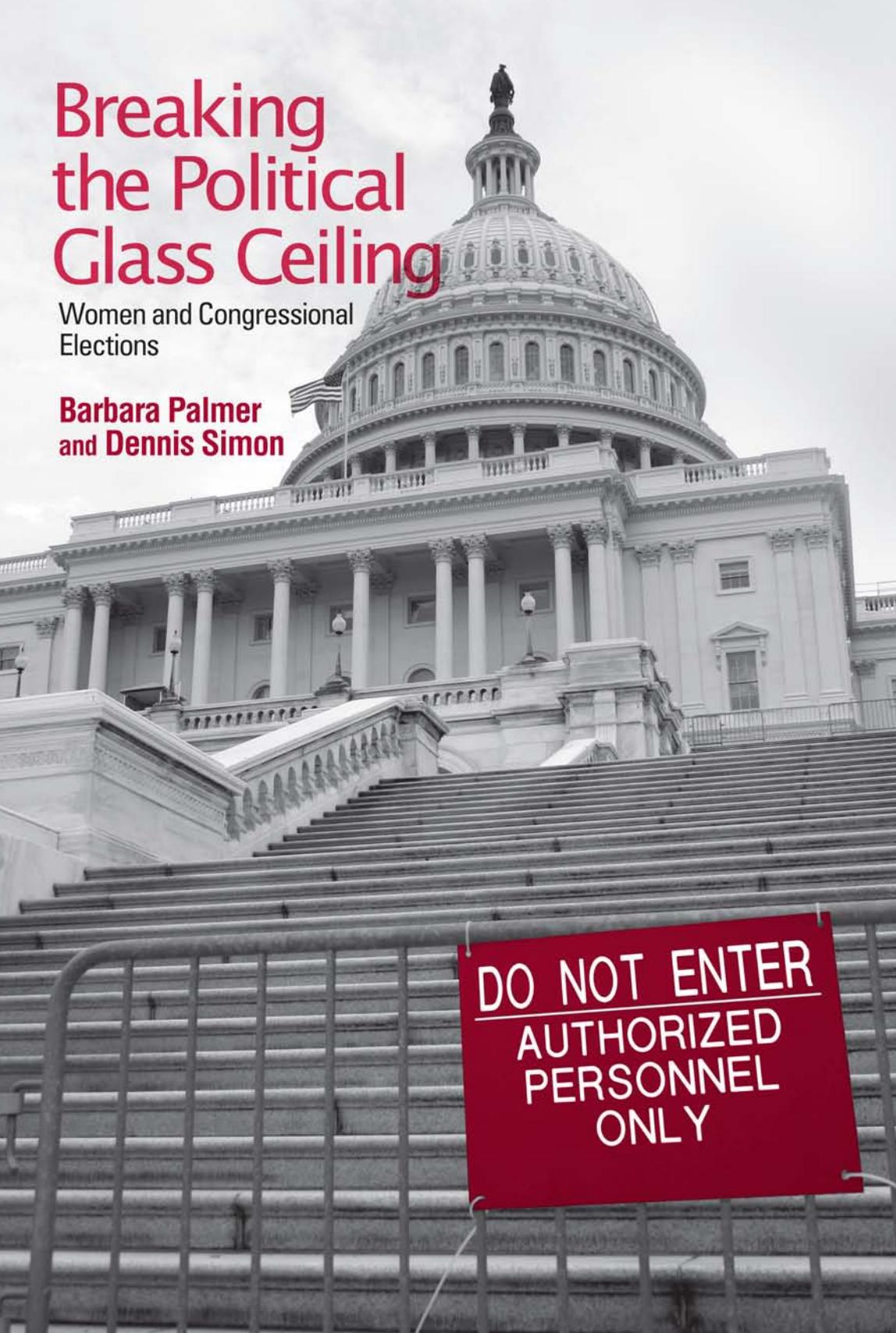


Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling

Women and Congressional
Elections

**Barbara Palmer
and Dennis Simon**

A black and white photograph of the United States Capitol building, showing its iconic dome and classical architecture. In the foreground, a wide set of stone steps leads up to the entrance. A metal railing runs across the bottom of the frame. A red sign is attached to the railing, featuring white text that reads "DO NOT ENTER" followed by a horizontal line and "AUTHORIZED PERSONNEL ONLY".

DO NOT ENTER
**AUTHORIZED
PERSONNEL
ONLY**

Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling

***Women in American Politics* series, edited by Karen O'Connor**

Madam President: Women Blazing the Leadership Trail

Eleanor Clift and Tom Brazaitis

Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling: Women and Congressional Elections

Barbara Palmer and Dennis Simon

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Women and Congressional Elections

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and
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For their years of understanding, support, and encouragement

To Mary Ann and Otto Palmer

Barbara Palmer

*To Debbie, Jonathan, and Jennifer Simon
Valeria and Gary Simon and the memory of Michael Simon
Joan Roach and the memory of John Roach*

Dennis Simon

Preface

This project began casually, with the academic equivalent of a water cooler conversation. In the fall of 1998, we were colleagues in the Department of Political Science at Southern Methodist University. Dennis Simon was teaching a course on congressional elections. He divided the House and Senate elections among the members of his class and required them to gather data on the party, background, and gender of the candidates. In looking over their work, he noticed that there were fourteen races in which a woman ran against another woman. At the drinking fountain one day, he mentioned these races to Barbara Palmer, whose expertise included women and politics, and asked whether she found it surprising. Our discussion of this “tidbit” about the 1998 midterm elections raised numerous questions about women in the electoral arena and congressional elections generally. Thus began a six-year project that has included conference papers and journal articles, and has resulted in this book. We brought together two perspectives on politics in the United States and familiarity with two different bodies of literature. This project has been truly collaborative.

In the spring of 1999, the Research Council at Southern Methodist University awarded us a grant to begin the study. We used the funds primarily to hire research assistants to help in gathering and compiling what, in retrospect, turned out to be a staggering amount of data on House and Senate elections. We wish to thank those assistants who were recruited from Barbara’s Women and Politics class at Southern Methodist University: Zhelia Bazleh, Diana Dorough, Cynthia Flores, Mandy Gough, Brooke Guest, Vanessa Hammond, Bernard Jones, Kristi Katsanis, Emily Katt, Albany Mitchell, Sheri Rogers, Heather Scott, Jessica Sheppard, Jennifer Sumrall, Andrea Swift, Natalie Thompson, Brenda Tutt, Amy Williams, and Kari Young. We owe a special expression of gratitude to those students who not only coded data but also “came back for more” to help us clean it and enter it into spreadsheets: Lindsay Abbate, Erin Echols, Elizabeth Myers, and Steve Schulte. We suspect that their experience in “doing real political science” was a deciding factor in their

choice to attend law school. We also would like to thank those students who worked with Barbara at American University, especially Amy Baumann, Meredith Hess, Cameo Kaisler, and Laura Pautz. David Brown, dean of the Washington Semester Program at American University, provided much-needed summer funds that allowed Barbara to travel back to Dallas to work on this project. Christine Carberry, of Southern Methodist University, was both expert and meticulous in preparing the index for this volume. We are grateful to her for unearthing a number of errors and omissions in the text. Our gratitude is also extended to Angela Chnapko and Amy Rodriguez at Taylor & Francis for their encouragement and guidance during the preparation, editing, and publication of the book.

We wish to thank all the panelists and discussants who offered critiques of our work over the years and helped us to improve it. Debts of gratitude are also owed to our colleagues. At Southern Methodist University, we regularly vetted our ideas with Brad Carter, Valerie Hunt, Dennis Ippolito, Cal Jillson, Joe Kobylka, Harold Stanley, and Matthew Wilson. We also had frequent conversations with Carole Wilson of the University of Texas at Dallas. In addition, we would like to thank Karen O'Connor, director of the Women and Politics Institute at American University. Their comments, questions, and encouragement proved most valuable, and we are grateful for their gift of collegiality. Susannah Shakow and Coke Stewart of Washington, D.C. provided much-needed proofreading and a fresh perspective to our work.

1

Why So Few, and Why So Slow?

In 1974, the central question posed by Jeane Kirkpatrick in her book, *Political Woman*, was “Why, when women in increasing numbers are asserting themselves, training themselves, seeking equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities in every aspect of American life, have so few [entered] the political arena?”¹ The central question that motivates our book is why, after thirty additional years of women asserting themselves, training themselves, and seeking equal rights, equal opportunities, and equal responsibilities, is the integration of women into Congress taking so long? Are women ever going to break the “political glass ceiling”?

A Snapshot: The Women of 1956

In 1956, sixteen women were elected to Congress, fifteen in the House and one in the Senate. The nation had elected President Dwight Eisenhower to a second term of office with 57.4 percent of the popular vote. Eisenhower’s electoral appeal, however, was not sufficient to capture control of Congress. The Democrats enjoyed a 234–201 majority in the House of Representatives and a smaller, 49–47, majority in the Senate.² The national political agenda was crowded that year. President Eisenhower would address an international crisis triggered in late 1956 by the British-French-Israeli invasion of the Suez Canal. The successful launch of Sputnik by the Soviets added to the anxiety about the ongoing Cold War and sparked a debate about the quality of education in the nation. The debate would ultimately lead to the National Defense Education Act in 1958. In September 1957, the effort to desegregate Central High School would force President Eisenhower to send federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas.

¹ Jeane Kirkpatrick, *Political Woman* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), ix.

² Alaska and Hawaii were not yet states, so the total number of senators was ninety-six.

The 85th Congress (1957 session) is noteworthy for two additional reasons. First, the election of 1956 was a high-water mark in the number of women elected to the House. Second, the 85th Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first civil rights legislation passed by Congress since the Reconstruction era. Fourteen of the fifteen women in the House voted for the act, with Representative Iris Blitch (D-GA) casting the lone “nay” vote among them.

Nine of the women in the House were Democrats and six were Republicans. Senator Margaret Chase Smith (ME), the only woman in the Senate, was a Republican. Only one woman, Representative Martha Griffiths (D-MI), was a lawyer. Six were widows initially elected to succeed their deceased husbands. The most senior woman was Republican Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts, a widow first elected in 1925; in 1957, she began serving her seventeenth term. Next in seniority was Republican Frances Bolton of Ohio, a philanthropist and, like Rogers, a widow. Bolton, first elected in 1940, began serving her tenth term. Another widow was West Virginia Democrat Maude Kee, who succeeded her husband, John. When Maude retired in 1964, her son, James, won the election to replace her.³

Many of these women would distinguish themselves as policy leaders in the House. Representative Martha Griffiths (D-MI) was a key force in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and later became known as the “mother of the Equal Rights Amendment.”⁴ Representative Leonor Sullivan (D-MO) was a cosponsor of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and an early advocate of consumer protection.⁵ Representative Edith Green (D-OR) “left her mark on nearly every schooling bill enacted during her twenty years on Capitol Hill” and was the author and principle advocate of Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972.⁶ Representative Gracie Pfof (D-ID), who became known as “Hell’s Belle,” was an opponent of private power companies and fought for federal intervention to manage the project planned for the Hell’s Canyon branch of the Snake River.⁷

The Rules of the Game

In spite of the tremendous contributions of these women, that only fifteen were elected to the House in 1956 provides a vivid example that women had “a very small share, though a very large stake, in political power.”⁸ For women, entry into the inner world of politics was largely blocked. Specifically, women who were interested in politics faced numerous barriers, including cultural norms and gender stereotypes that limited their choices, little access to the

³ Karen Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 144–45. Altogether, the Kee family held the seat from 1933 to 1973.

⁴ Foerstel, 1999, 109–11.

⁵ Foerstel, 1999, 263–65.

⁶ Foerstel, 1999, 104.

⁷ Foerstel, 1999, 218.

⁸ Kirkpatrick, 1974, 3.

“pipeline” or the hierarchy of political offices, and the politics of congressional redistricting.

Cultural Norms: A “Man’s Game”

In the 1950s, women were socialized to view politics as a man’s game, a game that was inconsistent with the gender roles to which women were assigned. As Kirkpatrick explained:

Like men, women gain status for effective, responsible performance of culturally sanctioned roles. Any effort to perform roles assigned by the culture to the opposite sex is likely to result in a loss of status on the sex specific status ladder. The values on which women are expected to concentrate are those of affection, rectitude, well-being; the skills relevant to the pursuit of these values are those associated with nurturing, serving, and pleasing a family and community: homemaking, personal adornment, preparing and serving food, nursing the ill, comforting the downcast, aiding and pleasing a husband, caring for and educating the young. It is assumed furthermore that these activities will consume all a women’s time, that to perform them well is both a full time and a life time job.⁹

Women attending college in the 1940s, for example, reported being cautioned about appearing too smart and earning top grades, because displays of intelligence endangered their social status on campus. Women were also reminded, typically by their parents and brothers, that pursuing a career would reduce their prospects for marriage and motherhood.¹⁰ In 1950, only 23.9 percent of bachelor’s degrees were awarded to women.¹¹ Traditional sex roles were widely accepted by men and women. In 1936, a Gallup Poll asked respondents whether a married woman should work if she had a husband capable of supporting her; 82 percent of the sample said, “No.”¹² A similar question appeared in an October 1938 poll; 78 percent disapproved of married women entering the workforce. This included 81 percent of male respondents and 75 percent of female respondents.¹³ Prior to World War II, the proportion of married women who worked outside the home was 14.7 percent. Labor shortages during the war drew married women in the workforce; by 1944, the proportion increased to 21.7 percent. In 1956, 29.0 percent of married women worked outside the home.¹⁴ Working outside the home and pursuing a professional career represented a rejection of tradition, socialization, and conformity.

⁹ Kirkpatrick, 1974, 15.

¹⁰ Mirra Komarovsky, “Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles,” *American Journal of Sociology* 52 (1946): 184–89.

¹¹ National Center for Education Statistics, <http://nces.ed.gov> (accessed August 1, 2005).

¹² *Gallup Poll, 1935–1971* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1973), 39.

¹³ *Gallup Poll, 1973*, 131.

¹⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1975), 133.

Also accepted was the norm that politics was the domain of men. A 1945 Gallup Poll reported that a majority of men and women disagreed with the statement that not enough “capable women are holding important jobs” in government.¹⁵ In the 1950s, voter turnout among men was ten percentage points higher than among women.¹⁶ One survey found that, compared to men, women were less likely to express a sense of involvement in politics; women had a lower sense of political efficacy and personal competence than men.¹⁷ The political scientists conducting the survey reported that women who were married often refused to participate in the survey and referred “interviewers to their husbands as being the person in the family who pays attention to politics.”¹⁸ Moreover, these cultural norms about women and politics were slow to change. Indeed, as late as 1975, 48 percent of respondents in a survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center agreed that “most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women.”¹⁹

Against this cultural backdrop, it comes as no surprise that a “woman entering politics risks the social and psychological penalties so frequently associated with nonconformity. Disdain, internal conflicts, and failure are widely believed to be her likely rewards.”²⁰ Entering the electoral arena was, therefore, an act of political and social courage. The example of Representative Coya Knutson (D-MN) poignantly illustrates that women with political ambitions were often punished. Knutson first ran for the House as a long shot in 1954, defeating a six-term incumbent Republican. During her campaign in the large rural district, she played the accordion and sang songs, in addition to criticizing the Eisenhower administration’s agricultural policy. In 1958, Knutson was running for her third term. In response to Knutson’s refusal to play along with the Democratic Party in their 1956 presidential endorsements, party leaders approached her husband, Andy, an alcoholic who physically abused her and her adopted son, to help sabotage her reelection campaign. At the prompting of party leaders, Andy wrote a letter to Coya, pleading that she return to Minnesota and give up her career in politics, complaining how their home life had deteriorated since she left for Washington, D.C. He also accused his wife of having an affair with one of her congressional staffers and threatened a \$200,000 lawsuit. This infamous “Coya, Come Home” letter gained national media attention, and her Republican opponent ran on the slogan “A Big Man for a Man-Sized Job.” She was defeated by fewer than 1,400 votes by Republi-

¹⁵ Gallup Poll, 1973, 548–49.

¹⁶ Angus Campbell et al., *The American Voter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 485.

¹⁷ Campbell et al., 1960, 489–90.

¹⁸ Campbell et al., 1960, 485.

¹⁹ William Mayer, *The Changing American Mind* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 394.

²⁰ Kirkpatrick, 1974, 15.

can Odin Langin.²¹ She was the only Democratic incumbent to lose that year.

Serving in political office could also be extremely unpleasant. Women in Congress often had to fight for access and positions, such as committee assignments, that would have rightfully been given to them had they been men.²² For example, in 1949, Representative Reva Bosone, a Democrat from Utah, requested a seat on the House Interior Committee. When she approached Representative Jere Cooper (D-TN), the chair of the Ways and Means Committee who had the final say over assignments, he responded, “Oh, my. Oh, no. She’d be embarrassed because it would be embarrassing to be on the committee and discuss the sex of animals.”²³ She shot back and said, “It would be refreshing to hear about animals’ sex relationships compared to the perversions among human beings.”²⁴ When Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) came to Washington, D.C., in 1968, she asked to be assigned to the Committee on Education and Labor. She was a former teacher with extensive experience in education policy while serving in the New York Assembly. Education was extremely important to her poor, black, Brooklyn district. The Democratic Party leadership in Congress, however, assigned her to the Agriculture Committee and the Subcommittee on Forestry and Rural Development. Outraged, she refused the assignment and took her case to Speaker of the House John McCormack (D-MA). He told her she should be a “good soldier,” put her time in on the committee, and wait for a better assignment. Chisholm responded, “All my forty-three years I have been a good soldier. . . . The time is growing late, and I can’t be a good soldier any longer.”²⁵ She protested her committee assignment on the House floor, stating that “it would be hard to imagine an assignment that is less relevant to my background or to the needs of the predominantly black and Puerto Rican people who elected me,” and was reassigned to the Veterans Affairs Committee.²⁶ It was not her first choice, but Chisholm did note, “There are a lot more veterans in my district than trees.”²⁷ In 1973, Representative Pat Schroeder (D-CO) did receive an assignment on

²¹ Chuck Haga, “‘Come Home,’ Coya Dies,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, October 11, 1996, 1A; Leonard Inskip, “A Revival of Sorts for Minnesota’s Knutson,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, February 4, 1997, 11A; and Foerstel, 1999, 152–53. Another woman would not be elected to the House from the State of Minnesota until Democrat Betty McCollum in 2000.

²² Sally Friedman, “House Committee Assignments of Women and Minority Newcomers, 1965–1994,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 21 (1996): 73–81.

²³ Karen Foerstel and Herbert Foerstel, *Climbing the Hill: Gender Conflict in Congress* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Press, 1996), 95.

²⁴ Fortunately, Cooper laughed and put her on the committee, Foerstel and Foerstel, 1996, 96.

²⁵ Shirley Chisholm, *Unbought and Unbossed: An Autobiography* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), 82–83.

²⁶ Chisholm, 1970, 84.

²⁷ After her speech on the House floor, several members told her that she had just committed political suicide; Chisholm, 1970, 84. She eventually did serve on the Education and Labor Committee and on the powerful House Rules Committee at the end of her congressional career; Marcy Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1996), 149.

the committee of her choice, Armed Services, but the chair, F. Edward Hebert, a seventy-two-year-old Democrat from Louisiana, made it clear he did not want a woman on his committee. Hebert was also outraged that session because a newly elected African American, Representative Ron Dellums (D-CA), was assigned to his committee. Hebert announced that “women and blacks were worth only half of one ‘regular’ member,” so Schroeder and Dellums were forced to share a chair during committee meetings.²⁸ An apt summary of the congressional ethos facing female members was provided by Representative Florence Dwyer (R-NJ), who served her first term in the 85th Congress (1957 session): “A Congresswoman must look like a girl, act like a lady, think like a man, speak on any given subject with authority and most of all work like a dog.”²⁹

Entry Professions and the Pipeline

One of the most prevalent explanations for the slow integration of women into Congress is “the pipeline theory.” In American politics, there is a hierarchy of public office that functions as a career ladder for elected officials. A local office often serves as a springboard into the state legislature that, in turn, provides the requisite experience to run for the U.S. House of Representatives. Both the state legislature and the U.S. House serve as avenues to state-wide office, the most prominent of which are governorships and the U.S. Senate. Each successive office has a larger territorial jurisdiction, a larger constituency, and an increase in salary and prestige.³⁰ Before one can even enter this hierarchy, however, there are particular professions in the private sector that traditionally lead to political office, such as law and business. Although members of Congress come from a wide variety of career backgrounds, the most common by far is law. Those practicing in these professions typically form the “eligibility pool” of candidates for office. The pipeline theory maintains that once more women are in the eligibility pool, they will run for state and local office and then eventually “spill over” into Congress.

²⁸ Pat Schroeder, *Twenty-four Years of House Work and the Place Is Still a Mess* (Kansas City, Mo.: Andrews McMeel, 1999), 41. Schroeder explained that she got the seat on the Armed Services Committee in the first place because of the pressure put on Hebert by Representative Wilbur Mills (D-AR), the head of the Committee on Committees. Normally, Hebert would have been able to veto Mills’s decision to put Schroeder on the committee, but Mills pushed hard for Schroeder. Earlier that year, Mills was found “frolicking” in the Tidal Basin near the Jefferson Memorial with a stripper, Fannie Fox. Mills’s support for Schroeder’s appointment to the committee was an apparent attempt to appease his wife; Schroeder, 1999, 40. In January 1975, the House Democratic Caucus adopted numerous reforms, including a vote by secret ballot for committee chairs. In an act of poetic justice, Hebert lost and was removed as chair; *Congress and the Nation, 1973–1976* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1977), 13–14.

²⁹ Foerstel, 1999, 79.

³⁰ See for example Donald Matthews, *U.S. Senators and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); Joseph Schlesinger, *Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966); David Canon, *Actors, Athletes and Astronauts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); and Wayne Francis and Lawrence Kenny, *Up the Political Ladder: Career Paths in U.S. Politics* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2000).

As table 1.1 reveals, very few of the fifty-five women elected to the House between 1918 and 1956 advanced to Congress through this traditional pipeline. The primary reason for this is that for most of American history, women were barred from entering many of the professions in the eligibility pool; the pipeline was blocked.³¹ In 1956, only 3.5 percent of law degrees were awarded to women. Harvard Law School, for example, did not even admit women until 1950 and, despite skyrocketing applications, held the admissions rate for women between 3.0 and 4.0 percent until the 1970s.³² Prior to 1970, less than 5 percent of lawyers were women.³³ Of the fifty-five women elected to the House between 1918 and 1956, only seven were lawyers.

Very few of these women had prior experience in lower-level political office. Six women had won election to local office, and nine had served in their

Table 1.1 A Profile of the Fifty-five Women Elected to the House between 1918 and 1956

Background	Number of Women	Percent
Lawyer	7	12.7
Prior Elective Office Experience		
Elected to local office	6	10.9
Elected to state house of representatives	9	16.4
Elected to state senate	1	1.8
Elected to statewide office	1	1.8
Other Political Experience		
Served in appointed administrative office	10	18.2
Served in party organization	14	25.4
Lateral Entry		
Widows	21	38.2
No prior elective office experience	6	10.9

³¹ See for example Irene Diamond, *Sex Roles in the State House* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Barbara Burrell, *A Woman's Place Is in the House: Campaigning for Congress in the Feminist Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); Susan Carroll, *Women as Candidates in American Politics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); M. Margaret Conway, Gertude Steurnagel, and David Ahern, *Women and Political Participation* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1997); Nancy McGlen and Karen O'Connor, *Women, Politics and American Society*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1998); and M. Margaret Conway, *Political Participation in the United States*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2000).

³² Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Women in Law*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

³³ Epstein, 1993, 4.

state house of representatives. Representative Iris Blicht (D-GA) was the only woman to serve in the state senate and the only woman elected to both the lower and upper chambers of a state legislature. Democratic Representative Chase Going Woodhouse served Connecticut as Secretary of State and is the only woman of the fifty-five who had been elected to statewide office. Prior to pursuing a political career, she was an economics professor.³⁴

Because the pipeline was largely off-limits, women relied on other routes to gain experience.³⁵ As table 1.1 shows, ten of the fifty-five women, 18.2 percent, held administrative appointments, mostly at the local level, and fourteen, 25.4 percent, worked in some capacity for their political party. But even as volunteers in party organizations, women faced barriers. They were regularly confined to “expressive roles,” while men assumed “instrumental roles;”³⁶ women hosted social events and were assigned “menial tasks associated with secretarial work,” while men worked at recruiting candidates and managing campaigns.³⁷ Moon Landrieu, former mayor of New Orleans and father of U.S. Senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA), described this division of labor as “women do the lickin’ and the stickin’ while men plan the strategy.”³⁸ In the late 1960s, Representative Patsy Mink (D-HI) pushed the Democratic National Committee to put more women in party leadership and policy-making positions. She was confronted by another committee member, Edgar Berman, Vice President Hubert Humphrey’s personal physician, who claimed that “if we had a menopausal woman President who had to make the decision of the Bay of Pigs,” she would be “subject to the curious mental aberrations of that age group.”³⁹ Mink demanded, and got, Berman’s resignation from the committee. In response, he claimed he had been “crucified on the cross of women’s liberation” and that her anger was “a typical example of an ordinarily controlled woman under the raging hormonal imbalance of the periodical lunar cycle.”⁴⁰

Because of such attitudes, the women who were elected to the House frequently gained their seats through “lateral entry,” not through elective office or the party hierarchy. As table 1.1 reports, twenty-one of the fifty-five women elected to the House between 1916 and 1956 were congressional widows; they ran for the House seats held by their deceased husbands. Six other women won their seats without the benefit of holding prior elective or party office. Occasionally, these women capitalized upon their “celebrity status” to launch a

³⁴ Foerstel, 1999, 281.

³⁵ See for example Kirkpatrick, 1974; Susan Welch, “Recruitment of Women to Public Office,” *Western Political Quarterly* 31 (1978): 372–80; and Raisa Deber, “The Fault Dear Brutus: Women as Congressional Candidates in Pennsylvania,” *Journal of Politics* 44 (1982): 463–79.

³⁶ Diane Fowlkes, Jerry Perkins, and Sue Tolleson Rinehart, “Gender Roles and Party Roles,” *American Political Science Review* 73 (1979): 772–80; and Edmond Constantini, “Political Women and Political Ambition: Closing the Gender Gap,” *American Journal of Political Science* 34 (1990): 741–70.

³⁷ Conway, Steurnagel, and Ahern, 1997, 95.

³⁸ Conway, Steurnagel, and Ahern, 1997, 95.

³⁹ Foerstel and Foerstel, 1996, 27.

⁴⁰ Foerstel and Foerstel, 1996, 27.

successful campaign for office. In other words, they relied on prior name recognition and acclaim they had earned outside the political arena.⁴¹ For example, prior to running for the House, Clare Boothe Luce (R-CT; see figure 1.1) was a writer for *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*. In 1932, at the age of twenty-nine, she was named managing editor of *Vanity Fair*. A collection of her articles satirizing the social life of New York City was published in *Stuffed Shirts*.⁴² She left the magazine two years later to work as a playwright and had several of her plays produced on Broadway, including *The Women*, *Kiss the Boys Goodbye*, and *Margin for Error*.⁴³ In 1935, she married Henry Luce, a founder and editor of *Time* magazine. Together, they developed *Life* magazine, which began publication in November 1936. In 1938, Luce's stepfather, Albert Austin (R-CT), won a seat in the House representing the 4th District of



Fig. 1.1 Representative Clare Boothe Luce was first elected to the House in 1942, having never run for office before. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

⁴¹ Canon, 1990.

⁴² Clare Boothe Luce, *Stuffed Shirts* (New York: Liveright, 1933).

⁴³ These plays were published by Random House in 1937, 1939, and 1940.