WHAT YOU KNOW OR WHERE YOU GO: POLITICAL CULTURAL ANALYSIS

OF GENDER STEREOTYPING AND LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Except where reference is made to the work of others, the work described in this dissertation is my own or was done in collaboration with my advisory committee. This dissertation does not include proprietary or classified information.

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WHAT YOU KNOW OR WHERE YOU GO: POLITICAL CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF GENDER STEREOTYPING AND LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Kimberly Deanna Gill

A Dissertation

Submitted to

the Graduate Faculty of

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in Partial Fulfillment of the

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OF GENDER STEREOTYPING AND LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Kimberly Deanna Gill

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Signature of Author

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Date of Graduation

VITA

Kimberly Deanna Gill, daughter of Pastor Richard Marcus Gill, Sr. and Edwina Christie Gill, was born February 16, 1976 in Americus, Georgia. She graduated from Terrell Academy in Dawson, Georgia in 1994. She attended Georgia Southwestern State University and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science in 1998. While working as a court appointed mediator for the Third Judicial Administrative District, an auto line arbitrator for the Better Business Bureau in Columbus, Georgia and a graduate teaching assistant, she attended Auburn University and graduated with a Master of Public Administration degree in 2001. She entered the Auburn University/Auburn University Montgomery Joint Ph.D. Program in Public Administration and Public Policy and continued to work in various capacities including graduate teaching assistant, lab coordinator, research assistant, instructor of record, and associate director of the Women's Leadership Institute.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

WHAT YOU KNOW OR WHERE YOU GO: POLITICAL CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF GENDER STEREOTYPING AND LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Kimberly Deanna Gill

Doctor of Philosophy, May 9, 2009
(M.P.A., Auburn University, 2001)
(B.S., Georgia Southwestern State University, 1998)
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Although women in United States society have made significant strides toward gaining occupational equality with men, it can be argued that gender bias regarding women's role in society and ability to serve in leadership positions hinders certain opportunities for advancement. In spite of the increasing number of women not only in the workforce but also in political office, women's representation in upper leadership positions remains relatively low. However, recent changes in terms of traditional gender roles and the division of labor within the home are becoming more prevalent.

The transition from homemaker to breadwinner has the potential to blur traditional gender role lines and it well could be that this transition allows women greater opportunities to participate more fully in politics and business. However, traditionalistic cultures which are located in the southern regions of the United States cling more tightly to the traditional gender roles and in doing so may hinder the opportunities available for women in terms of leadership advancement in both politics and business.

To make advances in regard to gender equality, policymakers, researchers, and the general public need information pertaining to issues affecting the lives of women. Even though progress has been made in relation to female advancement in both politics and business, many still view the occupations associated with leadership as men's work. Traditionally the model used for leadership analysis and those in leadership positions were men. The problems women face in terms of climbing the leadership ladder may in part be related to perceptions of appropriate gender roles and to a degree a result of socialization.

Obtaining information relating to the degree of adherence to traditional gender roles by certain political cultures (primarily traditionalistic) can assist in determining not only what obstacles women face in these areas in terms of obtaining leadership positions but also contribute gaining greater insight in regards to what may be hindering our next generation of women leaders. The purpose of this work is to highlight areas which through reinforcement of traditional gender roles potentially inhibit female advancement to top leadership positions. More specifically states with dominant traditional political cultures allow for less avenues of advancement and by way of public opinion create additional barriers. The foundation for this work builds on the notion that states displaying primarily traditionalistic cultures will be more likely to reinforce prescribed gender roles in terms of "proper" behaviors, attitudes, abilities, traits, aspirations, and occupations. There are several theories from a variety of disciplines which contribute to the growing field of gender studies. It is with this in mind that perhaps a broader understanding of societal perceptions in relation to female leadership advancement and unseen barriers may assist in preparing the next generation of women leaders.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is, in part, a reflection of my life experiences. It has been said on numerous occasions, my father should have had two boys rather than a boy and a girl. However, I consider myself fortunate to have been blessed with parents who supplied me with tools befitting my personality and taught me how to use them; encouraging my individuality rather than restricting my interests. To my mother and father, you have my love, adoration, respect, and immeasurable gratitude for the opportunities you have given me. To my husband, Mr. Jason Westbrook, it has been a long journey but you have been there every step of the way. Your love, support, encouragement, understanding, and patience are and always have been sources of inspiration and motivation. Thank you for believing in me and yes I am finally done.

This work would not have been possible without the guidance of my chair, Dr. Gerry Gryski, it is not often one finds an advisor, mentor, confidant, motivator, therapist, and most importantly a friend. I would like to express my gratitude to the members of my major committee: Dr. Ted Becker for the many interesting and stimulating conversations along the way; Dr. Cindy Bowling and Dr. Maria Witte for truly epitomizing women in leadership positions; and Dr. Thomas Vocino for his editing expertise. For the countless hours spent devoted to this work in various aspects I am indebted to Mr. Paul Wayne Jackson, Jr. Despite all the assistance, I alone am responsible for the content including any errors or omissions which may unwittingly remain.

Style manual or journal used Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, Fifth Edition.

Computer software used Microsoft Word 2007, Microsoft Excel 2007

Statistical package software used SPSS Version 16

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

> "Men are raised to play football, to bash their heads and come back for more. Women are raised to stand back. We aren't raised to be risk takers."- Representative Sue Myrick (R-NC, 1995-present)-(Foerstel, 1999).

Although women in United States society have made significant strides toward gaining occupational equality with men, it can be argued that gender bias regarding women's role in society and ability to serve in leadership positions hinders certain opportunities for advancement. In spite of the increasing number of women not only in the workforce but also in political office, women's representation in upper leadership positions remains relatively low. In terms of seeking political office, one of the most common explanations for this number is that the constraints of traditional gender roles and home responsibilities prevent women from pursuing office (Woolf, 2007; Hughes & Peek, 1986; Welch, 1977; Lawless & Fox, 2005). However, recent changes in terms of traditional gender roles and the division of labor within the home are becoming more prevalent.

The transition from homemaker to breadwinner has the potential to blur traditional gender role lines and it well could be that this transition allows women greater

opportunities to participate more fully in politics and business. However, traditionalistic cultures which are located in the southern regions of the United States cling more tightly to the traditional gender roles and in doing so may hinder the opportunities available for women in terms of leadership advancement in both politics and business.

To make advances in regard to gender equality, policymakers, researchers, and the general public need information pertaining to issues affecting the lives of women. Even though progress has been made in relation to female advancement in both politics and business, many still view the occupations associated with leadership as men's work. Traditionally the model used for leadership analysis and those in leadership positions were men. The problems women face in terms of climbing the leadership ladder may in part be related to perceptions of appropriate gender roles and to a degree a result of socialization.

Obtaining information relating to the degree of adherence to traditional gender roles by certain political cultures (primarily traditionalistic) can assist in determining not only what obstacles women face in these areas in terms of obtaining leadership positions but also contribute gaining greater insight in regards to what may be hindering our next generation of women leaders. The purpose of this work is to highlight areas which through reinforcement of traditional gender roles potentially inhibit female advancement to top leadership positions. More specifically states with dominant traditional political cultures allow for less avenues of advancement and by way of public opinion create additional barriers. The foundation for this work builds on the notion that states displaying primarily traditionalistic cultures will be more likely to reinforce prescribed

gender roles in terms of "proper" behaviors, attitudes, abilities, traits, aspirations, and occupations. There are several theories from a variety of disciplines which contribute to the growing field of gender studies. It is with this in mind that perhaps a broader understanding of societal perceptions in relation to female leadership advancement and unseen barriers may assist in preparing the next generation of women leaders.

How Do We Perceive? - Social Learning Theory and Societal Implications

Society often forces people into certain roles simply by expecting that those roles are proper and enforcing them. Messages about what is appropriate based on gender are so strong that even when children are exposed to different attitudes and experiences, they generally revert to stereotyped choices (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1992). Gender role stereotypes are widely-held beliefs about those behaviors and characteristics (Singleton, 1987). The stereotypes to a large extent become the roles.

Social learning theory predicts that individuals need not directly be told what their expected roles are but rather assimilate to the prescribed roles through parental and societal forces (Long, 1990). The theory that society and not biology determines gender roles rectifies the problems inherent in the biological view. If gender roles are culturally transmitted and can be either refuted or reinforced, then the degree of socialization can vary based on culture.

Current and past changes in gender roles can, moreover, be explained by the fact that, since cultures change, roles that are adaptive to each culture will also change over time as well as perceptions pertaining to proper role assignment. By discerning the degree

of deviation from traditional gender role assignment, one can assess at least to a degree what socialization stigmas exists and how they vary by culture. In addition, socialization takes place primarily beginning in childhood thus to combat issues relating to stereotyping gender roles and perceived expectations one must also consider and take into account the degree of change in an area's public opinion.

Opinions concerning even gender preference demonstrate a clear preference for a boy over a girl thus resulting in a gender gap and furthering the argument that many contend that males are afforded greater opportunities in society. There are several explanations as to why people would prefer a boy rather than a girl if they could only have one child. This is in part based on theories of sexism and the expectations of boys.

In addition, societal preconceived notions are at work in that several of the categories based on the reasons why a preference for one gender over another include negative attitudes about girls, emotionally and physically weak, more difficult to raise, and high maintenance. It is also apparent that the preference for a male child also stems, in part, due to the traditional role in terms of family lineage. Preference for one gender over another can be a result of socialization to a degree in that, based on perceptions, many view sex differences as a measure of opportunities for leadership latter in life.

Given a choice of the gender of a hypothetical only child, Americans continue to have a slight preference for a boy rather than a girl, an attitude that has changed little in 66 years of Gallup polling. The first time this was asked in 1941, the question was as follows: "Suppose you could only have one child. Would you prefer that it be a boy or a

girl?" Of the 65% who made a choice, 37% express preference for a boy, while 28% express preference for a girl.

Thus, a nine percentage point "gender gap" in favor of a male child was created over a female child. In terms of justification, favoring boy over a girl, some of the answers include: boys carry on the family name, easier to raise, stronger, better chance in the world, and not as high maintenance. Prior to entering the workforce or any type of leadership position, certain preconceived notions regarding abilities, attributes, and expectations are already in place.

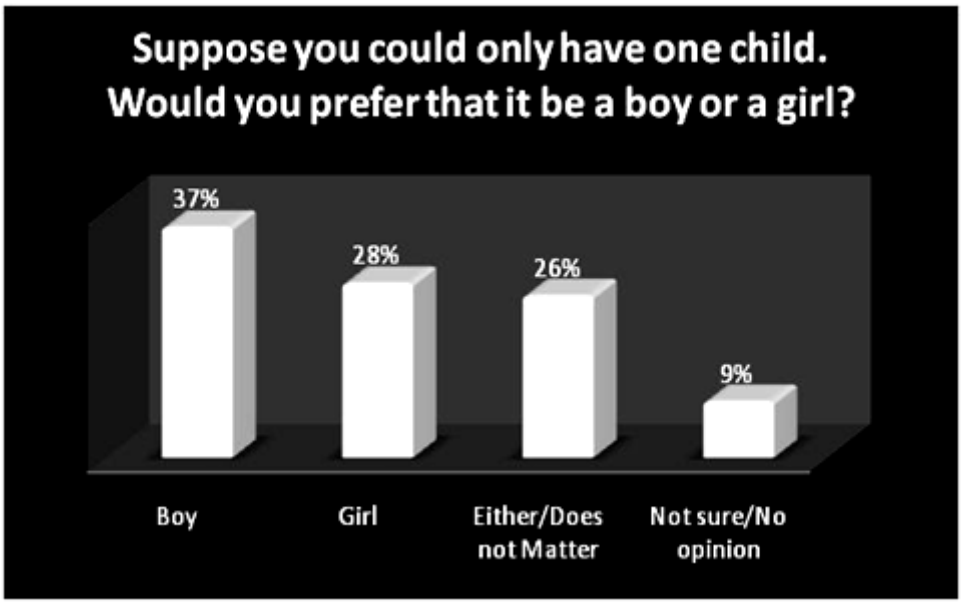

FIGURE 1A Gallup Poll, 2007 Americans Continue to Express Slight Preference for Boys http://www.gallup.com/poll/28045/Americans-Continue-Express-Slight-Preference-Boys.aspx

There have been some fluctuations over the nine times Gallup has asked this question since March 1941, but the basic pattern remains the same. At no point in the history of the asking of this question has there been a plurality preference for a girl,

although in 1990 the male preference gap was only four percentage points. The widest gender gap was a 15 percentage point difference which occurred in 1947 and again in 2000. Results are based on telephone interviews nationally with 1,007 adults, aged 18 and older, conducted June 11-14, 2007 by Gallup.

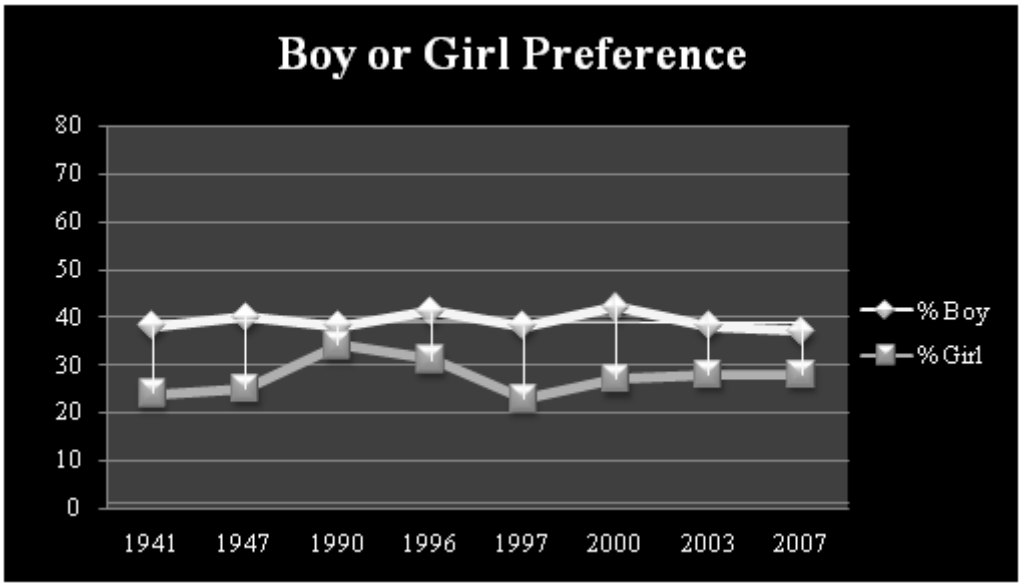

FIGURE 1B Gallup Poll, 2007 Americans Continue to Express Slight Preference for Boyshttp://www.gallup.com/poll/28045/Americans-Continue-Express-Slight-Preference-Boys.aspx * For results based on the total sample of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is ±3 percentage points.

Table 1. Gender Preference

Suppose you could only have one child. Would you prefer that it be a boy or a girl?	Boy	Girl	No preference/ Don't know	Net "boy" preference
Jun 11-14, 2007	%	%	%	%
Men	45	21	27	+24
Women	31	35	25	-4
Jul 18-20, 2003				
Men	45	19	29	+26
Women	32	36	26	-4
Dec 2-4, 2000				
Men	55	18	21	+37
Women	32	35	28	-3

*Results are based on telephone interviews with 1,007 national adults, aged 18 and older, conducted June 11-14, 2007. For results based on the total sample of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is ±3 percentage points.

Each respondent who expressed a preference for a boy or a girl was asked to explain his or her choice. Below are the categorized responses of the individuals who expressed a preference for a boy over a girl and vice versa demonstrating that certain preconceived notions continue to exist.

Table 2. Boy Preferences Rational

Why would you prefer to have a boy?	Percentage
Men can relate to males better/have more in common	23
To carry on the family name	20
Boys are easier to raise	17
Respondent already has a girl/girls	9
Girls too emotionally and physically weak	5
Prefer to have a boy/Want a boy	5
Respondent already has a boy/boys	5
Boys have a better chance out in the big world	4
Don't have to worry about pregnancy	3
Girls are high maintenance/more expensive to raise	2
Other	6
No reason in particular	3
Don't know/Refused	4

* Asked of those who say they would prefer to have a boy if they could only have one child - Based on 341 adults who say they would prefer to have a boy if they could only have one child

Table 3. Girl Preferences Rational

Why would you prefer to have a girl?	Percentage
Mothers can relate/have a closer relationship with daughters	20
Respondent already has a girl/girls	17
Girls are easier to raise	14
Respondent already has a boy/boys	9
Prefer to have a girl/Want a girl	8
Girls are pretty/can dress them up/buy them nice things	6
Girls are strong and independent	5
Girls carry stronger family bonds	4
Daddy's little girl/Girls and fathers have special bond	3
The world is kinder to girls/women	3
Other	8
No reason in particular	4
Don't know/Refused	4

* Asked of those who say they would prefer to have a girl if they could only have one child - Based on 221 adults who say they would prefer to have a girl if they could only have one child

A child's sense of self and to some degree sense of self-worth is a result of the multitude of ideas, attitudes, behaviors and beliefs to which he or she is exposed. The information that surrounds a child is internalized and is formulated within the family arena through parent-child interactions, role modeling, and reinforcement of desired behaviors and through parental approval or disapproval (Santrock, 1994). As children move into the larger world of friends and school, many of their ideas and beliefs are

reinforced by those around them. A further reinforcement of acceptable and appropriate behavior is shown to children through the media. Through all these socialization agents children have a tendency to learn gender stereotyped behavior. Traditionalistic cultures may reinforce the notion that a woman's place is still in the home and this can be reflected in public opinion and pose a serious barrier to opportunities available for advancement.

Is it not usually the damsel in distress awaiting her prince on the white horse to rescue her? In the famous nursery rhyme "What Are Little Boys Made Of" points out little girls are made of "everything nice" which reinforces the manner in which young ladies should behave-nicely (The Real Mother Goose, 1916).

> "What are little boys made of?
> What are little boys made of?
> Snips and snails, and puppy-dogs' tails,
> That's what little boys are made of.
> What are little girls made of, made of?
> What are little girls made of?
> Sugar and spice, and everything nice,
> That's what little girls are made of."

Children learn at a very early age what it means to be a boy or a girl in our society. Children experience the process of gender role socialization albeit the experiences do vary. However, as children grow the gender stereotypes they are exposed to at home are reinforced by other elements in their environment and are thus perpetuated throughout childhood and on into adolescence (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990). Parents encourage their sons and daughters to participate in sex-typed activities, including doll

playing and engaging in housekeeping activities for girls and playing with trucks and engaging in sports activities for boys (Eccles, Jacobs, & Harold, 1990).

Even children's toy preferences have been found to be significantly related to parental sex-typing (Etaugh & Liss, 1992; Henshaw, Kelly, & Gratton, 1992; Paretti & Sydney, 1984), with parents providing gender-differentiated toys and rewarding play behavior that is gender stereotyped (Carter, 1987). Thus, even at an early age boys and girls are socialized and treated differently in society.

Public perceptions of society's general treatment of women in 2007 indicated that for the last several years public opinion has changed very little. The percentage of all Americans who say they are satisfied with the way women are treated in society is 69% as of 2007 according to Gallup (2007) 24, 2007.

Table 4. Equal Opportunities

Percentage Saying Women Have Equal Job Opportunities as Men	Republican Women	Democratic Women	Republican Men	Democratic Men
	%	%	%	%
2006	63	27	76	43
2007	55	47	69	56
Change	-8	+20	-7	+13

*Results are based on telephone interviews with 2,388 adults nationwide, aged 18 and older, conducted June 4-24, 2007, including oversamples of blacks and Hispanics that are weighted to reflect their proportions in the general population. For results based on the total sample of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is ±5 percentage points.

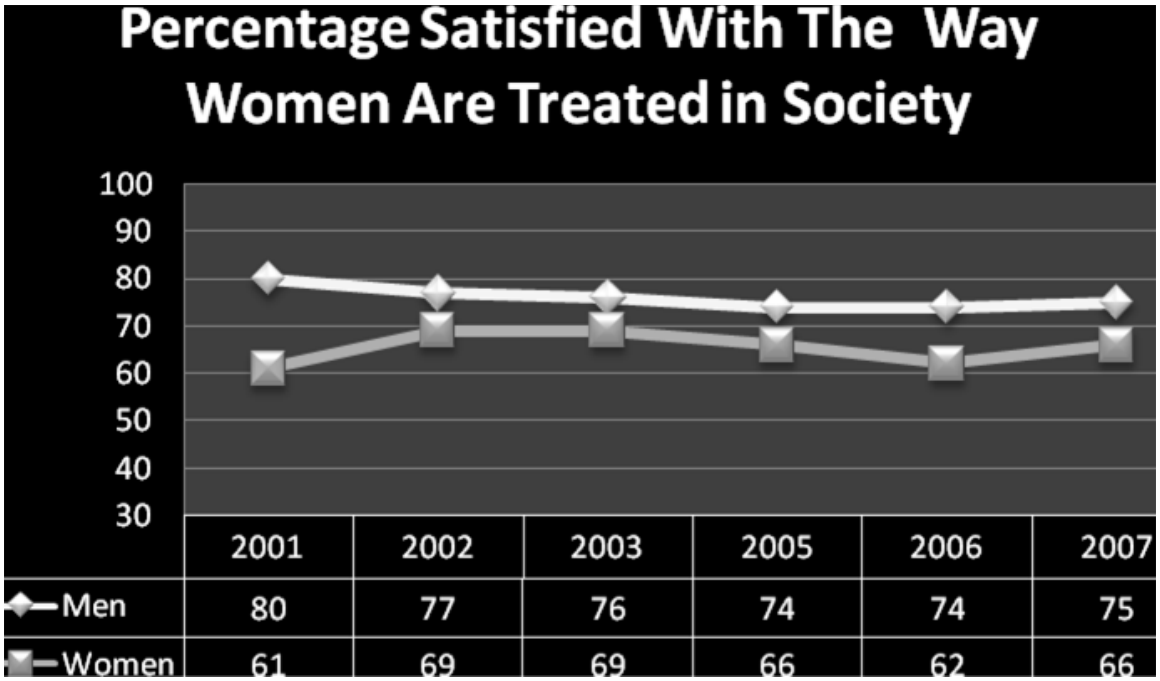

FIGURE 1C Gallup Poll, 2007 Gallup's annual Minority Rights and Relations survey Democrats Are Encouraged About Women's Job Rights http://www.gallup.com/poll/28117/Democrats-Encouraged-About-Womens-Job-Rights.aspx

*Results are based on telephone interviews with 2,388 adults nationwide, aged 18 and older, conducted June 4-24, 2007, including oversamples of blacks and Hispanics that are weighted to reflect their proportions in the general population. For results based on the total sample of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is ±5 percentage points.

Perceptions pertaining to the appropriate gender roles may contribute to the lack of women in leadership positions. *Women "Take Care," Men "Take Charge"*, a report by Catalyst, argues that the effects of gender-based stereotyping can be devastating, potentially undermining women's capacity to lead, and posing serious challenges to women's career advancement. Both men and women respondents cast women as better at

stereotypically feminine nurturing such as supporting and rewarding. Both men and women asserted that men excel at more conventionally masculine being in charge skills such as influencing superiors and delegating responsibility. The degree of socialization in regards to the appropriate gender roles can vary by location as well as culture. Have times changed or does it depend on where one goes as to how much change has occurred?

Certain preconceived notions (stereotypes) engrained and rooted in an area's political culture could have an effect on the ease and ability of women to obtain leadership positions in politics and business. Gender roles are "socially and culturally defined prescriptions and beliefs about the behavior and emotions of men and women" (Anselmi & Law 1998, p. 195). The term 'stereotype' denotes a set of beliefs about the characteristics presumed to be typical of members of a group in society, either racial, national, professional, religious, age or gender, that share certain common interests, values or characteristics. Stereotypes distinguish one group from another, by negative or positive attributes, accurately or inaccurately assigned, very often subjectively to a group.

Cultural context makes a difference in the way people make decisions and decide what occupations to pursue. Carter and Cook (1992) assert that "from a cultural frame of reference, work is a functional aspect of life in that individuals contribute their skills and labor to their cultural societies and the maintenance of their families" (p. 199).

When stereotypes are accurate, they help provide useful information in forming expectations to help guide behavior. Contrarily, when over-generalized, inaccurate or exaggerated, they may lead to prejudiced perceptions, evaluations and responses to individuals (Woods & Rhodes, 1992). Such perceptions can be woven into the very fabric

of society, through social customs, norms, religious rules, and cultural myths. Individuals are generally socialized into these roles by parenting, peer observation, from media portrayals and other sources in the immediate environment which may vary based on region.

The attitudes of the population vary and by determining which regions promote the greatest change in gender role perceptions and which regions maintain the status quo will give greater insight into the social constraints placed upon our next generation of women leaders. It should be noted that the attitudes of both men and women have over time become less traditional. However, change is slow and the most change has been noted in the attitudes of younger, highly educated women with highly educated working mothers (McBroom, 1987).

Thus, one may ask what is hindering the acceptance of changing gender roles and how is that affecting the opportunities for advancement for women in positions of leadership both in the public and private spheres.

Research Question

Regardless of gain in the status of women in politics and business, successful leaders are more likely to be men than women. The number of women pursuing careers in politics and business has dramatically increased in recent years yet the upper echelon of both areas still continue to be male dominated. Attitudes can vary in terms of who should lead. There are numerous competing theories that attempt to explain why women are not as present in upper leadership positions in both the public and private sectors. Laws have

been established to prevent discrimination against women in the workplace, yet women still face numerous obstacles to their pursuit of leadership positions.

The vast majority of research tends to focus on the idea of the "glass ceiling"-a barrier of prejudice. Female mangers are not entering the highest leadership positions at the same speed as their male counterparts even though they have comparable qualifications (Burke & McDermid, 1996). Thus the questions arise: are traditional gender role stereotypes hindering female access to senior leadership positions and which political cultures provide the greatest support in terms of opportunities for the advancement of women.

Kent and Moss (1994) contend that although men are slightly more likely than women to be perceived by the public as leaders, gender role has a stronger effect than sex on emergent leadership. An individuals' culturally prescribed role socialization promotes certain types of gender role differences that can potentially constitute powerful individual barriers to career advancement for women. The defining of a woman's place starts early and is deeply ingrained in men and women by the time they reach the workforce and can influence not only career aspirations but work performance/evaluation. In addition, women can be evaluated on role behaviors, traits, physical/emotional characteristics, and occupations all which encompass the societal constraints which can vary by region.

Traditionally, family constraints and obligations have placed limits upon women's ascent up the hierarchal ladder in terms of opportunities for education, training, and experience. However, more women are entering the workforce, obtaining educations in

areas once considered to a man's realm and achieving a work/life balance, but yet the numbers of women in leadership positions do not accurately reflect this.

Thus, in an effort to evaluate what constraints, if any, certain cultures place on women's opportunities to advance in areas of leadership, comparisons based on political culture, number of women in leadership positions and public opinion may assist in locating one avenue where change can take place. By discovering which regions foster greater acceptance of nontraditional gender roles, perhaps a greater understanding of societal constraints can be found as well as a possible means for promoting change in those regions which lag behind.

The degree of socialization which may vary by region and culture has the potential to help explain why certain areas are more likely to encourage and support females in leadership positions whether in politics or business. One view of gender roles states that gender roles and stereotypes develop within a culture and are then perpetuated by that culture. Individuals living traditionalistic cultures to a degree are expected to conform to traditional gender norms and are socialized in manners which constantly reinforce the beliefs and behavior which are prescribed for them and in turn change and deviation from the norm are not as commonly embraced nor supported.

Current and past changes in gender roles can in part be explained as a result of changes within an area's culture. As certain gender roles become more adaptive, society's perception changes and becomes more accepting. However, certain cultures may be more responsive to change than others, traditionalistic political cultures which

dominate the southern regions are hypothesized to be the most resistant to change especially in terms of shifts and acceptance of nontraditional gender roles.

Hypothesis: Dominantly traditionalistic political cultures will have fewer women in leadership positions than those regions which contain states with individualistic or moralistic cultures. Relying on Daniel Elazar's classification scheme in terms of political culture, it can be hypothesized that individualistic states and moralistic states will have the highest number of females in leadership positions, while the least amount of females in leadership positions will be located in the traditionalistic states as a result of a higher degree of reinforced stereotypical perceptions of traditional gender roles and maintenance of the status quo. Culture reinforces social norms by emphasizing roles consistent with social expectations that may differ based on region.

Regions displaying a general public consensus of women's traditional gender roles/women's proper place (traditionalistic cultures) may continue to discourage active female participation in politics and business while others (individualist and moralistic) displaying public opinion shifts including a greater acceptance of nontraditional roles for women can allow greater opportunities for female advancement. This societal cultural shift can be measured by various public opinion data and is visible via the number of women in leadership positions both public and private spheres. In addition to the above hypothesis, public opinion in traditionalistic political cultures may reflect to a lesser degree acknowledgment of changing family roles. Women while maintaining a career are also in traditionalistic cultures expected to maintain the home.

This type of expectation may limit the opportunities available to women in terms of achieving not only work/life balance but also ascent up the political or corporate ladder. It may also be argued that in addition to public opinion, women's socioeconomic standing is a contributing factor in terms of opportunities for advancement. This is measured utilizing information pertaining to the status of women in the states. Some cultures provide for a greater degree of opportunities in that the greater socioeconomic autonomy for women may allow for greater opportunities for advancement. It can be argued that traditionalistic cultures hinder opportunities for women to a degree as a result of a decrease in socioeconomic autonomy.

What Do We Know? Current Trends in Female Representation

In recent decades, significant steps have been taken to improve education, health, family life, economic opportunities and political empowerment for women. Although women have gained access to public political positions and middle management and supervisory positions, women continue to remain a rarity in top positions. Think of women in leadership positions in terms of an actual ladder, there is a warning posted on all ladders that stipulates: "Danger do not stand on or above this step or rung." The evidence of advancement in relation to women in politics and in business in the last several decades is notable; however, each successful step up reveals less diversity in terms of gender composition.

The lack of women in leadership positions was once explained in terms of the "pipeline problem," which simply stated refers to the lack of women available with the appropriate education and experience. However, the educational attainment level of

working women age 25 to 64 rose from 1970 to 2005 with 3 in 10 women in the labor force holding college degrees compared to about 1 in 10 in 1970 (*Women in the Labor Force: A Databook,* US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006).

Seeing as how the workforce is growing increasingly diverse, with a 46% composition of women, one may infer that more women are climbing to the top of the leadership ladder as well. Women have greatly increased their presence in the paid labor force since 1950 and they are projected to continue this increase (Fullerton, 1999). Since 1965, the proportion of business, medicine, and law majors who are women has risen substantially (Astin, Oseguera, Sax, & Korn, 2002). However, participation in the workforce does not translate into holding public office or access to upper management.

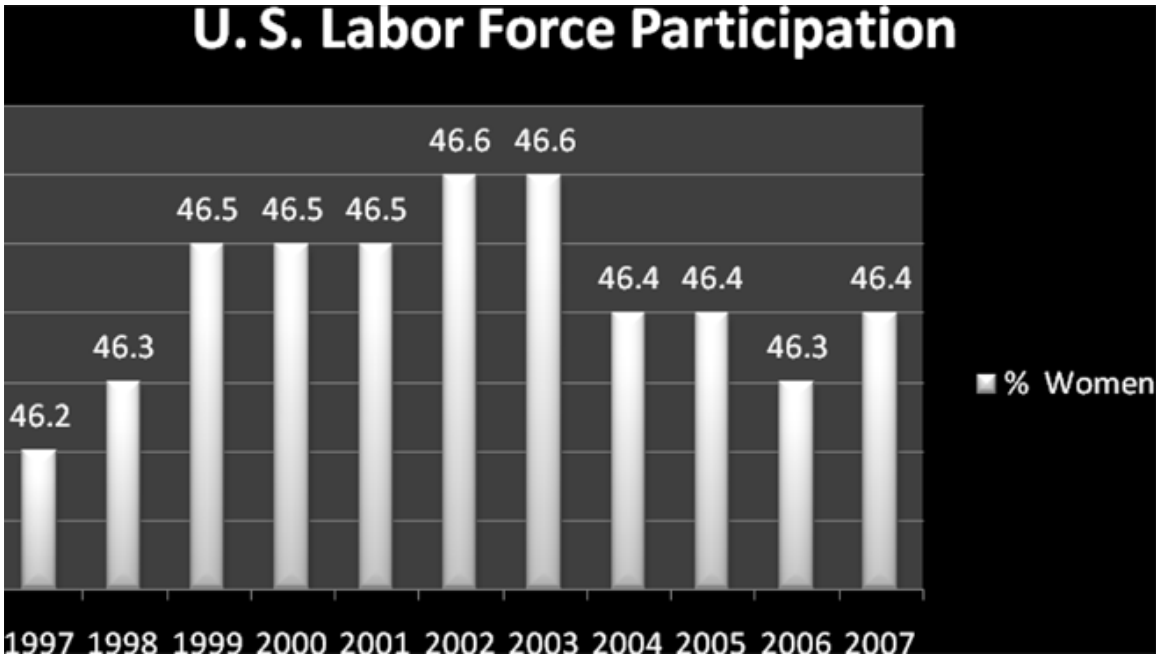

FIGURE 1D Source: US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007, http://www.bls.gov/

In addition to the growing increase of women in the workforce with proper qualifications for seeking leadership positions, women in politics currently do not reflect equitable representation in terms of gender population demographics. In regard to statewide elective executive positions, 76 women held executive offices across the country in 2007 (*Women Officeholders Facts and Findings*, Center for American Women and Politics, 2007).

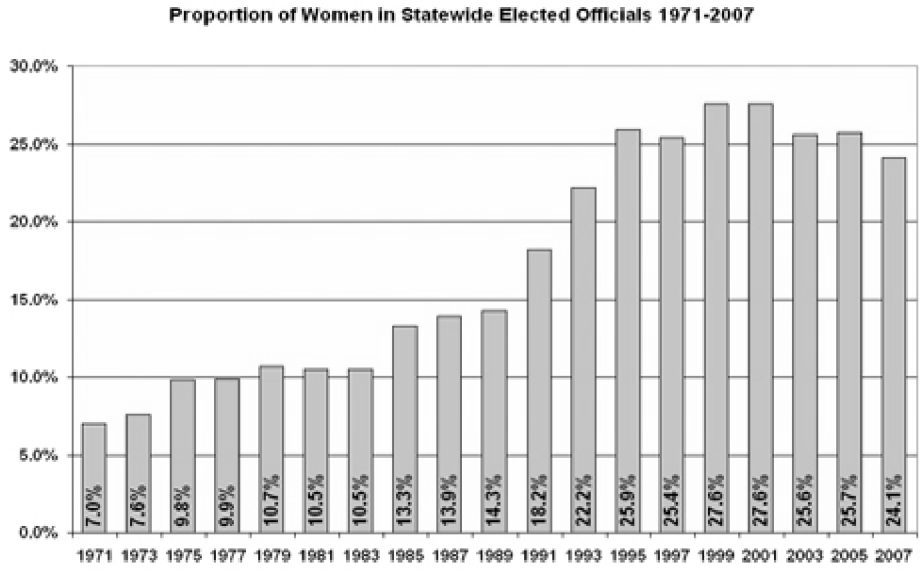

FIGURE 1E Women in Statewide Elected Officials. Data from CAWP, 2008 http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/index.php

In 2008, 1,746, or 23.7% of the 7,382 state legislators in the United States were women. Women held 423, or 21.5%, of the 1,971 state senate seats and 1,323, or 24.5%, of the 5,411 state house or assembly seats. Since 1971, the number of women serving in state legislatures has more than quintupled (*Women Officeholders Facts and Findings*,

Center for American Women and Politics, 2008). However, as a percentage of Congressional membership from 1789 until 2008, women comprise only 2%.

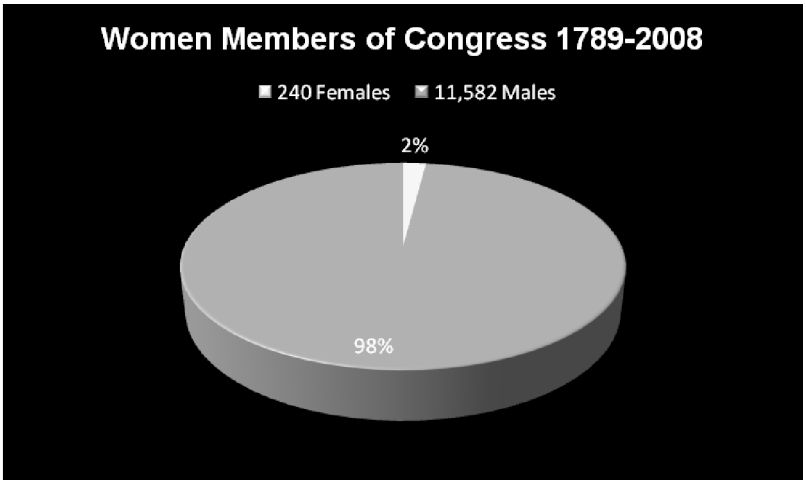

FIGURE 1F Women in Congress: Data from CAWP, 2008
http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/index.php

In addition, at the state level in terms of political cabinet appointments women still lag behind. Politics has long been viewed as a world of bargaining and logrolling where difficult decisions are made. "The image of politics as something dirty, where the real action takes place in smoke-filled backrooms and bars, is a prominent theme in the American political culture" (Diamond, 1977, p.73).

Major policy and budgetary decisions are made by the appointed officials who are implementers of electoral power. In 2007, male cabinet appointees outnumber women cabinet appointees in the states by a ratio of 2 to 1. On the cabinet level, women held a net average of 31% of appointments in the states. No state cabinet was comprised of an equal number of women and men. "Traditional" positions are still the rule, with women

holding more than 50% of cabinet positions in areas such as education and human services and less than 20% in areas such as military affairs and corrections (*Where Women Are Today: The Leadership Gap***,** Women's Campaign Foundation, 2007).

Similar to female representation in politics, female representation in upper management in the private sector is not reflective of the number of women in the labor force. Catalyst, a nonprofit organization, is dedicated to building inclusive environments and expanding opportunities for women at work. The 2005 Catalyst Census of Women Corporate Officers and Top Earners of the Fortune 500 found that between 2002 and 2005, the total number of women corporate officers increased by only 0.7 percentage points. The 2006 Catalyst Census shows that, even though women made up over 50% of the management, professional, and related occupations, only 15.6% of Fortune 500 corporate officers and 14.6% of Fortune 500 board directors were women.

Women held 14.8% of all Fortune 500 board seats in 2007 compared to 14.6 % in 2006. There was virtually no change in the numbers of companies with zero, one, two and three or more women on their boards, and the percentage of women of color director positions essentially held steady at 3.0% compared to 3.1% in 2006. Women held 15.4% of corporate officer positions in 2007, compared to 15.6% in 2006.

Women in top-paying positions stayed the same at 6.7%. There was a 15.6% increase in the number of companies that had no women corporate officers, from 64 companies in 2006 to 74 companies in 2007, and the percentage of women in line positions which often lead to top leadership jobs fell by 1.8 percentage points, from

29.0% to 27.2%. If the current trend continues, it could take roughly 40 years for women to gain equality with men in terms of representation in the United States.

FIGURE 1G (2006) Source: Catalyst Census of Women Corporate Officers and Top Earners of the Fortune 500: Catalyst Census of Women Board Directors of Fortune 500

FIGURE 1H (2008) Source: Catalyst Census of Women Corporate Officers and Top Earners of the Fortune 500: Catalyst Census of Women Board Direcotrs of Fortune 500

Although women have made significant gains in the quest for equal opportunity in the political and economic spheres of life, barriers to advancement still exist. One particular area in need of assessment is that of the hurdles created when cultures reinforce the notion of traditional gender roles and stereotypes not only occupations but also individuals. Traditionalistic cultures by maintaining the status quo, can negatively impact opportunities for women to advance in both politics and business.

Where Should We Go? Political Culture and Perceptions

Instead of continually debating the importance of what you know versus who you know, something that can be added to the mix is where you go. Political culture can be used as a basis to help explain the difference in women's status in regards to the percent of state legislators who are women and the percent of women on corporate boards. Although state legislators are elected (mass public opinion) and women on corporate boards (private elites) are generally appointed, the two are measured separately and used only to further the argument that barriers are placed in both spheres and visible more so in the traditionalistic cultures. Almond and Verba find that "the political orientations that make up the civic culture are closely related to general social and interpersonal orientations," so much so they refer to "social trust and cooperativeness" as a "component of the civic culture" (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 13, 493, 490). That being said, the same influences relating to perceptions of the skills and types of individuals in political leadership roles may also be applied to the private sector.

According to Lucian Pye, "a political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the individuals who currently make

up the system; and thus it is rooted equally in public events and private experiences" (Pye & Verba, 1965, p. 8). Gender stereotypes remain and are especially resistant to change, stereotypes "have remained essentially stable over time in different cultures, even as attitudes about women's rights and roles have changed" (Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, 2002, p. 178).

"Everybody does, indeed, have to be somewhere, and where one is plays a crucial role in determining who and what one is and what one does (or, in other words, how one behaves)"(Elazar, 1994, p.1). Elazar contends that political culture factors are influential in shaping the operations of the national, state, and local political systems in three ways: (1) by molding the perceptions of the political community (the citizens, the politicians, and the public officials) as to the nature and purposes of politics and its expectations of government and the political process; (2) by influencing the recruitment of specific kinds of people to become active in government and politics; and (3) by subtly directing the actual way in which the art of government is practiced by citizens, politicians, and public officials in the light of their perceptions (Elazar, 1994). Thus, political culture can influence people's perceptions as well as expectations regarding not only the role of politics but also the roles and qualifications of the politician.

Elazar's cultures are distinct from other political differences among the states, (Erikson, Wright, & McIver, 1993) however the cultural types are linked to many other features of state politics and government. Moralistic states tend to show high political participation, competitive parties, strong merit personnel systems, and liberal and innovative programming. Individualistic states tend to fall in the middle in these respects

while showing strong parties and more centralized administration than the moralistic group. Traditionalistic states show less of these things (Fitzpatrick & Hero, 1988; Johnson, 1976; Morgan & Watson, 1991; Sharkansky, 1969).

Ira Sharkansky (1969) was the first to test the effect of Elazar's political culture typology on state politics (Morgan & Watson, 1991). Sharkansky (1969) develops a nine-point categorization of political culture as a quantification of Elazar's typology. Sharkansky's scale provides a numeric assignment for each political culture. By taking the average of the regional political cultures within states, a numeric variable is assigned to each state, determining its political culture label. Combining these techniques with Elazar's differing political cultures provides a means to compare political culture among states. Sharkansky confirmed results on 2/3 of the 23 variables tested. However, even though Sharkansky's measures remained statistically significant even when socioeconomic status was controlled for he concludes his findings were not "definitive" but rather "suggestive" (Sharkansky, 1969, p. 83). Tests of Elazar's typology produce generally good results when applied to states and local governments. Following Elazar and Sharkansky's research, a wide variety of research studies tested the political typology of political culture and most but not all were quantitative in nature.

One major critic of Elazar is that his categories tend to reflect the beliefs of the political elites more so than those of the general public (Kincaid, 1980; Welch & Peters, 1980). However, that is appropriate in that in traditionalistic cultures the opinions and views of leaders seem to be more significant than those of the ordinary citizens (Tweedie, 1994; Uslaner & Weber, 1975). The traditionalistic political culture reinforces a

hierarchical society as part of the natural order in that those at the top of the social structure are the ones responsible for taking an active role in government which can act to limit female representation.

It is widely believed that gender role attitudes are more traditional in the southern United States than elsewhere in the nation. The ideal lady is on who is devoted to God and her family, focused on activities of the home, and uninterested in business and politics-has been an important part of southern culture for over 200 years (Scott, 1970; Taylor, 1961). Traditionalistic cultures dominate the southern region of the United States and have long been dominated by a few powerful men. Historically, as other political cultures moved further toward industrialization and modernization, traditionalistic cultures fought to keep their traditional values. These values centered around the plantation myth of "moonlight and magnolia," and they fought to keep their culture and way of life by maintaining the existing social structures. What changes have occurred in terms of female liberalization from traditional role constraints for traditionalistic cultures is a result more of external national forces and trends rather than internal acceptance of change and promotion of change. Traditionalistic cultures are shifting from the agrarian economy of old to a new economy based on industry, from ruralism to urbanism, and from unskilled to skilled labor however; traditional values do not shift as quickly.

Research on traditionalistic states and Southern women provides a strong basis for the argument that location does indeed impact on women in traditionally male roles. Clinton (1995) maintained that Southern women construct their psychological and social selves within the confines of fixed, repressive gender stereotypes and occupational roles.

The same author (1994) argues that Southern women have been seriously handicapped by sexism in history in general and Southern history in particular. She describes a regional chauvinism in women's history and made a case for the tremendous impact of race, gender and class in a region of rigid, extreme economic and social nuances. Daniell (1980) in On Sin, Sex, and Suicide in the Deep South stipulates, "One's success as a women was immediately assessed by Southern standards: an added pound, a less flattering hairdo, the state of one's wardrobe were all commented upon becoming the cause and effect of the failed husband, child, and marriage" (p. 6). She went further to contend that a Southern woman's power comes only through a powerful man and that the only acceptable outlet for a woman's ambition was religious fervor. Strict adherence to religions is another characteristic of traditionalistic cultures which assists in maintaining and reinforcing traditional gender roles.

Lynxwiler and Wilson (1988) lay out the foundation for the Code of the New Southern Belle: Never forget your status lest others forget theirs; Honor the "natural differences" between men and women; Don't be a slut; Remain loyal to the Southern tradition; You can never be too rich or too thin; Pretty is as pretty does. The researchers argue that these stereotypes function as controls in the lives of Southern women, monitor their behavior and restrict their presentation. The traditionalistic political culture is an elitist construct that tries to maintain the existing social order. There is an established hierarchy where those at the top dominate politics and government, discouraging any public participation that might undermine the politically powerful. Little initiative is taken by traditionalists simply because they must maintain the status quo rather than

encourage changes in government. Traditionalists prefer hierarchical control and established elite power-holders (Elazar, 1984).

Organization and Research Explanation

In Chapter Two, a comprehensive review of the literature related to gender studies is carried out, with emphasis on factors that best explain the origins and implications of stereotypes. Primary areas of focus include: gender role and identity, prescriptive and descriptive stereotypes, traditional role reinforcement, female emergence in the fields of politics and management, leadership styles and evaluations, and the significance of region in terms of political culture. The differing areas are explored and provide the conceptual framework for analysis. Chapter Three presents the methodology which uses formal hypotheses and explanatory factors, and describes the data sources and types. The appropriate statistical techniques are discussed including a consideration of the strengths and weakness of each approach. In addition, the rationale behind each choice is described. Chapter Four presents the results of the analyses in table and textual form with explanatory remarks. Chapter Five restates the hypotheses and identifies the outcomes, offers conclusions and makes suggestions for additional research.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The defining of a woman's place starts early and is deeply ingrained in men and women by the time they reach the workforce and can influence career aspirations and to a degree advancement opportunity. In an effort to evaluate what constraints, if any, certain cultures place on women's opportunities to advance in areas of leadership, comparisons based on political culture, number of women in leadership positions, and public opinion may assist in locating one avenue where change can take place. By discovering which areas foster greater acceptance of nontraditional gender roles, perhaps a greater understanding of societal constraints can be found and addressed in an effort to support the next generation of women leaders.

To look to the future, one must first look to the past and by tracing the progression as well as limitations both societal and institutional one can begin to make changes to address the future. Women are making advances in terms of obtaining leadership positions, but they still face many obstacles and by discovering what hurdles are hindering the climb up the leadership ladder. Perhaps it one day will not be so lonely at the top. One method to understanding the hurdles is to look at where women have been, where they are, and where they are going in terms of differing regional political cultures.

Her Place According to Whom? Gender Roles and Stereotypes

Many theorists believe that perceived gender roles form the basis for the development of gender identity. Haslett, Geis, and Carter (1992) postulate that gender stereotypes are "common, culture wide beliefs about how men and women differ in personal qualities and characteristics" (p. 29). Definitions of masculinity and femininity are learned and these definitions tend to vary between cultures (Kirkpatrick, 1974). It is culture which exacerbates the psychological, social, and moral implication of biological characteristics and traits. "Standardized personality differences between the sexes are…cultural creations to which each generation, male and female are trained to conform" (Mead, 1950, p. 191). Culture reinforces social norms by emphasizing roles consistent with social expectations. However, the degree to which reinforcement may occur varies as well as the magnitude of appropriate gender role expectations based on region.

The word stereotype was first used in 1798 to describe a new procedure which was invented by European printers to permanently copy images (Chang & Kleiner, 2003). Basically, stereotyping means applying a set of behaviors and characteristics common of a group to an individual based only on the assumption that the individual is a member of the group. Stereotypes are "over generalized beliefs about people based on their membership in one of many social categories" (Anselmi & Law, 1998, p. 195). Gender stereotypes vary on four dimensions: role behaviors, traits, physical/emotional characteristics, and occupations (Deaux & Lewis, 1984).

People tend to use stereotypes to help organize information about their social world. Allport (1954) defined a stereotype as an "exaggerated belief associated with a category (that justifies or rationalizes) our conduct in relation to that category" (p. 191). There are profound consequences for individuals who are stereotyped in terms of job choices, education, and personal relationships (Fiske & Taylor, 1984, 1991; Liben & Signorella, 1987).

Leading and Balancing - Work Life Balance

Traditional research indicates that parents and families are the primary social influences that model and communicate values to children (Benson, Donahue, & Erickson, 1989). This belief is explicit in many researchers' theories concerning the development of prejudice in children (Allport, 1954; Marger, 1991). This type of prejudice can lead to preconceived notions about appropriate role behavior and in turn bias one's ability to objectively evaluate a potential leader. People commonly believe that children's and adolescents' prejudiced attitudes are simply reflections of their parents' attitudes. However, these ideas have been challenged by research that finds inconsistencies in the effects of parents' prejudiced attitudes on the development of their children's prejudices (Aboud, 1988). Even though challenged, some still contend that parental influences shape to a degree the attitudes of their offspring. Thus, it may be argued that in traditionalistic cultures where opinions reinforce traditional gender roles that this acceptance and adherence is passed from one generation to the next. Doing so may limit the opportunities available for the next generation of women leaders in areas with traditionalistic political cultures.

Some studies find that children's prejudiced attitudes are moderately influenced by their parents' attitudes, while others have found no significant systematic relationship. Fishbein (2002) summarizes research indicating that fathers have greater influence than mothers on the sex-role behavior and stereotyping of their sons and daughters. Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, and Sameroff (2001) observe that fathers have a greater influence than mothers on their adolescent sons' and daughters' values about sports.

Thus, if children do inherit to a degree certain notions of what jobs are appropriate or what roles should be played in society based on gender from parental influences, then, as was hypothesized, traditionalistic areas would serve to reinforce the already existing norms. Stereotypes or ideals about one’s position in society, especially in terms of traditional roles and, in many cases, division of labor, held by a culture, to a degree, are more likely to be passed down from one generation to another and until opinions change the cycle will continue.

Married couples in America, according to a Gallup's annual Social Series Lifestyle poll, conducted in December 2007, maintain a strong and traditional division of labor. Women continue to be more likely to perform a number of household duties, while men for the most part are primarily responsible for only two (car maintenance and yard work). The survey asked all married respondents to indicate whether they or their spouse were "most likely" to do each of 10 chores, with those who said they had a child under the age of 18 also asked about child care.

There continues to be a significant division of labor by gender within American married households. Women appear to be more likely than men to do a number of chores within the home. There has been little change in this pattern compared to Gallup's previous survey in 1996. As previously stated, certain roles are a matter of expected behavior and certain household jobs (laundry, cooking, cleaning, child care, etc.) deemed to be in the realm of the "woman" continues to remain so.

Table 5. Division of Labor In Households

Who is most likely to do which of the following in your household?	Husband	Wife
Keep car in good condition	69	13
Do yard work	57	12
Make decisions about saving/investments	35	18
Pay bills	34	48
Wash dishes	16	48
Do grocery shopping	16	53
Prepare meals	14	58
Do laundry	10	68
Caring for children daily	9	54
Clean house	6	61
Make decisions about furniture	6	60

*Results are based on telephone interviews with 1,027 national adults, aged 18 and older, conducted Dec. 6-9, 2007. For results based on the total sample of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is ±3 percentage points.

FIGURE 2A Gallup Poll, 2008 Wives Still Do Laundry, Men Do Yard Work Husbands and wives view the household division of labor differently.
http://www.gallup.com/poll/106249/Wives-Still-Laundry-Men-Yard-Work.aspx

Leading With Style - Prescriptive and Descriptive Leadership Traits

Descriptive beliefs concern what men and women are typically or usually like and prescriptive beliefs concern what men and women are ideally like or should be like. Studies focusing on other agentic qualities of male leadership all found that women leaders who exhibited the agentic qualities in masculinized contexts were not viewed as effective. The qualities studied were: dominance (Ellyson, Davidio, & Brown, 1992); autocratic or directive behavior (Eagley, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992); and self-promotion (Rudman, 1998).

Descriptive beliefs designate the likelihood that groups will possess certain traits whereas prescriptive beliefs designate the value of those traits. These roles, depending upon political culture, can be cultivated and reinforced or changed over time. Men are

stereotyped to be objective, competitive, logical, independent, aggressive, responsible, rational, and ambitious, whereas characteristics associated with women include gentleness, emotional, intuitive, dependent, sensitive, passive, illogical, warm, and accommodating (Dubno, 1985; Eagly & Wood, 1991).

According to Illene H. Lang, Catalyst President, "Stereotyping clearly undermines and undervalues women's leadership capabilities. In this increasingly global marketplace where companies must fully leverage all talent, they cannot do so if stereotyping of women prevails" (Catalyst Report, 2006). Research attributes certain instrumental traits to men: leadership, dominance, aggression, independence, objectivity and competitiveness. Women are assigned traits such as being emotional, subjective, and vulnerable.

Self-assertion and aggression, though rated as a positive attribute in men, is evaluated negatively in women. Critical gender research even points out that definitions of the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' varied from individual to individual (Beall, 1993). Thus, what is considered to be a masculine career choice or path for one area may not be thought so by another.

Many studies evaluate what it means to be a successful leader as well as the basic concept of leadership. However, for the most part studies pertaining to leadership use the male as the typical model. The study of leadership and leaders has produced numerous theories: "In the past 50 years, there have been as many as 65 different classification systems developed to define the dimensions of leadership" (Northouse, 2004, p. 2).

The Double-Bind Dilemma for Women in Leadership: Damned if You Do, Doomed if You Don't, a study released by Catalyst, focuses on the consequences of gender bias. This study interviewed senior business executives from the United States and Europe, men are still viewed as "default leaders" and women as "atypical leaders," with the perception that they violate accepted norms of leadership, no matter what the leadership behavior due to the masculine leadership norm and societal imposed standards. Early studies, which focused on the differences in perceived stereotypical expectations of women and men, generally indicated that men are perceived as better suited than women for leadership roles (Nieva & Gutek, 1981).

In regard to women and leadership a considerable amount of current research stipulates that women do posses the qualities and skills needed for effective leadership, yet, when it comes to upper level leadership position obtainment, that step remains unachieved. Many of these studies focus on whether women and men have different leadership styles or on the adequacy of women's leadership styles for a given profession. This line of research focuses on women who work in traditionally male-dominated professions and examine whether their leadership style is adequate (Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991).

Leadership definitions and leadership theories seem to vary from power over to power with. Power over generally refers to a hierarchical form of leadership where emphasis is placed on authoritative dominance and generally associated with men in leadership positions. Leaders who exhibit the above qualities have been commonly and traditionally described as aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, daring,

self-confident and competitive (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). The power with type of leadership is for the most part communal and referred to as transformational. This form of leadership places emphasis on the relationship between the leader and those who follow and places importance on the ability to share power. Whereas the hierarchal form of leadership is one of top down directives, transformation leadership is one of directives with and through individuals.

Transformational leaders recognize a need for change, have a vision and focus, pursue worthy goals, and inspire others to work cooperatively to achieve a desired change. Many leadership studies emphasize the need for additional women in leadership positions since many studies contend women naturally practice transformational leadership. Authors of these studies, who formerly worked in the business world, published results of interviews and surveys that examined the issue of gender and leadership style and found that the leadership style of women is less hierarchical, more cooperative and collaborative (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1995). However, it should be noted that numerous factors influence leadership style, one being societal expectations based on traditional gender roles which may vary by culture.

Leading But With Grace? Gendered Evaluations of Leadership Styles and Abilities

Research studies on gender and leadership effectiveness generally reveal equal effectiveness of male and female leaders in the aggregate, when generalized across a variety of studies in a variety of settings. Leadership behaviors exhibited by male and female leaders may differ and may be evaluated differently depending on the extent to which the particular role is defined (Eagly, 1995; Thompson, 2000). Women in

traditionally male-dominated areas or fields tend to be seen as less effective than their male counterparts. Similarly, women can be evaluated negatively when they violate gender role expectations by failing to exhibit consideration or affective leadership behaviors. Thus, the manner in which one can be evaluated in terms of leadership behavior, effectiveness, and characteristics can vary. It is the contention of the author that just as leadership behaviors may differ and may be evaluated differently depending on how the role is defined, regions may evaluate leaders differently based on reinforced ideals of not only the qualities of a leader but also who is qualified to lead.

Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani (1995) by conducting a meta analysis of gender and leader effectiveness conclude that men and women are equally effective leaders pending the leadership role is not gendered. Many jobs are classified as predominately "male" or predominately "female". Studies also indicate that sex role stereotypes that produce negative evaluations of women and preferences for masculine traits (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989) influence personnel decisions such as hiring and promotion, primarily pertaining to top executives and leaders (Heilman, 1995, 2001).

According to S. L. Bem (1981), traits associated with masculinity include being aggressive, independent, objective, logical, rational, analytical and decisive whereas femininity traits include being emotional, sensitive, expressive, cooperative, intuitive, warm, and a tactful nature. Stivers (2002) holds that to "observe that a number of women have done it successfully is to miss the point" (p. 57). Literature supports that it is a constant effort for women to manage their femaleness on the job and remain authoritative, yet not masculine, and still balance work and home. Numerous attempts to

pinpoint what relationship exists between gender roles and leadership styles have been made and meet with a variety of results. However, the underlying assumption is that gender role is a personality trait that tends to contribute albeit in various ways to the leadership style in which one assumes.

In addition, the manner in which one applies the above personality traits and roles in terms of developing a set leadership style may be negatively evaluated if it goes against the prescribed norm based on gender. Masculinity is related to task-orientated leadership styles and femininity with relationship-oriented leadership styles. For example, women's under-representation in the higher congressional ranks is often attributed to low attitudinal commitment, as some research has indicated that men and women display different levels of drive and fortitude (Rozier & Hersh-Cochran, 1996). However, the gender model maintains that socialization shapes attitudinal commitment, yet the job model suggests that workplace experiences determine attitudinal commitment (Mason & Mudrack, 1996).

Burgess and Borgida (1999) argue that the prescriptive and descriptive components of the female stereotype lead to discrimination of very different types. The descriptive component leads to discrimination through disparate impact, whereby women are assimilated to the stereotype and can be seen as unqualified for predominately stereotypically masculine occupations. The prescriptive component leads to discrimination through disparate treatment, whereby women are either devalued or treated with hostility because they violate prescriptions about how women should behave.

The differences by region may help explain why certain areas are more likely to advance and support females in leadership positions whether in politics or business.

Their conclusions are in line with those of Ronk (1993) who argues that traditional roles need not become self fulfilling prophecies if managers can bridge the gender gap."Increasing diversity in organizations suggests that leaders will need to be able to embrace differing values, philosophies, attitudes, ideas, and feelings as they create a more shared view of leadership" (McCauley, Moxley, & Van Velsor, 1998, p. 412).

Maccoby (1966) and Schein (1975), on the other hand, present a large body of literature on gender role stereotyping which might predispose an individual to expect a particular type of leadership approach from a female leader (Campbell, 1993). Bartol and Butterfield (1976), for example, claim that women were evaluated more favorably than men when they employed a particular consideration style.

Role congruity theory offers an explanation for the gender stereotyping of leadership positions by maintaining that perceived gender roles may conflict with expectations regarding leadership roles, especially when an occupation is held predominantly by one sex (Eagly, 1995). Meta-analyses of gender effects in the evaluation and effectiveness of leaders indicate support for role congruity explanations. In the analyses of 61 empirical studies, it was found that women leaders tended to be devalued to a greater extent when they held leadership positions in male-dominated areas or fields and when they exhibited stereotypically masculine leadership styles (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992).

Studies show that effective leadership traits for men in masculine contexts in many cases are ineffective when adopted by women operating in the same contexts (Porter, Geis, & Jennings, 1983). Many studies reinforce the notion that in regard to executive positions, a good manager is for the most part described by masculine attributes (Heilman et al., 1989; Powell & Butterfield, 1981*)*. Stivers (2002), suggests that women constantly struggle between a sense of self and the image of the professional expert "Public administration is structurally masculine despite its apparent neutrality and despite the presence of increasing numbers of women in federal, state, and local governments" (Stivers, 2002, p. 4).

Being gendered refers to the expectation of individuals in regard to the leaders being male or female. Thus, social roles do influence leader effectiveness in relation to perceived effectiveness. Stereotyped beliefs about the roles and/or attributes of men and women are widespread and extremely resistant to change.

Her Place Was in the Home - Traditional Political Restraints

The characteristics that traditionally were valued most in political leadership were: aggressiveness, competitiveness, and strength, all of which for the most part were associated with men. The characteristics associated with women traditionally were submissive, warm, and nurturing (Kirkpactrick, 1974). Characteristics valued in political candidates by the public for the most part have been seen more in men than in women.

Many theorists argue that different leadership positions require different leadership styles. However, men and women do not necessarily have different styles of

leadership but instead assume different roles depending upon circumstances and different environments.

Traditional ideas about inappropriateness of a public role for women influence many voters both to reject women candidates on principle alone (Dolan, 2004). According to Githens and Prestage (1977) writings on women and politics were descriptive and focused on the distinctive characteristics of women. Again, reinforced notions of the proper place, the proper roles, and the proper actions of women are ingrained in an area's political culture and may either be promoted or rejected based on public perception and opinion.

It was not until the 1970s that women actively ran for office in increasing numbers which was on the heels of the revival of the women's movement in the 1960s. Prior to this time, the primary focus was on finding reasons for decreased political participation in terms of gender. Later studies focus on women in politics in terms of political inequalities including social, economic, as well as political (Baxter & Lansing 1980; Diamond, 1977). Thus, the foundation for early studies of women in politics examines the lack of political participation and involvement coupled with the obstacles women face when seeking office.

Women politicians in the early 1970s had to avoid the typical female stereotypical behaviors in an effort to keep their male counterparts as deeming their behavior as inappropriate (Jacquette, 1974). It is not only an expectation from other politicians but also can be a result of public pressures resulting from expectations of role behavior that impedes women from pursuing careers in politics. Between 1972 and 1992, women made

up only 7% of candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate and only 6% of gubernatorial candidates (NWPC, 1994). It is only recently that the number of candidates nationally for state legislative seats exceeded the 1992 record. Gender bias, once a noted barrier to active participation in political life, has markedly decreased. Some researchers claim that "winning an election is no longer tied to the sex of a candidate" (Seltzer, 1997).

However, socialization based on gender plays perhaps the greatest role in whether women and men self-identify with politics and express ambition to seek elected office. This is often referred to as "candidate emergence process" (Lawless & Fox, 2004). In a 1944 book by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet the relationship between gender and political interest is examined. Women were somewhat less interested in the 1940 campaign than were men. The authors contend, "Sex is the only personal characteristic which affects non-voting, even if interest is held constant. Men are better citizens but women are more reasoned: if they are not interested, they do not vote. If a woman is not interested, she just feels that there is no reason why she should vote. A man, however, is under more social pressure and will therefore go to the polls even if he is not 'interested' in the events of the campaign" (1944, pp. 48-49).

Conway (1985) suggests that women's apparent lack of political knowledge is due to their lack of interest in the domain. Historically, women have made up a small percentage of general election candidates for higher office. It can be said that the impact of stereotypes often depends on the electoral context. Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee (1954) expound upon this idea and apply it more broadly in their study of the 1948

election. The primary focus was on the social forces and the political forces that motivate individuals to become more interested in politics (1954, pp. 25–27).

In 1960, using data from the Michigan Election Studies, Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes worry that "social roles are deeply ingrained in day-to-day assumptions about behavior in any culture, and these assumptions are not rapidly uprooted" (p. 484). Stereotypes about the manner in which women and men are supposed to behave were prevalent and women who were portraying the traditional role of wife, mother, and homemaker would have very little time to pursue a career in politics.

Other early studies focus on income and education (Welch, 1977); some scholars thought that women might participate at lower levels than men because marriage, motherhood, and the ideal of a homemaker which socializes women out of politics and leads them to lower levels of political interest (Andersen, 1975; Jennings & Niemi, 1981; Sapiro, 1983; Welch, 1977).

To expound upon the above argument, early studies find family obligations hinder women in terms of pursuing a career in politics. Instead of pursuing careers in business and law which for many was seen as the appropriate background for a career in politics, women were socialized to pursue careers such as nurses, secretaries, teachers, social work, etc (Kirkpatrick, 1974). By limiting the education, background, experience, and contacts needed to successfully run for office, women displayed lower levels of participation due to the above constraints. However, the workforce as well as the basic

structure of the family is changing and as it does so perhaps to will societal norms and expectations in terms of assigned gender roles.

Many contend women's political interest might be depressed by ideologies of motherhood and the proper place for women. The basic premise is involvement in politics is simply not a proper arena for women. This notion is often linked to adult or childhood socialization (Clark & Clark, 1986; Sapiro, 1983; Tolleson-Rinehart, 1992). Men and women are assigned sex roles at birth and these roles are supported and reinforced by society. As Kuklinski and Quirk (2000) observe, psychologists often negatively characterize stereotyping as automatic and unconscious. Although it may be automatic and unconscious, reinforcing the negative aspects of any group through socialization can adversely impact the group being falsely judged.

Part of the negative tone associated with gender stereotyping may stem from the role that stereotypes have played historically in limiting women's opportunities in the political realm. However, as time changes and society becomes more accepting of differing gender role assignments, women in leadership positions have the potential to be a norm not a rarity or an exception to the rule.

Her Place in Administration and Representation

The study of government institutions is one of the oldest concerns of political science. By institutions, the author is making reference to legislatures, executives, courts, and political parties. Institutionalism places emphasis on the formal or structural aspects of the above referenced institutions. An institution is in part a set of regularized patterns

of human behavior that persist over time. These regularized patterns of behavior can affect decision-making and the content of public policy. Rules and structural arrangements are usually not neutral in their effects but rather they tend to favor some interests in society over others and some policy results over others. Research has found that gender matters to broader policy areas that do not benefit women exclusively, such as the use of force in foreign or domestic affairs, income redistribution, and consumer concerns (Hale and Kelly, 1989). The general public has a legitimate claim to participate in the policy process (Selden, 1997).

The American federal system allocates governmental power among the national and state governments and therefore several arenas of action are created. Some groups may have more influence if policy is made at the national level whereas other may benefit more from the state level. Institutional structures, arrangements, and procedures often have important consequences for the adoption and content of public policies. Public bureaucracies are tasked with distributing the outputs of public policies. Whereas, Harold D. Lasswell (1936) defined politics as the struggle over "who gets what, when and how." According to Thomas Dye (2001) politics essentially is the management of conflict. Politics is concerned with both the formulation of policy as well as the implementation of policy. Policy formulation and implementation do not operate within a vacuum. Politics cannot be completely removed from policy. It is a struggle of competing interests as well as the management of conflict in terms of deciding who gets what, when, and how.

It has been noted that bureaucracies are capable of representing the interest of citizens just as legislature or executives do (Mosher, 1969; Rourke, 1984). "Public jobs

are public resources, to which everyone has a potential claim" (Hays, 1998, p. 300). Representative bureaucracy, thus, suggests that if a bureaucracy is broadly representative of the public it serves, then it is more likely to make decisions that benefit that public (Thieleman & Stewart, 1996).

Denhardt and Perkins explored the potential contributions of feminist thinking to the field of public administration and predicted the "coming death of administrative man" (Denhardt and Perkins, 1976, p. 384.) However, various institutions that pertain to the political arena are still struggling with the issue of representation based on gender, due in part to the masculine state of mind. Public administration is structurally masculine despite its apparent neutrality and despite the presence of increasing numbers of women in federal, state, and local governments. (Stivers, 2002, p. 4). Institutional structures help to determine the purpose and scope of bureaucrats' work and how much discretion they have in carrying out their tasks. Hierarchy, control of information, standard operating procedures and roles all work to keep individual behavior in line with the goals of the bureaucracy (Simon, 1997).To understand bureaucratic behavior, one must take into account the organization or institution which the behavior takes place.

Researchers contend that organizational characteristics such as upper management diversity (Blum, Fields, & Goodman, 1994) and organizational structure (Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994) impact the selection and advancement of women. Others examine networking practices (Ibarra, 1992, 1993; McGuire, 2000), management developmental experiences (Lyness & Thompson, 2000), family structure (Schneer & Reitman, 1995), and work-family conflict (Scandura & Lankau, 1997). Individually and collectively,

these studies represent valuable contributions to our understanding of women's experiences in organizations but what invisible barriers hinder women's ascent up the bureaucratic hierarchal ladder?

Dwight Waldo (1948) contends that the "good life" as a state is achieved when public administration integrates public interests and values in societal planning for further growth and development. The actions of administration should be pragmatic and workable, while providing the greatest happiness to the greatest number of people. Public servants are obliged to protect democracy and the will of the people. Public administration is both a science and an art. Waldo notes that if social efficiency is defined as the "good life" or bringing the greatest happiness to the greatest number of people then efficiency must be value driven, or at least humanly interpreted.

Gloria Steinem (1997) summarizes the current situation with the following: "In the last 25 years, we've convinced ourselves and a majority of the country that women can do what men can do. Now we have to convince the majority of the country--and ourselves--that men can do what women can do" (p. 82). The political culture may plausibly influence both whether women are prepared come forward as candidates for office as well as the information used by gate-keepers like party members and leaders, the news media, financial supporters or the electorate when evaluating suitable candidates. In traditional cultures, women may be reluctant to run and, if they seek the office, they may fail to attract sufficient support to win. In addition, the same constraints may hinder female advancement in other areas of politics including upper level management in terms of the bureaucracy.

The mechanism is the socialization process which generates shared values and beliefs. The link between passive and active representation in terms of gender relies on the expectation that women in political institutions will behave differently than their male counterparts due in part to socialization. Gender differences that purportedly shape women's and men's political roles, priorities, and preferences are often linked to childhood socialization and psychological development (Gilligan, 1982).

Representative bureaucracy is a good to be provided and that a bureaucracy broadly reflective of the interests, opinions, needs, desires, and values of In addition, women can have distinct perspectives on many policies that benefit not only women, but also children and men such as social policies. Social issues including education, health care, violence against women and children and mental illness are considered more by policymaking bodies when women comprise a significant percentage of the body (Casey & Carroll, 1998).

Increasing descriptive representation is symbolically important because it furthers the American ideal of equality of opportunity. Further, many theorists of democracy point to various benefits of having representatives look like the people they represent (Mansbridge, 1999; Thomas, 1994). Having more women in office makes government better able to respond to the needs of women.

Passive representation occurs when the number of female civil servants mirrors the ratio of employment-age women within society. Active representation occurs when female civil servants use their position to affect policy options favorable to women

(Keiser, Wilkins, Meier, & Holland, 2002; Mosher, 1968; Nachmias & Rosenbloom, 1973).

Scholars tend to agree that representative bureaucracy increases government legitimacy, accountability, effectiveness, and participation (Dolan & Rosenbloom, 2003). The theory of representative bureaucracy concerns how the demographic characteristics of bureaucrats affect the distribution of outputs to clients who share these demographic characteristics.

The basic premise regarding representative bureaucracy is that bureaucrats sharing demographic characteristics with served populations will do a better job of representing these populations. As Keiser (et al., 2002) point out: "Policies such as equal pay and funding for women's health directly benefit women as a class. As such, they provide bureaucrats an opportunity to play a representative role by distributing benefits to women or by increasing overall benefits" (p. 556).

The literature on representative bureaucracy also focuses on the role that institutions play in the translation of political presence into political influence (Keiser et al., 2002; Kelly & Newman, 2000). Studies show that whether sex becomes a salient variable for active representation depends on the political and institutional context (Keiser et al. 2002; Kelly & Newman, 2000). Gender is inevitably present in the practices, processes, and images of the institution. The presence of gender in the institution influences the context in which supervisors set priorities and allocate resources and supports a link between passive and active representation (Keiser et al. 2002; Newman, 1995; Saidel & Loscocco 2005).

Women generally "devote more time on both developing policy and garnering public support" (Bowling, Kelleher, & Wright, 2005, p. 16). In addition, other research has shown that women working in bureaucracy often represent the policy needs and preferences of women in the target population (Dolan, 2000; Keiser et al., 2002; Selden, 1997).

In a study on the impact of minority teachers, the study concludes "representative bureaucracies are more effective at meeting their goals than non-representative bureaucracies in similar circumstances" (Meir, Wrinkle, & Polinard, 1999, p. 1037). Reingold (2006) finds that women, more often than men, take the lead on women's issues, not matter how broadly or narrowly such issues are defined. Women are more likely to express concern about such issues and take an active interest in them.

James Q. Wilson (1989) outlines his view of government agencies. Wilson focuses on agencies and how they may be prone to either capture or resistant to capture. Reasons for capture depend a great deal on the political environment in which the agency and interest groups interact. There are four types of political environments in which the agencies operate: one in which a dominant interest group favors the agency's goals-client politics; one in which the dominant interest group is hostile to the agency's goals-entrepreneurial politics; one in which two or more rival interest groups are in conflict over the agency's goals-interest group politics; one in which there is no important interest group-majoritarian politics.

Wilson also contends that all organizations have a culture which is a complex pattern determined by the way an organization approaches its tasks and which is built

upon the complex patterns of human relations that exists within the organization itself. Able administrators are capable of shaping the mission of an organization by controlling the influence of predisposition, professional norms, interest groups, or situational imperative. Wilson maintains that private bureaucracies are motivated by profit as opposed to public bureaucracies which are circumscribed by constraints. The more contextual goals and constraints the more discretionary authority in an agency is pushed upward to the top.

According to the group theory of politics, public policy is the product of the group struggle. According to Earl Latham (1959), public policy is the equilibrium reached in group struggle at any given time which represents a balance which groups strive to tilt in their favor. "What may be called public policy is the equilibrium reached in this (group) struggle at any given moment, and it represents a balance which the contending factions or groups constantly strive to weigh in their favor" (p. 187). Group theory rests on the contention that interaction and struggle among groups are the central facts of political life. A group is a collection of individuals that may, on the basis of shared attitudes or interests, make claims upon other groups in society.

According to David Truman (1971) the individual is significant in politics only as a participant in or a representative of groups. It is through groups that individuals seek to secure their political preferences. A major concept in group theory is access. To have influence and to be able to help shape governmental decision, a group must have access, or the opportunity to express it viewpoints to decision makers. Thus, if a group is unable to communicate with decision-makers the chances that it will be able to affect policy-

making are slim. Access may result from the group being organized, from its having status, good leadership, appropriate resources, and lobbying abilities. It is evident that some groups will have more access than others.

This being said, public policy at any given time will reflect the interests of those who are dominant. As groups gain and lose power and influence, public policy will be altered in favor of the interests of those gaining influence against the interest of those losing it. Group theory focuses on one of the major dynamic elements in policy formulation, but it understates the independent and creative part that public officials play in the policy process. Another drawback of group theory is that many people and interest are either not represented or poorly represented. E. E. Schattschneider (1965) contends that, "the flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upper-class accent" (p. 35). Those who are not represented will have little voice in policymaking and therefore their interest are likely to be slighted. The argument can be made that cultures with more women playing major roles in the policy process, the more likely the policy outputs will attempt to improve the lives of women.

In contrast to group theory, the elite theory of public policy can be regarded as reflecting the values and preferences of the governing elite. The essential argument of elite theory is that public policy is not determined by the demands and action of the people or the masses but rather by a ruling elite whose preferences are carried into effect by public officials and agencies. Thomas Dye's work, *Top Down Policy-Making* (2001) suggests that policy making is the process by which elites influence the policies of government by four separate processes: the policy formulation process, the interest

group process, the leadership selection process, and the opinion making process. Dye argues that even in a democracy, public policy is made from the top down, not the bottom up as emphasized by the traditional view. Power in American society is concentrated in the hands of the relatively few people who control its largest organizations and institutions that allocate society's resources.

Government in traditionalistic cultures has a positive role in society but by limiting its role the existing social order may be maintained. Thus, government functions to limit political power to a small group who rules through family relations or social status. The bureaucracy is somewhat limited in an effort to maintain control by the ruling elites which results in fewer opportunities for women to advance. Hierarchy gives control to those bureaucrats at the top of the organizational structure (Weber, 1946). Research shows that women's job mobility is often severely limited, either due to their own perceptions, or due to stereotypical assumptions about them. The "glass ceiling" seems to be well in place (Cassirer & Reskin, 2000; Kanter, 1977; Parker & Fagenson, 1994).

Bureaucracy has been contested for mimicking societal gender relationships and "feminizing" subordinates to cater to the whims of superiors and to play subservient roles typically reserved for women in relation to men (Ferguson, 1984). Horizontal occupational segregation takes place when one profession is dominated by one sex as opposed to another (Anker, 1997). This differential persists even though the degree of skill and training required may be substantially similar. Riger (1993) argues that women are more likely to be cooperative and focus on collaborative relationships, while men are

more likely to seek hierarchical working relationships, and other research has shown women to be more likely to create "webs of inclusion" than hierarchies (Hegelson, 1990).

Vertical occupational segregation occurs when males are predominant in the top half of the occupation, and females within the bottom half of the same occupation. Occupational distribution of genders is highly segregated. Women are most often found in clerical and service occupations, while men in craft, operative, and laborer positions. Men also hold the majority of decision-making positions, and women often lack the authority to affect change in organizational structures where males dominate the higher ranks (Guy, 1992; Reskin & Ross, 1992).

In *Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State* (1993), Camilla Stivers explores how shared ideas about masculinity and femininity shape our view of the public administrator from a variety of perspectives. She demonstrates how these perceptions contain mostly traditional masculine features grant men greater privileges than women. Stivers (2002) suggests that professional administrators are expected to be:

> (1) technically expert, objective, and impartial; merge without difficulty into the agency's perspective;
>
> (2) display autonomous authority in the exercise of discretion;
>
> (3) share a worldview and set of values with like-minded fellow members of the professions; and
>
> (4) regard their work as primary in their lives, devoting ling hours and uninterrupted years of service to it, putting it above personal concerns (p. 56).

According to one stereotype, women are insecure, over-controlling, and unable to engage in team play behavior, yet the new stereotype suggests that women are relationship-oriented, nonhierarchical, and interested in sharing power and information (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990). Thus, what was once labeled as women's weaknesses and cited as reasons for them being ill-suited for top jobs, are currently the very traits male executives are expected to posses. Auburdene and Naisbitt (1992) stated, "Women leaders are better at balancing than their male counterparts. The first reason is obviously intense family responsibility, but it does not stop there, women do not identify exclusively with their careers, as most men traditionally have" (p. 99).

"Public administration is structurally masculine despite its apparent neutrality and despite the presence of increasing numbers of women in federal, state, and local governments."(Stivers, 2002, p. 4). According to one study about women's routes to elective office, women were more likely than men to have been appointed to a political position before being elected to public office (Carroll & Strimling, 1983). In fact, this study found that of state senators who participated in their survey nationwide, 54.7% of women and 42.6% of men were appointed to a position before running for office. Of state house of representatives or assembly members, 41.7% of women and 25.8% of men were appointed to a position before being elected (Carroll & Strimling, 1983, pp. 33-35). The states vary greatly in their numbers of statewide elected and appointed officials.

Women's progress as holders of top-ranking appointee positions in state governments has not been steady. "The percentage of top-ranking executive leadership positions held by women has increased, but not by much. By 2007, women held 35% of

executive posts, compared to 28% in 1997. Between 1997 and 2007, governors appointed substantially more women as department heads (9 percentage points more), but only 2.4 percentage points more women as their closest staff advisors. Women remain underrepresented at the helm of executive agencies and in governors' executive offices." (Center for Women in Government and Civil Society, 2008). Researchers for the Center for Women in Government and Civil Society looked at the number of women named to top-ranking policy positions such as heads of state agencies and senior advisers and found that while women remain generally underrepresented, they've made significant strides in some key areas. However, the university study found that agencies in areas where women have traditionally been better represented — including health, human rights and education — still have the highest number of women in leadership.

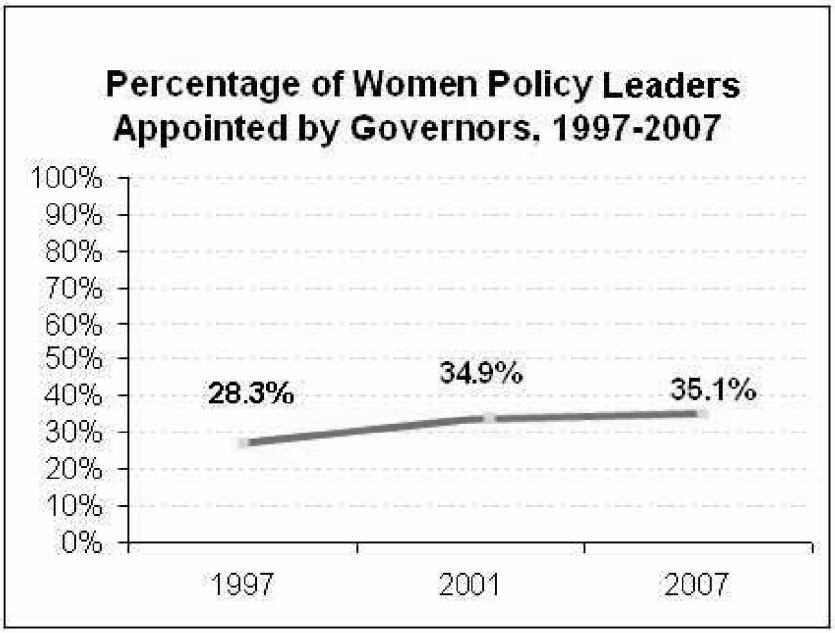

FIGURE 2B, Center for Women in Government & Civil Society, 2008
http://www.cwig.albany.edu/glass_ceiling.pdf

Perhaps one method to encourage younger women to aspire to leadership positions is to influence and change public opinion in terms of traditional gender roles and the abilities of other women currently in elected office and appointed positions. Changing public opinion, it can be argued, will be more difficult in traditionalistic cultures and it is in those areas where women will face more social barriers to attaining leadership positions in the public sphere as a result of reinforced notions of a women's proper place.

Her Place in the House and the Senate - Political Trait Perceptions and Evaluations

The conventional explanation for the policy differences in men and women is that prior to becoming legislators, these women were usually wives and mothers (Kathlene, 1995). Such traditional gender roles provide extensive nurturing experience. Having more women in office would likely produce even more positive public policy changes involving the issues of women, children, and family - what Sue Thomas calls "distinctive based political priorities" (p. 5).

In 2008, 88 women served in the U.S. Congress. Sixteen women served in the Senate and 72 women served in the House. The number of women in statewide elective executive posts for 2008 was 23.2%, while the proportion of women in state legislatures was 23.7% (CAWP Fact Sheet, 2008). Given the historical exclusion of women from candidacy and elective office, the presence of women candidates can signal to the public a greater openness in the system and more widely dispersed access to political opportunities (Burns, Scholzman, Verba, 2001; Reingold, 2000; Thomas, 1998).

Lawless and Fox (2004) found that across all demographic factors: age, party affiliation, income, and profession, women in typical starter occupations to elected office were less likely than men to express interest in seeking public office. The study concludes that the gender gap in political ambition is the result of longstanding patterns of traditional gender socialization persistent in American culture. The political gender gap is the difference in how men and women vote for political candidates and how each differs in their perception of political issues (Bolce, 1985; Shapiro & Mahajan, 1986).

Wirls (1986) argues that the gender gap has to be interpreted in a longitudinal context in which both men and women have been moving away from liberal values and the Democratic Party. He thus demonstrates that the gender gap actually represents "unequal rates of defection" between the genders: Women have developed a propensity to resist a secular trend toward conservatism and the Republican Party, yet men have moved along with the trend. The gender gap persists across many demographic groups, including those defined by age, religion, region, social class, marital status, and educational attainment (Seltzer, Newman, & Leighton 1997; Kaufman & Petrocik, 1999; Levitt & Naff, 2002).

In studies where the political attitudes of boys and girls are compared, it is revealed that boys express more interest in politics. However, it should be noted that both boys and girls tend to prefer a father figure as the source of political advice (Hyman 1959; Hess & Torney, 1967). In most cases boys are socialized to take a more active role in politics. When girls are encouraged and do take an active role in politics or areas not generally deemed within the female realm, there are sometimes negative connotations

that follow. When women assume roles that are contrary to assigned roles in place by societal standards, they are viewed as deviant (Bozeman, Thornton, & McKinney 1986).

However, the degree of socialization and reinforced societal norms vary. Therefore, if in fact the gender gap in terms of women seeking political office is a result of gender socialization, it would seem that the degree of socialization would vary by region based on the public's perception of the proper place for women.

According to E. E. Shattschneider (1960), women have become challengers of the status quo. Lawless and Fox (2005) assert that women who share the same personal characteristics and professional credentials as men express significantly lower levels of political ambition to hold elective office. They identify two key factors to explain this gender gap: first, women are far less likely than men to be encouraged to run for office; and second, women are significantly less likely than men to view themselves as qualified to run.

A Citizen Political Ambition Study (Lawless & Fox, 2004, 2005) looking nationwide at potential candidates, self-perception and motivation regarding politics sought to explore whether women similarly situated in the social eligibility pool as candidates for public office express the same levels of political ambition and whether the same factors affect their interest in seeking elective office. They conducted a nationwide survey of nearly 3,800 individuals, their candidate eligibility pool, and, in addition, completed 200 interviews with a representative sample of these respondents. For Lawless and Fox, the candidate eligibility pool consists of men and women in four professions: law, business, education, and political activism. Their survey and interviews suggests

three major findings: women are less likely than men to consider running for office, are less likely than men to run for office, and less likely to express interest in running for office in the future.

Consistent with dominant cultural views about the personality traits of men and women in society, respondents in an experimental study perceived a female candidate to be more warm and expressive than an identical male candidate (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). Therefore, voters may stereotype politicians just as they stereotype average men and women. Huddy (1994) argues that studies suggest that female politicians are stereotyped as typical women. Hence, the manner in which one region ascribes to the appropriate gender role stereotype could be reflected in public opinion in terms of how the members of the region view female political candidates.

Stereotypes about the abilities and competencies of female and male candidates may serve as a basis for voters to choose to support or reject a particular candidate. A role for gender stereotypes in vote choice is suggested by Sanbonmatsu's (2002) work on what she calls a "baseline gender preference." Her evidence suggests that many people have an underlying preference to be represented by a woman or a man and that this predisposition is determined, in part, by gender stereotypes and voter sex. Previous work has demonstrated that people who value honesty and ethics in government are more likely to vote for a woman candidate in a race against a man (Dolan, 2004).

Voters also hold stereotypes about the ability of male and female politicians to handle particular issues. Female candidates are usually perceived as better able to handle compassion issues and social issues (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Kahn, 1994; Leeper, 1991; Matland, 1994; Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988). Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) found that trait stereotypes are strong predictors of voter beliefs about issue competency. Issue competency stereotypes may be natural extensions of the public's views of men and women in general (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). The gender gap partially can be explained by the differing views men and women have of the government's expected role in helping the disadvantaged, `which women tend to favor, and the use of force to resolve conflicts, which women largely oppose (Chaney, Alvarez, & Nagler, 1998; Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton, 1997; Mueller, 1988; Shapiro & Mahajan, 1986; Conway, Steuernagel, & Ahern, 1997).

Male politicians are seen as strong and intelligent, better suited for policy issues such as crime, defense and foreign policy issues, and are traditionally seen as more conservative (Lawless, 2004). These stereotypes become important when character traits are relevant to voters. For example, there is clear evidence that people prefer "male" characteristics and abilities to "female" characteristics when evaluating political leaders. It has also been noted that individuals have more favorable evaluations of women candidates who run in campaigns that highlight "female" issues and much lower evaluations of women who run in more "male" issue environments (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993).

Once again, the public has a tendency to support women who run for and campaign on the basis of "traditional" female issues. Thus, reinforcing the notion that deviation from the expected role/policy arena stereotype regarding women's issues has the potential to negatively impact female office seekers and candidates. However, some scholars point out the importance of nontraditional families and changing gender roles as a force behind government expansion to reduce new kinds of inequalities (Rosdil, 1991; Clark & Inglehart, 1998; Judis & Teixeira, 2002).

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Candidate sex is relevant to voters in numerous and complex ways. At its most basic, candidate sex conveys information about the likely competence and behavior of politicians. Gender stereotypes impact politics with implications for candidate evaluation, vote choice, and political participation. However, depending on the degree of socialization and the area, the impact of gender stereotypes may be decreased in terms of perception of competence.

However, the degree of socialization may vary by region. In writing about gender gaps in attitudes, Sapiro and Conover (1997) describe how context is important: "Gender

gaps probably appear and disappear because some aspect of the electoral context or campaign – e.g. the confluence of issues, personalities, or events – cues gender as politically or symbolically important in specific elections" (1997, p. 499).

Women are usually perceived as more sensitive and caring than men, whereas men are perceived as more stringent and more assertive than women (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Wohlers, 1986). Voters believe that female politicians possess more feminine traits, such as warmth and compassion, and fewer masculine traits, such as leadership and strength (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Burrell, 1994; Kahn, 1994; Lawless, 2004). However, the degree of socialization may vary and if so would explain in part why some regions would be more apt to support female politicians over other areas.

Kahn's work on U.S. Senate candidates (1996) finds that voters have more favorable evaluations of women candidates who run in campaigns that highlight issues deemed as feminine and much lower evaluations of women who run in a more masculine environment. Scholars investigating the conditions under which voters rely on gender stereotypes rather than individuating information about candidates find the less information about the candidate to more likely voters depend on gender stereotypes (Koch 2002).

Stereotypes are usually thought to be more influential in the absence of other information: the fewer voters know about a candidate, the more likely they are to use candidate sex in order to make inferences (Huddy, 1994). Some scholars have found that less knowledgeable voters are more likely to rely on candidate characteristics such as gender in their vote choice than are more knowledgeable voters (Lau & Redlawsk, 2001).

Group stereotypes are most influential in personal perception when little or no additional information is available about the individual (Brewer, 1996; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Yet, some recent research suggests that politically knowledgeable individuals are more likely to use gender stereotypes in the vote decision (Koch, 1999, 2002). One possible explanation for these contradictory findings in the relationship between knowledge and stereotyping is that gender stereotypes concerning candidate positions may be derived from knowledge of the actual behavior of men and women in politics (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Koch, 1999). According to previous studies and research, stereotypes affect women's electability and shape the campaign decisions of both male and female candidates (Huddy, 1994; Kahn, 1996). Ideology and issue positions may matter more in male-female races precisely because of stereotypes (Dolan, 1998; McDermott, 1997, 1998; Paolino, 1995). To understand who relies on stereotypical beliefs in candidate evaluation and voting behavior, we need to understand who and, for all intents and purposes of this work, which region holds most tightly to stereotypical beliefs.

If some voters are less likely to hold political gender stereotypes, then one may expect stereotypes to play a smaller role in how those voters arrive at their choices of candidates. Sapiro and Conover (1997) used the 1992 election as a case study of the impact of electoral context on whether or not gender becomes a relevant consideration in elections. Employing National Election Study (NES) data, they examine gender differences in relation to the campaign and participation among people who live in areas with a woman candidate for governor or U.S. Congress and those who live in areas with male-only races. Among women and men respondents living in places with male-only

races, women were less likely to report following the campaign or taking part in a series of activities. However, among those living in an area with at least one woman candidate, gender differences disappeared. Contextual variables do not influence men at all, but served the purpose of significantly increasing the involvement of women.

Sapiro and Conover contend that consideration must be given to the direct impact of gender on electoral behavior but at the same time one must consider the manner in which gender concerns can impact the arena in which electoral decisions are made. The public's expectations about the issue positions of men and women in politics may therefore constitute a subset of gender stereotypes (Clifton, McGrath, & Wick, 1976; Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985; Fiske, 1998).

The public may view political men and women as typical men and women in some respects but there may be some aspects of political gender stereotyping that are unique to the political realm. The importance of stereotypes is demonstrated by research that suggests that women candidates are evaluated as warm and tender even when the messages they are sending to the public are more tough and masculine (Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981, 1982).

As Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) speculate, it is possible that voter beliefs about issue positions can be explained by knowledge of actual gender differences in the behavior of politicians. Male candidates are perceived as having more typical masculine traits and being more conservative and better able to handle issues such as foreign policy and crime (Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988; Leeper, 1991; Kahn, 1994; Koch, 2000; Sanbonmatsu, 2002). Because studies of both voters and political elites have found that

women take more liberal stances than do men in politics, these gender differences may give rise to voter stereotypes about political positions.

Voters can and in some cases do use candidate gender to estimate the candidate's policy stance, as they might use other demographic characteristics or partisanship to evaluate political candidates (Popkin, 1991). Scholars argue that ideology and certain issue positions play a greater role in the vote decision in a male-female race because of gender stereotypes (Paolino, 1995; Kahn, 1996; Dolan, 1998; McDermott, 1997, 1998).

Kahn (1994) suggests that historically the media has failed to cover female candidates as well as their male opponents. Kahn's seminal study of female U.S. Senate and gubernatorial candidates examines all four areas and draws several important conclusions. Female Senate candidates receive less coverage than men, and more of their coverage was devoted to their electoral viability. In addition, coverage of female Senate candidates competing against incumbents tends to be more negative indicating they were less likely to win. Female gubernatorial candidates did not receive less overall coverage than male candidates; nor was more of their coverage devoted to viability concerns. As a result this difference in coverage, it may make women candidates seem less viable. Because media coverage of electoral contests is the primary mechanism for informing citizens about political candidates and issues, the type of coverage provided candidates may play an important role in shaping voters' perceptions (Kahn, 1994).

However, other research on Senate and gubernatorial races reveals no bias in the quantity of coverage (Devitt, 2002; Rausch, Rozell, & Wilson, 1999) or suggests greater coverage of women (Bystrom, Robertson, & Banwart, 2001). A separate area of concern

is media coverage of more personal topics not directly related to campaign issues. Research shows that coverage dealing with candidates' gender, marital status, children, age, personality, and appearance was far more likely to be about female than male candidates (Bystrom, Robertson, & Banwart, 2003; Devitt, 2002).

Coverage may be biased in favor of male candidates who are generally seen as having the appropriate traits, policy priorities, and leadership skills for public office (Koch, 1999; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Lawless, 2004). Because group stereotypes are predominantly negative (Kunda, Sinclair, & Griffin, 1997) individuals perceived through the lens of their group's stereotype (or whose traits are consistent with/assumed to be consistent with the stereotype) tend to be evaluated less favorably than those whose traits are in some fashion incongruent with the stereotype (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Golebiowska, 1996; Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1995; Peffley, Hurwitz, & Sniderman, 1997).

When women compete for elective office in low-information campaigns, stereotypical beliefs about women as unassertive can hurt them, all else being equal, because good politicians are expected to be assertive, a stereotypically masculine trait (Best & Williams, 1990; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990). However, Mansbridge (1999) suggests that the increased representation of marginalized identity groups also affirms that members of these groups are capable of governing and can serve to more strongly connect group members to the polity. It can be presumed that areas with more women in leadership positions have the potential to not only encourage the next generation of women leaders to aspire to political careers but also can enlighten the general public of

the actual capabilities of women leaders. Whereas, areas with very few women in public office such as traditionalistic cultures have less of an opportunity to influence the younger generation in terms of dispelling the traditional gender role stereotype in regard to the abilities of women in public office.

According to Lawless (2004) it is "the attitudinal and behavioral effects that women's presence in positions of political power might confer to women citizens" (p. 81). Women who are strong and sensible, competent and effective should receive very favorable reactions, as long as they remain caring, modest, and well-groomed (Rudman & Glick, 1999). Women have to perform better than men do to be perceived as competent in the first place (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Foschi, 1996), and the same may be true for men to be perceived as warm.

Koch (1997) examines whether the presence of a large number of women U.S. Senate candidates in 1990 and 1992 had any impact on the political engagement of women in the public. Using National Election Study data, Koch finds that women respondents in states with women Senate candidates exhibited higher levels of political interest and a greater ability to recall the names of the Senate candidates than those living in states without women candidates.

Darcy and Schramm (1977) hold that one advantage for women is that since it is rare to see women run for political office, those who do are easily recognized and remembered. If this is the case, regions where more women run and are elected can provide a symbolic clue as to the general public's perception of women in politics and the higher the number the more receptive a region may be in terms of veering away from the

traditional gender roles. In addition, it can also be said that the more women are visible in politics and positions of power, the more inclined young women will be to seek leadership positions. Hansen (1997) used NES, National Election Study, data to determine whether women candidates had any influence on convincing others how to vote which for the most part women received lower scores than men. Hansen hypothesizes that women state or congressional candidates will boost the willingness of other women to engage in this political activity. Focusing on the elections of 1990-1994, she finds a consistent impact of women candidates on proselytizing, efficacy, and media use among women in 1992 and a consistent lack of impact in 1990 and 1994.

Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001) provide support for the argument that candidate sex is an important contextual component of elections with their data from a broad survey of the American public. Drawing on their Citizen Participation Study and NES data, they demonstrate that what they call the "density of women politicians" influences the gender gap in psychological orientations to politics, generally by increasing the involvement of women (p. 346). The "density of politicians" in terms of the lack of women in politics can be tied back to the basic principle of representative democracy. The basic premise of a representative democracy is one in which equitable representation can be obtained. The idea is that women who make up a majority of the population should have at least half of the positions in government is a view held by many who seek to promote women in politics and is in part based on the idea that women politicians will support policies that benefit women over male politicians.

However, for the most part the government of the United States does not mirror its population. In terms of opportunities for women to seek positions of public office, negative critiques relating to performance and abilities has the potential to restrict women not only in terms of desires to run for office but has the potential to hinder younger women thus maintaining the status quo.

A number of recent investigations show that negative stereotypes can undermine the intellectual performance of even very talented members of stigmatized groups. The picture emerging from this literature is that stereotypes undermine performance by creating concern on the part of members of the stereotyped group that their performance might serve to confirm the negative expectations others hold about them. The term "stereotype threat" was used by Steele to refer to the burden involved in worrying about confirming the low performance expectations of others and validating preconceived notions of gender performance (Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Research in the last decade of the 20th Century reveals that the most blatant instances of gender discrimination and differential treatment are active in societies which displayed the most stereotypical thinking patterns, where literacy is lowest and religious dominance greatest. Research also pinpoints that where women were fewer in a given group, their distinctiveness made gender salient (Tannen, 1990). Individuals generally adapt themselves to the demands of a given situation. They provide prescriptive norms of behavior which may become self fulfilling prophecies for some and grounds for resisting discrimination for others (Swim, 1994).

The scholarly literature on women and politics has come a long way during the last forty years. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of work which remains to be done. There is a need to look to the next generation of women leaders to bring new ways of understanding the complex relationship between gender roles, public and private leadership attainment, and public opinion. In some cases, women are assimilated to the stereotype of their gender, and the violation goes unnoticed (Madon, Jussim, Keiper, Eccles, Smith, & Palumbo, 1998). Whereas in other cases they are punished for their violation, through negative evaluations, attempts to modify the offending behavior, and social isolation (Butler & Geis, 1990; Costrich, Feinstein, Kidder, Marecek, & Pascal, 1975; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999).

By determining which political cultures allow the greatest opportunities for advancement, additional research into what impacts and influences public opinion in terms of negative perceived gender stereotyping and abilities can assist and be adopted by traditionalistic cultures in an effort to improve the opportunities available for the next generation of women leaders. Traditionalistic cultures will have a greater tendency to reinforce the notion of a woman's place is in the house not the House and Senate. Researchers note that women do have a propensity to be more concerned with the time demands away from the family that it takes to pursue a career in politics than are men. However, with more women visible in politics new paths are being created for the younger generation. Perhaps something that can be added to the political research in terms of women's lack of ambition should be women's lack of assistance in terms of meeting the demands of the home which hinder ability not desire to seek political office. Today women candidates can serve as role models or symbolic mentors to women in the

public, sending the signal that politics is no longer exclusively a man's world and that female participation is an important and valued act (Burrell, 1998; Sapiro, 1981; Tolleson-Rinehart, 1992).

Her Place at the Table - Women and Corporate Management

Corporations today face an alarming gender gap in leadership. Women are entering the workforce in greater numbers and slowly climbing up the corporate ladder. Yet with each step up the number of women in leadership positions dwindles. Thus, a gender gap is created in upper management. To reduce this gender gap in management, corporations can change how women in leadership positions within their organizations are perceived.

> "Making central what has been marginal remakes the boundaries of knowledge and understanding and sheds new light on the whole; we are constituted by what and how we know even as we constitute what we know as we know it. Strategies for remaking difference include challenging and transforming the unstated norm used for comparisons, taking the perspective of the traditionally excluded or marginal group, disentangling equality from its attachment to a norm that has the effect of unthinking exclusion, and treating everyone as though he or she were different" (Minow, 1990 p. 16).

Gender stereotypes portray women as lacking inherent characteristics and traits which until recently were viewed as necessary in terms of leadership. Although more women are assuming leadership roles today than before, changes in perception of leadership are difficult to achieve. As previously mentioned the traditional norms of leadership are engrained deeply in society and based on the male model. Yoder (2001) contends that what makes leaders effective in masculinized settings is power. She asserts

that due to the social status and the manner in which power is cofounded by gender, prior to leading, the scales are already tilted against women.

Researchers suggest that organizational characteristics such as upper management diversity (Blum, Fields, & Goodman, 1994) and organizational structure (Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994) impact the selection and advancement of women. Although progress has been made toward workplace gender equity, the U.S. workforce still has a glass ceiling for women. Businesses have taken steps to combat traditional barriers to women's advancement, yet progress is still slow. The percentage of women holding Fortune 500 board seats over the past ten years demonstrates the degree of progress (Catalyst, 2007).

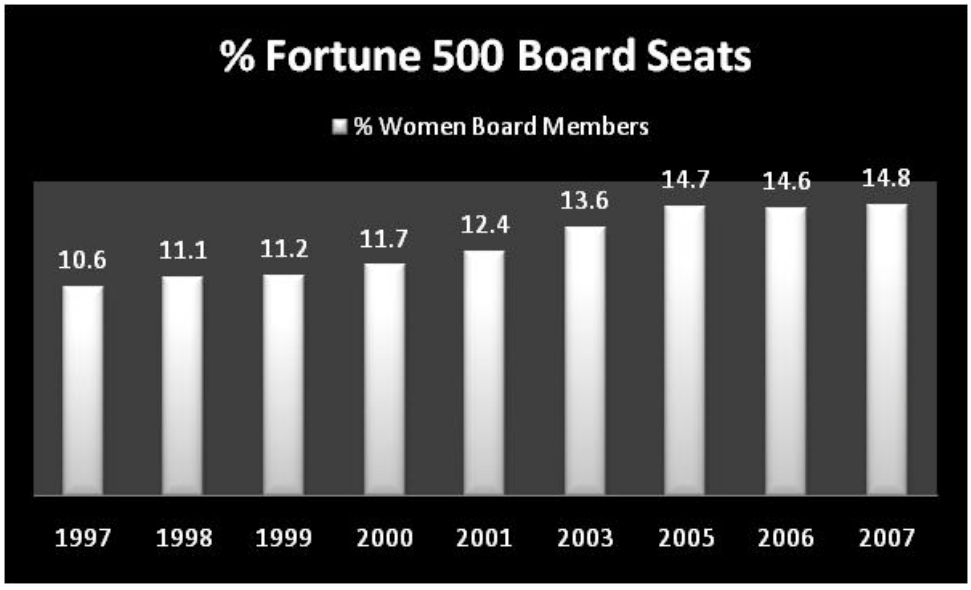


FIGURE 2C Catalyst, 2008
http://www.catalyst.org/publication/206/women-in-us-management

As economies become more globalized and women occupy leadership positions around the world, it is important to study whether the relationship between leadership and power differs by culture. Wright and Baxter (1995) examine the gender gap in workplace authority across countries; it appears that there is limited research focusing on leadership and power based on culture and gender together. The same contention held by Wright and Baxter can be applied to various regions using political culture as a variable to examine the relationship between gender, leadership, and public opinion.

Conforming to Climb - Gender Socialization and Trait Assessment

Early research on gender role stereotypes in the late 1960s and early 1970s reveals that men were seen as more competent, and women were seen as warm or expressive and to a degree, opposites. Men were expected to be masculine and women were expected to be feminine-and anyone who fell in the middle was considered maladjusted or in need of help (Powell & Butterfield, 1989).

Han (1996) indicates that there is a strong relationship between power and leadership. That relationship can be seen as largely influenced by culture. Thus, the question arises of what impact, if any, political culture has in terms of the ability of women to achieve positions of power. The attitudes of men and women in terms of women in leadership positions may be influenced by certain individual and cultural factors. A vast majority of upper management jobs seem to require masculine traits. Therefore, in many cases women will not be seen or considered in terms of leadership positions as often as their male counterparts (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Schein (1975) reports that both male and female middle managers perceive successful managers in general

possessed characteristics ascribed more to men than to women. These characteristics include aggression and dominance (Copeland, Driskell, & Salas, 1995) in addition to achievement orientation. Whereas female characteristics such as cooperative and communicative for the most part are viewed as non-managerial traits (Powell & Butterfield, 1979). Women are seen as more intuitive, empathetic, selfless and kind but this may be due in part to men seeing leadership as leading and women seeing leadership as facilitating (Schaef, 1985).

Hennig and Jardim (1977) focused on women's job behaviors. The authors suggest that in order for women to succeed, they must learn to behave more like men. In essence women must learn to play with the boys in a manner befitting another male counterpart. It is asserted that women, since they are not socialized to be competitive nor are they socialized in the ways men are, cannot compete on even footing with men and therefore are less likely to succeed in organization leadership. Management seeks to fill its ranks, particularly at the highest level of management, with individuals who seem to best fit the existing norm. The degree to which regions divert from preexisting norms and reinforced stereotypes may be visible in the form of how much diversity exists in the upper management ranks.

Denmark (1977) argues that sex role stereotypes accounted for the lack of women in leadership positions. Tannen (1990) contends that men and women have different experiences while growing up, and, as a result, have learned to value different things. For example, men are taught to internalize status, independence, and individual power. Women are taught to value connection, interdependence, and the power of community.

One result from the differing in values is that men and women learn to behave differently and that difference can manifest itself in the form of differing communication styles. This differing in communication in part is reflected in the working arena and observable through the differing leadership styles adopted by men and women.

Climbing By Consensus - Transitional Leadership Qualities

Aburdene and Naisbitt (1992) coin the term "women leadership" to describe what they consider to be a personality that reflected women's values and leadership behavioral characteristics. These researchers identify 25 behaviors that characterized women's leadership and clustered them into six central patterns identified as: behaviors that empower, restructure, teach, provide role models, encourage openness, and stimulate questioning. A study of 545 managers, of which 58 percent were women, investigate gender differences in terms of characteristics of managers in terms of leadership roles, use of power and preferred supervisor style, career commitments and work/family conflict in the predominantly female profession of physiotherapy. The study reveals that females preferred to use a transformational supervisory style more than men, but that males used more masculine leadership traits (Rozier & Hersh-Cochran, 1996). Men utilize the traditional top-down administrative style whereas women are more interested in transforming people's self-interest into organizational goals by encouraging feelings of self-worth, active participation, and sharing of power and information.

Smith and Smits (1994) claim that women leaders tend to impact the workplace differently than men do as a consequence of utilizing different leadership styles even though they may have similar character traits. Haccoun and Sallay (1978) find that male,

non-management subordinates see women using a directive leadership style as less effective.

Eagly (1995) also concludes that male leaders are more effective than female leaders in roles defined in masculine terms, whereas women are more effective as leaders in roles defined in less masculine terms. However, new research and studies claim that women are better leaders and that with superior managerial instincts, women may become the "new wave Japanese" (Helgesesn, 1990). Helgesen (1990), for example, suggests that men and women manage in sharply different ways, and supports the view that the female approach is superior, as mothers in particular, are better team players than men and are far better communicators.

Many organizations are embracing a new participatory type of management (Eisler, 1995). Helgesen suggests that this style of management is more natural for women and contends that women who used the traditional approach were conforming to the male model. Research into top team behavior suggests that individuals are more likely to be transformational when they are dissatisfied with their work environment (Kakabadse, 1991, 1993). This may help explain why a number of studies (Rosener, 1990; Rozier & Hersh-Cochran, 1996) found that women use predominantly transformational styles of leadership, that being a reflection of their dissatisfaction with the workplace. Helgesen (1990) maintains the style of management most women have adopted is more inclusive in nature and embraces everyone no matter the gender, age or racial/ethnic makeup.

Helgesen (1990) suggests that women managers are seen "as being in the middle of things. Not at the top, but in the center; not reaching down, but reaching out" (p.4546). With the inherent change in the make-up of the workforce, this style of leadership may give women more of an advantage in being able to communicate effectively with the diverse workforce.

A diverse workforce is not the only source of change, recently the degree of gender segregations in terms of occupations is starting to dwindle which opens additional opportunities for women. However, public opinion has yet to embrace the idea of women in leadership in terms of upper management. Historically, when both men and women give a preference for their new boss, both groups would choose a male boss rather than a female boss.

Since 1982, men have become more likely to tell Gallup that the gender of their boss does not matter to them. Still, no more than 19% of men have ever said they would prefer a female boss. Men and women differ significantly in their preferences for a boss, but the preference for a male boss among those who have a preference is observed among both genders.

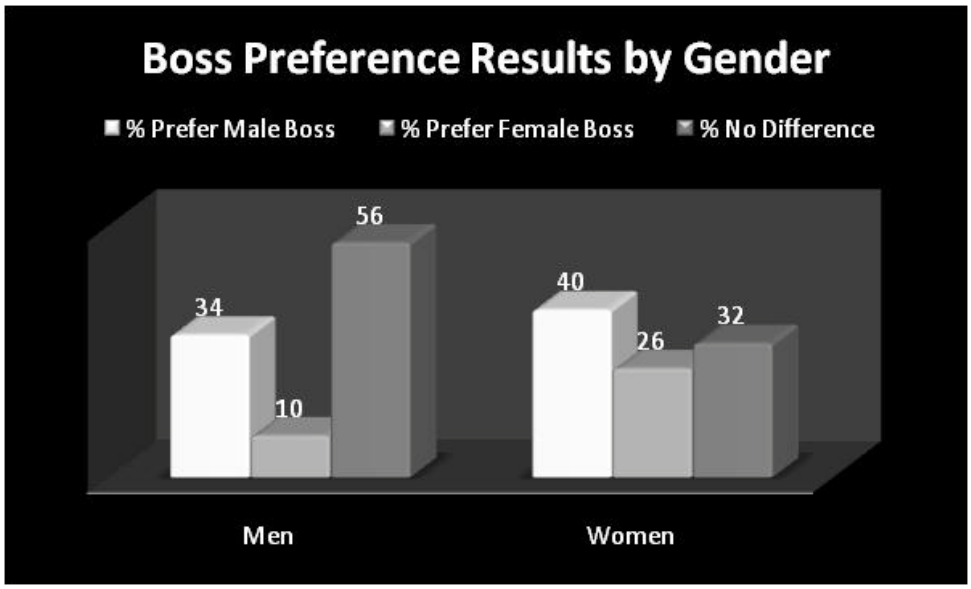


FIGURE 2D Gallup, 2007 Americans Prefer Male Boss to a Female Boss
http://www.gallup.com/poll/24346/Americans-Prefer-Male-Boss-Female-Boss.aspx

*Results are based on telephone interviews with a randomly selected national sample of 1,007 adults, aged 18 and older, conducted Aug. 7-10, 2006. For results based on this sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum error attributable to sampling and other random effects is ±3 percentage points.

Upper management attainment in terms of gender segregation may not only be influenced by perceptions of leadership abilities, but also with job classification. Some contend that gender segregation of occupations is the foundation for differentials in labor market outcomes between men and women (Ross & Reskin, 1984; Deaux, 1985). Such differences include disparities in wages and salaries, benefits, promotions, prestige, and power (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986).

Gender segregation of occupations has been a tradition in the U.S. workforce for decades. Gender segregation of occupations refers to the employment of men and women

in separate occupations, whether at the occupational, industrial, or organizational level (Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994). In fact, the degree of gender segregation in the workforce has not changed much since the early 1900's (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986; Jacobsen, 1994). Occupational gender-stereotyping is important to consider because of the labor market outcomes (recruitment, hiring, pay, promotion) that may result from them. Gender stereotyping of occupations may discourage individuals from pursuing careers in occupations typed as gender-inappropriate for them, even though they may actually be well-suited for such careers. Gender stereotypes of occupations are based on the belief that certain occupations (nurse, teacher, secretary) are suited for women's occupations and others (automotive mechanic, contractor, engineer, and medical doctor) are reserved primarily for men. "Indeed, it appears that without drastic social change, little movement in desegregation is likely by the turn of the century" (Jacobsen, 1994, p. 157).

Although gender segregation in occupations exhibits somewhat of a downward trend during the period between 1960 and 1990, this trend has been remarkably slow, leaving segregation levels quite high (Jacobsen, 1994). A number of studies (Shephard & Hess, 1975; Shinar, 1975; Panek, Rush, & Greenawalt; White, Kruczek, Brown, & White, 1989; St. Pierre, Herendeen, Moore, & Nagle, 1994) previously examine occupational gender-stereotyping and each finds that gender stereotypes in terms of occupations do exists.

This form of occupational stereotyping can result in gender segregation in terms of female representation and presence in certain areas which are deemed “a man’s

world". Many believe that such gender segregation of occupations is the foundation for differentials in labor market outcomes between men and women (Reskin, 1984; Deaux, 1985; Bielby & Baron, 1986). Such differences include disparities in wages and salaries, benefits (including training opportunities), promotions, prestige, and power (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). Sex is the biologically invariant factor and gender is comprised of various social, cultural or historical variable components (Goktope & Schneier, 1988). In a manner of speaking, society reserves the top rungs on the employment ladder for the masculine stereotypes. However, societal perceptions in relation to gender roles and occupational segregation, performance, evaluation, and leadership abilities may vary depending upon an areas' culture.

Her Place - Political Culture

Research in political culture has its roots in the studies of "national character" pioneered by Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and Geffrey Gorer (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990). The first works focus on the unique values, beliefs, and practices that make up a nation's culture. The idea for cross comparison was not used until Almond and Verba developed a typology of parochial, subject, and participatory orientation toward politics as a means of classification in The Civic Culture (1963). However, the earlier works focus primarily on the differences between nations not within them.

Cultural mapping originated with Daniel Elazar (1966) where he defines political culture as "the particular pattern or orientation to political action in which each political action in each political system is imbedded" (p. 84). Elazar was the first to depart from

the idea of a single national consensus and propose that instead the United States has three distinct political subcultures.

According to Elazar, the national political culture is the synthesis of three major political subcultures (typology of political culture) that are dominant in varying regions of the country. Elazar argues that politics in each state are shaped by three important factors: sectionalism, migration patterns, and the state's political culture-its history, habits, and customs regarding government, individual expectation of government, as well as the types of individuals who actively participate in government.

Aaron Wildavsky (1988) states, "though the United States is a single nation, Americans do not constitute a single culture" (p. 49). Elazar terms these subcultures individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic (1984, p. 9). The geography of political culture is directly related to the westward expansion of the American frontier. People's religious and ethnic backgrounds as well as their migration patterns are the dominant influences in establishing cultures.

Thus, the three political cultures are products of the differing streams carried by the first settlers migrating westward. An area's political culture is derived from its history and reinforced through time and it is this perpetuation of beliefs in not only government but also in regards to the ideals of who should govern that is critical.

There were three major streams of American migration that began on the East Coast and moved west after the colonial period. The distribution of the three political cultures is the result of three overall streams of migration. The individualistic political

culture dominates the mid Atlantic states, the Midwest, and the mountain states; the moralistic political culture dominates New England, the Great Lakes area, and the West Coast; and the traditionalistic political culture is dominant in the South and Southwest.

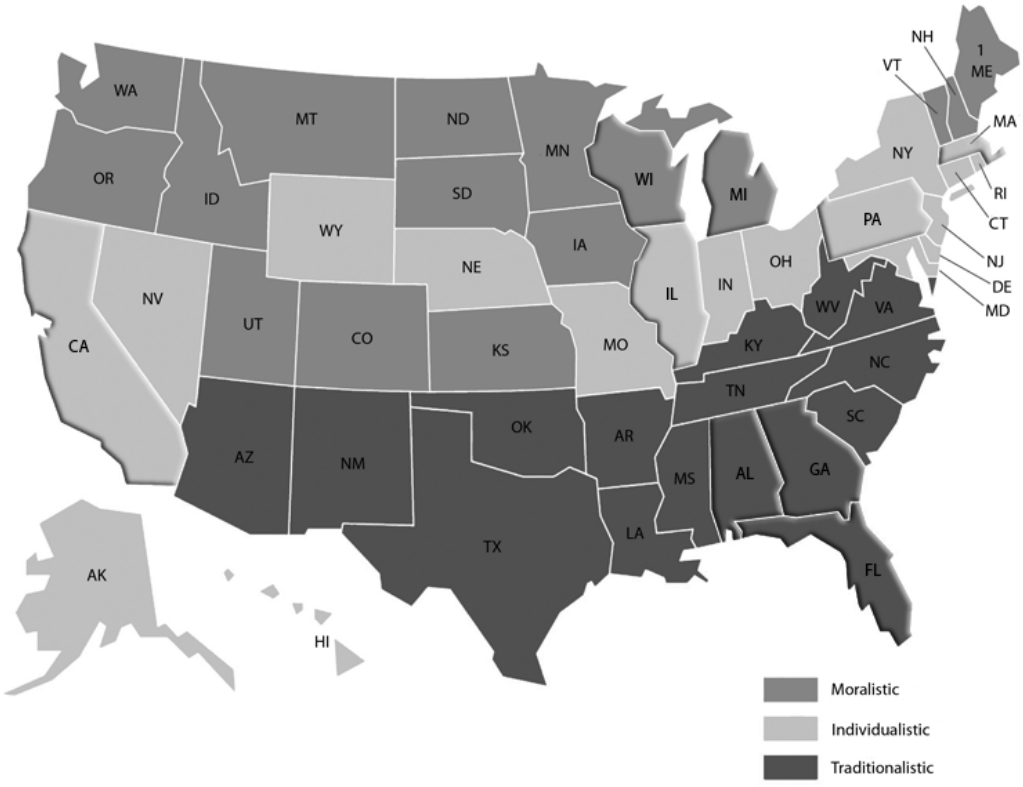


FIGURE 2E Dominant Political Cultures Data Based on G*ray*, *Virginia* and *Russell Hanson*, eds. *2004*. Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis, 8th ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press p. 24

John Kincaid provides a brief overview of the migration patterns and common beliefs of government. "States influenced by a stream of settlement from Non-Puritan English, Continental, Eastern European, Irish, and Mediterranean groups are more likely

to embrace an individualistic culture. This perspective "views the political arena as a 'marketplace' of competing interest acting out of primarily private 'utilitarian motives'."

The moralistic culture associated with northern Puritan, Yankee, and Scandinavian settlers, tends to be orientated toward "commonwealth" obligations and a collective starch for the "good society." The traditionalistic culture, "closely tied to the plantation agrarianism of the South, reflects an ambivalent attitude toward the 'marketplace' and an elitist, paternalistic view of the 'commonwealth'" (Kincaid, 1980, pp. 89-110).

Individualistic Culture

The individualistic political culture is reflected in the Middles States stream, with its commitment to commercialism and acceptance of ethnic, social, and religious pluralism. In this stream, the settlers spanned the central part of the United States and resided in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. The basic premise of this culture is that the new world is a land of individual opportunity (Elazar, 1984). Thus, the values held by most are that of a pluralistic social and political order designed to protect individual freedom so one may be allowed to pursue private goals. Government therefore is a type of public marketplace which responds to the economic demands of the governed.

The individualistic culture seeks to utilize government via limited influence. The political system is one way to advance one's own social and economic interests. Government is meant to be utilitarian and should provide the services that the people

demand. Those who serve in politics are more aligned with those who work in the private sector in so much as politicians expect to be paid like professionals. Political parties are basically seen as corporations to maintain and support the industry. However, while this culture values the efficiency of an organization in the marketplace, it tends to model government after that of business organizations via bureaucracy.

This approach heavily depends upon top down political appointments and relies a great deal on political patronage (Haber, 1964). Political corruption is allowed and a certain amount is expected. "Both politicians and citizens look upon political activity as a specialized one and no place for amateurs to play an active role" (Elazar, 1966, p. 92). However, this is the primary region where individuality can be expressed and embraced. That being the case, it is hypothesized that individuals living in this region will be more open to advancing women in leadership positions as this area is one in which more opportunities would be available.

Moralistic Culture

With its origins in Puritan New England, the moralistic culture views government as a mechanism through which the values of the "good society" may be culminated. The moralistic culture rises from the Puritan ideals of a holy common wealth with its origins in colonial New England and spreading into New York, Pennsylvania, and eventually across the upper Great Lakes states. The original political culture was infused with the beliefs and values of Scandinavians and other European immigrants. Eventually this emulsion of ideals carried over to the Pacific Northwest, California, Colorado, Montana, and northern Arizona.

Governing is not up to one particular group but rather a collective group effort where government is limited but at the same time proactive. High levels of citizen participation are encouraged so long as participation is based on "honesty, selflessness, and commitment to the public welfare of those who govern" (Elazar, 1984, p.117). Civic involvement and public service are pleasurable duties. Government is a vital force in promoting the public interest and "is considered a positive instrument with a responsibility to promote the general welfare" (Elazar, 1966, p. 90).

The moralistic culture intertwines politics with communitarian needs and values. Thus, political corruption is not openly tolerated since it reflects poorly on the community as a whole. A great deal of emphasis is placed on substantial participation from members of the community. Political leaders are encouraged to break from traditional party allegiance when the party platform or issue directly negatively infringes upon strong personal beliefs of right and wrong. Leaders are more prone to divert from expected party behavior in favor of personal beliefs even if diverting is not in compliance with popular public opinion. It is hypothesized that this region allows for more opportunities for advancement since women comprise a large portion of the community and in an effort to meet the needs of the individuals within the community and to promote the general good, more women in leadership positions would benefit the community as a whole.

Traditionalistic Culture

The third stream has its roots in the agrarian old South. The traditionalist culture values the status quo in that the purpose of government is to not only provide goods and

services but also to maintain existing social roles. Historically, the states exhibiting traditionalistic cultures were hierarchical in nature with only a few elites having the power.

"Those who do not have a definite role to play in politics are not expected to be even minimally active as citizens," according to Elazar, "In many cases, they are not even expected to vote" (Elazar, 1966, p. 93). It is this culture which would condone and maintain the traditional roles of women, and would adversely impact on women running for office in the southern regions (Werner, 1968; Hill, 1981).

Government has a rather limited role and is dominated by the powerful elites who are established by family ties. Government is not established to operate in a manner that regulates the market nor is it established to promote the greatest good for the greatest number of people. It is established through a hierarchy of powerful relationships generally passed down through bloodlines and powerful family connections, referred to as the "good old boy" system of politics. The governing elites maintain power via limited government intervention by the local citizenry. Government is not a place for all citizens to actively participate; only those few powerful elites.

Whereas the other cultures seek either to veer from the status quo to improve individual standing or to improve the standing of the community as a whole, the traditionalistic culture seeks to maintain the status quo. Original/new government programs are not generally instituted as a response to the demands of the governed or in an effort to promote the greater good for the society. Rather, policies are created to accommodate the governing elite. This political culture seeks to facilitate individual

interests coupled with private concerns via limited governmental intervention. Active participants in government seek to promote personal grain through a greater influence over politics, thus, politics is a means to achieve advancement.

In 1969, Ira Sharkansky devised a quantitative measure to accompany Elazar's work on American political culture. A nine point linear scale was constructed by Sharkansky to represent the political cultures previously mentioned. The scale ranges from one (pure moralistic state) to nine (pure traditionalistic). The political cultural variables were tested using methods of correlation, partial correlation, and analysis of variance. The three broad areas that were tested include: political participation, scope of government, and scope of state government programs.

Sharkansky confirmed results on two-thirds of the 23 variables tested. However, even though Sharkansky's measures remained statistically significant even when socioeconomic status was controlled, he concludes his findings were not "definitive" but rather "suggestive" (Sharkansky, 1969, p. 83). Tests of Elazar's typology produce generally good results when applied to states and local governments. Following Elazar and Sharkansky's research, a wide variety of research studies tested the political typology of political culture and most but not all were quantitative in nature. The majority of research measures the standard political characteristics described by Elazar: political participation, political corruption, and policy making.

The Johnson study, conducted in 1976, adds a new dimension to the research began by Elazar and Sharkansky by concentrating on religious denominations as a measure of political culture. Johnson used Sharkansky's variable but refers to political

cultures as distinct units verses degrees ranging from Moralistic to Traditionalistic. Measuring the religious affiliations of 48 states, Johnson reaffirms the findings that political culture correlates to certain political characteristics. Of the eight variables that were tested, Johnson found significant differences in six of them: local government, government activity, government innovation, population participation, encouragement of participation, and political party competition.

Peters and Welch (1978, 1980) contend that if public policy behavior evidenced in political characteristic measurements correlated to political culture, then the attitudes of the policy makers should be taken into account. The attitudes of the policy makers should correlate to the typologies of political culture as well. They measure the attitudes of state senators in the 24 states covering such issues as political corruption and social and economic welfare. The results of the study indicate that policymakers from moralistic states, "were most likely to favor social change, support government intervention on the economic and welfare issues, be self-declared liberals, and believe political corruption to be a substantial political problem" (p. 65). The results from the state senators for the individualistic and traditionalistic states were not as obvious as those from the moralistic states.

Peters and Welch also took a different approach in regards to expanding upon Elazar's typology in that they examine the attitudes of key policy makers in relation to political corruption. The key components for research in this case were that of the attitudes of key policymaker "elites" toward political corruption which was studied in the 24 states. The study showed that there was less tolerance of corruption within the states

classified as moralistic. Also, the moralistic states had a greater self perception of having less corruption than other states whereas the individualistic states had a greater self perception of having the most corruption. The traditionalistic states were the most tolerant of governmental corruption.

Using national opinion surveys, Joslyn (1980), measures citizen attitudes in the states. This deviates from the above study by way of gauging the opinions of the elites. This study evaluated the opinions of the general citizenry in 36 states. The variables used include political participation, trust in government, and government intervention. The study also focuses on the examination of political campaign advertising in 18 states and found that campaign advertising in moralistic states tended to be more issue focused while political advertising in individualistic states focused more on the personality of the candidate (Joslyn, 1980).

Kincaid in his study in 1980 adds additional elements to the study of political culture by incorporating community traits. He correlates political culture in regard to quality of life. Kincaid applied SMSA data to the application of political culture in an effort to distinguish which cultures promoted a greater quality of life in regards to variations in communities. He found that the highest quality of life measures were located in moralistic states and the lowest in traditionalistic states.

Not all studies relating to Elazar's political typology provide confirming results. Schiltz and Rainey (1978) in an effort to measure political characteristics find very few correlations. They used a sample size of thirteen states to gauge civic duty, political participation, and social change via mass public opinion. One of the problems

encountered was that of individual survey methods. It was found that individuals surveyed were not necessarily from that area. However, some slight political culture correlations in relation to political participation and social changes were found. Although numerous studies and correlations have been found to exist between the political cultures, few address the prevalence of gender stereotypes in terms of how women in leadership are perceived and either encouraged or discouraged based on location.

Elazar's (1984) political subcultures predict various public policy variations between the states. However, the relationship between political cultures, process, and policies produces mixed findings (Kincaid, 1982). However, many empirical studies generally confirm Elazar's typology. The moralistic political culture is embodied by the Puritan New England and Yankee stream with emphasis placed on the premise that politics exists as a means for communicating public issues and concerns and politics is ideally a matter of concern for all citizens. Traditionalism celebrates timeless moral ideals, individualism the values of compromise and freedom, moralism the quest for the good society (Elazar, 1984).

The southern states exemplify the traditionalistic culture. Those who do not have a definite role to play in politics are not expected to be even minimally active as citizens. In many cases, they are not even expected to vote and those active in politics are expected to benefit personally from their activity. The elites of society rule, and new programs either serve the direct purposes of the societal elites. ''Traditionalism'' tends to denote a vaguely elitist devotion to the preservation of the status quo. Traditionalism also

entails an emphasis upon individual morality and stresses those values which allegedly preserve family and community.

Only the societal elites are encouraged to participate in politics, and the elite run for office and also use the bureaucracy for personal promotion. Parties recruit candidates for office, but often the candidates are manipulated by societal elites who work behind the scenes. Political competition is based on divergent factions and/or personalities, and tends not to be conducted by parties based on issues (Elazar, 1984). Whereas the traditionalistic political culture is a product of the Southern stream where the structure of society is that of a hierarchy and those at the top (small group of elites where social and family ties are paramount) are expected to participate in government, however only within a limited sphere since the scope of government is limited, with minimal if any input from the general citizenry (Elazar, 1994, p. 232-236).

Political culture refers to a system of beliefs or values that define political situations and structure people's understanding of politics itself. Daniel Elazar has defined political culture as the historical source of such differences in habit, concerns, and attitudes that exist to influence political life in the various states. The political culture of any particular state is shaped by geography, economics, religion, and historical events. Fiske (1998) contends that although stereotypes are automatic processes, they are also a function of the social context and therefore to a degree controllable. Gender-role attitudes are people's beliefs about appropriate roles and obligations of women and men. Gender role attitudes or gender ideology is an important independent variable in many areas of research.

Over the course of the past decade, several studies suggest evidence for casual influence of gender role attitudes on behaviors and relations: traditional division of household labor, in occupation/career decisions, and in voting behavior (Lobodzinska, 1996, Mennino & Brayfield, 2002). The basic premise is stereotypes and the socialization that perpetuates and reinforces the cycle of reinforced norms associated with a particular sex is a method to promote and maintain the status quo. Traditionalistic states will hold on to the status quo as long as possible resulting in the least amount of women in leadership positions due in part to traditional role stereotypes, gendered leadership ideals, and current public opinion. Thornton, Chatters, Taylor and Allen (1990) contend "through the process of socialization, individuals acquire an understanding of recognized statuses, roles, and prescribed behaviors and locate themselves and others in the social structure" (p. 401).

While much attention has been given to the impact of political culture, little attention has been given to the impact of gender-role attitudes and the number of women in leadership positions as it pertains to state political culture. This in part is due to the lack of detailed measures of attitudes toward gender roles at the state level. What individuals think about the proper gender role in terms of women in politics and in business may influence the next generation of women leaders by hindering opportunities. Thus, one may ask which political cultures will promote the greater opportunities and support for women in leadership positions. But to what degree do not only opinions but opportunities vary and what impact can it have on our next generation of women leaders. Is it what you know, who you know, or where you go?

V. O. Key, Jr. (1949) understood that people behaved differently in different contexts and he used the comparative method to show that white extremism in the South varied as a function of the concentration of the African American population. Individuals make choices among alternatives that are often shaped by their context, and certain research can make strides in clarifying context-behavior connections.

To examine this further, one must first have an understanding of political culture varying socioeconomics, and public opinion. States vary in their compositions not only of the individuals who reside in the areas but also the industries and standards of living. Values are transferred from generation to generation through education, early childhood experiences in the family, schools, and through socialization in organizations and institutions. These values become social norms for that society. The degree of socialization in terms of traditional gender roles varies and southern cultures are more likely to cling to the status quo (reinforce stereotypical notions of a woman's "proper place") and by doing so may place invisible barriers to female advancement. Thus, in an effort to evaluate what constraints, if any, certain cultures place on women's opportunities to advance in areas of leadership, comparisons based on political culture, number of women in leadership positions and public opinion may assist in locating one avenue where change can take place. By discovering which regions foster greater acceptance of nontraditional gender roles perhaps a greater understanding of societal constraints can be found as well as a possible means for promoting change in those regions which lag behind.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

> "Public opinion is so much a part of our politics that it is surprising that we have not incorporated it into the Constitution. We constantly use the term; seek to measure whatever it is and to influence it, and worry about who else is influencing it. Public opinion exists in any state, but in our democracy it has a special power. . . .By the early years of the nineteenth century, Americans had come to realize that public opinion, "that invisible guardian of honour--that eagle-eyed spy on human actions--that inexorable judge of men and manners--that arbiter, whom tears cannot appease, nor ingenuity soften--and from whose terrible decisions there is not appeal," had become "the vital principle" underlying American government, society and culture."
>
> (Wood, 1978, p. 125)

The difficulty in studying states is that all states are not alike. American states come in many sizes, shapes, and varieties. There are considerable differences in their social, cultural, and demographic makeup. Economically the states are not equal nor are they identical. The differences that exist make it difficult to compare and evaluate why some states change more rapidly than others in terms of social issues.

It is hypothesized that traditionalistic cultures attempt to maintain the status quo and by doing so limit opportunities for women in terms of climbing the leadership ladder due to social constraints. In addition cultural shifts in gender role perceptions and stereotypes influence the number of women in leadership positions by impeding

opportunities and access. The degree of influence will vary based on political culture, public opinion, and the economic status of women in the states.

H 1. Traditionalistic cultures are more likely to be conservative in terms of traditional family values than moralistic or individualistic and reinforce the notion of proper family roles and structures.

H 2. Traditionalistic cultures are more likely to impede women pursuing careers in leadership positions due to women's socioeconomic status in the states which allows for less autonomy.

H 3. Traditionalistic cultures tend to have fewer women in leadership positions in both the public and private sectors.

Each of the measures will be operationalized and discussed in the proceeding sections. Southern culture has been and remains generally more socially conservative than that of the north. Due to the central role of agriculture in the antebellum economy, society remained stratified according to land ownership. Rural communities developed strong attachment to their churches as the primary community institution and through socialization factors stereotypical beliefs regarding a woman's place.

Political Culture

Rodney E. Hero, in reviewing state politics notes that there are several approaches to explaining state policy: approaches that focus on political institutions, approaches that stress the economic context of states and fiscal competition; and approaches that stress the "broader political context" of state politics, which includes political culture and public opinion or ideology (Hero, 1998). According to Elazar, in the traditionalistic subculture, the role of government is to maintain the existing, hierarchical social order.

Political power is concentrated in the hands of an elite determined by social class and family ties. Citizens generally are not expected to play a role in government. Political conflict generally occurs between factions within a single political party (1984).

Classifications of states/areas are based on Daniel Elazar's political culture typology. According to Elazar, the national political culture is the synthesis of three major political subcultures (typology of political culture) that are dominant in different parts of the country. Elazar argues that politics in each state were formulated on the basis of three important factors: sectionalism, migration patterns, and the state's political culture (its history, habits, and customs regarding government, individual expectation of government, as well as the types of individuals who actively participate in government).

Elazar terms these subcultures individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic (1984).

1. Individualists (I) use the government for utilitarian, individualist reasons. Politics is a business, like any other, which is dominated by "firms" (parties). In the give-and-take of politics, some corruption is tolerable. Government should not interfere much in individuals' lives.
2. Moralists (M) want the government to help them find the "good life." Governmental service is "public service." The community can intervene in private affairs if it serves communal goals.
3. Traditionalists (T) (i.e. Southerners) combine hierarchical views of society with ambivalence about the "government-as-marketplace." Social connections and prestige matter; in fact, popular participation is scarcely important in comparison with elite participation. Parties aren't that important, since politics organizes around dominant personalities or families.

The three political cultures are products of the differing migration streams carried by the first settlers and vary according to westward expansion patterns. An area's

political culture is derived from its history and reinforced through time. It is this perpetuation of beliefs in not only government but also who should govern that can be reflected through public opinion.

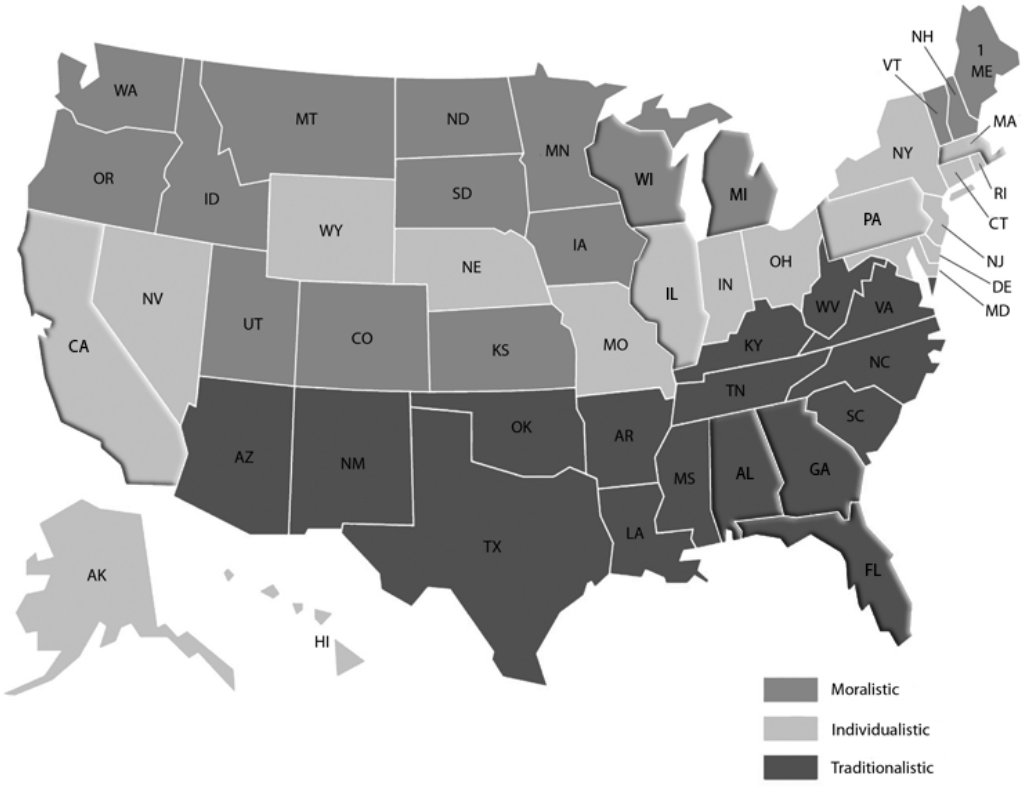


FIGURE 3A Dominant Political Cultures Data Based on G*ray*, *Virginia* and *Russell Hanson*, eds. *2004*. Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis, 8th ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press p. 24

TABLE 6 THE AMERICAN CULTURE MATRIX

Culture	Core Values	Government	Participation
Traditionalistic	Maintenance of the status quo social order *women will have a more difficult time pursuing nontraditional careers even with changes in family roles.	Means of maintaining existing order; initiatory only for that purpose *women will be unequally represented and have less influence.	Restricted to socioeconomic elites *women will have less autonomy and fewer opportunities to participate.
Individualistic	Private gain, Competition	A business; limited to basic services; essentially non-initiatory	Open to all who play by the rules
Moralistic	Community; achievement of general welfare	Means to achieve social and economic good; initiatory	Responsibility of all members of the community

Source: Daniel J. Elazar, "The American Cultural Matrix,"in Daniel J. Elazar and Joseph Zikmund II, The Ecology of American Political Culture: Reading (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1975), 13-42. (pp. 24-25)

Typically, region is used as a replacement for a common culture and often attributed to the unique historical, economic, or demographic composition of large areas of the nation. Region for the purpose of this study is used as an explanatory contextual variable in the analysis of individual level attitudes and perceptions relating to gender roles. Ira Sharkansky (1969) reanalyzes Elazar's classifications to create a nine point linear scale, which allows for comparative state analysis in empirical terms. Each of the fifty states is given a political culture score, and these scores are correlated with twenty-three variables reflecting political participation, government size, government prerequisites, and government program implementation. He concludes that political culture can be related to several state traits regarding politics and public service.

TABLE 7 POLITICAL CULTURE INDEX

Traditionalistic		Individualistic		Moralistic	
Arkansas	9	Hawaii	8.25	Kansas	3.66
Mississippi	9	Missouri	7.66	California	3.55
Georgia	8.8	Delaware	7	Montana	3
South Carolina	8.75	Maryland	7	South Dakota	3
Alabama	8.57	Indiana	6.33	Idaho	2.5
North Carolina	8.5	Ohio	5.16	Maine	2.33
Tennessee	8.5	Nevada	5	New Hampshire	2.33
Oklahoma	8.25	Illinois	4.72	Vermont	2.33
Louisiana	8	Pennsylvania	4.28	Iowa	2
Virginia	7.86	New Jersey	4	Michigan	2
Florida	7.8	Wyoming	4	North Dakota	2
Kentucky	7.4	Massachusetts	3.66	Oregon	2
West Virginia	7.33	Nebraska	3.66	Utah	2
Texas	7.11	New York	3.62	Wisconsin	2
New Mexico	7	Connecticut	3	Colorado	1.8
Arizona	5.66	Rhode Island	3	Washington	1.66
				Minnesota	1

Source: Koven and Mausolff. "The Influence of Political Culture on Budgets: Another Look at Elazar's Formulation." *American Review of Public Administration*, Vol 32 No. 1. March 2002. pp. 66-77.

Studies try to measure political culture within states, but some political scientists are wary of assigning state political cultures because such measurements may be of dubious empirical grounding. While the process may not be entirely empirically sound, different state political cultures seem to exist and demand further analysis. Researchers have found that political party competition, interest groups, gubernatorial power, public

opinion, and political culture may help explain many of the dissimilarities seen in state government policies (Key, 1949; Sharkansky, 1969; Elazar, 1984)

According to Erikson et al.:

> Our results offer strong support…for Elazar's formulation…[P]erhaps Elazar's categories should be considered as the defining characteristics of different styles of representation…Perhaps it took no great insight to classify the southern states and some of their neighbors as traditionalistic states where cultural expectations enhance the insulation of the political elites from their masses. More remarkable is how the distinction between the moralistic and individualistic states separates two different modes of representation. The individualistic states present the archetypical models of Downsian pragmatic politics…Moralistic states present an important variation, where party positions are more distinct and offer greater prediction of what politicians do in office…[Elazar's] classifications enable the spotlight to be pointed at different states with real variation in how the game of politics is played. (pp. 175-76)

Most problematic is the fact that Elazar's political sub-cultures are not based on any rigorous statistical data denoting specific characteristics. In addition his classifications of states along his cultural spectrum are not based on hard empirical data, instead drawing heavily from interviews, field observations, and academic studies of American regions and ethnoreligious identities. Elazar's state classifications have remained unchanged for over thirty-five years and three editions of Elazar's *American Federalism* even as immigration, political participation, and technological patterns have shifted. Other studies (Fischer, 1989; Lieske, 1993, 2000) have mostly verified the durability of Elazar and Sharkansky's insights. Koven and Mausolff (2002) offer many reasons why they made Sharkansky's operationalization of Elazar's political culture the backbone of their study:

"(a) it lends itself to predictions about the willingness of different cultures to support government spending;

(b) it has been well researched and generally found to be at least as valid an indicator of culture as other measures, including those based on updated demographic data; and

(c) because of its basis in early migration patterns, it provides a test of the influence of cultural history on current policy" (Koven & Mausolff, 2002 p. 71)."

One major critic of Elazar is that his categories tend to reflect the beliefs of the political elites more so than those of the general public (Kincaid, 1980; Welch & Peters, 1980). However, that is appropriate in that in traditionalistic cultures the opinions and views of leaders seem to be more significant than those of the ordinary citizens (Tweedie, 1994; Uslaner & Weber, 1975).

Public Opinion

Designing measures for public opinion in states is quite formidable. Consequently, there is lacking an adequate measure of state public opinion in terms of gender role perceptions. The need to correct this deficiency is evident. Yet knowing preferences tells only part of the story. What some call the fundamental equation of politics (Hinich 7 Munger, 1997) was defined by Plott to include the interaction of preferences and structures (Plott, 1991). Specifically, if preferences change, outcomes can change, even if institutions remain constant. Alternatively, if institutions change, outcomes can change, even if preferences remain constant. From this perspective, comparative research becomes paramount and the American states provide an invaluable though not the only setting for evaluating these intriguing relationships.

Regions displaying a general public consensus of women's traditional sex role (traditionalistic cultures) may continue to discourage active female participation in politics and business while others (individualist and moralistic) may display public opinion shifts including a greater acceptance of nontraditional roles for women. This societal cultural shift can be measured by various public opinion data and visible via the number of women in leadership positions in public and private spheres. In addition to the above hypothesis, public opinion in traditionalistic political cultures may reflect to a lesser degree acknowledgment of changing family roles: women while maintaining a career are also in these areas expected to maintain the home. This type of expectation may limit the opportunities available to achieve not only work life balance but also ascent up the political or corporate ladder.

At the aggregate level, state culture dominates state demography as a source of state-to-state differences in opinion in that state effects on partisanship and ideology account for about half of the variance in state voting in recent presidential elections. Many political scientists often assume that political attitudes are shaped by local political culture and by shared and reinforced political values within the local community. However, little is known about the importance of how geographical location influences political attitudes and societal attitudes in regards to sex/gender roles and leadership in both the public and private sectors.

Norrander and Wilcox (1998) attempt to assess the role of gender-role attitudes, but rely on the1988-92 Senate National Election Study's measure of general ideology as proxy for gender role attitudes. Norrander and Wilcox argue that women are "more likely

to run in states or regions in which voters show less bias against women candidates, or where gender roles are less traditional" (Norrander & Wilcox, 1998 p. 109).

Common tools of quantitative researchers include surveys, questionnaires, and secondary analysis of statistical data that has been gathered for other purposes. One advantage to using a cumulative data file is that while constructing the file the variables have already gone through the recoding process to ensure the same variable number and coding scheme applies for each study used. The values that define a political culture are tremendously important because they set the boundaries of policy options. They act as a passive restraint on decision makers, who are governed by the law of anticipated consequences. It is also important to understand that there may be a mix of conflicting values in any political culture. Furthermore, opinion is not static. This makes the task of identifying core values difficult. Individuals' responses to survey questions may be misleading in the absence of any situational context.

One measure to determine if public opinion varies by region in terms of the appropriate gender roles is that of a combined index and measure by the American National Election Studies. The mission of the American National Election Studies (ANES) is to inform explanations of election outcomes by providing data that support rich hypothesis testing, maximize methodological excellence, measure many variables, and promote comparisons across people, contexts, and time. The ANES serves this mission by providing researchers with a view of the political world through the eyes of ordinary citizens. Such data are critical, because these citizens' actions determine election outcomes. ANES is, in part, an institutional device for protecting and maintaining the

Time Series of core questions relevant to national elections, public opinion, and civic participation. The core time series data serve two fundamental purposes.

First, the time series enables the National Election Studies to register the effects of exogenous shocks to the political system. Second, the existence of the full series of Election Studies has opened up several important lines of inquiry into the nature and causes of political change. Although the meaning of any small, year-to-year fluctuation may be obscure, by accumulating over-time measures in the public's responses to political phenomena, social scientists can uncover and understand electorally-relevant secular trends in the public's perceptions of and participation in politics. Scholarly work that has exploited the ANES Time Series include studies of electoral change, support for third party candidacies, change in partisan attachments, alteration in the importance the American public assigns to national problems, change and continuity in the public's views on race, the ebb and flow of conservativism, and fluctuations in the American public's participation in political life. These works share an interest in the dynamics of change and the presumption that vote, opinion, and participation are shaped by ongoing alterations in the political, economic, and social environments that citizens face.

It is an index composed of two items: (1) "Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country to men" and (2) "Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are women." Information pertaining to the selection of time-series data was compiled via ANES, American National Election Studies, data file set which includes unweighted information from 1948-1992 but weighted information from studies 1994 and later, using the combination weight present for the latter years. Such a

weighting procedure was followed in order to provide the best available estimates for each time point.

Erikson, Wright, and Mclver (1993) utilize this type of measure and pool it across time (1974-1996) to ensure a sufficient number of observations across regions, making this essentially a cross-sectional measure. Because each variable in the cumulative data file incorporates data for the same question from each of the ANES surveys, the file is particularly useful in service to three kinds of analysis: 1) analysis that focuses on over time change in citizens, in their individual characteristics, in the opinions they hold, and in their political behavior; 2) analysis that looks at subgroups of citizens that are represented by few cases in a single, cross-section sample, but by many more cases when several samples are combined; and 3) analysis that is concerned with replicating results over several elections.

In addition to the ANES surveys, data regarding public opinion perceptions was also obtained through the General Social Survey index. The GSS is widely regarded as the single best source of data on societal trends. The General Social Survey (GSS) is an ongoing survey of social indicators conducted on an annual basis.

The variable names as they appear in this paper in capital letters are all taken from the codebook. Block quota sampling was used in 1972 through 1974 and for half of the 1975 and 1976 surveys. Full probability sampling was utilized for the remaining half of 1975 and 1976 as well as for the years 1977 through 1998. In 1982 and 1987, an over sample of Blacks was employed. The GSS contains a standard 'core' of demographic and attitudinal questions, plus topics of special interest.

Many of the core questions have remain unchanged since 1972 to facilitate time trend studies as well as replication of earlier findings. The GSS takes the pulse of America, and is a unique and valuable resource. It has tracked the opinions of Americans over the last four decades. In this study, the dependent variables used are FEPOLI (women not suited for politics) and FEHOME (women take care of home not country). In an effort to compare cultures the REGION variable used by GSS was broken down geographically and states that fell within the traditionalistic cultures were re-coded as "Traditionalistic" and assigned a range of 1 and other states were re-coded as "Non-Traditionalistic" and assigned a range of 2. The regions, once re-coded serve as the independent variables. In addition, to test the traditional family value system of southern cultures another variable labeled MARHOMO (homosexual couples should have the right to marry one another) is introduced and the same recoding and REGION variables as listed above are used.

It may also be argued that in addition to public opinion, women's socioeconomic standing is a contributing factor in terms of opportunities for advancement. This is measured utilizing information pertaining to the status of women in the states. Some cultures provide for a greater degree of opportunities in that the socioeconomic positions of women are higher than in traditionalistic cultures and in turn allow women more autonomy.

Starting in the 1960's, Thomas Dye and others advanced economic based theories of political culture, arguing that state culture and consequently public policy could be predicted by the basic socioeconomic development of state economies and populations.

The level of economic development and the demographic composition of the community may account for the level of government performance on either dimension. These variables are necessarily related and consequently considered here together. In a more modern society, government can take a more activist role in society, as it will have more resources available to do so. Similarly, in a more modern society government would have the incentive and knowledge to implement more effective administrative systems. A higher level of education provides a larger pool of talent from which government agencies can recruit and enhance their administrative effectiveness.

Putnam (1993) measures political culture in terms of the degree to which it is civic. Civic consisting of four elements: engagement, political, solidarity, and social structures. The engagement concept focuses on the ability and tendency of citizens to actively engage in public affairs in a manner befitting the community. Howell and Day (2000) conducted a study entitled "The Complexities of the Gender Gap". They found that explanations can be placed in two general categories: different life experiences of men and women and socio-psychological differences stemming from how men and women were socialized as children.

The political is one of political equality in which citizens cooperate and work together as equals. Solidarity in this case refers to trust and tolerance in that citizens should respect one another and in terms help each other. The final element is that of social structures which simply stated refers to the associations within a given society that provides the opportunities necessary for cooperative action and participation.

Nonetheless, throughout the United States, women earn less, are less likely to own a business, and are more likely to live in poverty than men.

Disparities abound regionally and by state, continue to shape women's economic opportunities and in turn may impact opportunities available for women to obtain leadership positions. To gauge the variations between political cultures, various indexes based on information obtained through *The Status of Women in the States* which has become a leading source of analysis of women's status across the country. Between 1996 and 2006, *Institute for Women's Policy Research* has produced individual reports on women's status in all 50 states and the District of Columbia, as well as biennially updated reports on national trends across the states. *The Status of Women in the States* project is designed to inform citizens about the progress of women in their state relative to women in other states, to men, and to the nation as a whole. The reports have three main goals: to analyze and disseminate information about women's progress in achieving rights and opportunities; to identify and measure the remaining barriers to equality; and to provide baseline measures and a continuing monitor of women's progress throughout the country *The Status of Women in the States* reports have been used throughout the country to highlight remaining obstacles facing women in the United States and to encourage policy changes designed to improve women's status. Data on the status of women give citizens the information they need to address the key issues facing women and their families.

Employment and Earnings Composite Index, as computed by IWRP, is a composite index consisting of four component indicators: median annual earnings for women, the ratio of the earnings of women to the earnings of men, women's labor force

participation, and the percent of employed women in managerial and professional specialty occupations. To construct this composite index, each of the four component indicators was first standardized. For each of the four indicators, the observed value for the state was divided by the comparable value for the entire United States. The resulting values were summed for each state to create a composite score. Each of the four component indicators has equal weight in the composite (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2006).

The states were ranked from the highest to the lowest score to grade the states on this composite index, values for each of the components were set at desired levels to produce an 'ideal score.' Women's earnings were set at the median annual earnings for men in the United States as a whole; the wage ratio was set at 100 percent, as if women earned as much as men; women's labor force participation was set at the national figure for men; and women in managerial and professional positions was set at the highest score for all states. Each state's score was then compared with the ideal score to determine the state's grade.

Economic Policy Environment Composite Index as calculated by IWRP is a composite index reflects four aspects of the economic environment for women that affect women's economic success and well-being and that can be substantially influenced by government policies: women's educational attainment, business ownership, poverty status, and health insurance coverage.

To construct this composite index, each of the four component indicators was first standardized. For each indicator, the observed value for the state was divided by the

comparable value for the United States as a whole. The resulting values were summed for each state to create a composite score. To create the composite score, women's educational attainment, business ownership, and health insurance coverage were given a weight of 1.0, whereas their poverty status was given a weight of 4.0 (in the first three series of reports, published in 1996, 1998, and 2000, this indicator was given a weight of 1.0, but in 2002 IWPR began weighting it at 4.0. The states were ranked from the highest to the lowest score to grade the states on this composite index, values for each of the components were set at desired levels to produce an 'ideal score.'

The percentage of women with higher education was set at the national value for men; the percentage of businesses owned by women was set as if 50 percent of businesses were owned by women; the percentage of women in poverty was set at the national value for men; and the percentage of women with health insurance was set at the highest value for all states. Each state's score was then compared with the ideal score to determine its ideal score (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2006). The traditionalistic regions by maintaining the status quo will not allow for equitable civic participation. This is measured utilizing information pertaining to the status of women in the states.

Inequities in wealth and quality of life for women are long standing and the degrees of inequities vary by location. Low socioeconomic status can impact women in terms of opportunities for advancement. Early sociological accounts commonly regarded the social system as playing a critical role in determining the eligibility pool for elected office, including the occupational, educational and socioeconomic status of women.

Accounts have emphasized the importance of the pool of women in the sort of related professional, administrative and managerial occupations like the law and journalism that commonly lead to political careers, providing the flexibility, financial resources, experiences and social networks that facilitate running for office (Rule, 1987, 1988; Norris, 1985, 1987; Darcy, Welch & Clark, 1994: 118; Kenworthy & Malami, 1999; p. 257).

Women may find it more difficult to break into electoral office in societies where they are generally disadvantaged due to poor childcare, low literacy, inadequate health care and poverty. In addition, traditionalistic cultures try to benefit from politics, and with their anti-bureaucratic ideals, initiating social or economic programs is uncommon (Elazar, 1984; pp. 115, 119). It has also been asserted that the individual wealth of a state's citizenry may be linked to minority representation. Mladenka (1989) hypothesized that wealthier, better educated populations tend to be more open and tolerant and, as a result, should tend to hire more minorities in all employment categories, including the public sector. Traditionalistic cultures are more likely to impede women pursuing careers in leadership positions due to women's socioeconomic status in the states which allows for less autonomy and fewer opportunities for advancement.

Measures for Women in Politics and Business

The traditionalistic political culture is an elitist construct that tries to maintain the existing social order. There is an established hierarchy where those at the top dominate politics and government, discouraging any public participation that might undermine the politically powerful. Little initiative is taken by traditionalists simply because they must maintain the status quo rather than encourage changes in government. The number of women in state legislatures was located via public records as well as from viable political resources to formulate comparable case studies. Female representation is the average proportion of women holding legislative seats compared to the number of available seats. The number of women in state legislatures was located via public records as well as from viable political resources. Data on policy leaders appointed by current governors were collected from the states via a mailed survey and follow-up phone calls as needed between November 2007 and June 2008 by the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society. Policy leaders as defined by the researchers for the Women's Campaign Foundation, include the following two cohorts of gubernatorial appointees who develop, influence, and advise on public policy: 1. Department Heads - including heads of departments, agencies, offices, boards, commissions, and authorities. 2. Top Advisors in Governors' Offices - including titles such as chief of staff, government liaison, and press secretary/communications director.

Scholars of women in politics and race and ethnic politics have often examined the effects of incorporating these traditionally marginalized groups into decision-making bodies, both at the state and federal level. The information relating to women on

corporate boards was compiled via company proxy statements (DEF 14A), annual reports (Form 10K) and current reports (Form 8-K) filed with the Securities and Exchange. Many companies list numerous "executive officers" and "board members" however, to maintain uniformity only those individuals formally identified in the proxy statements were included in this study. Companies must identify beneficial stockholders, directors and officers under Section 16 of the Exchange Act of 1934.

The unique political cultures of individual states exert an important influence on political attitudes. There are numerous studies relating to how state political cultures differ (Fenton, 1957, 1966; Key, 1949; Lockard, 1959; Patterson, 1968). Some research has focused on the effects of electing women and minorities to legislative bodies (Swers, 2002; Thomas, 1991, 1994; Jones, 1987), while others have examined the effects of representation on the views of constituents (Tate, 2001, 2004; Mansbridge, 1999). As women gain positions in government, it is hoped that the political and economic power of all women will be improved. The assumption is that as women gain power and visibility, they will use it to improve the lives of other women through representation. Numerous studies of women elected to office support this assumption (Bratton & Haynie, 1999; Burrell, 1994; Carroll, 2000; Dodson, 1996; Dodson & Carroll, 1991; Dolan, 1997; Kathlene, 1994; Leader, 1977; Reingold, 1996, 2000; Thomas, 1991, 1994; Thomas & Welch, 1991; Wilkins, 2000).

For the purposes of this work, the argument is made that the importance of gender stereotypes in determining the presence of women in leadership positions cannot be accurately represented by a single effect size estimate. Instead, it is only when we consider that the effect of gender stereotypes acts in a cumulative fashion (representation, public opinion, and culture) that we can see the actual impact.

CHAPTER IV. RESULTS

Attitudes pertaining to gender roles and societal norms represent specific beliefs about women's and men's proper role/place in society (Campbell, 1960; Welch, 1977). Political ideology encompasses various beliefs and positions relating to government activities, policies, and involvement not just the proper role of one entity (gender roles). However, gender role attitudes are indirectly related to both political culture and ideology but do not necessarily reflect cultural and ideological influences.

Almond and Verba (1963) carry forth the notion of political culture in that additional orientations including the parochial, the subject, and the participant all should be factored in assessing political culture. The parochial is an orientation toward private life. The subject is an orientation where individuals must either surrender to the authority of the government or rebel against. The participant is an orientation where there exist desires to impact the political process and in turn attempt to influence public policy.

Traditionalistic states will offer to a lesser degree opportunities for women to influence public policy. Public opinion in terms of the parochial will reflect to a degree the proper place for a woman is still in the home and careers in politics for many women in these areas due to work life balance will be hindered. In addition, cultures with fewer women in visible leadership positions may hinder the younger generation of women leaders from wanting to aspire to influence public policy. The degree to which regions embrace or

reject changing traditional gender roles in part may help to explain why certain regions have more women in leadership positions. Traditionalistic cultures do have fewer women in leadership positions as well as cling more stringently to traditional gender roles according to public opinion.

It has been noted that the transformation of sex roles in the paid labor force, education, and the family has not gone unnoticed. Family structures are changing as is public opinion; however, do traditionalistic regions lag behind the times? Does public opinion vary by region in terms of sex roles? Does public opinion regarding gender stereotypes persist and if so do they vary by region? What impact does the changing of traditional family roles have on the number of women in leadership positions? Does the proportion of women in leadership positions reflect the number of women in the workforce per region? Does socioeconomic standing (women's status) measured by region impact the numbers of women in leadership positions?

Place at Home and At Work

In terms of public opinion and the measures for assessing the manner in which regions view the proper place for women, albeit in positions of power or managing a home it is evident that regions associated with traditionalistic cultures maintain a slightly higher degree of support for a woman's place being in the home. ANES survey data obtained for 1972 through 2004 pertaining to public opinion and traditional gender role perceptions.

"Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?" (7-POINT SCALE SHOWN TO R)

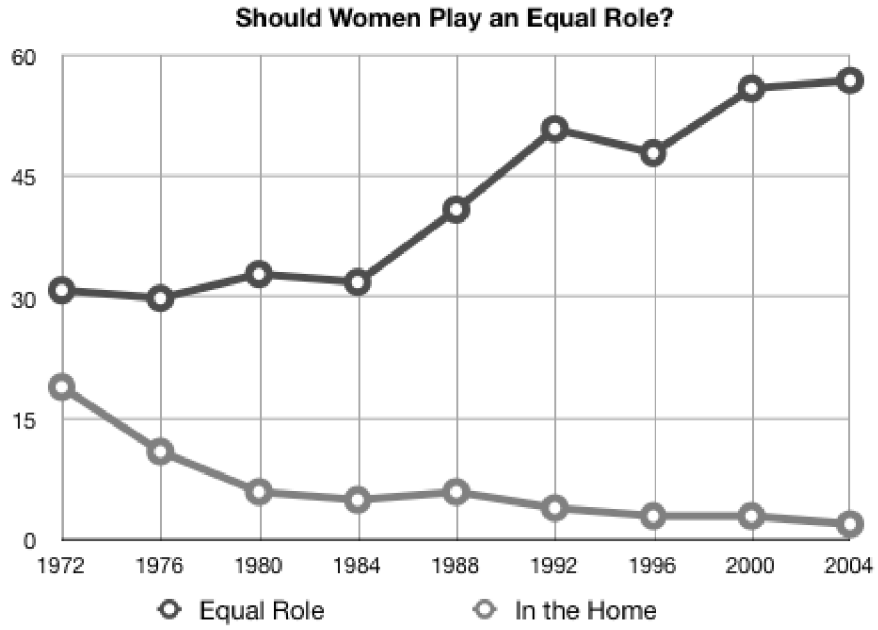
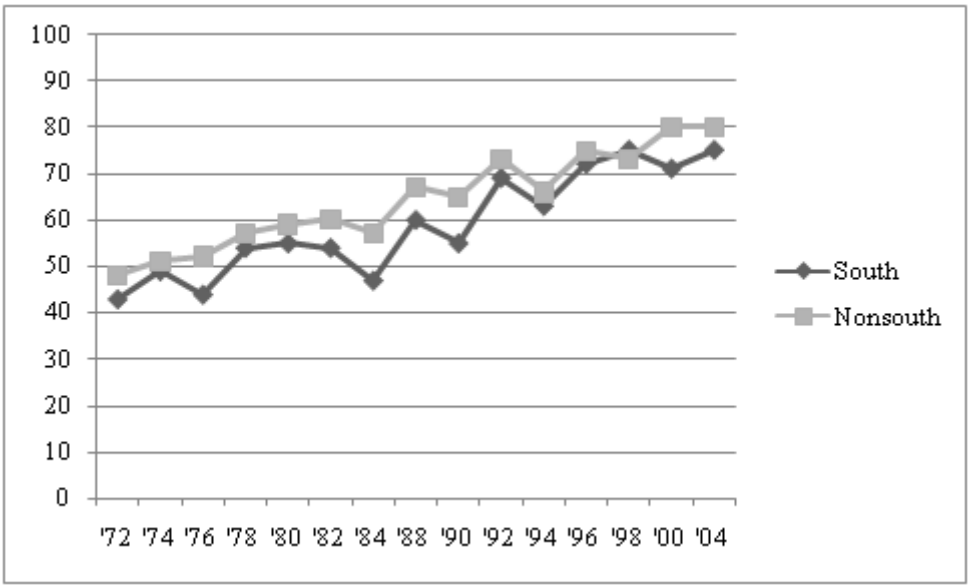


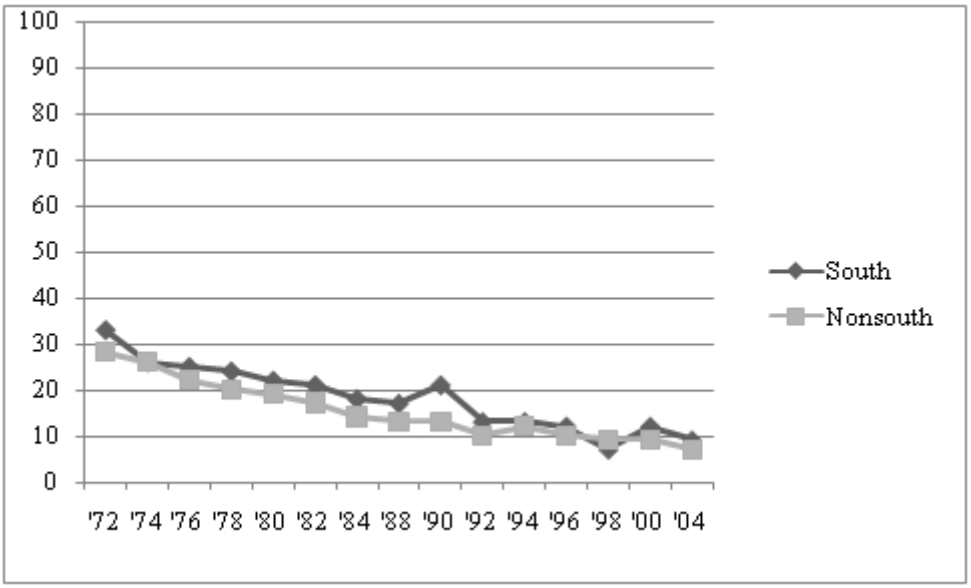
FIGURE 4A NES Guide to Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior
ANES Survey Results, 2004 http://www.electionstudies.org/nesguide/gd-index.htm

Table 8. Public Opinion Polling Data

Equal Role (1,2,3)																
	'72	'74	'76	'78	'80	'82	'84	'86	'88	'90	'92	'94	'96	'98	'00	'04
South	43	49	44	54	55	54	47	**	60	55	69	63	72	75	71	75
Nonsouth	48	51	52	57	59	60	57	**	67	65	73	66	75	73	80	80



Women's Place in Home (5,6,7)																
	'72	'74	'76	'78	'80	'82	'84	'86	'88	'90	'92	'94	'96	'98	'00	'04
South	33	26	25	24	22	21	18	**	17	21	13	13	12	7	12	9
Nonsouth	28	26	22	20	19	17	14	**	13	13	10	12	10	9	9	7



For the most part, attitudes about racial and gender discrimination break down along similar demographic, partisan and ideological lines. More women than men; more blacks and Hispanics than whites; more Democrats than Republicans and more liberals than conservatives see racial bias against blacks as a problem. The same patterns hold for attitudes about gender. Attitudes about men and women as political leaders vary in tandem with the public's attitudes about traditional gender roles. A Gallup Poll taken in 1972 – during the early years of the women's movement – found that a narrow plurality

of the public said women had the better life; 35% said so, compared with 29% who said men had the better life and 30% who volunteered the view that there was no difference. However, in 1993 Gallup Poll found that 60% of the public said men had the better life while just 21% said women had it better. For the most part, attitudes about racial and gender discrimination break down along similar demographic, partisan and ideological lines.

Traditionalistic states, predominantly being southern and conservative, gender differences appear to be amplified in areas where women generally assume the housewife role. In most northern states, both the male and female of the household have jobs. They typically both work full time and their income provides something for the family. Women in this type of culture hold more power because they provide a monetary fund that the family needs to survive. However, women typically do not work as much in most southern states and are viewed as the nurturer and caregiver and when they do work it is for the most part still the job and role of the woman to continue to operate as the nurturer and caregiver. This type of role socialization is seen more in traditionalistic cultures. Using public opinion data from the General Social Survey, the below cross tabs reflect differences between traditionalistic cultures and other cultures in regards to public perceptions and traditional gender roles. Following the rules of cross tabulation, region is the column variable and the attitude is the row variable.

Table 9. FEHOME Cross Tabs

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
WOMEN TAKE CARE OF HOME NOT COUNTRY * Political Culture Regions	22538	44.2%	28482	55.8%	51020	100.0%

WOMEN TAKE CARE OF HOME NOT COUNTRY * Political Culture Regions Crosstabulation

			Political Culture Regions		
			Traditionalistic Cultures	Non-Traditionalistic Cultures	Total
WOMEN TAKE CARE OF HOME NOT COUNTRY	AGREE	Count	2602	2822	5424
		Expected Count	2154.1	3269.9	5424.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	29.1%	20.8%	24.1%
		% of Total	11.5%	12.5%	24.1%
	DISAGREE	Count	6349	10765	17114
		Expected Count	6796.9	10317.1	17114.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	70.9%	79.2%	75.9%
		% of Total	28.2%	47.8%	75.9%
	Total	Count	8951	13587	22538
		Expected Count	8951.0	13587.0	22538.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	39.7%	60.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.034E2	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	202.944	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	200.947	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	203.389	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	22538				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2154.15.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Based on the above cross tabulations in regards to public opinion and public perception of the proper role of women, traditionalistic cultures agree more strongly with the notion that women should take care of the home. Thus, reinforcing the idea that the

traditional gender roles stereotypes continue to exists and may pose boundaries for opportunities for women to achieve leadership positions.

Many in traditionalistic cultures maintain a women's place is in the home rather than running the country or taking a prominent role in politics. It is this mentality that has the potential to restrict opportunities for the next generation of women leaders in terms of negative undertones associated with maintaining work life balance. Support for gender equality is less in traditionalistic cultures, and there is growing concern that women who compete in the workforce do so to the detriment of t the traditional family structure. Thus, these areas do not openly encourage women to seek leadership positions since not only would traditional gender roles be viewed differently but also changes to the family structure itself would severely challenge the status quo.

In addition to "proper" place in regards to women, traditionalistic cultures contend by way of public opinion more so than other cultures that women simply are not suited for politics emotionally. This is visible via the cross tabulations below and affirms preconceived stereotype referring not to one individual's ability but rather to how an entire group's abilities can result in a negative performance evaluation.

Women are seen as not suited for leadership positions because they are emotionally weaker than men by many in traditionalistic cultures. This type of stereotype reinforces the notion that some occupations women are not suited for and by doing so has the potential to hinder the aspirations of future women leaders in these areas.

Table 10 FEPOLI Cross Tabs

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
WOMEN NOT SUITED FOR POLITICS * Political Culture Regions	25826	50.6%	25194	49.4%	51020	100.0%

WOMEN NOT SUITED FOR POLITICS * Political Culture Regions Crosstabulation

			Political Culture Regions		
			Traditionalistic Cultures	Non-Traditionalistic Cultures	Total
WOMEN NOT SUITED FOR POLITICS	AGREE	Count	3713	4383	8096
		Expected Count	3288.1	4807.9	8096.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	35.4%	28.6%	31.3%
		% of Total	14.4%	17.0%	31.3%
	DISAGREE	Count	6776	10954	17730
		Expected Count	7200.9	10529.1	17730.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	64.6%	71.4%	68.7%
		% of Total	26.2%	42.4%	68.7%
	Total	Count	10489	15337	25826
		Expected Count	10489.0	15337.0	25826.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	40.6%	59.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.347E2	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	134.348	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	133.882	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	134.659	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	25826				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3288.12.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Based on the assumption that traditionalistic cultures will try to maintain the status quo and preserve traditional family roles and values, traditionalistic cultures will be less supportive of gay marriage. In an effort to preserve the existing social order, traditionalistic states will be more reluctant to grant equal rights to a minority group especially a group that could potentially threaten traditional family values. These are reasonable assumptions, and are theoretically supported by the findings of Fino (1987), Joslyn (1980), Kincaid (1980), Gibson (1990), and Dorris (1999).

It can be asserted, based on findings by DiSarro (2006) that states with a traditionalistic political culture have and will continue to have public policy in place that significantly impedes the rights of both homosexual individuals and same-sex couples, specifically in the areas of hate crimes, sodomy laws, adoption and marriage or civil unions.

It is also found that due to a lack of representative bureaucracy in states with a traditionalistic culture, lawmakers in those states significantly impede the power of the gay minority to change public policy and thereby insure the protection and preservation of the status quo. Findings by DiSarro (2006) further support that due to the lower socioeconomic and educated position of traditionalistic states there is a significantly lower chance, due to a reduction in general public awareness and understanding, of changes in public policy in support of gay rights.

A 2005 statewide poll by Gerald Johnson of the Capital Survey Research Center, the most recent available on the issue, found that nearly 87% of respondents support allowing only heterosexual couples to marry; more than 71% oppose civil unions for gay

men and lesbians and nearly 53% oppose making sure that gays have the same rights as straights.

In 2006, 82% of Alabama voters supported the constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage but Alabama is not alone or unique among Southern states supporting this ban. The Pew Research Center found that 64% of Southerners believe that homosexuality is morally wrong, a percentage higher than in any other region of the country (Pew Research Center, 2007). This can be a result of the traditional roles and values, which maintain the current social structure.

Further evidence in findings by DiSarro also supports that corporate lobbying in non-traditionalistic states had a fairly significant impact on adoption of policy in support of gay rights, further showing the tendency of lawmakers in traditionalistic states not to be swayed by corporate lobbying in favor of gay rights, instead it would be a reasonable assumption that lawmakers in traditionalistic states would tend to be swayed by corporate lobbyists that oppose policy changes in support of gay rights and therefore further fortify and maintain the status quo.

Table 11. MARHOMO Cross Tabs

			Political Culture Regions		
			Traditionalistic Cultures	Non-Traditionalistic Cultures	Total
HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO MARRY	STRONGLY AGREE	Count	172	314	486
		Expected Count	216.1	269.9	486.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	8.6%	12.6%	10.9%
		% of Total	3.8%	7.0%	10.9%
	AGREE	Count	267	458	725
		Expected Count	322.4	402.6	725.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	13.4%	18.4%	16.2%
		% of Total	6.0%	10.2%	16.2%
	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	Count	246	383	629
		Expected Count	279.7	349.3	629.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	12.4%	15.4%	14.1%
		% of Total	5.5%	8.6%	14.1%
	DISAGREE	Count	420	485	905
		Expected Count	402.4	502.6	905.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	21.1%	19.5%	20.2%
		% of Total	9.4%	10.8%	20.2%
	STRONGLY DISAGREE	Count	884	844	1728
		Expected Count	768.4	959.6	1728.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	44.4%	34.0%	38.6%
		% of Total	19.8%	18.9%	38.6%
	Total	Count	1989	2484	4473
		Expected Count	1989.0	2484.0	4473.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	44.5%	55.5%	100.0%

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO MARRY * Political Culture Regions	4473	8.8%	46547	91.2%	51020	100.0%

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	73.362[a]	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	73.806	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	70.052	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	4473		

Her Place in Current Political Culture

Calculations pertaining to region were based on the average of the composite index for the three scores. Women's economic progress differs strongly by region and from state to state and can be generalized by region and political culture. The states with traditionalistic political cultures also displayed the least favorable scores for areas which would favor women in terms of economic and environment composite index scores. This in part could help explain why there are fewer women in leadership positions in regions with traditionalistic political cultures since women to a degree have less financial autonomy and flexibility. Limited socioeconomic standings can negatively impact the opportunities for advancement as well thus resulting in fewer women in leadership positions. Rodney E. Hero, in reviewing the state politics notes that there are several approaches to explaining state policy: approaches that focus on political institutions, approaches that stress the economic context of states and fiscal competition; and approaches that stress the "broader political context" of state politics, which includes political culture and public opinion or ideology (Hero, 1998).

Empowering women and other socially disadvantaged groups and involving them in decision making expands their range of economic opportunities. Even though women's contributions to the economy and development in the world is slowly being acknowledged, women still are not equally represented in the making or implementing of policy decisions on either the local or national levels.

Governments' macroeconomic policies do not incorporate gender perspectives in their design and ignore structure of households and social relations that influence

women's roles in production. In fact, they are usually presented without specific mention of gender but this does not mean the policies are not gender biased. The economy is defined in terms of marketed goods and services in the formal sector in which women are the minority.

The Economic Policy Environment Composite Index combines four indicators of the women-friendliness of state economic policy: women's educational level (measured by the share of women with at least a four-year college degree), women's business ownership, women's poverty, and women's health insurance coverage. The average per political culture was then taken and as was hypothesized the least favorable culture for women are traditionalistic cultures. In Elazar's "traditionalistic political culture" (found chiefly in the South), it is widely expected that elites will rule government and the economy, and non-elites are certainly expected not to challenge the dominance of the elites, and perhaps not even vote (Elazar, 1984). Traditionalistic culture, then, strongly accepts income-based social hierarchies. It has been noted that the transformation of sex roles in the paid labor force, education, and the family has not gone unnoticed. Family structures are changing as is public opinion; however, do traditionalistic regions lag behind the times? Does public opinion vary by region in terms of sex roles? Does public opinion regarding gender stereotypes persist and if so do they vary by region? What impact does the changing of traditional family roles have on the number of women in leadership positions? Does the proportion of women in leadership positions reflect the number of women in the workforce per region? Does socioeconomic standing (women's status) measured by region impact the numbers of women in leadership positions?

Table 12. How the States Measure Up

How the States Measure Up: Women's Status on the Social and Economic Autonomy Composite Index and Its Components											
	Composite Index			Percent of Women with Health Insurance		Percent of Women with Four or More Years of College		Percent of Businesses that are Women-Owned		Percent of Women Living Above Poverty	
State	Score	Rank	Grade	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Alabama	6.48	47	D-	81.5	32	19.6	48	26.4	31	83.1	47
Alaska	7.13	15	C+	79.3	39	29.1	13	26.2	34	90	9
Arizona	6.87	33	D+	78.6	42	25.2	26	28.8	14	85.7	37
Arkansas	6.28	51	F	76.1	47	17.6	50	23.7	48	83.8	44
California	7.12	16	C+	78	43	28.8	15	29.9	5	87.5	31
Colorado	7.4	9	B-	81	33	34.2	6	29.1	12	89.2	14
Connecticut	7.48	6	B	87.5	8	34.9	4	27.2	23	89.9	12
Delaware	7.04	22	C	86.4	13	25.4	24	24.1	46	90.9	6
District of Columbia	7.72	1	B+	86.9	10	45.3	1	33.2	1	82.2	49
Florida	6.89	31	D+	76.4	46	24.2	32	28.4	16	88	29
Georgia	7.02	25	C	79.6	38	27.5	20	29.1	12	86.7	36
Hawaii	7.46	7	B	88.6	2	30.4	11	30.1	4	90.7	7
Idaho	6.79	36	D+	79.8	37	22.5	40	23.7	48	90	9
Illinois	7.16	13	C+	83.2	26	27.7	18	29.7	6	88.1	27
Indiana	6.82	34	D+	82.6	30	21.2	45	27.4	21	88.1	27
Iowa	7.03	23	C	87.9	6	24	34	27	26	89.2	14
Kansas	7.14	14	C+	86.1	14	28.2	16	27.2	23	88.5	19
Kentucky	6.5	46	D-	82.8	28	19.5	49	25.7	39	83.7	46
Louisiana	6.37	49	F	73.2	50	20.9	47	26.4	31	81.6	51
Maine	6.88	32	D+	87.9	6	25.3	25	24	47	87.2	34
Maryland	7.55	3	B	83.5	25	34.6	5	31	2	89.9	12
Massachusetts	7.54	4	B	88.3	4	35.6	2	28.7	15	89.2	14
Michigan	7.02	25	C	86	15	23.5	38	29.6	8	87.8	30
Minnesota	7.57	2	B	91	1	32.3	8	27.9	19	92.6	2
Mississippi	6.47	48	D-	78.9	40	21.8	42	25.1	41	82.7	48
Missouri	6.96	29	C-	84.9	20	23.7	35	27.4	21	88.5	19
Montana	6.68	42	D	77.3	44	24.9	28	24.4	44	85.6	38
Nebraska	7.09	19	C	85.2	19	25.5	23	26.6	28	90.3	8
Nevada	6.81	35	D+	78.7	41	21.4	44	28.1	17	88.2	26
New Hampshire	7.42	8	B-	86	15	31.9	9	24.7	43	93.4	1
New Jersey	7.4	9	B-	82.8	28	33.6	7	26.1	36	91.4	4
New Mexico	6.69	41	D	73.8	49	24.4	30	30.9	3	82.2	49
New York	7.12	16	C+	83.7	23	30.6	10	29.6	8	84.8	40
North Carolina	6.76	38	D+	81.6	31	24.2	32	27.1	25	84.7	41
North Dakota	7.01	27	C	88.1	5	27.6	19	23.3	50	88.5	19
Ohio	6.96	29	C-	85.9	17	22.7	39	28.1	17	88.5	19
Oklahoma	6.64	43	D	75.3	48	21.6	43	25.7	39	86.9	35
Oregon	7.09	19	C	79.9	35	27	21	29.5	10	88.3	25
Pennsylvania	6.97	28	C-	86.6	12	24.5	29	26	37	88.5	19
Rhode Island	7.11	18	C	86.8	11	28.9	14	26.5	29	87.5	31
South Carolina	6.71	39	D	80.7	34	23.6	37	26.2	34	85	39
South Dakota	6.79	36	D+	85.6	18	25	27	22.4	51	87.3	33
Tennessee	6.63	44	D	84.7	21	21.9	41	26	37	83.9	43
Texas	6.57	45	D-	70.8	51	23.7	35	27	26	84.1	42
Utah	7.09	19	C	83	27	25.9	22	25.1	41	91.7	3
Vermont	7.53	5	B	87.2	9	35.5	3	26.3	33	91.4	4
Virginia	7.36	11	B-	84.2	22	30.4	11	29.7	6	90	9
Washington	7.18	12	C+	83.7	23	28	17	29.4	11	88.5	19
West Virginia	6.34	50	F	77.1	45	15.2	51	27.7	20	83.8	44
Wisconsin	7.03	23	C	88.6	2	24.3	31	26.5	29	89.2	14
Wyoming	6.71	39	D	79.9	35	21	46	24.4	44	88.8	18

Table 13. Women's Status On the Social and Economic Autonomy

Women's Status on the Social and Economic Autonomy	
Best States	**Worst States**
Minnesota	Arkansas
Maryland	West Virginia
Massachusetts	Louisiana
Vermont	Mississippi
Connecticut	Alabama

Ensuring equal access to opportunities for leadership position obtainment is important if disadvantaged populations are to be able to improve their status. Traditionalistic political cultures are the least women-friendly environments based on the above analysis. However, business leaders and to a degree the general population influence whether a state's economy is rated highly for women or not. Business leaders make decisions on whether to hire women for particular jobs and determine equal pay and recommend advanced trainings for promotions thus impacting not only recruitment of women but also retention and promotion. The general population by expressing support for nontraditional gender roles can encourage the next generation of women

leaders to pursue occupations that can result in leadership positions in both the public and private spheres.

Women, who remain the primary caregivers in society, are more likely to live in poverty than men. Households headed by single women are more than twice as likely to live in poverty, with 28.4 of those headed by single women, compared with 13.5 percent of those headed by single men qualifying as poor in 2004 (National Poverty Center, 2008). Furthermore, one might argue it is more difficult for women to share their expertise related to the problems that touch their lives because the public tends to see women as less authoritative, less knowledgeable, and less credible in the public sphere than men.

Her Place

In an effort to answer the questions above, calculations made in terms of the actual number and percentage of women in politics and business were utilized. The total number of legislators for each state was calculated and then divided by the total number of women legislators. As was predicted, the least amount of women was located in traditionalistic political cultures (least for single calculations legislators alone: board members alone). Based on the information below the hypothesis contending that regions with traditionalistic political cultures have fewer women in leadership positions is a valid claim.

Gender balance on boards and commissions is important to ensure that all citizens have equal representation, but appointments are especially important to the women who

are chosen to serve. At least one researcher showed that female legislators placed a higher value on experience gained serving on a board or commission than did male legislators (Carroll & Strimling, 1983). Women in the study considered those appointments to be political experience that was necessary to run for state legislative office and those appointments likely gave women the confidence to seek elective office An appointment can be a way to serve without having to actually endure the hardships associated with running office. In addition serving in an appointed role can serve as a primer for running.

Table 14. Legislative Representation

State	Year	State Rank	TW/TS	TS/TH	TW/TL	% Tot. Women
AL	2008	48	12875	14/ 105	18/ 140	12.9
AK	2008	28	39892	14885	13/60	21.7
AZ	2008	6	14/30	17/60	31/90	34.4
AR	2008	29	12936	22/100	28/135	20.7
CA	2008	17	14885	23/80	33/120	27.5
CO	2008	2	13058	26/65	36/100	36
CT	2008	16	13363	45/151	53/187	28.3
DE	2008	11	40015	15311	19/62	30.6
FL	2008	25	14885	27/120	37/160	23.1
GA	2008	31	'8/56	39/180	47/236	19.9
HI	2008	7	40019	18/51	25/76	32.9
ID	2008	22	12936	19/70	25/105	23.8
IL	2008	18	13/59	35/118	48/177	27.1
IN	2008	36	18598	16/100	28/150	18.7
IA	2008	26	18415	28/100	34/150	22.7
KS	2008	15	13/40	35/125	48/165	29.1
KY	2008	47	14001	13/100	18/138	13
LA	2008	43	14458	14/105	22/144	15.3
ME	2008	10	13119	46/151	58/186	31.2
MD	2008	9	17472	48/141	59/188	31.4
MA	2008	20	14946	38/160	50/200	25
MI	2008	32	14124	20/110	29/148	19.6
MN	2008	5	27/67	43/134	70/201	34.8
MS	2008	45	19085	21/122	25/174	14.4
MO	2008	30	12601	33/163	40/197	20.3
MT	2008	21	18507	28/100	37/150	24.7
NE	2008	37	18142	Unicameral	18142	18.4
NV	2008	13	39985	13/42	19/63	30.2
NM	2008	12	15676	22/70	34/112	30.4
NH	2008	3	40110	140/400	150/424	35.4
NJ	2008	14	14855	26/80	35/120	29.2
NY	2008	23	22951	39/150	50/212	23.6
NC	2008	19	18445	38/120	45/170	26.5
ND	2008	41	17319	18/94	24/141	17
OH	2008	38	12206	18/99	24/132	18.2
OK	2008	49	17715	12/101	19/149	12.8
OR	2008	8	40116	19/60	29/90	32.2
PA	2008	44	18537	27/203	37/253	14.6
RI	2008	33	14062	15/75	22/113	19.5
SC	2008	50	16834	13/124	15/170	8.8
SD	2008	40	12905	13/70	18/105	17.1
TN	2008	39	12267	15/99	23/132	17.4
TX	2008	35	11414	30/150	34/181	18.8
UT	2008	34	39932	16/75	20/104	19.2
VT	2008	1	40116	59/150	69/180	38.3
VA	2008	42	14824	15/100	23/140	16.4
WA	2008	3	20/49	32/98	52/147	35.4
WV	2008	46	12451	17/100	19/134	14.2
WI	2008	27	12236	22/99	29/132	22
WY	2008	24	39933	17/60	21/90	23.3

State	Year	State Rank	TW/TS	TS/TH	TW/TL	*% Tot. Women*
AL	2008	48	4/ 35	14/ 105	18/ 140	*12.9*
AR	2008	29	6/35	22/100	28/135	*20.7*
AZ	2008	6	14/30	17/60	31/90	*34.4*
FL	2008	25	10/40	27/120	37/160	*23.1*
GA	2008	31	'8/56	39/180	47/236	*19.9*
KY	2008	47	5/38	13/100	18/138	*13*
LA	2008	43	8/39	14/105	22/144	*15.3*
MS	2008	45	4/52	21/122	25/174	*14.4*
NC	2008	19	7/50	38/120	45/170	*26.5*
NM	2008	12	12/42	22/70	34/112	*30.4*
OK	2008	49	7/48	12/101	19/149	*12.8*
SC	2008	50	2/46	13/124	15/170	*8.8*
TN	2008	39	8/33	15/99	23/132	*17.4*
TX	2008	35	4/31	30/150	34/181	*18.8*
VA	2008	42	8/40	15/100	23/140	*16.4*
WV	2008	46	2/34	17/100	19/134	*14.2*

Thomas' 1991 article "The Impact of Women on State Legislative Policies" investigates the attitudes and political behavior of women in state legislatures. She finds that women legislators consider bills dealing with women, children, welfare, and education as more important than their male counterparts did. Thomas' 1994 book found similar results: women state legislators placed higher priorities on policies that concern women, children, and families, while men legislators focused on business and economic policies.

Research on women in the U.S. Congress has found that congresswomen are more likely to support women's issues (Burrell, 1994; Carroll, 1984). Swers' (2002) work finds that "…the close examination of members' legislative activity in the 103rd and104th Congresses demonstrates that the personal identity of our representatives does have tangible policy consequences" (p. 126).

Table 15. State Executive Appointments 1997-2007

State	Percent of Appts Held by Women 2007	Percent of Appts Held by Women 1997	Net Increase
Alabama	20%	19%	1%
Alaska	15%	23%	-8%
Arizona	30%	14%	16%
Arkansas	26%	8%	18%
California	36%	30%	6%
Colorado	24%	7%	17%
Connecticut	43%	21%	22%
Delaware	38%	33%	5%
Florida	40%	8%	32%
Georgia	20%	14%	6%
Hawaii	41%	27%	15%
Idaho	17%	22%	-6%
Illinois	24%	31%	-8%
Indiana	27%	25%	2%
Iowa	25%	31%	-6%
Kansas	23%	30%	-7%
Kentucky	20%	0%	20%
Louisiana	23%	20%	3%
Maine	38%	25%	13%
Maryland	27%	18%	10%
Massachusetts	44%	25%	19%
Michigan	38%	0%	38%
Minnesota	38%	29%	8%
Mississippi	29%	0%	29%
Missouri	40%	20%	20%
Montana	37%	25%	12%
Nebraska	29%	25%	4%
Nevada	29%	46%	-17%
New Hampshire	0%	8%	-8%
New Jersey	40%	29%	11%
New Mexico	43%	13%	30%
New York	50%	9%	41%
North Carolina	20%	38%	-18%
North Dakota	50%	10%	40%
Ohio	36%	30%	6%
Oklahoma	25%	0%	25%
Oregon	27%	8%	18%
Pennsylvania	31%	20%	11%
Rhode Island	42%	33%	8%
South Carolina	29%	30%	-1%
South Dakota	22%	29%	-6%
Tennessee	43%	21%	22%
Texas	0%	0%	0%
Utah	24%	23%	0%
Vermont	17%	17%	0%
Virginia	36%	43%	-6%
Washington	52%	11%	41%
West Virginia	50%	17%	33%
Wisconsin	33%	18%	15%
Wyoming	8%	8%	-1%

Table 16. State Executive Cabinet Appointments 2007

State	Number of Appointments	Percent Held by Women
Alabama	20	20%
Alaska	13	15%
Arizona	30	30%
Arkansas*	19	26%
California*	11	36%
Colorado	17	24%
Connecticut*	21	43%
Delaware	13	38%
Florida*	15	40%
Georgia*	10	20%
Hawaii	17	41%
Idaho	12	17%
Illinois*	17	24%
Indiana	15	27%
Iowa*	16	25%
Kansas	13	23%
Kentucky	10	20%
Louisiana	13	23%
Maine	16	38%
Maryland	22	27%
Massachusetts	9	44%
Michigan	16	38%
Minnesota	24	38%
Mississippi*	7	29%
Missouri	10	40%
Montana	19	37%
Nebraska	28	29%
Nevada	17	29%
New Hampshire*	15	0%
New Jersey	20	40%
New Mexico	21	43%
New York*	16	50%
North Carolina	10	20%
North Dakota	16	50%
Ohio	22	36%
Oklahoma	8	25%
Oregon*	15	27%
Pennsylvania	26	31%
Rhode Island*	12	42%
South Carolina	14	29%
South Dakota	18	22%
Tennessee	21	43%
Texas*	5	0%
Utah	17	24%
Vermont	6	17%
Virginia	11	36%
Washington	23	52%
West Virginia	8	50%
Wisconsin	15	33%
Wyoming*	13	8%
* denotes informal cabinet		

Table 17. State Cabinet Appointments Traditionalistic Cultures

State	Number of Appointments	Percent Held by Women
Alabama	20	20%
Arizona	30	30%
Arkansas	19	26%
Florida	15	40%
Georgia	10	20%
Kentucky	10	20%
Louisiana	13	23%
Mississippi	7	29%
New Mexico	21	43%
North Carolina	10	20%
South Carolina	14	29%
Tennessee	21	43%
Texas	5	0%
Virginia	11	36%
West Virginia	8	50%

Table 18. Department Heads and Top Advisor's in Governors' Office 2007

State	Percent Women Policy	Percent Women in Population	Representation Ratio	Ranking
Alabama	25.8	51.7	0.5	46
Alaska	44.4	48.3	0.92	5
Arizona	35.1	50.1	0.7	23
Arkansas	30.2	51.2	0.59	33
California	42.1	50.2	0.84	10
Colorado	32.4	49.6	0.65	30
Connecticut	48.6	51.6	0.94	3
Delaware	37.5	51.4	0.73	18
Florida	37	51.2	0.72	20
Georgia	27.8	50.8	0.55	38
Hawaii	34.8	49.8	0.7	24
Idaho	23.8	49.9	0.48	47
Illinois	35.6	51	0.7	25
Indiana	34.8	51	0.68	26
Iowa	33.3	50.9	0.65	27
Kansas	27.5	50.6	0.54	40
Kentucky	28.6	51.1	0.56	35
Louisiana	21.4	51.6	0.42	49
Maine	29	51.3	0.57	34
Maryland	27.8	51.7	0.54	41
Massachusetts	45.1	51.8	0.87	7
Michigan	36.4	51	0.71	22
Minnesota	37	50.5	0.73	17
Mississippi	27.6	51.7	0.53	44
Missouri	28	51.4	0.54	39
Montana	54.5	50.2	1.09	1
Nebraska	41.5	50.7	0.82	12
Nevada	44.8	49.1	0.91	6
New Hampshire	42.9	50.8	0.84	8
New Jersey	43.3	51.5	0.84	9
New Mexico	37.5	50.8	0.74	16
New York	33.8	51.8	0.65	29
North Carolina	28	51	0.55	37
North Dakota	41.7	50.1	0.83	11
Ohio	31.6	51.4	0.61	31
Oklahoma	27.3	50.9	0.54	42
Oregon	39.7	50.4	0.79	15
Pennsylvania	26.2	51.7	0.51	45
Rhode Island	28.6	52	0.55	36
South Carolina	37.5	51.4	0.73	19
South Dakota	16.7	50.4	0.33	50
Tennessee	41.2	51.3	0.8	14
Texas	26.9	50.4	0.53	43
Utah	30.3	49.9	0.61	32
Vermont	48.3	51	0.95	2
Virginia	33.3	51	0.65	28
Washington	46.7	50.2	0.93	4
West Virginia	41.9	51.4	0.82	13
Wisconsin	36.4	50.6	0.72	21
Wyoming	23.3	49.7	0.47	48

Her Place in Traditionalistic Culture

As Maehr (1974) pointed out, "Achievement is a function of more or less ephemeral social expectations that are embodied in what we call norms. In a very real sense, a social group tells a person what to strive for as well as how to attain this end. The effect of such norms is clearly an important variable in an achievement situation" (p. 66). In terms of attitudes and perceptions of leaders and leadership positions Eagly and Karau (2002) propose a role congruity theory explanation of prejudice displayed against female leaders. This theory argues that inconsistencies between gender stereotypes and leader expectations negatively affect women's advancement potential. Therefore, advancement potential is hindered by lowered expectations about the potential performance of women and less positive evaluations of female leaders' actual performance. This theory provides a strong base for the increased exploration of stereotypes and how perceptions vary across regions. Areas with traditionalistic political cultures are less conducive to female representation because of the view women's proper role in the domestic arena and because of strict adherence to elite participation and preservation of the status quo. Deviating from traditional gender roles is not as acceptable as in the individualist and moralistic political cultures thus restricting opportunities for women to obtain leadership positions.

TABLE 19. Politics and Women's Status on the Social and Economic Autonomy

Best States	Dominant Political Culture	Percentage of State Legislators that Are Women	Percentage of Cabinet Appointments that Are Women	Percentage of Fortune 500 Corporate Board Members that are Women
Minnesota	Moralistic	35%	38%	17.80%
Maryland	Individualistic	31%	27%	18.18%
Massachusetts	Individualistic	25%	44%	20.34%
Vermont	Moralistic	38%	17%	0.00%
Connecticut	Individualistic	28%	43%	18.75%

Worst States	Dominant Political Culture	Percentage of State Legislators that Are Women	Percentage of Cabinet Appointments that Are Women	Percentage of Fortune 500 Corporate Board Members that are Women
Arkansas	Traditionalistic	21%	26%	10.91%
West Virginia	Traditionalistic	14%	50%	0.00%
Louisiana	Traditionalistic	15%	23%	0.00%
Mississippi	Traditionalistic	14%	29%	0.00%
Alabama	Traditionalistic	13%	20%	8.33%

The degree to which regions embrace or reject changing traditional gender roles in part may help to explain why certain regions have more women in leadership positions. Traditionalistic cultures do have fewer women in leadership positions as well as cling more stringently to traditional gender roles according to public opinion. In some states, voters are socialized to view politics as a man's world (Bullock & Heys, 1972). The degree of fortification of gender/sex roles vary by region and regions adhering to the

traditional norms create less conducive avenues for advancement for women. Politics has been regarded as better suited for men not only because of the skills necessary to participate but also because women are the mothers of our children and the moral pillars of society.

Thus, traditionalistic states have the least amount of women in leadership positions based on the high degree of socialization and adherence to traditional gender role norms. There have not been complete sequential measures of state attitudinal characteristics and little is understood about how political culture, public perception (stereotypes of gender roles), and women's status in the states impact the number of women in leadership positions.

The Southern Lady, by Anne Firor Scott, deals with the changes in the actuality of women's lives in the South from prior to the Civil War until after women received the right to vote. She explains that her purpose in writing the book "is fourfold: to describe the culturally defined image of the lady; to trace the effect this definition had on women's behavior; to describe the realities of women's lives which were often at odds with this image; to describe an characterize the struggle of women to free themselves from the confines of cultural expectation and find a way to self-determination" (p. x). It is this struggle that our future women leaders in traditionalistic cultures must contend with and with the growing visibility of prominent women leaders perhaps the path will paved for our next generation.

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSIONS AND THE NEED FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

> "If women are expected to do the same work as men, we must teach them the same things." Plato (427 BC - 347 BC)

It is still lonely for women at the very highest rungs of the corporate and political ladders; although women have made significant advances in terms of eradicating the pipeline problem the numbers of qualified women for leadership positions are simply not reflected. Regardless of gain in the status of women, successful leaders are more likely to be men than women. The number of women pursuing careers in business and politics has dramatically increased in recent years yet the upper echelon of both areas still continue to be male dominated.

Women play an increasingly vital role in the political and business arena yet the proportion of women in key leadership positions decreases at the upper levels. External forces play a key role in defining gender within a society. External factors can range from the location, traditions, economy to the type of government that controls or rules over a society. Many of these elements or external factors will determine, in some way, what gender means to a society and what roles will be given to males and females within a society. These external factors can influence internal factors within a society. The

external factors can effect one's beliefs, behaviors, and actions thus creating an ideal in which the rest of society attempts to follow.

One might ask the question, what is hindering the ascent for women up the leadership ladder in terms of politics and business? Political science and psychology literature are replete with studies of the underrepresentation of women in political offices. Various reasons which hinder and account for the lack of female officeholders prevail including: the power of incumbency; limited access to campaign money and escalating campaign costs; the rise of negative campaigning; the lack of political experience among women; an entrenched "good old boy network"; inadequate political party support; few women running for offices; and stereotypical attitudes about politics as a male domain. Another general obstacle female candidates continue to encounter is "voter hostility" voters (male and female) who, for a variety of cultural and psychological reasons, prefer to be represented by a man.

Gender stereotypes, which refer to cognitive structures that influence the way individuals' process information regarding men and women, are persistent, well documented, and highly resistant to change (Heilman, 2001) and cultures that cling to the status quo are less receptive to change and in turn limit opportunities for women. National data suggests that women's networks flourish in states where the population is highly educated, where women have achieved economic independence, and where both men and women recognize that the perpetuation of male dominance in politics deprives women of a fair share of public roles and unnecessarily limits the talent available to solve

pressing public problems. However, for the most part, the above opportunities are limited in traditionalistic regions.

The continuing emphasis on the need to utilize fully women's leadership skills in traditionally or predominantly male environments highlights the need for understanding gender stereotypes and leadership characteristics. Individuals in key leadership positions in organizations and governments are responsible for making important and far-reaching decisions that influence many aspects of society (Carli & Eagly, 2001). When addressing the lack of women in leadership positions, a large portion of the literature focuses on attitudes and traits. The gender stereotypes that directly relate to the leadership domain are those that revolve around communal attributes. In addition, literature exists to show that men and women have similar traits, motivations, leadership styles, and skills and that women perform equal to or better than men.

During 1970-80 most female managers tried to copy the style of male managers to succeed in their newly acquired roles. At the end of the 1980s women realized that in to-day's information technology environment, where person skills are more useful, that the female ways of management are better suited than that of males (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1990; Offermann & Armitage, 1993).

Data analysis shows that companies with more women on their boards performed better than average; in data provided by research firm Catalyst, Fortune 500 companies who had the biggest percentage of female directors also outperformed the companies with the lowest percentages by 53 in terms of return on equity, and 66 in terms of return on invested capital. Companies with more women board directors have more inclusive

workplace cultures, policies, and programs that support women's advancement. Women board directors serve as role models to women in the pipeline and demonstrate that women can fulfill their highest ambitions. Women board directors are a powerful antidote to damaging stereotypes that diminish women's abilities. Growth overall has been hard to come by. Experts say that it's a matter of status quo, the economy and simple opportunity.

We often think of leaders as dominant and ambitious - as embodying qualities that closely match the stereotype of men. On the other hand, the traits that make up the feminine stereotype (e.g., friendliness and sensitivity) are seen as less vital to leadership. These stereotypes result in women being evaluated less positively than men for leadership positions.

Gender stereotypes portray women as lacking the very qualities that people commonly associate with effective leadership. As a result, they often create false perceptions that women leaders just don't measure up to men in important ways. Many women confront stressors in the leadership role that stem from stereotypical expectations and biases.

Although there have been many important social changes in America within the last 40 years, the insidious perception that women are stereotypically feminine and do not fit the image of an ideal leader is still pervasive (Chemers, 1997). These negative perceptions not only affect the evaluation and perception of women in a leadership role but they may also affect women's perceptions of themselves as leaders. Stereotypes are very hard to circumvent because they are often unconscious and experienced as an

emotional reaction to our own cultural programming, urban legends and popular myths, hearsay, labeling, and media misrepresentation.

Learning about how stereotypes operate and holding individuals accountable can decrease the negative effects of gender stereotypic bias. Many have argued for years that the absence of successful women role models perpetuates stereotypes of women's unsuitability for leadership positions. Some regions may foster a more inclusive environment for women in politics and business as well as some organizations. Women in leadership positions can become role models and mentors for younger women, potentially increasing engagement and retention rates.

A number of studies demonstrate a tipping point effect in the form of female friendly cultural change that occurs once women represent significant minorities at senior levels of management (Chesterman, et. al., 2005; Dahlerup, 1988; Kanter, 1977). Researchers have tracked the impact of a critical mass of senior women on organizational culture. Findings consistently indicate that constructs of good leadership and suitability for promotion are influenced in favor of female candidates when they represent a significant minority of senior appointments. US researchers recently reported that at board level, a minimum of three women was required before their presence is fully accepted by their male colleagues (Konrad & Kramer, 2006).

While some studies demonstrate that once a critical mass of women has been achieved at senior levels, other strategies to facilitate women become more effective. Findings suggest that the realization of critical mass is an essential prerequisite for the facilitation of women into senior positions. However, research also suggests that numbers

alone will not guarantee gender equity unless work/life balance issues are addressed (Chesterman, et. al., 2005). The political environment and the work environment will remain largely unchanged until the increased presence of women ushers in more significant cultural change. This requires a will at leadership level to take on the diversity challenge. It requires leadership to confront a traditionally narrow interpretation of diversity.

Traditionally, women have not been included in the groups with access to gain the "prerequisite qualifications" to run for office (Darcy, 1994; Nechemias, 1987; Rule, 1981, 1990). The same contention holds that women have not been in the position to obtain the necessary skills and experience to ascend the hierarchal leadership ladder in the private sector. In addition, women also have more familial responsibilities than men. That traditionally being the case, women tended to start much later in politics than men, are less likely to be recruited than men, and may have more political opportunities closed to them than men (Sapiro, 1981). However, these roles are changing and women now have the qualifications and skills necessary for leadership obtainment.

The cultural bias toward the "male as manager" was demonstratively pervasive in studies not only conducted in the US, but also in Germany, the UK, China, and Japan. "Despite the many historical, political, and cultural differences that exist among these five countries, the view of women as less likely than men to possess requisite leadership characteristics continues to be a commonly held belief among male management students around the world" (Schein, 2001, p. 683). It is clearly evident areas of traditionalistic political culture still pose the largest threat in terms of demographics to the advancement

and substantiation of women leaders. As we carry forward, perhaps, those women who are in any type of leadership position can foster a more conducive environment for future women leaders in hopes that the perception of women in more traditional leadership roles will slowly change and those social and political barriers of the past will slowly disappear and allow for a more equitable situation to be established for potential women leaders in every sector of politics or business.

Power is fundamental to understanding how organizations become constructed in a manner that is not gender neutral (Huffman, 2002). Men controlled the initial conceptualization and design of work organizations, and the continuous reproduction of these systems reinforces the power of men within them and foremost serves their interests (Britton, 2000). As a result, it is a male standard against which others are to be judged and valued (Reskin, 1998).

Barriers to women's advancement in the public and private sector continue to be very real and have been documented. Research on gender differences in the electorate has been a recurrent theme in political science ever since the earliest systematic surveys of voting behavior. Explanations regarding the gender gap in state legislative representation have centered on attitudinal, institutional, and situational characteristics of states (Carroll, 1985; Norrander & Wilcox, 1998; Rule & Zimmerman, 1992; Welch, 1977).

In regards to attitudinal characteristics, researchers have primarily focused on the impact political culture and ideology has on female representation. Less attention has been paid to specific gender/sex role attitudes due to the lack of a state-level gender-role

attitudes measure. Therefore, exploring the dynamics of state-level female representation may better elucidate the nature of causal relationships. In addition, creating cultures which foster and support the notion of work life balance as being the norm may assist with the opportunities available for advancement. Although women's status in society has improved substantially in the past century, their subornation to men portrayed in their lack of access to positions of power continues to be a major barrier for professional women. If women are to achieve equal representation and status to men, they must hold equal positions of power, where decision making has a significant impact on how resources are allocated. High level decision making is not shared equally across the population, but is made among people that hold powerful positions in government as well as in the public and private sectors of society.

One method very well could be discovering what our next generation of women leaders thinks about the "appropriate" gender roles and if their opinions of who/what makes a successful leader varies by region and political culture. There is evidence that attitudes towards females in leadership positions varies between differing regions of the US. Studies have shown that in areas with more traditionally ingrained gender roles such as those found in the Deep South, tend to have social constructs which are less likely to encourage or support females in leadership positions (Lee, 1977).

In terms of future research, it will be useful to examine the long-term impact of role models on women's career performance, and to assess whether role models are particularly important for women in traditionalistic cultures. "Leadership is a process of social influence in which one person is able to enlist the aid and support of others in the

accomplishment of a common task. The main points of this definition are that leadership is a group activity, is based on social influence, and revolves around a common task" (Chemers, 1997 p. 1). Change is slow, but starting from the bottom and climbing up may shed some light on why the climb up the leadership ladder seems to be lonely at the top for women especially in traditionalistic political cultures.

Centuries of studies on leadership have produced an enormous body of research and literature; “leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth” (Burns, 1978, p. 3). Women have always exercised leadership in the context of families and communities. It is only since the 1990’s that women have become visible in leadership positions in politics and corporations around the world (Adler, 1999). Thus, what is called into question is what the underlying powers and social constructs are that sustain a system where despite decades of legal changes and greater awareness traditionalistic cultures are still reluctant to change.

“Women do not need to be placed on pedestals, what they need are the tools to build their own and the freedom to climb to the top.” - Kimberly D. Gill

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APPENDIX A

Americans Continue to Express Slight Preference for Boys: Gallup, 2007

http://www.gallup.com/poll/28045/Americans-Continue-Express-Slight-Preference-Boys.aspx

Suppose you could only have one child. Would you prefer that it be a boy or a girl?	Boy	Girl	No preference/ Don't know	Net "boy" preference
Jun 11-14, 2007				
Men	45	21	27	+24
Women	31	35	25	-4
Jul 18-20, 2003				
Men	45	19	29	+26
Women	32	36	26	-4
Dec 2-4, 2000				
Men	55	18	21	+37
Women	32	35	28	-3

Suppose you could only have one child. Would you prefer that it be a boy or a girl?	Boy	Girl	No preference/ Don't know	Net "boy" preference
Jun 11-14, 2007				
Men 18-49	43	25	26	+18
Men 50+	47	17	27	+30
Women 18-49	35	35	23	0
Women 50+	25	36	28	-11
Jul 18-20, 2003				
Men 18-49	49	21	23	+28
Men 50+	39	17	38	+22
Women 18-49	38	36	23	+2
Women 50+	25	35	31	-10
Men 18-49	49	21	23	+28
Dec 2-4, 2000				
Men 18-49	58	22	18	+36
Men 50+	48	13	27	+35
Women 18-49	35	35	25	0
Women 50+	27	35	31	-8
Men 18-49	58	22	18	+36
Men 50+	48	13	27	+35

APPENDIX B

Gender Preference by Year 1941-2007

	% Boy	% Girl
1941	38	24
1947	40	25
1990	38	34
1996	41	31
1997	38	23
2000	42	27
2003	38	28
2007	37	28

APPENDIX C

Percentage Saying Women Have Equal Job Opportunities as Men	Republican Women	Democratic Women	Republican Men	Democratic Men
2006	63	27	76	43
2007	55	47	69	56
Change	*-8*	*+20*	*-7*	*+13*

Gallup's annual Minority Rights and Relations survey Democrats Are Encouraged About Women's Job Rights (2007)

http://www.gallup.com/poll/28117/Democrats-Encouraged-About-Womens-Job-Rights.aspx

APPENDIX D

US Labor Force Participation 10997-2007

U.S Labor Force	% Women	% Men
1997	46.2	53.8
1998	46.3	53.7
1999	46.5	53.5
2000	46.5	53.5
2001	46.5	53.5
2002	46.6	53.4
2003	46.6	53.4
2004	46.4	53.6
2005	46.4	53.6
2006	46.3	53.7
2007	46.4	53.6

APPENDIX E

April 4, 2008 Gallup

Wives Still Do Laundry, Men Do Yard Work

Husbands and wives view the household division of labor differently http://www.gallup.com/poll/106249/Wives -Still-Laundry-Men-Yard-Work.aspx

Who is most likely to do each of the following in your household?

Dec 6-9, 2007, GPSS Lifestyle Poll

Based on 594 adults who are currently married

	Husband	Wife
	%	%
Keep the car in good condition	69	13
Do yard work	57	12
Make decisions about savings or investments	35	18
Pay bills	34	48
Wash dishes	16	48
Do grocery shopping	16	53
Prepare meals	14	58
Do laundry	10	68
Caring for the children on a daily basis (asked of parents with children under 18)	9	54
Clean the house	6	61
Make decisions about furniture and decoration	6	60

GALLUP POLL

Who is most likely to do each of the following in your household?

Dec. 6-9, 2007, GPSS Lifestyle Poll

Based on 594 adults who are currently married

	Reported by husband	Reported by husband	Reported by wife	Reported by wife
	% Saying husband does chore	% Saying wife does chore	% Saying husband does chore	% Saying wife does chore
Keep the car in good condition	79	6	58	20
Do yard work	63	8	51	17
Make decisions about savings or investments	49	11	21	25
Pay bills	46	37	21	61
Wash dishes	21	38	10	60
Do grocery shopping	20	44	12	63
Prepare meals	18	49	10	67
Do laundry	12	62	8	75
Caring for children on a daily basis	12	45	5	64
Clean the house	8	56	4	67
Make decisions about furniture and decoration	9	60	3	60

GALLUP POLL

APPENDIX F State Appointment

State	1997 % Women Policy	1997 % Women in Population	1997 Rep. Ratio	1997 Ranking	2007 % Women Policy	2007 % Women in Population	2007 Rep. Ratio	2007 Ranking
Alabama	19.0	52.1	0.37	47	25.8	51.7	0.50	46
Alaska	32.1	47.3	0.68	12	44.4	48.3	0.92	5
Arizona	29.3	50.6	0.58	22	35.1	50.1	0.70	23
Arkansas	21.6	51.8	0.42	41	30.2	51.2	0.59	33
California	28.4	49.9	0.57	23	42.1	50.2	0.84	10
Colorado	25.0	50.5	0.50	34	32.4	49.6	0.65	30
Connecticut	19.4	51.5	0.38	45	48.6	51.6	0.94	3
Delaware	28.6	51.5	0.55	25	37.5	51.4	0.73	18
Florida	19.2	51.6	0.37	46	37.0	51.2	0.72	20
Georgia	14.0	51.5	0.27	48	27.8	50.8	0.55	38
Hawaii	25.9	49.2	0.53	28	34.8	49.8	0.70	24
Idaho	38.7	50.2	0.77	8	23.8	49.9	0.48	47
Illinois	25.8	51.4	0.50	32	35.6	51.0	0.70	25
Indiana	28.3	51.5	0.55	26	34.8	51.0	0.68	26
Iowa	32.3	51.6	0.63	16	33.3	50.9	0.65	27
Kansas	23.5	51.0	0.46	37	27.5	50.6	0.54	40
Kentucky	25.9	51.6	0.50	31	28.6	51.1	0.56	35
Louisiana	23.8	51.9	0.46	38	21.4	51.6	0.42	49
Maine	29.2	51.3	0.57	24	29.0	51.3	0.57	34
Maryland	39.0	51.5	0.76	10	27.8	51.7	0.54	41
Massachusetts	32.0	52.0	0.62	17	45.1	51.8	0.87	7

Michigan	26.1	51.5	0.51	30	36.4	51.0	0.71	22
Minnesota	32.3	51.0	0.63	15	37.0	50.5	0.73	17
Mississippi	30.8	52.2	0.59	19	27.6	51.7	0.53	44
Missouri	33.3	51.8	0.64	14	28.0	51.4	0.54	39
Montana	40.7	50.5	0.81	5	54.5	50.2	1.09	1
Nebraska	30.8	51.3	0.60	18	41.5	50.7	0.82	12
Nevada	48.6	49.1	0.99	1	44.8	49.1	0.91	6
New Hampshire	41.7	51.0	0.82	3	42.9	50.8	0.84	8
New Jersey	41.2	51.7	0.80	6	43.3	51.5	0.84	9
New Mexico	26.5	50.8	0.52	29	37.5	50.8	0.74	16
New York	21.5	52.0	0.41	42	33.8	51.8	0.65	29
North Carolina	41.7	51.5	0.81	4	28.0	51.0	0.55	37
North Dakota	26.7	50.2	0.53	27	41.7	50.1	0.83	11
Ohio	20.5	51.8	0.40	43	31.6	51.4	0.61	31
Oklahoma	6.9	51.3	0.13	50	27.3	50.9	0.54	42
Oregon	38.6	50.8	0.76	9	39.7	50.4	0.79	15
Pennsylvania	25.9	52.1	0.50	33	26.2	51.7	0.51	45
Rhode Island	22.7	52.0	0.44	39	28.6	52.0	0.55	36
South Carolina	20.0	50.8	0.39	44	37.5	51.4	0.73	19
South Dakota	34.8	50.8	0.68	11	16.7	50.4	0.33	50
Tennessee	30.0	51.8	0.58	21	41.2	51.3	0.80	14
Texas	24.4	50.7	0.48	35	26.9	50.4	0.53	43
Utah	24.2	50.3	0.48	36	30.3	49.9	0.61	32
Vermont	45.5	51.0	0.89	2	48.3	51.0	0.95	2
Virginia	40.0	51.0	0.78	7	33.3	51.0	0.65	28
Washington	32.6	50.4	0.65	13	46.7	50.2	0.93	4
West Virginia	7.7	52.0	0.15	49	41.9	51.4	0.82	13

Wisconsin	29.7	51.1	0.58	20	36.4	50.6	0.72	21
Wyoming	21.4	50.0	0.43	40	23.3	49.7	0.47	48

APPENDIX G

September 1, 2006 Gallup

Americans Prefer Male Boss to a Female Boss
http://www.gallup.com/poll/24346/Americans-Prefer-Male-Boss-Female-Boss.aspx

28. *If you were taking a new job and had your choice of a boss would you prefer to work for a man or a woman?*

	Prefer man boss	Prefer woman boss	NO DIFFERENCE (vol.)	No opinion
National Adults				
2006 Aug 7-10	37	19	43	1
2002 Apr 22-24	31	19	49	1
2000 Dec 2-4	48	22	28	2
1999 Aug 24-26	38	16	45	1
1995 Sep 14-17	46	20	33	1
1994 Jun 25-28	35	16	47	2
1993 Aug 23-25	39	22	36	3
1989 Dec 18-21	48	14	34	4
1982 Jun 25-28	46	12	38	4
1975	62	7	29	2
1953	66	5	25	4

	Prefer man boss	Prefer woman boss	NO DIFFERENCE (vol.)	No opinion
Men				
2006 Aug 7-10	34	10	56	*
2002 Apr 22-24	29	13	57	1
2000 Dec 2-4	45	19	35	1
1999 Aug 24-26	35	12	52	1
1995 Sep 14-17	37	17	44	2
1994 Jun 25-28	30	12	56	3
1993 Aug 23-25	33	16	49	2
1989 Dec 18-21	43	12	41	4
1982 Jun 25-28	40	9	46	5
1975	63	4	32	1
1953	75	2	21	2
Women				
2006 Aug 7-10	40	26	32	2
2002 Apr 22-24	32	23	43	2
2000 Dec 2-4	50	26	22	2
1999 Aug 24-26	42	22	35	1
1995 Sep 14-17	54	22	24	*
1994 Jun 25-28	40	19	39	2
1993 Aug 23-25	44	29	24	3
1989 Dec 18-21	54	15	27	4
1982 Jun 25-28	52	15	30	3
1975	60	10	27	3
1953	57	8	29	6

(vol.) = Volunteered response

APPENDIX H

The NES Guide to Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior

http://www.electionstudies.org/nesguide/toptable/tab4c_1.htm
Equal Role for Women 1972-2004

PERCENT AMONG DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS WHO RESPONDED: 'Women's Place in Home (5,6,7)'

% OF GROUP:	'72	'74	'76	'78	'80	'82	'84	'86	'88	'90	'92	'94	'96	'98	'00	'02	'04
Males	28	25	21	20	21	17	13	**	14	13	10	11	9	7	11	**	7
Females	30	27	24	23	18	19	17	**	14	18	11	14	12	10	9	**	8
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
Whites	29	26	23	22	19	19	16	**	14	14	10	12	10	9	9	**	8
Blacks	27	19	20	17	24	13	17	**	16	19	14	13	14	5	19	**	8
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
Grade School	41	38	37	38	31	33	20	**	29	30	23	30	17	24	38	**	39
High School	30	28	25	23	24	22	19	**	15	18	13	15	13	10	12	**	8
Some College, no Degree	20	17	14	15	11	13	10	**	10	10	6	9	9	6	5	**	5
College Degree/ Post-grad	17	16	11	12	9	7	9	**	8	7	6	6	6	6	5	**	5
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
Income 0-16 Percentile	34	25	30	29	25	21	19	**	19	28	16	19	16	12	13	**	9
Income 17-33 Percentile	31	28	26	21	20	23	21	**	20	19	15	10	11	14	12	**	7
Income 34-67 Percentile	31	29	22	24	21	17	14	**	14	13	10	14	11	8	11	**	8
Income 68-95 Percentile	24	22	21	16	14	15	12	**	8	9	8	9	7	5	4	**	4
Income 96-100 Percentile	20	21	15	15	16	11	7	**	6	12	3	3	4	3	5	**	4
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
Professionals	19	17	13	13	14	12	8	**	8	8	6	7	6	6	5	**	3
White Collar	18	23	20	14	14	14	13	**	12	11	10	10	9	6	7	**	6
Blue Collar	34	28	23	25	24	19	17	**	16	17	14	14	13	11	13	**	10

Unskilled	35	22	20	17	23	21	16	**	23	16	12	19	13	2	20	**	11
Farmers	40	38	36	18	25	21	11	**	24	31	16	24	16	20	42	**	18
Housewives	38	33	33	33	28	30	28	**	23	25	12	25	22	14	14	**	19
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
Union Households	30	29	22	21	19	19	11	**	12	10	10	13	7	5	6	**	7
Non-Union Households	28	25	23	22	20	18	16	**	15	16	11	12	11	9	11	**	8
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
South	33	26	25	24	22	21	18	**	17	21	13	13	12	7	12	**	9
Nonsouth	28	26	22	20	19	17	14	**	13	13	10	12	10	9	9	**	7
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
Born 1975 or later	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	8	2	1	7	5	**	5
Born 1959-1974	**	**	**	16	19	17	12	**	12	11	7	10	8	7	7	**	5
Born 1943-1958	24	16	16	15	16	14	12	**	10	12	9	11	9	6	7	**	5
Born 1927-1942	31	29	23	23	18	17	15	**	17	17	14	16	14	9	17	**	14
Born 1911-1926	30	31	28	25	27	22	24	**	16	24	15	21	18	20	23	**	25
Born 1895-1910	32	32	28	34	22	27	18	**	32	38	23	21	42	38	0	**	**
Born before 1895	40	37	43	46	10	71	0	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
Democrats (incl leaners)	28	21	22	20	18	16	14	**	14	15	10	12	8	7	8	**	6
Independents & Apoliticals	33	32	21	17	20	18	17	**	10	14	9	8	13	9	12	**	8
Republicans (incl leaners)	29	31	24	26	21	22	17	**	15	17	12	14	13	11	12	**	9
	'72	**'74**	**'76**	**'78**	**'80**	**'82**	**'84**	**'86**	**'88**	**'90**	**'92**	**'94**	**'96**	**'98**	**'00**	**'02**	**'04**
Liberals	14	9	11	7	7	8	8	**	8	4	4	3	3	3	4	**	2
Moderates	26	22	17	18	16	12	14	**	9	15	7	10	7	4	8	**	5
Conservatives	32	36	29	28	24	19	19	**	18	20	15	17	15	14	13	**	10

Equal Role for Women 1972-2004 QUESTION TEXT:

"Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?" (7-POINT SCALE SHOWN TO R)

	'72	'74	'76	'78	'80	'82	'84	'86	'88	'90	'92	'94	'96	'98	'00	'02	'04
Equal Role 1 :	31	33	30	38	33	37	32	**	41	42	51	42	48	53	56	**	57
2 :	9	9	12	10	16	12	12	**	15	12	14	15	18	14	15	**	14
3 :	7	8	8	8	10	9	9	**	9	8	7	8	8	7	7	**	7
4 :	19	18	18	16	16	17	21	**	16	16	13	15	11	12	11	**	9
5 :	6	7	7	7	7	6	7	**	5	6	5	6	4	3	4	**	4
6 :	4	5	5	5	6	4	3	**	4	4	3	3	3	2	2	**	2
Women's Place in Home 7:	19	14	11	10	6	7	5	**	6	5	4	4	3	3	3	**	2
DK, Haven't Thought :	5	6	9	6	6	7	10	**	6	7	4	7	4	5	3	**	5
N	2685	2480	2385	2286	1398	1402	2239		2023	971	2477	1772	1713	1279	977		1212

PERCENTAGE WITHIN STUDY YEAR
Table 4C.1
Source: The American National Election Studies
Link to the ASCII text version of this table

APPENDIX J Cross tabulations for Women and Politics

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
WOMEN NOT SUITED FOR POLITICS * Political Culture Regions	25826	50.6%	25194	49.4%	51020	100.0%

WOMEN NOT SUITED FOR POLITICS * Political Culture Regions Crosstabulation

			Political Culture Regions		
			Traditionalistic Cultures	Non-Traditionalistic Cultures	Total
WOMEN NOT SUITED FOR POLITICS	AGREE	Count	3713	4383	8096
		Expected Count	3288.1	4807.9	8096.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	35.4%	28.6%	31.3%
		% of Total	14.4%	17.0%	31.3%
	DISAGREE	Count	6776	10954	17730
		Expected Count	7200.9	10529.1	17730.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	64.6%	71.4%	68.7%
		% of Total	26.2%	42.4%	68.7%
	Total	Count	10489	15337	25826
		Expected Count	10489.0	15337.0	25826.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	40.6%	59.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.347E2	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	134.348	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	133.882	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	134.659	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	25826				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3288.12.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

CROSSTABS /TABLES=fepol BY @POLICUL/FORMAT=AVALUE
TABLES/STATISTICS=CHISQ/CELLS=COUNT EXPECTED COLUMN TOTAL/COUNT ASIS.

[DataSet1] D:\gillkid\socserv-data\gss72-06_recode.sav

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
WOMEN TAKE CARE OF HOME NOT COUNTRY * Political Culture Regions	22538	44.2%	28482	55.8%	51020	100.0%

WOMEN TAKE CARE OF HOME NOT COUNTRY * Political Culture Regions Crosstabulation

			Political Culture Regions		
			Traditionalistic Cultures	Non-Traditionalistic Cultures	Total
WOMEN TAKE CARE OF HOME NOT COUNTRY	AGREE	Count	2602	2822	5424
		Expected Count	2154.1	3269.9	5424.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	29.1%	20.8%	24.1%
		% of Total	11.5%	12.5%	24.1%
	DISAGREE	Count	6349	10765	17114
		Expected Count	6796.9	10317.1	17114.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	70.9%	79.2%	75.9%
		% of Total	28.2%	47.8%	75.9%
	Total	Count	8951	13587	22538
		Expected Count	8951.0	13587.0	22538.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	39.7%	60.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.034E2	1	.000		
Continuity Correction [b]	202.944	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	200.947	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	203.389	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	22538				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2154.15.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Case Processing Summary

```
CROSSTABS /TABLES=fehome BY @POLICUL/FORMAT=AVALUE
   TABLES/STATISTICS=CHISQ/CELLS=COUNT EXPECTED COLUMN TOTAL/COUNT ASIS.

[DataSet1] D:\gillkid\socserv-data\gss72-06_recode.sav
```

APPENDIX K Cross Tabulations for Homosexual Rights

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO MARRY * Political Culture Regions	4473	8.8%	46547	91.2%	51020	100.0%

			Political Culture Regions		
			Traditionalistic Cultures	Non-Traditionalistic Cultures	Total
HOMOSEXUALS SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO MARRY	STRONGLY AGREE	Count	172	314	486
		Expected Count	216.1	269.9	486.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	8.6%	12.6%	10.9%
		% of Total	3.8%	7.0%	10.9%
	AGREE	Count	267	458	725
		Expected Count	322.4	402.6	725.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	13.4%	18.4%	16.2%
		% of Total	6.0%	10.2%	16.2%
	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	Count	246	383	629
		Expected Count	279.7	349.3	629.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	12.4%	15.4%	14.1%
		% of Total	5.5%	8.6%	14.1%
	DISAGREE	Count	420	485	905
		Expected Count	402.4	502.6	905.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	21.1%	19.5%	20.2%
		% of Total	9.4%	10.8%	20.2%
	STRONGLY DISAGREE	Count	884	844	1728
		Expected Count	768.4	959.6	1728.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	44.4%	34.0%	38.6%
		% of Total	19.8%	18.9%	38.6%
	Total	Count	1989	2484	4473
		Expected Count	1989.0	2484.0	4473.0
		% within Political Culture Regions	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	44.5%	55.5%	100.0%

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	73.362[a]	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	73.806	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	70.052	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	4473		

GET FILE='D:\gillkid\socserv-data\gss72-06_recode.sav'.CROSSTABS /TABLES=marhomo BY @POLICUL/FORMAT=AVALUE TABLES/STATISTICS=CHISQ/CELLS=COUNT EXPECTED COLUMN TOTAL/COUNT ASIS.

Crosstabs D:\gillkid\socserv-data\gss72-06_recode.sav

APPENDIX L

How the States Measure Up: Women's Status on the Social and Economic Autonomy Composite Index and Its Components											
	Composite Index			**Percent of Women with Health Insurance**		**Percent of Women with Four or More Years of College**		**Percent of Businesses that are Women-Owned**		**Percent of Women Living Above Poverty**	
State	Score	Rank	Grade	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Alabama	6.48	47	D-	81.5	32	19.6	48	26.4	31	83.1	47
Alaska	7.13	15	C+	79.3	39	29.1	13	26.2	34	90.0	9
Arizona	6.87	33	D+	78.6	42	25.2	26	28.8	14	85.7	37
Arkansas	6.28	51	F	76.1	47	17.6	50	23.7	48	83.8	44
California	7.12	16	C+	78.0	43	28.8	15	29.9	5	87.5	31
Colorado	7.40	9	B-	81.0	33	34.2	6	29.1	12	89.2	14
Connecticut	7.48	6	B	87.5	8	34.9	4	27.2	23	89.9	12
Delaware	7.04	22	C	86.4	13	25.4	24	24.1	46	90.9	6
District of Columbia	7.72	1	B+	86.9	10	45.3	1	33.2	1	82.2	49
Florida	6.89	31	D+	76.4	46	24.2	32	28.4	16	88.0	29
Georgia	7.02	25	C	79.6	38	27.5	20	29.1	12	86.7	36
Hawaii	7.46	7	B	88.6	2	30.4	11	30.1	4	90.7	7
Idaho	6.79	36	D+	79.8	37	22.5	40	23.7	48	90.0	9
Illinois	7.16	13	C+	83.2	26	27.7	18	29.7	6	88.1	27
Indiana	6.82	34	D+	82.6	30	21.2	45	27.4	21	88.1	27
Iowa	7.03	23	C	87.9	6	24.0	34	27.0	26	89.2	14
Kansas	7.14	14	C+	86.1	14	28.2	16	27.2	23	88.5	19
Kentucky	6.50	46	D-	82.8	28	19.5	49	25.7	39	83.7	46
Louisiana	6.37	49	F	73.2	50	20.9	47	26.4	31	81.6	51
Maine	6.88	32	D+	87.9	6	25.3	25	24.0	47	87.2	34
Maryland	7.55	3	B	83.5	25	34.6	5	31.0	2	89.9	12
Massachusetts	7.54	4	B	88.3	4	35.6	2	28.7	15	89.2	14
Michigan	7.02	25	C	86.0	15	23.5	38	29.6	8	87.8	30
Minnesota	7.57	2	B	91.0	1	32.3	8	27.9	19	92.6	2
Mississippi	6.47	48	D-	78.9	40	21.8	42	25.1	41	82.7	48
Missouri	6.96	29	C-	84.9	20	23.7	35	27.4	21	88.5	19
Montana	6.68	42	D	77.3	44	24.9	28	24.4	44	85.6	38
Nebraska	7.09	19	C	85.2	19	25.5	23	26.6	28	90.3	8
Nevada	6.81	35	D+	78.7	41	21.4	44	28.1	17	88.2	26

New Hampshire	7.42	8	B-	86.0	15	31.9	9	24.7	43	93.4	1
New Jersey	7.40	9	B-	82.8	28	33.6	7	26.1	36	91.4	4
New Mexico	6.69	41	D	73.8	49	24.4	30	30.9	3	82.2	49
New York	7.12	16	C+	83.7	23	30.6	10	29.6	8	84.8	40
North Carolina	6.76	38	D+	81.6	31	24.2	32	27.1	25	84.7	41
North Dakota	7.01	27	C	88.1	5	27.6	19	23.3	50	88.5	19
Ohio	6.96	29	C-	85.9	17	22.7	39	28.1	17	88.5	19
Oklahoma	6.64	43	D	75.3	48	21.6	43	25.7	39	86.9	35
Oregon	7.09	19	C	79.9	35	27.0	21	29.5	10	88.3	25
Pennsylvania	6.97	28	C-	86.6	12	24.5	29	26.0	37	88.5	19
Rhode Island	7.11	18	C	86.8	11	28.9	14	26.5	29	87.5	31
South Carolina	6.71	39	D	80.7	34	23.6	37	26.2	34	85.0	39
South Dakota	6.79	36	D+	85.6	18	25.0	27	22.4	51	87.3	33
Tennessee	6.63	44	D	84.7	21	21.9	41	26.0	37	83.9	43
Texas	6.57	45	D-	70.8	51	23.7	35	27.0	26	84.1	42
Utah	7.09	19	C	83.0	27	25.9	22	25.1	41	91.7	3
Vermont	7.53	5	B	87.2	9	35.5	3	26.3	33	91.4	4
Virginia	7.36	11	B-	84.2	22	30.4	11	29.7	6	90.0	9
Washington	7.18	12	C+	83.7	23	28.0	17	29.4	11	88.5	19
West Virginia	6.34	50	F	77.1	45	15.2	51	27.7	20	83.8	44
Wisconsin	7.03	23	C	88.6	2	24.3	31	26.5	29	89.2	14
Wyoming	6.71	39	D	79.9	35	21.0	46	24.4	44	88.8	18
United States	**7.00**			**81.4**		**26.5**		**28.2**		**87.3**	

APPENDIX M Female State Legislative Representation

State	Year	State Rank	TW/TS	TS/TH	TW/TL	% Tot. Women
AL	2008	48	4/ 35	14/ 105	18/ 140	12.9
AK	2008	28	3/20	10/40	13/60	21.7
AZ	2008	6	14/30	17/60	31/90	34.4
AR	2008	29	6/35	22/100	28/135	20.7
CA	2008	17	10/40	23/80	33/120	27.5
CO	2008	2	10/35	26/65	36/100	36
CT	2008	16	8/36	45/151	53/187	28.3
DE	2008	11	7/21	12/41	19/62	30.6
FL	2008	25	10/40	27/120	37/160	23.1
GA	2008	31	'8/56	39/180	47/236	19.9
HI	2008	7	7/25	18/51	25/76	32.9
ID	2008	22	6/35	19/70	25/105	23.8
IL	2008	18	13/59	35/118	48/177	27.1
IN	2008	36	12/50	16/100	28/150	18.7
IA	2008	26	6/50	28/100	34/150	22.7
KS	2008	15	13/40	35/125	48/165	29.1
KY	2008	47	5/38	13/100	18/138	13
LA	2008	43	8/39	14/105	22/144	15.3
ME	2008	10	12/35	46/151	58/186	31.2
MD	2008	9	11/47	48/141	59/188	31.4
MA	2008	20	12/40	38/160	50/200	25
MI	2008	32	9/38	20/110	29/148	19.6
MN	2008	5	27/67	43/134	70/201	34.8
MS	2008	45	4/52	21/122	25/174	14.4
MO	2008	30	7/34	33/163	40/197	20.3
MT	2008	21	9/50	28/100	37/150	24.7
NE	2008	37	9/49	Unicameral	9/49	18.4
NV	2008	13	6/21	13/42	19/63	30.2
NM	2008	12	12/42	22/70	34/112	30.4
NH	2008	3	10/24	140/400	150/424	35.4
NJ	2008	14	9/40	26/80	35/120	29.2

NY	2008	23	11/62	39/150	50/212	23.6
NC	2008	19	7/50	38/120	45/170	26.5
ND	2008	41	6/47	18/94	24/141	17
OH	2008	38	6/33	18/99	24/132	18.2
OK	2008	49	7/48	12/101	19/149	12.8
OR	2008	8	10/30	19/60	29/90	32.2
PA	2008	44	10/50	27/203	37/253	14.6
RI	2008	33	7/38	15/75	22/113	19.5
SC	2008	50	2/46	13/124	15/170	8.8
SD	2008	40	5/35	13/70	18/105	17.1
TN	2008	39	8/33	15/99	23/132	17.4
TX	2008	35	4/31	30/150	34/181	18.8
UT	2008	34	4/29	16/75	20/104	19.2
VT	2008	1	10/30	59/150	69/180	38.3
VA	2008	42	8/40	15/100	23/140	16.4
WA	2008	3	20/49	32/98	52/147	35.4
WV	2008	46	2/34	17/100	19/134	14.2
WI	2008	27	7/33	22/99	29/132	22
WY	2008	24	4/30	17/60	21/90	23.3

State	Year	State Rank	TW/TS	TS/TH	TW/TL	*% Tot. Women*
AL	2008	48	4/ 35	14/ 105	18/ 140	*12.9*
AR	2008	29	6/35	22/100	28/135	*20.7*
AZ	2008	6	14/30	17/60	31/90	*34.4*
FL	2008	25	10/40	27/120	37/160	*23.1*
GA	2008	31	'8/56	39/180	47/236	*19.9*
KY	2008	47	5/38	13/100	18/138	*13*
LA	2008	43	8/39	14/105	22/144	*15.3*
MS	2008	45	4/52	21/122	25/174	*14.4*
NC	2008	19	7/50	38/120	45/170	*26.5*
NM	2008	12	12/42	22/70	34/112	*30.4*
OK	2008	49	7/48	12/101	19/149	*12.8*
SC	2008	50	2/46	13/124	15/170	*8.8*
TN	2008	39	8/33	15/99	23/132	*17.4*
TX	2008	35	4/31	30/150	34/181	*18.8*
VA	2008	42	8/40	15/100	23/140	*16.4*
WV	2008	46	2/34	17/100	19/134	*14.2*

APPENDIX N Female State Appointments 1997-2007

Traditionalistic	% of Appointments Held by Women 2007	% of Appointments Held by Women 1997	Net Increase
Alabama	20%	19%	1%
Arizona	30%	14%	16%
Arkansas	26%	8%	18%
Florida	40%	8%	32%
Georgia	20%	14%	6%
Kentucky	20%	0%	20%
Louisiana	23%	20%	3%
Mississippi	29%	0%	29%
New Mexico	43%	13%	30%
North Carolina	20%	38%	-18%
Oklahoma	25%	0%	25%
South Carolina	29%	30%	-1%
Tennessee	43%	21%	22%
Texas	0%	0%	0%
Virginia	36%	43%	-6%
West Virginia	50%	17%	33%

State	% of Appointments Held by Women 2007	% of Appointments Held by Women 1997	Net Increase
Alabama	20%	19%	1%
Alaska	15%	23%	-8%
Arizona	30%	14%	16%
Arkansas	26%	8%	18%
California	36%	30%	6%
Colorado	24%	7%	17%
Connecticut	43%	21%	22%
Delaware	38%	33%	5%
Florida	40%	8%	32%
Georgia	20%	14%	6%
Hawaii	41%	27%	15%
Idaho	17%	22%	-6%
Illinois	24%	31%	-8%
Indiana	27%	25%	2%
Iowa	25%	31%	-6%
Kansas	23%	30%	-7%
Kentucky	20%	0%	20%
Louisiana	23%	20%	3%
Maine	38%	25%	13%
Maryland	27%	18%	10%
Massachusetts	44%	25%	19%
Michigan	38%	0%	38%
Minnesota	38%	29%	8%
Mississippi	29%	0%	29%
Missouri	40%	20%	20%
Montana	37%	25%	12%
Nebraska	29%	25%	4%
Nevada	29%	46%	-17%
New Hampshire	0%	8%	-8%
New Jersey	40%	29%	11%
New Mexico	43%	13%	30%
New York	50%	9%	41%
North Carolina	20%	38%	-18%
North Dakota	50%	10%	40%
Ohio	36%	30%	6%
Oklahoma	25%	0%	25%
Oregon	27%	8%	18%
Pennsylvania	31%	20%	11%
Rhode Island	42%	33%	8%
South Carolina	29%	30%	-1%
South Dakota	22%	29%	-6%
Tennessee	43%	21%	22%
Texas	0%	0%	0%
Utah	24%	23%	0%
Vermont	17%	17%	0%
Virginia	36%	43%	-6%
Washington	52%	11%	41%
West Virginia	50%	17%	33%
Wisconsin	33%	18%	15%
Wyoming	8%	8%	-1%

APPENDIX O Department Heads and Top Advisor's in Governors' Office 2007

State	% Women Policy	% Women in Population	Rep. Ratio	Ranking
Alabama	25.8	51.7	0.5	46
Alaska	44.4	48.3	0.92	5
Arizona	35.1	50.1	0.7	23
Arkansas	30.2	51.2	0.59	33
California	42.1	50.2	0.84	10
Colorado	32.4	49.6	0.65	30
Connecticut	48.6	51.6	0.94	3
Delaware	37.5	51.4	0.73	18
Florida	37	51.2	0.72	20
Georgia	27.8	50.8	0.55	38
Hawaii	34.8	49.8	0.7	24
Idaho	23.8	49.9	0.48	47
Illinois	35.6	51	0.7	25
Indiana	34.8	51	0.68	26
Iowa	33.3	50.9	0.65	27
Kansas	27.5	50.6	0.54	40
Kentucky	28.6	51.1	0.56	35
Louisiana	21.4	51.6	0.42	49
Maine	29	51.3	0.57	34
Maryland	27.8	51.7	0.54	41
Massachusetts	45.1	51.8	0.87	7
Michigan	36.4	51	0.71	22
Minnesota	37	50.5	0.73	17
Mississippi	27.6	51.7	0.53	44
Missouri	28	51.4	0.54	39
Montana	54.5	50.2	1.09	1
Nebraska	41.5	50.7	0.82	12
Nevada	44.8	49.1	0.91	6
New Hampshire	42.9	50.8	0.84	8
New Jersey	43.3	51.5	0.84	9
New Mexico	37.5	50.8	0.74	16

New York	33.8	51.8	0.65	29
North Carolina	28	51	0.55	37
North Dakota	41.7	50.1	0.83	11
Ohio	31.6	51.4	0.61	31
Oklahoma	27.3	50.9	0.54	42
Oregon	39.7	50.4	0.79	15
Pennsylvania	26.2	51.7	0.51	45
Rhode Island	28.6	52	0.55	36
South Carolina	37.5	51.4	0.73	19
South Dakota	16.7	50.4	0.33	50
Tennessee	41.2	51.3	0.8	14
Texas	26.9	50.4	0.53	43
Utah	30.3	49.9	0.61	32
Vermont	48.3	51	0.95	2
Virginia	33.3	51	0.65	28
Washington	46.7	50.2	0.93	4
West Virginia	41.9	51.4	0.82	13
Wisconsin	36.4	50.6	0.72	21
Wyoming	23.3	49.7	0.47	48

APPENDIX P

State Fortune 500				
MN	**Company**	**# Board Members**	**# Women Board Members**	**Percentage Female**
	TGT	8	3	37.5%
	UHC	12	3	25.0%
	BBY	13	1	7.7%
	TRV	13	3	23.1%
	MMM	10	2	20.0%
	SVU	14	3	21.4%
	USB	12	2	16.7%
	CHS	8	0	0.0%
	NWA	12	5	41.7%
	GIS	13	5	38.5%
	MDT	11	2	18.2%
	XEL	13	2	15.4%
	AMP	10	1	10.0%
	Land'oLakes	27	1	3.7%
	CHRW	9	1	11.1%
	Thrivent	15	2	13.3%
	HRL	13	4	30.8%
	MOS	12	1	8.3%
	ECL	10	2	20.0%
	NACF	7	0	0.0%
Total		242	43	17.8%
MD				
	LMT	13	2	15.4%
	CEG	12	3	25.0%
	MAR	11	2	18.2%
	CVH	10	1	10.0%
	BDK	11	2	18.2%

	HST	9	2	22.2%
Total		66	12	18.18%
MA				
	MA MU Life	16	3	18.8%
	Lib Mutual	15	4	26.7%
	RTN	8	1	12.5%
	SPLS	13	3	23.1%
	TJX	12	3	25.0%
	EMC	12	1	8.3%
	STT	12	2	16.7%
	BJ	9	3	33.3%
	BSX	15	4	26.7%
	GLP	6	0	0.0%
Total		118	24	20.34%
VT	**No Companies**			
CT				
	GE	16	4	25.0%
	UTX	13	1	7.7%
	HIG	10	1	10.0%
	AET	13	4	30.8%
	XRX	11	4	36.4%
	PX	10	2	20.0%
	TEX	11	1	9.1%
	NU	12	3	25.0%
	PBI	13	3	23.1%
	BER	10	1	10.0%
	EME	9	0	0.0%
Total		128	24	18.75%
AR				
	WMT	16	3	18.8%
	TSN	9	2	22.2%
	MUR	11	1	9.1%

	AT	7	0	0.0%
	DDS	12	0	0.0%
Total		55	6	10.91%
WV	**No Companies**			
LA				
	ETR	12	0	0.0%
	FCX	16	0	0.0%
	SGR	8	0	0.0%
Total		36	0	0.00%
MS	**No Companies**			
AL	RF	12	1	8.33%

State		Median Annual Earnings for Full-Time, Year-Round Employed Men, 2005	Percent of Men Living Above Poverty, 2005	Percent of Men in the Labor Force, 2004
Alabama	$40,000	89.5	70.0	22.3
Alaska	$46,500	92.3	76.6	25.4
Arizona	$38,200	89.7	73.1	28.2
Arkansas	$34,700	89.5	70.1	19.3
California	$42,500	89.9	73.9	32.4
Colorado	$44,600	91.5	80.5	37.3
Connecticut	$53,100	93.2	73.3	36.8
Delaware	$41,300	94.2	72.0	27.0
District of Columbia	$49,600	87.9	73.9	48.9
Florida	$37,200	91.4	69.6	28.4
Georgia	$38,200	91.1	76.0	27.5
Hawaii	$40,000	92.9	69.7	28.8
Idaho	$39,900	92.1	74.8	27.4
Illinois	$43,500	90.9	73.3	31.1
Indiana	$41,300	93.2	73.1	22.4
Iowa	$39,500	92.0	75.3	25.0
Kansas	$40,000	91.2	78.9	32.8
Kentucky	$38,000	88.3	68.9	20.8
Louisiana	$40,000	88.1	67.7	21.2
Maine	$40,000	90.6	71.4	24.9
Maryland	$47,800	92.9	75.0	36.8
Massachusetts	$51,700	91.9	73.7	40.5

Michigan	$46,700	90.7	72.8	26.7
Minnesota	$45,000	93.5	80.3	34.6
Mississippi	$35,000	86.3	68.4	19.9
Missouri	$40,900	91.7	74.1	27.9
Montana	$34,000	88.3	71.2	26.0
Nebraska	$38,200	91.7	80.7	25.9
Nevada	$37,900	92.2	74.2	24.3
New Hampshire	$47,800	96.1	77.9	35.1
New Jersey	$50,000	94.1	74.0	37.6
New Mexico	$36,000	87.9	69.9	28.2
New York	$42,500	89.6	70.3	31.5
North Carolina	$37,400	90.2	73.6	25.2
North Dakota	$36,200	92.3	77.1	26.6
Ohio	$42,500	91.9	73.5	24.6
Oklahoma	$36,200	89.9	71.3	24.9
Oregon	$42,400	91.0	73.5	28.6
Pennsylvania	$42,500	92.6	71.6	27.5
Rhode Island	$45,000	92.4	71.5	29.1
South Carolina	$37,600	89.6	71.2	24.3
South Dakota	$35,000	89.7	78.1	25.5
Tennessee	$37,200	89.0	69.9	23.6
Texas	$37,200	87.8	76.4	26.7
Utah	$42,900	92.5	79.5	32.2
Vermont	$40,000	93.5	75.9	32.8
Virginia	$44,600	92.9	74.3	33.3

Washington	$47,800	91.7	74.7	33.6
West Virginia	$36,200	88.4	60.8	15.6
Wisconsin	$42,500	92.2	77.2	25.9
Wyoming	$42,500	93.1	77.3	22.0
United States	**$41,300**	**90.8**	**71.8**	**29.1**