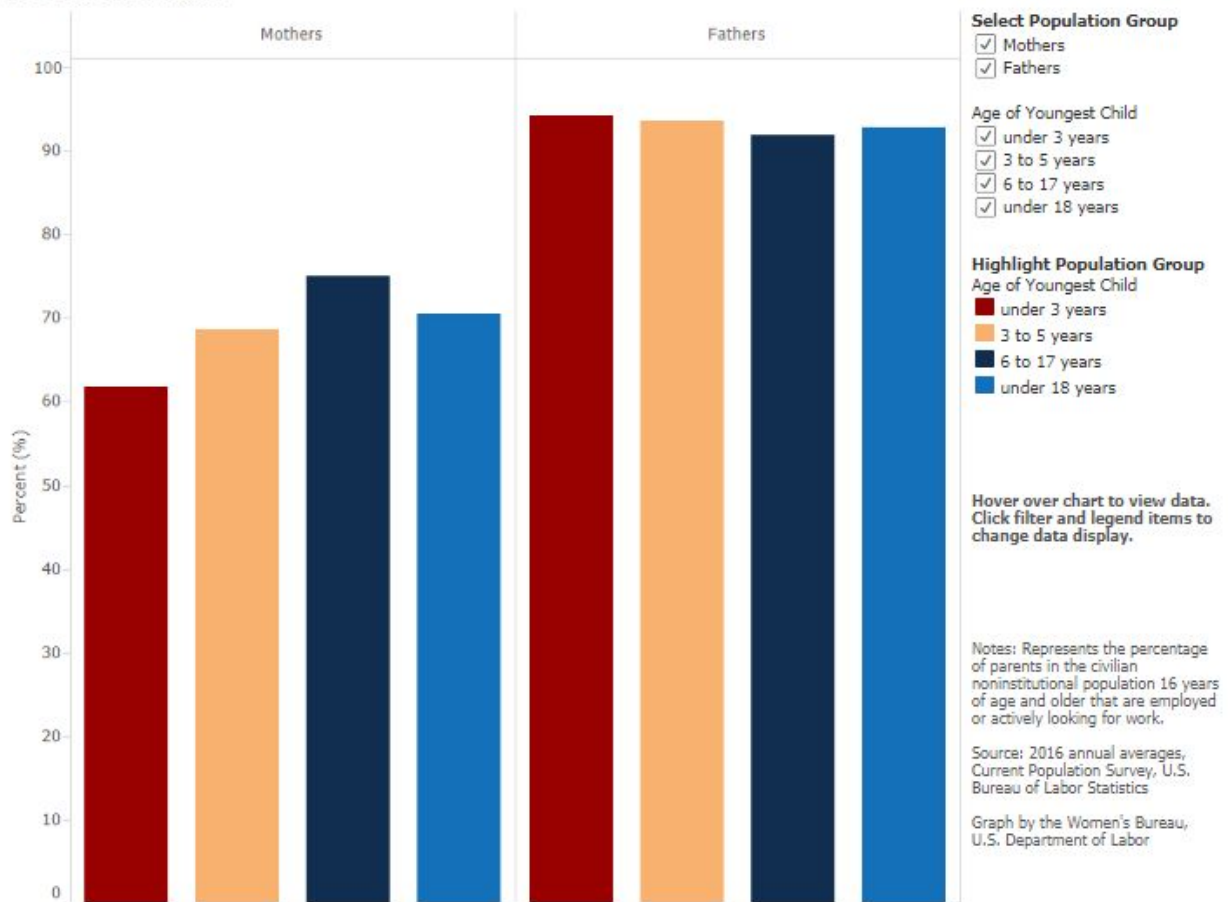
This data is taken from the Department of Labor's website. While there are options to include various different racial/ethnic groups in the mix, they have been turned off. It is important to recognize that minority groups had an entirely extra set of barrier in the labor force than present in this lesson. Yet, we are focusing on predominantly white women to isolate more gender-based factors.

The top portion of lines represents "white men" and "white women" and the bottom portion of lines represents "all men" and "all women".

“Facts Over Time: Women in the Labor Force.” *US Department of Labor*, United States

Department of Labor, www.dol.gov/wb/stats/NEWSTATS/facts/women_lf.htm#LFPSRE.

Labor force participation rate of mothers and fathers by age of youngest child
2016 annual averages



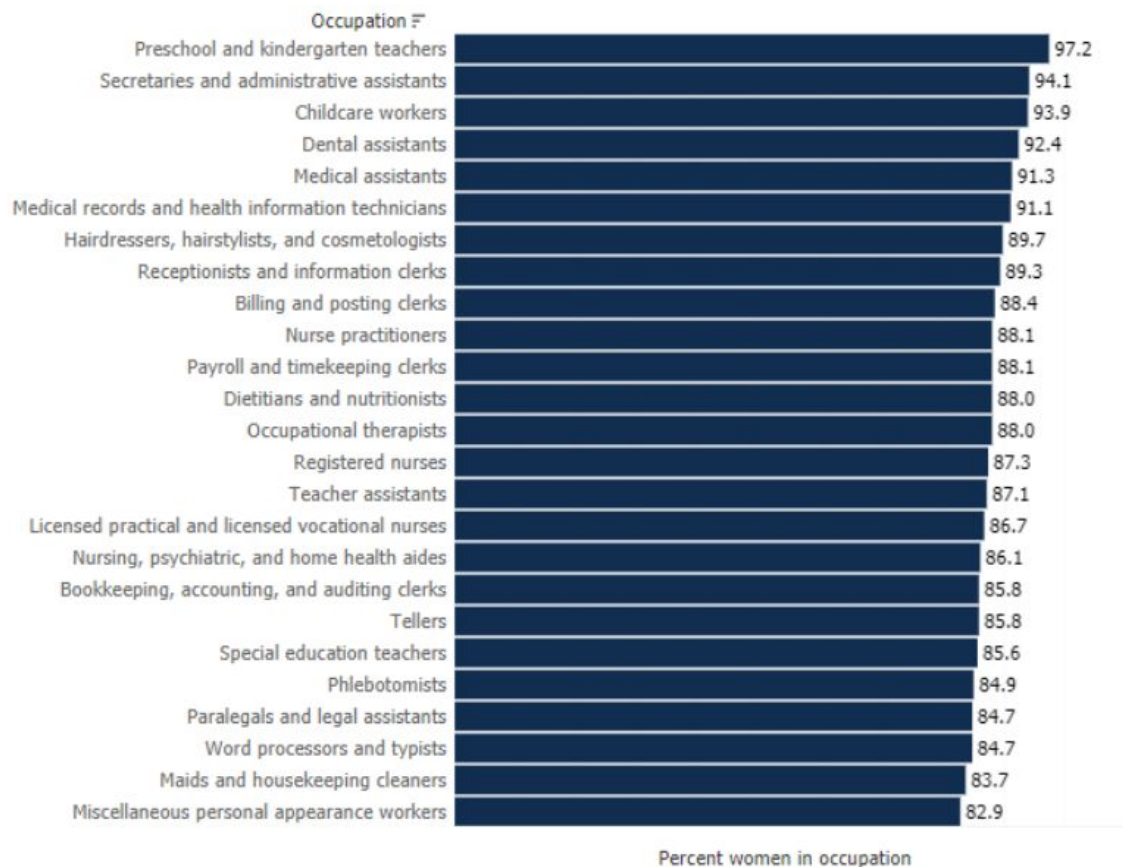
Data taken from the Department of Labor's website.

“Labor Force Participation Rates, Data and Stats, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor.”

U.S. Department of Labor, United States Department of Labor,

www.dol.gov/wb/stats/NEWSTATS/latest/laborforce.htm.

Occupations with the Largest Share of Women Workers



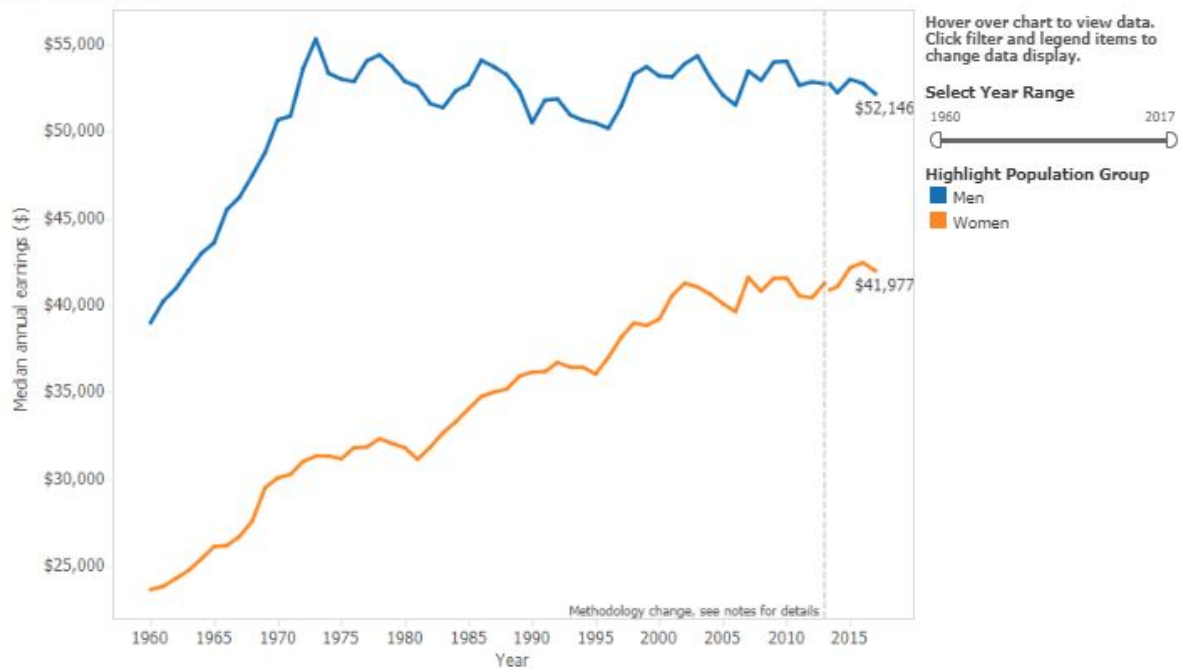
Data taken from the Department of Labor's website.

“Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor: Employment and Earnings by Select Occupations.” *U.S. Department of Labor*, United States Department of Labor, www.dol.gov/wb/stats/employment-earnings-occupations.htm.

Earnings Over Time

Median annual earnings by sex (time series)

Median annual earnings by sex March 1960-2017



Notes: Earnings are based on median annual earnings of full-time, year-round workers, 15 years old and over beginning in March, 1980, and age 14 years old and over as of March of the following year for previous years. Before 1989 earnings are for civilian workers only. The comparability of historical data has been affected at various times by methodological and other changes in the Current Population Survey. The 2014 CPS ASEC included redesigned questions for income and health insurance coverage for a subsample of the 96,000 addresses using a probability split panel design. Approximately 68,000 addresses were eligible to receive a set of income questions similar to those used in the 2013 CPS ASEC and the remaining 30,000 addresses were eligible to receive the redesigned income questions, resulting in two estimates for 2013. Estimates based on the portion of the sample that received the redesigned income questions are the most appropriate for comparing estimates from ASEC 2014 with ASEC 2015 and beyond. Earnings are in 2017 CPI-U-RS adjusted dollars. Source: 1961-2018 Annual Social and Economic Supplements, Current Population Survey, U.S. Census Bureau. Graph by the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor

Data taken from the Department of Labor's website

“Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor: Earnings, Data and Statistics.” *U.S. Department of Labor*, United States Department of Labor, www.dol.gov/wb/stats/earnings.htm.

Excerpts from: "Women's Labor History, 1790-1945" (1989)

Ideology about women affected as well relations between women and men within the working class; it deepened fissures in sexually divided workplaces and unions, creating unbridgable distances between male and female workers. Patricia Cooper writes of cigarmakers: "Unable to treat women as equals, male unionists often depicted them as needy, vulnerable and victimized," competitors for jobs rather than comrades in union struggles.⁸ Male shoemakers also viewed unskilled women workers as a threat to wages and organization despite their proven capacity to organize in the Daughters of St. Crispin.⁹ Even Ava Baron's discovery of a high degree of cooperation between male and female printers during the nineteenth century revealed cooperation undermined by limiting cultural attitudes.¹⁰

Histories of feminized occupations all point to the role of ideology in structuring retail sales, clerical, and domestic work.¹¹ The time-honored imperative of women's role to serve made clerk, secretary, maid, and even prostitute natural extensions of women's position in the home. And, in contrast to rationalizing trends in industrial work, these jobs retained a preindustrial quality, that is, task-oriented and featuring a personal relationship with the employer thus making it more resistant to organization.

□ pg. 503

pg. 505 □

Changes in the economy have not been limited to the displacement of agriculture and home production by factory manufacture. By 1930 industry had slipped to third place as an employer of women, as the growth of clerical and service occupations provided increasing numbers of jobs for women. The clerical and service sectors have continued to employ the largest numbers of working-class women for almost seventy years. However, only Margery Davies, Elyce Rotella, Sharon Hartman Strom, and Cindy Sondik Aron have analyzed the rapid development and the feminization of clerical fields.¹⁸ Domestic work, the single largest employer of women for many decades, has inspired a number of historians, and at least one of them, David Katzman (*Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America*, 1978), has analyzed the racial differences among houseworkers. Scholars are only beginning to turn their attention toward commercial service occupations such as waitressing; other food service workers, laundry operatives, beauticians, and the various forms of public housekeeping have yet to receive historical scrutiny.¹⁹

Helmbold, Lois Rita, and Ann Schofield. "Women's Labor History, 1790-1945." *Reviews in American History*, vol. 17, no. 4, 1989, pp. 501–518. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2703424.

Excerpt from: "Developments in women's labor force participation" (1997)

The increase in the proportion of women who are working or looking for work that began shortly after World War II has been one of the most significant social and economic trends in modern U.S. history. By the 1980's, there were signs that the rise was beginning to slow and, during the early 1990's, no increase in the proportion of women in the labor force (women's labor force participation rate) took place. Beginning in 1994, however, growth appears to have resumed.

A number of factors influenced the slowdown in women's labor force participation rate growth. These include a decline in participation among women under age 25, and a long-term slowdown in participation growth among women in the prime working-age group.¹ The rise in women's labor force participation rate came to a virtual halt as these factors combined with the 1990–91 recession, which had the greatest effect on women's employment of any recession over the last 30 years,² and an uncharacteristically slow employment recovery that continued through the early part of 1993 before gaining momentum.

□ pg. 41

This source should be viewed as a primary source from the year 1997 and not a current secondary source.

Hayghe, Howard V. "Developments in Women's Labor Force Participation." *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 120, no. 9, 1997, pp. 41–46. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41844763.

Excerpts from: *In Pursuit of Equity* (2001)

By Alicia Kessler-Harris

Kessler-Harris, Alicia. *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic*

"The United States in the 1920s witnessed a continuing struggle between 'equal rights feminists' who claimed an absolute right to work and more moderate social feminists who agreed to restrict economic rights to preserve traditional families" pg. 21

"Since the measure of manhood lay in self-sufficiency and independence, white men closely guarded their employment prerogatives. For if women's wage work competed with that of white men or threatened to undermine men's wages, it simultaneously challenged men's access to citizenship" pg. 23

"The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which entitled all persons to receive equal protection under the law, did not preclude the court from agreeing that limiting woman's contractual power was reasonable not 'solely for her benefit, but also largely for the benefit of all.'" pg. 31

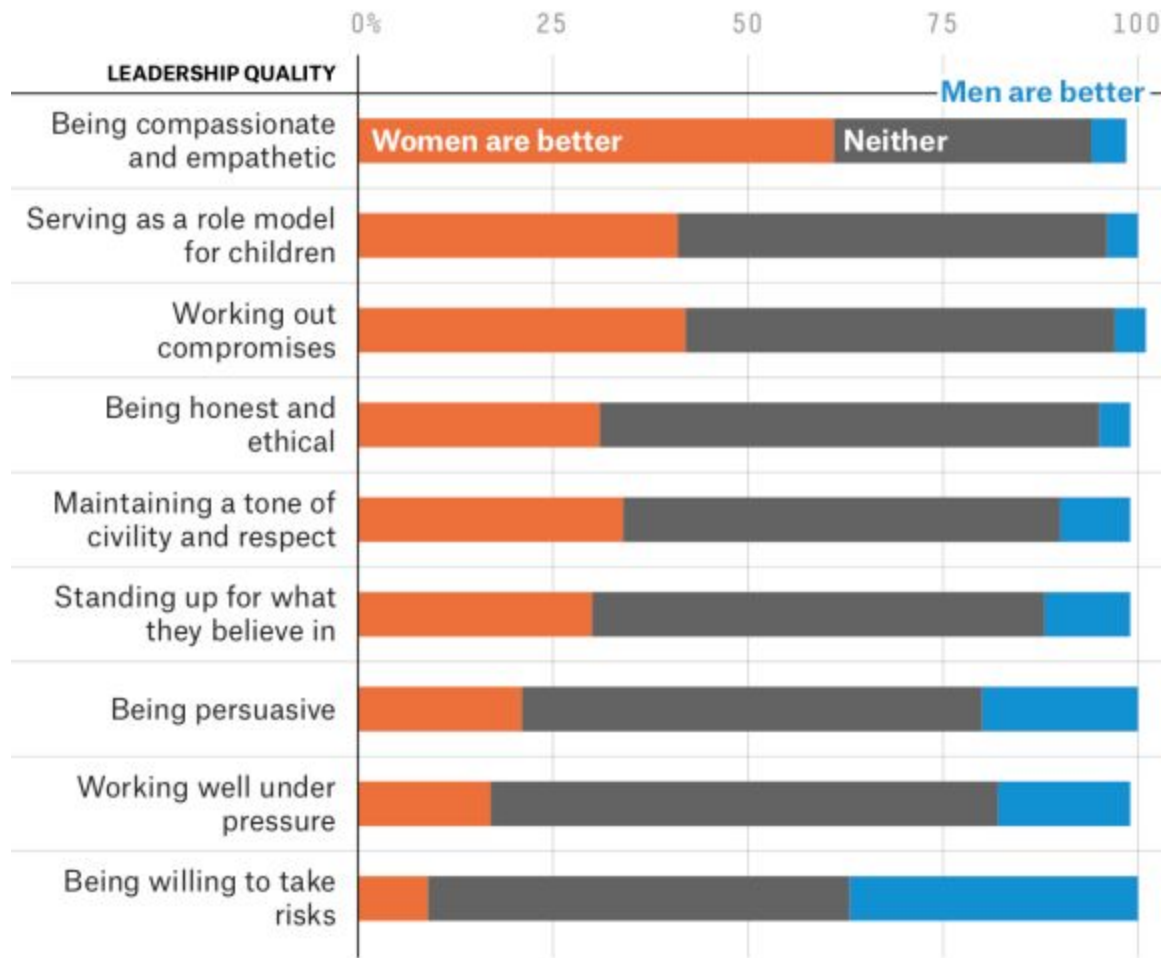
"Social feminists, including the women around the Women's Bureau and in most of the well-known women's organizations, shared with a growing number of working men the assumption that men, who derived many of the benefits of citizenship through work, would pass them on to women in their families" pg. 41

Citizenship in 20th-Century America. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Political Participation

Women in politics are seen as more honest than men

Share of respondents who say women or men in high political offices are better at various aspects of political leadership



Bars do not add up to exactly 100 percent due to rounding

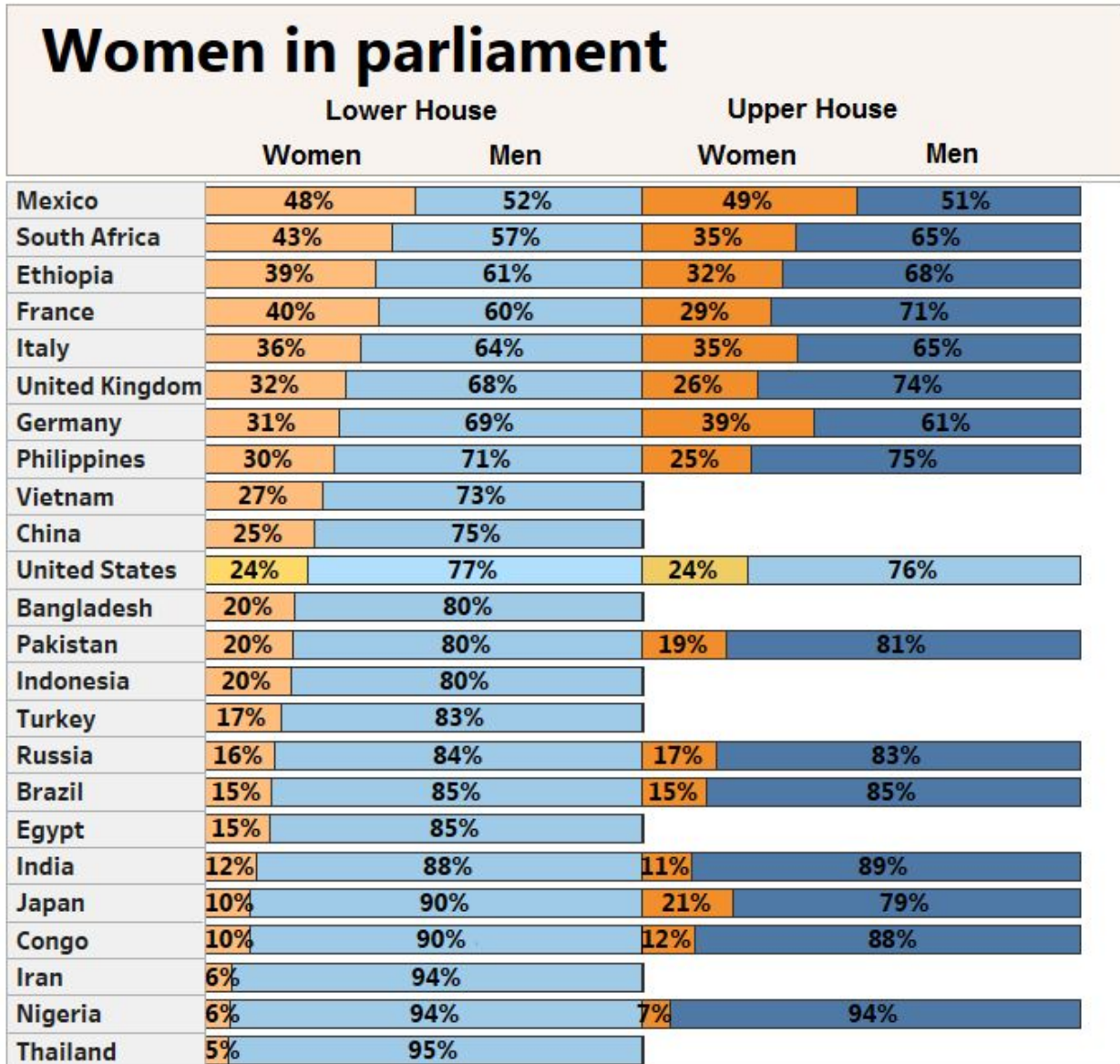
FiveThirtyEight

SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Thomson-Deveaux, Amelia. “Americans Say They Would Vote For A Woman, But ...”

FiveThirtyEight, FiveThirtyEight, July 15 2019,

fivethirtyeight.com/features/americans-say-they-would-vote-for-a-woman-but/.



SOURCE: Inter-Parliamentary Union

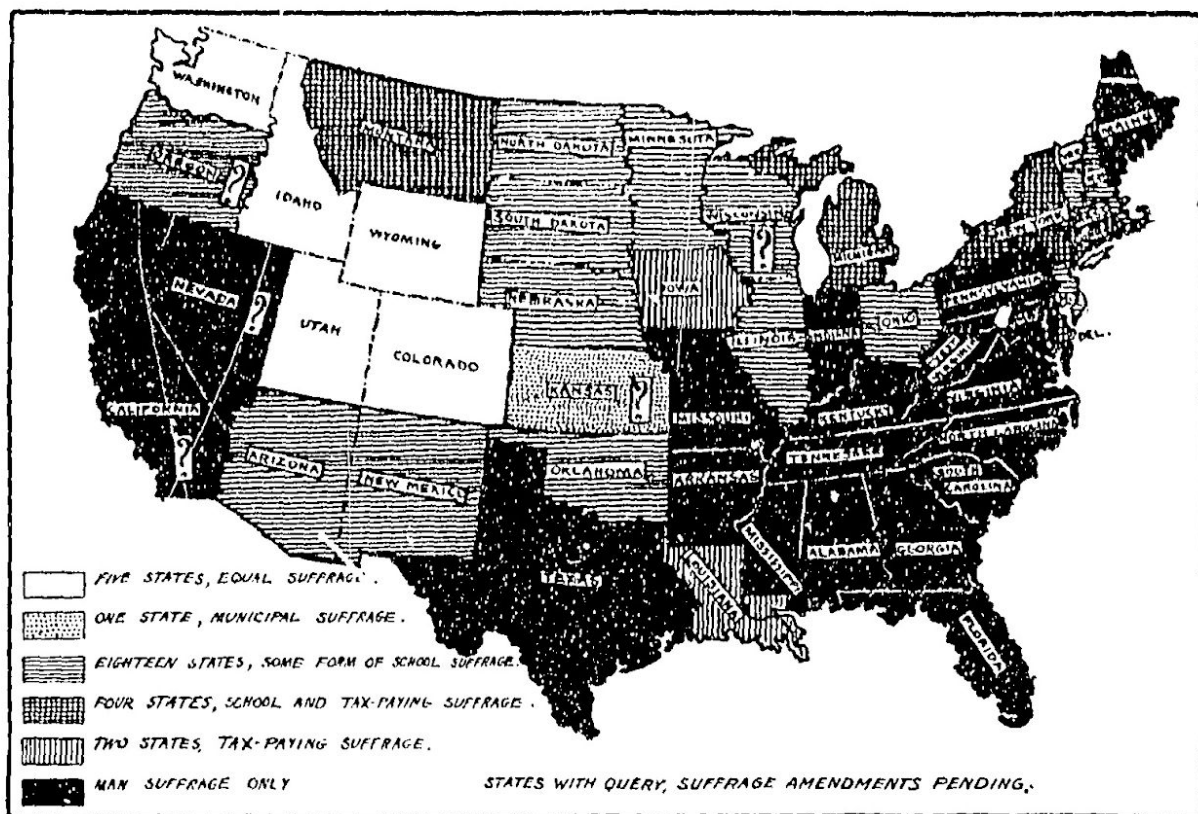
CNBC

Newburger, Emma. "Despite Gains, the US Ranks 75th Globally in Women's Representation in Government." *CNBC*, NBC Universal, March 5 2019,

[www.cnbc.com/2019/03/04/the-us-ranks-75th-in-womens-representation-in-government.ht](http://www.cnbc.com/2019/03/04/the-us-ranks-75th-in-womens-representation-in-government.html)
ml.

The political status of women in the United States : a digest of the laws concerning women in the various states and territories

by Bertha Rembaugh and Women's Political Union. (1911)



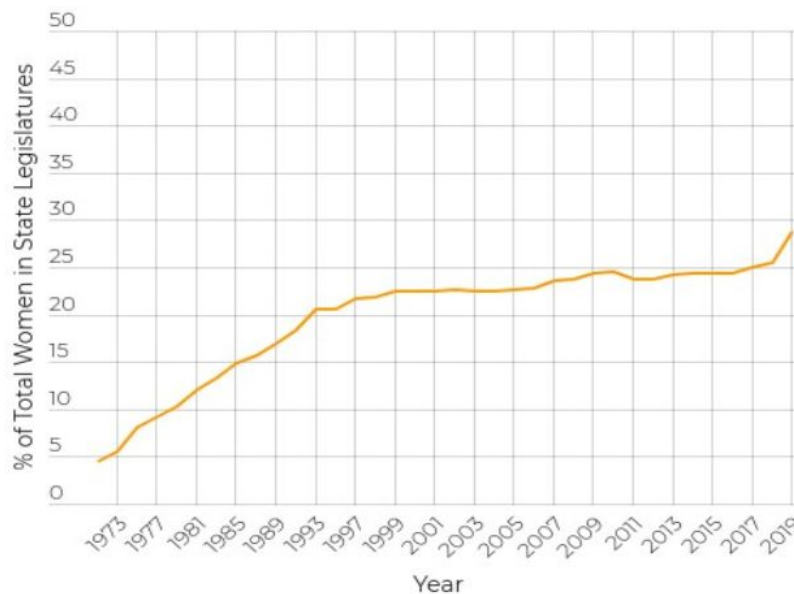
This graph indicates state laws pertaining to suffrage prior to the ratification of the 19th Amendment.

Rembaugh, Bertha, and Women's Political Union. *The political status of women in the United States : a digest of the laws concerning women in the various states and territories*. New York;

London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911. *The Making of Modern Law: Legal Treatises, 1800-1926* (accessed December 18, 2019).

https://link-gale-com.avoserv2.library.fordham.edu/apps/doc/F0150146860/GDCS?u=ny_sl_me_fordham&sid=GDCS&xid=2b78b870.

Women's Representation in State Legislatures (1971 to 2019)



Data comes from the organization “Represent Women”, a 501 (non-profit) organization that aims to help women achieve gender parity in public office in the United States.

Gender Parity Report 2019. Represent Women, 2019, *Gender Parity Index*,

www.representwomen.org/gpi_2019.

Women's Political Habits Show Sharp Change

By ADAM CLYMER

The political habits of women appear to be undergoing deep changes that worry the Republicans and raise the long-range hopes of the Democrats.

A variety of newly available statistics show that women, who in the past have voted at a lower rate than men, are now voting at roughly the same level. These statistics also show that women, whose

political attitudes used to be barely distinguishable from those of men, are beginning to take positions on issues that differ sharply from those taken by men.

These convergent developments are particularly significant, in the view of political strategists and polltakers of both major parties, because women have begun allying themselves more

with Democratic positions.

Many public opinion experts believe that the partisan shift in the political views of women originated with distrust of President Reagan and a fear that he was too ready to risk a war. Some believe that these attitudes may outlast the Reagan Administration in their effect on his party. But others say there is no evidence that this is more than a temporary phenomenon that may van-

Madeline Nagel, there's a message for you on the

HAPPY BIRTHDAY

Continued on Page D41, Column 1

Article published in the *New York Times* in 1982

Clymer, Adam. "WOMEN'S POLITICAL HABITS SHOW SHARP CHANGE." *New York*

Times, June 30, 1982, vol. cxxxi, no. 45,360. p. 1.

Women Are Still Hesitant About Aiming High in Politics

By EILEEN SHANAHAN
Special to The New York Times

GARDEN CITY, L.I., Sept. 28—Although more and more women are running for public office, very few expect to make a try for the highest offices, even at the peak of their careers, according to a study on women's attitudes.

Another finding was that the "new political woman" who is seeking elective office today is a little younger than the average woman who ran for office in the past, but otherwise not very different.

High school girls who are strongly interested in politics, another study found, tend to have one key factor in their backgrounds that distinguishes them from girls who are not interested in politics: They have mothers who work outside the home in high-status jobs.

Dozens of Reports Presented

These findings of academic researchers were among the dozens that were presented over the weekend at a conference on "Women in Politics" at Adelphi University. The conference was sponsored by the university and the Institute for Suburban Studies.

The conference brought together 250 political scientists, sociologists, psychologists and women active in politics. The

conference's organizer was Bernice Cummings, a sociologist.

The finding that even women who have already begun a political career still have relatively low aspirations for themselves was presented to the meeting by Sister Maureen Fiedler, who reported on research done by herself and Jeane Kirkpatrick, a professor of political science at Georgetown University.

Many Delegates Interviewed

They interviewed 1,336 delegates to the 1972 Democratic and Republican Conventions, half men and half women, and also sent questionnaires to additional delegates.

They found that only among the delegates pledged to the presidential candidacy of Representative Shirley Chisholm, Democrat of Brooklyn, was the proportion of women who had ambitions for the highest offices as large as the proportion of men with such aspirations.

Sister Fiedler said that delegates who expressed the hope of ultimately holding the office of President, Senator, member of the House of Representatives, Governor or member of the President's Cabinet were counted as having "high ambition." Among the Chisholm delegates, 65 per cent of the women and 57 per cent of the men had such high ambitions.

Professor Kirkpatrick and Sister Fiedler also found that while 37 per cent of both the Democratic and Republican men thought they could achieve the highest office they aspired to, only 12 per cent of the Democratic women thought they would achieve their highest ambition and only 7 per cent of the Republican women.

Irene Diamond, a lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School of Government at Princeton University and Marylin Johnson, director of research at the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University, presented separate research findings confirming the general impression that the average age of women office-seekers is declining.

Brief Time to Succeed

In the past, women have generally been in their middle or late 40's when they sought elective office for the first time, and thus they did not have very long to climb the political ladder. This is what is changing now, according to both researchers, although the change is still slight.

The Johnson report stated, in addition, that so far as local offices were concerned—for example, on city and county councils and as mayor—more women are actually getting elected, not merely running, particularly in the more populous places.

A study of 800 high school seniors in Pennsylvania was done by Roberta S. Sigel of Douglass College.

She found that 17 per cent of the boys and 11 per cent of the girls were highly interested in politics.

The careers of the parents—father or mother—did not seem to be a determining factor in whether boys were interested in politics. Nor did the father's job seem to make any significant difference among the girls.

Mothers' Status Important

But among the girls whose mothers held high-status professional or executive jobs, five times as many were strongly interested in politics as those whose mothers either did not work or held nonprestige jobs.

Philip Goldberg, associate professor of psychology at Connecticut College, reported on research that showed that both men's and women's opinions of the abilities of women had risen in the last 20 years, but that both men and women still had a tendency to think they would not like a woman who was involved in nontraditional activities, such as politics, even though more and more are willing to accept such a woman as a leader.

Shanahan, Eileen. "Women Are Still Hesitant About Aiming High in Politics." *New York Times*,
October 1, 1975, vol. cxxv, no. 42,584. p. 51.

Women Make Gains in Attaining Office

By E. J. DIONNE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

ST. PAUL, Aug. 6 — Being a woman and running for public office is still a challenge, but it is not quite the challenge it used to be, the National Women's Political Caucus has found.

The group, which ended its four-day meeting here today, offered some startling statistics about the progress of female candidates, especially in the battle for state and local office.

The group's annual "National Directory of Women Elected Officials" reported that 1,261 of the nation's state legislators, or 16.9 percent, are women. That is up from just 362, or 4.7 percent, in 1971, when the caucus was organized.

Even more striking is the increase in the number of women who are mayors of cities with populations over 30,000. The directory showed that 12.7 percent of those mayors, 122, are women. In 1971, there were only seven female mayors in cities of that size.

But women's progress is less dramatic at the Federal level. Today, 28 members of the House and Senate are women, only 5.2 percent of the total. That is only a slight increase from 1971, when 15 women — 2.8 percent of the total — were members of Congress. Only three of the 50 Governors are women.

How to Advance the Cause

As they left their annual meeting, members of the Women's Political Caucus were generally optimistic that the number of elected women would grow, but they differed over the best approach to advance their cause.

Successful female candidates argued that the two parties are turning increasingly to women not out of magnanimity, but because women bring strengths to politics that men do not.

Representative Nita M. Lowey, a Democrat from Westchester County, said polls suggested that female candidates have, on average, a three percentage point advantage over male candidates on characteristics like honesty, sincerity and caring.

"Women have a better reputation," said former Representative Bella Abzug. "People trust women; they think they are less corrupt."

Issue of Toughness

The downside, however, is that female candidates must prove they are as "tough" as men, without getting tagged with adjectives like "abrasive."

Or, as Ms. Abzug, a veteran of many winning and losing campaigns, put it: "The man is tough and the woman is shrill. They'll use words like 'strident and abrasive' for women when they could just as easily use 'tough and courageous.'"

State Senator Lana Pollack, a Michigan Democrat who won 45 percent of the vote in a losing race for Congress last year, said the hardest thing for female candidates is to square contradictory expectations of them as women and as would-be leaders.

But women say they still have to prove they're as 'tough' as men.

Male candidates, she said, can always gain points by suggesting that a woman is not tough enough and by arguing that she could not possibly understand the problems of men in occupations like construction work. "They'll say, 'She's never driven a road grader.'" Senator Pollack said, without stopping to wonder how many male candidates had ever driven road graders.

Geraldine A. Ferraro, the 1984 Democratic nominee for Vice President, offered a third aphorism to describe female candidates' difficulties. "When a man gets elected to public office, he's got the presumption of competence," she said. "When a woman gets elected to public office, she's got the burden of proof."

Outlook Promising, Caucus Says

At the caucus's workshops, one much-discussed approach to the "toughness problem" was the use of hard issues like crime and drugs to

send the message that a woman understands no less than a man when it is time to get tough.

Ms. Ferraro said she used this approach in her first campaign for Congress in 1978. A former prosecutor, Ms. Ferraro ran under the slogan, "Finally, a tough Democrat." She won.

Mildred Jeffrey, a founder of the caucus, said the outlook for women running for Federal office was highly promising, given how many women have already made it to state legislatures and mayoralties, where Federal candidacies are often started.

The caucus directory of elected officials found that women already account for more than a quarter of state legislators in eight states: Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin.

In New York, women account for 11.4 percent of state legislators. They account for 9.2 percent in New Jersey and 21.9 percent in Connecticut.

Both Representative Lowey and Ms. Abzug said the rise in the number of female mayors is especially important, since voters who watch women run things in a city are likely to become increasingly comfortable with the idea of women at all levels of politics.

Article published in the *New York Times* in 1989

Dionne Jr., E. J., "Women Make Gains in Attaining

Office." *New York Times*, August 8, 1989, vol.

cxxviii, no. 47,956. p. 12.

Excerpts from the Article:

WOMEN, POWER AND POLITICS by Jane Perlez

"Women aren't listening to males anymore on how to vote," says Stuart Spencer, the veteran Republican strategist now plotting the course of Mr. Reagan's campaign. "For years, you could predict voting patterns on what men were going to do. You can't do it anymore. It's a reflection of women in the work force. It's a reflection of the more women that are on their own, the more rights they've had, the more independence they've had."

There are considerable political risks of putting a woman on the ticket, the main one being that no one has much idea how it would play. Political analysts say opinion polls on the subject are fairly unreliable. "It is difficult to test the hypothesis," says Donald R. Kinder, an associate professor of political science and psychology at the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. But he adds that, extrapolating from his research on racial prejudice, he believes there are "generalized and diffuse objections to women in conspicuously powerful political positions."

Mr. Reagan's re-election effort is trying a number of other things to shore up support. The party has recruited women, even those who disagree with the President's opposition to an equal rights amendment, to run for local and state office. The theory is that women voters will be encouraged by these women candidates to vote a straight party ticket. Keeping television imagery in mind, state Republican parties are being encouraged to achieve an equal balance of male and female delegates at the Dallas convention. In 1980, 71 percent of the Republican delegates were male

Published in the *New York Times* in 1984

The year in which this article was written, 1984, was also the same year the first woman candidate for vice president (Geraldine Ferraro) was running with presidential candidate Walter Mondale for the Democratic Party. They lost in to President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George H. W. Bush.

Perlez, Jane., "WOMEN, POWER AND POLITICS." *New York Times*, June 24, 1984, vol. cxxii, no. 46,085. p. 22.

Excerpts from the article: "Political Culture and Female Political Representation" (1981)

RECENT RESEARCH into the determinants of female representation has emphasized that political structures influence the likelihood that women will be elected to state legislatures and city councils.¹ These studies demonstrate that women tend to hold legislative seats in states and communities where legislatures are least professional and legislative service least desirable. Explanations of these phenomena are twofold. First, female office seekers may encounter stiffer male opposition in states and communities where legislative compensation is greater, tenure longer and the prestige of office-holding higher.² Second, sex roles may dictate that women, many of whom are homemakers or mothers of young children, have less time or opportunity for legislative service, especially when it is the equivalent of a full-time occupation.³

Pg. 159

Hill, David B. "Political Culture and Female Political Representation." *The Journal of Politics*, vol.

43, no. 1, 1981, pp. 159–168. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2130244.