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**A Study of the Relationship Between Women's Status
and Standards of Female Beauty**

by

Elaine M.J. Burland

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science

in the Department of Family Studies

Faculty of Human Ecology

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**A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN'S STATUS AND
STANDARDS OF FEMALE BEAUTY**

BY

ELAINE M. J. BURLAND

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
MASTER OF SCIENCE**

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Abstract

Morrison and Holden (1973) hypothesized that the lower North American women's status is relative to men's, the more women will erotically adorn themselves, specifically, the more they will emphasize the appearance of their breasts. Conversely, the higher women's status is relative to men's, the less women will erotically adorn themselves, specifically, the less they will emphasize the appearance of their breasts. The purpose of this research was to test Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis for the period of 1970 to the present. Data on the status of North American women as well as on North American women's fashion trends were collected for the time period of 1970 to the present. Sources included, but were not limited to, North American demographics, literature on women's issues, books on women's history, general historical accounts, books on fashion history, fashion magazines and newspaper articles. Each data item was assigned a value and standardized scores were generated to produce graphs which depict women's changing status and fashion trends since 1970. Analysis of the data supported Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis, revealing a consistent, inverse relationship between the two variables. These findings add to the credibility of the authors' theory and to the justification for using it as a predictive tool.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Is there a relationship between North American women's fluctuating status and the ever-changing standards of female beauty? In their article The Burning Bra: The American Breast Fetish and Women's Liberation, Morrison and Holden (1973) argue that the lower women's status in society is relative to men's, the more women will erotically adorn themselves, specifically, the more they will emphasize the appearance of their breasts. Conversely, the less women emphasize the appearance of their breasts, the greater the likelihood that they are attempting to equalize their status with men, or that their status has improved relative to men. In other words, during times when women's status has been low, the ideal of feminine beauty has been (among other things) the appearance of large, prominent and conspicuous breasts. When women's status has been relatively high, the ideal of feminine beauty has been (among other things) the appearance of small, inconspicuous breasts. For instance, the "flapper" era in the 1920's was a time during which women's status was climbing significantly and the fashion ideal was that of a "boyish, flat appearance", as compared to the 1930's when women's declining status (due largely to the Depression) was accompanied by an increasing emphasis on their breasts (Dingwall, 1958, p. 164 in Morrison & Holden, 1973, p. 571; Morrison & Holden, 1973).

As the authors point out, "breasts are only one component of the definition of female attractiveness in [the U.S.]", but are arguably "ranked high if not highest in our priorities in the last few decades" (1973, p. 575). "Breast size and emphasis have become associated with a woman's willingness, ability and desirability as a sexual and marriage partner: her sexiness is an important measure...indicated by her breasts" (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p. 574). There are other aspects of erotic adornment, such as hemline length, but for the purpose of their research the authors focused on the appearance of women's busts.

Moreover, Morrison and Holden point out that women's status is generally lower than men's. "Even when women have the same jobs at the same pay as men, women are likely to experience less status than men in the form of less promotions, responsibility, decision making power, control over others, etc." (p. 569) They explain that typically, women have lower status and lower paying jobs than men, and when they work at the same jobs as men, they receive lower pay, despite being equally qualified (Morrison & Holden, 1973). "Thus, it is very difficult for women to compete with men in the world of work for status or for pay." (p. 569) Through marriage, women can generally access greater status, by sharing in their husband's

status. The lower women's status, the more dependent they are on marriage for status. In order to attract and keep a husband, women must appeal to men; adornment is a key element of this process.

[S]exual performance and the associated sensuousness in attracting males have become part of a women's role expectations and a basis for her direct and indirect awards: women get status directly (are regarded as attractive) in terms of erotic criteria, which, in turn help to give them access to other rewards by attracting and keeping men. Breasts have assumed a special importance as erotic criteria because of the way female eroticism has been defined, and because of the cautious and partial way eroticism must be employed in the larger goal of status gain in courtship (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p. 575).

Because of their "special importance as erotic criteria" the authors used women's breasts as an indicator of erotic adornment. Based on this, they hypothesized that the lower women's status, the more they would emphasize the appearance of their breasts, in order to attract a husband and share in his status. Conversely, women would de-emphasize the appearance of their breasts in an attempt to relate to men as equals, and to detract from an eroticized image that has come to be associated with their dependence on men (Morrison & Holden, 1973).

The following is Morrison and Holden's hypothesis stated in full:

Within given income levels in societies where there is a general participation in fashion and a theoretically open stratification system: (a) the more divergent and stable the roles and statuses of men and women, the more divergent and stable are the sex differences in adornment, (b) the lower one's status, the greater one's concern with fashion, (c) the more that the superior status is concentrated in one sex, the more the inferior sex will emphasize fashion and erotic adornment, and (d) the conscious de-emphasis of erotic adornment by the inferior sex is the attempt to alter their relationship to the opposite sex (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p. 580).

After reviewing literature on women's status and fashion since the beginning of the 20th century, Morrison and Holden (1973) concluded that there was indeed a relationship between the emphasis placed on the appearance of women's breasts and their societal status. When women's status has been low, the ideal has been (at least the appearance of) large breasts, and when women's status has been relatively high,

the ideal has been (at least the appearance of) small breasts. The following is a brief synopsis of the authors' literature review.

Synopsis of Morrison and Holden's Literature Review

During the 1920's, Morrison and Holden (1973) propose that women's fashions were indicative of their changing status: fashions during the "flapper era" were characterized by a decreasing emphasis on the unique features of women's figures (e.g. the bust gave way to a more "boyish flat appearance") and increasing freedom of movement (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p. 571; Dingwall, 1958 & Laver, 1937 in Morrison & Holden, 1973). The advances women had made in the labor force in the 1920's were undone by the Depression; their employment opportunities, and consequently their ability to achieve status, security and mobility outside of marriage was declining rapidly during the 1930's (Morrison & Holden, 1973). As women's competition for men rose during this period, so did the fashion world's emphasis on the bust in terms of size and cleft (Morrison & Holden, 1973). World War II greatly increased the employment available to women, but these opportunities were temporary and short-lived (Morrison & Holden, 1973). The fashions that came out after the war (during the 1950's and early 1960's) were geared almost exclusively towards the appearance of women's breasts: waist clinchers, tight sweaters, lift and separate bras, silicone injections and padded bras were a sign of these times (Morrison & Holden, 1973). As the 1960's wore on, women's status started to improve again as evidenced by increasingly favorable attitudes towards women's sexuality in terms of their active pursuit and participation in sexual pleasure (Morrison & Holden, 1973). According to the authors, women during the early 1970's were starting to gain status directly, but based on their degree of attractiveness; that is, the more attractive they were perceived to be (largely determined by their breast size), the greater their access to other rewards because of their ability to attract and keep men (Morrison & Holden, 1973). However, Morrison and Holden (1973) concluded that this "breast fetish" might be on the decline, but admit that the evidence at the time was far from clear (p. 575).

My own review of literature more or less confirms their hypothesis for the period between 1900 and 1970: sources dealing with the history of North American women, as well as the history of women's fashions (underwear in particular) both indicate event histories similar to Morrison and Holden's. The following is a synopsis of my own literature review, for this same period.

My own Literature Review for the Period of 1900 - 1970

In her book, Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement, Banks (1981) describes the period between 1870 and 1920 as the “golden years”, which were followed by an “intermission” (1920-1960) and then the “modern movement” (1960 – on) (pp. 61, 151, 205). The other sources consulted in my preliminary investigation are basically in agreement with this. Because of this, I have structured my literature review according to these time periods. What follows is a summary of these sources.

1900 - 1920

Status. At the turn of the twentieth century, the women’s movement was slowly but surely gaining strength in North America and abroad. Changing legislation, attitudes and fashion were some of the indicators of women’s improving status.

By 1902, frustration with the Canadian St. John Local Council of Women (because of their reluctance to endorse women’s suffrage) had driven the Women’s Enfranchisement Association to create its own political agenda, including issues such as equal pay for equal work (Prentice, Bourne, Cuthbert Brandt, Light, Mitchinson, & Black, 1988). One year later, the Women’s Trade Union was formed in the United States, whose main purpose was to protect women and children from the deplorable working conditions characteristic of these times (Banks, 1981). They became very involved in lobbying for “protective legislation”, the aim of which was to prohibit child labor and women working at night, as well as limiting the number of hours women could work (Banks, 1981, p. 111-12). The Married Women’s Property Act was passed in all common-law Canadian provinces (except Alberta) by 1907, which meant that women’s personal property and earnings were finally their own, rather than their husbands’ (Prentice et al., 1988). As 1910 came to a close, it was becoming clear that the suffragist movement was gaining support in both Canada and the United States; the Halifax Local Council in Canada was not only beginning to endorse suffrage, but to attract support in the process (Prentice et al., 1988). At the same time, the American suffrage movement was gaining support from a wide range of groups – from social reformers and settlement workers to trade unionists and socialists (Banks, 1981). By 1911, three Canadian provinces (Manitoba, British Columbia and Saskatchewan) had passed laws to assist women whose husbands had abandoned them (Prentice et al., 1988). During the year of 1912, women’s suffrage was granted in three

American states, and it was adopted as part of Roosevelt's Progressive Party's campaign platform (Banks, 1981).

Women's progress continued during World War I. By 1917, many women had the vote, including Canadian nurses serving in the war, the wives, widows, mothers, sisters and daughters of men in the military (Prentice et al., 1988), as well as women in twelve U.S. states (Banks, 1981). That same year saw the enactment of equal guardianship and custodial laws in British Columbia, meaning that with respect to the children, mothers and fathers were now equivalent (Prentice et al., 1988). Nineteen-eighteen saw not only the end of the war, but the granting of the vote to every Canadian woman over twenty-one years of age (Prentice et al., 1988) as well as the commitment by Wilson's Democratic Party (in the U.S.) to women's suffrage (Banks, 1981). By 1920, the three Canadian prairie provinces had passed property and inheritance laws (husbands no longer had the right to their wives' inheritance, nor control of their property), and new legislation had been enacted that not only protected women from miserable working conditions, but made it possible for them to be elected to the House of Commons (Prentice et al., 1988). Meanwhile, suffrage had finally been granted in the United States (Withers Osmond & Thorne, 1993; Banks, 1981).

These changes to legislation were indicative of the changing attitudes towards women during the beginning of this century. At the start of the 1900's, the need for mutual sexual satisfaction in marriage was gradually replacing procreation as the "primary justification for intercourse" (Banks, 1981, p. 183). Before World War I, females entering college and the work force experienced increasing social and intellectual freedom; by its end in 1918, sexual techniques had come to be regarded as a major component of marital happiness (Banks, 1981). However, women's sexual needs continued to be secondary to those of men's (Gordon, 1971 in Banks, 1981).

Not all attitude changes during this time were positive. Roosevelt's adoption of women's suffrage as part of his 1912 campaign platform sparked an active anti-suffragist movement among those individuals involved in big business, because the women's vote meant a threat to the supply of cheap labor (Banks, 1981). Wilson's commitment to suffrage in 1918 reflected public opinion (which was becoming increasingly in favor of suffrage) but was met with opposition from within his own party, especially in the South: it was regarded as not only a threat to cheap labor but also to the institution of the family (Morgan, 1972 in Banks, 1981). Even the suffragist movement itself was not immune to internal conflict: the issue

of protective legislation, which many considered to be beneficial to women, was ultimately the cause of the split which occurred in the feminist movement shortly after the granting of the vote (Banks, 1981). Some women were in favor of protection and some regarded it as the lesser of two evils: it helped to alleviate the exploitation of women were experiencing, which they regarded as more important than equal rights, while others saw it as a vehicle for a different form of exploitation (Banks, 1981). Protective legislation was seen as placing even greater limits on women: (a) it reinforced the notion that women were dependent upon and unable to compete with men and (b) it enabled male run unions to prevent women from doing certain jobs (e.g. bar tending), which ultimately restricted them to “female jobs” that offered little if any hope of promotion (Sachs & Wilson, 1978, p. 115 and Baer, 1978, p. 34-6 in Banks, 1981, p. 112).

Fashion. Despite this dissention, women’s status during the first twenty years of this century was, relatively speaking, on the rise, and women’s fashions were changing right along with it. The turn of the century saw a craze for the famous “S curve” style: women’s corsets were laced up tightly in order to reduce the waist, push the bust forward and the hips back (Ewing, 1972). A “lavish bust and impressive hips” were the style beauty ideal at this time, but it caused women extreme discomfort given that this corset offered no support and caused much physical distortion (Ewing, 1972, p. 78-9). Busts were fashionable at this time, being worn low and overhanging the waist, but were completely without cleavage (Ewing, 1972). However, the style was difficult to achieve naturally and until its peak in 1905, many women resorted to pads and artificial shape makers to help them emulate this ideal (Ewing, 1972).

By 1907, a “slim willowy shape” had become the goal: fashions were becoming high in the waist and narrow in the skirt, but an “ample bust line” was still desirable (Ewing, 1972, p. 83-4). A new kind of brassiere was invented in 1913 that was shorter than the typical bodices of the time, which allowed a natural division between the breasts (Yalom, 1997; Ewing, 1972). This new style was considered to be important because the fashions at that time were softer and required bust support (Ewing, 1972).

During World War I, fashion came to a standstill given its relative unimportance compared to the war effort, but by 1919 the “ideal figure” had taken on a dramatic new form (Ewing, 1972, p. 87, 90). Fashion moved from exaggerating the physical features of females to an attempt to eliminate them, as evidence by the boyish figure that had become the goal (Yalom, 1997; Ewing, 1972). The brassiere had become a

means of flattening rather than uplifting women's breasts in an attempt to distribute flesh evenly from their chests to abdomens (Tortora & Eubank, 1994; Ewing, 1972). This style was often referred to as the "flapper" image (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 244).

In short, the emphasis on the appearance of women's breasts steadily declined during the period between 1900 and 1920. Thus, it would appear that so far, Morrison and Holden's hypothesis is supported: as the importance of women's breast seemed to lessen, their relative status seemed to be on the rise.

1921 – 1960

Status. The years immediately following World War I were transformative ones. In Canada, women's organizations attempted to move forward by extending their social, economic, cultural and political influence (Prentice et al., 1988). The Women's Party in the United States continued to push for the equal rights amendment (the E.R.A.), and this eventually resulted in its being brought before Congress (Sachs & Wilson, 1978, in Banks, 1981). However, it also helped to create conflict between themselves and both the welfare feminists (who believed the Women's Party were merely self-interested career women) and anti-feminists (Banks, 1981). This contributed to the eventual splitting of feminism into its "constituent parts": the Women's Party continued to fight for equality while other women's organizations focused on more general issues (e.g. children's welfare, the "peace movement") (Banks, 1981, p. 150-157).

By the mid-1920's, there was increasing pressure on women to get married and become mothers (Prentice et al., 1988). This pressure was in response to, among other things, (a) the new compulsory school attendance for children, (b) the common belief that the lives lost in the war necessitated an increase in the birthrate and (c) newly liberalized divorce laws (there was a fear that the 1925 Canadian federal divorce law, which now allowed women to divorce on the same grounds as their husbands, would threaten the institution of the family) (Prentice et al., 1988).

An apparent boost to women's status came in 1928 when the Federation of Liberal Women of Canada was formed by the Liberal party, but these women were not given any power or opportunities to contribute strategically, only support staff positions (e.g. answering phones, stuffing envelopes) (Prentice et al., 1988). In the 1930's the Depression actually helped to lower women's status; many people blamed women

for the nation's unemployment problems because they were seen as taking jobs away from men, despite the fact that most of these were "female" jobs (e.g. service and clerical) that men would not accept (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 214; Banks, 1981, p. 159). As well, the 1930's were times of increasing conservatism and emphasis on the nuclear family as the ideal, and growing opposition to the E.R.A. (many women were in favor of protective legislation and the status of "different and special" rather than equal) (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 217; Banks, 1981, p.159).

In 1939, World War II began, and once again (as in World War I), women's participation in the workforce was encouraged (Prentice et al., 1988). Thousands of women were employed in general industry (to replace the men who had gone to fight), war related industries and for the first time, recruited into the military (Prentice et al., 1988). However, not only were these women not paid as much as men had been for doing the same jobs, their efforts were belittled (e.g. "filing a shell is no more difficult than baking a cake" reported one writer) (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 300). Further, women entering the military faced the same obstructive attitudes and practices that civilian women encountered: (a) job segregation, (b) a double standard in terms of promiscuity, (c) being assigned to subordinate roles regardless of their achievements (e.g. "we are the women behind the men behind the guns") and (d) pressured to maintain their femininity while performing their "temporary male roles" (Prentice et al., 1988, p.301-2). In short, women's efforts were regarded as critical, but they received little, if any, recognition or status in return.

What was encouraging during the war was the progress of the E.R.A. in the United States; in 1940, it was endorsed by the Republicans and by 1945, it had gained the support of not only the Democrats, but the House of Representatives as well (Banks, 1981). However, it did not pass the Senate because its supporters were still not as strong as its opponents; public debates concerning women's roles during this time continued to indicate a strong anti-feminist mood (Banks, 1981).

Immediately following the war, every effort was made to get women out of the workforce and back into the home. The incentives that had been offered to attract women to the workforce were cancelled (e.g. government subsidized daycare, income tax exemptions, etc.), and for many of those who managed to continue working (despite these setbacks), they were laid off (Prentice et al., 1988). By 1945, over 80,000 women working both in the war and general industry had lost their jobs (Prentice et al. 1988). The media

followed suit by working to dramatically change women's public image from that of being productive, back to the ideal of domesticity: women were encouraged to be "happy homemakers", wives, mothers and consumers (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 307). Delaney, Lupton and Toth (1988, p. 131) point out that, as the need for women in the workforce declined, so did their I.Q. – at least in so far as advertiser's practices were concerned. Looking at menstrual product ads alone, Delaney et al. (1988) illustrate the change in national ideology from the 1940's to the 1950's: (a) their focus shifted from women's bodies to women's faces, presumably because it was no longer important to show women working, (b) women were increasingly referred to as "girls", which is indicative of a decline in their status, and (c) sales pitches were no longer "useful arguments" but "coy language arranged in short sentences" (p. 131). This ideological change is similar to the one found by Betty Friedan in her study of the content of women's magazines during the 1940's and 1950's (Delaney et al., 1988).

This trend continued well on into the 1950's. Advertisements educated young women on the art of using glamour (their "most highly prized attribute") to "catch a man", and wives on the art of keeping their men (done by maintaining their sexual attractiveness) (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 308). Women's femininity and domesticity were idealized not only by the media, but by the medical community as well; marriage and motherhood were considered to be women's "normal" goals, and those who rejected this were regarded as deviant (Banks, 1981; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 308-9).

By the late 1950's things started changing once again. Women began to enter the labor force in increasing numbers (despite the lack of government support and negative public attitudes), the birth rate began to fall, and 'equal pay for equal work' legislation was finally passed in every province (except for Quebec and Newfoundland) (Banks, 1981; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 333).

In 1960, peace/disarmament talks failed at the Paris Summit Conference and the Voice of Women (a non-partisan organization) was created in order to deal with the setback (Prentice et al., 1988). The formation of this group is considered by some to be the first event in the "second wave" of the Canadian women's movement (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 335).

Fashion. The fashions that were popular during this “intermission” in feminism were dramatically different from those that preceded them. By 1925, women’s curves were becoming stylish again: new brassieres separated the two breasts (unlike its ‘flat bandeau’ predecessor) (Yalom, 1997; Tortora & Eubank, 1994; Ewing, 1972). Soon after, shaped bust cups appeared in the fashion world, which were gradually made increasingly deeper, thus exaggerating the shape of the bust (Ewing, 1972). Throughout the 1930’s, the ideal figure was becoming more and more shapely, and by 1939, high bust-line bras appeared (Ewing, 1972). World War II halted fashion, but post-war fashion picked up where it had left off (Ewing, 1972). The “New Look” by Dior in 1947 continued to emphasize the bust and other “feminine curves”, eventually leading to the “sweater girl” bra in the 1950’s, which was characterized by an exaggerated, high, pointed bust (Yalom, 1997, p. 137-8, 177; Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 420; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 308; Ewing, 1972, p. 119). As Ewing puts it, women who were “short changed” had to resort to padded bras, which amounted to approximately 75% of women (1972, p. 119). However, by the late 1950’s, this trend was becoming more moderate (Ewing, 1972).

For this period then, it appears that as women’s solidarity was weakening and their status and recognition declining, fashion was moving towards extreme femininity in its ever increasing emphasis of the appearance of women’s breasts. Thus, it would seem that, based on these sources, Morrison and Holden’s hypothesis holds for the years between 1921 and 1960 as well.

1961 – 1970

Status. The beginning of the modern movement of feminism is considered by many to have begun in the early- to mid-1960’s (Tortora & Eubank, 1994; Prentice et al., 1988; Banks, 1981). Women’s issues became popular topics for discussion for female journalists, women’s enrollment in university increased steadily (although, it continued to be in “female appropriate” areas like household science) (Prentice et al., 1988, p.325, 327). As well, awareness increased regarding the debilitating effects of protective legislation, support for the E.R.A. increased, and the need for “woman power” was on the rise in light of the shortage of manpower (Banks, 1981, pp. 160, 211, 214). By 1961, Kennedy’s Commission on the Status of Women had been formed, followed soon after by the passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1963 (Banks, 1981). The women’s movement was in full swing by the mid-1960’s as evidenced by the acceptance of the Civil

Rights Act in 1964, the formation of the National Organization of Women (N.O.W.) whose purpose was to ensure the sexual provisions of the Civil Rights Act were enforced, and the passage of the Equal Rights Act (which made protective legislation illegal) (Banks, 1981). Other evidence included the formation of numerous women's groups (including the Committee for the Equality of Women in Canada, and the Feminine Action League), and the commencement of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (Prentice et al., 1988). As the 1960's came to an end, so did many traditional aspects of life: divorce laws were becoming more liberal, increasingly the roles of wife and mother were coming to be seen as distinct, and radical feminists began to organize (Prentice et al., 1988; Banks, 1981). Their mobilization resulted in, among other things, the protest at the 1968 Miss America Pageant (where "bra burning" originated, despite the fact that no bras were actually burned), one of the first dramatic demonstrations by the women's liberation movement (Yalom, 1997; Morrison & Holden, 1973).

Fashion. In terms of fashion, the permissive "anything goes" styles of the 1960's (e.g. the "see through look") gradually gave way to a focus on natural shaping (i.e. a de-emphasis of the exaggerated and artificial female physique) (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 446; Yalom, 1997, p. 178; Ewing, 1972, pp. 122, 126). By the end of the 1960's, women's underwear had become considerably less restrictive; bras were no longer designed for maximum uplift, but rather to smooth and control the figure (Yalom, 1997; Tortora & Eubank, 1994; Ewing, 1972). Women's and men's clothing became increasingly "unisex" (i.e. both sexes began to wear jeans, T-shirts, pantsuits, etc.), and many regarded this as indicative of women's changing roles (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 443).

In short, the fashion trends since the 1960's showed a gradual move from the exaggeration of the appearance of women's breasts towards a more natural look.

Hence, Morrison and Holden's general hypothesis seems to hold: as women's status rises relative to that of men's, the emphasis on the appearance of their breasts seems to decline. Conversely, as women's status falls relative to that of men's, the emphasis on the appearance of their breasts seems to increase. Given that this preliminary investigation supports the hypothesis that there is a relationship between the fluctuations in women's status and female fashion ideals, I believe further research is warranted, namely, to see if this relationship has continued to hold since the early 1970's.

The Purpose of this Research

The purpose of this research was to test Morrison and Holden's hypothesis for the period 1970 to the present. Finding that the relationship has continued to hold would add to the credibility of their theory. Moreover, there would be greater justification for using it as a predictive tool. Thus, for instance, if fashion magazines were predicting that next year's styles would be moving away from emphasizing the appearance of women's breasts, one would be justified in inferring that women's status was possibly on the rise.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Data Collection

Data was collected predominantly from the University of Manitoba library and from some branches of the public library in the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Collection entailed searching for relevant data (and the call numbers for these sources) on the computerized catalogue for both the university and public libraries. I then looked for these sources in the libraries. At this time, I looked around the shelves for any other sources that might be pertinent, given that libraries tend to organize information according to subject category. Any such applicable material was also collected. As well, any relevant articles in the local daily newspapers were collected over the course of the year during which my data collection took place. In other words, my data collection involved gathering any information that I could find that was applicable to my research.

However, not all sources proved to be useful. Such sources included technical material (e.g. information on how other research was done) and documents whose scope was too narrow (e.g. information that had to do with one woman's experiences). These sources were excluded because they did not pertain specifically to women's status or fashion trends as a whole, which was the focus of this research.

Status. The first step was to collect data on the status of women in Canada and United States from 1970-1997. Sources included demographics and literature on women's issues such as history; status, and whatever other information I could find that would help me to chart the gains and setbacks women have experienced since 1970. Information was compiled for Canadian and American women. Because of the volume of data collected, it has been presented in two appendices [see Appendices 1 & 2]. The information was organized chronologically in terms of gains and setbacks affecting women each year, with respect to the following realms: legislation, employment, legal decisions, politics, women's own efforts, public opinion, and a miscellaneous category.

Fashion. Information on women's fashion trends since 1970 was collected for both the U.S. and Canada [see Appendices 3 & 4]. Separate data were collected for each country, but the two are generally considered to be part of the same market, given that the same fashion periodicals are sold throughout North

America. The main sources included, but were not limited to, North American books on the fashion history, fashion magazines and newspaper articles. When possible, consecutive volumes of the same fashion magazines were sampled, such as Flare, Chatelaine, and Style. The goal was to identify the ideal bust size appearance was for women, as well as how much emphasis was being placed on the appearance of women's busts, for the period of 1970 to 1997. In addition to specific data regarding the appearance of women's busts, information was collected with respect to the kinds of bra and lingerie styles that were popular, the basic silhouette that predominated, what other parts of women's bodies were being emphasized, and the general styles that were fashionable. This information helped to determine the degree to which the appearance of women's busts were being emphasized. For example, in the 1970's, bras tended to be sheer and non-supportive, the basic silhouette was very loose and general fashions highlighted women's legs. All of this supported fashion experts' assertions that breasts were not fashionable during the 70's. The resulting look de-emphasized the appearance of the breasts.

When available, information on the social climate for each period was also collected from these fashion sources. This was helpful as it highlighted social phenomena considered to be important from a fashion perspective and provided a more complete picture of each era. For instance, the hippie movement of the early 70's had a significant impact on fashion and was expressive of a basic rejection of societal mores. Women's renunciation of fashion in general was influenced by this, as well as by the women's movement.

Data Evaluation

Status. I assigned each data item a value of (+1), (+2), (-1) or (-2). Anything that was a first time event (e.g. a new piece of legislation, an unprecedented legal decision), I gave a value of either (+2) or (-2), depending on whether I judged it to be a gain or a setback for women. I considered such events to be of considerable significance because they, in some way, created a new situation for women. Anything that could be construed as a continuation of a prior event, such as the 'expansion' of the scope of the American definition of sexual harassment to include a 'hostile work environment' (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 601) I assigned a value of either (+1) or (-1), depending on whether it was a gain or setback for women. Any event that was only tentative at the time (such as feminist Pat Mainardi's 'proposed' method of calculating 'wages for housework', Tobias, 1997, p. 265) I also evaluated this way. Such events received these values

because they did not bring about a new situation. They either supplemented or diminished some existing condition, or a condition that had yet to materialize. In short, something new was given greater significance than either a change to something already in existence or something tentative. I believe that it was important to make these qualitative distinctions in order to clearly show that some events impacted on women more positively or negatively than others.

I then totaled these values in order to numerically depict women's status for each year, in each country. For example, my values for the 1970 U.S. data came out to (+44); the positive events had a total value of 51 and the negative events came out to 7. This result indicated that for the year of 1970, American women made significant progress, having many more events work to their benefit than work to their disadvantage. Conversely, 1980 was a year during which American women had many more setbacks than gains: the positive events totaled 12 and the negative events 23, resulting in a net total of minus 11 (-11). Thus, based on this valuation system, American women were doing much better, with respect to status, in 1970 than in 1980.

Next, I grouped these values into five-year segments and determined means for each period. I then graphed these means values for each country. The data fluctuated erratically from one year to the next, and consequently, it was difficult to discern any trends. Determining five-year means made it easier to see patterns for the 1970 - 1997 period.

Fashion. I established a five-point scale which I used in the assigning of values to the fashion data. [see Figure 4] I grouped the fashion information chronologically, with categories consisting of an early period, the first half of the decade, and a late period, the second half of the decade. Each late period was further sub-divided to include special mention of the last year of each decade. The data for the final year of each decade was often quite detailed, given that these were transition years between decades. The fashion information tended to be presented according to these time divisions. For the sake of consistency, I presented it in the same manner for this thesis.

I then qualitatively coded the information for each period. Basically this entailed examining the data and compiling a list of the terms used to describe the relevant aspects of fashion for each period.

Descriptions pertaining to the ideal appearance for women's busts, the ideal female silhouette, and popular bra styles made up each list. I then assigned a value to each relevant descriptive term for each period, according to the five-point scale. Any terms indicating either that flat-chested, boyish-figured women were the ideal, or that bras were being designed for the purpose of flattening women's busts, were given a value of one (1). Conversely, terms signifying that the appearance of women's breasts was being exaggerated, when large breasted, hour-glass figured women were the ideal, or that bras were being designed to enhance the bust, were assigned a value of five (5). A value of either two (2), three (3) or four (4) was given for descriptions judged as falling somewhere between these two parameters. For instance, a value of two (2) was given for any indication that the bust was not being emphasized or that small breasts were in style. Any terms signifying that a natural, non-shaped bust was fashionable, received a value of three (3). Finally, a value of four (4) was assigned to terms indicating that the appearance of women's breasts was being emphasized or that bras were designed to enhance and draw attention to the bust. I then added all of the values for each period together and calculated a mean. In order to be consistent with the status data, totals were calculated for two periods for each decade: the first half and the second half. The second half consisted of the value derived for the last year of each decade (the transition year) added to the total for the other four years of this period. I then graphed these values. The purpose was to help depict the overall course of women's fashion in terms of bust emphasis for the last 27 years.

It should be noted that I assigned values to each data point and calculated all of the net totals and means prior to graphing the information. Consequently, what trends would result was not known until the completion of this final stage of evaluation.

Testing the Morrison/Holden Hypothesis

In order to answer the research question, the women's status data and fashion data needed to be analyzed simultaneously, in order to determine if the trends were related in the same way in which Morrison and Holden (1973) had predicted. Because different scales were used to represent these two data sets, the mean values for each five year interval within each data set was standardized by converting all scores to z-scores. These z-score values were then graphed. A separate graph was created for each country, with 'women's status' data presented with the 'fashion' data [see Figures 1 – 3].

Chapter 3: Results

An analysis of the data revealed a consistent, inverse relationship between North American women's status and the emphasis placed on the appearance of their breasts. [see Figure 3] Both Canadian and American women's status declined as the emphasis on the appearance of their busts increased. In the wording of the hypothesis, the lower women's status, the greater the emphasis on the appearance of their breasts and the larger the ideal appearance of women's busts. Conversely, the higher women's status, the lower the emphasis on the appearance of their breasts and the smaller the ideal appearance of women's busts. Thus, according to this research, Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis has held since the early 1970's when their paper was published. Canadian and American women's status was relatively high and the emphasis on the appearance of their breasts was relatively low at the beginning of the 1970's; a relationship that had, for the most part, reversed itself by 1997.

Data Synopsis

The following is a relatively brief overview of the status and fashion data collected for the period between 1970 and 1997.

1970-1974

Status. The women's movement in both Canada and the U.S. began to make a resurgence in the early 1960's (Stimpson, 1996; Black, in Burt, Code, & Dorney, 1993; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson, Griffen Cohen, Bourne, & Masters, 1993; Simon & Danziger, 1991; Prentice et al., 1988; Banks, 1981). By 1970, this "second wave" of the movement was in full swing, as evidenced by things such as the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (R.C.S.W.) in Canada and the re-introduction of the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.) to the American Congress after a 22 year hiatus (Black in Burt et al., 1993, pp. 151, 173; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, pp. 4, 26; Weaver in Burt et al., 1993, p. 97; Withers Osmond & Thorne, 1993, p. 598; Faludi, 1991, p. 48; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 139; Vevers, 1991, p. 3; Wilson, 1991, p. 120; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 343; Banks, 1981, p. 205; National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year [N.C.O.I.W.Y.], 1978 in Ruth, 1998; Tobias, 1997).

The R.C.S.W. report was considered to be the most significant event “in establishing a sense of a women’s movement in Canada” (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 4). It formally stated Canadian women’s needs, the sexual inequities they faced, and 167 recommendations for alleviating these inequities (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993; Weaver in Burt et al., 1993; Bird, 1970 in Veevers, 1991; Wilson, 1991). It set the stage for the second wave of the women’s movement in Canada (Wilson, 1991). By 1974, 42 of the R.C.S.W.’s recommendations had been fully implemented, and 37 partially implemented (McInnis, 1982).

In the U.S., the E.R.A. was not as quick to get off the ground; it passed through the House “overwhelmingly”, but later in 1970 it was defeated in the Senate (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 502). However, in 1972, pressure from women’s rights lobbyists compelled the Senate to reverse its stance, thus sending the E.R.A. to the individual states for ratification (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998; Tobias, 1997; Kerber & DeHart, 1995). Twenty-one states ratified the E.R.A. that year, and by 1974, 12 more had followed suit: only five more states were needed for it to pass (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998; Mezey in Ruth, 1998). Once ratified, the E.R.A. would essentially protect women’s rights: “[e]quality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex” (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, pp. 418-19). Without the E.R.A., women’s rights were not guaranteed.

The R.C.S.W report in Canada and the E.R.A. in the U.S. were indicative of North American women’s relatively high status during the first half of the 1970’s. The inequities they endured were finally being formally acknowledged and action was being taken to eradicate them. Although it takes time for the effects of legislation to be felt, these two documents were a significant step forward for women. They now had the force of government and law behind them in their battle for equality. However, these two pieces of legislation were by no means the only indication of women’s increasing status.

For instance, other favorable legislation was also passed during this period. In Canada, things such as the inclusion of maternity leave provisions in the Canadian Labour Standards Code, the appointment of a ‘Minister Responsible for the Status of Women’ to the federal cabinet, and the ratification of ‘equal pay for work of equal value’ legislation were demonstrative of the advances women were making (Burt in Burt et al., 1993; Finestone, 1995; Wilson, 1991).

American women gained ground with the passage the 'Uniform Marriage and Divorce Act', which recognized the contributions made by homemakers and formally defined marriage as an economic partnership. As well, the 'Equal Employment Opportunity Act' was ratified, which resulted in significant improvements to guidelines concerning sexual harassment (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503). Such legislation helped to protect women's rights, both in the home and in the workplace.

The passage of all of this legislation boosted women's status in at least two respects. First, it signified a greater recognition of women by the government. It also improved women's societal position in so far as their legal rights had been expanded.

However, women's status was already rising independently of any governmental assistance. During the first half of the 1970's, both Canadian and American women did much to improve their own positions, by joining existing women's groups, forming new groups, and by getting involved in various public protests. These activities helped to solidify the women's movement. First, they brought women into greater contact with each other, thus providing an opportunity for them to share experiences, to formulate plans of action, and to develop camaraderie. Moreover, as more women became active in the movement, it became stronger, given that there is a tendency for there to be strength in numbers.

Some of these new women's groups included the 'National Action Committee on the Status of Women' (N.A.C.), an umbrella organization for the multitude of new women's groups forming across the country. It was designed to lobby the government as a way of ensuring that the R.C.S.W.'s recommendations would be implemented (Finkel et al., 1993). 'Women for Political Action' was formed to assist women who were attempting to enter politics (Black in Burt et al., 1993). The 'Canadian Congress of Black Women' was created in an effort to help keep the heritage of black women alive (Prentice et al., 1988). As well, the 'Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Laws' (C.A.R.A.L.) came into being, the purpose of which was to assist abortion advocate Dr. Morgentaler in his fight against restrictive abortion laws (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Women in Canada were also actively protesting things such as the Miss Canada University Pageant and the inadequacy of the 1969 abortion law (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Women's groups from across Canada joined the 'Abortion Caravan' as it traveled toward Ottawa (Prentice et al., 1988).

Meanwhile, in the U.S., the established 'National Organization of Women' (N.O.W.) was thriving. Its membership had ballooned from 1000 in 1967 to 40,000 by 1974, thus illustrating "the power of the women's movement" (Banks, 1981, p. 214). There were many new women's groups forming as well, such as the 'National Women's Political Caucus' (N.W.P.C.), which was organized to assist women in getting elected/appointed to public office (Kerber & DeHart, 1995). The 'Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women' (I.A.C.S.W.), intended to give women a "national voice", also came into being at this time (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998). Like women in Canada, American women protested unacceptable abortion laws, some joining together to form the 'Women's National Abortion Coalition' in order to fight for the repeal of these laws (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998). As well, a number of women demonstrated against Playboy, taking over its offices at Grove Press as a means of protesting the magazine's existence (Gatlin, 1987).

Also indicative of women's improved societal status was public opinion. For instance, over 60% of respondents in a Canadian Gallup poll survey said they supported a maternity leave law that would allow women to take an 18-week leave. As well, 86% believed that women should get equal pay for equal work (Boyd, 1984). The Screen Actors Guild in the U.S. did a nation-wide survey of 10,000 viewers and found that the majority wanted to see women in more positive roles, such as holding positions of authority (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998). Clearly, awareness of women's issues was reaching the general population, with a significant number of people starting to show support for women.

Women also had their share of problems at this time. Both Canadian and American feminist groups were experiencing internal conflicts. Lesbianism was a problem for the movement in both countries. This was made evident by things such as a paper written by the Canadian 'Radicalesbians', which protested feminism's fear of lesbianism and argued for its rightful place in the movement (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Similarly, in the U.S., an attempt was made by N.O.W. to oust lesbians from its ranks (Tobias, 1997). Feminism's difficulty with lesbianism stemmed from a basic homophobia; many feminists worried that associating too closely with lesbians could stigmatize the women's movement. (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993; Tobias, 1997). Many lesbians, on the other hand, charged that no true feminist would "choose to be heterosexual", as this was regarded as "sleeping with the enemy" (Tobias, 1997, p. 156).

As well, the 'National Black Feminist Organization' was created in the U.S., in an effort to fight racism within the women's movement (Gatlin, 1987). Many non-white feminists felt that the movement was unsympathetic to their plight.

Feminists faced significant external opposition as well. For instance, while Canadian and American feminists were fighting for abortion rights, anti-abortion groups were mobilizing in both countries (Faludi, 1991; Prentice et al., 1988). Moreover, neither country's legal system was very sympathetic to women's plight. In Canada, abortion activist Dr. Morgentaler was charged with performing illegal abortions (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). In the U.S., the now legendary 'Roe v. Wade' trial had gone in feminists' favor, but it was limited; the court had the ability to make decisions concerning the pregnancy as early as the second trimester (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998). Feminists charged that this legal resistance to abortion was part of a larger scheme to undermine women's autonomy: denying women control over their own bodies was one way of keeping them down (Fried, in Ruth, 1998).

American women faced the added pressure of anti-E.R.A. forces that were also organizing at this time, such as Phyllis Schlafly's 'Stop-E.R.A.' campaign (Kerber & DeHart, 1995; Wilson, 1991). This opposition to the E.R.A. was also regarded as being part of the attack on women's autonomy (Fried in Ruth, 1998).

Further, despite the increasing number of women entering Canadian and American politics, their overall numbers were nevertheless extremely low compared with those of men's. For instance, 135 Canadian women ran for seats in the House of Commons in the 1974 election, but only nine were elected: 3.4% of all M.P.s (Wilson, 1991). Meanwhile, there was a 29% increase in women in American state legislatures, but women still only accounted for 8% of the total seats (N.C.O.L.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998; Tobias, 1997). Without a strong political voice, women are at the mercy of a male-dominated political process, which naturally operates to serve its own ends first. Because the passage of legislation and decision making in general is based on a democratic vote, women's low numbers make it difficult for them to affect the outcome of any such votes. Thus, female progress depends, in part, on women's ability to convince male legislators to side with them on women's issues, such as equal pay for work of equal value. However, the more these issues threaten the status quo, which currently favors men, the less likely women are to get men's cooperation and empathy, given that people in power are not usually willing to relinquish any of it.

Moreover, women are less likely to be successful in their attempts to gain ground for themselves and other women.

In spite of these difficulties, Canadian and American women made great advances during the first half of the 1970's [see Figure 1]. New favorable legislation, the formation of many new women's groups, the huge growth experienced by existing women's groups, women's cooperative efforts, and positive public opinion greatly outweighed the setbacks these women faced at the time.

Looking at the available status data as a whole, for this five-year period, women's gains had a total value of +97, and a total value of -30 for their setbacks, for a net value of +67 for Canadian women. The total value of American women's gains was +163, and -36 for their setbacks, for a net value of +127[see data evaluation section]. Clearly, women in both countries were making progress, as each group had more gains than setbacks.

Fashion. While women were enjoying this relatively high status, the appearance of small breasts was the fashion ideal for both Canadian and American women (Dollery, 1973c; Young, 1992) [see Figure 2]. Bras were designed to provide a "natural" look: they were made to be very "sheer", "soft, light and as discreet as possible" (Fulsang, 1994b, p. 16; Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 482; "Fall's feminine underpinnings", 1975, p. 29; Yalom, 1997, p. 179). Such bra styles provided little if any support or shaping to women's busts. Hence, women who wore them had a 'natural', uncontrived appearance. The natural, un-molded look tends to de-emphasize breast shape and prominence.

The mean value assigned to the Canadian fashion data for this period was 3.0, and 2.6 for the American fashion data. In other words, on the scale of one-to-five that was used, this period was a time during which North American women's busts were typically de-emphasized.

Evaluation of the data suggests that for this period, women's status was relatively high, while fashions tended to de-emphasize the appearance of women's busts. Thus, it would appear that Morrison and Holden's hypothesis was holding; women's higher status was accompanied by a de-emphasis of the appearance of their busts.

1975-1979

Status. By the mid-70's, things started to change. Women's status was still relatively high, but it was declining. Based on my indicators, American women's status dropped sharply compared to that of

Canadian women. Opposition to the women's movement was organizing faster in the U.S. than it was in Canada. By the end of the decade American women were starting to feel the effects of a 'backlash', a reaction against feminism and the real or perceived gains women were making (Faludi, 1991, p. xix). As Faludi (1991) explained, "the backlash is not a conspiracy, with a council dispatching agents from a central room, nor are the people serving its ends often aware of their role...some even consider themselves feminists. For the most part, its workings are encoded and internalized, diffuse and chameleonic" (pp. xxii-xxiii). It is a million separate individual male and female reflexes that merge into a national mood, which effectively weighs women down (Wolf, 1992). These backlashes have historically emerged during times when women have made substantial societal gains, such as the 1920's and the early 1970's. The men who were threatened by this have typically been those who have interpreted women's gains as signaling their own "masculine doom"; they were worried that their economic and social well-being is in jeopardy (Faludi, 1991, p. xix). The women who are threatened by women's progress, have tended to be those who believed that it would somehow endanger their legal rights as a full-time homemaker and mother (Faludi, 1991). In short, this backlash, like the ones before it, was an attempt by opponents of feminism to "retract the handful of hard-won victories of the feminist movement" (Faludi, 1991, pp. xviii, 48).

Prior to the emergence of the backlash in the U.S., American women's status was, like Canadian women's, still relatively high. One indication was the continued success of women's groups, which continued to increase in number and membership. In Canada, the 'Canadian Association of Women Executives', 'Wages Due Lesbians' (a group helping lesbian mothers keep custody of their children) and the 'International Coalition to End Domestics' Exploitation' (I.N.T.E.R.C.E.D.E.) were just a few of the new groups at this time (Black in Burt et al., 1993; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). The already established N.A.C. was making huge strides; it had grown to a membership of 120 groups by 1977, from 35 in 1972 (Vickers, 1991).

The 'National Organization of Women' (N.O.W.) in the U.S. had managed to accomplish all of the goals it had outlined in its 1968 Bill of Rights, by 1975. These included job access, the right to medically assisted abortions, equal access to credit for single and married women alike, a decrease in 'male only' scholarships, the lessening of restrictions on benefits for pregnancy and quotas (Tobias, 1997). New women's groups included a pro-choice coalition, which was made up of several individual women's

groups, including N.O.W. (Simon & Danziger, 1991). As well, 'Working Women', a national organization made up of groups of clerical workers and 'Women Against Pornography' started up at this time (Gatlin, 1987; Tobias, 1997).

Women continued to be very active in their cooperative efforts and protests as well. For instance, six different Canadian women's organizations attended Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's license renewal hearing in 1978, to pressure the network to take action with respect to the problematic portrayal of women in C.B.C. programming (C.R.T.C., 1982).

Communication amongst rape crisis centre workers was facilitated with the creation of the 'Canadian Association of Rape/Assault Centres' (Raech Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Maliseet women from the Tobique reserve in New Brunswick organized First Nations women from across Canada, meeting at Oka and marching to Ottawa where they demanded improvements in housing and amendments to the Indian Act (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993). These women had grown tired of waiting for the government to grant them equal access to Indian rights and benefits. Specifically, they wanted the same marriage rights as First Nations men: to be able to keep their Indian status after marrying a non-Indian and to transfer this status to their spouse and children (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993).

As part of the U.S.'s formal involvement with the first United Nations Decade for Women (1970's), the first National Women's Conference was held. Twenty thousand women were there for the adoption of a 'National Plan of Action', which had the passage of the E.R.A. as its first goal (Eisler & Hixson, 1986). Other cooperative efforts by American women included two marches in 1978. One was the 'E.R.A. Extension March for Equality'. Passage of the E.R.A. by individual states had stalled just short of the required number. A total of 38 states had to endorse the E.R.A. by March 29, 1979, in order for it to be ratified. With this deadline fast approaching, N.O.W. decided to organize a march in hopes of getting the E.R.A. deadline extended (Eisler & Hixson, 1986). The efforts of the 100,000 marchers paid off, with the deadline being extended to June 30, 1982 (Eisler & Hixson, 1986). The other march involved individual 'Take Back the Night' demonstrations by groups of women across the U.S., who went to pornography stores and harassed owners and customers. These women were protesting a new film called Snuff, in which an actress was alleged to have actually been murdered (Gatlin, 1987). As well, women's groups in over 80 cities took part in the first national pro-abortion rights campaign (Simon & Danziger, 1991).

The passage of more favorable legislation during the latter 1970's was further testimony of women's still relatively high, but declining status. In Canada, the ratification of the 'Canadian Human Rights Act' established an 'equal pay for work of equal value' principle for the federal public sector (Finestone, 1995). The government also formed the Affirmative Action Directorate of the Canada Employment and Immigration Division to combat the systematic barriers that excluded women from some jobs, such as height and weight restrictions (Burt in Burt et al., 1993).

Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress implemented a policy that made federal employees' salaries subject to garnishment for alimony and child support (Tobias, 1997). Other beneficial legislation included the passage of the 'Public Works Employment Act', which required that some federal contracts be set aside for companies with boards of directors consisting of at least 51% women (Tobias, 1997). As well, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, which disallowed differential treatment of pregnant women with respect to job-related matters, was also ratified (Simon & Danziger, 1991).

Public opinion polls conducted in each country during this period, continued to tap into favorable attitudes regarding women. As early as 1975, 73% of Canadians said they would continue to support their political party if it was being headed by a qualified woman (Boyd, 1984). Fifty-seven percent of respondents felt that husbands should share in household tasks (Gallup Canada, 1986 in Veevers, 1991). A Harris poll administered in the U.S. found that 63% of women agreed with most of the plans intended to improve their status (Kerber & DeHart, 1995).

However, not all public opinion was favorable toward women. For example, despite Canadians' enlightened views on women leading political parties, the majority still felt that "the average male would make a better politician than the average female" (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 400). The majority also continued to hold very traditional attitudes with respect to women working. Sixty-six percent of those polled felt that women should not work while their children were young and only 20% disagreed that "although a wife's career may be important, she should give priority to helping her husband advance his career" (Gibbins, Ponting & Symons, 1978 in Wilson, 1991, p. 26).

Public opinion polls in the U.S. revealed that many felt that the women's movement had not had much impact on families. Thirty-three percent of women and almost 50% of men believed the women's movement had not influenced family structure (Simon & Danziger, 1991).

As well, there was a downside with respect to legislation. The Canadian government put a freeze on Family Allowance payments in 1976 (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995). Further, the new Canadian Human Rights Act was found to have a serious flaw. It was “complaints based”, meaning that the onus was on the employees to file a complaint with the Human Rights Commission. Employers were forced to make changes to employment practices only if they were found to be guilty (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995). Moreover, the Affirmative Action Directorate had no real power; its success depended on its ability to “encourage [employers] to participate” (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223).

The Hyde Amendment (1976) in the U.S. was a devastating piece of legislation: it restricted the provision of Medicaid funding to only those abortions that were necessary for saving the life of the mother (Tobias, 1997). Also problematic was the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (1978). It was helpful in so far as it had made discrimination on the basis of pregnancy illegal, but at the same time, it regarded pregnancy as a “temporary disability”. By classifying pregnancy this way, women were guaranteed the same rights as men, but this was of limited usefulness given that men never got pregnant, needed time off for pre-natal appointments, had to breast feed, etc. (Gatlin, 1987, p. 225). In short, it disallowed discrimination in theory only.

Women’s numbers in politics were on the rise, but their overall representation was still extremely low. By 1979, Canadian women comprised 4.6% of all M.P.s , up from 3.4% in 1974 (Wilson, 1991). U.S. President Carter was active with respect to recruiting women into top positions in his administration, yet only 11% of these positions were actually held by women (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998).

For Canadian women, setbacks with respect to public opinion, legislation, and political representation were still outweighed by the gains they had made. Their status was much lower than it had been at the beginning of the decade, but overall, they were still doing well. American women on the other hand, were not faring nearly as well [see Figure 1]. By 1977, glimpses of a backlash were starting to become apparent as women’s status plummeted. The first sign was the formation of the ‘Pro-Family Coalition’ by Phyllis Schlafly, an anti-feminist (Tobias, 1997). By the decade’s end, opponents of the E.R.A. had challenged the constitutionality of the E.R.A. deadline extension (Eisler & Hixson in Ruth, 1998). As well, T.V. evangelist Jerry Falwell, had his ‘Moral Majority’ up and running. It had become extremely powerful in its

opposition to the E.R.A. and abortion, its attempt to control the American government and censor liberal ideas, and its fight to introduce 'pro-family' laws (French, 1991 in Ruth, 1998). Clearly, the tide was turning for women, especially for those in the U.S.

The data collected on women's status for this five-year period shows that for Canadian women, there was a value of + 97 for the gains experienced, and a value of -44 for the setbacks, for a net value of +53. The data for American women shows that there was a value of +126 for their gains, and a value of -35 for their setbacks, for a net value of +91. Based on these data, it would appear that American women were doing much better than Canadian women with respect to status. However, American women's status was dropping at a much faster rate than that of Canadian women's [see Figure 1].

Fashion. Meanwhile, the emphasis being placed on the appearance of women's breasts was changing too [see Figure 2]. The appearance of small breasts was still the ideal for American and Canadian women (Young, 1992; Dollery, 1973). However, bras and lingerie were becoming more traditional, feminine and controlling (Yalom, 1997; Haddrick, 1975a; "The sports ones", 1979; "Out from underwear", 1977). Bras were still being designed to give women a natural appearance, but the trend was definitely moving away from this look (Fulsang, 1994b; Roberts, 1994).

A mean value of 3.0 was derived for the period of 1975 to 1978 for the Canadian fashion data and 2.5 for the American fashion data. For 1979, the transition year, a mean value of 2.67 was calculated for both Canadian and American fashion data. Both countries saw a continuation of the small breast trend and the popularization of the sports bra, which supported, but in no way enhanced the appearance of women's busts. Thus, in general, for the latter part of the 1970's, the appearance of Canadian and American women's busts was not being emphasized.

Although not at the same rate, the status of both Canadian and American women was declining, while the emphasis on the appearance of women's busts was gradually increasing. Hence, for the period between 1975-1979, the Morrison and Holden hypothesis continued to hold.

1980-1984

Status. During the first half of the 1980's, Canadian women experienced a sharp drop in status. The decline was not as sharp as that experienced by American women during the latter 1970's. However, by

the mid-80's, the status of women in Canada had reached a comparable low point. Meanwhile, women in the U.S. were experiencing a slight improvement in their status, but relatively speaking, it remained low.

Both Canadian and American women were still doing well with respect to things like activism, the passage of favorable legislation, and reports of positive public opinion. However, the forces against women were starting to outweigh the gains that they were making.

The most significant and blatant anti-feminist force during this period was the Reagan Administration, which came to power in the U.S. in 1980 (Tobias, 1997). Prior to the presidential election, Ronald Reagan reversed the Republican Party's long standing (40 years) pro-E.R.A. tradition and explicitly declared an anti-abortion stance (Tobias, 1997; Eisler & Hixson, 1986). Once elected, President Reagan set his sights on "minimizing [the] feminist power" that had "infiltrated government agencies" (Faludi, 1991, p. 234). For instance, he called for a "pause to further increases in the number of army women", whose numbers had gone up by 800% since the mid-70's, following the elimination of quota ceilings on female recruits (Faludi, 1991, p. 367). He also set the maximum childcare allowance for women on 'Aid to Families of Dependent Children' (A.F.D.C.) well below its actual cost (Gatlin, 1991). As well, President Reagan supported the 'Human Life Amendment', which would disallow abortions and worked to reduce women's numbers in federal office (Faludi, 1991). In addition, he cut funding to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, which was in charge of enforcing equal opportunity for women and minorities, after which back-pay settlements fell from \$9.3 million in 1980 to \$600,000 by 1983 (Faludi, 1991). It was also during this time that the E.R.A. was defeated. The effort to extend the deadline had been futile (Simon & Danziger, 1991). Ronald Reagan was re-elected in 1984, which meant another four years of governmental assaults on feminism and feminist achievements (Tobias, 1997).

Blatant governmental anti-feminism did not hit Canada until 1984, when the Conservative party came to power. Their debilitating traditional philosophy favored a society constructed of "separate spheres" where women were in charge of the domestic realm and men were the breadwinners and opposed the principle of equal opportunity (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 225). Prior to this, glimpses of anti-feminism were evident. For example, M.P. Margaret Mitchell's query in the House as to what action the federal government planned to take in dealing with the problem of wife battering was met with laughter and derogatory remarks

from many of her fellow M.P.s (Finkel et al., 1993). In a separate incident, Senator Hayes' only question following the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (C.A.C.S.W.) presentation on the impact of the proposed Charter of Rights and Freedoms was "why [there was] not a section...for babies and children? All you girls are going to be out working and we are not going to have anybody to look after them" (Bains in Burt et al., 1993, p. 263). His comment aptly conveys the basic message of patriarchy: women, as the complement of men's character, have traits forced upon them that men cannot accept in themselves, but cannot live without. In this case, it is nurturance. This and other images of women under a patriarchy, are the "natural outcome of masculist values and needs" (Ruth, 1998, p. 68). Women "represent love, tenderness, compassion, nurturance, passion, beauty and pleasure", as well as weakness, dependence, imprudence, incompetence, and emotionality. These stereotypical images work to sabotage women: "in their positive aspects, they are impossible to meet; in the negative, they are deprecatory and ugly" (Ruth, 1998, pp. 113-4). Patriarchal systems depend on and benefit from this subordination of women (Ruth, 1998).

Such attitudes and philosophies were especially difficult to combat given the chronic problem of a virtual lack of representation amongst women in the elected and appointed political realm. By 1984, only 9.6% of all Canadian M.P.s were women, while American women constituted 5% of the House, the highest numbers to date (Burt in Burt et al., 1993; Gatlin, 1987).

Non-governmental anti-feminist forces were mobilizing as well. 'R.E.A.L. Women' (Realistic Equal Active for Life Women) formed in Canada in 1983 (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173). It was spearheaded by former well known right-to-life advocates, who claimed to be speaking for the "real" women of Canada. They opposed abortion, the equality clauses in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, publicly funded daycare, affirmative action in employment, no-fault divorce, equal pay for work of equal value legislation, and legal protection for the rights of homosexuals (Prentice et al., 1988). In the U.S., Phyllis Schlafly (initiator of the 'Stop-E.R.A. campaign in 1972) opened an office in Washington in order to work on projects over and above her opposition to the E.R.A. (Gatlin, 1987).

Moreover, some aspects of public opinion remained anti-feminist as well. For instance, only 33% of Canadians who felt that the husband's dominant role had lessened in importance, believed that this decline

was a good thing (Boyd, 1984). Further, the percentage of Canadians who felt that family life was not hurt by the labour force participation of women, was increasing (38% felt this way, compared to 25% in 1973), but well over 50% continued to think it was detrimental (Boyd, 1984). Only 28% of Americans questioned by U.S. News and World Report believed "the country would be governed better" if more women held political office (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992).

Also working against women was the virtual non-enforcement of legislation that had been designed to help them, especially with respect to employment. Despite equal pay for equal work statutes in both countries, women continued to be subject to a wage gap. On average, Canadian women earned 64% of comparable men's wages, while women in the U.S. were slightly worse off at 60% (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995; Dinnerstein & Weitz, 1994 in Ruth, 1998).

This wage gap could largely be attributed to the extreme job segregation that existed in each country. The greatest proportion of women workers were concentrated in the lowest paying jobs; typically the service and health industries (Mandell & Duffy, 1988; Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 1982). Moreover, the few women that were entering the better-paying, male-dominated job sectors had to endure sexual harassment from co-workers, entrenched male prejudice, or pressure to assimilate into the male-defined workplace culture (Prentice et al., 1988; Gatlin, 1987).

However, these difficulties did not stop women's efforts. Cooperative endeavors by women in both countries continued. In reaction to some perceived political underhandedness with respect to the inclusion of equality clauses in the Constitution, Canadian women from across the country met at the National Conference on Women and the Constitution (Wilson, 1991). This meeting ultimately led to the creation of Section 28: "Notwithstanding anything in this charter, all the rights and freedoms in it are guaranteed equally to male and female persons" (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 402). On a much grander scale, although less planned, women in the U.S. created a 'gender voting gap'; in 1980, for the first time in American history and again in 1984, more women than men supported the Democrats (Faludi, 1991). The first time it happened, it was significant enough to motivate President Reagan to attempt to combat it in the next election. The gender voting gap also got the attention of other politicians, thus forcing them to give greater consideration to women's issues while campaigning for the 1984 election (Simon & Danziger, 1991). The

mere appearance of a possible gender voting gap in the 1984 Canadian federal election compelled politicians in Canada to pay more attention to women's concerns as well (Burt in Burt et al., 1993). The National Action Committee on the Status of Women was quick to capitalize on this situation, using it to persuade the country's three main political party leaders to have a debate on women's issues (Black in Burt et al., 1993; Wilson, 1991).

Women in both countries also continued to be active through women's groups. New groups continued to form in Canada, such as the 'National Immigrant Women's Organization' (N.I.W.O.), and the 'Canadian Women's Studies Association' (C.W.S.A.) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995). During this period in the U.S., there seemed to be more action from established women's groups than from newly formed groups. For instance, the independent office workers group '9 to 5' strengthened its position by joining the 'Service Employees International Union', thus creating District 925, a national level organization (Gatlin, 1987). Similarly, the 'Coalition of Labor Union Women' (C.L.U.W.) launched a cooperative campaign effort with international unions in order to help organize workers that were still non-unionized (Gatlin, 1987). In addition, the main women's groups in each country were thriving: N.A.C.'s group membership had ballooned to 200 by 1982, up from 120 in 1977 and N.O.W.'s numbers reached an all-time high of 220,000 that same year (Vickers, 1991; Simon & Danziger, 1991).

Despite the anti-feminist governmental philosophies in the U.S. and Canada during this period, some favorable legislation was passed. The U.N. 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination' (C.E.D.A.W.) was finally ratified by the Canadian government in 1981 (Finestone, 1995). This was followed up by amendments to the Human Rights Act, which prohibited both sexual harassment and discrimination on the basis of pregnancy and family or marital status (Finestone, 1995). Later, the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (R.C.E.E.) was created to remedy the blatant discrimination women continued to face in the workforce (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995). The problem of sexual harassment was finally gaining legislative legitimacy in the U.S. as well. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (E.E.O.C.) adopted guidelines for specifically defining what constituted this transgression (Gatlin, 1987). In addition, the American government passed the Economic

Equity Act, which was aimed at reforming support payments and retirement benefits and the Retirement Act intended to make private pension systems more equitable for working women (Tobias, 1997).

It was also during this period that marital rape was deemed to be illegal. Spouses were no longer criminally exempt from rape in all of Canada and in the state of New York (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993; Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth in Ruth, 1998).

Despite negative public opinion with regard to women, there was some that was positive. The majority of Canadians polled felt that homemakers should be financially recognized in divorce settlements and that women should have equal opportunities in the job market (Gallup, 1984 & Boyd in Boyd, 1984). As well, 72% of those polled believed that women should be able to obtain an abortion if they wanted one (Prentice et al., 1988). Several studies in the U.S. pointed to a gradual change toward more egalitarian attitudes in general (Boyd, 1984). One interesting result was the finding that since 1975 men were just as supportive of the E.R.A. as women, if not more so (Simon & Danziger, 1991). Overall however, women were moving one step forward and two steps back. The forces that opposed them at this time, were very powerful [see Figure 1].

The status data for this period reflected this opposition. Canadian women's gains had a value of +128, and the value of their setbacks came to -83, for a net gain of +45. Although still positive, this gain was a drop from the previous period, which was +53. American women were faring much worse. The value of their gains was +57 and -81 for their setbacks, for a net loss of -24. Clearly, both groups of women were losing significant ground.

Fashion. Breasts were still "not fashionable" during the first half of the 1980's, but there was a lot of evidence to indicate that the trend was moving towards a greater emphasis on women's busts (Young, 1992, p. 144) [see Figure 2]. Bras in Canada and the U.S. were becoming more and more supportive, structured and feminine (i.e. pretty, frilly) (Morris, 1994b; "Intimate apparel: in the news", 1982; Yalom, 1997; Charles, 1988). The days of looking 'natural' and uncontrived were coming to an end.

A mean value of 3.0 was calculated for the Canadian fashion data for this period and 2.75 for the American data. Generally, the appearance of women's busts was still not being emphasized. Sports bras

were becoming increasingly popular, but these were controlling, not shaping garments. Moreover, necklines were still being worn high. Emphasis continued to be placed on women's legs. However, underwire (shaping) bras had started to become popular in Canada during this period, and it is because of this that the mean value for Canada was slightly higher than the U.S.'s.

In short, as women's status declined between 1980 and 1984, the emphasis being placed on the appearance of their breasts was increasing. Hence, it would appear that Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis was still holding.

1985-1989

Status. Based on the data collected for this research, the latter half of the 1980's saw Canadian women's status decline even further, reaching the overall lowest point for both groups of women for the years 1970 to 1997. American women's status deteriorated as well, but even at its worst point it was substantially higher than that of women in Canada. The effects of the backlash had essentially leveled off in the U.S., while its full impact was just starting to be felt in Canada. Generally speaking though, women in both countries were struggling to maintain and gain ground against powerful opposing forces.

Women's inability to break into the political realm in significant numbers was a definite handicap. Thirteen percent of Canadian M.P.s in 1988 were women, up from 9.6% in 1984, but this was hardly representative of Canadian women as a whole (Wilson, 1991, p. 114). Similarly, American women held only 15.8% of all state legislature seats (Simon & Danziger, 1991). Clearly, women needed a greater political voice.

Without greater representation, women were simply unable to remedy systematic inequities, such as those in the employment sector. They lacked the numbers stop the passage of detrimental legislation or to ensure the enforcement of helpful legislation. Finally, they were unable to hold ground against opposing forces. This is not to say that women were inactive during this period. Those in Canada were still forming women's groups and women in the U.S. were still a significant voice when it came to things like voting and abortion rights.

Some favorable legislation was still being passed. The question was whether it was being properly enforced. Women thus far, were justified in their scepticism with regard to the actual effectiveness of legislation. Statutes intended to remedy the problem of employment discrimination were good in theory only. The Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (1984) was virtually neutralized by the Canadian federal government's 'Bill C-62': it required only that employers in the federal jurisdiction file annual reports concerning their progress in adhering to 'the principle of fair competition', with no penalties for non-compliance (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995). Meanwhile, the burden of proof was shifted to the plaintiff in employment discrimination law suits in the U.S., thus making it easier for employers to get off (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998). Moreover, women in both countries continued to endure a wage gap, earning an average of 60-65% of what comparable men were making (Statistics Canada, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995; Faludi, 1991). Job segregation continued to be a problem as well (Shea in "Canadian Social Trends Vol. 2", 1994).

Further, women's hard-won abortion rights were in jeopardy. For instance, many doctors in Canadian hospitals were still demanding the consent of husbands or fathers before they would perform abortions for women, even though there was no law requiring this (Prentice et al., 1988). Federally funded clinics in the U.S. were prohibited from counseling women on abortion, even if continuing the pregnancy endangered the mother's life or health (Tobias, 1997).

Even worse than the non-enforcement of positive legislation was the passage of detrimental legislation. The Canadian federal government's anti-feminist agenda became blatant with its simultaneous and unprecedented provision of funding to R.E.A.L. Women and cuts to the Women's Program in the Secretary of State, whose purpose was to facilitate efforts to gain equality for women (Burt in Burt et al., 1993). Although still in the proposal stage, the Meech Lake Accord was potentially devastating for Canadian women given that it threatened their equality rights and future national cost-share programs, such as a national daycare program (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). In the U.S., President Reagan continued his feminist assault by doing things such as putting an end to both the 'Coalition on Women's Appointments' and the 'Working Group on Women'. Immediately following these moves, not coincidentally, the number of women appointed to government positions began to drop (Faludi, 1991). The

Reagan Administration also stopped all research on RU 486, the 'abortion pill', and blocked its entry into the country (Tobias, 1997).

Women were still being opposed on many non-governmental fronts as well. The anti-feminist Canadian women's group R.E.A.L. Women was reportedly thriving and the Canadian media as a whole, was resisting efforts to eradicate the pervasive problem of a misogynistic portrayal of women (Wilson, 1991; Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Some American media sources were actually propagating this misogynistic message, as evidenced by things such as Good Housekeeping's "New Traditionalist" campaign; an admitted attempt to steer women away from the workforce and back into the home (Faludi, 1991). As well, there was the trend of talk shows to feature young women who proudly proclaimed that they were not feminists, but they still expected to receive equal pay and to exercise their reproductive rights (Faludi, 1995 in Ruth, 1998).

Dissention within the feminist movement also continued to be a problem. For instance, in Canada, many women's groups began openly protesting the exclusion they felt in relation to the white, middle class, heterosexual majority of Canadian feminists, such as disabled women, lesbians, immigrant women (Black in Burt, 1993; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Female activists in the U.S. were becoming more apathetic towards the E.R.A., especially after an attempt to revive it, following its defeat in 1982, went nowhere (Simon & Danziger, 1991).

Similar to the first half of the decade, women's deflated status was more a product of a powerful opposition than anything else. Canadian women were still very militant, forming many new women's groups. Some of these groups included D.A.W.N., a group for disabled women, and the 'International Working Group on Refugee Women' (I.W.G.R.W.) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). The 'Canadian Coalition for a Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies' also came into being at this time (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995). By 1988, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (N.A.C.) had grown so large that it could no longer accommodate "the feminist process", the involvement of all members in decision making. Their membership had expanded to 570, up from 360 just two years earlier (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993).

Women in the U.S. on the other hand, were not as active in forming new groups. There were a few new groups, such as 'Women Church' made up of 150 Catholic and Protestant women's groups, whose purpose was to reinterpret Christian language, symbols and writings in a way that would contribute to the spirituality of women (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992). The 'Emily's List' group was designed to assist female Democratic candidates in getting elected (Simon & Danziger, 1991). However, the most notable activism took the form of demonstrations. Five hundred thousand lesbian and gay rights activists marched on Washington in 1987 (Blankenship et al. in Ruth, 1998). Two years later, well over that number demonstrated against the restrictions being placed on abortion rights, specifically with respect to the 'Webster decision' earlier that year. This Supreme Court ruling gave individual states the right to prohibit an abortion at any stage of the pregnancy (Simon & Danziger, 1991). As well, American women continued to vote in a block, creating another gender gap in 1988. There were 6.8 million more female voters than male voters (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992). The gender gap was a factor in more than 40 state elections (Faludi, 1991).

There were also some minor legislative victories during this period. Canadian women gained ground with respect to property division upon divorce: Canada and Quebec Pension Plan pension credits collected during marriage now had to be further equally distributed between the two spouses (Wilson, 1991). Job access in the military was opened to women, with the exception of submarine positions ("Forces struggle", 1997). American women's progress came in the form of things like more equitable scholastic sports programs. Congress enacted the 'Civil Rights Restoration Act' which bolstered Title IX (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998). Funding was restored for abortions, even if it was only for those cases involving incest or rape (Simon & Danziger, 1991).

As well, public opinion was becoming increasingly favorable toward women. Most Canadians felt that abortion should primarily be the woman's decision (Black in Burt et al., 1993). Fewer Canadians believed that women's employment hurt the family; since 1982, the number had dropped below to 50% (Wilson, 1991). Most Americans were in favor of efforts to improve women's status, with an even greater percent stating that they would vote for a qualified female presidential candidate (Simon & Danziger, 1991). Still,

the tide was against women. Their lack of representation in the government made it difficult to combat the forces that opposed women and to remedy the inequities that debilitated them [see Figure 1].

The status data for Canadian and American women were more similar for this period than for 1980 to 1984; they were both faring poorly. The value of the positive gains experienced by Canadian women at this time was +114, and -98 for the setbacks, for a net gain of +16. American women's gains had a value of +90 and -82 for their setbacks, for a net gain of +8. American women had regained some lost ground since the previous period, when their net gain had been -24. While things were leveling off for American women, Canadian women's status was dropping significantly, from +45 to +16.

Fashion. While women's status was suffering, the emphasis being placed on the appearance of women's breasts was steadily increasing [see Figure 2]. By the mid-1980's, the "full uplifted breasts" look had started to make a comeback (Steele, 1997, p. 144). Bras were becoming increasingly structured and shaping and general fashions were becoming more revealing with respect to the bust (Clancy, 1996; Baldwin, 1983; Paley in Routh, 1993). As the erogenous zone shifted away from women's legs to their breasts (Nemeth in Steacy, Potvin & Luckow, 1987), American women's average bra size increased, due largely to the popularization of breast enhancement surgery (Parnes, 1991). By the end of the decade "the bust was definitely back" ("Soft touches", 1989, p. 22).

The mean value for the Canadian fashion data for the period of 1985 to 1988 was 4.0 and 4.17 for the U.S. For the transition year of 1989, the average value of the Canadian data remained at 4.0 while the U.S. value rose to 4.5. Clearly, the appearance of women's busts was now being emphasized. The increased prevalence of breast implants in the U.S. may explain in part, the slightly higher value for the American fashion data for 1985 to 1988 and 1989.

Thus it would appear that Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis was still holding: while women's status was relatively low, and dropping in the case of Canadian women, the fashion emphasis on the appearance of their busts was increasing.

1990-1994

Status. The first half of the 1990's saw a slight improvement in American women's status and a significant improvement in the status of their Canadian counterparts. However, the social positions of women in both countries remained relatively low, the setbacks they were experiencing were still outweighing their gains.

Many of these setbacks were actually the continuation of past problems that had not significantly improved. For instance, the number of women in the Canadian House of Commons as of 1992 was virtually no different from their numbers in 1988 (13%) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 25; Wilson, 1991). American women made up only 6.4% of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1992 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992). Women had yet to achieve a significant degree of political representation.

Inequities in employment also continued to plague women. One continuing problem was the wage gap which still existed in both countries, with Canadian women averaging an income that was 72% of what comparable men were earning (Finestone, 1995). American women were doing only slightly better at 74.6% (Ruth, 1998). Both groups of women also remained heavily concentrated in traditionally female, low-paying, low-status jobs (Ruth, 1998; Finestone, 1995). These difficulties, which were only a fraction of those actually faced, were compounded for Canadian women with the passage of the 'Free Trade Agreement' in 1989. The agreement contributed to the reduction of 125,000 full-time jobs for women and an increase of 69,000 part-time jobs (no benefits, low wages) for them by 1992 (Armstrong, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995).

Fortunately for women, the right-wing political reign had come to an end in both countries by 1994. The 'pro-choice' Bill Clinton took over the U.S. presidency in 1992 (Kerber & DeHart, 1995). Jean Chretien of the Liberal party came to power in Canada in 1994, but not before the passage of more damaging legislation (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995). For instance, Canadian Old Age Security payments were de-indexed. Old Age Security payments would no longer be adjusted to compensate for inflation. This hit elderly women especially hard, given that this was the only source of income for most of them (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Women with dependent children

were hit when Family Allowance payments were eliminated and the child care tax deduction was changed so that it only really benefited upper income families (Burt in Burt et al., 1993). The funding cuts to the Women's Program, that had begun in the late 80's continued through to 1993, jeopardizing women's groups, such as N.A.C. and services for women such as rape crisis centres and battered women's shelters (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). The passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (N.A.F.T.A.) effectively reduced the small amount of political clout held by women, as an increasing number of decisions were now being made at the international level, where women had even less input (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995). Before being ousted from power, the Republicans retracted the 'Civil Rights Act' of 1990 because it endorsed quotas in the workplace and rejected the 'Family Leave' bill, which would have permitted employees to take unpaid leave for reasons such as caring for newly born or adopted babies or sick family members (Blankenship et al., 1997 in Ruth, 1998). Even after they were gone, the Republicans' presence could be felt in things like the failed attempt to rescind the Hyde Amendment in 1993 (Kerber & DeHart, 1995).

Dissention within feminism continued as well. Lesbianism remained a divisive issue within both the Canadian and American women's movements (Tobias, 1997; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Charges of racism were still being launched against Canadian feminists as late as 1994 (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995).

In spite of all the in-fighting, women did continue to pull together for other causes. Perhaps the most significant Canadian example had to do with the Charlottetown Accord, which, like the 'Meech Lake Accord' (defeated in 1990) contained no input from women's groups. Not unexpectedly, it undermined equity, social programs, and women's political progress (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Despite overwhelming opposition from all federal and provincial levels of government, the trade union movement, the Assembly of First Nations, and the business sector, an effort organized by N.A.C. contributed to the defeat of the Charlottetown Accord (Burt in Burt et al., 1993; Bourne & Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Further, the women's movement managed to stay largely in tact in the aftermath of debilitating governmental funding cuts. Over 2500 Canadian women's groups remained active during this period (Vickers, 1991). As well, there was little fluctuation in the number of feminist publications in Canada.

While some could not survive the loss of funding, new publications were quickly taking their place (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). Women in the U.S. united in the wake of the Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill incident. Hill had testified that Thomas had sexually harassed her while she worked for him at the E.E.O.C. In spite of this damning testimony, Thomas was nevertheless nominated as a justice of the Supreme Court. Women responded by pouring contributions into various women's groups, such as the 'Women's Campaign Fund', the 'Fund for the Feminist Majority' and 'N.O.W.' (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992). As well, women emerged as an indomitable voting block in the 1992 election (Blankenship et al., 1997 in Ruth, 1998).

For all of the damaging statutes passed during this period, there was a comparable amount of legislative activity that was beneficial to women. For instance, Canadian women's health issues were finally receiving greater recognition, as evidenced by the implementation of the federal Breast Cancer Research Initiative and the Women's Health Bureau (Finestone, 1995). Moreover, two separate challenges to women's rights were ultimately unsuccessful. Prime Minister Mulroney's attempt to re-criminalize abortion was rejected by the Senate (Finkel et al., 1993). The Supreme Court's invalidation of the 'rape shield law' was remedied by Bill C-49, which turned out to be even more powerful than its predecessor (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993). American women's health issues were beginning to receive more attention as well, with the passage of the 'Women's Health Equity Act'. It was made up of 22 separate bills and guaranteed federal funding for research into women's health issues (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992). Further, President Clinton struck down several restrictions that had been placed on abortion, such as the "gag rule" which forbade federally funded clinics from counseling women on abortion (Blankenship et al., 1997 in Ruth, 1998). He also passed the 'Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act' which made interfering with abortion clinic workers and patients a federal crime (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998).

Nevertheless, women's standing had, on the whole, failed to improve significantly. Women were managing to gain ground, but they were still at a point where they were experiencing more setbacks than victories [see Figure 1].

The value of Canadian women's gains during this period was +84 and the setbacks they encountered came to -85, for a net loss of -1. American women also lost ground: the value of their gains was +107 and

-108 for their setbacks, for a net loss of -1. Canadian women were starting to rebound from a very low period which had begun in the mid-1980's. American women's position had not changed appreciably since 1985, but overall, neither Canadian nor American women were faring well.

Fashion. Meanwhile, the emphasis being placed on the appearance of women's busts was only intensifying (Yalom, 1997; Fulsang, 1995) [see Figure 2]. Breast enhancement surgery became increasingly popular in both countries (Kesterton, 1998; McIrvin Abu-Laban & McDaniel, 1995). Bras that were designed to shape and enhance the bust, such as the push-up 'WonderBra', started making a comeback at the beginning of the 1990's (Fulsang, 1996; Corwin, 1992).

The mean value assigned to the Canadian fashion data for this period was 3.8 and 3.9 for the American data. Although the emphasis on the appearance of women's breasts was steadily increasing and the new ideal was for the appearance of a large, exaggerated bust, the 'waif look' had become popular in both countries during 1993. However, this flat-chested ideal for women was short lived, but it still had the effect of somewhat lowering the mean values for this period. Overall, the appearance of exaggerated breasts was the prevalent style.

In short, women's status had remained low while the emphasis on the appearance of their busts intensified to a point where an enhanced, formed bust was the ideal. Thus, Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis was still holding as of the end of 1994.

1995-1997

As we near the present, it becomes increasingly difficult to assess the nature of the hypothesized relationship. As Steele (1993) pointed out, "it is always difficult to identify the fashions of a decade while it is still in progress" (p. 144). The assessment of women's status is likely no different. Temporal distance is important in so far as it permits a more holistic view of events in particular and eras in general. In other words, the more time that passes, the clearer the past becomes in light of new information that becomes available. By this reasoning, the information presented for 1990-94 should be regarded with this limitation in mind; the Morrison and Holden hypothesis seems to hold. But when it is possible to look back from further in the future, we may get a different picture. In fact, one should be cognizant of this limitation

when considering all time-sensitive information. Thus, the closer to the present, the more suspect one should be of the information. The data on the 80's should be regarded as more conjectural than that of the 70's and the 90's more so than that of the 80's. Any assessment of the nature of the relationship between women's status and the degree of emphasis on the appearance of their breasts since 1994 would thus be quite tentative.

For this reason, the information presented for 1995 to 1997 should be regarded as individual pieces of data without much historical context. However, this information is not without its value. It is very useful in so far as it provides a glimpse of the present and it can be used as a foundation upon which to base predictions about the future.

Status. As in the preceding period, 1995 to 1997 was a mix of gains and setbacks for North American women. There was new and favorable legislation passed. The 'Platform for Action', adopted by the Canadian government, identified problem areas for women and proposed remedial action. The 'Special Measures Initiative Program' was passed into law. It was designed to facilitate equitable employment conditions for disadvantaged Canadian groups, including women (Finestone, 1995). The American government disallowed the re-criminalization of abortion and conditionally approved RU 486, the abortion pill which had been blocked by both the Reagan and Bush Administrations (Tobias, 1997; Mezey, 1996). However, there was a legislative downside as well. Despite goals of equality, Canadian women's health issues received only 5% of health research funding (Finestone, 1995). In the U.S., the 'Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act' effectively terminated a 61 year old guarantee of financial assistance for poor families, predominantly comprised of women and children (Mezey & Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998).

North American women did make some progress with respect to employment. The Canadian military launched an aggressive campaign, aimed at attracting women ("Forces hope to sign", 1997; "Forces struggle to find", 1997). A study in the U.S. revealed that majority of C.E.O's at America's leading companies, regarded the appointment of women to director's positions, a top priority (National Council for Research on Women, 1995 in Ruth, 1998). Nevertheless, women in both countries continued to face

problems such as job segregation and the worst maternity provisions amongst countries in the north (Ruth, 1998; Finestone, 1995; Mitchell, 1997).

A new television channel in Canada called the Women's Television Network started up during this period. Its programming was aimed towards women (Verhaeghe, 1997). However, the portrayal of women in general continued to be largely erroneous and detrimental, a problem that was only amplified by the foreign media coming into the country (Finestone, 1995). In the U.S., women's studies courses were thriving, but so were beauty pageants (Ruth, 1998; Dafoe, 1997). In short, women were making advances, but these were being neutralized by setbacks and chronic problems.

One area in which women did seem to be making progress was in the courts. In Canada, women in B.C. won the right to breast feed in public ("Breast feeding victory hailed", 1997). Ontario's public pool rules were changed in order to treat men and women the same, thus allowing women to go topless ("Topless case", 1997). A group of strippers successfully lobbied the Ontario Court of Appeal to uphold a ban against lap-dancing (Arab, 1997). American women won the right to enroll at the Virginia Military Institute, ending a 158-year tradition of male-only students (Reuters, Tuesday August 19, 1997). As well, the highly publicized sexual assault case involving Marv Albert, a popular sportscaster, showed that women were starting to fare better legally in such cases. Albert's lawyers were denied a request to submit evidence from the female accuser's sexual past ("Albert's accuser testifies", 1997). Looking at the period as a whole, women's status appeared to be on a slight up-swing. Their successes and setbacks were starting to even out [see Figure 1].

The gains experienced by Canadian women at this time had a value of +51 while their setbacks came out to -34, for a net gain of +17. American women's net gain was +4, resulting from a value of +40 for their gains and -36 for setbacks. Canadian women had dropped lower than American women in the last ten years, but were now rebounding faster.

Fashion. Interestingly, bra manufacturers in the U.S. were forecasting a resurgence in the demand for soft cup bras (Reda, 1996). Meanwhile, Canadian manufacturers were re-introducing bras that were designed to give a natural look (Fulsang, 1996). However, bust enhancing bras were still popular and the appearance of large breasts was still the ideal ("Going for bust", 1996; Yalom, 1997) [see Figure 2].

The mean value of the Canadian fashion data for this period was 4.0, and 4.38 for the U.S. The renewed interest in soft cup and natural looking bras in both countries had the effect of lowering the values during a time when the large breasted ideal prevailed.

On the surface, it would seem that Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis is holding [see Figure 3]. However, only time will tell if this is the case. This resurgence of soft cup bras may only be a short-lived fad. After all, push-up bras and breast enhancement surgery are still popular (Jackman, 1998; "Going for bust", 1996; McIrvin, Abu-Laban & McDaniel, 1995). Moreover, women's status could merely be experiencing a temporary reprieve. But, the return to a more liberal system of governance in Canada and the U.S. would indicate otherwise. The last time each country had such a government in place, women made great advances, due in part to each government's conciliatory position with respect to feminist concerns.

Predictions About the Future

My personal feeling is that we are in the very early stages of a trend towards women's improving status. One reason for this belief is the relatively large number of women in the paid workforce. Well over 50% of Canadian and American women were working as of 1995 (Ruth, 1998; Finestone, 1995). Not only does employment bring greater, if not total financial independence, it brings women out of their isolation from each other in the home. The more women interact with the outside world and other women, the greater the likelihood that they will realize and acknowledge the inequities that exist and take action to remedy them. There is strength in numbers and the more unified they are, the stronger they are.

Another reason for this belief is the aforementioned return of a more liberal government in both Canada and the U.S. Although both are guilty of passing legislation that has hurt women, they have also passed a lot more that has been helpful to women. Moreover, they have attempted to reverse some of the damaging legislation that was brought in during the reign of blatantly anti-feminist governments. Further, all other things being equal, women stand a greater chance of making progress when an anti-feminist is not in power, given the strength of the government itself and the power it exerts over the rest of society.

A third reason for my contention is that there seems to be a general tendency for each generation to be more modern in its thinking than the preceding one. The myriad of public opinion poll results referenced in the appendices on women's status is one such example: these show a general move away from traditional thinking. Granted, some opinions were still negative, but many of them were at least moving towards a more contemporary position. As well, it is true that individuals' ideas can be kept alive from generation to generation, even though they are contrary to general public opinion or the tide of public opinion (e.g. some people still think that women should not be able to vote). However, when the tide is against such ideas, these ideas are eventually relinquished, die with the thinker or become increasingly diluted as the contrary view gains strength. This gradual progression of thought, assuming it continues, can only add to any momentum the women's movement has mustered.

Finally, assuming Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis has predictive value, the data from 1995 to 1997 would suggest that women's status is on the rise. The appearance of women's improving status coupled with the apparent trend towards a softer, more natural looking bust. In addition, if Faludi (1991) is correct in observing that struggles for women's rights which have gained force always yield to a backlash, then it follows that there will eventually be another uprising amongst women at some point in the aftermath of a backlash. According to the literature, women in the U.S. came up against a backlash in the late 1970's, when an evangelical right-wing ideology started gaining momentum, which eventually permeated the White House. The effects of this backlash were still being felt in the early 1990's (Faludi, 1991). Canadian women on the other hand, did not experience this resistance until the mid-1980's, when the Conservatives came to power. But like American women, they were still feeling its impact as late as the first part of the 1990's (Black in Burt, et al., 1993). If we can further assume that the onset of a backlash is associated with a right-wing, conservative government coming to power, the ousting of such a government should do much to slow the momentum of, or even stop, a backlash. Thus far, it would seem that this is what is occurring; although the data indicates that women are not making huge strides, they are nevertheless moving up towards an equilibrium, where their gains and setbacks balance out. Whether this momentum continues or not, only time will tell. Keeping the highly speculative nature of the data in mind, it is for these reasons that I believe there is support for the contention that women's status is on the rise once again.

Figure 1. Women's Status Scores, Five Year Intervals: US and Canada

Year	US st	CDN st
70-74	25.20	13.40
75-79	18.20	11.00
80-84	-4.80	9.40
85-89	1.60	1.40
90-94	0.40	-0.20
95-	0.00	5.67

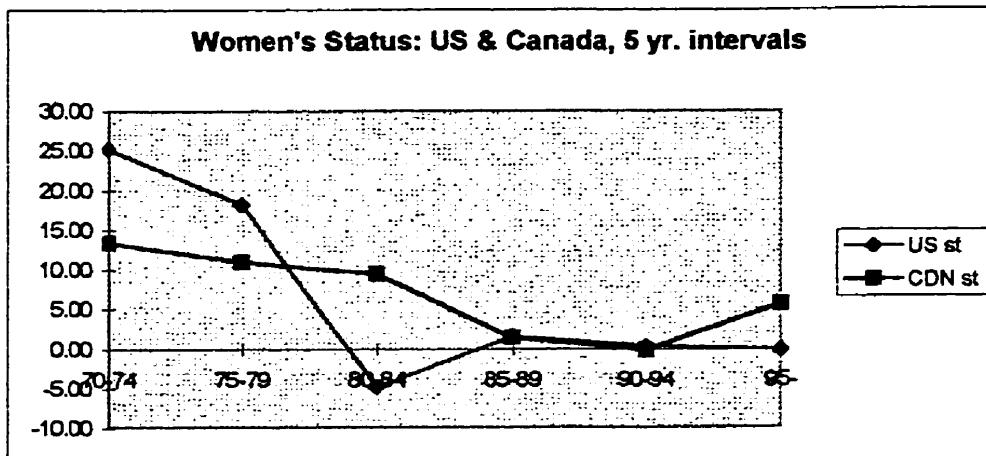


Figure 2. Women's Fashion Scores, Five Year Intervals: US and Canada

Year	US f	CDN f
70-74	2.67	3.00
75-79	2.50	2.84
80-84	3.50	3.00
85-89	4.50	4.00
90-94	3.90	3.80
95-	4.58	4.00

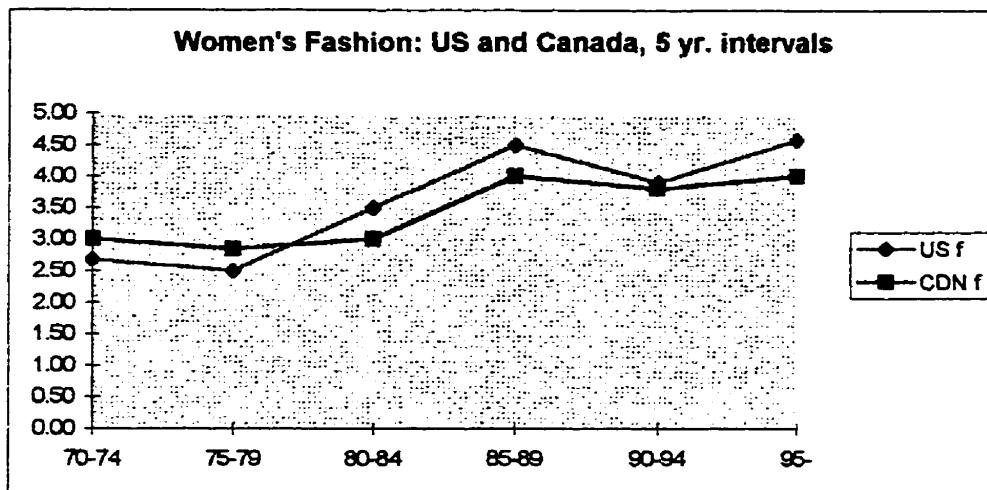


Figure 3. Women's Status by Fashion: United States and Canada

Standard Scores 1970 - 1997 by Five Year Periods

Year	US st	US f	Year	CDN st	CDN f
70-74	1.54	-1.10	70-74	1.20	-0.80
75-79	0.95	-1.20	75-79	0.78	-1.10
80-84	-0.96	-0.12	80-84	0.48	-0.80
85-89	-0.43	1.00	85-89	-1.00	1.00
90-94	-0.53	0.30	90-94	-1.30	0.70
'95-	-0.56	1.10	'95-	-0.20	1.00

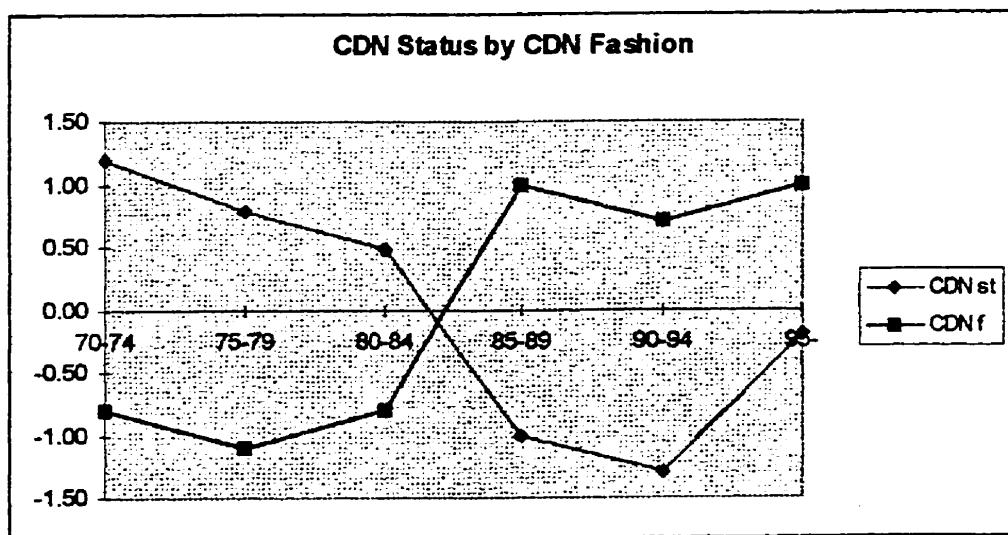
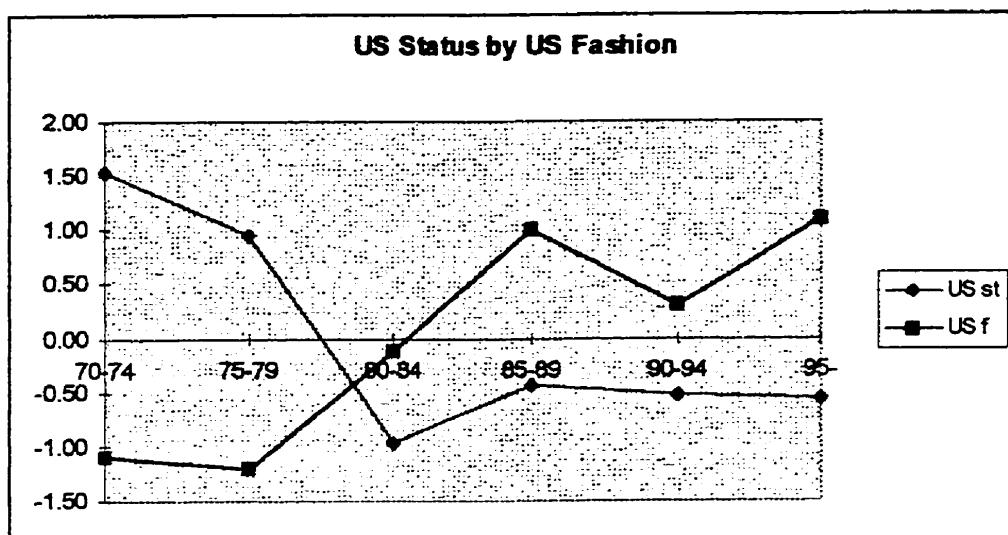
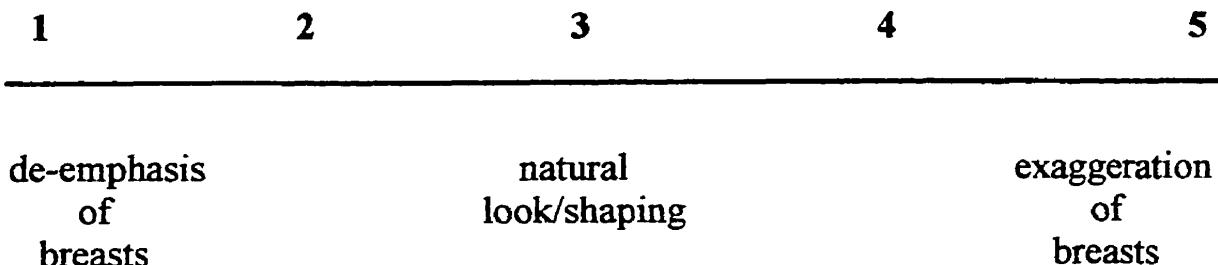


Figure 4

5-POINT SCALE

1 = breasts de-emphasized (i.e. the goal is to flatten the bust) (e.g. a bandeau style bra)

2 = breasts not emphasized (i.e. erogenous zone other than the breasts; small breasts the 'ideal')

3 = natural look/shaping (i.e. unstructured, non-shaping, sheer bras) (e.g. the 'no-bra' bra)

4 = breasts emphasized (i.e. bras shape/draw attention to the bust) (e.g. underwire bras)

5 = exaggeration of breasts (i.e. bras designed to enhance the breasts/cleavage) (e.g. push-up style bras)

Chapter 4: Discussion

The findings from this research support Morrison and Holden's (1973) contention that during the 20th century, there has been an inverse relationship between women's status and the degree of emphasis placed on the appearance of their breasts.

The question that now arises is, what does it mean? How are these two variables related? Does one cause the other? In other words, is the emphasis being placed on the appearance of women's breasts, somehow, the cause of their social situation, or is their social situation the catalyst for changing the amount of attention placed on the appearance of their breasts?

Perhaps the relationship is not causal, but merely conditional. That is, if there are appropriate social conditions, then a specific degree of emphasis/non-emphasis will follow. Or conversely, depending on the significance being placed on the appearance of women's breasts, certain social conditions will follow. Or maybe the connection between these two variables is only coincidental; they just happen to co-vary with each other.

Several theories have been advanced that attempt to explain this relationship.

Synopsis of Theories

Morrison and Holden. Morrison and Holden, themselves, argue that the more women are dependent on marriage for status, the more they will rely on their bodies to appeal to men (1973, p.570). All other things being equal, American women are lower in status than American men: "[e]ven when women have the same jobs at the same pay as men, women are likely to experience less status than men in the form of less promotions, responsibility, decision making power, control over others, etc. By far the more usual situation, however, is that women get lower status (and lower paying) jobs than men (even when equally qualified) and lower pay in the same jobs. Thus, it is very difficult for women to compete with men in the world of work for status or for pay" (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p.569). Thus, through marriage, women can access more status (and the "rewards" that come from that status) than single, working women because they are sharing in their husbands' status (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p.569). In order to attract a husband, a woman must appeal to a man, and in so far as she accepts what her culture defines as 'appealing to men', she will attempt to conform to this standard (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p.570). Because breasts have attracted men since "time immemorial" (Cunnington, 1941 in Morrison & Holden, 1973, pp.570-1), women

often enhance and draw attention to them in order to attract men (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p.570). Consequently, when women's status is relatively low, their dependence on men for status is relatively high, as is their need to emphasize the appearance of their breasts in order to attract men (Morrison & Holden, 1973, p. 580). In short, this relationship is causal: women's status dictates the degree to which they are dependent on men, and in turn, the extent to which they must rely on their bodies in order to attract a man.

Backlash Theory. The 'backlash' theory also contends that there is a relationship between women's status and the emphasis being placed on the appearance of their breasts. However, the emphasis placed on the appearance of women's breasts is seen as being one of the many tools used by the patriarchal backlash to lower women's status. In other words, the relationship is the inverse of the one proposed by Morrison and Holden; it is the emphasis being placed on the appearance of women's breasts that has influenced women's status. Historically, when feminism has become "the tide", its opposition (i.e. the dominant culture) has fought to subdue it (Faludi, 1991, p.xxi). One tactic has been to increase women's dependence on men (Brownmiller in Yalom, 1997, p.181; Shapiro et al., 1992, p.57), thus in turn deflating women's status. One way the dominant culture has attempted to increase women's dependence on men has been to reinforce those roles in which women are dependent on men: sexual object and homemaker/mother. In this society, the appearance of large breasts is a symbol for these roles. The re-popularization of large breasts (or at least the appearance of large breasts) has helped to reinforce the notion of women's dependence on men, by reminding both men and women of these dependent roles (Brownmiller in Yalom, 1997, p.181; Shapiro et al, 1992, p.57). On its own, the return of the ideal of the appearance of large breasts seems insignificant. However, considering the fact that we are constantly bombarded by these images via the media, one of the most pervasive and persuasive mediums, it is understandable how the mere return of the ideal of the appearance of large breasts could have such a significant impact; the more we are reminded of these notions by their symbols, the more real these notions become. Moreover, it must be remembered that this re-popularization of the ideal of the appearance large breasts is but one of countless tools of the backlash. When considered as part of a much larger social movement involving society's major institutions (i.e. politics, religion, legal, education, employment, media), the significance of the re-popularization of the appearance of large breasts becomes more clear. The dominant culture resists women's progress by using

its influence to reinforce the notion that the ‘ideal’ for women is to appear as though they have large breasts, an ideal that symbolizes women’s dependence on men.

The ideal of the appearance of large breasts can also increase individual women’s dependence on men, to the degree that women accept this ideal and attempt to emulate it. First, the women that do not naturally conform to the ideal of the appearance of large breasts but accept that they must, spend time, money and effort attempting to conform. This involves anything from wearing a padded or push-up bra to having breast enhancement surgery. The more time, money and effort women must use to conform to this ideal, the less they have to use in their struggle against the dominant, oppressive culture. Granted, buying a push-up bra takes relatively little time, money or effort. However, breast enhancement surgery is time consuming and expensive, and it can involve a lot of effort. It is extremely dangerous (Marsa, 1996, p.48), it can take a long time to recover from and can have long term consequences such as having to be removed, a loss of breast sensation and inability to breast feed (Marsa, 1996, p.48). There is also the possibility that implants cause auto-immune diseases and tumors, but the jury is still out on this (Marsa, 1996, p.48). In short, getting implants can take a lot of time, expense and effort. Moreover, the ideal bust size, regardless of whether it be large or small in appearance, is part of a larger beauty standard that is imposed on women. Thus, even if they decide to just buy an enhancing bra, they are still expected to have their hair and face done (an endeavor that costs urban professional women upwards of one third their income) (Wolf, 1997, p.52). And, given that it is unacceptable for women to wear the same outfit as often as men wear the same suit, women must spend a lot more money on clothes. Overall, women divert a lot of their resources into “beauty maintenance” (Wolf, 1997, p.52). The simple fact that men generally spend considerably less time in such endeavors, means that they have proportionally more resources to devote to competing for the rewards society has to offer (e.g. wealth, power). The fewer rewards women obtain the more dependent they become on others for them, and the greater their dependence the less of a threat they are to the dominant culture.

While it is true that women gain status proportionally to the degree that they conform to this ideal, it is a very empty kind of status. The power women derive from this can be seen in the rewards they get, that would not have been obtained had they been perceived as less attractive (e.g. marrying upwards, more opportunities to date men) (Katz, 1995, p.301; McIrvin Abu-Laban, & McDaniel, 1995, p.116), and it

depends upon how long and how well they conform. For instance, women who have had the size of their breasts reduced because of problematic implants or disease will lose this power, as will large breasted women as they grow older. Women who have never had large breasts will never have had much or any of this power. Any wealth derived as a result of having large breasts (or at least having the appearance of large breasts) will differ greatly amongst women, ranging from those whose large breasts played a part in their getting a job to those who earn a living based on their large breasts (e.g. models, strippers). Some women can earn a lot of money this way, but the majority do not (Wolf, 1997). For those that do, they will only do so as long as they conform to the ideal, which is not long if we consider the average career length of models and strippers. Women in general can use their breasts as a kind of currency, by accentuating them and in turn attracting men's attention, but this currency loses value with advancing age. The ideal breasts are young breasts. Finally, any prestige gained from conforming to this ideal, is also short lived. Prestige is "the esteem, respect or approval that is granted by an individual or a collectivity for performances or qualities they consider above average" (Goode, 1978 in Light & Keller, 1985, p.236). In addition to fading with time, large breasted women's prestige can decline even while they still conform to the ideal; this occurs when their serviceability to men declines. Generally speaking, men rely on women to, among other things, satisfy their sexual needs. When large breastedness is sexually desirable to many men, women who appear to have large breasts are sexually serviceable to men, in so far as they satisfy men's desires physically or mentally. When this is what men want, such women are revered as being sexy, exciting, carnal, etc. But, such women are often unsuitable when it comes to fulfilling the role of a good wife and mother (Ruth, 1998). The ideal woman for these roles is chaste, conservative, nurturing, loyal, supportive, etc. In short, the two roles are incompatible, neither being serviceable to men all the time. Moreover, should either woman stand in the way of her man's needs by asserting her own, she becomes "the ball and chain" (i.e. the wife) or "the bitch" (the sex object) (Ruth, 1990, pp.86-88). Thus, for the most part, the status women gain from emulating the beauty ideal of (at least appearing to have) large breasts, is relatively empty and short lived.

Another way in which women's dependence can be increased, as a result of this large breast ideal, has to do with their self-esteem. The mere valuation of women based on a "culturally imposed physical standard" keeps them dependent upon outside approval (Wolf, 1997, p.14). The more women derive their self-esteem

from their appearance in general, and their conformity to the breast ideal in particular, the greater their dependence on the approbation of others. According to Shapiro et al. (1992) "Women who locate their self-esteem in their bra size are accurately reading their culture. Women are equated with their body parts in a way that men simply are not." (p. 57). However, relatively few women naturally conform to this latest ideal of the appearance of large breasts and a thin body (Shapiro et al., 1992). To the degree that women (a) accept that they must conform and (b) derive their self-esteem from how closely they can emulate this ideal, failure to do so proportionately lowers their feelings of self worth. Granted, there are options available. For the women who choose to conform, they can buy breast enhancing bras or surgery. But, these alternatives will only help women so long as they are young enough to "play the beauty game" (McIrvin Abu-Laban & McDaniel, 1995, p.110). A woman's beauty, of which breast ideals are a part, is tied to her age; the older she gets, the greater others' indifference towards her appearance and sexuality and the lower her sense of self worth and status in society (McIrvin Abu-Laban & McDaniel, 1995, p.110). However, this decline in women's self worth and status is not usually accompanied by a decline in their need for either, nor in their need for others' approval. On the contrary, their need for and dependence upon these things usually increases. As Greer (1991) points out, it is only after women give up their struggle to be beautiful, that they can be free from societal expectations and their own need to conform to them (p. 117 in McIrvin Abu-Laban & McDaniel, 1995). In short, the less women feel they must comply with culturally determined beauty standards, the less their dependence on others for approval.

Finally, beauty standards in general and bust size appearance ideals in particular, can increase women's dependence by encouraging competition amongst women (Wolf, 1997, p. 14). Women quickly learn that society values them to the degree that they can emulate the culturally imposed beauty standard. Women come to see beauty as a kind of wealth that bestows them with power, much in the same way that money gives men power. Beauty is currency. Moreover, women are encouraged to believe that it is every woman for herself, in this pursuit of power: "beauty is an economy in which women find the values of their faces and bodies impinging, in spite of themselves, on that of other women's. This constant comparison, in which one woman's worth fluctuates through the presence of another, divides and conquers" (Wolf, 1997, pp. 12, 30, 56, 284).

The more women regard each other as adversaries, the more their efforts as a collective diverge and thus, the weaker the women's movement and its threat to the dominant oppressive culture. The less this dominant culture is challenged, the more likely it is that things will either remain the same or shift in favor of the groups already in power. In other words, the weaker the women's movement, the less able it is to not only fight for women's rights and equality (the things that would bring independence), but to stop those in power from protecting or improving their advantageous positions (a situation in which women are dependent).

For example, without a strong women's movement, the fight for equal pay for work of equal value becomes even more difficult. It is hard enough for a large, powerful movement to challenge society's major institutions (i.e. government, business), given that these institutions are well established, are very powerful, have the force of law and history behind them and are themselves "interrelated and reinforcing" (Ruth, 1998, p. 334). Realistic hope of challenging even some of these institutions, requires the strength of numbers. At the individual level, if women are competing with each other in the 'beauty game', they are not devoting all (if any) of their energy to fighting for real, tangible rewards, such as a fair wage. Moreover, their competitiveness keeps them from uniting with each other to form the strong voice needed to realistically fight for fair wages. Women in general, earn less than men. The less women earn, the poorer and thus more dependent they are on social assistance and/or a husband's income. The more dependent they are, the less power they have to fight for their rights.

It is important to point out that this backlash, in general, and this 'beauty backlash', in particular, is not a conspiracy (Wolf, 1992, p. 4; Faludi, 1991, p. xxii). As Wolf (1992) explains, it is "a million, million separate, individual reflexes such as that one that coalesce into a national mood weighing women down; the backlash is all the more oppressive because the source of the suffocation is so diffuse as to be almost invisible." It is "an employer saying to a woman engineer, We can't hire you because you're so pretty you'll keep the men from doing their work." It's "a male student telling a female classmate that she got a scholarship only because of her looks. It's an anchorwoman losing her job when her laugh-lines start to show. It's the phrase, 'You're too pretty to be a feminist'. It's an Alabama judge ruling that he didn't believe [a woman] had been sexually harassed by her boss because in his opinion the boss's wife was prettier" (pp. 4-5).

In sum, the backlash theory contends that it is the culturally determined standard of beauty, of which ideal bust size is a component, which works to affect women's status.

Collective Selection. Some theorists contend that fashion is simply a reflection of the times (Howell, 1990, p. 218); consumers choose styles from a wide available selection, and in doing so, they "cast ballots in the market place". These choices are motivated by consumers' desire to be 'in style' (Blumer, 1969 in Kaiser, 1990, p. 488).

This and other versions of the 'collective selection theory' of fashion regard the act of being fashionable, as useful. Blumer (1969) argued that to be so, was to "command a source of prestige" (in Kaiser, 1990, p. 487). Indeed, research has shown that people, who wear clothes that are in style, tend to be perceived favorably by others (Johnson, Nagasawa and Peters, 1977 in Kaiser, 1990, p. 487). Blumer (1969) also held that fashion helps people to "cope with" the fast pace of social change: it gives people a means for symbolically "detaching from the past", represents what is considered to be proper in an ambiguous world and provides a glimpse of styles (and related issues) that will soon be popular (in Kaiser, 1990, p. 488). Klapp (1969) regarded fashion as being useful in so far as it provides us with some grounding as we strive for a sense of identity: fashion can serve as a tangible representation of the present, thus providing a sort of 'home base' for people as they experiment with different identities (in Kaiser, 1990, p. 488). Berger (1977) saw fashion as "trivial" but necessary; people need to have some things in their lives that do not command our "full and serious attention" (in Kaiser, 1990, p. 488). This 'collective selection' is believed to be driven by a combination of individual and external forces, such as social psychological processes, economics, and the fashion industry (Kaiser, 1990, p. 491).

According to this theory, the degree to which the appearance of women's busts is emphasized at any one time, is a reflection of what is going on in society; women's fashion choices are expressive of the styles that they have perceived to be fashionable and their desire to emulate these styles. For instance, when the prevailing styles have been those that emphasize the appearance of women's busts, proponents of this theory would argue that this is the case because a significant number of women have perceived that conspicuous breasts are 'the style'. They have chosen fashions that emphasize the appearance of their busts because of their wish to be 'in style'. Similarly, when 'the style' has been to de-emphasize the appearance of women's busts, it is because a significant number of women have perceived that this is fashionable and

have chosen these appropriate clothing out of a desire to be stylish. Moreover, according to this theory, the women who follow the styles benefit from doing so, with the rewards ranging from enhanced prestige to providing stability (or at least serving as a distraction) in a hectic world.

Mass Market Theory. The ‘mass market’ theorists argue that fashion change is the result of a dynamic interplay between the fashion industry, fashion innovators, and fashion followers. The fashion industry (mass) produces new styles which are adopted by fashion innovators who in turn introduce them to fashion followers. These fashion followers simultaneously imitate and adopt these styles, thus “spreading the fashion message” (King, 1963 in Kaiser, 1990, p. 492). Hence, this ‘fashion diffusion’ depends on fashion marketers’ ability to provide what these fashion innovators desire (Kaiser, 1990, p. 493).

If this theory is correct, then the emphasis or de-emphasis of the appearance of women’s busts, in fashion, is ultimately a reflection of what female fashion innovators prefer at any given time.

Subcultural Leadership Theory. According to ‘subcultural leadership’ theorists, designers often “interpret” fashions they see “on the streets”. Moreover, because the fashion industry cannot foretell how consumers will wear specific clothing and accessories, many styles emanate from consumers themselves (Field, 1970 and Blumberg, 1974 in Kaiser, 1990, p. 503).

Evidence of this can be seen in phenomena such as the hippie counter-culture and the women’s movement of the 1960’s and 1970’s. Both movements rejected mainstream fashion in favor of styles that were more symbolic of their respective philosophies. Hippies were wearing radical styles such as loose, eclectic, unisex clothing (Routh, 1993, p. 148; Hawthorne, 1992, pp. 105-106), which reflected their Leftist ideals (Kaiser, 1990, p. 504). Liberated women were also wearing loose, comfortable clothing, symbolizing their rejection of exploitative fashions that were designed to conform to male tastes (Clancy, 1996, p. 109).

According to this theory then, fashion’s lack of emphasis on the appearance of women’s busts during the 1970’s was the result of enough women deciding what they wanted to wear, which in turn ‘filtered up’ to become a prevalent style. Similarly, the increasing emphasis on the appearance of women’s busts throughout the 1980’s and into the 1990’s, was a reflection of what women had decided to wear. This too ‘filtered up’ to become a prevalent style. Designers had facilitated this process by “interpreting” these styles and in turn producing fashions which reflected these interpretations.

Ambivalence Theory. This relatively new theory surfaced in the 1980's. Its proponents argued that ambivalence is the main catalyst in fashion change (Davis, 1985, 1988 in Kaiser, 1990, pp. 509-10). This ambivalence can be related to things such as social class, age, gender and ethnicity and time (e.g. a desire to be 'retro' versus contemporary) (Davis, 1985, 1988 and Kaiser, Nagasawa and Hutton, 1989 in Kaiser, 1990, p. 509). When individuals feel ambivalent with respect to one or some of these variables, they are likely to 'try on' different looks, some of which emerge as a specific style that becomes 'fashionable' (e.g. the punk look). Because this ambivalence cannot be resolved, fashion continues to change (Kaiser, Nagasawa, and Hutton, 1989 in Kaiser, 1990, p. 510).

If this theory is correct, then the changing emphasis on the appearance of women's busts stems from women's ambivalence: they are trying out new looks as a means of resolving ambivalent feelings. The question remains: what is the nature of these ambivalent feelings? Morrison and Holden's (1973) paper outlines one possible explanation. In short, because women's status is generally lower than men's, women must use fashion to help them attract men's attention. Men are potential mates and sources of status in so far as women can share in men's higher status through marriage. The higher women's status relative to men's, the less dependent they are on men for status and consequently the less they must rely on fashion to attract men's attention (pp. 569, 580). Thus, when women are ambivalent with respect to their relative status to men, they 'try on' new appearances, one aspect of which is to change the emphasis placed on the appearance of their busts.

All of these theories offer an account of fashion change. Some deal specifically with fashion change in terms of the changing emphasis on the appearance of women's busts and how this related to women's status. For those that do not, it is possible to infer this relationship. The question is, which, if any, are correct? Each theory explains certain aspects of this relationship but not others: they are all partial explanations for the relationship between women's status and the emphasis placed on the appearance of women's busts.

Theories' Shortcomings

Morrison and Holden's theory. Morrison and Holden's (1973) theory, that women rely on their bodies and erotic adornment the more they are dependent on men for status, seems to account for many women's behavior. However, this theory is problematic. It implies not only that women are aware of their relative

status to men at any given time, but that they decide what to wear and how to appear based on this information.

That women individually are or can be aware of their relative status to men at any given time is virtually impossible. Women's status is a complex entity, comprised of many different and perpetually changing factors. This thesis has touched on a few, such as women's legal and political standing and the effects of new legislation. Even assuming one could access all of the information needed to determine women's status, one would merely have a snapshot of a time period in the past. Moreover, this is not even taking into account the time needed to complete and analyze this information and then distribute it to women. Finally, even if this process could be completed instantaneously, it is unlikely that this information could be disseminated in time to still be relevant. In short, it is improbable that women, as a group, are able to have an accurate sense of their current relative status to men. At best, women have access to information about their past standing relative to men.

One might argue that these fashion decisions are not actually made at the individual level, but that fashion designers and retailers produce and distribute styles that are reflective of women's relative status to men. This would lessen the problem of slow and incomplete information distribution with respect to already analyzed information. But, this information would still be a snapshot of a time past and thus no longer relevant for determining the current optimal degree of erotic adornment for women.

Moreover, this theory assumes most women would respond in a similar fashion, to information concerning their relative status to men. In other words, it presumes that most women would consciously decide that they needed to erotically adorn themselves when their status was low. However, it seems unlikely that a myriad of individual women would independently come to this same conclusion, at the same time, even if they could have knowledge of their current standing to men.

Collective Selection Theory. The collective selection theory helps to explain the fashion choices of those women who simply wish to be 'in style'. However, it is too vague with respect to how fashion changes and why specific styles become popular. It is acknowledged that internal and external forces influence consumers' choices. But, no detail is provided with respect to how these forces interact to influence fashion. Blumer (1969) explicitly discounts a 'class struggle' explanation for contemporary changes in fashion: people follow fashion, not to emulate the elite, but to simply be 'in style' (in Kaiser,

1990, p. 487). If this is true, then what determines what is in style? Blumer's explanation, that consumer choice is essentially the casting of ballots in the market place and that choices are motivated by consumers' desire to be in style (not to emulate the elite), is circular. That which is 'in style' is determined by the collective choices of consumers and these choices are motivated by consumers' desires to emulate that which is 'in style'. How can consumers' choices be motivated by that which is 'in style', when this depends on what consumers choose to buy?

Further, while it may be true that people follow fashion out of a desire to be in style and to reap the rewards that come with this, it is not a complete explanation. This theory does not account for things such as the hippie movement in the 1960's and 1970's, which was in part motivated by a desire to counter what was perceived to be "in", including fashions. In short, this theory is, at best, only a partial account of the dynamics of fashion.

Mass Market Theory. The mass market theory is compelling in so far as it accounts for the rapid dissemination of some styles. But it is not clear that this dissemination is simply the result of the fashion industry supplying what fashion innovators desire. Reality seems to contradict this simple 'supply-what-is-demanded' explanation. First, looking at women's fashion in general, it is difficult to believe that many woman would desire and then demand torturous clothing, such as rib-crushing corsets, cumbersome rear bustles or unnaturally pointed dress shoes with stiletto heels [that are so high, the wearer must concentrate on balance whenever walking].

Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that, at least in some cases, it is the fashion industry which is attempting to create the demand, and not just supplying what consumers want, as it often professes. Faludi (1991) provides convincing evidence for this. For instance, near the end of the 1980's, the lingerie industry had claimed that it was in the middle of an "Intimate Apparel Explosion". However, as Faludi points out, this assertion was not a sales report, but rather a marketing tactic, intended to rejuvenate declining lingerie sales. The Intimate Apparel Council, an all-male panel of lingerie makers, set up a public relations task force to collect and analyze information from a ten thousand dollar focus group study on manufacturers' and retail buyers' preferences with respect to lingerie. This study did not include any female consumers, a detail that was explained away by the task force as being due to restricted funding. The task force nevertheless concluded that women wanted "very feminine lingerie". Similarly, Victoria's Secret, a

national lingerie boutique chain, proclaimed that business women "want to wear bustiers in the boardroom, so they can feel confident that underneath it all, they are still anatomically correct". The company was not basing this on any statistics or market reports, because they did not believe in doing consumer or market research. Rather than asking women what kind of underwear they liked, the company's top managers conducted "in-house brainstorming sessions" during which they disclosed their "romantic fantasies". Despite all of this 'effort', on industry's part, there was no 'Intimate Apparel Explosion'. In fact, sales of teddies, bras and panties actually fell (Faludi, 1991, pp. 188, 191-2).

Outer-wear designers were experiencing slumping sales during the latter 80's as well. The fashion press had declared 1987 "the Year of the Dress". This was also the year the stock market crashed. The crash served to depress the desire to conspicuously display wealth. This was bad news for the fashion industry which was already suffering from the effects of foreign competition, huge debts from mergers, the rising cost of materials, and a dollar which was dropping in value on the international market. The discovery that women were not buying clothes the way they used to, was the final blow for the fashion industry. This women's "fashion revolt" almost destroyed the fashion industry. Designers were "pushing 'little-girl' dresses and 'slender silhouettes' at a time when the average American woman was 32 years old, weighed 143 pounds and wore a size 10 or 12 dress" (Faludi, 1991, pp. 169-70).

Perhaps this disaster could have been averted, or at least lessened, with better market research. However, interviews with various fashion designers showed that women's demands were irrelevant. One frustrated French designer wanted to know "[w]hat's the matter with American women? They don't do as they're told anymore. We tell them how to dress but they just don't listen." Designer Christian Lacroix blamed the women's movement of the 1960's and 1970's for women's decline in fashion consciousness. Designer Arnold Scaasi declared that the new fashions were "a reaction to the feminist movement, which was kind of a war." The goal of these designers was to prevail in this "war" by making women "listen" again. As the Council of Fashion Designers put it, "designers wanted to be in charge of dressing women." Moreover, there is evidence of this kind of counter-assault by designers during other eras. The women's dress-reform campaign for "more comfortable, sports-oriented clothing" during the latter 19th century was met with designers' introduction of "rib-crushing gowns and rear bustles". In 1947, there was a "fashion war" between the women who wanted to wear comfortable pants, low shoes and loose sweaters and

designers who were pushing corsets and bustiers (Faludi, 1991, pp. 171-4). In short, it was the designers who were attempting to create demand, rather than attempting to supply what was being demanded.

Thus, this mass market theory does not seem to hold up. It is a sound theory in so far as it seems logical to supply what is demanded. However, close inspection of the fashion industry indicates that it is fashion designers who are attempting to control or regain control of female consumers. If this is the case, then the degree to which fashion emphasizes the appearance of women's busts is more a function of designers' preferences than of women's.

Subcultural Leadership Theory. The subcultural leadership theory provides a reasonable explanation for styles that emerge in spite of the fashion industry. It also accounts for fashions that have 'trickled up' from the streets to the catwalks. However, if Faludi (1991) is correct and designers are more concerned with controlling women and fashion rather than supplying what female consumers demand (pp. 171-4), then it would seem that times during which counter-culture styles prevailed were the times when designers had lost control of female consumers. Designers were not being influenced by street styles, they were losing out to street styles.

Thus, this "trickle up" theory of fashion change likely paints an unrealistically cordial picture of the relationship between designers and female consumers. The women's movement counter-culture of the 1960's and 1970's definitely seems to have influenced fashion, but it is unlikely that it was simply a matter of fashion designers interpreting what they saw women wearing and then producing fashions which reflected these interpretations. This is not to say that designers have never been influenced by sub-culture groups, but it is improbable that this is the predominant process.

Ambivalence Theory. The ambivalence theory helps to explain the perpetual nature of fashion change from an individual's perspective. But it does not explain how a myriad of unique ambivalences culminate into one predominant style. If each individual person is always feeling ambivalent because these feelings cannot be resolved, and thus always trying out new appearances, it is difficult to see how any one style ever emerges as a prevalent style. The very nature of 'fashion' is the acceptance of a particular style by a large number of people at a given time (Kefgen & Touchie-Specht, 1986 in Kaiser, 1990). If this is correct, it is difficult to see how any particular style could prevail. It would require a large group of individuals all experiencing and attempting to resolve ambivalent feelings at the same time, in the same way. That this

many people would all choose to try out the same style as a means of resolving their individual and unique ambivalences is highly improbable. Society is made up of many different individuals and groups, who all share unequally in a finite supply of resources (Light & Keller, 1985). People with differing amounts of these finite resources are also likely to experience different ambivalences. For example, an upwardly mobile business woman will experience different ambivalent feelings than a single mother working for minimum wage. The first will primarily be concerned with determining what is required to get promoted, while the second will be focused on deciding how to make a meager income stretch far enough to feed, clothe and shelter herself and her children. Although an extreme comparison, the point is illustrated: different people experience different ambivalences. If ambivalence is the main catalyst of fashion change, but each individual person experiences different ambivalences, how can any one style ever emerge as fashionable?

Moreover, even assuming styles could emerge under these conditions, how could they remain fashionable for any length of time if this ambivalence is unresolvable and consequently, perpetually triggering fashion change? Clearly, this theory does not account for fashions that remain popular for any length of time.

These theories are all useful in so far as they provide reasonable explanations for different aspects of fashion change. But no one theory explains enough that it can stand on its own.

Why the Backlash Theory is the Better Explanation

The backlash theory does seem to be able to stand on its own, or at least it seems to do so better than these other theories. Granted, it is not strictly a fashion change theory, thus its scope is much wider to begin with. However, its basic premise with respect to fashion, is that fashion is a tool used by the dominant patriarchal culture, to keep women subordinate. Moreover, fashion can be used to put women back in ‘their place’ when they start to gain ground. Not only is this premise a reasonable explanation on its own, it can answer questions that the other theories do not.

Morrison and Holden. Morrison and Holden’s (1973) proposition that it is women’s status that dictates the degree to which they are dependent on men, and in turn, the extent to which they must rely on their bodies in order to attract men, seems plausible on the surface. However, in order for this to be the case, women must first be aware of their current status to men. Then, most of these women must decide,

independently of each other, to respond to this information in a similar fashion (i.e. to adorn themselves erotically). But, neither of these scenarios seem tenable.

By proposing the opposite of Morrison and Holden's (1973) theory, that it is the emphasis on the appearance of women's breasts which influences women's status, the backlash theory not only avoids these difficulties associated with Morrison and Holden's (1973) theory, it offers an account that has greater explanatory power. For instance, the backlash theory acknowledges forces that have an influence on women's fashion decisions, such as patriarchy and the fashion industry. Morrison and Holden's (1973) proposition, that women choose styles based solely on the degree to which they are dependent on men, ignores the influence of these significant forces.

Collective Selection. The collective selection theory seems to logically explain why many people conform to prevailing styles, but it is too vague when explaining how fashion changes, why specific styles prevail or how anti-fashion (e.g. the hippie counter-culture fashions of the late 1960's and early 1970's) becomes prevalent.

The backlash theory can help to explain all of these things. First, fashion change can be partially accounted for by looking at the how the fashion industry is affected by the competing forces that influence it. Patriarchy, the source of the backlash, has a significant impact on fashion and the fashion industry. Many popular styles reflect patriarchy's values, one of which is 'woman as sex object'. This value is conveyed in the popularization of styles that erotically enhance women. However, such fashions are not always prevalent, such as during the 1920's and the 1970's, because other forces are also impacting on the fashion industry to varying degrees (e.g. the women's movement which has waxed and waned in strength over the years). During these times, women's voices and consequently, their demands for fashions that do not objectify women, carry more weight, which is in turn reflected in the popular fashions. Although not the only forces acting on the fashion industry, the dynamic interplay between patriarchy and the women's movement does help to account for fashion change. Moreover, this tension helps to explain how 'anti-fashion' can become popular. When the women's movement has been strong, women's fashions have tended to be more functional and comfortable than during those eras when the movement was weak. It is possible that such styles have emerged in spite of the styles being prescribed at the time, by the patriarchal

fashion industry. In other words, what women's fashion preferences have emerged because of the cohesiveness and consequently, the greater strength of the women's movement.

Similarly, some styles become popular while others do not, partly because of the rivalry between the patriarchal dominant culture and the women's movement. Fashions tend to reflect the values of the dominant social forces at the time. Thus, when patriarchy is strong, fashions will predominantly reflect patriarchal values, and when the women's movement is strong, the prevailing styles will be more reflective of women's preferences.

Mass Market Theory. The mass market theory is useful in so far as it offers a sound explanation for how fashions disseminate. But, it portrays the fashion industry as an otherwise benign institution that exists primarily to supply what fashion innovators desire and what fashion followers will attempt to emulate, and this contradicts available evidence.

Faludi's (1991) examples of the ways in which the fashion industry has tried to force its preferences on women, constitutes some of this evidence, which in turn supports the backlash theory. However, this is not to say that the fashion industry never supplies what is demanded, but rather, that it attempts to drive consumption whenever possible. In short, the backlash theory is a better explanation than the mass market theory because the former can account for more of the available evidence.

Subcultural Leadership. The subcultural leadership theory provides a sound explanation for the upward dissemination of fashion, but this is the limit of its scope. Moreover, if Faludi (1991) is correct, this theory paints an unrealistically cordial picture of the relationship between the fashion industry and women. Evidence suggests that the fashion industry's primary concern is to control what is demanded, rather than simply supplying what women want. The backlash theory takes this evidence into account, and as such, is more comprehensive than the subcultural leadership theory.

Nevertheless, this aspect of fashion change is an important element of the backlash. If this theory is correct, then it is possible that women as a subculture, exert a varying degree of pressure on the fashion industry. When the women's movement is strong, the greater the pressure that is exerted by women. Recent history shows that when the women's movement had been strong, women's fashions have tended to be relatively comfortable, androgynous and less erotic, compared to the more restrictive, ultra-feminine and eroticized fashions of the backlash eras. In other words, the stronger women's position, the greater the

likelihood that styles will reflect what women want to wear and not what a patriarchal society wants them to wear. In short, the subcultural theory actually helps to explain part of the backlash theory.

Ambivalence Theory. Finally, the ambivalence theory is useful in so far as it provides a possible explanation for the reason that fashion is constantly changing, but it is difficult to see how a multitude of individuals' ambivalences would all find expression in the same style. The backlash theory can account for this. Basically, when patriarchy is relatively strong, so is its influence on society, including the fashion industry, the media and individual women. Patriarchy's goal is to get women back in 'their place', which is to serve men, not to compete with them. Women are bombarded with messages intended to get them thinking that they do belong back in their traditional roles, one being that of the sex object. The fashion industry does its part by providing, or more accurately pushing the corresponding styles, namely erotically enhancing clothing. Propaganda, such as things like the 'man-shortage' can legitimately cause women to feel ambivalent: those without a man feel they must get one and those with a man feel they must work to keep them. In order to resolve these ambivalent feelings, many women buy into the hype and purchase styles that are designed to erotically enhance their bodies and subsequently attract or help to keep a man. In short, the ambivalence theory has merit, but it is not as encompassing as the backlash theory.

To conclude, it is my opinion that the backlash theory has greater explanatory power than the other theories presented here. Moreover, much of what I have observed myself lends support to the backlash theory. When I began writing this thesis, I started to keep a record of my general thoughts on the topic, as well as events that were occurring that seemed relevant. At that time, I had no idea where this research would lead. When it came time to write this final section, I organized the notes I had collected. Upon reviewing it I began to see that I had collected a lot of information that supported the backlash theory. The following examples are a few of these things that I observed.

Anecdotal Observations

The Spice Girls. One thing that I found to be prevalent was the way that anti-feminism is re-packaged and presented as something that is emancipating for women, or at least as something benign. The Spice Girls are a current example of the former. This "bubble-gum chewing, skimpy-out-fit-wearing, in-your-face, all-girl British pop quintet" advocate "girl power", "positivity", and "fun" (O'Reilly & Conlogue, 1998, p. C3). However, this proclamation of 'girl power' is an empty one. As one concerned father noted,

it is merely “tits and ass under a veil of girl power” and “using what you got to get what you want” (p. D3). Moreover, he did not think that the Spice Girls would help girls (the main fan base) to do better in school, nor to ultimately achieve respected leadership positions in society (O’Rielly & Conlogue, 1998). The father’s comments capture the essence of the problem. The Spice Girls talk of emancipation, yet their entire image promotes the same old debilitating sexism; women must use their bodies to get ahead. One might argue that this group should at least be given credit for promoting a message of ‘girl power’, but arguably, this message is not even being heard. For their mostly young, female fans who do not see the exploitation, the group’s image is equated with ‘girl power’ (O’Reilly & Conlogue, 1998). In other words, they see the Spice Girls, hear the words ‘girl power’ and conclude that skimpy outfits and sexually suggestive behavior are the things that make women powerful. For others, this group is nothing more than yet another bunch of busty, brainless bimbos that some find nice to look at. As Ruth (1998) points out, such women are valued by men for their sexiness, but they are not taken seriously. For women, this group represents just another manifestation of a physical ideal that they are expected to emulate. So, even if the Spice Girls’ message of ‘girl power’ was a worthy one, which is doubtful, no one is listening. The message that is conveyed is that the powerful or emancipated woman is the one who has a young, beautiful, erotic appearance. But this is not what it is to be emancipated. What it is, is an embodiment of the ideal woman in a patriarchal system: a sex object that is nice to look at (Ruth, 1998). All the better if this role is freely chosen by women.

‘Hooters’ Waitresses. The ‘Hooters girls’ who waitress at the many Hooters restaurants across North America and abroad exemplify anti-feminism that is re-packaged as something not only totally harmless, but even beneficial. When a Hooters restaurant opened in Winnipeg in 1997, a local radio personality had one of the restaurant’s managers and one of its waitresses on his show. Both employees stressed repeatedly that the qualities they looked for in a waitress were personality and attitude. Moreover, they insisted that it was a ‘family’ restaurant and that any connection between the restaurant’s name and women’s breasts was purely coincidental: the actual focus was on owls. When a girl called in to ask why she had not been hired after applying the week before, the manager answered that it must have been because she did not have the qualities the restaurant was looking for. The girl replied that she had eight years of waitressing experience and a ‘bubbly’ personality, but that she was admittedly flat-chested. The manager quickly responded that

the size of her chest was irrelevant and that she should come in and see him again, because they had obviously erroneously over-looked her. She agreed, adding that she could not figure out how she could be turned down while her large-chested friend with no waitressing experience had been hired. The now nervous sounding manager quickly moved on to point out that the restaurant had received applications from women 16 to 65 years of age, as if this were some kind of vindication. No one questioned him as to the age range of the waitresses that were actually hired (the Peter Warren radio show, March 4, 1997). But this is not difficult to figure out given that their market is men, aged 24 to 50 (Hough, 1998). Moreover, the restaurant was founded by "six fun-loving guys" who wanted to be served beer and food by pretty girls (Hough, 1998, p. 29). The waitresses "pack their bodies into...shorts so provocatively slung that they are forced to spend a distracting amount of time" attempting to prevent them from "being swallowed by their gluteal muscles" (Hough, 1998, p. 29). Their tops are either halter or tied-off shirt style "revealing both the belly button and a stretch of abdominal furrow" (Hough, 1998, p. 29). "To place an order, the waitresses must stand on a two foot podium" and "fling the order into the open kitchen, a bit of theatre that seems singularly designed to promote a surfeit of jiggling" (Hough, 1998, p. 29).

When the manager and waitress were not downplaying (and even denying) the importance of the waitresses' physical beauty, they were proudly pointing out how much the restaurant had contributed to the community through its fundraising events (the Peter Warren radio show, March 4, 1997). But as Hough (1998) pointed out, "Hooters' marketers tend to look for occasions in which the beneficiaries are organizations representing disadvantaged children, a strategy presumably designed to endear the chain to local residents, as well as defeat an oft-held perception that the restaurants are somehow one step removed from a strip club (p. 30).

By associating itself with charity and publicly denying the importance it obviously places on women's physical beauty, Hooters attempts to re-package its blatant objectification of women as something harmless and fun, and through its charity work, as something even beneficial to the community. However, this re-packaging of anti-feminism is far from being harmless. Its danger lies in its ability to convince both men and women that these Hooters waitresses and women like them, are what men want (or should want), and are what other women should want to attempt to emulate. That is, we should (a) hyper-eroticize our appearance, via plastic surgery if necessary, and (b) welcome and even enjoy being treated as nothing more

that a subservient, doting sex-object. It is a game of mutual denial and spin doctoring. Moreover, it is implied that if women do not live up to this image, they are deficient. This ideal that Hooters so proudly endorses is essentially a manifestation of patriarchy's ideal role for women: we are not to be "self-affirming, self-fulfilling human beings, but rather" "beautiful dolls to be looked at, touched, felt, experienced for arousal, used for titillation (for sexual release or the sale of merchandise), to be enjoyed, consumed and ultimately used up and traded in for a different model" (Ruth, 1998, p. 254). "We may respond to sexual contact or even enjoy it, but not for our own pleasure (only bad women are selfish), only for the greater pleasure of the user" (Ruth, 1998, p. 254). In short, Hooters is just one more of the many sources of patriarchal propaganda that encourages women to shut up, stop thinking and look pretty while we serve men's needs. Women who do not conform to this are not valued in such a system.

This re-packaging of anti-feminism as something harmless and even emancipating for women is a popular and effective tool of the backlash (Faludi, 1991). Not only can these messages be very persuasive, they are incredibly insidious: dressing "anti-feminist sentiments...up in feminist clothes" makes it extremely difficult to expose and combat them (Faludi, 1991, p. 72).

The Media Further support for the backlash theory comes from things I have observed in the media. To touch on all of the relevant instances is beyond the scope of this thesis, given that the media, like the rest of society's institutions "reflect a masculine consciousness" and "promote the traditional misogynistic themes of women's inferiority" (Ruth, 1998, pp. 427, 432). In other words, almost everything that comes to us via the media reflects and promotes patriarchy. However, most of these messages are not blatantly patriarchal. Their persuasive power comes more from how the messages are conveyed, rather than the content of what is actually being said. For example, the predominant use of women for advertising household cleaning products conveys a much stronger message than what is being said about the products themselves. That message is, that women are the ones who do use and should be using these products because their proper place is in the home, carrying out the domestic duties.

The messages that I observed in the media that caught my attention were not this suggestive and subtle kind. They were much more blatant and hence, more surprising, given the recent requirement of political correctness that has forced patriarchy to convey its misogynistic messages in a more discreet fashion. The first such message was uttered by Charles Barkley, a prominent professional basketball player. He was

asked what his thoughts were on the new National Basketball Association's (N.B.A.) policy that allowed women to referee N.B.A. games. He responded by saying that all refs "sucked", but that they should not be women. "Women can do anything they want, just as long as it's not in the army or as an N.B.A. ref. A woman's place is behind her man" (T.S.N's Sportsdesk, October, 16, 1997).

Another such message came from this same sports show. This time the remark was made by one of the sportscasters. He was reporting on upcoming events, one of which was the 'women's big air competition', to which he quickly and smugly added "that's big air, not big pair" (Mike Toth on T.S.N's Sportsdesk, January, 19, 1998). The sportscaster chuckled at his own comment, and likely many others found it funny as well. However, comments like this serve only to belittle women's athletic efforts. One wonders if such a 'joke' about men's efforts would be regarded as funny. For example, 'that Wayne Gretzky can really handle his stick...that's stick, not dick'.

These comments help to illustrate that misogyny is alive and well. Most people at least know enough to keep such comments to themselves, or to share them with people that they know are like-minded. However, not everyone is aware of what is considered to be appropriate, and some do not care. Regardless, they facilitate the backlash by keeping misogynistic views alive. They are all the more persuasive when communicated by a popular sports star that many look up to, and all the more insidious when put forth as a 'harmless joke'.

A couple of other examples were heard on the radio. These were not misogynistic comments, but news reports which clearly illustrated the persuasiveness of misogyny in society. The first was a news report on C.J.O.B. radio (November, 19, 1997), part of which was a summary of some of the sentences that had just been handed down for various, unrelated crimes. One case involved three young men, all in their 20's, who were caught robbing a bank and a jewelry store. The other case involved a teacher who had been found guilty of sexually assaulting two of his female students; one was 13 years old and the other was 14. The robbers, who stole (likely) insured and replaceable material objects received a sentence of five years in jail. The teacher, who more than likely, irreparably damaged the lives of the two young girls, received a sentence of two years probation. These two sentences clearly illustrate what the justice system deems to be the more serious crime.

The second news report was also on C.J.O.B. radio (December 3, 1997). This one had to do with a woman's request for alimony during her divorce proceedings. The judge turned her down because she had "let herself go and become obese" and in doing so, drove her husband away. Her husband testified that she did not take care of her appearance, or him, and drove him into the arms of his secretary. It is alarming that any judge could speak such thoughts aloud in a court room, and even more alarming that such a rationale could decide a case, especially a woman's request for financial support on which to live. It would be interesting to know how these cases would have turned out in a non-patriarchal system. One would hope that women's well-being would be given greater regard.

These observations are only a few of the many that I documented while working on this thesis. They were presented here to help illustrate that the backlash is not merely an academic theory without foundation in real life. On the contrary, its effects can be seen everywhere, every day. Not only do I find the backlash theory to be sound theoretically, I can see empirical evidence of it in every day life.

Conclusion

Theoretical. It must be understood that I am not claiming that the backlash theory is the 'right' theory and that all others are wrong. Nor am I claiming that there is in fact a relationship between women's status and the degree of emphasis placed on women's erotic adornment in general and on the appearance of their breasts in particular. What I am asserting is that (a) the evidence I collected supports the contention that there is a relationship and (b) the backlash theory seems to explain the purported relationship better than the other theories presented. What appears to be relationship could simply be two variables that just happened to inversely vary during the length of time they were being observed. Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis was based on observations that were restricted to the first 70 years of this decade, and this thesis encompassed only another 27 subsequent years of this same decade. Thus these two variables may not inversely vary at other points in history. Moreover, Morrison and Holden (1973) tested their hypothesis via admittedly "casual impressions" (p. 581). They did not do any in-depth data collection or evaluation. In addition, it is possible that there is some other variable (or variables) involved that play(ed) a necessary part in the causal chain, but has yet to be identified. In other words, in order for women's clothing styles to have an effect on their status, there first must exist a necessary pre-condition or variable. Or women's clothing styles affect some intermediary variable, which in turn exerts influence on women's status. The

point is, we cannot be so presumptuous to think that we are all-knowing. History has taught us time and time again that, just when we thought we had something figured out, new information comes along which unseats our theories. In short, even when our theories work in every instance, it is always possible that tomorrow, an instance will occur that cannot be accounted for by our theory. Thus our theory needs to be expanded or modified, or maybe even discarded. Because we cannot know what the future holds in store, we can never be certain that our theories are correct, despite appearances. Consequently, we are wise to take them for what they are: our best guess to date. It is important to consider the possibility that more variables are involved than those just those that we are aware of, especially when the goal of research is to affect action. The greater our understanding of a phenomenon, the more effective our actions are likely to be. If we think that X is causing Z but it is really Y that is causing the Z, but our actions are aimed at manipulating X we will be less effective than if our actions were focused on Y.

Just as we cannot be sure that a relationship does in fact exist between the degree of emphasis on women's erotic adornment and women's status, we cannot be sure that the backlash theory is the best explanation for this alleged relationship. I only touched on some of the fashion theories that exist, but there are many more, and all of them could be useful in helping to explain this alleged relationship. The backlash theory is simply the best explanation that I could find so far. It offers a logical explanation for why certain fashions prevail at certain times: the stronger the women's movement, the greater the pressure it exerts on the patriarchal society, one aspect of which is the fashion industry. Conversely, when the women's movement is weak, so is its influence on the fashion industry. The greater women's influence, the more their demands for comfortable androgynous clothing will be met. When women's voices are not strong, the greater the patriarchal fashion industry's ability to produce the clothing it feels women should be wearing, such as styles that emphasize women's sexual qualities and in turn, their subservient, compliant, powerless sex object role.

In short, what I am claiming is that there appears to be some kind of relationship between North American women's status and the erotic adornment of women. However, all that we have to base this on is a relatively small amount of research that is restricted to this century. We may get a different picture if we investigate time periods other than this century. I am also claiming that the backlash theory seems to logically explain this alleged relationship, but that it is possible that a better explanation exists.

Methodological Limitations. In addition, there are methodological limitations associated with this research that must be mentioned. First, only a finite amount of information was collected from a theoretically and virtually infinite amount of available information. This research is only as representative as the sum of its sources' representativeness. These sources' representativeness will in turn be only as representative as their sources' representativeness, and so on ad infinitum. As Court Holdgrafer points out, “[w]e perceive just a bit of [reality] and we are so naïve to think that is all of it” (in Christian, 1986, p. 135). Reality is not only that which is experienced by an individual or group, but also all of that which is beyond this “hole-eye view” (Holdgrafer in Christian, 1986, p. 135). Much in the same way one watching a baseball game through a hole in the fence only sees one part of the whole game of baseball (e.g. if they could only see third base, this would be all of the information that they would have to form an idea of what baseball is), we only see part of reality. All of the available information together is still nothing more than a collection of individual perceptions.

However, this is not necessarily a damning criticism, so long as we are always mindful of the limitations of information when we are relying on it. This research is my best guess based on the amount of information I was able to access, which did include many different and diverse sources. Moreover, given the open-ended nature of qualitative research, one must eventually stop collecting data and begin to analyze what has been collected. As Strauss and Corbin (1986) explain, qualitative research does not always have the same parameters as quantitative research, which “begins with theory and then proves it” (p.23). Qualitative research “begins with an area of study from which a theory emerges” (Strauss & Corbin, 1986, p. 23). Thus, theoretically, data collection could continue indefinitely. Consequently, an end point must arbitrarily be chosen. The time that is available for the project’s completion is usually one of the main deciding factors, and this was the case for this research.

In addition, an attempt was made to obtain philosophically diverse sources. Most of the information was obtained from printed sources, which excludes many other forms of information, but several different points of view were accessed. For instance, some sources were from a feminist perspective, while others were more neutral or patriarchal. Neutral and patriarchal sources included general history books, newspapers and magazines. These were neutral in so far as their purpose is to ‘report the facts’ and patriarchal in so far as they are still typically written from a predominantly male perspective (Ruth, 1998).

However, a diversity of sources is only as good as the accuracy with which they are subsequently represented by the researcher, a second methodological limitation. From this diverse data set, I was ultimately selecting information that I deemed to be significant. I attempted to be as objective as possible when choosing information, but there is a limit to one's ability to 'be objective'. As Zukav (1979) points out, to be objective, one must "see [a phenomenon] as it would appear to an observer who has no prejudices about what he [or she] observes" (p. 30). However, a belief that one is able to view something this way is prejudiced. The prejudice is to "be objective" or "without a preformed opinion" (Zukav, 1979, p. 30). But one cannot be without an opinion because "[a]n opinion is a point of view" and the "point of view that we can be without a point of view is a point of view" (Kukav, 1979, p. 30).

This inability to be truly objective is also a significant limitation with respect to the evaluation of the data as well. For instance, what I deemed to be a status gain of [+2] may only be regarded as a [+1] by someone else. For that matter, someone else may even consider the event to be a setback, rather than a gain. Women's numbers in politics illustrates this point. I regarded all data on the number of women involved in politics as a setback. Women were making progress with respect to increasing their representation in the political realm, but even at their highest point, women still only comprised roughly 20% of politicians. I took this to be a setback because women's representation was still relatively low and, as a consequence, so was their political voice and decision making power. Someone else might have regarded their numbers as a gain: 20% is better than nothing.

Consequently, the process of data collection and evaluation is not as 'objective' as commonly thought. Arguably, science is not objective at all, but merely individuals' subjective interpretations, both in qualitative as well as quantitative research. Qualitative researchers acknowledge this limitation: "[b]uilding theory, by its very nature, implies interpreting data, for the data must be conceptualized and the concepts related to form a theoretical rendition of reality (a reality that cannot actually be known, but is always interpreted)" (Strauss & Corbin, 1986, p. 23). As William James warned, '[w]e have to live today by what truth we can get today, and be ready tomorrow to call it falsehood" (in Christian, 1986, p. 213). In other words, we must always be mindful of the limitations of our information sources and our subsequent conclusions about them, and be ready to discard what turns out to be fallacious in the face of new information.

This is not to say that our research is without value. The more information that we collect, the greater our understanding of a phenomenon. The more information that we collect that confirms our hypotheses, the more justified we are in using it as a predictive tool. However, we must always be mindful of the limitations of prediction and induction. As Hume explains, we are technically unjustified in moving from a position that, because all observed instances have confirmed the hypothesis, that all past, present and future instances with sufficiently similar circumstances will also confirm the hypothesis. Empirically, we cannot prove this because we are not omniscient. Nor can we prove it rationally (Flew, 1979). That the future is likely to resemble the past given sufficiently similar circumstances, is based on the assumption that there is a uniformity to nature. We believe that nature is uniform because we understand the basic principles of induction: given specific facts, we can infer general, probable conclusions. The problem is, that our belief that the future will resemble the past is based on the assumption that nature is uniform, which is in turn based on the belief that the future will resemble the past (Reese, 1980). In short, our belief in induction is based on an assumption about the uniformity of nature, which is in turn based on induction. We must assume what we are attempting to prove and this is circular or question-begging reasoning.

However, this does not mean that we should not make predictions. In many cases we need to be able to make predictions. What we must remember is that these predictions are at best, only probable. Thus we should be prepared for the possibility that they do not come true.

In sum, it is my contention that this research supports Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis that there is a relationship between women's status and the degree to which women erotically adorn themselves. Further, I contend that the backlash theory is the best explanation for this hypothesized relationship. These contentions are based on the findings from my research, which were derived from academic books, newspapers, magazines, government publications and any other sources that contained relevant information. My findings were also based on my own personal observations of what is and has been going on in the world. However, I am not contending that my findings are necessarily correct, only that it is my best guess based on the information I was able to access. It is because of this uncertainty that the research process is never done. There will always be hypotheses to test and re-test, and new terrain to discover and investigate.

Future Research. I think it would be worthwhile to re-test Morrison and Holden's (1973) hypothesis. Their study of the first 70 years of this century was based on admittedly "casual impressions" (p. 581). My research involved a more in-depth study of these first 70 years, but it was for my literature review, and as such, was not as comprehensive as the main part of the thesis, which tested the hypothesis from 1970 to 1997. While this was a relatively extensive investigation, it was nevertheless, only one investigation. In short, the contention that there is a relationship between women's status and the degree to which women erotically adorn themselves, is based on relatively little evidence. It is a reasonable contention in so far as this evidence was in basic agreement, but there is plenty of room for further investigation. The more confirming evidence, the stronger our justification for believing the hypothesis.

One might argue that further investigation is not justified because, even if it could be established that the relationship exists, it is insignificant. However, it is significant. The more information we have about factors that are associated with women's status, the better able we are to work to improve women's status.

This research has also opened the door for further study of related topics. For instance, I think it would be interesting to know what the cumulative effect of women's fluctuating status has been. That is, have women been experiencing more gains than setbacks, so that overall, they have been closing the status gap between themselves and men? Or have women been losing ground? Perhaps there has been no significant change. This information would be useful in telling us whether our efforts thus far have been effective. If women's status has been gradually improving, then we should probably keep on doing what we have been doing. If women's status has not improved, or worsened, then we should consider different courses of action, because what we have been doing is obviously not working. Thus the information from such as investigation would be useful in helping to evaluate the effectiveness of women's efforts thus far.

Even if it were discovered that the status gap was closing, research might reveal that we could be doing so at a faster rate. We may not be doing all that we can, or perhaps we are working against ourselves in some respects. For example, we may be misguided in our fight for equality in some cases. The Pregnancy Discrimination Act (1978) illustrates this point. It requires that pregnant women be considered as having a 'temporary disability' thus guaranteeing them the same rights as male workers who become temporarily disabled (Gatlin, 1987). However, equal treatment does not help women in this case because it means that

they will be entitled to the same benefits men receive, who do not need time off for pre-natal appointments or breast feeding.

Perhaps we need to be pursuing justice rather than equality. Or perhaps we are on the right track in seeking equality, but we should be focusing on equal respect and consideration rather than equal treatment. This way, men's and women's differences could be taken into account, but an equitable situation could still prevail.

Another area that would be interesting to investigate is the nature of women's status. For instance, is women's status a uni-dimensional entity, or is it more complex than this? Perhaps a distinction could be made between male-assigned and female-assigned status. The former would be status that is bestowed on women for conforming to male-defined ideals, such as physical beauty. The latter would be the status that is the status that is bestowed on women for conforming to female-defined ideals, such as independence and intelligence. Such a study could also look at how women with male-assigned status and women with female-assigned status differ in terms of life satisfaction, self-esteem, degree of success, happiness in the short and long run, and so on.

These are just some of the virtually countless areas of study that would be worth investigating. The greater women's understanding of their situation, the greater their ability to affect change. The old adage is true: knowledge is power.

Appendix 1: Canadian Women's Status

The numbers in parentheses [] are the values I have assigned to each point. The net totals follow each year's data. See 'data evaluation' in the Methodology chapter for a more detailed explanation.

1970

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the *Royal Commission on the Status of Women* (RCSW) report was released, and was the first public document to ever (i) clearly address and make salient Canadian women's needs, (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 4; Torjman, 1988, p. 2) and (ii) suggest ways of ensuring that women would have "equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society" (Bird, 1970 in Veevers, 1991, p.3) [+2]
- maternity leave provisions were added to the Canada Labour Standards Code (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p.222) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- women protested the 1969 abortion reforms with the Abortion Caravan: it traveled from Vancouver to Ottawa , bringing women's liberation groups together from across the country (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 162) [+2]
- *le Front de liberation des femmes du Quebec* had its own pro-choice demonstration in Montreal , the day the Abortion Caravan arrived in Ottawa (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 162) [+2]
- female students from universities across Ontario, along with some male supporters, picketed the *Miss Canada University Pageant*, bearing signs such as "women are not commodities" and "women's liberation is human liberation" (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 108) [+2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- a Gallup poll showed that over 60% of Canadians favored a maternity leave law which would give women a leave of 18 weeks (Boyd, 1984, p. 12) [+2]

- 77% of Canadians polled felt it was acceptable for a married woman to take a job (Gallup in Prentice et al., 1988, p. 368) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- Montreal's Concordia University offered one of the country's first women's studies courses for credit (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 175) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- there was a rift forming between francophone and anglophone feminists, as evidenced by the former refusing to join the latter in Ottawa for the arrival of the Abortion Caravan, because of philosophical differences (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 162) [-2]
- lesbian feminists protested their exclusion from mainstream feminism via their 'Radicalesbian' position paper *The Woman-Identified Woman* (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 106) [-2]

(b) PUBLIC OPINION

- 80% of Canadians polled were opposed to women working outside the home if they had small children (Gallup in Prentice et al., 1988, p. 368) [-2]
- only 1 in 5 surveyed by Gallup felt that women were "treated as second class citizens" (men being more likely to answer this way) (Boyd, 1984, p. 22) [-2]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- women working full time were victims of a *wage gap*: they earned on average, 59.2% of what comparable men were earning (Statistics Canada in Veevers, 1991, p. 23) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- anti-abortion groups started organizing in response to the new abortion law (1969) which they felt was too liberal (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 364) [-2]

Total (+16 / -11) = +5

1971**1. GAINS****(a) LEGISLATIVE**

- the first Minister Responsible for the Status of Women was appointed within the federal cabinet (Finestone, 1995, p. 62; Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 233) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- *Women for Political Action* was formed (a daughter group of the *Toronto Voice of Women*) (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 164) [+2]
- the *National Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women* was established (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 172; Vickers, 1991, p. 86) [+2]
- the *Ontario Committee on the Status of Women* began (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 172) [+2]
- the *Centres des femmes* succeeded *le Front de liberation des femmes du Quebec* after it disbanded, providing abortion referral services and continuing production of Quebecoises deboutte! – the newspaper started by *le Front* (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 162) [+2]
- women's centres were starting to appear on university campuses (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 405) [+1]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- 61% of Canadians polled by Gallup favored the establishment of a provincially and federally subsidized day-care program, that would charge parents on a sliding scale (Boyd, 1984, p. 13) [+2]
- 86% of those surveyed believed that women should receive equal pay for equal work (Gallup in Boyd, 1984, p. 21) [+2]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- only 33% of all husband-wife families were depending exclusively on the husband's income by this year (Wilson, 1991, p. 88) [+1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- financial institutions and department stores were starting to allow Ms. on credit cards and accounts (any applications for services or credit cards had customarily been turned down if Mrs. appeared on them) (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 392) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap remained virtually unchanged, with women averaging 59.7% of men's salaries (Statistics Canada, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 88) [-1]

Total (+ 17 / -1) = +16

1972

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- a lower minimum wage for women was prohibited (Wilson, 1991, p. 103) [+2]
- the long awaited *equal pay for work of equal value* legislation was ratified (it had been sought by the International Labour Organization since 1919) (Wilson, 1991, p. 104) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTION

- the *National Action Committee on the Status Women* (NAC) was formed (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 157; Finkel et al., 1993, p. 545; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 276; Wilson, 1991, p. 120); its purpose was to (i) act as an umbrella group for all of the new women's groups that were emerging and (ii) lobby the government as a means of ensuring that the RCSW's recommendations would be carried out (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 546) [+2]
- the provision of housing for single women in Regina was made possible with the incorporation of the *Joint Action Coop* (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 276) [+2]
- Women Unite! was published – one of the first anthologies of Canadian writings on women's liberation, in the past and present (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 407) [+2]

(c) POLITICS

- the *Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women* was established in order to facilitate Canadian women in terms of educational needs and in the development of programs for women (Fogwill, L., 1989 in Roach Pierson, R. & Griffen Cohen, M., 1995, 187) [+2]
- the *Strategy for Change* Conference took place in Toronto (this gave birth to the NAC)(Black, N. in Burt, S. et al., 1993, p. 172) [+2]
- Flora MacDonald, Jeanne Sauve, Albaie Morin and Monique Begin were elected to the House of Commons, joining Grace MacInnis – the only women in the House since 1968 (Prentice, A. et al., 1988, p. 400) [+2]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- for the first time, women started unionizing more rapidly than men (Prentice, A. et al., 1988, p. 385) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICS

- women comprised only 6.4% of all candidates in the federal election, after which they made up only 2% of the House of Commons (Wilson, S., 1991, p. 114) [-1]

Total (+18 / -1) = +17

1973

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women* was set up, thus providing official state-funded advisory bodies and meeting one of the R.C.S.W.'s recommendations (Black, N. in Burt, S. et al., 1993, p. 172; Prentice, A. et al., 1988, 351) [+2]
- the *Ontario Advisory Council on the Status of Women* was established (Black, N. in Burt, S. et al., 1993, p. 172) [+2]
- *Le Réseau d'action et d'information pour les femmes* was formed in Montreal (Black, N. in Burt, S. et al., 1993, p. 172) [+2]

- the *Women's Program within the Secretary of State* came into being, for the purpose of providing financial support to women's groups (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 225) [+2]
- the *Canadian Congress of Black Women* began, with the intention of keeping their heritage alive (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 405) [+2]
- prostitutes organized in order to resist police harassment (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 405) [+2]
- wives of men in the military formed a group in an attempt to gain the right to meet and discuss their needs (a right prohibited on armed forces property) (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 405) [+2]
- farm women joined together to voice their concerns about the decline of family farms, and the uncertainty surrounding their own place in agricultural production (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 405) [+2]
- immigrant women organized in an attempt to improve language and training services as well as working conditions (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 405) [+2]
- the Liberal Party's women's auxiliaries were replaced with the *Women's Liberal Commission* in order to attempt to increase women's numbers in the party (Bashevkin, 1985 in Wilson, 1991, p. 116) [+2]
- the first national lesbian conference took place in Toronto (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 172) [+2]
- Long Time Coming was published – the first Canadian lesbian journal (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 172) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- Dr. Morgentaler was brought to trial for helping women obtain medically safe abortions, but was found not guilty (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 100) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Toronto New Feminists* disbanded (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 165) [-2]
- women's groups realized that the federally created advisory bodies set up this year were of limited usefulness: they were helpful, but were nevertheless a means for the government to

channel and control women's groups (e.g. the Women's Program within the Secretary of State) (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 352) [-2]

(b) PUBLIC OPINION

- almost 50% of Canadians polled by Gallup felt that the dominant role of the husband in the Canadian family had declined in importance, but only 1 in 5 thought this was good (Boyd, 1984, p. 6) [-2]
- over 50% of those surveyed believed that women's labour force participation was harmful to the family (Gallup in Boyd, 1984, p. 11) [-2]
- nearly 60% of respondents held that women's labour force participation was harmful to the family if the women had children (Gallup Canada, 1988 in Veevers, 1991, p.22) [-2]

(c) LEGAL

- two aboriginal women (Lavell & Bedard) challenged the Indian Act in the Supreme Court (i.e. women's loss of Indian status upon intermarriage, etc) and lost (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993, pp. 99-100) [-2]

Total (+26 / -12) = +14

1974

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Task Force on the Status of Women in the CBC* was established by CBC, for the purpose of studying women's employment opportunities within the company and to develop programs to help increase these opportunities (C.R.T.C., 1982, p. 48) [+2]
- Saskatoon's *Self-Help Clinic for Women* was started, with the intention of helping women to increase their knowledge of their own bodies , the health care system, etc. (Hall in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 180) [+2]
- poor mothers formed the *Mother Led Union* in an attempt to change systematic factors that ensured that they stayed poor (e.g. having to relinquish 75% of their earnings from part-time jobs to the government) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 270) [+2]

- *Nellie's* was organized – a temporary refuge for battered women (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 275) [+2]
- the National Film Board of Canada created *Studio D*, designed to increase women's visibility through film (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 400) [+2]
- *CARAL* was formed (Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Law) in order to assist Dr. Morgentaler in his fight against the 1969 abortion law and the appeal of his 1973 acquittal (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 100) [+2]

(b) PUBLIC OPINION

- 75% of Canadians polled said that admitting women into the RCMP would be beneficial to the organization (Boyd, 1984, p. 17) [+2]
- only 42% of respondents said they would prefer to work for a male boss, down from 66% in 1953 (Boyd, 1984, p. 20) [+1]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- forty-two of the 122 RCSW recommendations had been implemented fully by this year, and another 37 partially carried out (McInnes, 1982, p. 680) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- women's numbers in education were increasing, with 45.6% enrolling at the undergraduate level (Harvey, 1977 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 208) [+1]
- women's domestic role was starting to receive more serious attention as evidenced by studies focusing on (i) attempts to put a dollar value to all the jobs performed by housewives and (ii) estimates of the value of housewives' work in terms of a percentage of the G.N.P. (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 10; Batten, Gray, Hallett, Lewis & Lewis, 1974 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, pp. 47, 49) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGAL

- Dr. Morgentaler's acquittal was reversed in a unanimous decision – in spite of CARAL's added support (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 100) [-2]

(b) POLITICS

- women's numbers in politics were up, but they still only constituted 3.4% of all M.P.s (Wilson, 1991, p. 114) [-1]
- women's decision making power was still a non-factor as evidenced by the preparations for International Women's Year (1975): the federal government awarded its advertising contract to an all-male group for their slogan , which was simply "Why Not?", and defended this decision by stating that they had not wanted to take sex into consideration (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 361) [-1]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- women's numbers in professional and post graduate studies were still low (22.9% and 35.4% respectively) and where their enrollment was high, it was in traditionally female areas (e.g. nursing, education) (Harvey, 1977, p. 208) [-1]

Total (+20 / -5) = +15

1975

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- this was International Women's Year (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 362) [+2]
- the *Ontario Women and the Law Association* was formed (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 362) [+2]
- the *Service, Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada* was established, unionizing the lowest paid labour force sectors (which were dominated by women) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 362) [+2]
- the *Canadian Association of Women Executives* was created (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173) [+2]
- the *Wages for Housework Committee* was formed in Toronto, to encourage the government to pay a wage to housewives for performing the "socially necessary labour of housework and childcare" (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 10) [+2]

- *Wages Due Lesbians* began, to address the problem of lesbian mothers and their difficulties in obtaining/keeping custody of their children (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 23) [+2]
- the *Women's Health Collective* formed in Fredericton, to deal with the problem of breast cancer and aspects of women's health care in general (Fullerton in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 182) [+2]
- the *Office of Equal Opportunity* was started by CBC to head a long term equal opportunity program (C.R.T.C., 1982, p. 49) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- by this year, every province (with the exception of P.E.I and Newfoundland) had legislation that made discriminating against women in employment illegal (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [+1]
- Quebec became the first province to use 'equal pay for work of equal value' language (Griffen Cohen, M. in Roach Pierson, R. & Griffen Cohen, M., 1995, p. 99; Burt, S. in Burt, S. et al., 1993, p. 224; Wilson, S., 1991, p. 104), which made the comparison of different kinds of work (on the basis of skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions)possible (e.g. a groundskeeper versus a secretary) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 99) [+2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- 73% of respondents said they would continue to support their political party if it was being headed by a qualified woman (Boyd, 1984, p. 17) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGAL

- in a 6-3 decision, Dr. Morgentaler's 1974 conviction was upheld, resulting in an 18-month jail term for him (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 100) [-2]
- a study by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women revealed that Vancouver police did not want to get involved in husband/wife disputes (45% of calls asking for police presence were given only phone advice) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 155) [-2]

(b) PUBLIC OPINION

- a national survey found that Canadians still tended to feel that “the average male would make a better politician than the average female” (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 400) [-1]
- women were found to be more optimistic than they should be in so far as the women’s movement’s impact on male attitudes: 35% of women believed the average man’s attitude toward women had changed because of the women’s movement, while only 18% of men felt that this was the reason (Boyd, 1984, p. 22) [-2]

(c) WOMEN’S ACTIONS

- the *Centres des femmes* disbanded after three years of struggling (Black in Burt, 1993, p. 163) [-2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- the National Council on Welfare found that 59% of all impoverished adults were women (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 544) [-1]
- the Ad Hoc Committee Respecting the Status of Women in the North York System did a study which revealed that there was a high incidence of sexism and stereotyping in school readers (Wright, 1975 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 214) [-2]

Total (+21 / -12) = +9

1976

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN’S ACTIONS

- the *L’association des femmes collaboratives* was formed (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173) [+2]
- the *Lesbian Organization of Toronto* was established (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173) [+2]
- the *Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women* was created, for the purpose of promoting research on women’s experiences, to ensure that new policies having to do with women be based on sound research and to facilitate education by making the results as widely available as possible (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 194) [+2]

- *MATCH* began, the objective of which was to assist women in southern countries (e.g. Mexico) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 370) [+2]
- the *Task Force on Women and Advertising* was established by the advertising industry itself, after it acknowledged that sex-role stereotyping was in fact a problem (C.R.T.C., 1982, p. 8) [+2]
- the new feminist publication Les Têtes de pioche was put out by radical feminists in Quebec (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173) [+2]
- the first female minister was ordained in the Anglican Church (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 407) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- Dr. Morgentaler was acquitted while he was serving his jail sentence (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 100) [+2]
- the Attorney General of Quebec declared that abortions in free-standing clinics in Quebec would be legal (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 100) [+2]

(c) POLITICAL

- Flora MacDonald, Jeanne Sauve and Monique Begin became cabinet ministers (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 400) [+2]
- in order to assist the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women, the *Status of Women Canada* was created (Finestone, 1995, p. 7) [+2]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- women continued to unionize at a fast rate (4 out of 5 new unionists since 1966 were women) (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 549) [+1]

(e) PUBLIC OPINION

- a Gallup poll found that 57% of male and female respondents felt that husbands should share in household tasks (Gallup Canada, 1986 in Veevers, 1991, p. 23) [+2]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- a study found that marriages were moving away from the traditional interaction of roles, toward more intimate and interpersonal relations (when compared to a study in 1957) (Veevers, 1991, p. 44) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap widened this year to 59.1% (0.6% worse than 1971's gap of 59.7%) (Statistics Canada, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 88) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the Trudeau government froze the Family Allowance payments this year (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 10) [-2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- 81% of Canadians still felt that a mother's place was in the home (Gallup in Prentice et al., 1988, p. 369) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- despite the fact that the majority of those polled felt that a husband should share household chores, data from a Vancouver and Halifax study revealed that husbands were still in the "helping stage" of household maintenance (Clark & Harvey, 1976 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 12) [-1]
- 83% of all single parent households this year were female-headed (C.R.T.C., 1982, p. xv) [-1]

Total (+27 / -6) = +21

1977

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- *Le Coop-femmes* was formed in Montreal (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 172) [+2]
- *Women Against Violence Against Women* came into being (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 172; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 112) [+2]
- *Pluri-elles* was established (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 172) [+2]
- the NAC was thriving, with 120 groups in their membership and an annual budget of \$65,000 (up from 35/\$15,000 respectively, in 1972) (Vickers, 1991, p. 89) [+1]
- cooperative efforts from various women's groups resulted in the formation of the *International Women's Day Committee*, whose purpose would be planning and organizing all future

International Women's Day (IWD) celebrations in Toronto (Adamson & Amup in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 363; Wilson, 1991, p. 121) [+ 2]

(b) POLITICAL

- the *Wages for Housework* campaign had acquired enough legitimacy to compel the N.D.P.'s Federal Women's Organizer to publicly denounce the issue as "an obstacle to equality" (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 10) [+2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- the Canadian Human Rights Act was passed, thus establishing an *equal pay for work of equal value* principle for the federal public service sector (Finestone, 1995, p. 1; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 99; Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 224; Wilson, 1991, p. 104) [+2]
- legislation that gave concrete recognition to domestic work, (i.e. its necessarily facilitative role in assisting wage earners to earn an income and property for the family) was passed in almost every province (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 399) [+2]
- amendments to the Canadian Labour Code now allowed women to take 17 weeks of maternity leave (Finestone, 1995, p.1) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the Canadian Human Rights Act passed this year had one serious flaw: it was "complaints based", thus putting the onus on employees to file a complaint (this requires a lot of individual stamina, time and effort), with employers having to make changes to employment practices only if they were found to be guilty (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 99) [-2]
- the General Assembly of the Parti quebecois took a position in favor of decriminalizing abortion only to have it ignored by the P.Q. government, which was endorsing a natalist, family-oriented platform instead (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 351) [-2]

(b) MISCELLANEOUS

- that sex stereotyping was a problem was confirmed in the *Task Force on Women and Advertising* report : women were being portrayed in traditionally stereotypic roles of wife, mother, housekeeper and sex object, and in a way that implied that these reflected reality (C.R.T.C., 1982, pp. 19, 54) [-2]

Total (+15 / -6) = +9

1978

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- *Wages Due Lesbians* and Toronto's *Wages for Housework* got together on International Women's Day and founded *Lesbian Mothers' Defense Fund* – a support system (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 23) [+2]
- six different women's organizations attended C.B.C.'s license renewal hearing to pressure to take action with respect to the problematic portrayal of women in C.B.C. programming (C.R.T.C., 1982, p. 45) [+2]
- employees at Fleck Manufacturing in Ontario (mostly immigrant women working under brutal conditions for appallingly low pay) were successful in their strike, gaining not only better pay and working conditions, but the support of feminist activists and U.A.W (United Auto Workers) members (Wilson, 1991, p. 102) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- amendments to the Canadian Labour Code now prohibited the use of pregnancy as grounds for lay-off or dismissal (Finestone, 1995, p. 1) [+2]
- a new *Family Reform Act* was passed in Ontario, in which "child care, household management and financial provision" were deemed to be the "joint responsibility of the spouses" and the marital relationship "a joint contribution whether financial or otherwise, by the spouses...entitling each spouse to an equal division of the family assets" (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 399) [+2]

3. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- women accounted for 28.5% of all unionized workers, a vast under-representation given that women comprised 40% of all workers (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 549) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the federal government decided that the Human Rights Act would not apply to the Indian Act, thereby preventing Indian women from using it as a means of achieving reform – this being the government's "temporary solution" to the struggle between Indian women who wanted the Indian Act amended and the Indian men who did not (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993, p. 103) [-2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- the majority of Canadians continued to hold traditional attitudes regarding working women : 66% felt that women should not work while their children are young (Gibbins, Ponting & Symons, 1978 in Wilson, 1991, p. 26) [-1]
- only 20% of those polled disagreed that "although a wife's career may be important, she should give priority to helping her husband advance his career (Gibbins, Ponting & Symons, 1978 in Wilson, 1991, p. 26) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- a ten-year study of the effects of television revealed that (i) people who frequently watch tend to internalize "a world view and value system congruent with the world of television" and that (ii) women's television image is becoming increasingly repressive (Gerbner, 1978 in Wilson, 1991, p. 127) [-2]

Total (+10 / -7) = +3

1979

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- *INTERCEDE* (the International Coalition to End Domestic Exploitation) was formed, whose purpose was to increase public awareness about the debilitating racism inherent in government

policy (e.g. the deplorable working conditions and wages) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 16) [+2]

- *Positive Aging Group* was organized by older women who were endeavoring to change the negative image they had in society by communicating experiences from their own perspectives (Taylor in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 222) [+2]
- the *Canadian Association of Rape / Assault Centres* was created for the purpose of facilitating communication between rape crisis centre workers (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 116) [+2]
- Healthsharing, a feminist health issues journal, was published to increase awareness and exposure of women's health issues in popular medical periodicals and to facilitate the exchange of information pertaining to such issues (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 117) [+2]
- the Maliseet women from the Tobique reserve in New Brunswick organized Indian women from across Canada, meeting at Oka and marching to Ottawa, where they demanded improvements in housing and amendments to the Indian Act (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993, p. 103) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the federal government published Towards Equality for Women, which outlined changes to legislation, policies and programs designed to equalize women's opportunities and guarantee progress (CRTC, 1982, p. 8). One such plan of action was the *Task Force on Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Broadcast Media*, whose purpose was to work toward the eradication of such stereotypes (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 395; CRTC, 1982, p. 2) [+2]
- the *Affirmative Action Directorate of the Canada Employment and Immigration Division* was established to combat the systematic barriers that excluded women from some jobs (e.g. height and weight restrictions) (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [+2]
- of the 122 RCSW recommendations put forth in 1970, 96 had been implemented in whole or in part by this year (Anderson, 1979 in Veevers, 1991, p.3) [+1]
- the Government of Quebec voluntarily imposed guidelines intended to reduce sex-role stereotyping in advertisements (CRTC, 1982, p. 36) [+2]

(c) POLITICAL

- the *Feminist Party of Canada* was established this year, by women concerned about peace and the protection of the environment, who felt that the established political parties had not given these issues serious enough consideration (Zaborszky, 1987 in Wilson, 1991, p. 117) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- the CBC announced its intentions to reform the content of their commercials and programming with respect to sex-role stereotyping (CRTC, 1982, p. 45) [+2]
- trends in marriage partner selection were showing signs of becoming less traditional with a decrease in the incidence of hypergamy (i.e. a women marrying a man higher in status in terms of age, height, education, etc.) and an increase in equal age marriages (from 21% in 1921 to 28.6% this year) (Veevers, 1991, pp. 9, 11) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICAL

- 195 women ran for seats in the House of Commons and 13 were elected, thus constituting 4.6% of all M.P.s (Wilson, 1991, p. 114) [-1]

(b) PUBLIC OPINION

- only 42% of women in Weekend magazine's poll openly defined themselves as feminists (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 151) [-2]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap was 62.9% for women (CRTC, 1982, p. xv) [-1]

(d) LEGISLATIVE

- in spite of the positive intentions of the Affirmative Action Directorate, it had no teeth: its success depended on its ability to "encourage [employers] to participate" (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- of the marriages that ended in divorce this year, 66% were initiated by women and over 25% of those were based on grounds including physical cruelty (Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 155) [-2]

- a connection between increasing divorce rates and women's increasing poverty was made and described with the term "the feminization of poverty" (Wilson, 1991, p. 40) [-2]

Total (+23 / -10) = +13

1980

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women* (CACSW) sprung into action in response to the federal government's underhanded attempt to short-change women in the equality section of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 323) [+1]
- the *Ad Hoc Committee on the Constitution* was formed to ensure that the Canadian Constitution contained an equal rights clause (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 231; Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 323; Wilson, 1991, p. 120; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 401) [+2]
- public hearings were held in six different cities across Canada (Halifax, Montreal, Hull, Toronto, Edmonton, Vancouver) by the Task Force on Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Broadcast Media, to get the public's input (CRTC, 1982, p. 9) [+2]
- the *Canadian Farm Worker's Union* was formed, due in part to the concerted effort of Indian and Chinese women farm workers (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 92) [+2]
- Jeanne Sauve became the first Speaker of the House this year (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 400) [+2]

(b) POLITICAL

- the PQ referendum had feminism as one of the issues (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 400) [+2]

(c) LEGAL

- women at C.N. in Montreal took the company to court over their hiring practices (C.N. refused to hire the women in blue collar positions) and C.N. was found guilty of discrimination (Torjman 1988, p. 45) [+2]

(d) LEGISLATIVE

- violence against women was finally being made into a matter for the public agenda, with a report commissioned by CACSW this year - Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 110; Torjman, 1988, p. 43) [+2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- clause 15 was added to the Canadian Code of Advertising Standards, which read: "Advertising shall not present demeaning or derogatory portrayals of individuals or groups and should not contain anything likely, in light of generally prevailing standards, to cause deep or widespread offense." (CRTC, 1982, p. 39) [+2]
- the C.B.C. was active this year: policies concerning stereotypes took effect, an attempt was made to eliminate the use of sexist language via guidelines that were given out to the staff, and management attended seminars on sex-role stereotyping and sexist imagery, in an attempt to increase their awareness of the problem (C.R.T.C., 1982, pp. 39, 46, 47) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap did decrease from last year, but only to 63.7% (Statistics Canada, 1989 in Veevers, 1991, p. 23; McInnes, 1982, p. 680) [-1]
- a study of new graduates (thus presumably controlling for job experience) found a much narrower wage gap than in general, but it was still at 80% (Wilson, 1991, p. 98) [-1]
- women were found to be just as susceptible to sexist attitudes within unions as they were outside of them (Cuneo, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 94); unions that were composed of mostly women were not even exempt, given that most were run by men unsympathetic to women's concerns (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 94) [-1]
- women receiving unequal treatment in the workplace were found to take relatively little action, which is not surprising, given that success rates are low, there is virtually no enforcement of penalties in cases where women were successful, there is lack of support and empathy from bodies set up to deal with these matters and a good chance of ending up worse off than if the

complaint had never been filed (e.g. loss of job, settlement insufficient to cover legal costs) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 89) [-1]

- a study revealed that since 1921, the proportion of female faculty members in Canadian universities had not changed (Mackie, 1986 in Wilson, 1991, p.6) [-2]

(b) POLITICAL

- 181 women ran for seats in the House of Commons (down from 195 in 1979) and only 14 were elected (Wilson, 1991, p. 114; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 400) [-1]
- following a presentation by the CACSW on the impact of the proposed Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Senator Harry Hayes responded by asking why there was not a section in it for babies and children. "All you girls are going to be working and we are not going to have anybody to look after them." (Bains in Burt et al., 1993, p. 263) [-2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- section 15 (the equality section of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms) was drafted without any input from women's groups, remaining virtually unchanged from the Bill of Rights in 1960, a piece of legislation that did not benefit women (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 323) [-2]
- equal pay for equal work legislation was found to be basically ineffective: only 137 complaints had been filed since 1972 and a mere 17 of those turned out in favor of the complainant (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 89) [-2]

(d) LEGAL

- although the women in the C.N. hiring discrimination case won the battle, they lost the war: the ruling stated that C.N. must hire just one woman for every four blue collar jobs (Torjman, 1988, p. 45) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- although the C.A.C.S.W.'s report of wife battering helped to bring the matter to light, its findings were horrifying: (i) an estimated 10% of Canadian women's partners beat them, (ii) there were a mountain of obstacles stopping these women from leaving (e.g. lack of programs offering

assistance, economic barriers) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, pp. 112, 160, 161)

[-2]

Total (+19 / -17) = +2

1981

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women* was formed (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173) [+2]
- the *Alberta Federation of Women United for the Family* came into being (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173) [+2]
- the *National Progressive Women's Caucus* was created by the Conservatives, for the purpose of increasing the numerical and independent representation of party women (Bashevkin, 1985 in Wilson, 1991, p. 116) [+2]
- *Media Watch*, originally a subcommittee of N.A.C., was established to police the popular media for objectionable portrayals of women and attempt to have them rectified (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 108) [+2]
- women's groups managed to encourage provincial premiers to exempt section 28 (a guarantee of equal rights and freedoms in the Charter) from section 33 which would override it (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 265; Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 324) [+2]

(b) EMPLOYMENT

- the first female permanent bus driver was hired by the Halifax Transit Commission (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 374) [+2]
- Canada was behind only the U.S. and Sweden for the highest participation rate of women in the workforce, who were contributing an increasing amount to the family income (28.1% this year, up from 25.2% in 1971) (Wilson, 1991, pp. 86, 89) [+2]
- in addition to making greater contributions to the family income, working women were keeping the family income's real dollar value from declining (Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 162-3) [+1]

- a postal strike this year had as one of its issues, the full compensation of female workers who had lost income during maternity leave: it was successfully negotiated and quickly adopted as an objective by other unions (McInnis, 1982, p. 680) [+2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- the *U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (C.E.D.A.W.) was finally ratified by the federal government, which clarified the steps that needed to be taken in order to achieve both public and private gender equality (Finestone, 1995, p. 6; Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 222) [+2]
- in response to the C.A.C.S.W.'s push to have equality clauses entrenched in the Constitution, Article 15 was amended to read "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection of the law and equal benefit of the law" (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 401-2) [+2]
- in reaction to Lloyd Axworthy's (the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women) underhanded cancellation of a conference that had been scheduled for the purpose of dealing with the clumsy wording of Article 15, some women decided to hold a conference anyway and this led to the creation of section 28 (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 264; Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 323; Wilson, 1991, p. 120). Section 28 replaced Article 15, reading "Notwithstanding anything in this charter, all the rights and freedoms in it are guaranteed equally to male and female persons" (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 402) [+2]
- with the help of I.N.T.E.R.C.E.D.E., foreign domestic workers (mostly women) were allowed to apply for permanent resident status , instead of being forced to return home upon the expiration of their permits (Ng in Burt et al., 1993, p. 297) [+2]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- the majority of Canadians polled believed that homemakers should be financially recognized in divorce settlements (Gallup, 1984 in Boyd, 1984, p. 23) [+2]
- 70% polled felt that husbands should share housework duties (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 384) [+1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- women's studies programs at universities across the country were becoming well established by this year (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 359) [+1]
- the C.B.C. initiated two different content analysis studies of their prime time French and English networks, focusing on the representations of men and women, and a resolution acknowledging the problem of sex-role stereotyping and the need to rectify it; it was passed by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (C.R.T.C., 1982, pp. 46, 51) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- women only made up 19% of all employees working at male dominated occupations (e.g. university teaching, pharmacy) (Statistics Canada, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 103; Wilson, 1991, pp. 90, 92; Marshall in McKie & Thompson, 1990, pp. 113-14) [-1]
- women working in male dominated jobs were often isolated, subject to sexual harassment from their co-workers and were the first to be laid off (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 373) [-1]
- in order to eradicate job segregation (i.e. the concentration of women in a small number of traditional female jobs) it was estimated that this year, 60% of women would have to change jobs (Wilson, 1991, p. 89) [-1]
- as late as this year, some university faculty clubs still prohibited women's inclusion (e.g. McGill) (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 329) [-1]
- the wage gap still existed: female university graduates aged 25 to 54 earned an average of \$21,000 annually, while comparable men averaged \$30,000 (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 379) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women (Lloyd Axworthy) cancelled the National Conference on Women and the Constitution, which had been scheduled to deal with the "clumsy formulation" of Article 15 (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 402), which in turn prompted Doris Anderson (the Advisory Council on the Status of Women's chair) to resign in disgust (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 264) [-2]

- following the formulation of section 28 (the re-worded Article 15 equality clause of the Constitution), the Prime Minister cooked up section 33 – which would override it – again sparking feminist fury (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 265) [-2]
- the value of housework was estimated to be between \$121-\$139 billion, accounting for 35.7% - 41% of the G.N.P. – but it was still being excluded from the actual calculation (Swinamer in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 166) [-2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- only 33% of wives polled said that their husbands assisted them with housework regularly – perceptions that have remained static since 1958 (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 384; Kome, 1982 & Meissner et al., 1975 in Boyd, 1984, p. 9) [-2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- statistics concerning violence against women this year were alarming: (i) since 1969, there has been a 125% increase in reported rapes, which is estimated to be only 10% of all actual rapes (of which only seven are investigated and three end in arrests), (ii) there is a 94% chance of not being arrested if you are a man who raped, (iii) every 29 minutes, one woman is being raped in this country and every six minutes one is being sexually assaulted, (iv) 58% of women were murdered in domestic disputes (compared with 24% of men who were killed by a member of their family) (CACSW in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, pp. 155-6) and (v) four in every 1000 women reported being physically or sexually assaulted by their partner/spouse (for separated women, the number jumps to 55 in 1000) (McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 173) [-1]

Total (+31 / -14) = +17

1982

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- N.A.C.'s membership swelled to 200, with an annual budget of \$269,000 (up from 120 groups and a budget of \$65,000 in 1977) (Vickers, 1991, p. 89) [+1]
- the *National Immigrant Women's Organization* (NIWO) was formed (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 206) [+2]

- the *Canadian Women's Studies Association/ Association canadienne des etudes sur les femmes* (CWSA/ACEF) was established (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 176) [+2]
- the *Constance Hamilton Project* started this year in Toronto, designed to be a feminist co-op for single women (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 276) [+2]
- Bertha Wilson became the first woman ever to sit on the Supreme Court of Canada (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 272; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 404) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- section 28 was enacted this year, thus making its guarantees applicable to women and men equally (Finestone, 1995, p. 3) [+2]
- both Manitoba and Ontario introduced *equal pay for work of equal value* legislation, intended to remedy the low wages plaguing female job ghettos (thus eliminating scenarios such as female secretaries with years of experience and training receiving lower pay than the man who sweeps the floors in her office) (Finkle et al., 1993, p. 501) [+2]
- the federal government, in an attempt to eliminate stereotypical language, adopted guidelines that would discourage it (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 393) [+2]
- the *Images of Women* report commissioned by Jeanne Sauve in 1979, released its findings this year (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 395) (although the results were disturbing, its completion meant that the issue was still receiving much needed attention) [+2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- 72% of Canadians polled were in favor of women being able to obtain abortions (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 366) [+2]
- 70% felt that men and women should have equal opportunities in the job market (Boyd, 1984, p. 21) [+2]
- 87% believed it was acceptable for married women to work if they had no children, up from 66% in 1960 (Boyd, 1984, p. 11) [+1]
- the number of people in favor of women in the ministry had steadily risen since the late 1950's, even amongst Roman Catholics (Boyd, 1984, p. 15) [+1]

(d) LEGAL

- Ontario became the first province to change the basic procedure for dealing with cases of wife battering: the onus of laying charges was now on the police rather than the woman (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 111) [+2]

(e) POLITICAL

- Ontario N.D.P.'s women's committee formulated the first affirmative action initiative within the party (Bashevkin, 1985 in Wilson, 1991, p. 116) [+2]

(f) EMPLOYMENT

- over half of all women aged fifteen years or older were in the workforce, with 43.5% of them working to support themselves or themselves and dependents (CRTC, 1982, p. xv) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- only 24.8% of union membership was comprised of women (compared to 39.2% for men) (Neill in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 202) [-1]
- as women's numbers in the workforce increased so did their concentration in traditionally female occupations, thus driving down their chances for advancement and higher wages (Boyd, 1984, p. 14) [-1]
- the wage gap this year averaged 64% (marginally better than 63.7% in 1981) and was even wider in those jobs in which women were concentrated (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 88; Finkel et al., 1993, p. 502; Statistics Canada, 1985 in Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 164) [-1]
- women continued to bang into a *glass ceiling* when they attempted to advance to upper management and board positions (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 502) [-1]

(b) PUBLIC OPINION

- over 66% of Canadians polled believed the husband's dominant role had lessened in importance, but only 33% felt this was a good thing (Boyd, 1984, p. 6) [-1]

- the percentage of Canadians who felt that family life was not hurt by the labour force participation of women was increasing (38% compared to 25% in 1973), but well over 50% continued to think that it was detrimental (Boyd, 1984, p. 11) [-1]
- the proportion of Canadians accepting of mothers of small children working was on the rise (38%, up from 5% in 1960), but the majority still disagreed with it (Boyd, 1984, p. 12) [-1]
- 41% of those polled felt that the government should share the responsibility of daycare, but well over 50% believed it was solely the family's burden (Boyd, 1984, p. 13) [-2]

(c) LEGAL

- Ontario's new procedure for dealing with wife battering had its drawbacks, one of which was the loss of income suffered by victims when their bread-winning partners were jailed (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 111) [-2]
- another problem with Ontario's new initiative on wife battering, was the consequences of the undeniable racism inherent in to the law enforcement and criminal justice systems, which resulted in many ethnic women coming to fear such intervention (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 111) [-2]

(d) POLITICAL

- N.D.P MP Margaret Mitchell's query in the House of Commons, as to what action the federal government planned to take in dealing with the problem of wife battering, was met with laughter and derogatory remarks from many of her fellow M.P.s (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 546; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 111; Wilson, 1991, p. 134) [-2]
- the Feminist Party of Canada disbanded this year (Wilson, 1991, p. 117) [-1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- women were still bearing the brunt of housework responsibilities – several studies indicated that men's assistance had increased, but in practical terms it was insignificant (Kome, 1982, Meissner et al. & Proulx, 1978 in Boyd, 1984, p. 8) [-1]

- the findings of the *Images of Women* report were that (i) women were hugely underrepresented as both providers and as subjects of news, sports, etc. compared to men, (ii) women were portrayed in stereotypical images that ranged from infantilizing to degrading (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 395) [-2]
- Canadian (and American) psychiatry was still archaically Freudian in so far as journals published as late as this year continued to blame mothers for their children's problems (Mitchenson in Burt et al., 1993, p.410) [-1]
- a study this year revealed that housework caused more fights in the first five years of marriage than sexual differences, in-laws or financial problems (Kome, 1982 in Wilson, 1991, p. 56) [-2]

Total (+28 / -22) = +6

1983

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography* was formed (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173) [+2]
- the *Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes* (CORP) was established (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 116) [+2]
- the *Women's Coalition Against Sexist Advertising* began this year (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 395) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- the *rape shield* provision was introduced into rape litigation (previously, it was the victim's sexual history that was actually on trial in rape trials) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 110) [+2]
- spouses were no longer criminally exempt from rape (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 110) [+2]
- *Media Watch* was true to its name, filing a human rights complaint against Doug Collins from CKVU (Vancouver) for his ultra-misogynistic views, which he aired on television (Kivisild in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 156) [+2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- the Canadian Human Rights Act was amended to prohibit both sexual harassment and discrimination (on the basis of pregnancy and family/marital status) (Finestone, 1995, p. 1) [+2]
- section 35(4) of the Constitution was amended, thus guaranteeing equal aboriginal and treaty rights to women and men (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993, p. 110) [+2]
- the Parliamentary Task Force on Pension Reform made a recommendation that homemakers receive pension credits for their time spent caring for children under 18 years of age or for dependent adults (Wilson, 1991, p. 57) [+2]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- women's access to abortion was supported by 72% of Canadians polled (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 366) [+1]
- 78% said their support for a political party would not be affected if it had a qualified woman leader (compared to 73% in 1975) (Boyd, 1984, p. 17) [+1]

- 83% felt that men and women were equally capable of running a business (up from 78% in 1981 and 58% in 1971) (Boyd, 1984, p. 18) [+1]
- 86% believed that women should get pensions that are equal to men's (Boyd, 1984, p. 21) [+2]
- 47% of respondents (compared to 66% in 1971) believed that women and men "got equal breaks" (Boyd, 1984, p. 19), reflecting a growing recognition of the constraints on women [+2]
- over 50% believed that the likelihood of women becoming company executives was not good (Boyd, 1984, p. 19), also a realistic perception [+2]
- 86% were in favor of women receiving renumeration for their time spent being housewives and/or mothers (Boyd, 1984, p. 9) [+2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- Dr. Morgentaler continued in his crusade for accessible abortions, opening abortion clinics in both Toronto and Winnipeg (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 333) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- women continued to face job segregation: 77% of all female employees worked in clerical, sales, medicine/health or teaching (this was down 3% from 1975, but was not offset by women's movement into traditionally male occupations) (Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 163) [-1]
- the relatively few women who were moving into "male jobs" got there to find this sector was steadily decreasing in size, thus putting their jobs in jeopardy (Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 164) [-1]

- in spite of having taken no time off from their jobs (e.g. to have a baby), almost 50% of women in a national study reported getting lower salaries than comparable men (Ornstein, 1983 in Wilson, 1991, p. 97) [-1]
- women working part-time “because they could not find other work” constituted 51% of the increase in this job sector (Statistics Canada, 1985 in Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 164) [-1]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- there was animosity amongst feminists concerning this year's focus for *International Women's Day*: some felt it should deal with attempts to achieve national liberation (e.g. in El Salvador, South Africa) and others wanted to concentrate on a more general level – linking the global oppression of women and the political regimes that ultimately benefited Western economies (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 365) [-2]
- an underlying dissention amongst women in general, was formalized this year with the formation of *R.E.A.L. Women* (Realistic Equal Active for Life Women) (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 173; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 365). The group was spearheaded by former well-known right-to-life advocates who claimed to speak for the “real” women of Canada in their opposition to (i) abortion, (ii) the equality clause in the Charter of Rights, (iii) publicly funded daycare, (iv) affirmative action in employment, (v) no-fault divorce, (vi) equal pay for work of equal value legislation and (vii) legal protection for the rights of homosexuals (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 365). What they did favor was a “pro-family” program that was geared toward protecting housewives (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 365) [-2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- over 50% of those polled were in favor of military conscription for men but 57% were against it for women (Boyd, 1984, p. 18) [-2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- women's numbers were still disproportionately low for enrollment in non-traditional areas of university, with women constituting only 11% (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 327) [-1]
- a study of pharmaceutical ads from 1966-1983 showed that menopausal women were consistently portrayed with ridicule: they were shown as being helpless, unable to cope and troublesome to their families and others, this implying that once past their ability to have children, women had outlived their usefulness (Mitchinson in Burt et al., 1993, p. 401) [-2]

Total (+30 / -13) = +17

1984

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- for the first time in Canada's history, there was a female governor general – Jeanne Sauve (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 400) [+2]
- N.A.C. helped to arrange for a debate on women's issues to take place between the country's three main political party leaders (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 168; Wilson, 1991, p. 118) [+2]
- women's groups started connecting on a global level, one such instance being the *Women and Food Production Conference* which took place in Guelph, Ontario and drew women from all over the world: 120 women met to consider the problem of "the international influence of the transnational corporation in the international flow of capital and of food" (Sundberg, 1984, p. 273) [+2]
- *Single and Divorced Speak Out* was formed by single and divorced elderly women, in an effort to increase awareness of their impoverishment (Torjman, 1988, p. 45) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the *Royal Commission on Equality in Employment*. (RCEE) was established this year, as a first step in remedying the blatant discrimination women continued to face in the workplace (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 102; Moreau, 1994, p. 147; Torjman, 1988, p. 43) [+2]
- in an attempt to uncover discriminatory laws, the federal government established a parliamentary task force (Burt in Burt et al., 1992, p. 222) [+2]
- as a means of enforcing a principle of equal pay within the federal employment sector, the government initiated a national *Equal Pay Program* (Burt in Burt et al., 1992, p. 224) [+2]
- aboriginal women in *Indian Rights for Indian Women* and *The Native Women's Association* were pleased to see the demise of Bill C-47: although it contained amendments intended to eliminate sex discrimination from the Indian act, many aboriginal women found parts of it unacceptable (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993, p. 111) [+2]

(c) POLITICAL

- election issues expanded to include women's issues this year (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 23) [+2]
- when it began to appear as though a *gender gap* would materialize this year (i.e. when women vote in a block), political parties started paying attention to concerns of women (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 230) [+2]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- compensated maternity leave was provided for 95% of full-time pregnant, working women and for 83% of those working part-time (Moloney in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 105) [+1]
- of all Canadian women with pre-schoolers, 52% were in the workforce this year (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 224-5) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- automation and technology were starting to eliminate the kinds of jobs most women worked at (e.g. telephone operators, bank tellers, clerical work) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 106) [-2]
- women's numbers in full-time jobs were still very low: only 35% of all working women were doing so full-time, compared to 63% of men (Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 164) [-1]
- 80% of all working women were unable to access licensed daycare (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 224-5) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- it was becoming clear that the "voluntary" federal affirmative action program (started in 1979) was ineffective: only 71 out of 1400 employers agreed to get involved (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [-2]
- Prime Minister Mulroney promised to create employment and a national child care program, but instead began to eviscerate social programs and deal with women as "special interest" groups, thus treating them as an enemy of the state (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, pp. 20, 266) [-2]
- The National Council of Welfare considered the proposal of giving full-time homemakers a pension, but decided against it arguing that it would only make things more inequitable (i.e. those well-off would still be eligible, but single women and women who divided their time between paid labor and domestic labor would not be) (Wilson, 1991, p. 57) [-2]

(c) POLITICAL

- women's numbers in the House of Commons were up this year but they still only constituted 9.6% of all M.P.s (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 228; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 23; Vevers, 1991, p. 4; Wilson, 1991, p. 114) [-1]
- the Political Conservatives were elected this year, bringing with them a debilitating traditionalism: they (i) favored a society constructed of "separate spheres" where women were in charge of the domestic realm and men were the breadwinners, (ii) opposed the principle of equal-

opportunity and (iii) believed in privatization and free market values (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 225) [-2]

(d) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- a national study of women's groups and their dealing with the government over the last ten years showed that of the groups that had attempted to influence government policies (over 100 groups) only 19% considered their endeavor a success and 25% found government officials to be hostile (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 231) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- a report by the Calgary Status of Women Action Committee to the N.A.C. Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution gave a glimpse of the brutal realities of life on the street: prostitutes were (i) extremely vulnerable to violence and harm, (ii) often "trapped in the life" and (iii) subject to a double sexual standard under which women were being penalized for their active sexuality, but men were not (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 115-16) [-2]

Total (+22 / -17) = +5

1985

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- women's groups in Quebec were thriving this year: (i) there were over 750 groups altogether, (ii) over 600 local and regional branches of the *Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale* (AFEAS) with a membership of 33,000, (iii) 52 affiliates of the *Fédération des femmes du Québec*, with 40,000 members and (iv) 75,000 women that belonged to the *Circles des fermières* (Wilson, 1991, p. 122) [+1]
- disabled women across Canada formed DAWN, the country's first national disabled women's group (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 196) [+2]
- N.A.C. helped to organize the *Coalition Against Free Trade*, comprised of delegates from women's groups and various other interested groups (e.g. native, seniors, religious, agricultural)

in order to examine the ways in which free trade was going to negatively affect them and how to stop it (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1994, p. 278) [+2]

- the *Legal Education and Action Fund* (LEAF) was established to assist women involved in sex equality cases, both financially and litigiously (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 270) [+2]
- the *Women's Sexuality Conference* in Toronto addressed crucial issues (such as the need to substitute the pornographic images continually bombarding women every day, with a wider range of legitimate and equitable sexual choices) and uncovered a desire by some feminists to welcome all women, regardless of sexual preference (Roach Pierson & Tyler in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, pp. 107, 145) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the Court Challenges Program widened its scope to include equality cases: now, selected "test cases" that challenged the Constitution's ability to meet women's needs regarding such issues, would be financially supported by the Secretary of State (Finestone, 1995, p. 1) [+1]
- section 15 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms took effect this year (Boyer, 1985 in Veevers, 1991, p. 3-5; Finestone, 1995, p. 1; Finkel et al., 1993, p. 587) [+1]
- Manitoba became the first province to adopt proactive equal pay legislation, which shifted the onus from the employee to the employer, who was now required to devise a system that would allow for the equal valuation of men's and women's jobs that were comparable (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 100) [+2]
- five federally funded women's studies chairs were established – one at Mount Vincent University (Halifax), Laval (Quebec) and Simon Fraser (British Columbia), as well as joint ones at the University of Manitoba and the University of Winnipeg and at the University of Ottawa and the University of Carlton (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 176) [+2]
- aboriginal women celebrated a huge victory this year with the amendment of the Indian Act, which reinstated rights and status they had long been denied if they married a non-Indian man (Finestone, 1995, p. 1; Finkel et al., 1993, p. 542) [+2]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- as a direct result of increasing numbers of women in the field and lobbying on the part of feminist groups, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada incorporated new guidelines designed to assist in the carrying out of non-sexist research – a major problem plaguing research done in the 1960's and 1970's (McDaniel in Burt et al., 1993, p. 440) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap persisted at approximately 60% this year (Wilson, 1991, p. 94; Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 165) [-1]
- because women tend to earn less than men, their incomes have come to be regarded as secondary, and consequently, the first one to be sacrificed in the event of one spouse having to give up their (e.g. to care for a dependent adult or child, to move) (Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 165) [-1]
- 33% of all women worked part-time this year, compared to 8% of all men (Wilson, 1991, p. 92) [-1]
- women's unionization continued to increase (33%), but it remained restricted to a small number of unions in which women held relatively few executive positions (Wilson, 1991, p. 102) [-1]
- university teaching positions were increasingly being filled by women, but they still only constituted 17% of full time teaching staff (Hollands in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p.118) [-1]
- female university staff remained in the minority and at lower statuses across all disciplines: they made up 44% of all lecturers/instructors, 29% of assistant professors, 16% of associate professors and 6% of full professors (Hollands in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 119) [-1]
- the wage gap for women employed at universities was much narrower than for the general population, but it was still at 81%: women averaged \$10,000 less than men annually (Hollands in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 120) [-1]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- *R.E.A.L. Women* was becoming a force to be reckoned with, as their numbers and level of organization increased: at their first conference this year , they reported that they had 20,000 members (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 168; Wilson, 1991, p. 124) [-1]

- the climate in universities mirrored other institutions in terms in terms of receptivity to feminist analysis: “gender sessions”, professional meetings and findings from feminist research was given little attention or credit (Wilson, 1991, p. 6) [-2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- feminists were hobbled by a new government requirement for the Secretary of State Women’s Program (which provided feminist publications with most of their funding) to establish “eligibility criteria” which essentially prohibited women’s groups from promoting any stand on issues such as abortion and lifestyle choices (i.e. pro-choice and lesbianism respectively) (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 409) [-2]

(d) LEGAL

- as encouraging as the amendments to the Indian Act were, they were not enforced – many women continued to be prevented from returning to reserves by their Indian leaders (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 543) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- 10% of all families were headed by single mothers, 50% of which were living below the poverty line (Statistics Canada, 1985 in Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 166) [-1]
- 33% of women 65 years and older lived alone and 60% of them were impoverished (Statistics Canada 1985 in Mandell & Duffy, 1988, p. 166) [-1]
- different studies have revealed that a disproportionate amount (approximately 80%) of elderly care was still carried out by women – daughters or daughters-in-law (Aronson, 1985 & Chappell, Strain & Blandford, 1986 in Veevers, 1991, p. 27) [-1]
- approximately 50% of undergraduate degrees were awarded to women, but advanced degrees are given to men at a rate three times greater than they are to women (Veevers, 1991, p. 5) [-1]
- Justine Blainey was prohibited from playing on a boy’s hockey team by the Ontario Hockey Association (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 562) [-2]

Total (+19 /-20) = -1

1986**1. GAINS****(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS**

- out of the National Immigrant Women's Organization Conference this year, came the *National Organization of Immigrant Women and Visible Minority Women of Canada*, whose purpose was to act as a national lobbying force and to coordinate the activities of groups across Canada (Ng in Burt, S. et al., 1993, p. 300; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 206) [+2]
- the *International N.G.O. Working Group on Refugee Women* organized with the intention of lobbying on behalf of refugee women (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen 1995, p. 390) [+2]
- the N.A.C. was thriving this year: they represented over five million women from 450 different groups, with a budget of \$679,476 (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 157; Vickers, 1991, p. 89) [+1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- *Toward Equality*, the federal government's reply to the 1985 task force's report, came out this year, making a public commitment to women's legal equality rights (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [+2]
- The Secretary of State Women's Program furnished over 700 groups with either core or project funding (Vickers, 1991, p. 87) [+1]
- Ontario launched an *equal pay for work of equal value* bill that required compliance from both the public and private sectors (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 224) [+2]
- the Ontario provincial government amended the *Ontario Family Reform Act* (1978) so that any assets amassed during marriage belonged jointly to each spouse (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 399) [+2]
- the *Cooke Report* (i.e. the Report of the Task Force on Childcare) was released this year, and was touted as one of the most crucial reports since the R.C.S.W.'s in 1970: in it was a list of recommendations needed for the provision of high quality childcare services (Torjman, 1988, p. 44) [+2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- the number of women open to calling themselves feminists was on the rise: a Chatelaine poll found that 47% of women did so compared to 42% in Weekend magazine's 1979 survey (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 151) [+1]
- the majority of Canadians polled regarded women in the workforce as at worst, a "necessary evil" (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 366) [+1]
- most of this majority also agreed that daycare should be subsidized (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 366) [+1]
- most of this majority also believed that women should receive equal pay (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 366) [+1]
- another finding had to do with Canadian Roman Catholics' views on contraception and abortion: these were beginning to increasingly mirror the views of the rest of Canadians (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 406) [+1]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- the National Film Board (NFB) implemented an employment equity program (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 397) [+2]
- women constituted 45.1% of all 'professionals' (i.e. an occupation in which at least 45% of employees have bachelors' degrees), up from 42.5% in 1981 (Marshall in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 109-10) [+1]
- 55.4% of all women 15 years or older were working this year (compared to 39.9% in 1971) (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 544) [+1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- English language programs were finally provided for immigrant housewives (Ng in Burt et al., 1993, p. 285) [+2]
- *Le Declin de l'Empire Americain*, a highly praised Quebec film, was released: it showed women participating in various sports and men at home cooking (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 391) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap was 65.8% this year for full-time/full-year workers, and 57.4% if all workers (e.g. part-time) were factored in (compared to 63.7% and 53.5% respectively, in 1981) (Statistics Canada, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 88) [-1]
- the number of women in male-dominated jobs jumped 42% since 1981, however, they still only comprised 23% of all such employees (Marshall in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 110) [-1]
- the number of daycare spaces was up this year from 83,500 in 1976 to 220,500, but so were the number of children requiring spaces: 954,000 needed daycare this year compared to 600,000 in 1976 (Parliament in Mckie & Thompson, 1990, p. 101) [-1]
- of the available licensed spaces, most catered only to women who worked '9 to 5', which was of no help to women working part time or irregular hours (Torjman, 1988, p. 13) [-1]
- job segregation had actually worsened by this year: at present 58.1% of women were concentrated in clerical, sales and service jobs compared to 55% in 1971 (1986 Census Canada, Statistics Canada, 1990 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 115). Eighty percent of women workers were concentrated in six main sectors (clerical, sales, service, medicine/health, managerial and teaching) (Wilson, 1991, p. 89) [-1]
- women also continued to be underrepresented in better paying jobs, such as school administrators: women accounted for 15% of all principals and vice principals but 57% of all teachers (Cusson in Statistics Canada, 1994, pp. 149, 155) [-1]
- women's unemployment rate was 11.2%, compared to 9.6% for men (Zukewich Ghalam, N. in Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 149), skyrocketing to 61% for disabled women and 40% for disabled men (Finestone, 1995, p. 27) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- Prime Minister Mulroney's government effectively neutralized the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (1984) with Bill C-62, which required only that employers in the federal jurisdiction and Crown companies with over 100 employees file annual reports concerning their

- progress in adhering to the “principle of fair competition” (Finestone, 1995, p. 1; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 104; Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [-2]
- even if there were problems, not much could be done given that the situation was being overseen by the Canadian Human Rights Commission, whose response time was slow given its backlog of 1500 cases (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 104); Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [-1]
 - moreover, there were no penalties for non-compliance (i.e. continued discrimination) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 104; Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [-2]
 - it is no surprise that one out of every four elderly women were impoverished this year (compared to one out of every eight elderly men) (Veevers, 1991, p. 28) given that women’s average monthly Canada Pension Plan payment was \$189.10 (while men received an average of \$293.90) (Torjman, 1988, p. 10) [-1]

(c) WOMEN’S ACTIONS

- the N.A.C. was approached by prostitutes seeking their help in opposing Bill C-49: they agreed to help, but not without creating tension within the group (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 116) [-2]
- there was growing dissension within the feminist movement as a whole as well, as various non-mainstream women’s groups (e.g. non-white, non-middle class, disabled) began openly protesting the exclusion they felt in relation to the white, heterosexual majority of Canadian feminists (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 155; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 196) [-1]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- findings from the Gallup poll this year indicated that blatant sexism was on the decline, but in many cases it was merely going ‘underground’ rather than being eradicated (Veevers, J.E., 1991, p. 3). This was exemplified by a question on housework: 81% of both male and female respondents believed that husbands should share domestic responsibilities with their wives (up from 57% in 1976), but only 42% of wives said they received regular help from their husbands (Gallup Canada, 1986 in Veevers, 1991, p. 23) [-1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- the federally funded English language program for immigrant housewives had its downside: it did not extend beyond an elementary level and thus, did not achieve its objective – to help these women to get jobs (Ng in Burt et al., 1993, p. 285) [-2]
- furthermore, these immigrant housewives were still unable to enter the Employment and Immigration's subsidized programs that were accessible to immigrant men (Ng in Burt et al., 1993, p. 285) [-1]
- a study revealed that working women continued to devote more time to household chores than men: women spent an average of 3.2 hours per day doing unpaid domestic work, compared to men's 1.8 hours per day (Zukewich Ghalam in Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 145) [-1]
- a national survey revealed that 18% of men admitted that they had acted violently toward their partner, and this number jumped to 30% for divorced or separated men (Lupri in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 170) [-1]
- the problem of sex-role stereotyping persisted this year despite many efforts to eradicate it: (i) the *Report of Industry Self-Regulation* – a follow up report of the 1979 task force on sex-role stereotyping in the broadcast media – showed overwhelmingly that the pace of change was sluggish at best [-1]
- (ii) similarly, a Media Watch report found little evidence of progress (in spite of continued lobbying and research), as well as overpowering evidence that the portrayal of women in the media was misogynistic [-1]
- (iii) the C.R.T.C. concluded that “if today’s ads were the only indication of the modern woman’s life, it would appear that they are all white, middle class models, housewives and sex objects” (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 395-6) [-1]
- in addition to women’s poor numbers in academic employment and enrollment (Marchall in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 110) they were severely underrepresented in terms of being subjects in sociological studies: 70% of these studies this year continued the trend of using all-male samples which were then generalized to the population (Rong, Grant & Ward, 1989 and

Ward & Grant, 1985 in Wilson, 1991, p. 6) [-1]

Total (+27 /-26) = +1

1987

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- Canada saw its first female Brigadier General appointed (Sheila Hellstrom) (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 170) [+2]
- for the first time in the country's history, women were eligible for combat roles in the Armed Forces (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 171) [+2]
- in response to the proliferation of "new reproductive technologies" (i.e. methods of overcoming the "problem of infertility") and the high risk associated with these (due to insufficient research), the *Canadian Coalition for a Royal Commission of New Reproductive Technologies* was established (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 103-4) [+2]
- *Ebony Voices*, a theatre collective designed to give black women a voice concerning their own experiences, was inspired by bell hooks and formed this year (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 202) [+2]
- the *Congress of Black Women of Nova Scotia* was formed (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 203) [+2]
- *Tiger Lily: The Magazine for Women of Color* made its first appearance this year (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 202) [+2]
- feminists and prostitutes were working to decrease the distance between themselves, according to the N.A.C Prostitution Committee's report at the N.A.C. General Meeting this year (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 116) [+1]
- Claire L'Heureux became the second woman to be appointed to the Supreme Court (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 272) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- this was the first year that Canadian and Quebec pension credits collected during marriage had to be distributed equally amongst the two spouses upon divorce (Wilson, S., 1991, p. 57) [+2]

- the recommendations having to do with legal inequalities, that had been set out by the R.C.S.W. in 1970 had, for the most part, been executed by this year (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 170) [+1]
- Ontario became the second province (behind Manitoba in 1985) to enact proactive pay legislation (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 100) [+2]
- the *Ontario Family Benefits Act* was amended in response to *Women for Justice* (1984) and their charge that it discriminated against women by keeping them financially dependent on husbands and hindered them in their attempts to obtain goods and services (Torjman, 1988, p. 44-5) [+2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- 90% of Canadians were in favor of women working (if they did not have young children) (Gallup Poll, 1987 in Wilson, 1991, p. 27) [+1]

(d) POLITICS

- women's strength as voters was on the rise, as evidenced by the federal government's public commitment to make women's issues its focus (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 230) [+1]

(e) EMPLOYMENT

- the first female cargo-handler for Air Canada was hired in the Atlantic Zone (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 374) [+2]
- 92% of women taking maternity leave received renumeration, up from 77% in 1980 (Moloney in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 104-5) [+1]

(f) LEGAL

- a hiring practices precedent was set by the Supreme Court in a case involving C.N. Montreal: companies could be instructed by the Human Rights Commission to hire a pre-determined number of women, thus increasing their access to jobs (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 374) [+2]

(g) MISCELLANEOUS

- Justine Blainey became the first girl to be allowed to play on a leading boy's hockey team, after having been barred in 1985 and subsequently taking the matter to court (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 562) [+2]

- 50% of those enrolled in general sciences at university this year were women, up from 37.9% in 1974 (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1990 and Harvey, 1977 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 208-9) [+1]
- a summary report – *Adjusting the Image* – from a conference on sex-role stereotyping and Canadian broadcasting, outlined the advances made in terms of issues being dealt with: women from both the broadcast industry and the women's movement had moved beyond the problems of sexist language and sex-role stereotyping to issues of dignity, equality and freedom of expression for women (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 397) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the need for women to have their own space on university campuses continued to be challenged: this year, the Women's Centre at the University of Toronto had its funding cancelled by the student government because it excluded men (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 405) [-1]

(b) EMPLOYMENT

- despite equal pay for work of equal value legislation, the Nielson Task Force report this year found that the wage gap was at 65.9% (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 224; Statistics Canada, 1989 in Veevers, 1991, p. 5; Kessler-Harris, 1987 in Wilson, 1991, p. 108; Parliament in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 103) [-1]
- the supply of daycare spaces continued to be well short of the number in demand this year: there were 243,545 spaces for the 1.9 million children under age 13 requiring daycare (Wilson, 1991, p. 37) [-1]
- female entrepreneurs were increasing their numbers faster than males this year, but they were still in the minority: only 9% of all working women were self-employed compared to 17% of all working men (Griffen Cohen in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 206) [-1]
- despite women's advances in the professional job sector, they continued to confront a glass ceiling – most still could not access the top jobs (Kessler-Harris, 1987 in Wilson, 1991, pp. 107-8) [-1]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- a report on the effectiveness of Bill C-31 (having to do with the discrimination suffered by aboriginal women) showed that many forms of discrimination and inequalities remained, in spite of the eradication of the most blatant manifestations (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993, p. 123) [-2]
- the *Meech Lake Accord* was thrown together by an all-male body, without consulting with women's groups, even though it would impact on women's equality rights and future national cost-share programs (e.g. the national daycare program) (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 325) [-1]

(d) LEGAL

- in many hospitals, doctors were still demanding the consent of husbands/fathers before they would perform abortions or sterilizations for women, even though there was no law requiring this (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 394) [-1]

(e) PUBLIC OPINION

- only 47% of Canadians polled agreed that women should work if they had young children (Gallup Poll, 1987 in Wilson, 1991, p. 27) [-1]

(f) POLITICS

- women's numbers in politics were increasing, but they still only constituted 10% of the House of Commons (Torjman, 1988, p. 7) [-1]

(g) MISCELLANEOUS

- women still only made up 10% of all students enrolled in engineering at university (up from 3.2% in 1974) (Association of Universities & Colleges of Canada, 1990 & Harvey, 1977 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 208-9) [-1]
- women continued to enter the traditionally female area of education when enrolling for university (62% this year compared to 63.1% in 1974) (Association of Universities & Colleges of Canada, 1990 & Harvey, 1977 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 208-9) [-1]
- the "feminization of poverty" persisted this year: 59% of all impoverished adults were women (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 544; Kessler-Harris, 1987 in Wilson, 1991, p. 108) [-1]

- Preventing Wife Battering in Canada, a report release this year based on a study by the C.A.C.S.W., found that the number of shelters for battered women had tripled to 264, from 85 in 1982, but the need still greatly exceeded available resources (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 111; Torjman, 1988, p. 43); it was estimated that 1 out of every 10 women were physically abused by their partners this year (Macleod, 1987 in Wilson, 1991, p. 44) [-1]

Total (+34 / -15) = +19

1988

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- N.A.C. started experiencing problems this year but only because they had grown so much that the feminist process (i.e. involvement of all members in decision making) had become impossible to accommodate (Griffen Cohen, M. in Roach Pierson, R. et al., 1993, p. 10): this year they had a group membership of 570 (up from 360 in 1986) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 10; Vickers, 1991, p. 88) [+1]
- The *Congress of Black Women of Nova Scotia* (1987) ballooned, opening local chapters in Halifax, Dartmouth, North Preston, Cherrybrook, Sackville, Beechville and Hammonds Plains (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 203) [+1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- Nova Scotia became the third province to institute equal pay legislation (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 100) [+2]
- Prince Edward Island became the fourth province to adopt equal pay legislation (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 100) [+2]
- the bill that called for Ontario to implement an equal pay for equal work policy for both public and private sector employees (introduced in 1986) became law this year (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 224) [+2]
- the federal government began making preparations for the implementation of a national daycare program through proposed increases to child care subsidies and tax breaks for parents (National Council of Welfare, 1988 in Wilson, 1991, p. 37) [+1]

(c) LEGAL

- the 1969 abortion law was repealed this year: because of unequal access to abortion across Canada, the Supreme Court ruled that this law denied women of their right to life, liberty and security of the person (guaranteed in section 7 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms) (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 170; Finkel et al., 1993, p. 546; Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 33; Wilson, 1991, p.33) [+2]

(d) POLITICS

- the first women to ever hold portfolios of finance and justice were elected this year by the federal government (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 169) [+2]

(e) PUBLIC OPINION

- 70% of Canadians polled believed the decision to have an abortion should be the woman's, in consultation with her doctor (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 170) [+1]
- the number of Canadians who felt that the family had been harmed by married women working was on the decline (48%, down from over 50% in 1982) (Boyd, 1984 in Wilson, 1991, p. 27) [+1]
- 63% of anti-feminists believed that the feminist movement had helped working women (Erwin, 1988 in Wilson, 1991, p. 33) [+2]

(f) EMPLOYMENT

- women's numbers in the job sector were up this year: 66% of all employment growth since 1975 was attributable to the increasing number of women joining the workforce (53% of all women worked outside the home) (Parliament in McKie & Thompson, 1990, p. 100) [+1]

(g) MISCELLANEOUS

- women's studies programs had been established in 44 of the main 59 universities by this year (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 176) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- women's progress in the job sector this year had a downside: 33% of all gains were in part-time work (72% of part-timers were women in 1988, up from 70% in 1975) (Parliament in McKie &

Thompson, 1990, p. 102). Part-time workers typically earned low wages and were ineligible for benefits and making pension plan contributions (Torjman, 1988, p. 9) [-1]

- only 13% of children whose mothers worked outside the home were able to access licensed daycare (Wilson, 1991, p. 55) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- Bill C-144, the federal government's long-awaited plan for childcare, turned out to be as great disappointment: its promised increase of 200,000 spaces over the next seven years came with no guarantees of being accessible to low income families, and it did not matter anyway as the calling of a federal election later in the year effectively ended the bill's progression through the Senate (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 226) [-2]
- for the most part, unmarried mothers were no longer stigmatized, yet only four provinces (Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and New Brunswick) had removed "illegitimacy" as a legal status by this year (Nett, 1988 in Veevers, 1991, p. 15) [-1]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- 89% of anti-feminists polled reported that they believed feminism devalued motherhood (Erwin, 1988 in Wilson, 1991, p. 33) [-2]
- 86% of these anti-feminists also felt that the traditional family was undermined by feminism (Erwin, 1988 in Wilson, 1991, p. 33) [-2]

(d) POLITICS

- women's numbers continued to climb in politics, but they still made up only 13.2% of all M.P.s (compared to 9.6% in 1984) (Wilson, 1991, p. 114) [-1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- a study of women's situation described it as a "reality gap": a distance between women's real life needs and the social welfare programs and services currently offered to meet those needs (Torjman, 1988, p. i). Some examples include (i) a continued societal expectation that women bear the brunt of care giving responsibilities, (ii) the overwhelming failure by health professionals to factor in the systematic difficulties affecting women, and instead diagnosing problems of fatigue and emotional distress as signs of weakness and (iii) the sluggish pace of

change in the workplace in helping to meet family related needs of employees (Torjman, 1988, pp. 1,2,27,46) [-2]

- female-headed families were found to be at four times greater a risk of poverty than male-headed families (National Council on Welfare of Canada in Burt et al., 1993, p. 433) [-1]
- domestic violence showed no signs of abating: of all the murders committed by an immediate family member, half of them involved a woman being killed by her husband (Women in Canada, 1990 in Wilson, 1991, p. 131) [-1]

Total (+19 / -14) = +5

1989

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the Defense Department was ordered to open all military jobs (with the exception of submarines) to women, thus invalidating laws that had prohibited women's access to combat positions ("Forces struggle", 1997, p. 14; Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 28) [+2]
- New Brunswick enacted proactive equal pay legislation, the fifth province to do so (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 100) [+2]
- human rights protection was expanded to cover pregnancy and sexual harassment in the workplace (based on Supreme Court decisions in four separate cases) (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 343) [+1]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- Audrey McLaughlin became the first women to be elected to lead a primary Canadian political party (the N.D.P) (Finestone, 1995, p. 62; Finkle et al., 1993, p. 572; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 25) [+2]
- Beverly McLachlin became the third woman to be appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 272) [+2]
- the Ragweed Press (Charlottetown) created *gynergy books* with the intention of providing a forum for lesbian-feminist readers and writers (Masters in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 407) [+2]

- *Waterlily* was established, thus giving Newfoundland and Labrador a feminist voice for the area (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 202) [+2]
- the N.A.C. worked to mobilize a “Get the Budget on Track” campaign, to draw attention to the federal government’s scheme to blame social programs for the debt, rather than placing it where it belonged – on misguided economic policy (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 288) [+1]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- since 1982, the number of women employed in the social sciences (not including positions as university professors) increased a dramatic 52% (Shea, in “Canadian Social Trends Vol. 2”, 1994, p. 152) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the number of unionized women was on the rise, but overall, they were still very low: 29.4% of all working women belonged to unions , compared to 38% of men (Statistics Canada, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 95) [-1]
- women continued to make up a small minority of union executives (Finestone, S., 1991, p. 63) [-1]
- the wage gap actually widened this year to 65.8%, from 65.9% in 1987 (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 123; Statistics Canada, 1989 in Veevers, 1991, p. 5) [-1]
- job segregation was decreasing, but was still very high (72% of all working women this year were concentrated in jobs such as clerical and teaching, compared to 77% in 1982) (Shea in Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 151) [-1]
- women were still severely underrepresented in the areas of natural sciences, engineering and math: they comprised 19% this year, compared to 15% in 1982 (Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 153) [-1]
- there was a large jump in women’s numbers for managerial and administrative positions, but overall, they were still in the minority (from 5% in 1982 to 11% this year) and a lot of the

increase was the result of a new way of classifying jobs that was started in 1984 (Shea in Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 152) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the federal government's anti-feminist agenda became blatant this year with its simultaneous and unprecedented provision of funding to R.E.A.L. Women (a group committed to the traditional, nuclear family structure) and a 15% cut to the Women's Program in the Secretary of State (whose purpose is to facilitate other group's efforts to gain equality for women – such as the N.A.C.) (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 226; McDonald in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 91) [-2]
- the federal government warned that these cuts to the N.A.C. were only the first of more to come, and the current cuts were being felt immediately: the organization had to begin reducing staff, office space, executive and committee meetings, publications and lobbying efforts (McDonald in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 91) [-2]
- the *Free Trade Agreement* (F.T.A.) came into effect this year, the ramifications of which were quicker and more damaging than its female opponents had even imagined: women's manufacturing jobs began disappearing, many were relocated into their homes where they began doing piecework for less than minimum wage, many had to resort to part-time work and social programs received funding cuts or were cut altogether (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 281) [-2]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- efforts to deal with the increasing problem of date rape on campuses (e.g. "No means no" campaigns) often came up against ridicule and threats (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 548) [-2]
- conflict within the feminist movement persisted: non-white feminists continued to feel as though no progress was being made to eradicate the racism inherent to the feminist movement, and efforts to broach the topic were described by one woman (Glenda Simms) as "incoherent, condescending and patronizing" (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 207) [-1]

(d) LEGAL

- two separate cases this year demonstrated the precariousness of women's new right to abortion (resulting from the 1988 repeal of the 1969 abortion law): in one, a pregnant woman's boyfriend

attempted to prevent her from obtaining an abortion, which was eventually “set aside on technical grounds” (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 335) [-1]

- the other case was similar, except that it was struck down by the Supreme Court – both instances illustrating the fragility of the new law (i.e. that exercising one’s explicit legal right to an abortion could actually end up in the courts) (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 335) {-1}

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- fourteen female engineering students at the University of Montreal were killed by Marc Lepine, a disgruntled male who had held women responsible for his failure to get accepted to engineering school and consequently, for ruining his life: before shooting them with a semi-automatic rifle, he shouted “You’re all a bunch of feminists. I hate feminists” (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 548; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 115; Wilson, 1991, p. 134). This has come to be referred to as the *Montreal Massacre* [-2]
- women were starting to graduate from university in greater numbers than men, but it continued to be from female-dominated areas (e.g. arts) (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 548) [-1]
- for those women who did enroll in male-dominated university courses (e.g. engineering), many continued to endure the intolerable conditions of hostility and blatant sexism from fellow students and instructors (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 548) [-1]
- a study by Hochschild (1989) revealed that women were still doing considerably more housework than men: women averaged 15 hours per week more than men (Wilson, 1991, p. 55) [-1]

Total (+15 / -22) = -7

1990

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- women’s groups were jubilant over the demise of the Meech Lake Accord (1987) this year (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 325) [+2]

(b) POLITICS

- an unprecedented 40% of the Ontario N.D.P. cabinet this year was comprised of women (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 169) [+1]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- formal policy statements on the provision of publicly funded daycare (i.e. that it should be a basic social service accessible to any parent wanting it), were starting to be developed by various labour organizations (e.g. the Canadian Labour Congress, the Canadian Union of Public Employees) (Mayfield, 1990 in Wilson, 1991, p. 37) [+1]

(d) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- June Rowlands became the first female to be elected mayor of a major city (Toronto) (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 170) [+2]
- the first ever World Women's Hockey Championship took place this year (Prest, 1997, p. C1) [+2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- the *Miss Teen Canada Pageant* came to an end this year, because of "drooping ratings and the scorn of feminists" (Dafoe, 1997, p. A12) [+2]
- in spite of continued differential treatment of men and women, "literally thousands" of psychological studies on gender revealed that they were much more similar (e.g. on measures of cognitive ability, dependence, aggression) than commonly thought (Wilson, 1991, p. 3) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the situation remained grim for women working part-time: there was no job security, employment benefits or pension coverage, all of which combined to put these women at a serious economic disadvantage (Wilson, 1991, p. 1) [-1]
- approximately 100 Canadian businesses were currently providing child care programs, but some were doing so only because of union pressure (Mayfield, 1990, in Wilson, 1991, p. 37) [-1]

- the severe daycare shortage only worsened this year: the number of children continued to increase (from 1.4 million in 1971 to 3 million this year), but there was a 6% decline in spaces since last year alone) (Mitchell, 1992 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 60) [-1]
- the wage gap closed only slightly this year: it was 67.6% (compared to 65.8% in 1989) for the general workforce and 72.8% for women with university degrees (Statistics Canada, 1992 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 123) [-1]
- women working in the “traditional job ghettos” remained largely unorganized, and consequently, without the economic benefits of unionization (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 549)
- in the academic employment sector, women continued to be severely underrepresented: they made up 8% of all full professors, 20% of associate professors, 33% of assistant professors and 50% of positions that were subordinate to assistant professors (not drastically different from 1960’s numbers, which were 4%, 10%, 12% and 24% respectively) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 165) [-1]
- women made up only 9% of all federally appointed judges this year, with similar numbers at the provincial level (Baines in Burt et al., 1993, p. 272; Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 338) [-1]
- women working in the ‘traditional job ghettos’ remained largely unorganized, thus making it unlikely that their situation was going to improve anytime soon (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 549) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the Mulroney government re-criminalized abortion with their “compromise” bill that put the power of deciding whether the procedure was necessary back in the hands of the doctors (where it had been prior to the 1988 Supreme Court repeal of the 1969 abortion law) (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 546; Veevers, 1991, p. 25) [-2]
- another 15% was cut from the Women’s Program this year, which resulted in drastic budget cuts for subsidiary women’s groups (e.g. the N.A.C.) and the reduction of services or complete shutdown of women’s centres (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 226); McDonald in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 90-1) [-1]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- a survey by Statistics Canada this year found that the more money wives earned, the greater the likelihood that husbands shared housework responsibilities, however, the division of duties was still far from equal (Statistics Canada, 1990 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 56) [-1]

Total (+12 / -11) = +1

1991

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the federal government's attempt to re-criminalize abortion failed: the 1990 legislation barely made it past the House of Commons and was then rejected by the Senate (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 170; Finkel et al., 1992, p. 546) [+2]
- subsequent to the *rape shield* law (1983) being struck down, Justice Minister Kim Campbell responded by giving women (for the first time) the opportunity to assist in the formulation of a new law – Bill C-49 (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 332) [+1]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- in order to assist immigrant women with their health needs, the *Regina Immigrant Women's Centre* was opened: it provided information on the promotion of a healthy lifestyle, common ailments and treatments, existing health services and stress reduction techniques (Dusel in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 183) [+2]
- the *Canadian Feminist Periodical Index* was released this year (a collection of information regarding the Canadian women's movement), with plans for future volumes (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 410) [+2]

- there were over 2500 active women's groups in Canada this year (Vickers, 1991, p. 87) [+1]
- lobbying efforts by some women's groups resulted in the designation of December 6th as a *National Day of Remembrance and Action on violence Against Women* by the federal government – a tribute to the women who were killed in the Montreal Massacre (Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 115) [+2]
- the federal funding cuts to nationally sponsored feminist publications in 1990 did lead to the demise of some of them, but a poll this year found that their overall numbers had remained virtually unchanged, due to a support network of communications that had evolved because of these publications (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 409) [+1]
- the following three women's groups were formed by farm women this year, in response to the increasingly fierce competition from large corporate farms that were driving smaller family farms under: (i) *Women for the Survival of Agriculture* (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 273) [+2]
- (ii) the second group established was the *Concerned Farm Women of Ontario* (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 273) [+2]
- (iii) the third new group was the *National Farmer's Union* (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 273) [+2]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- women showed signs of making progress within unions, as evidenced by many federal strikes this year had *equal pay for equal work* demands (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 96) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- the very first women's studies Ph.D. program was approved, to begin at York University in 1992 (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 177) [+1]
- women's hockey was, for the first time, an event in the Canada Games (Prest, 1997, p. C1) [+2]
- women's minor hockey began in Manitoba this year (Prest, 1997, p. C1) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the Supreme Court struck down section 276 – the *rape shield* law that had been enacted in 1983 (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 332) [-2]
- the federal government de-indexed the Old Age Security payments: now O.A.S subsidies would lose value as inflation increased, thus making life much tougher for O.A.S. recipients – especially for those who received no other income (i.e. primarily elderly women) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 274) [-2]
- the federal government's valuation of housework was reflected in the fact that they still had not yet incorporated it into the G.N.P., even though estimates now put its value at 30-40% (Wilson, 1991, p. 47) [-1]

(b) LEGAL

- alimony and/or child support payments continued to be (i) largely insufficient and (ii) received irregularly (if at all), with the responsibility of collection falling solely on the recipient (i.e. predominantly women) (Wilson, 1991, p. 40) [-1]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the body set up to monitor New Reproductive Technologies (*The Canadian Coalition for a Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies*) came under fire from women's groups claiming that (i) the results had been slanted in doctors' and pharmaceutical companies' favor (they stood to gain from the marketing of these procedures) and (ii) interference by the federal government was responsible (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1995, p. 104-5) [-2]

(d) POLITICS

- only 13% of M.P.s in the House of Commons this year, were women (Black in Burt et al., 1993, p. 170) [-1]

(e) EMPLOYMENT

- the segregation of women into a narrow range of jobs was lessening, but not significantly: 71% worked in "traditionally female" areas (e.g. clerical), compared to 72% in 1989 (Shea & Zukewich Ghalam in Statistics Canada, 1994, pp. 144, 151) [-1]
- the wage gap for the general population of full-time, full year employees was 69.9% (compared to 67.6% in 1990) (Mitchell in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, pp. 88, 123; Zukewich Ghalam in Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 144) [-1]
- single mothers were coming to rely more and more on welfare (instead of employment) for income: for these women, it was becoming increasingly difficult to cover the costs of child care and general living expenses with their low wages (Wilson, 1991, p. 41) [-1]
- in an increasing number of instances, women had no choice but to accept welfare: re-entering the workforce was becoming more and more problematic because of (i) their inexperience/out-dated experience, (ii) their lack of seniority, (iii) the lack of value attached to their homemaking skills and (iv) in some cases, age discrimination (Wilson, 1991, p. 41) [-1]

- women comprised only 8.8% of full professors, 20.5% of associate professors and 35.4% of assistant professors (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 166) [-1]
- family matters still took women away from work more than men (11% of women in two-parent families with at least one pre-schooler, lost time compared to 2% of similar men) (Zukewich Ghalam in Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 145) [-1]
- the need for daycare continued to rise, and the supply remained virtually unchanged (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 279) [-1]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- although insightful, Margaret Atwood's article *Pornography* (1991) revealed a grim finding from Scandinavian studies: a connection was found between watching a sexually violent film and an inclination toward violence afterwards (Tobias, 1997, p. 185) [-2]

Total (+24 / -18) = +6

1992

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- Bill C-49 came into effect this year: it was not as strong as the women's organizations (who were involved in its formulation) would have liked, but it was nevertheless a strict outline to be followed with regard to rape cases (e.g. it would help to determine whether a woman's past sexual history was admissible) (Bourne, P. in Roach Pierson, et al., 1993, p. 332) [+2]
- the federal government enacted long-awaited laws which prohibited discrimination based on one's sexual orientation (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 343) [+2]

- women's health issues, which had historically been given insufficient attention, were starting to receive greater recognition: the implementation of the federal *Breast Cancer Research Initiative* this year was one example (Finestone, 1995, p. 37) [+2]
- in spite of overwhelming opposition (from all federal and provincial levels of government, the trade union movement, the Assembly of First Nations, and the business sector), feminists (working through the N.A.C.) contributed to the defeat of the *Charlottetown Accord* in the October referendum – like the Meech Lake Accord, it contained no input from women's groups and would undermine equality, social programs and women's political progress (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 227; Bourne & Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 1, 325) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Canadian Women's Health Network* (a nation-wide self-help health paradigm for women) began organizing this year (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, pp. 117-118) [+2]
- *MATCH* was working to facilitate women's progress beyond Canada's borders: the group joined forces with other non-governmental organizations from Canada and around the world, in order to persuade the U.N. to add women's rights to their 1993 *World Conference on Human Rights* agenda (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 374) [+1]

(c) POLITICAL

- for the first time in Canada's history, there was a female Prime Minister: Kim Campbell came into power this year (Finestone, 1995, p. 62) [+2]

(d) LEGAL

- the law was starting to come around with respect to obscenity: the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that "if true equality between male and female persons is to be achieved, we cannot ignore the threat to equality resulting from exposure of audiences to certain types of violent and degrading material" and that "[m]aterials portraying women as a class of objects of sexual

exploitation and abuse have a negative impact on the individual's sense of self-worth and acceptance" (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 114) [+2]

(e) PUBLIC OPINION

- the objectives of the women's movement were gaining favor amongst Canadians: 71% of young adults (18-29) years and 60% of the overall population supported these objectives, according to a Gallup poll this year (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 231) [+1]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- the first Ph.D. program in women's studies began this year at York University, just one year after it was approved (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 177) [+2]
- two more time-honored traditions were cancelled because of lack of viewer interest and pressure from feminists – the *Miss Canada Pageant* and the *Miss Toronto* beauty contest (Dafoe, 1997, p. A12; Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 108) [+2]

3. SETBACKS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the Charlottetown Accord was introduced by the federal government this year, and just like the Meech Lake Accord (1987), it contained no input from women's groups (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993 p. 325). Most feminists opposed it because it undermined equality, social programs and women's political progress (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 227; Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 325) [-1]
- the Mulroney government eliminated the Family Allowance payments this year (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 17; Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 226) [-2]

- Mulroney's government also changed child care tax deductions so the only families that really benefited were those in upper income brackets (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 226; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 282) [-2]
- also on the federal government's chopping block was the *Cooperative Housing Program*, which helped to fund the 20 co-ops across the country that provided housing for women (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 276) [-2]
- the *Court Challenges Program* was eliminated this year by the federal government – a source of financial support for both L.E.A.F. and for disadvantaged groups attempting to challenge aspects of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 331) [-2]
- immigrant women seeking work as nannies or caregivers (predominantly women) were seriously hampered by Prime Minister Mulroney's new *Live-in Caregiver Program* which tightened the educational, language and experience requirements, thus effectively reducing their numbers by 50% within eight months of its enactment (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen 1995, p. 20) [-2]
- the affirmative action policy currently in place at the federal and provincial levels in most provinces, was ineffective: it merely asserted that men and women should be treated equally when they are the same (i.e. when women were competing against men on men's terms, for positions that were formulated and prescribed by men) (Burt in Burt et al., 1993, p. 223) [-2]
- a study on violence against women, commissioned by the federal government, was criticized by some as being unnecessary (action was what the situation required) and by others because there was not enough diversity amongst those involved (e.g. no women of color or disabled women had been appointed), thus resulting in several women's groups revoking their support (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 547) [-2]
- the amendments to the Indian Act (1985) had thus far, failed to deliver the equality it had promised to aboriginal women, as evidenced by the government's approving the participation of

male aboriginal leaders in upcoming Constitution reform talks, while denying the N.W.A.C.'s (Native Women's Association of Canada) request (Weaver in Burt et al., 1993, p. 92) [-2]

(b) POLITICS

- women's numbers in politics were still very low: they comprised 13% of the House of Commons this year (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 25) [-1]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- as expected, the Free Trade Agreement (1989) had contributed to the reduction of 125,000 full-time jobs for women and an increase of 69,000 part-time jobs for them – since 1990 alone (Armstrong, 1993 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen 1995, p. 281) [-1]
- women's union membership was increasing but they still made up only 41% of all members (up from 40% in 1989) (Finestone, 1995, p. 63) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- husbands' contribution to housework remained unchanged: studies this year showed that men had not appreciably increased their time at these tasks since 1975 (McDaniel in Burt et al., 1993, p. 431) [-1]
- a study this year by the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity found that women's sport was severely underrepresented in the print media compared to men's: just 3% of the sports pages in national newspapers contained material about female sport, while men's took up 92% (Finestone, 1995, p. 55) [-2]
- progress with regard to abortion took a step backwards this year when Dr. Morgentaler's Toronto abortion clinic was bombed (Finkel et al., 1993, p. 546) [-2]

Total (+20 / -25) = -5

1993

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the *Women's Health Bureau* was created (within Health Canada) in an effort to make the health care system and women's needs more congruent, by affecting policy, programs and practice (Finestone, 1995, p. 37) [+2]
- a legal grounding for employment equity in federal workplaces was provided this year with the enactment of the *Financial Administration Act* (Finestone, 1995, p. 73) [+2]
- the *Public Service Employment Act* was also established to provide legal grounding for employment equity in federal workplaces (Finestone, 1995, p. 73) [+2]
- federal action was finally taken against stalkers with the creation of federal stalking laws, which were an attempt to protect women from physical attacks and harassment (Marlowe, 1997, p. 8) [+2]
- the *U.N. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women*, which was accepted by the General Assembly this year, was a Canadian initiative (Finestone, 1995, p. 6) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- M.A.T.C.H. and the National Y.W.C.A. from Canada joined with women's groups from around the world, to coordinate a parallel conference at this year's U.N. Conference on Human Rights in Vienna: *The Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights* illustrated, via real women sharing their experiences, the atrocities suffered by women throughout the world (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 374) [+1]

(c) POLITICS

- the first female Deputy Prime Minister of Canada was appointed this year (Finestone, 1995, p. 62) [+2]
- the first female Government Leader in the Senate was chosen this year (Finestone, 1995, p. 62) [+2]
- the first female Clerk of the Privy Council Office was selected this year (Finestone, 1995, p. 62) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- since 1987, funding to women's groups and organizations, and consequently women-provided services (e.g. battered women's shelters, rape crisis centres), has been cut mercilessly (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 282) [-1]
- women's demands have come to be seen as "special interest group" requests by the government and society (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 282) [-1]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- attempts by some feminists to create new and more positive perceptions of lesbianism, has created internal conflict within the women's movement, which still exists today (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 106) [-1]
- progress has been made with respect to the problem of racism within the women's movement (e.g. the devotion of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women's 16th annual conference to the problem of racism), but there is still along way to go (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, pp. 207,209) [-1]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- job segregation continued to be a problem: women were still much in the minority in male-dominated occupations (e.g. 2% of construction workers, 9% of transportation workers, 18% of managers in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics) and over-represented in traditionally female jobs (e.g. 71% of all women worked in clerical, service, etc.) and the part-time sector (Finestone, 1995, p. 27) [-1]
- the wage gap closed to 72% (compared to 70% in 1991), but in terms of real value, the gap has been widening: this measure masks the reality of the simultaneous decline in men's wages and the heavy movement of women into the poorly paid part-time and/or contract work sector (now often below minimum wage), which has come to be referred to as "the feminization of the workforce" (Griffen Cohen & Armstrong in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 87-8, 255; Finestone, 1995, p. 20; Zukewich Ghalam in Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 144). In other words, a closing wage gap has become an indication of men's worsening situation rather than an improvement to women's circumstances. [-1]
- in addition, the real value of the minimum wage had been declining since 1975 (down 20-30%) as a result of inflation, and this has affected women worse than men given women's disproportionately large numbers amongst minimum wage earners (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 271) [-1]
- the daycare shortage persisted: there were 363,000 spaces for four million children (Finestone, 1995, p. 24) [-1]
- the Free Trade agreement was still sending shock waves through the Canadian employment sector, especially with respect to women: their manufacturing jobs, wages and working conditions were still declining and poorly paying contract work was on the rise (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 281) [-1]

- there has been a steady decline in money for the training of women (i.e. programs to help them become more employable, such as language courses, general upgrading) (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 190) [-1]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- the N.A.C. Reproductive Technologies Committee and D.A.W.N. joined forces for a grave reason: they were responding to a report from the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies which revealed the recklessness of some Canadian fertility programs that had brought female clients into contact with H.I.V. (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 105) [-2]
- divorce continued to debilitate women financially while boosting men's standard of living: recent government reports showed that women became, on average, 72% poorer while men became 42% richer subsequent to divorce (Bourne in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 339) [-1]
- women comprised 56% of all impoverished people in Canada this year, 60% of which were from female-headed households (Finestone, 1995, p. 21) [-1]
- because women still (i) earn less than men when they are working, (ii) end up with lower lifetime earnings than men, (iii) have a longer life expectancy and thus a greater need for money than men and (iv) are less likely to have been working at a job with its own pension plan (44% of women versus 51% of men), they continue to endure greater hardships than men in retirement (Finestone, S. 1995, p. 32). Consequently, elderly women constitute a disproportionate number of those impoverished (this year, over 70% were elderly women) (Finestone, 1995, p. 21; Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson et al., 1993, p. 273) [-1]
- women's numbers for enrollment in male dominated university programs (e.g. engineering) were still very low (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 165) [-1]
- women continued to shoulder most of the housework: 63% of domestic duties and family care was carried out by women this year (Finestone, 1995, p. 19) [-1]

- married women were found to be nine times more likely to be killed by their spouse than a stranger (Finestone, 1995, p. 42) [-1]

Total (+17 / -18) = -1

1994

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the *Charter Law Development* program was started, and was intended to be a reincarnation of efforts such as the Court Challenges Program (cancelled in 1992), in so far as it was designed to help fund equality test cases (Finestone, 1995, p. 1) [+2]
- the *Declaration on Refugee Protection* was a step forward for immigrant women in that, those trying to escape from harm and persecution in their home countries could now be guaranteed asylum in Canada (Finestone, 1995, p. 50) [+2]
- Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada (a branch of the federal government) gave funding to the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (C.R.I.A.W.) for the purpose of studying organizational structures (including C.R.I.A.W.'s own) to see if progress was being made regarding the eradication of racism (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 194) [+2]
- the federal government cooperated with provincial and territory ministers of health on *Strategies for Population Health* – a plan that took into consideration, all of the interacting forces affecting women, men and children (e.g. social status, income, education) (Finestone, 1995, p. 8) [+1]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- groups such as the N.A.C. and Oxfam were starting to join forces with women from around the world in an attempt to counteract the power of international corporations (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 284) [+1]
- M.A.T.C.H. (a Canadian women's group that attempts to help women beyond the country's borders) was thriving: it was now an independent International in Ottawa, a far cry from its humble beginnings as a "cubby hole in someone else's office" in 1976 (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 370-1) [+1]

(c) POLITICAL

- Liberal Jean Chretien replaced Political Conservative Brian Mulroney as Prime Minister, the effects of which were quickly becoming apparent: the debilitating funding cuts that had come at the hands of the P.C.s were being replaced with the restoration of a cash flow to certain areas (e.g. the Charter Law Development program) (Finestone, 1995, p. 1) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- despite moves by Ontario, Quebec and the Yukon to include sexual orientation in their Human Rights legislation (i.e. disallowing it as a ground for discrimination), the federal government continued to drag its feet on adding something similar to the Canadian Human Rights Act (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 24) [-1]
- the passage of the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (N.A.F.T.A.) this year effectively took a bite out of women's political clout, as an increasing number of decisions affecting Canada were being made at the international level where women had considerably less input (compared to decisions made within our borders) (Griffen Cohen in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen 1995, p. 282-3) [-2]

- efforts by the Ontario N.D.P. government to give same sex couples access to full-family benefits not only failed, it divided the N.D.P. provincial caucus and sparked strong opposition (especially from the Roman Catholic Church) (Roach Picson in Roach Picson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 24) [-2]
- the Ontario provincial government dealt a strong blow to those committed to eradicating the sex industry with its ruling that *lap dancing* was “innocuous” and “not criminal activity”, thus sparking the start of a “mini lap-dancing industry” (Arab, 1997, p. A12) [-2]

(b) POLITICAL

- women were still grossly under-represented among the ranks of judges (132 up from 21 in 1980) and deputy ministers (from 9% in 1985 to 17% this year) (Finestone, 1995, p. 62) [-1]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- a report by the Canadian Banker's Association this year showed what little power women had in these ranks as well: only 12% of upper management positions in the six major Canadian banks were held by women (Finestone, 1995, p. 63) [-2]

(d) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- racism was still alive and well within the women's movement: the persistent and unabated unwillingness of some members of the C.R.I.A.W. to deal with the problem of racism and inclusion compelled Monica Goulet – an aboriginal woman and the president of the C.R.I.A.W. – to resign (Roach Picson in Roach Picson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 194) [-1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- the Roman Catholic Church thwarted attempts to eradicate sexist language: the Vatican dismissed the gender neutral translation of the Church's new universal catechism, keeping the

traditional version in which "man" stood for all of humanity (Roach Pierson in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 175) [-2]

Total (+11 / -13) = -2

1995

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- this year, a *Platform for Action* was adopted at the fourth U.N. World Conference in Beijing China, and the Canadian federal government (through Status of Women Canada) contributed to it by submitting their own national plan which acknowledged problem areas for Canadian women (e.g. that they have yet to achieve equality on many fronts – such as political decision making power, funding for medical research for women's ailments, value for women's work) and outlined steps to be taken to alleviate these problems (e.g. initiate gender based analyses of federal departments and agencies, reduce violence in society, especially against women and children) (Finestone, 1995, pp. i-iii) [+2]
- the federal government made amendments to the criminal code, aimed at reducing women's and children's risk of violence and sexual abuse (e.g. allowing for the application for a peace bond to be made by someone acting on behalf of the victim) (Finestone, 1995, p. 48) [+2]
- the federal government provided funding to female film projects aimed at promoting positive portrayals of women (e.g. Studio D within the National Film Board) (Finestone, 1995, p. 58) [+2]
- a foreign policy statement ('Canada in the World –1995') reiterating Canada's dedication to women globally was put forth by the federal government through its Official Development Assistance program (Finestone, 1995, p. 67) [+1]

- the *Special Measures Initiative Program* was developed by the federal government, designed to facilitate equitable employment conditions for disadvantaged groups (including women) (Finestone, 1995, p. 72) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- this was the inaugural year for W.T.N. (Women's Television Network), a channel geared towards women and based out of Winnipeg (Verhacghc, 1997, p. D8) [+2]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- the majority of the 11,000 Canadians surveyed by Statistics Canada this year agreed that "both husbands and wives should contribute to the household income" (68% of men and 73% of women) (Mitchell, 1997, pp. A1, A10) [+2]
- 52% of those polled by Statistics Canada believed that "having a job is the best way for a woman to be independent" (Mitchell, 1997, pp. A1, A10) [+2]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- a Statistics Canada study this year revealed that women's income was becoming increasingly necessary for family financial survival: it (i) kept over 500,000 families out of poverty in 1995 alone, (ii) exceeded an increasing number of husbands' salaries and (iii) accounted for more and more lone family incomes (from 1% in 1967 to 5% this year) (Lipovenko, 1997, p. A12) [+1]
- well over half of all Canadian women were in the paid labour force this year (Finestone, 1995, p. 27) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- a Statistics Canada survey revealed that women continue to be the ones to give up their jobs for family reasons (Mitchell, 1997, p. A10) [-1]
- well over half of all Canadian women were in the paid workforce this year, but they continued to be segregated into the poorly paid, low status job sectors (e.g. clerical, service) (Finestone, 1995, p. 27) [-1]
- women continued to be under-represented amongst the higher echelons of the workforce: only 20% of senior managers and 31% of appointments to federal agencies were women (Finestone, 1995, pp. 27, 62) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- women's health issues received only 5% of Canadian health research funding this year (Finestone, 1995, p. 36) [-1]

(c) POLITICAL

- women's number remained low in the government: they made up 18% of the House of Commons, 15% of the Canadian Senate and 34% of federal judicial appointments (Finestone, 1995, p. 62) [-1]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- most of the 11,000 Canadians polled by Statistics Canada felt that both parents working was harmful to preschoolers (59% of men and 51% of women) (Mitchell, 1997, p. A10) [-1]
- just under half of those polled by Statistics Canada (46%) believed that "a job is alright but what women really want is a home and children" (Mitchell, 1997, p. A10) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- the portrayal of women in the media continued to be largely erroneous and detrimental, and was only amplified by the foreign media that came into the country (Finestone, 1995, p. 55) [-1]
- despite increasing attention to women's under-representation in sports, they were still not faring well in (i) obtaining sports leadership roles (Finestone, 1995, p. 55) [-1]
- (ii) the coverage of women's sports in the media was still poor (Finestone, 1995, p. 55) [-1]
- (iii) funding and sponsorship were still inadequate for women's sports as well (Finestone, 1995, p. 55) [-1]
- families in which the wife earned more than the husband were two times more likely to be impoverished than if the husband earned more (Lipovenko, 1997, p. A1) [-1]
- 33% of families with only one income from a single mother were living in poverty (Lipovenko, 1997, p. A1) [-1]

Total (+17 / -14) = +3

1996

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- progress was made with the enactment of sentencing reform: crimes believed to be inspired by hate and based on the victim's sex, sexual orientation, race, etc. would receive longer sentences (Finestone, 1995, p. 52) [+2]
- amendments to the *Employment Equity Act* made the military subject to diversity and equality

principles from which they had historically been exempt (Grange, 1997, p. A8) [+2]

Total (+4 / -0) = +4

1997

1. GAINS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the Canadian military prepared a \$1.53 million advertising campaign to attract approximately 500 women for combat jobs (motivated by an attempt to meet a deadline set by the Canadian Human Rights Commission) ("Forces hope to sign", 1997, p. 18) [+2]
- in addition to the marketing campaign, the military implemented (i) occupation title changes, thus removing their inherent male references (e.g. infanteer instead of infantryman) ("Forces struggle to find", 1997, p. 14) [+2]
- (ii) gender awareness workshops for senior officers were also introduced ("Forces struggle to find", 1997, p. 14) [+2]
- (iii) more honorary ranks for civilian women were created within the Canadian military as well ("Forces struggle to find". 1997, p. 14) [+2]
- for the first time in Canadian history, almost half (45%) of unionized workers were women, a group that was becoming increasingly educated (Bourcier, 1997, p. B1) [+1]

(b) LEGAL

- the B.C. Human Rights Commission ruled that breast feeding in public is a fundamental human right: this ruling is based on a case that began six years ago when Michele Poirier received complaints from people at her workplace (surprisingly, mostly other women) for breast feeding her child during an International Women's Day lecture, and was subsequently prohibited by her

employer from continuing the practice ("Breast feeding victory hailed", 1997, p. 8; Mitchell, 1997, p. A12) [+2]

- an attempt by lap-dancing business owners to overturn a ruling that prohibited the activity, failed this year when a group of strippers successfully lobbied the Ontario Court of Appeal to uphold the ban (Arab, P., 1997, p. A12). Currently, at least 50 municipalities (including Toronto, Ottawa, Calgary and Vancouver) have anti-lap dancing bylaws (Arab, 1997, p. A12) [+1]
- a case against a Cambridge, Ontario woman who went swimming topless in a public pool was not only dropped – the city's pool rules were changed in order to treat men and women equally ("Topless case", 1997, p. B2) [+2]
- a move by the Ontario government to disallow pay equity increases for the (approximately) 100,000 women employed in nursing homes, day cares and social service organizations, was ruled as unconstitutional by the Ontario High Court (Rusk, 1997, p. A1) [+2]
- in Manitoba, a fifteen year battle to have spousal benefits for civil servants extended to same sex partners was finally won (Brodbeck, 1997, p. 5; Moncrieff, 1997, p. A12) [+2]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- participation in women's hockey has increased roughly 25% nationally, per year, since 1995 (Bender, 1997, p. 68; Prest, 1997, p. C1) [+1]
- this year marked the 25th anniversary of the N.A.C., which they celebrated by "declaring war" against the government on issues such as funding cuts to women's programs, aboriginal women's rights and pay equity for women ("Women's lobby declares war", 1997, p. 15) [+1]
- in response to the Montreal Massacre (1989), a memorial (14 pink granite park benches, each with one victim's name on it), was set up in a Vancouver park ("Monument irks some", 1997, p. 14) [+2]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- a Statistics Canada study revealed that the increasing numbers of single parent families coincided with an increasing acceptance of them by the Canadian public (MacKenzie, 1997, p. A1) [+1]
- many Canadians polled felt that beauty pageants were nothing more than an outdated embarrassment (Dafoc, 1997, p. A12) [+1]

(e) POLITICS

- the first woman Usher of the Senate was appointed this year (Mary McLaren) (Morris, 1997, p. B2) [+2]

(f) LEGISLATIVE

- plans to legislate and fund midwifery were implemented in Nova Scotia, to help provide a needed service that has been debilitated by health care cuts ("Nova Scotia to regulate", 1997, p. A10) [+2]

(g) MISCELLANEOUS

- for the first time in C.I.A.U. history, women's hockey was recognized as a university sport (Bendler, 1997, p. 68) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- a Canadian Armed Forces survey of 3500 military personnel found that racism and sexism are taken for granted realities in the armed forces (Grangc, 1997, p. A8; "Racism, sexism part of", 1997, p. A2) [-2]

- in spite of orders to increase women's numbers in the military (by the Human Rights Commission) progress has been almost non-existent: since 1989, there has only been a 0.8% rise in the number of women in the military (from 9.9% to 10.7%) ("Forces struggle to find", 1997, p. 14) [-2]
- the record number of unionized women workers this year was regarded as only temporary in light of expected cuts that would eliminate many of these women's jobs (e.g. social services) (Bourette, 1997, p. B1) [-2]
- a grim picture of the male work world that women are entering, was portrayed in an article which outlined rules "women working in a man's world" should know, including (i) not trying to be "one of the guys" because it would never happen, (ii) always look your best, (iii) being prepared for the inequities in pay and rate of advancement and (iv) always leaving the door open (literally) (Laperle, 1997, p. A24) [-2]
- Canada was second only to the United States in terms of ungenerous maternity leave provisions amongst northern countries – Brazil, India, France and Britain all allowed up to one year of paid leave for women (Mitchell, 1997, p. A12) [-1]
- A survey by Royal Trust this year found that the majority (68%) of women felt they jeopardized their chances at advancement if they even took the meager maternity leave that was available to them – and this was from a sample of 656 women with salaries in the top 10% of family incomes (\$137,000 average) (Poon, 1997, p. A19) [-2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the memorial erected in memory of the women who died in the Montreal Massacre was met with criticism by some people: that it would further alienate men was one concern, while one female columnist from Winnipeg argued that we should put an end to "man-bashing ceremonies" and accept that this "lunatic's...actions had nothing to do with any other man on the planet" (Lakritz, 1997, p. 4; "Monument irks some", 1997, p. 14) [-2]

- an application was made to the C.R.T.C. for a men's television network (the *Men's Television Canada - The Y Channel*) in response to W.T.N. (1995) (Verhaeghe, 1997, p. D8). The rationale behind the request was that men's issues were getting buried underneath all the emphasis on women's issues (Verhaeghe, 1997, p. D8). Women were quick to point out that (i) most television programming was and had always been geared toward men and (ii) despite what some men might think, women were still experiencing great difficulty in truly being heard, which one more men's network would not help to alleviate (Verhaeghe, 1997, p. D8) [-2]

(c) LEGAL

- an internal federal Justice Department study this year revealed just how ineffective the harassment section of the Criminal Code really was: in addition to the difficulty involved in proving beyond a reasonable doubt that stalking had taken place, there was a serious lack of skill on the part of the police for dealing with such situations (Marlowe, 1997, p. 8) [-1]
- it was also found that proper services for victims of stalking were gravely insufficient (Marlowe, 1997, p. 8) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- the gender divide was not restricted to the adult world: children's toys continued to follow very traditional lines in terms of packaging, marketing and the toys themselves (e.g. girls' toys still consisted of dolls and domestic equipment in soft pastel colored packages, while boys were still bombarded by guns, warriors and super heroes in black boxes (Munroe, 1997, p. A28) [-1]
- the incidence of eating disorders continued to rise this year, and many blamed the media and its unrealistically thin images of women (Moncrieff, 1997, p. C1) [-1]
- the general message of women's magazines was that (i) equality had been achieved, but that this was not enough, (ii) women need men to complete their lives and (iii) no matter what you look

like, you can always improve on it (Bruneau, 1997, p. 7) [-1]

Total (+30 / -20) = +10

Appendix 2: American Women's Status

The numbers in parentheses [] are the values I have assigned to each point. The net totals follow each year's data. See 'data evaluation' in the Methodology chapter for a more detailed explanation.

1970

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women* formed to assist the State commissions in becoming more independent, and having a stronger national voice (National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year – N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) [+2]
- the *Women's Affairs Division* of the League of United Latin American Citizens was established (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503; Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]
- the *North American Indian Women's Association* was created (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]
- the *Women's Action Organization of State* was organized, constituting the first women's caucus in the federal government, which aimed at helping women in foreign affairs agencies (i.e. eradicating discrimination and facilitating equality within) (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) [+2]
- Chicana feminists formed the *Comision Feminil Mexicana* (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]
- *Redstockings* (the predecessor of Radical Lesbians) began (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]
- the biggest women's rights demonstration to date – the *Women's Strike for Equality* – took place (Faludi, 1991, p. 457) [+2]
- Playboy's offices at Grove Press were overtaken by women during a demonstration protesting the magazine's existence (Gatlin, 1987, p. 135) [+2]
- discrimination against female employees at Newsweek and Ladies Home Journal was protested via sit-ins (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]
- Time, Life, Fortune, and Sports Illustrated faced lawsuits as a result of discrimination against women employees (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]

- press women from across the country began raising opposition to the unrealistic portrayal of women in the media (e.g. disproportionate depictions of women as unintelligent housewives despite the fact that almost 50% were in the workforce) (Tobias, 1997, p. 87) [+2]
- Kate Millet's groundbreaking book Sexual Politics was released, which exposed the pervasiveness of the masculine ideal in "white male, western literature", and in so doing, brought much public attention to the women's movement (Ruth, 1998, p. 490; Roach Pierson in Roach Picson et al., 1993, p. 105) [+2]
- Women Today, a newsletter designed to facilitate the women's movement, began publication, with nation-wide distribution (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 502) [+2]
- the *Feminist Press* was organized (Tobias, 1997, p. 196; Gatlin, 1987, p. 155) for the purposes of (a) eradicating sex-role stereotypes in text books and (b) retrieving women's writings (Gatlin, 1987, p. 155) [+2]
- a women's liberation issue was published by Time (with Kate Millet on the cover) (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- the first official sex discrimination charges were brought against the University of Maryland by the Women's Equity Action League (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 502; Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+1]
- in an attempt to relieve the financial and emotional difficulties brought about by traditional divorce laws, California instituted "no-fault divorce" which permitted the dissolution of a marriage on grounds of irreconcilable differences (Tobias, 1997, p. 265; Simon & Danzinger, 1991, p. 104) [+2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- the E.R.A. was re-introduced in the House (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) after a twenty-two year hiatus, where it was debated and passed by a huge margin (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, pp. 502-3) [+2]

- the *Uniform Marriage and Divorce Act* was released, which was grounded on the understanding that (a) marriage was an economic partnership and (b) the contribution of homemakers had economic value (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) [+2]
- low income women were given a reprieve with the *Public Health Services Act* passed by Congress this year, which assisted them financially in their family planning efforts (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]

(d) POLITICS

- the first Asian female was elected to Congress (Democrat of Hawaii, Patsy Mink) (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503; Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]
- the first female with a women's rights agenda was elected to Congress (Bella Abzug) (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- the United Auto Workers (U.A.W.) was the first major union to endorse the E.R.A. (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 502; Tobias, 1997, p. 265; Gatlin, 1987, p. 118) [+2]
- the U.A.W. was also the first major union to support the revocation of the abortion laws (Gatlin, 1987, p. 118) [+2]
- a method of calculating '*wages for housework*' was put forth by feminist Pat Mainardi (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+1]
- "The Evolution of Female Personality" – the first formal women's studies course – was offered at Cornell University (Tobias, 1997, p. 265) [+2]
- 43.3% of all women were in the workforce this year, constituting 38.1% of the total workforce (Ruth, 1998, p. 347) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- after passing in the House (by a huge margin), the E.R.A. went to the Senate for debate and was defeated (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, pp. 502-3) [-2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- there was dissention amongst feminists as lesbians protested at the 'Second Congress to Unite Women', in reaction to Betty Friedan's attempts to oust them (Friedan had referred to lesbians as the "lavender menace") from N.O.W. (Gatlin, 1987, p. 119) [-2]

(c) POLITICS

- only 11 of the 435 members of the House of Representatives were women (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) [-1]

(d) LEGAL

- for all its good, 'no-fault divorce' was based on the unrealistic assumption that newly divorced women would be able to find "gainful" employment relatively quickly (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 104) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- women were concentrated in traditional academic areas (they made up 75% of graduates from education) and sparse in male dominated fields (1% of engineering graduates were women, as were 9% of business management graduates and 14% of physical science graduates) (Gatlin, 1987, p. 155) [-1]

Total (+51 / -8) = +43

1971

1. GAINS

(a) LEGAL

- the Supreme Court began objecting to the exclusion of women from various occupations and public duties (e.g. jury duty) (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 407) [+2]
- in the groundbreaking *Reed v. Reed* case, an Idaho law which favored men over women as executors of estates, was struck down by the Supreme Court as a violation of the 14th Amendment (N.C.O.I.W.Y. , 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503); it was the first of several cases to challenge the 5th and 14th Amendments , and led to their eventual inclusion of sex discrimination (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 60) [+2]

- the *bona fide occupational qualification* (which permits employers to hire on the basis of sex for specific positions – e.g. only hiring women to be wet nurses) was ruled illegal in a case involving Pan American Airlines, who hired only females as flight attendants because of alleged “customer preference” (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 59) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *National Women's Political Caucus* (N.W.P.C.) was established, with the purpose of furthering women's political efforts (e.g. working to increase women's numbers in the political arena, fighting for women's issues such as the E.R.A) (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503; Tobias, 1997, p. 89; Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 548; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 22) [+2]
- the *Women's National Abortion Coalition* was formed this year, in an effort to have the anti-abortion laws rescinded (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) [+2]
- virtually all of the professional associations and academic disciplines had independent women's coalitions by this year (Gatlin, 1987, p. 118) [+1]
- a public “speak out” on rape was coordinated by New York Radical Women (Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+2]
- after attempting to rid itself of lesbians a second time (the first time was in 1970), N.O.W. eventually came to accept their plight as a valid women's issue – as a result of pressure from lesbians and Kate Millett's ‘coming out’ as a bisexual while she held office in N.O.W. (Chair of New York N.O.W.'s Education Committee) (Tobias, 197, p. 265; Gatlin, 1987, p. 119) [+2]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- Ms. magazine's first incarnation appeared in New York magazine as an insert (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503; Tobias, 1997, p. 206) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) MISCELLANEOUS

- the media's coverage of the women's movement was unsurprisingly inaccurate; it proclaimed this year that the movement was already “dead”, just a “fad” and a “bore” (Faludi, 1991 in Ruth, 1998, p. 37) [-2]

- President Nixon managed to “re-stigmatize” daycare when he rejected the *Comprehensive Child Development Act* (which would have led to federally subsidized day care) (Tobias, 1997, p. 266; Gatlin, 1987, p. 212): he argued that non-familial child care would “Sovietize” America, and in doing so, he reinforced the notions that the nuclear family was preferable and that women should be the ones providing child care (Gatlin, 1987, p. 212) {-2}

Total (+17 / -4) = +13

1972

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- *Title IX* of the Educational Amendments came into effect this year (“No person in the U.S. shall be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance”) (Ruth, 1998, p. 412; Gatlin, 1987, p. 201) [+2]
- the E.R.A. was passed by Congress (in a vote of 84 to 8) and then passed on to the individual states for ratification (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 420; Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 554) [+2]
- 21 states immediately ratified the E.R.A. upon receiving it, this year (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 420; Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 554) [+2]
- that there were no alterations to the E.R.A.’s final wording, was considered by feminists to be their first major accomplishment in the re-vitalized fight for the E.R.A. (Tobias, 1997, p. 135) [+2]
- the E.R.A. was publicly endorsed by (a) both the Democratic and Republican Party platforms (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) and (b) the League of Women Voters (Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+2]
- the *Equal Employment Opportunity Act* was ratified (it prohibits sex discrimination in employment) (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503; Gatlin, 1987, p. 201), thus giving the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (E.E.O.C.) the power to enforce sex

discrimination stipulations (e.g. suing offending employers in federal court) (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 59) [+2]

- the scope of the *Equal Pay Act* was expanded, now applying to administrative, professional and executive employees (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) [+1]
- sex discrimination came under the power of the Civil Rights Commission (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) [+1]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *National Conference of Puerto Rican Women* was established (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503; Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+2]
- *C.O.Y.O.T.E.* ("Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics") – a union was formed by prostitutes (Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+2]
- the *National Commission on Consumer Finance* was coordinated by President Nixon, which helped to increase public awareness of the inequitable treatment of women within the credit industry (Tobias, 1997, p. 107) [+2]
- N.O.W.'s Legal Defense and Education Fund convinced the American Advertising Council to run various poster ads as a public service: these depicted a reversal of common stereotypes (e.g. "Hire him. He's got good legs") (Tobias, 1997, p. 204) [+2]
- the *Ms. Foundation* was started, for the purpose of facilitating women's projects (Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+2]
- Women's Studies Newsletter started being published by the Feminist Press (Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+2]
- the first full, independent issue of Ms. was produced (Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+1]

(c) POLITICS

- the Democrats followed the Republicans earlier lead by requiring that the party be represented by an equal number of male and female delegates at the national convention (Tobias, 1997, p. 246) [+2]
- the Democrats nominated Frances Farenthold (Texas legislator) to be their vice presidential candidate (Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+2]

- Ann Armstrong became the Republican National Convention's first female keynote speaker (Tobias, 1997, p. 266) [+2]

(d) LEGAL

- the Supreme Court ruled that classifications based on sex would henceforth be justified only if there were "compelling" circumstances (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 60) [+2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- women were formally permitted to enter the Boston Marathon for the first time in history (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 37) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICS

- women's numbers in politics were still very low despite a 28.2% increase of women elected to state legislatures and a 16% increase in the number of Congresswomen in the House of Representatives (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503) [-1]

(b) MISCELLANEOUS

- although still largely unorganized, Phyllis Schlafly began coordinating the *Stop E.R.A.* campaign: they were comprised mostly of housewives and people from fundamentalist religions, and they were opposed to the idea that there were few, if any, inherent differences between men and women (Freeman, 1984 & Wilson in Wilson, 1991, p. 124) [-2]
- the January issue of Playboy featured complete nudity, the first magazine to do so (Veevers, 1991, p. 124) [-2]
- for all of its good, Title IX still permitted inequities in admissions and athletics (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 412) [-2]
- a study found that since 1970, ads showing women as professional athletes decreased while ads with women in "decorative roles" (e.g. in a bathing suit draped across a car) increased (Wagner & Banos, 1973 in Poe, 1976, p. 188) [-2]

Total (+37 / -9) = +28

1973**1. GAINS****(a) LEGAL**

- the landmark *Roe v. Wade* ruling was made this year, which effectively brought the decision to have an abortion within the jurisdiction of one's constitutional right to privacy (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 413; Tobias, 1997, p. 267; Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 555; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 111; Veevers, 1991, p. 43) [+2]
- *sex categorizing* in advertisements for employment was deemed to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court (Tobias, 1997, p. 267) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the E.R.A. had been ratified by 30 states by this year, needing only eight more before it could be passed (Tobias, 1997, p. 267) [+1]
- the E.R.A. got an official endorsement from the American Federation of Labor -Congress of Industrial Organizations (Tobias, 1997, p. 267) [+2]
- the Foreign Assistance Act was amended (the *Percy Amendment*) for the purpose of directing funding towards facilitating efforts to integrate women (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504) [+2]
- the *National Women's Education Fund* was established to help women develop the skills needed for political campaigning and holding political office (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 24) [+2]
- the 'women only' sectors in the U.S. military were eradicated this year, and men's and women's units were officially integrated (Tobais, 1997, p. 171) [+2]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- AT&T officially eliminated their inequitable pay scale this year when they signed an agreement with the E.E.O.C. and the Labor Department, which included (a) approximately \$15 million being paid out to female employees in back-pay and (b) a plan to help women and minorities establish goals and a time-plan for meeting them (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 503; Tobias, 1997, p. 267) [+2]

(d) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *National Black Feminists' Organization* was established (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504; Tobias, 1997, p. 221; Gatlin, 1987, p. 118) [+2]

(e) POLITICAL

- the first female page was nominated by Congress (Tobias, 1997, p. 267) [+2]

(f) PUBLIC OPINION

- a public opinion poll found that premarital sex was considered to be acceptable behavior by 66% of Americans (Veevers, 1991, p. 43) [+2]
- roughly 50% of Americans polled felt homosexuality was permissible (Veevers, 1991, p. 43) [+2]

(g) MISCELLANEOUS

- the now infamous “battle of the sexes” tennis match between Bobby Riggs and Billie Jean King took place this year – she beat him in straight sets (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504) [+2]
- in excess of 560 feminist newspapers and magazines had come onto the scene since 1968 (Tobias, 1997, p. 205; Gatlin, 1987, p. 157) to (a) offset the media’s lack of coverage of the women’s movement, (b) correct the misinformation in the little coverage that did occur and (c) facilitate communication between women (Gatlin, 1987, p. 157) [+1]
- homosexuality was officially declared to be “a lifestyle preference” by the American Psychological Association, thus removing it from the list of diseases/neurosis (Veevers, 1991, p. 16) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGAL

- the *Roe v. Wade* decision was limited by the stipulations that (a) the state could become involved anytime after the first trimester and prohibit the abortion and (b) abortion was merely a choice – there was no guarantee that women could get one (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 413; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 111) [-2]

- the legal definition of obscenity was virtually neutralized this year when the Supreme Court amended it to permit "frank sexual description" thus leading to an explosion of female-degrading pornography (Tobias, 1997, p. 183) [-2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- anti-abortionists were organizing, as evidenced by the 50 bills that were introduced this year, all of which attempted to limit the *Roe v. Wade* decision (Faludi, 1991, p. 412) [-1]

(c) POLITICAL

- women comprised a mere 3.7% of the members of Congress – an all time high (Banks, 1981, p. 161) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- forces opposing the E.R.A.'s ratification began rallying this year (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 554) [-1]
- a sociological study (by Lenore Weitzman) of children's texts found heavy sex-stereotyping (e.g. men portrayed as active investigators and women as passive and intellectual inferiors) (Tobias, 1997, p. 204) [-2]

Total (+28 / -9) = +19

1974

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the E.R.A. was ratified in two more states (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 420) [+1]
- the *Fair Labor Standards Act* was expanded to include in excess of 1.5 million domestic service workers (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504) [+1]
- *Women's Equality Day* became public law (93-392), as a tribute to the adoption of the Suffrage Amendment (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504) [+2]
- the *Housing and Community Development Act* came into effect, making sex discrimination illegal in the implementation of (a) community development programs and (b) federal mortgage loans (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504) [+2]

- an amendment to the *Civil Rights Act* (1968) disallowed sex discrimination in the financing, sale or rental of housing (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504) [+2]
- the *Equal Credit Opportunity Act* was enacted (Public Law 93-495) making it illegal to refuse credit based on one's sex or marital status (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504) [+2]
- the *Women's Educational Equity Act* was enacted, to facilitate the subsidization of programs aimed at rectifying the effects of sex-role stereotyping in children's school texts (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 45) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- the practice of automatic dismissal of pregnant school teachers in the fourth month of their pregnancy was deemed to be a breach of the 14th Amendment by the Supreme Court in *Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur* (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 61) [+2]
- the necessity of corroboration in rape cases was eliminated in New York State (Tobias, 1997, p. 267) [+2]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *Coalition of Labor Union Women* (C.L.U.W.) was formed (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504; Tobias, 1997, p. 267; Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 549; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 58), with 3000 women from 58 unions attending the founding meeting, for the purpose of (a) expanding union jurisdiction to include women's issues (e.g. affirmative action, equal pay) and (b) improving communication between union women and other women's groups (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 549; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 58) [+2]
- the *Mexican American Women's Association* was formed (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504; Tobias, 1997, p. 267) [+2]
- the *Education Task Force* was established by various women's groups, the purpose of which was to (a) ensure that Title IX was being implemented and (b) continue to fight for equality in other areas of education (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 45) [+2]
- New York Radical Feminists continued with their 'speak outs' on rape (Tobias, 1997, p. 112) [+1]

- N.O.W.'s membership ballooned to 700 chapters with a total of 40,000 members (from 14/1000 respectively, in 1967), consisting mostly of educated, professional women (only 17% were homemakers) (Gatlin, 1987, p. 120; Banks, 1981, p. 214) [+1]

(d) POLITICS

- Ella Grasso was elected as governor of Connecticut, the first female to do so in her own right (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504; Tobias, 1997, p. 267; Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 15) [+2]

(e) PUBLIC OPINION

- the majority of the 10,000 viewers polled across the country by the Screen Actors Guild, said they wanted to see women portrayed more positively in the media (e.g. in leading roles, in positions of authority) (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504) [+2]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- Little League Baseball was forced to let girls join (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 45) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICS

- there was a 29% increase in female state legislators, (which only amounted to 8% of the seats), and only 16 of the seats in Congress were held by women (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504; Tobias, 1997, p. 249) [-1]

(b) MISCELLANEOUS

- instead of allowing girls to join, Little League Baseball somehow got away with forming a separate girls softball league (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 45) [-2]
- the *John Birch Society*, Phyllis Schlafly and the *Christian Anti-Communist Crusade* joined forces to launch a libelous anti-E.R.A. campaign – they deemed the E.R.A. a subversive communist plot (Eisler & Hixson in Ruth, 1998, p. 420) [-2]
- an attempt was made by anti-abortionists to prohibit abortions via an amendment to the Constitution (Faludi, 1991, p. 412) [-1]

- homemakers' contribution to the G.N.P. was estimated to be 21%, but this was not included in the actual calculation (Batten, Gray, Hallett, Lewis & Lewis, 1974 in Roach Pierson & Griffen Cohen, 1995, p. 47) [-1]

Total (+30 / -7) = +23

1975

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- Susan Brownmiller's Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape was published, outlining how violent pornography and violence against women were conjoined (Gatlin, 1987, p. 135) [+2]
- women's publications had become entrenched in women's culture (e.g. academic journals, specialized publications), moving beyond their humble beginnings as a means of compensating for the "media blackout and distortion" earlier in the decade (Gatlin, 1987, p. 157); Signs: Women, Culture and Society is one such example, which was published for the first time this year, providing a forum for writings related to women (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [+1]
- for the most part, the goals N.O.W. had outlined in its 1968 Bill of Rights had actualized: improved job access, the right to medically assisted abortion, eradication of sex discrimination regarding credit, a decline in male only scholarships, improved pregnancy benefits and quotas (Tobias, 1997, p. 96) [+1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the E.R.A. was ratified by North Dakota (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 420) [+1]
- President Ford created the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 505) [+2]
- Bella Abzug's idea of a National Women's Conference, to be coordinated and implemented by the National Commission, was made law (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 505) [+2]
- Title IX took effect this year, bringing together over 30 different groups involved with women's education (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 46) [+2]
- federal employees who were delinquent on child support and/or alimony payments were now subject to garnishment, according to a ruling by Congress (Tobias, 1997, p. 121) [+2]

(c) LEGAL

- differential treatment in eligibility for social security was found to be a violation of the 5th Amendment by the Supreme Court (e.g. widowers and widows with dependent children would now be equally eligible) (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 504; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 64) [+2]

(d) POLITICAL

- the first female White House bureau chief of a prominent news service was appointed (Helen Thomas from United Press International) (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

(e) PUBLIC OPINION

- 63% of women in a Harris poll said they agreed with “most of the changes designed to improve the status of women” (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 553) [+2]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- the first women's bank started up in New York City (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [+2]
- Time's “Man of the Year” was twelve women (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [+2]
- in spite of attempts to steer girls away from co-ed baseball by forming a girls softball league in 1974, some girls did manage to join Little League (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 45) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) MISCELLANEOUS

- radical feminism met its demise (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 558) [-2]
- one girl who had managed to join Little League baseball, in spite of opposition from the league, was thrown out of a game because she was not wearing a protective cup on her groin (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 45) [-2]

Total (+25 / -4) = +21

1976**1. GAINS****(a) LEGAL**

- in *Planned Parenthood v. Danforth* the Supreme Court ruled that a women need not have the consent of her own father or the unborn baby's father, to get an abortion (Tobias, 1997, p. 268; Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 595) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- a new child care tax credit compensated working parents for some of the child care expenses they incurred for children under 15 years of age (Gatlin, 1987, p. 212) [+2]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the N.W.C.P. was very active this year, finding out where political candidates stood on women's issues, taking note of the number of women that were involved in decision making with respect to candidates' campaigns, and petitioned for a written promise that the 1980 political convention would be comprised of at least 50% women (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 23) [+1]
- *Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media* (W.A.V.P.M.) was organized, taking action against things such as 'Snuff', a movie that had come out this year, in which the murder of an actress was said to have occurred (Tobias, 1997, p. 183; Gatlin, 1987, p. 135) [+2]
- in an effort to facilitate ratification of the E.R.A., *E.R.America* was established (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [+2]
- the *National Alliance of Black Feminists* was formed (Tobias, 1997, p. 268)
- Pauline Frederick became the first woman to moderate a televised presidential debate (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Marlene Saunders was the first woman to become a network news' vice president (for A.B.C.) (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Ann Compton became the first woman to report from the floor at a political convention (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- for the first time, women were permitted to join West Point (Tobias, 1997, p. 126) [+2]

- the Air Force Academy opened its doors to women for the first time as well (Tobias, 1997, p. 126) [+2]
- the success of women's studies courses had skyrocketed by this year: there were 270 programs with over 15,000 courses being offered, up from 2 /100 respectively in 1969 (Gatlin, 1987, p. 153) [+1]
- singer Anita Bryant led an effort to have gay rights ordinances revoked on Dade County, Florida (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [+2]
- Baby and Child Care was re-edited by Dr. Spock, in order to eliminate its inherent sexual bias (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICAL

- women's numbers at the Republican and Democratic conventions were well short of the promised 50% (31.4% and 34% respectively) (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 505) [-2]
- women still constituted only 9% of seats in state legislatures (Gatlin, 1987, p. 209) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- federal subsidies for abortions were effectively blocked by the Hyde Amendment, Illinois Representative Henry Hyde's abortion exclusion clause (Tobias, 1997, p. 268; Faludi, 1991, p. 412) [-2]

(c) LEGAL

- the Supreme Court decided that General Electric's lack of coverage for disability due to pregnancy was not discriminatory (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [-2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- a study of the portrayal of women in ads in a man's magazine (Playboy), a general interest magazine (Time) and a woman's magazine (Ms.) found that (a) Playboy contained the most ads that were degrading to women, such as those portraying women as sex objects and (b) Ms. contained the most ads that portrayed women positively, such as those showing women as equals with men, but (c) the majority of ads in all of the magazines showed women as sex objects and/or

in traditional roles – an inaccurate picture given that women made up 40% of the workforce this year (Pingree, Parker Hawkins, Butler & Paisley, 1976, pp. 193, 197-8) [-2]

- a groundbreaking study in Redbook found that of the 9000 women surveyed, 88% said that they had experienced “unwanted sexual attention” during their careers (Gatlin, 1987, p. 229) [-2]

Total (+26 / -11) = +15

1977

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the state of Indiana ratified the E.R.A. (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 421) [+1]
- businesses were encouraged to make at least 51% of their boards of directors women, with the passage of the Public Works Employment Act, which set aside a certain number of federal contracts for such firms (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [+2]
- the *National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education* (N.C.W.G.E.) obtained an ordinance allowing them to encourage those offering vocational training programs to eradicate their inherent sexual discrimination against women (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 46) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- the application of Title VII was successfully challenged with respect to sexual harassment: the Federal Court of Appeals ruled that it was indeed a form of sexual discrimination that was disallowed by Title VII (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 63) [+2]
- the application of Title VII was also successfully challenged with respect to pension plans: in *Los Angeles Department of Water and Power v. Manhart*, the Supreme Court agreed with protesting women's rights groups, that it was sexual discrimination to require that women employees contribute more to a pension plan than male employees (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 65) [+2]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the *National Women's Studies Association* (N.W.S.A.) was established as a means of facilitating communication and support amongst a field that had greatly increased in numbers and diversity of interests (Ruth, 1998, pp. xiii, 1) [+2]
- the *National Women's Association* was formed (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [+2]

- the first National Women's Conference was held in Houston, Texas, which was (a) considered to be the first formal acknowledgement of the second wave of the women's movement, (b) was an official show of the U.S.'s participation in the U.N.'s 'Decade for Women' and (c) spawned both the 'National Plan of Action', aimed at getting the E.R.A. passed, and the 'National Women's Conference Committee, who were responsible for carrying out this plan (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 421; Tobias, 1997, p. 109) [+2]
- a pro-choice alliance was formed, including N.W.P.C., N.O.W., and Planned Parenthood, aimed at persuading legislators to support abortion (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 115) [+2]
- the 'Abortion Information Exchange' was established, which was comprised of 20 separate groups working together on abortion issues (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 115) [+2]
- the nation-wide group *Working Women* was created as a means of organizing clerical groups which had historically been ignored by trade unions (Gatlin, 1987, p. 127) [+2]
- Jessica Savitch became the first woman to anchor N.B.C.'s nightly news (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Andrea Kirby became the first female sportscaster for A.B.C. (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

(d) POLITICAL

- President Carter and his wife Rosalynn publicly stated their intentions to lobby for passage of the E.R.A. (Tobias, 1997, p. 109) [+2]
- many feminists were given major appointments within Carter's administration, including Bella Abzug's nomination to the position of presiding officer of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p505) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICAL

- despite Carter's large number of female appointments, only 11% (60 women) occupied top positions in his government (N.C.O.I.W.Y., 1978 in Ruth, 1998, p. 505) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the effects of the Hyde Amendment (1976) were already being felt, as evidenced by three separate cases in which the government opted not to provide funding for abortions; only women with enough money were able to access this option (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 268) [-1]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- 33% of women and nearly 50% of men polled said they did not think family structure had been affected by the women's movement (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 130) [-2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- the *Pro-Family Coalition* was started by Phyllis Schlafly (Tobias, 1997, p. 268) [-2]

Total (+29 / -6) = +23

1978

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the 'Women's Educational Equity Act' was re-authorized for the N.C.W.G.E., thus continuing the financial assistance they needed to monitor the implementation of Title IX (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 46) [+1]
- the 'Pregnancy Discrimination Act' was passed by Congress, making it illegal to discriminate against pregnant women in employment (Tobias, 1997, p. 269; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 61; Gatlin, 1987, p. 201) [+2]
- the "Briggs Initiative", a motion to prevent homosexuals from teaching in California schools, was defeated (Tobias, 1997, p. 269) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- the first class action sex discrimination lawsuit was successful: the New York Times was found guilty of unfair hiring practices and ordered to increase women's numbers at all levels of the news and business departments (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Navy women won their court case, thus enabling them to apply for sea duty; eight women did so this year (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 505) [+2]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- N.O.W. organized the E.R.A. Extension March for Equality in Washington D.C., which drew 100,000 demonstrators in support of extending the deadline for ratification; they succeeded in getting Congress to push the deadline back to June 30, 1982 (Eisler, R. & Hixson, A.C., 1986 in Ruth, S., 1998, p. 421; Tobias, S., 1997, p. 269) [+2]
- 'Take Back the Night' marches started taking place on a nation-wide level, involving groups of women who pressured pornography store owners and customers to stop the perpetuation of pornography (Gatlin, R., 1987, p. 135) [+1]
- some feminists in New York started *Women Against Pornography*, attempting to enlighten uninformed women about pornography; one method was to tour pornography stores (Tobias, S., 1997, p. 184) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- Col. Margaret Brewer was appointed the first female general of the Marine Corps (Blakenship, A., Bezdek, A. & Ruth, S., 1997 in Ruth, S., 1998, p. 505) [+2]
- Le Anne Schreiber became the first female sports editor for the New York Times Mansfield, S., 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Sports Illustrated won its lawsuit, thus enabling women reporters to enter team locker rooms (Mansfield, S., 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- the 'Forgotten Women' clothing boutique was opened, to serve the clothing needs of large women (Aburdene, P. & Naisbitt, J. 1996, p. 205) [+2]
- women working full-time contributed 38% of the total family income (Gatlin, R., 1987, p. 146) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, for all its good, basically required that women be treated the same as men, who never got pregnant; consequently, women still had difficulty getting time off to breast feed, doctor's appointments, etc. (Gatlin, R., 1987, p. 225) [-2]

(b) PUBLIC OPINION

- polls revealed that the majority favored ratification of the E.R.A. in most of the states that had not ratified it (Ruth, 1998, p. 343) [-2]

Total (+23 / -4) = +19

1979

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the C.L.U.W. passed the official goals of (a) working to increase women's numbers on union executive boards, and (b) dealing with issues of comparable worth (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 58) [+2]
- a strike by the public employee union A.F.S.C.M.E. (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) local unit in San Jose for 'equal pay for comparable work' was supported by the union's main chapter, which later adopted this issue as a union goal (Gatlin, 1987, p. 127) [+2]
- Joyce Miller, president of C.L.U.W., became the first women to join the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations) all male Executive Council (Gatlin, 1987, p. 128) [+2]
- groups from in excess of 80 cities country-wide took part in the 'Abortion Rights Action Week', the first campaign of its kind (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 115) [+2]
- New York City saw an anti-pornography march this year, attended by over 5000 feminists (Tobias, 1997, p. 269) [+2]
- Catherine MacKinnon's Sexual Harassment of Working Women was published, in which her now famous analogy "Economic power is to sexual harassment as physical power is to rape" first appeared (Tobias, 1997 p. 114) [+2]
- females enrolled for college in greater numbers than males for the first time in U.S. history (National Council for Research on Women, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 364)

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the extension of the E.R.A.'s ratification deadline was publicly supported by President Carter (Tobias, 1997, p. 227) [+2]

(c) LEGAL

- the courts decided that, under Title VII, an employer could be held accountable in situations where an employee is harassed by a supervisor (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 63) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- for the first time ever, a Jewish congregation had a female as its rabbi (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth in Ruth, 1998, p. 506) [+2]
- evidence of women's emancipation from a sexual double standard could be seen in their rate of premarital sexual activity, which had doubled throughout the 1970's, now almost matching men's rates (Faludi, 1991, p. 404) [+1]
- Meg Greenfield became the first woman editorial page editor for the Washington Post (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICAL

- Bella Abzug's assertion that inflation, unemployment and the federal budget were women's issues, was not received well by President Carter, who fired her when she would not retract her statement (Tobias, 1997, p. 224) [-2]
- T.V. evangelist Jerry Falwell founded the 'Moral Majority' this year, a powerful extreme right-wing religious group, with an agenda to (a) defeat the E.R.A., (b) re-criminalize abortion, (c) censor liberal ideas and (d) enact "pro-family" laws (French, 1992 in Ruth, 1998, p. 145-46; Tobias, 1997, p. 269) [-2]

(b) LEGAL

- E.R.A. opponents challenged the constitutionality of the E.R.A.'s deadline extension in federal court; the judge was high in the Mormon Church and had previously excommunicated a woman who openly supported the E.R.A. (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 421) [-1]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- the Jaycees, an all-male group, banished one of its chapters for not getting rid of its female members, and repealed the charters of other units that failed to comply (Blankenship, Bezdek, & Ruth, 1998, p. 506) [-2]
- the number of women obtaining degrees in male dominated fields had risen since 1970, but it was still extremely low: 9% of engineering degrees, 23% of physical science degrees and 33% of business degrees went to women (compared to under 1%, less than 14% and just over 8% respectively, in 1970) (Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1981 in Gatlin, 1987, p. 155) [-1]
- Erving Goffman's Gender Advertisements was published, which showed how pervasive ads were that degraded women (they were shown as sex objects or as fearful and submissive) in order to portray men as dominant (Wilson, 1991, p. 129-30) [-2]

Total (+23 / -10) = +13

1980

1. GAINS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- 51.5% of all women were in the workforce, compared to 41% in 1970, making up 42.6% of the total workforce (Ruth, 1998, p. 347; Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 562) [+1]
- the U.S. Census Bureau formally discontinued defining the husband as 'household head' (Faludi, 1991, p. 67) [+2]

(b) POLITICAL

- women voters' political clout was realized this year with the emergence of an unprecedented "gender gap" in the election, when more women than men voted for the Democrats; women began voting en bloc over women's rights issues, and it was significant enough to motivate President Reagan to examine ways of fighting it in the next election (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 24; Faludi, 1991, p. 61, 271) [+2]

(c) LEGAL

- the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (E.E.O.C.) adopted official regulations regarding sexual harassment that (a) made such behavior a violation of rights granted by Title VII, (b) specifically detailed conduct qualifying as harassment and (c) clearly stated that one could not excuse such behavior as mere “flirting” or “joking around” (Tobias, 1997, p. 115; Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 601; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 63; Gatlin, 1987, p. 229) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- women’s incidence of mental health problems decreased a dramatic 50-60% since the early 1950’s, and was attributed to their increasing autonomy and economic power (Midtown Manhattan Longitudinal Study in Faludi, 1991, p. 39) [+1]
- a Cosmopolitan study of 106,000 women found more evidence of women’s emergence from the sexual double standard, with 41% reporting that they had had extramarital affairs (vs. 8% in 1948) (Faludi, 1991, p. 404) [+1]
- the Paul White Award, the greatest honor bestowed by the Radio-Television News’ Director’s Association, went to a woman for the first time ever (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- the Feminists Press greatly expanded its scope this year, to include searching for lost women’s literature world-wide (Tobias, 1997, p. 197) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- women made the most substantial employment gain, with an entry rate of 30.5% into the managerial/administrative field (up from 18.5% in 1970), but these numbers were still relatively low (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 76) [-1]
- women made progress in the military, but their numbers were still low: (a) 14 worked for the Coast Guard, compared to 142 men, (b) 61 graduated from the Military Academy, compared to 748 men, (c) the Naval Academy passed 55, compared to 883 men and (d) 97 graduated from the Air Force Academy, compared to 970 men; moreover, the concentration of women in traditional job areas (e.g. clerical) dropped from 90% in 1972 to 50% this year, but this was still a high concentration (Gatlin, 1987, p. 251) [-1]

- a wage gap of 60% (i.e. women earned an average of \$0.60 for every dollar made by comparable men) persisted this year, virtually unchanged since 1960 (Ruth, 1998, p. 353; Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 103) [-1]
- widows over 65 years of age were still suffering the consequences of a lifetime of either not being in the workforce, or working for low wages and minimal (if any) benefits, as 23% of white and 50% of black widows were living in poverty (Gatlin, 1987, p. 193) [-1]
- women attempting to succeed in the military faced opposition from people such as General Robert Barrow, who felt that “[w]ar is man’s work. Biological convergence on the battlefield...would be an enormous psychological distraction for the male who wants to think that he’s fighting for that woman somewhere behind, not up there in the same fox hole with him. It tramples the male ego. When you get right down to it, you’ve got to protect the manliness of war” (Gatlin, 1987, p. 251) [-1]

(b) POLITICAL

- presidential candidate Ronald Reagan showed a glimpse of things to come when he reversed the Republican's long standing position on the E.R.A. by dropping it from the platform (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 421; Tobias, 1997, p. 146) [-2]
- as of this year, only five women had won gubernatorial elections since 1924 (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 25) [-1]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- President Carter's motion to allow women to enlist for peacetime selective service was vetoed by Congress (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 599) [-2]
- once elected, President Reagan went after women full force: he and his administration (a) called for a “pause to further increases in the number of army women (Faludi, 1991, p. 367), [-2] (b) severely cut back subsidies to health and nutrition programs for poor women and children, [-2] (c) reduced the A.F.D.C. (Aid to Families of Dependent Children) child care allowance to well below the actual cost (Gatlin, 1987, p. 184, 193) [-2] and (d) took an official anti-abortion stance (Tobias, 1997, p. 269) [-2]

- RU 486, a drug that causes the abortion of a fetus in the early stage of gestation, was prohibited by the F.D.A. (Tobias, 1997, p. 269) [-2]

(d) LEGAL

- the infamous Hyde Amendment was upheld again this year by the Supreme Court, when a poor woman was denied financial help in obtaining a medically necessary abortion (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 594) [-1]
- 'no-fault' divorce and its debilitating economic consequences for women had invaded all but two states by this year (Tobias, 1997, p. 120) [-1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- the number of women earning doctorates had doubled since 1970, but this was still only 28% (Gatlin, 1987, p. 204) [-1]

Total (+12 / -23) = -11

1981

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the first female justice on the Supreme Court was appointed by President Reagan (Sandra Day O'Connor) (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 407; Tobias, 1997, p. 269) [+2]
- lobbying efforts by the N.C.W.G.E. prevented Senator Hatch's attempt to reduce the scope of Title IX (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 46) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- despite legislation, courts were slow to acknowledge complaints of workplace sexual harassment, but this year's *Bundy v. Jackson* ruling in favor of the plaintiff was a sign that things were turning around (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 410) [+2]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- Mary Ann Dolan became the first female editor of a major city newspaper (*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*) (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Anna Quindlen was the first woman to write the "About New York" column in the New York Times (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

- *District 925 was formed this year when '9 to 5', an office worker's union created in the 1970's, joined forces with S.E.I.U. (Service Employees International Union) (Gatlin, 1987, p. 127) [+2]*
- *there were enough men in support of women's issues to warrant opening the Congressional Women's Caucus to them, and changing its name to the *Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues* (Tobias, 1997, p. 250) [+2]*

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICAL

- Sandra Day O'Connor's appointment to the Supreme Court had a downside: her stance on abortion was not what many feminists had hoped for (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 407-8) [-2]
- amidst all of the political opposition to abortion, sterilization remained fully federally funded, with 97% of welfare mothers' doctors "preferring" this procedure for them (welfare mothers were two to three times more likely to be sterilized than women not on government aid) (Gatlin, 1987, p. 183) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- President Reagan continued his onslaught against women this year: his 'Mandate for Leadership', the basic outline for action during his term, had plans for "countermeasures to minimize feminist power" that was seen as mounting and threatening to "infiltrate" the government (Faludi, 1991, p. 234) [-1]
- President Reagan's 'Family Protection Act' aimed at reversing most of the legal gains made by women: it intended to eliminate equal education laws, forbid co-ed school and sport activities, have marriage and motherhood taught as the "proper career" for girls, cut funds to schools using texts showing women in non-traditional roles, reverse all laws designed to safeguard women against physically abusive husbands, and ban federally subsidized legal aid for women in need of abortion counseling or a divorce (Faludi, 1991, p. 235-6) [-2]
- President Reagan endorsed the 'Human Life Amendment' which would outlaw abortion and some kinds of birth control (Faludi, 1991, p. 236) [-1]
- President Reagan's 'Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act' increased taxes paid by welfare recipients and cancelled their payments altogether if they worked to supplement A.F.D.C.

payments; this affected predominantly single mothers working for very low pay (Gatlin, 1987, p.192) [-2]

- President Reagan attempted to amalgamate 40 separate subsidized education programs into one block grant (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 46) [-1]
- President Reagan immediately began reducing women's numbers in political office: the number of women given judgeships fell from 15% under President Carter, to 8% under President Reagan, and only 62 women worked as official White House staff, down from 132 in 1980; moreover, 62 was a deceptively high number given that women in low ranking jobs were now included in this number as well (Faludi, 1991, p. 257) [-1]
- Senator Hatch attempted to hobble Title IX by reducing its scope of protection Simon R. & Danziger, 1991, p. 46) [-1]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- despite women's movement into male-dominated occupations, their numbers were overall very insignificant (Gatlin, 1987, p. 206) [-1]
- women attempting to obtain male-dominated jobs were discovering that these were becoming de-skilled as the result of routinization (Gatlin, 1987, p. 206) [-1]
- women in male-dominated jobs were also finding that labor unions, one benefit of many such jobs, were starting to lose power (Gatlin, 1987, p. 206) [-1]
- women who had made their way into traditionally male jobs were also met with male prejudice [-1], uncomfortable work climates which were based on procedures intended to test and reward men [-1], and the 'catch 22' of being regarded as abnormal if they did not have families and penalized if they needed time off for family matters [-1] (Gatlin, 1987, p. 208)
- the wage gap widened this year to 59.2%, from 60% in 1980 (Ruth, 1998, p. 353; Gatlin, 1987, p. 232) [-1]
- women's sexual lives in the military were watched much more closely than men's: women were two-and-a-half times more likely to be discharged from the Navy for homosexuality, and six times more likely to be discharged for this reason from the Army (Gatlin, 1987, p. 252) [-1]

(d) LEGAL

- the E.R.A. deadline extension was voided by a judge's ruling, which the Supreme Court merely stayed pending its ratification (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 421) [-1]
- the Hyde Amendment was upheld yet again, in *Harris v. McRae* (Gatlin, 1987, p. 182) [-1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- although women's numbers in the traditionally female field of education were declining (only 17.5% enrolled this year, down from 36% in 1971), their numbers in traditionally male areas were not significantly improving: only 16% enrolled in management, up from 3% in 1971, and 4.3% in engineering, up from 1.6% in 1970 (Gatlin, 1987, p. 203-5) [-1]
- women comprised only 10% of full professors, but in excess of 50% of the low-ranking instructor/lecturer jobs were filled by women (Gatlin, 1987, p. 206) [-1]
- women spent an average of 15 hours per week more than men, doing housework (Dr. Arlie Hochschild in Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 98) [-1]
- a rise in the rate of divorce, the large number of divorced fathers who were delinquent with child support payments and the wage gap together helped to explain the "feminization of poverty": female-headed households were three times more likely to be impoverished than male-headed ones (Gatlin, 1987, p. 146) [-1]
- there was a severe shortage of battered women's shelters this year: in New York, the five shelters turned away 85% of all women seeking help, because they had no room (Gatlin, 1987, p. 146) [-1]

Total (+14 / -27) = -13

1982

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- membership in N.O.W. was the highest it had ever been, at 220,000 (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 144) [+1]

- C.L.U.W. made an unprecedented move when they joined forces with Washington, D.C. and Baltimore area international unions, in an attempt to coordinate non-unionized groups (Gatlin, 1987, p. 220) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- President Reagan's (1981) debilitating 'Family Protection Act' was introduced to Congress, but failed to be ratified (Gatlin, 1987, p. 269) [+2]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- sexist terms were removed from Roget's Thesaurus (e.g. *mankind* became *humankind*)
(Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 506) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- a federal advisory council's study on the effect of the wage gap indicated that 50% of female-headed families would be "instantly lifted out of poverty" if the wage gap was eliminated (Faludi, 1991, p. 25) [-1]
- the Bureau of Labor Statistics/U.S. Department of Labor reported this year that women continued to be concentrated in the lowest paying job sectors, (e.g. apparel production and health services), and that jobs offering the best wages had the fewest female employees (e.g. petroleum and lumber products) (Gatlin, 1987, p. 214-15) [-1]
- in response to President Reagan's desire to halt women's military progress, the U.S. Department of Defense added 23 occupations to its list of jobs that were off limits to women (e.g. carpenter, plumber, interior electrician), which it outwardly justified on the grounds that (a) women could not lift heavy objects and (b) these were now considered to be 'combat' jobs since their recent and coincidentally timed reclassification (Faludi, 1991, p. 367; Gatlin, 1987, p. 251) [-2]
- instead of attempting to remedy the problem, the army's increased incidence of sexual harassment was used to justify the discontinuation of co-ed training units (Gatlin, 1987, pp. 251-2) [-2]

(b) POLITICAL

- the anti-E.R.A. campaign continued to gather momentum with the re-emergence of a

'protectionist' ideology: women, as wives and mother, needed to be "protected" legislatively (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 22) [-2]

- in spite of the fact that the majority of U.S. states and people were in favor of the E.R.A., it was defeated, failing to achieve ratification in the three required additional states (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 421; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 22; Gatlin, 1987, p. 269) [-2]
- Phyllis Schlafly opened a new office in Washington D.C. in order to tackle issues over and above defeating the E.R.A. (Gatlin, 1987, p. 269) [-2]
- President Reagan cemented the erroneous belief that men's growing unemployment was due to an increase in working women: "...part of the unemployment is not as much a recession as it is the great increase of people going into the job market, and – ladies, I'm not picking on anyone but... because of the increase in women who are working today"; in actuality, the increase of employed women was predominantly in job areas that men turned down, such as those in sweatshops and fast food service (Faludi, 1991, p. 67-8) [-1]

Total (+7 / -13) = -6

1983

1. GAINS

(a) POLITICAL

- the 'Economic Equity Act' was brought before Congress, two sections of which passed, resulting in improvements to support payments and retirement benefits (Tobias, 1997, p. 270) [+2]

(b) MISCELLANEOUS

- Sally Ride became the first woman to travel in space, in the "Challenger" (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 506; Tobias, 1997 p. 270) [+2]
- Alice Walker won a Pulitzer Prize for 'The Color Purple', the first African American woman to do so (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 506) [+2]
- numerous studies over the year revealed that American women and men were adopting increasingly egalitarian attitudes regarding sex roles (Thornton, Alwin & Camburn, 1983; Cherlin & Walter, 1981; Thornton & Freedman, 1979; Mason, Czajka & Arber, 1976; Ferree, 1974; Erskine, 1971 in Boyd, 1984, pp. 3-4) [+1]

- within ten years of starting up, there were 379 women's periodicals in print, according to the Directory of Women's Media (Gatlin 1987, p. 157) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICAL

- women's numbers in the state legislatures had risen since 1976, from 9.1% to 13.3% this year, but this was still extremely low compared with men's numbers (Gatlin, 1987, p. 209) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- despite 230 House co-sponsors, the E.R.A. failed to pass by six votes, after being re-introduced in Congress this year (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 421) [-1]
- the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, responsible for ensuring equal opportunity for women and minorities, had been the target of severe cutbacks since 1979, resulting in (a) a 50% reduction of enforcement officers, (b) an overall budget cut of 35% and (c) a drop in back pay settlements, from \$9.3 million in 1980 to \$600,000 this year (Faludi, 1991, p. 369; Gatlin, 1987, p. 202-3) [-1]
- the Smith Amendment was enacted, which disallowed abortion coverage for all employee benefit plans within the federal sector (Gatlin, 1987, p. 226) [-2]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- women were unsuccessful in their attempts to enter the blue collar job market this year (U.S. Labor Department in Faludi, 1991, p. 367) [-1]
- in the *City of Akron v. Akron Center*, the Supreme Court upheld the stipulation that minors wanting abortions needed the consent of their parents (Tobias, 1997, p. 270) [-1]

Total (+6 / -7) = -1

1984

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- Geraldine Ferraro became the first woman in the history of the U.S. to be selected to run as a vice-presidential nominee (Eisler & Hixson, 1986 in Ruth, 1998, p. 421; Tobias, 1997, p. 270; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 23; Gatlin, 1987, p. 209) [+2]

- the voting gender gap emerged again this election year, as it had in 1980, and resulted in politicians' greater attention to women's issues during the campaign (Faludi, 1991, p. 272; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 23) [+1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the passage of the Retirement Equity Act this year greatly improved the benefits received by women in private pension programs (Tobias, 1997, p. 231) [+2]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- Diane Sawyer became the first female correspondent for '60 Minutes' (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Kathleen Sullivan was the first woman to anchor Olympic television coverage (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- since 1975, women have accounted for 62% of the growth in the civilian workforce, with 54% of all women working outside the home this year (Gatlin, 1987, p. 195) [+1]

(d) LEGAL

- New York made marital rape illegal this year (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 506) [+2]

(e) PUBLIC OPINION

- several national surveys since 1975 have revealed that men have been as supportive of the E.R.A. as women, in some cases even surpassing them (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 142) [+1]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- the all-male Jaycees finally opened its membership to women (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 506) [+2]
- for the first time there was a women's marathon in the Olympics; the winner's time was faster than 13 of the previous 20 male Olympic winners' times (Aburdene & Danziger, 1991, p. 38) [+2]
- the effects of Title IX could be seen in the huge increase in women involved in college athletic programs since it was enacted: this year there were 150,000 women, up from 16,000 prior to its enactment (Tobias, 1997, p. 125) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICAL

- women's appointments within the White House continued to drop (Faludi, 1991, p. 257) [-1]
 - this year's Congress was comprised of the most women it had ever had, but this was only 22 out of a total of 435, or 5% (Gatlin, 1987, p. 209) [-1]
 - President Reagan, along with his debilitating 'trickle down' economics that aimed at reversing feminists' accomplishments, was re-elected this year (Tobias, 1997, p. 224)
- [-1]

(b) LEGAL

- in *Grove City v. Bell* the Supreme Court decided that sex equity was required only from programs receiving federal funding (Tobias, 1997, p. 270) [-2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- for all the good Title IX had done, only 16% of total college athletic funding was going to women's programs, up from approximately 1% before it was enacted (Tobias, 1997, p. 125) [-1]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- a survey by U.S. News and World Report found that only 28% of respondents felt "the country would be governed better" if more women held political office (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 4)
- [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- the incidence of sex-related murders rose 160% since 1976, 1/3 of which were committed by women's husbands/boyfriends, predominantly in situations where the women had just left or divorced their partner (Faludi, 1991, p. xv) [-1]
- two independent studies of the portrayal of women in women's magazines (Ladies Home Journal, Woman's Day, and McCall's) since 1950 found that over time, the use of thin, white models had increased; the small number of overweight models that had been used had virtually disappeared by this year (Marquardt, 1987, p. 33) [-1]

- 20% of mothers with preschoolers wanted to join the workforce but were unable to because of an inability to access daycare (Gatlin, 1987, p. 212) [-1]

Total (+18 / -11) = +7

1985

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the E.R.A. was re-introduced to Congress (Ruth, 1998, p. 343) [+1]
- President Reagan failed in his attempt to eliminate 'Executive Order 11246', which was introduced by President Johnson in 1965, requiring the implementation of affirmative action in the hiring of minorities, for businesses dealing with the federal government (Tobias, 1997, p. 270) [+2]

(b) POLITICAL

- the Meese Commission was formed by President Reagan for the purpose of studying pornography and proposing ways to deal with it (Tobias, 1997, p. 184) [+2]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- Coming implemented a mentor program for women and minorities, in hopes of encouraging them to develop a plan for advancing within the company (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 234) [+2]

(d) LEGAL

- the Supreme Court made an explicit ruling on sexual harassment for the first time: "when a supervisor sexually harasses a subordinate because of a subordinate's sex, that supervisor discriminates on the basis of sex" (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 63) [+2]

(e) PUBLIC OPINION

- a public opinion poll found that an equal number of women and men supported abortion rights this year; prior to this slightly more men favored these rights (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 127) [+1]

- a poll found that the perception that women were not given much respect, had shifted to the view that women had been gaining respect during the last ten years (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 131) [+1]
- most of the women and men (73% and 69% respectively) surveyed in a public opinion poll supported attempts to improve women's societal status, up from 40% and 44% respectively in 1970 (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 131) [+1]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- the number of women deciding on the 'stay-at-home' role continued to decline, dropping from 38% in 1974 to 26% this year (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 88-9) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- despite its re-introduction to Congress this year, the E.R.A. was losing ground with respect to women activists, who were turning their attention to other causes, such as child care, pay equity, women in politics (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 22) [-1]

(b) POLITICAL

- debilitating cuts to health insurance and accessible medical care left almost 40% of poor women without insurance, with black women being disproportionately affected (Faludi, 1991, p. 428)
- only 14.5% of municipal political offices were held by women this year (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 25) [-1]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- job segregation was still a problem, with 80% of all administrative support positions (i.e. clerical) being held by women (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 73, 76) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- Lenore Weitzman's study of the implications of no-fault divorce found that upon divorce, ex-husbands' economic situation improved an average of 42% while ex-wives' dropped an average of 73%; this was a result of the implicit and erroneous assumption that men and women fare equally well in the workforce (Tobias, 1997, p. 121; Simon & Danziger, 1991, pp. 104-5; Gatlin, 1987, p. 146) [-1]

- Faludi (1991) disagreed with Weitzman's findings in so far as they blamed no-fault divorce in itself, instead of placing the onus on ex-husbands and their overall tendency to default on child support payments: only 50% of ex-wives received any payments this year, and only half of these were for the full amount (p. 24) [-1]
- women were gaining ground in education, but they still only earned 34% of all doctoral degrees (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 47) [-1]
- women were still concentrated in traditionally female areas (e.g. only 12% of engineering degrees went to women) (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 47) [-1]

Total (+13/ -8) = +5

1986

1. GAINS

(a) LEGAL

- the *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* ruling effectively expanded the scope of sexual harassment to include a “hostile work environment” that would make doing one’s job difficult; prior to this, the plaintiff had to prove they would have been fired or not promoted if she refused to have sex with her boss (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 601; Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 86) [+1]
- the requirement that women seeking abortions be given a thorough description of the fetus’s development was struck down by the Supreme Court in *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists* (Tobias, 1997, p. 270) [+2]

(b) POLITICAL

- *EMILY'S List* was established for the purpose of raising money for helping Democratic women running for office to develop necessary political skills (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 24) [+2]
- the Meese Commission (1985) ruled that pornography was both “harmful” and a “social menace”, and urged that federal and state laws be amended in order to increase the prosecution of obscenity (Tobias, 1997, p. 184) [+1]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- over 50% of those polled felt that the “traditional family arrangement” was not better for everyone, compared with approximately 38% in 1977 (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 118, 120) [+1]
- 70% of those polled endorsed most attempts to improve women’s status, compared to only 42% in 1970 (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 142) [+1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- 21,000 women had been fully ordained by this year, double the amount in 1977 (National Council of Churches in Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 117-8) [+1]
- the number of female millionaires totaled 400,000 this year, up from approximately 15,000 in 1982 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 190) [+1]
- Liz Claiborne made Fortune 500’s list of largest U.S. companies, one of only two businesses founded by women to do so (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 197) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap persisted this year at 64% (Faludi, 1991, p. 363-4) [-1]
- the movement of women into traditionally male jobs had virtually stalled by this year (Faludi, 1991, p. 365) [-1]
- the women who had managed to break into traditionally male jobs, found that the pay and status of these positions was starting to fall due to advances in technology: these jobs were starting to be done by machines (Faludi, 1991, pp. 366-67) [-1]

(b) POLITICAL

- President Reagan attempted to reduce the number of women in politics by terminating the Coalition on Women’s Appointments and the Working Group on Women (Faludi, 1991, p. 257) [-2]
- toward this same end, President Reagan also disbanded the Federal Women’s Program (1967) (Faludi, 1991, p. 257) [-2]

- women's numbers in politics were still low, with women making up only 14.8% of state legislatures, up from 8% in 1974 (Tobias, 1997, p. 249) [-1]
- women held only 24 of the seats in Congress, compared to 16 in 1974 (Tobias, 1997, p. 249) [-1]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- most men and women polled still felt that the wife should sacrifice her job and relocate with her husband if he gets another job (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 120) [-1]

(d) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the Meese Commission's report was not received well by all feminists, as some were completely against any form of censorship (Tobias, 1997, p. 184) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- 63% of all impoverished adults this year were women, and elderly women were two times more likely to be poor than elderly men (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, & Schaffer in Ruth, 1998, p. 335) [-1]
- Newsweek announced that a "growing number of mothers have realized that they can't have it all", despite the fact that their survey revealed that (a) of the mothers at home, 71% reported wanting to work and (b) of the women that were working, 75% said they would work even if they were not in need of the money (Faludi, 1991, p. 90) [-2]
- an economic study on the aftermath of divorce, confirmed earlier findings that within the first year of divorce, women's situation typically deteriorates largely because of the low number of men who actually pay support: 20% of ex-husbands make partial payments and 42% do not pay at all (Bergman in Tobias, 1997, p. 290) [-1]

Total (+11 / -16) = -5

1987

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- Janet Chusmir became the first woman to run a major metropolitan daily newsroom (the Miami Herald) (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

- For the first time, an N.F.L. (National Football League) game's play-by-play T.V. coverage was done by a woman (Gayle Sierens) (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

(b) EMPLOYMENT

- a 'family leave program' was instituted at Kodak (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 225) [+2]
- despite the fact that providing benefits to pregnant women was only required in five states, 95% of America's largest businesses made some kind of provision this year (Gatlin, 1987, p. 213) [+1]

(c) LEGAL

- the Supreme Court ruled in *California Federal Savings and Loan Association v. Guerra*, that female employees who were physically unable to work because of pregnancy could be eligible for special protection (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 62) [+2]
- a groundbreaking decision was made by the U.S. District Court, when it ruled that a woman had been sexually harassed when her employers retaliated against her for complaining about a hostile work environment in which women could not advance unless they complied with supervisors' sexual propositions (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 64) [+2]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- since 1984, there was a dramatic increase in single women's acceptance of 'motherhood out of wedlock' (from 14% to 87%) (Faludi, 1991, p. 404) [+1]
- the N.W.P.C.'s poll found that women received higher marks than men when it came to dealing with social and domestic matters, such as daycare and helping the poor (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 22) [+2]
- the N.W.P.C.'s poll also found that a woman would make as good a president as a man (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 25) [+2]
- 82% of Gallup poll respondents said that they would vote for a female presidential candidate "if she were qualified for the job", up from 66% in 1971 (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 26) [+2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- 500,000 gay rights supporters joined forces and marched on Washington this year (however, major news sources did not cover it) (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [+2]
- an international conference for 'Women Church' was held this year, drawing 3000 women; it was an amalgamation of 150 Catholic and Protestant women's groups dedicated to finding alternate meanings of Christian language, text and symbols, as well as serving women's spirituality (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 109) [+2]
- Real Rape by Susan Estrich was published this year, which introduced the concept of 'date rape', thus increasing awareness of the pervasiveness of the problem (Tobias, 1997, p. 114) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the debilitating effects of the Reagan Administration could really be felt this year , with things such as budget cuts to the E.E.O.C.: it had half of its budget cut, which forced them to slash their case load and ultimately hampered proper investigation of cases it did deal with (Faludi, 1991, p. 369) [-2]
- President Reagan cut subsidies for vital support services (e.g. low income housing) (Gatlin, 1987, p. 194) [-2]
- under President Reagan, the number of women appointed to judgeships dropped to 8%, compared to Carter's rate which exceeded 15% (Gatlin, 1987, p. 209) [-1]
- President Reagan interfered with the F.C.C., making its job of enforcing affirmative action even more difficult, (Faludi, 1991, p. 373) [-1]
- since 1980, women's unemployment increased along with President Reagan's military spending: not only is this spending the most inefficient way to create jobs, for every \$1 billion spent on it, 9500 jobs held by women were lost (women disproportionately populate the jobs cut in order to fund the military (Gatlin, 1987, pp. 194, 250) [-1]
- the wage gap failed to improve this year (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p.78) [-1]

- approximately 80% of female workers were still segregated in 'pink ghetto' jobs (Gatlin, 1987, p. 196) [-1]
- the 'glass ceiling' was still a problem for many career-minded women (i.e. the tendency for women's advancement to stall as they near the top of the corporate ladder) (Gatlin, 1987, p. 210) [-1]
- many working women continued to endure a hostile, masculine work environment when landing jobs in the blue collar sector (Gatlin, 1987, p. 210) [-1]
- sexual harassment on the job was still a problem that many women encountered (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 86) [-1]

(b) POLITICAL

- the strong anti-abortion movement, both within and outside of the government, dissuaded doctors from providing the service: 85% of counties in America had no abortion facilities this year (Faludi, 1991, p. 415) [-1]
- the number of women holding office in state legislatures was a meager 15.5% this year (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 25) [-1]

(c) PUBLIC OPINION

- polls showed that husbands continued to shirk domestic duties, with wives reporting that help from husbands with childcare fell to 31% this year, down from 40% in 1984 (Faludi, 1991, p. xiv) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- approximately 70% of housework was done by women, who spent an average of 3.8 hours per day at it, compared to 1.6 hours per day by men (Gatlin, 1987, pp. 197, 224) [-1]
- since 1983, battered women's shelters experienced a 100% increase in women needing refuge (Faludi, 1991, p. xv) [-1]
- the 'American Women in Radio and Television' could not award its annual prize for the ad which most positively portrayed women because there were none that qualified (Faludi, 1991, p. xxi) [-2]

- the women's health movement was making virtually no progress in effecting structural changes to the medical system: for example, the National Institutes of Health (N.I.H.) budget allocated 13.5% of its total budget on medical research of women's ailments (Gatlin, 1987, p. 140; Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 135) [-1]
- since 1967, approximately 2000 employers were taking steps to provide child care assistance, however, this was relatively few given that there were roughly 6 million employers this year (Gatlin, 1987, p. 211-2) [-1]

Total (+24 / -21) = +3

1988

1. GAINS

(a) PUBLIC OPINION

- women were becoming more informed, as evidenced by a Glamour reader's poll which found that respondents felt that "the fashion industry tries to dictate style, assuming women will buy whatever is decreed as 'in'" (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 194) [+2]

(b) POLITICAL

- in this year's election, 6.8 million more women voted than men, creating a gender voting gap which had a significant impact on 40 state elections; women comprised 54% of voters (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 24; Faludi, 1991, p. 272) [+1]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- in spite of President Reagan's veto, the Civil Rights Restoration Act was passed, thus nullifying a 1984 decision by the Supreme Court that only federally funded college programs had to adhere to sex equity stipulations; this fully restored the coverage of Title IX (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 412; Tobias, 1997, p. 270) [+2]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- female entrepreneurs were increasing rapidly, up 82% since 1980 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 65) [+1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- despite the media's attempt to instill guilt in women for putting their children in daycare, such as the widespread media coverage of the "epidemic child abuse in child care facilities", several studies revealed that not only were these claims fallacious, but that daycare has many benefits for children, such as facilitating independence, and broad-mindedness with respect to sex roles
(Faludi, 1991, p. 42-3) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap persisted: female college graduates were earning an average of 59% of their male counterparts, black women averaged 59% of black men's earnings, and Hispanic women made only 54% compared to their Hispanic male counterparts (Faludi, 1991, p. 364) [-1]
- job segregation continued to be a problem: since 1972, there had been only a 5% increase of women in the "elite professions" such as law and medicine, despite media hype about "doves of women crashing into" these areas [-1]; as well women lost ground in the area of construction inspectors, from 7% to 5.4% since 1983 [-1]; and women's gains in construction itself had been negligible, from 1.1% in 1978 to 1.4% this year (Faludi, 1991, p. 366-7) [-1]
- sexual harassment was present even in the most successful businesses: 90% of the Fortune 500 companies had had sexual harassment grievances filed against them and 33% were involved in lawsuits (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 86) [-1]

(b) POLITICAL

- only 15.8% of state legislative seats belonged to women (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 25) [-1]

(c) LEGAL

- according to a federal audit, 35 states were violating child support laws as well as the egalitarian principles of no-fault divorce (e.g. knowingly awarding ex-wives only 1/3 of the total marriage assets instead of their rightful 50% share) (Faludi, 1991, p. 25) [-2]
- efforts by the federal Office of Child Support Enforcement to collect delinquent child support payments netted only \$5 billion of the total \$25 billion that was outstanding (Faludi, 1991, pp. 24-5) [-2]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- a Gentlemen's Quarterly survey of 3000 men (the American Male Opinion Index) revealed that relatively few respondents (under 25%) were in favor of the women's movement, with 60% feeling that if a woman has small children she should stay at home (Faludi, 1991, p. 59-60) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- talk shows had started featuring "I'm not a feminist, but..." type-women who would not identify with being a feminist but still expected to reap the benefits of equal pay legislation, reproductive rights, etc. (Faludi, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, p. 37) [-2]
- Alan Waxenberg, publisher of Good Housekeeping, admitted that the magazine's 'New Traditionalist' campaign this year, which glorified women who had given up their careers in order to "serve home, husband and children" better, was intended to coax women back into the home and boost declining subscriptions (Faludi, 1991, p. 92) [-2]
- wives still did a disproportionate share of the domestic chores: Dombusch and Strober estimated that it was 2.5-3.0 times more than husbands (Faludi, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, p. 239) [-1]

Total (+8 / -17) = -9

1989

1. GAINS

(a) PUBLIC OPINION

- a survey by the New York Times revealed that 70% of women believed that the women's movement was only just beginning (Faludi, 1991, p. xv) [+2]
- a Yankelovich Clancy Shulman poll found that the majority of female respondents felt that both political parties were "out of touch with the average American woman" and that N.O.W., feminists and women involved in the women's movement were in touch with women (Faludi, 1991, p. 279) [+2]
- the majority of people polled regarding the 'Webster decision' [see 'legal setbacks' section for 1989] were opposed to it: 44% of men and women 'strongly disapproved' and 11% 'disapproved' (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 129) [+2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- an attempt to restrict abortions by Florida's governor was struck down by the state legislature (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 117) [+2]
- a ban on the funding of abortions in cases of rape and incest by Medicaid was reversed by the House of Representatives (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 117) [+2]

(c) POLITICAL

- two anti-abortion gubernatorial candidates were defeated by two clearly 'pro-abortion rights' candidates (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 117) [+2]

(d) LEGAL

- marriage rights were one step closer for homosexual couples, with the ruling by the New York Court of Appeals which stipulated that , after living together for ten years, such couples "must be considered a family" under the city's rent control guidelines (Tobias, 1997, p. 168) [+2]

(e) EMPLOYMENT

- Johnson & Johnson gave a boost to families with the implementation of new family-work policies and a revised company ideology: "we must be mindful of ways to help our employees fulfill their family responsibilities" (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 234) [+2]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- Reverend Barbara Harris became the first female Anglican bishop (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [+2]
- Barbara Cohen became the first female Washington Bureau Chief for a major network (C.B.S.) (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Army Captain Linda Bray headed a police unit in an unexpected attack in the Panama invasion (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 599) [+2]
- sparked by the threat of *Roe v. Wade* being struck down by the Supreme Court, a record number of pro-abortion rights demonstrators (approximately 500,000) descended on Washington, D.C. (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth in Ruth, 1998, p. 507; Tobias, 1997, p. 224; Faludi, 1991, pp. 457-8; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 116) [+2]

- this pro-abortion rights demonstration ultimately contributed to almost all of the hundreds of the proposed anti-abortion bills being vetoed by state legislators [+2]; as well, it facilitated the election of a significant number of pro-choice gubernatorial candidates [+2] (Faludi, 1991, pp. 457-8)
- the 'Webster decision' triggered feminist protests across the country (Tobias, 1997, p. 227) [+2]
- the 'Webster decision' was also largely responsible for N.O.W.'s membership explosion this year, to 260,000 (from 160,000 in 1988) (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 144) [+1]
- Mirabella, a realistic fashion magazine featuring average sized, real life women, was finally published (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 195) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGAL

- in the most significant ruling since *Roe v. Wade*, the *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* decision preserved an incredibly restrictive abortion law that included (a) the prohibition of public funding for abortions, (b) the requirement that abortion counseling dissuade women from having the procedure, unless the mother's life was endangered by the pregnancy, and (c) the right for individual states to restrict and even prohibit abortions at any point during the pregnancy (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 413; Tobias, 1997, p. 270; Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 116) [-2]
- the Supreme Court's debilitating decision in *Rust v. Sullivan* resulted in federally funded clinics losing their subsidies if they did any abortion counseling, even if a mother's life was in danger (Tobias, 1997, p. 237) [-2]
- only 51% of women awarded child support actually received it, and 25% received none (Ruth, 1998, p. 352) [-1]
- the Supreme Court made new rulings with regard to employment discrimination, shifting more of the onus to the employee, making it easier for employers to get off (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 409) [-2]
- despite legislation, 75% of high schools continued to disregard the federal law prohibiting educational sexual discrimination, and women in college were still only receiving 30% less funding than their male counterparts (Faludi, 1991, p. xiv) [-1]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- Pennsylvania's "Abortion Control Act" (1982) was amended so that any woman seeking an abortion had to wait 24 hours and have either the consent of her parents or proof that she had informed her husband (Kerber & DeHart, 1995 p. 596) [-2]
- the use of RU 486, the abortion pill, was condemned and not allowed into America by the F.D.A., by order of the Bush Administration (Tobias, 1997, p. 240) [-1]

(c) LEGAL

- President Bush continued Ronald Reagan's work by asking that the Supreme Court to reverse the *Roe v. Wade* decision (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [-1]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap in full time management positions got even wider this year, with men receiving a 4% (average) increase and their female counterparts getting nothing (Faludi, 1991, p. 364) [-1]
- President Reagan's tampering with the Federal Communications Commission (F.C.C.) was still negatively impacting women as evidenced by the rapid decline of female news correspondents: 8 out of the most frequently seen were women, down from 15 in 1988 (Faludi, 1991, p. 372-3) [-1]
- despite women's higher enrollment in journalism school, grades and ambition (as determined by the 'American Society of Newspaper Editors' survey), news rooms persisted in hiring more men than women: most news rooms held steady at an average of 65% male employees (Faludi, 1991, p. 374) [-1]
- Felice Schwartz's idea for dual career tracks for women, one for women wanting to have careers and one for women wanting a career and a family, was introduced; it was coined 'mommy tracking' by the media and many objected to it because it reinforced notions that domestic responsibilities belonged to women and that businesses need not make any changes or concessions for families and their needs (Tobias, 1997, p. 95; Wilson, 1991, pp. 107-8) [-2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- a New York Times poll revealed that most male respondents felt that the women's movement "made things harder for men" (Faludi, 1991, p. 61) [-2]

Total (+33 / -19) = +14

1990**1. GAINS****(a) POLITICAL**

- in order to help remedy the problem of under funding for research on women's health problems, N.I.H created the 'Office on Women's Health' to assist with the making of goals and policies (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 145-6) [+2]

(b) MISCELLANEOUS

- the first women's world hockey tournament took place this year (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 36) [+2]
- women's college basketball was drawing increasingly large audiences, estimated at 4 million this year, up from 3 million in 1985 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 46) [+1]
- since 1986, the number of women taking up the traditionally male sport of golf increased from 4.5 to 6.5 million (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 48) [+1]
- women's studies programs were becoming increasingly popular, with over 500 at the undergraduate level, up 23% since 1988, and 102 at the graduate level (Ruth, 1998, p. 1) [+1]
- for the first time ever, there was a female Surgeon General of the American Public Health Service (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [+2]

2. SETBACKS**(a) EMPLOYMENT**

- a wage gap existed even for women with M.B.A's from top business schools: they earned an average of 88% of their male counterparts (National Council for Research on Women, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 361) [-1]
- of the 35% of white female managers and the 7% of managers who were women of color, only 6.3% and 3.6% respectively, earned incomes in the top 20% (National Council for Research on Women, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 364) [-1]
- sex discrimination was recognized as being an impediment to female employees' advancement by chief executives at Fortune 1000 companies across the country, but under 1% of them felt that anything should be done about it (Faludi, 1991, p. xiii) [-1]

- women remained concentrated in traditionally female jobs: approximately 80% were doing clerical, sales or service work (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990 in Ruth, 1998, p. 335) [-1]
- although there numbers were greater than anywhere in the world, women constituted only 115 of active military personnel (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 599; Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 27) [-1]
- women's numbers remained low in sports casting with women comprising only 5% (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 80) [-1]
- women had failed as of yet to make a significant move into construction manager jobs, with only 13.2% being women (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 81) [-1]
- only 5% of Hollywood directors were women this year, up from less than 1% between 1939 and 1979 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 83) [-1]
- a study by Felice Schwartz found that female M.B.A.'s tended not to wear wedding rings to job interviews, and put off announcing a pregnancy if they were in the running for a promotion, because of an "unwritten code of business ethics": nurture either your family or your career (Tobias, 1997, p. 181) [-2]
- Anita Hill testified that her former boss, Clarence Thomas, had sexually harassed her while she worked for him at the E.E.O.C., which ironically, was the body set up to create and enforce sexual harassment guidelines; she was responding to his recent nomination for a position on the Supreme Court (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 410; Tobias, 1997, p. 115) [-1]

(b) POLITICAL

- record numbers of women were entering politics this year, but of the 2,064 that ran for seats, only 85 were elected (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 9) [-1]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- President Bush rescinded the Civil Rights Act, because he felt it endorsed employment quotas (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [-2]
- President Bush also cancelled the Family Leave bill, which permitted unpaid leave in the event of family needs/emergencies (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [-2]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- according to the American Male Opinion Index, 60% of men opposed alterations to sex roles, up from 48% in 1988 (Faludi, 1991, p. 61) [-1]
- only 40% of men these men were in favor of adapting to altered sex roles. Down from 52% in 1988 (Faludi, 1991, p. 61) [-1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- the "I am a feminist...but" type-women emerged in the media on talk shows etc., replacing 1988's "I'm not a feminist...but", which endorsed an equally damaging ideology: they held that women no longer faced discrimination, nor did they feel that women needed to politically organize themselves (Faludi, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, p. 37) [-2]
- a right-wing religious men's group emerged, calling themselves the *Promise Keepers*; their intent was to "restore" men's "masculinity", which had been "lost" when wives started becoming "too powerful" (Faludi, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, p. 65) [-2]
- a gender-bias study revealed that police continued to make arrests in domestic violence situations, even when the victim was in need of hospitalization, and that prosecutors continued to be inclined to drop most domestic violence cases that had managed to make it onto their caseloads (Gibbs, 1993 in Ruth, 1998, p. 328) [-1]
- pro-choice politicians were threatened with excommunication by a New York City Catholic archbishop (Cardinal O'Connor) (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [-2]
- contraception research virtually halted in response to the strong anti-abortion movement: by this year, only one company was still subsidizing research, compared to 24 during the 1960's and 1970's; the U.S. had fallen well below its once esteemed position as a world leader in this area (Faludi, 1991, p. 420) [-1]
- women were being portrayed as "lifeless", "thin", "vulnerable", "young", "passive", "controllable" mannequins in ads and commercials, whose only purpose was to "enhance the environment" and strive for "male approval" (Sanderson, 1991, p. 59) [-1]

Total (+9 / -27) = -18

1991**1. GAINS****(a) EMPLOYMENT**

- Montefiore Medical Center in New York, became the first private employer to extend health and life insurance to homosexual employees' long term partners [+2]; they were soon followed by Lotus [+2] (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 239)
- The N.C.A.A. (the National Collegiate Athletic Association) named its first female president this year (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 52) [+2]
- C.N.N. led the way in terms of numbers of females on camera, and numbers of "average, normal-looking women" on camera (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 82) [+2]

(b) POLITICAL

- Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court [see 'political setbacks' section for this year] sparked the fury of women across the country, resulting in donations amounting to \$300,000 for EMILY's List, within two weeks of the nomination (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, pp. 3, 21-2) [+1]
- also in response to Thomas's nomination, the Women's Campaign Fund received double its normal mail contributions (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, pp. 3, 21-2) [+1]
- the Fund for the Feminist Majority saw their contributions go up approximately 30% following Thomas's nomination (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 3, 21-2) [+1]
- N.O.W. also saw a 30% increase in the contributions they received following Thomas's nomination (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 3, 21-2) [+1]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- the Civil Rights Act of 1991 was brought into effect by Congress, which reserved recent legislation that had favored employers in employment discrimination cases (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 409) [+2]
- the Women's Health Equity Act was passed by Congress, which guaranteed that women's health issues would receive federal funding to remedy inequities such as the A.I.D.S./breast cancer research situation: breast cancer killed almost twice as many people as A.I.D.S., yet A.I.D.S.

research was receiving \$800 million for research and breast cancer only \$92.7 million (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, pp. 143, 145) [+2]

(d) PUBLIC OPINION

- 79% of respondents in a Newsweek survey felt that women should be permitted to volunteer for combat (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 28) [+2]

(e) LEGAL

- for the first time, people who had been sexually harassed at work could sue their employers; the eradication of sexual harassment was now in the employers' best interests (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 86) [+2]
- a 43 year old law prohibiting pilots from flying combat missions was overturned by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives: combat was the "key path to promotion" (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 28) [+2]

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

- the American Civil Liberties Union named its first female president (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [+2]
- the first Hispanic woman was named to the House of Representatives (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [+2]
- for the first time, the Big 10-SEC Challenge, the top women's college sports tournament, received television coverage by C.B.S. (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 46) [+2]
- a survey by Sports Illustrated revealed that women outnumbered men when it came to participatory sports (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 35) [+2]
- female college athletes increased from 16,000 in 1962 to 158,000 this year (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, pp. 45-6) [+1]
- women's athletic scholarships increased from virtually none in 1962 to 10,000 this year (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, pp. 45-6) [+1]
- some fashion magazines (e.g. Mademoiselle, Glamour) began including affordable clothing in some layouts (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 194) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- approximately 6% of American troops serving in the Gulf War this year were women; although significant, women's numbers were still low (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 26) [-1]
- businesses owned by women received a disproportionately low number of federal contracts: 0.9%, up from 0.8% in 1980 (National Council for Research on Women, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, p. 364) [-1]
- since the enactment of Title IX (1972), the number of female coaches decreased from 90% to under 50% this year, in spite of a study which showed that women coaches equaled men in terms of ability and experience (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 50) [-1]
- the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the wage gap had closed, but it still averaged 74% (Faludi, 1991, p. 364) [-1]
- in spite of the unprecedented number of women involved in combat in the Gulf War, they were excluded from any decision making regarding military strategy (Tobias, 1997, p. 175) [-1]
- despite new laws, 99% of service women were still ineligible for military combat jobs, virtually the only means to promotion (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 28) [-1]

(b) POLITICAL

- according to the Center for the American Women and Politics (Rutgers University), despite a 300% increase in women in elected office since 1974, there has never been more than 15.8% of women in such positions at one time (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 25) [-1]
- Clarence Thomas was nominated to the Supreme Court, in spite of Anita Hill's allegations that he had sexually harassed her while she worked for him at the Department of Education and at the E.E.O.C. (Tobias, 1997, p. 115) [-2]

(c) LEGAL

- a law was enacted in New Jersey which made women on welfare ineligible for additional funding for any children born to them while on welfare (Tobias, 1997, p. 271) [-2]

- a “gag rule” was upheld by the Supreme Court, which prohibited clinics receiving subsidies, from providing abortion information to patients (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507; Tobias, 1997, p. 271) [-1]
- allowing women into the all-male Virginia Military Institute was considered to be a significant impairment to its educational environment and was subsequently struck down by Judge Kiser (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 411) [-2]

(d) LEGISLATIVE

- in spite of extensive lobbying by women’s groups for pension reform and financial acknowledgment of the contribution of homemakers, these issues have largely been ignored by Congress (Simon, R. & Danziger, 1991, p. 64-5) [-1]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- women had made significant academic strides by this year, but they were still in the minority in many areas: 47% of business and management undergraduate degrees and 36% of M.D. degrees went to women (Ruth, 1998, p. 354) [-1]
- a shocking 35% of male college students surveyed reported that they would consider raping a woman if they knew they would not be caught, while 84% felt that some women just “look as though they’re asking to be raped” (“The Hard Facts” Statistics from What Counts: The Complete Harper’s Index, 1991 in Ruth, 1998, p. 255) [-2]
- domestic violence statistics show that husbands/boyfriends were responsible for the beating of 4 million women and the murder of 1320 women (Gibbs, 1991, p. 328) [-1]
- by April 1991, more abortion clinics had been bombed than the total number for all of 1990 (Faludi, 1991, p. 412) [-1]
- for all its good, the women’s movement had not yet “radicalized” the average woman or man, as trends showed that most women continued to make marriage, children and their husband’s career their priority (Simon & Danziger, 1991, p. 89-90) [-1]
- lesbianism continued to cause trouble for many women, as evidenced by Patricia Ireland’s (the

president of N.O.W.) having a husband and a female companion, which raised questions about her ability to speak for women (Tobias, 1997, p. 165) [-1]

Total (+34 / -22) = +12

1992

1. GAINS

(a) POLITICAL

- Carol Moseley Brown became the first African-American woman elected to the U.S. Senate, defeating Clarence Thomas supporter, Alan Dixon (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507; Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. xx) [+2]
- the first Puerto Rican woman was appointed to Congress (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [+2]
- a pro-choice President (Bill Clinton) was elected President of the U.S. (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 557) [+2]
- Capitol Hill saw an influx of feminist legislators (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 557) [+1]

(b) PUBLIC OPINION

- 61% of respondents in a U.S. News & World Report survey felt "the country would be governed better if more women held office", up from 28% in 1984 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 4) [+1]
- a poll by the N.W.P.C. found that domestic and social issues, which female politicians excelled at, were becoming more important to voters, while foreign policy and defense issues, male politicians' expertise, were falling in importance (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 23) [+1]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- increased Medicare coverage of mammograms and Pap smears was due largely to efforts by women's health care advocates (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 145) [+1]
- Lesley Visser became the first woman to do post-game locker room interviews after the Superbowl (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- an on-line service for women began this year (the "Women's Wire Web Site") (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

(d) EMPLOYMENT

- women accounted for 60% of the labor force growth since 1980, while men were simultaneously declining in numbers (The Economist, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 98) [+1]
- the historically male-dominated world of fashion had as its fastest growing, most successful firms, two owned by women (Liz Claiborne and Donna Karan) (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 223) [+1]
- Levi Strauss in San Francisco was attempting to assist its homosexual employees by establishing a Lesbian and Gay Employees Association, and holding compulsory diversity-training seminars (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 239) [+2]

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

- a survey of several studies on the effect of work on women and children revealed that contrary to the media's barrage of reports, both actually benefit: (a) children of working mothers tended to have a less sex-stereotypic view of the world, and fewer behavioral problems, [+2] and (b) working women themselves had a lower incidence of depression, chronic illness, disillusionment and frustration, and higher levels of self-esteem, than housewives (Longfellow & Belle, 1982 in Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 223; Barnett & Rivers, 1992, pp. 62, 65) [+2]
- nine of America's 11 medals, including all five gold medals from this year's winter Olympics were won by women (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. xx) [+1]
- since 1972, girls' inter-scholastic high school sports programs increased more than 500% (Abuedene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 35) [+1]
- since 1972, women's rugby teams increased from 3 to 162 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 36) [+1]
- the traditionally all-male N.C.A.A. was now headed by a woman (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 45) [+2]
- the American Medical Association and the Surgeon General finally officially acknowledged that male violence significantly endangered women's health (Gibbs, 1993 in Ruth, 1998, p. 327) [+2]
- this year was declared to be 'Year of the Woman' (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 507) [+2]

- women's medical centers increased to approximately 200 this year, from 50 in 1982; included was an all-in-one breast cancer center, offering education, psychological and nutritional counseling and beauty program (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 163-4) [+1]
- modeling agencies were shifting from the trend of using models no older than 25, to women that were 40 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 192) [+1]
- there was increasing attention being paid to the needs of larger women; the Forgotten Woman boutique was one such example, which had bloomed into a 24 store/\$40 million per year business since its inception in 1978 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 205) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap still existed: according to the U.S. Department of Labor (1993) female retail sales clerks averaged \$100 less per week than comparable men, female physicians earned roughly \$330 less per week than male physicians, and female judges averaged \$275 less per week than their male counterparts (Ruth, 1998, p. 335) [-1]
- the 'glass ceiling' remained largely impenetrable: of the 29,000 big businesses polled, women constituted only 5% of executives at the vice presidential level or above, only 3.3% of C.E.O's were women, as were 1.9% of chairpersons (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 75) [-1]
- job segregation was still a problem as well: only 1.5% of fire fighters were women, as were 4% of airline pilots and navigators, 11% of police departments, 18% of prison corrections officers and 1-2% of the construction industry (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 80-1) [-1]
- the upper echelons of the medical community had very few women as well: there were no female deans of medical schools, and only 2% of department chairs and 21% of medical school faculties were women (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 160-1) [-1]
- employers providing child care benefits increased from 110 in 1978 to roughly 7000 this year, however, this was still very low given that there were approximately 6 million employers in the U.S. this year (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 235; Gatlin, 1987, p. 212) [-1]
- 50% of the American Management Association's approximately 500 members had been faced with sexual harassment within the last five years (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 86) [-1]

- only 1800 of the 10,700 United Church ministers were women, despite the fact that women have been ordained since the 19th century (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 116) [-1]
- of the 14,000 Episcopal ministers, approximately 1000 were women as of this year (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 116) [-1]

(b) LEGAL

- the right to abortion hung in the balance this year: Pennsylvania enacted a new law requiring that doctors to distribute an information package to the patient 24 hours prior to the abortion, which contained the unfounded claim that the father would be forced to support the mother and child if she continued the pregnancy; the law also stipulated that a woman's husband had to be aware that the abortion was going to be performed (Tobias, 1992, p. 237) [-2]
- the *Planned Parenthood of Southern Pennsylvania v. Robert P. Casey* Supreme Court ruling preserved the state's right to restrict abortions (Tobias, 1997, p. 271) [-1]
- Louisiana was embroiled in a battle which saw a 1990 anti-abortion law vetoed, then over-ridden and then go back to the courts, where it was residing at the time of this source's publication (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 6) [-1]
- anti-gay ordinances were enacted in both Colorado and Oregon (Tobias, 1997, p. 271) [-2]
- reports this year showed that 97-8% of all rapists were not convicted, despite this group's having one of the highest rates of recidivism (Devitt, 1992 in Ruth, 1998, p. 255) [-1]
- men convicted of killing their partners received an average sentence of 2-6 years, while women received an average of 15-20 years for killing their partners (Gibbs, 1993 in Ruth, 1998, p. 328) [-1]

(c) POLITICAL

- women began to move beyond local levels of government (where they had tended to stay since they began entering politics in the 1970's), but they still made up only 18.4% of the state legislatures and 6.4% of the House of Representatives (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 10) [-1]
- the White House's views were made clear with Dan Quayle's open criticism of the show Murphy Brown, because it showed the birth of a child outside of marriage (Blankenship, Bezdek, & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- the number of women in college sports increased only to 18% since Title IX had come into effect (from 15% in 1971) (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 35) [-1]
- women's athletic programs still received only 30% of total budgets, up from 2% prior to Title IX (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 45) [-1]
- only 10% of N.C.A.A. programs were coached by women Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 51) [-1]
- women were still severely underrepresented in the print and televised sports media; for example, women's sports received only 5% of airtime compared to men's 92% (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 47) [-1]
- the N.C.A.A. changed from being an all-male organization, but as of this year, it was still comprised of only 33% women (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 45) [-1]
- since the Boston Marathon started allowing women to participate in 1972, women's numbers have reached only 20% as of this year (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 37) [-1]
- women constituted only 20% of the Culinary Institute of America, which did not start accepting women until 1970 (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 77) [-1]
- women made up only 30% of the students in the Association of Theological Schools (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 108) [-1]
- 21% of respondents in a Newsweek poll said they had been sexually harassed and 42% knew someone that had been (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 86) [-1]
- battered women's shelters continued to severely short of the resources needed to help those in need (e.g. New York had 1300 spaces for a state with 18 million people) (Gibbs, 1993 in Ruth, 1998, p. 328) [-1]
- the National Domestic Violence Hotline was disconnected even though it was receiving 10,000 calls per month (Gibbs, 1993 in Ruth, 1998, p. 328) [-2]
- a study investigating the validity of media reports that employment was detrimental to women, found that these claims were contrary to the truth: the more positive the findings, the more negative the media's reports, which was extremely debilitating for women whose lives were

affected by the national policies shaped by such misinformation (Barnett & Rivers, 1992, p. 64)

[-2]

- the Catholic Church upheld its ban on women entering the priesthood, in spite of mounting opposition from Catholic women (66% of American Catholics favored women entering the priesthood, up from 20% in 1985) (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 123-4) [-1]
- four independent studies all found gender bias inherent in the medical system (e.g. men were twice as likely to receive a kidney transplant or diagnostic lung cancer test than women) (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 135-6) [-2]
- although aware that there were problems with their breast implants since early 1970, Dow Corning did not release this information until this year (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992, p. 151) [-2]

Total (+34 / -37) = -3

1993

1. GAINS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the Family and Medical Leave Act was passed, which permitted up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to male or female employees, for family responsibilities (e.g. births, illness) (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 409; Tobias, 1997, p. 95) [+2]
- several abortion restrictions were rescinded, including the 'gag rule' and Ex-President Reagan's cancellation of fetal tissue research (N.I.H. was now permitted to fund such endeavors) (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508; Tobias, 1997, p. 102) [+2]
- some states began to fund abortions for poor women who had been the victims of rape or incest (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 594) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- Ruth Bader Ginsburg became the second woman to be nominated to the Supreme Court, a strong advocate of abortion and other women's rights (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 408) [+1]
- the first Mexican American woman was appointed to Congress (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508) [+2]

- Janet Reno became the first woman to be appointed to the position of U.S. Attorney General (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508) [+2]

(c) LEGAL

- Public Law 93-647 was enacted, thus creating a federal delinquent-parent-location task force, and encouraging the enforcement of support and collection of late payments (Tobias, 1997, p. 121) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- Lifetime Television started this year, the first to target women (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Sherry Davis became the first woman to announce professional baseball full-time (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Lucille Salhaney became the first female T.V. network chair (FOX) (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]
- Sheila Widnall, an astrophysicist, became the first civilian woman to oversee a military sector when she was appointed secretary of the Air Force (Tobias, 1997, p. 173) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) LEGISLATIVE

- the concept of 'comparable worth' had yet to receive any support or serious consideration from the business sector or federal government (Ruth, 1998, p. 356) [-1]
- the unpaid leave allowed by the Family and Medical Leave Act did not help women who could not afford to go without pay (Mezey, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 409) [-2]
- an attempt to revoke the Hyde Amendment (1980) was unsuccessful (Kerber & DeHart, 1995, p. 594) [-1]

(b) LEGAL

- the Supreme Court ruled that women seeking abortions were not protected by the Ku Klux Klan Act, which prohibits protesters from interfering with abortion clinic procedures (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 414) [-2]

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- the first female accepted at The Citadel military institute had her acceptance revoked when they discovered her sex (she had an ambiguous name, which the institute had assumed was male) (Tobias, 1997, p 271) [-2]

Total (+21 / -8) = +13

1994

1. GAINS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- 60% of all women were in the workforce this year, compared to 52% in 1980; this included 50% of all married women, many of whose incomes prevented their families from slipping below the poverty line (Ruth, 1998, p. 335-6) [+1]
- for the first time, all of the editors for the 'Seven Sisters Women's Service Magazines' were women (i.e. Ladies Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, Family Circle, Redbook, Woman's Day, McCall's, and Better Homes & Gardens) (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- the first female Surgeon General was elected this year (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508) [+2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- the 'Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act' was enacted by President Clinton this year, making it a federal crime to hinder in any way, the proceedings at abortion clinics (Mezey, 1996, p. 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 414) [+2]

(d) LEGAL

- a Supreme Court decision that made abortion clinic obstruction a federal crime of collusion, now allowed clinics to call for the protection of federal marshals (Tobias, 1997, p. 238) [+2]
- in excess of 10,000 reverse discrimination charges were initiated since 1987, with only 10% of them being found to have any substance (E.E.O.C. in Ruth, 1998, pp. 361, 364) [+1]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap had converged this year but it still averaged 74.6% (Ruth, S., 1998, p. 353-4) [-1]
- in excess of 90% of 'pink ghetto' jobs were held by women (e.g. clerical, child care), while less than 1% of Fortune 500 firms' top jobs were occupied by women (Ruth, 1998, p. 335, 339) [-1]
- women continued to face higher unemployment than men (Ruth, 1998, p. 336) [-1]
- the first female Surgeon General, appointed this year, felt compelled to resign because of a scandal sparked by her vocal views on sex education, A.I.D.S. prevention and illegal drugs (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508) [-2]
- women's numbers in the federal Senior Executive Service were increasing, but they still totaled only 17%, up from 5% in 1979 (Tobias, 1997, p. 258) [-1]
- the job re-training offered to welfare mothers on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (A.F.D.C.) prepared women for jobs that did not pay enough to sustain families (Ruth, 1998, p. 336) [-1]

(b) MISCELLANEOUS

- the A.F.D.C. payments ensured women's poverty as they were enough to sustain families (Ruth, 1998, p. 336) [-1]
- women's average standard of living after divorce was improving, but it still fell and average of 33%, while men's increased an average of 13%, compared to 73% and 42% respectively, in 1987 (Ruth, 1998, p. 335) [-1]
- 50% of all single mothers were impoverished this year (Ruth, 1998, p. 335) [-1]
- a new Diet Coke ad, touted as a "turning point in the war between the sexes" was nothing more than reverse sexism; it showed women ogling a bare-chested man (Ingrassia, 1994, p. 66) [-2]

Total (+10 / -12) = -2

1995**1. GAINS****(a) EMPLOYMENT**

- the number of men and women in the workforce has been converging throughout the 20th century, with 66% of all women and 82% of all men working full time this year (The Economist, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 348, 353) [+1]
- 68% of C.E.O.'s from the nation's most successful businesses reported that attracting female directors was a "top priority", and 86% felt that it was "important" to get more women onto their boards (National Council for Research on Women, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, p. 364) [+2]

(b) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- Nancy Kassebaum became the first woman to chair a top Senate committee (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508) [+2]

(c) LEGAL

- after two years of court battles, The Citadel all-male military school was forced to accept its first female cadet, followed shortly by The Virginia Military Institute which was received a similar order this year (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 412) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- the first anthology of African American, non-fiction, feminist writing was published, with works dating back to the 19th century (Tobias, 1997, p. 221) [+2]

2. SETBACKS**(a) EMPLOYMENT**

- the wage gap widened to 73% overall, and 71% for college educated women (The Economist, 1996 & The National Council for Research on Women, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, pp. 99, 365) [-1]
- job segregation was still a problem as most women remained concentrated in female dominated jobs sectors (National Council for Research on Women, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, p. 361) [-1]
- this year, only 26% of lawyers were women, as were 3 to 5% of Fortune 1000 and 500 business' senior managers, 15% of tenured professors (National Council for Research on Women, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, pp. 355, 361, 365) [-1]

(b) POLITICAL

- women made up only 20% of the House of Representatives, and 10% of the Senate this year
(National Council for Research on Women, 1995 in Ruth, 1998, p. 365) [-1]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- affirmative action was still on shaky ground, even 30 years after it had been introduced: for example, the California Board of Regents eradicated affirmative action from its policies for admissions, hiring and contracting (Tobias, 1997, pp. 131, 272) [-1]
- in an unprecedented move, Congress enacted a law criminalizing late term abortions (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 415) [-2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- in his 'Evangelium Vitae', the Pope restated the Church's condemnation of abortion, birth control and in vitro fertilization (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508) [-1]
- despite legislation to protect abortion clinics, there was a decline in abortions due to a decline in the number of doctors learning how to and/or willing to perform them Tobias, 1997, p. 238) [-1]
- the whole Title IX idea was still being fought, with continual attempts made by college boards to have it revised (Tobias, 1997, p. 126) [-1]
- a complaint that a shirt reading 'Someday a Woman Will Be President' was "anti-family" resulted in its removal from Wal-Mart shelves (Tobias, 1997, p. 272) [-2]

Total (+9 / -12) = -3

1996

1. GAINS

(a) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- C.N.N. appointed the first woman to its position of chief international correspondent (Mansfield, 1996, p. 83) [+2]

(b) LEGAL

- that sexual harassment by powerful people was not implausible was becoming increasingly accepted, one such instance being the resignation of Senator Packwood, who decided to quit

rather than endure public hearings and risk being removed and losing his lifetime pension (Tobias, 1997, p. 118) [+1]

- anti-gay laws that were enacted in Colorado and Oregon (1992) were struck down by the Supreme Court (Tobias, 1997, p. 272) [+2]
- some cities started allowing same sex couples to register their relationships with the municipal government (Tobias, 1997, p. 168) [+2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- the abortion bill enacted in 1995 which criminalized late term abortions, was overturned by President Clinton (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 415) [+2]
- RU 486, the 'morning after' or 'abortion pill' was given conditional approval by the F.D.A. (Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 415) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) POLITICAL

- women's numbers in politics were increasing, but they were still severely underrepresented: only 12% of the House of Representatives, 9% of the Senate and 21% of the state legislatures were women (The Economist, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 344; Tobias, 1997, p. 249) [-1]
- Presidential candidate Dole changed his stance from pro- to anti-affirmative action (Tobias, 1997, p. 131) [-2]

(b) LEGISLATIVE

- the 'Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act' was signed into law by President Clinton (Public Law 104-193) which eliminated a 61 year old assurance of financial assistance to poor families; states would now receive block transfer payments that would not be adjusted to compensate for things such as inflation (Mezey & Mezey, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 379) [-2]
- despite some legal gains being made in the gay community, the 'Defense of Marriage Act' was passed, thus making same sex marriages illegal (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 508; Tobias, 1997, p. 168) [-2]

(c) EMPLOYMENT

- in spite of women's rapidly increasing labor force participation, they continued to earn less than men and were more likely to be unemployed (The Economist, 1996 in Ruth, 1998, p. 98) [-1]
- women's progress in Fortune 500 companies continued to be slow: women held only 10% of the board of directors' seats, and 20% of these companies had no women at all (Ruth, 1998, p. 339) [-1]

[-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- a study of toady's fashion industry revealed that the typical model's measurements were 33-23-33, thus idealizing extreme thinness and promoting women's hatred of their own bodies; in some cases this evolves into anorexia or bulimia (Leland, Miller & Hall, 1996, p. 66) [-1]

Total (+11 / -10) = +1

1997

1. GAINS

(a) LEGAL

- the Supreme Court ruled that the Virginia Military Institute must admit female students or lose its funding; it was estimated that 31 women would enroll this year ("Women enter military", 1997, p. A10) [+2]
- in the much publicized trial of sportscaster Marv Albert, who allegedly savagely attacked his lover for failing to comply with his demands for her to find someone for a ' threesome ', his lawyers failed in their attempts to use information that would defame the victim and faced 15-40 years in jail if found guilty ("Albert's accuser testifies, 1997, p. A21; Russo, 1997, p. B3); this illustrated the increasing seriousness with which such crimes against women were being treated [+2]

(b) EMPLOYMENT

- by this year, universities were being forced to comply with a long term affirmative action plan, thus making the application and employment process for women and minorities more equitable (Tobias, 1997, p. 105) [+1]

- the number of female owned businesses increased 57% since 1987, due in part to equal credit legislation and the setting aside of a certain number of federal government business contracts for women and minorities (Tobias, 1997, p. 130) [+1]

(c) WOMEN'S ACTIONS

- Madeline Albright became the first U.S. Secretary of State (Blankenship, Bezdek & Ruth, 1997 in Ruth, 1998, p. 509) [+2]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- over 66% of American colleges had women's studies programs as of this year (Ruth, 1998, p. xiii) [+1]
- graduate programs in women's studies were becoming more and more numerous (Ruth, 1998, p. xiii) [+1]
- the National Women's Studies Association (1977) was thriving, and now had its own journal and was 3000 members strong (Ruth, 1998, p. xiii) [+1]
- women made a major breakthrough in professional sports when the N.B.A. hired two female referees, the first of the four major professional leagues to do so ("Women to ref N.B.A....", 1997, p. 51) [+2]
- the military's 'don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue' policy on homosexuals was far from perfect, but nevertheless, it represented a "guarded acceptance" that would have been out of the question two decades ago (Tobias, 1997, p. 166) [+2]

2. SETBACKS

(a) EMPLOYMENT

- the wage gap persisted, with women averaging 75% of the earnings of comparable men (Ruth, 1998, p. 335) [-1]
- of all the northern countries, America was found to have the worst family policy, allowing only 12 weeks of unpaid leave (Canada was the next worse, permitting only 15 weeks off at 55% of one's full salary) (Mitchell, 1997, p. A12) [-1]

- only 5-7% of senior management positions were held by women, up from 1.5% in the mid 1980's, with the majority of women remaining concentrated in 'pink ghetto' jobs (Tobias, 1997, pp. 128, 130) [-1]

(b) LEGAL

- the ban on affirmative action, initiated in California in 1996, was made into law, thus making it the first state to eradicate any special considerations for gender and race when hiring for jobs to admitting people into educational programs ("Affirmative action banned", 1997, p. A10) [-2]
- in its typical style, the media portrayed the victim in the Marv Albert case as evil, calling her a "Jezebel", before the verdict was ever decided ("Albert's accuser wearis...", 1997, p. B14) [-2]

(c) LEGISLATIVE

- Title IX (1972) clearly had no real power: as of this year, no institution had ever been denied any subsidies for failure to comply with its requirements (Tobias, 1997, p. 123) [-1]

(d) MISCELLANEOUS

- a tactic that was becoming increasingly popular in politics and social science was to hold single mothers accountable for problems ranging from the deficit to young male violence (Ruth, 1998, p. xi) [-1]
- it was "unfashionable" to proclaim oneself a feminist this year (Ruth, 1998, p. xii) [-1]
- despite the progress made with women's studies programs, they remained on unsteady ground: volunteer overtime put in by faculty members has been necessary to sustain the programs, they have had little if any effect on the more traditional faculties, some young academics have felt it wise to avoid close associations with the program and association and many students and professors in the program have experienced hostility from other faculty and students (Ruth, 1998, p. xiii, 7) [-1]
- a sociological study of middle aged men and women found the former to be less depressed than the latter: men tended to be "on top of the world" with good jobs and a decent income, while many women were less happy, having given up their careers to raise children (Kesterton, 1997, p. A20) [-1]

- unlike Canada, beauty pageants in the U.S. continued to be popular (e.g. the Miss Teen U.S.A. Pageant was one of the 10 top shows): in this “cradle-to-grave industry”, females anywhere from 18 months to “old and gray” could find some beauty contest to enter (Dafoe, 1997, p. A12) [-1]

Total (+15 / -13) = +2

Appendix 3: Canadian Women's Fashion

The numbers in parentheses [] following some data points are the values I have assigned to information that pertains to the appearance of women's busts. See 'data evaluation' in the Methodology chapter for a more detailed explanation.

Data were organized according to four general categories; social climate, general styles, bras and breasts, and silhouette. However, some sections do not contain all of these categories because information was not found that pertained specifically to them.

1970'S

1. GENERAL STYLES

- at the beginning of the 1970's, styles were diverse (Routh, 1993, p. 148; Dollery, 1971, p. 45; Wilcox, 1970, p. 36)
- styles ranged from very casual and relaxed (e.g. 'hippie') (Routh, 1993, p. 148; O'Toole, 1980, p. 47; Dollery, 1973a, p. 48; Dollery, 1973b, p. 57) to snug fitting (Routh, 1973, p. 148; Dollery, 1971, p. 45)
- the 'unisex' look was popular in the early part of the decade (Routh, 1993, p. 150)
- "success suits" were worn by working women at this time as well: these suits helped to downplay women's gender (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 392) – something some saw as necessary if "women were to be equal to men" (Istona, 1987, p. 2)
- as the decade wore on, styles continued to slim down (Hille, 1976a, p. 46; "Fall trends", 1975, p. 38; Haddrick, 1975b, p. 32; "Intimate apparel", 1975a, p. 68; "Intimate apparel", 1975b, p. 68), with the 'hourglass' silhouette becoming popular again (Haddrick, 1975a, p. 31)
- some things did not change, however: (i) business suits were still popular amongst working women (Routh, 1993, p. 150; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 392; Istona, 1987, p. 2; "Styles '76 guide", 1976, p. 34) and (ii) the models that "were like rakes" were still being used (Steacy, Potvin, & Luckow, 1987, p. 35)
- by the end of the 1970's, the basic shape had become triangular: broad shoulders (Best, 1979, p. 1; Cuevas, 1979h, p. 50-1; "Summer's narrow suits", 1979, p. 43), cinched waists (Cuevas, 1979c, p.

18; Cuevas, 1979h, p. 50; "Summer's narrow suits", 1979, p. 43; "Tops that hug", 1979, p. 45) and slim skirts (Cuevas, 1979e, p. 25; "On the cover", 1979, p. 3; "Spring Canada", 1979, p. 13; "Tops that hug", 1979, p. 45)

- women's legs were being emphasized (Cuevas, 1979c, p. 18; "Focus on the leg", 1979, p. 66) – wide legged pants were "out" (Cuevas, 1979b, p. 33)
- business suits were still being worn by working women (Routh, 1993, p. 149-50; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 392; Istona, 1987, p. 2; "What's hot", 1979, p. 17)
- fashions in general were still slimming down (Cuevas, 1979a, p. 33; Cuevas, 1979c, p. 18; Cuevas, 1979d, p. 18; Cuevas, 1979f, p. 25; Cuevas, 1979g, p. 21; Cuevas, 1979h, p. 50; "Summer's narrow suits", 1979, p. 43; "Tops that hug", 1979, p. 45; "Wrap it", 1979, p. 58)
- in essence, "the body [was] back" (Cuevas, 1979f, p. 25)

2. BRAS AND BREASTS

- the use of rake-like models throughout the 1970's (Steacy, et al., 1987, p. 35) was demonstrative of the ideal figure for women: small breasts and body (Dollery, 1973c, p. 46) [2.0]
- bras during the 70's, were designed to give women natural shaping (Fulsang, 1994b, p. 16; "The sexy sets", 1979, p. 52; "Dupont forecasts future", 1976, p. 47; "Enhance her clothing", 1976, p. 52; "For the natural look", 1976, p. 12; Hille, 1976a, p. 46; Hille, 1976b, p. 37-8; "Fall's feminine underpinnings" 1975, p. 29; Haddrick, 1975a, p. 31; Haddrick, 1975b, p. 32; Dollery, 1972, p. 52) [3.0], and for the first half of the decade, they were very sheer ("Fall's feminine underpinnings", 1975, p. 29; "Take the plunge", 1975, p. 30; Dollery, 1973c, p. 46)
- by the mid 70's, bra sales started increasing (Hille, 1976a, p. 46; Hille, 1975, p. 30), signaling a move away from the bra-less trend (Hille, 1975, p. 30)
- in 1974 and 1976, cleavage enhancing bra styles made an appearance (Fulsang, 1994b, p. 16) [4.0], but by no means became a trend – the natural look predominated throughout the 1970's (Fulsang, 1994b, p. 16; "The sexy sets", 1979, p. 52; "Dupont forecasts future", 1976, p. 47; "Enhance her clothing", 1976, p. 52; "For the natural look", 1976, p. 12; Hille, 1976a, p. 46; Hille, 1976b, p. 37-8; "Fall's feminine underpinnings", 1975, p. 29; Haddrick, 1975a, p. 31; Haddrick, 1975b, p. 32; Dollery, 1972, p. 52)

- pretty, feminine bras and underwear started gaining popularity around the middle of the 1970's ("Fall's feminine underpinnings", 1975, p. 29; Haddrick, 1975a, p. 31; "Pretty lingerie business", 1975, p. 28) – a trend that continued through to the end of the decade ("Fanciful beginnings", 1979, p. 81; "Under cover", 1979, p. 91)
- sports bras started selling well by the end of the 70's ("Fabric futures", 1979, p. 50; "The sports ones", 1979, p. 55; "Under cover", 1979, p. 91) [3.0]

1980'S

1. SOCIAL CLIMATE

- throughout the decade, a general body consciousness prevailed (Charles, 1988, p. 29; Steacy et al., 1987, p. 34-5; Baldwin, 1983, p. 11; "Fall 83", 1983, p. 57; "Young bodies", 1980, p. 38)
- unfortunately, this body consciousness had some extremely negative consequences: (i) many women became so obsessed with thinness that they ended up either anorexic or bulimic and (ii) overweight women were treated poorly (e.g. they were made to feel as though they had some disorder, some even being shunned by others) (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 392)
- the general fashions of the 1980's were reflective of the decade's new values: "more blatant, aggressive sexuality and more ostentation" (Routh, 1993, p. 170)
- this blatant sexuality became especially salient by the mid-80's when there was a shift in what were considered to be women's erogenous zones: the bust, waist and hips were now being emphasized, rather than women's legs (Steacy et al., 1987, p. 34)
- as Morley (1987) noted, the trend was now toward "saleable sex" (e.g. feminine, romantic and sexy lingerie) (p. 22)
- Istona (1987) felt that the new styles made women look like "boy toys" (p. 2)

2. GENERAL STYLES

- many trends that were initiated in the 1970's continued into the 1980's: (i) the health and fitness craze (Steacy et al., 1987, p. 35; "Young bodies", 1980, p. 38), (ii) a corresponding body consciousness (Baldwin, 1983, p. 11) and (iii) fashions designed to emphasize a fit body (Steacy et al., 1987, p. 35; "Fall '83", 1983, p. 57)

- one such fashion trend was an increasing snugness to clothing (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 392; "Rear views", 1985, p. 90; "Dresses: closer", 1984, p. 20; "The spring season", 1984, p. 79; Baldwin, 1983, p. 11; "Fall '83", 1983, p. 57; "Selling spring", 1983, p. 6; Shuter, 1983, p. 79; Hurowitz, 1982a, p. 30, 33; Hurowitz, 1982b, p. 98)
- clothing also continued to become more and more feminine (e.g. softer, less tailored styles, such as lacy blouses, strapless dresses) ("Dresses: closer", 1984, p. 20; "The spring season", 1984, p. 79; "Selling spring", 1983, p. 6; Hurowitz, 1982d, p. 98; Shuter, 1982b, p. 61; Hurowitz, 1981b, p. 138; "Frankly feminine", 1980, p. 97; "Get off the blandwagon", 1980, p. 85) (i.e. less masculine) ("Get off the blandwagon", 1980, p. 85; "Look out", 1980, p. 93)
- during the early 80's, the triangular silhouette, which had become popular in the late 70's, was still 'in' (Routh, 1993, p. 170): it was characterized by broad shoulders / big tops (Routh, 1993, p. 170; "Fall '83", 1983, p. 57; Wilcox, 1983, p. 1; Hurowitz, 1982d, p. 98; Shuter, 1982a, p. 49; Shuter, 1982b, p. 61; Shuter, 1982c, p. 49; Shuter, 1982d, p. 61; Hurowitz, 1981b, p. 138; "Double time", 1980, p. 89) and slimming toward the midriff (Routh, 1993, p. 170; "Fall '83", 1983, p. 57)
- women's legs were still being emphasized for the first part of the decade as well (Law, 1986, p. 133; "Warm form", 1985, p. 85; "The legs have it", 1985, p. L-2; "This is the year of the leg", 1985, p. 44; Baldwin, 1984, p. 17; Hurowitz, 1981a, p. 138; "Take a long hot look", 1981, p. 63)
- the masculine suit for women started going out of favor in the early 80's (Prentice et al., 1988, p. 392; "Get off the blandwagon", 1980, p. 85) and was considered to be dead by 1984 ("The right stuff", 1984, p. 59)
- the enthusiasm toward health and fitness continued through the mid-80's, as did a general body consciousness (Charles, 1988, p. 29; Steacy et al., 1987, p. 35)
- two trends that had carried over into the 80's that were still prevalent at the end of the decade were
 - (i) a softening / feminization of styles (e.g. pretty, delicate looks) ("Soft touches", 1989, p. 22; "Stepping out", 1989, p. 23; Istona, 1987, p. 2; Nesdoly, 1987, p. 25; Steacy et al., 1987, p. 34-5) and (ii) a narrowing of the overall fit of clothes (Charles, 1989, p. 23; "Soft touches", 1989, p. 22; "Stepping out", 1989, p. 23; Charles, 1988, p. 31; Prentice et al., 1988, p. 392; Istona, 1987, p. 2; Morley, 1987, p. 22; Nesdoly, 1987, p. 25; Baldwin, 1985b, p. L-2; "Warm form", 1985, p. 85)

3. BRAS AND BREASTS

- at the beginning of the decade, bra styles were still relatively light and unstructured ("Sultry effects", 1982, p. 96; "Body english", 1981, p. 26, 30; "Dressing inside out", 1981, p. 95, 97; "Fighting back", 1981, p. 70; "On the market: lingerie", 1981, p. 30; "Tantalizing tops", 1981, p. 25; "Underwires under control", 1981, p. 13; "Frankly feminine", 1980, p. 98; "On the fashion market", 1980, p. 36; "Young bodies", 1980, p. 38) [3.0]
- necklines were being worn high at this time (Hurowitz, 1983, p. 130; Hurowitz, 1981a, p. 138; Hurowitz, 1981c, p. 130; "Double time", 1980, p. 89; "Get off the blandwagon", 1980, p. 85) [2.0]
- however, the trend toward more feminine bras (i.e. pretty, frilly styles) that had started in the 70's, continued (Baldwin, 1984, p. 17; "Sultry effects", 1982, p. 96; "Young looks like lace", 1981, p. 10)
- as well, bras were becoming increasingly structured (i.e. offering more support) (Baldwin, 1983, p. 11; Baldwin, 1982, p. 15; "Dressing inside out", 1981, p. 95-7), as evidenced by the continued and growing popularity of sports bras (Baldwin, 1981, p. 26; "Body english", 1981, p. 26) [3.0] and the return to underwire styles (Baldwin, 1984, p. 17; Baldwin, 1983, p. 11; Baldwin, 1982, p. 15; "Intimate apparel: in the news", 1982, p. 10; "Sultry effects", 1982, p. 96; "Intimate apparel", 1981, p. 23; "Underwires under control", 1981, p. 13) [4.0]
- the mid-80's saw a continuation of the trends toward increasingly (i) feminine bra styles (Charles, 1988, p. 29; Morley, M., 1987, p. 22; Nesdoly, T., 1987, p. 25; Steacy, A. et al., 1987, p. 35; Nesdoly, 1986, pp. 21, 24; Baldwin, 1985a, p. 34; Baldwin, 1985b, p. L-2; "The comfort of cotton", 1985, p. 40) and (ii) structured bra designs (Charles, 1988, p. 31; Nesdoly, 1987, p. 25) especially underwire varieties (Nesdoly, 1987, p. 25; "Fall lingerie", 1986, p. 25; "Comfortable cottons", 1985, p. L-11; "The luxury of lace", 1985, p. 39) [4.0]
- the mid-80's also saw some significant changes with respect to bras and breasts: (i) the erogenous zones were shifting to more "feminine" areas (i.e. away from women's legs and more toward their busts, waists and hips) (Nemeth in Steacy, A. et al., 1987, p. 34) [4.0], (ii) cleavage was "re-discovered" (Paley in Routh, 1993, p. 174) and (iii) women's fashions were becoming

increasingly revealing (i.e. the high necklines of the early 80's were getting lower and lower) (Paley in Routh, 1993, p. 174; Istona, 1987, p. 2; Nesdoly, 1987, p. 25) [4.0]

- by the end of the decade, "the bust was definitely back" ("Soft touches", 1989, p. 22) and feminine bra styles were the focus (e.g. lacy, underwire garments) (Charles, J., 1989, p. 25; "Soft touches", 1989, p. 22; "Stepping out", 1989, p. 23) [4.0]

1990's

1. GENERAL STYLES

- for the most part, the "exaggerated female form" (i.e. conspicuous breasts and a toned body) has been the 1990's body ideal for women (McIrvin Abu – Laban & McDaniel, 1995, p. 113; Feldman, 1991, p. 21; Morley, 1990b, p. 13), with the exception of 1993, when 'boyish-looking' female figures were in (Chisholm, 1993, p. 52; Fulsang, 1993, p. 12)

2. BRAS AND BREASTS

- the emphasis that was put back onto the bust in 1989 ("Soft touches", 1989, p. 22) continued through the mid-90's (Fulsang, 1995, p. 12; McIrvine Abu – Laban & McDaniel, 1995, p. 113; Morley, 1995, p. 20; Fulsang, 1994a, p. 19; Feldman, 1991, p. 21; Parnes, 1991, p. 27) [4.0]
- at the start of the decade, soft and effeminate lingerie styles were popular (e.g. frilly bras) (Weder, 1991, p. 10; Morley, 1990a, p. 26; Morley, 1990b, p. 13)
- bust-shaping and -enhancing bras were also popular in the early 90's, and they remained fashionable through the middle of the decade: specifically, these were (i) padded bras ("The 1995 retaireport card", 1995, p. 12-13; Fulsang, 1994a, p. 19; Fulsang, 1993, p. 12; Feldman, 1991, p. 21), (ii) underwire / shaping bras ("High performance fitness bra", 1996, p. 7; Fulsang, 1995, p. 12; "The 1995 retaireport card", 1995, p. 12-13; Fulsang, 1994a, p. 19; Fulsang, 1993, p. 12; "Under construction", 1993, p. 9-10; Feldman, 1991, p. 21; Parnes, 1991, p. 27) and (iii) push-up bras (Fulsang, 1996, p. 10; Fulsang, 1995, p. 13; Fulsang, 1994a, p. 19; Fulsang, 1993, p. 12; Parnes, 1991, p. 27) [5.0]
- in 1993, the female body ideal changed dramatically: the year's "hottest models" were flat-chested (i.e. the 'waif look') (Chisholm, 1993, p. 52; Fulsang, 1993, p. 12) [2.0]

- however, through out 1993, bust enhancing bras remained popular and were accompanied by a renewed interest in cleavage (Fulsang, 1993, p. 12) which continued on into the decade (Fulsang, 1994a, p. 19; Fulsang, 1994b, p. 16) [5.0]
- according to McIrvin Abu-Laban & McDaniel (1995), the increasing popularity of breast enhancement surgery (it is the second most common cosmetic surgery procedure, 80% of which are done for non-medical reasons) is directly attributable to this renewed emphasis and idealization of large breasts (p. 113)
- Kesterton (1998) reports that since 1992, the number of breast enhancement operations jumped almost 300% in the Vancouver area alone – a rate closely resembling that of the U.S.
- interestingly, 1994 also saw a re-introduction of bras that were designed to promote a ‘natural look’ (i.e. soft, seamless cups) (Fulsang, 1994b, p. 16; “The inside scoop”, 1994, p. 11) – a trend that was still evident in 1996 (Fulsang, 1996, p. 10) [3.0]

Data Synopsis

The following is a brief summary of the above data. It includes a brief description of the relevant data points that were assigned a value, the value they received, and the mean score for each period in each decade. Characteristics that were mentioned more than once for the same period were only counted once. Characteristics that were described as being popular ‘throughout the decade’, for example, were counted in each period in which they were applicable, for each decade. For example, small breasts were popular throughout the 1970’s. Thus, this characteristic was counted (assigned a value) for the period of 1970 – 1974, for 1975 – 1978, and for 1979.

1970 – 1974

- the appearance of small breasts was the ideal [2.0]
- bras were designed to give natural shaping [3.0]
- cleavage enhancing bras made an appearance in 1974 [4.0]
- mean = 3.0

1975 –1978

- the appearance of small breasts was the ideal [2.0]
- bras were designed for natural shaping [3.0]
- cleavage enhancing bras made an appearance in 1976 [4.0]

mean = 3.0

1979

- the appearance of small breasts was the ideal [2.0]
- bras were designed for natural shaping [3.0]
- sports bras were becoming popular [3.0]

mean = 2.67

1980 – 1984

- bras were still predominantly light and unstructured [3.0]
- necklines were being worn high (breasts were still not being emphasized) [2.0]
- sports bras were still popular [3.0]
- underwire bras were becoming popular [4.0]

mean = 3.0

1985 – 1988

- bras were becoming increasingly structured [4.0]
- the erogenous zone on women shifted away from women's legs towards their busts (cleavage was re-discovered) [4.0]
- fashions were becoming increasingly revealing, emphasizing the bust [4.0]

mean = 4.0

1989

- "the bust is back" [4.0]
- mean = 4.0

1990 – 1994

- emphasis on the bust continues [4.0]
- bust enhancing bras are becoming popular [5.0]
- the 'waif look' makes a brief appearance in 1993 [2.0]
- bust enhancing bras remain popular during the 'waif' blip [5.0]
- in 1994, bras that promote a 'natural look' are re-introduced [3.0]

mean = 3.8

1995 – 1997

- bust enhancing bras are still popular [5.0]
- natural looking bras are making a comeback [3.0]

mean = 4.0

Appendix 4: American Women's Fashion

The numbers in parentheses [] following some data points are the values that I have assigned to information that pertains to the appearance of women's busts. See 'data evaluation' in the Methodology chapter for a more detailed explanation.

Data were organized according to four general categories; social climate, general styles, bras and breasts, and silhouette. However, some sections do not contain all of these categories because information was not found that pertained specifically to them.

1970'S

1. SOCIAL CLIMATE

- this was a time of social unrest, which was reflected in the fashions of the time (Frings, 1991, p. 28)
- in general, social and sexual norms were slackening and people were becoming more individualistic in their thinking (Sproles & Davis Burns, 1994, p. 39)
- the 1970's were even dubbed the '*me decade*' (Mulvagh, 1988, p. 315)
- some of this social turmoil had to do with women's changing roles (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 443) and consequently, the ambivalence they were feeling with regard to "their place in the world" (Clancy, 1996, p. 108)
- the women's movement was in full swing: women were pursuing equality in the business and social worlds and this impacted on fashion (Clancy, 1996, p. 108)
- at this time, the business world was essentially a man's world, and women wishing to enter had to adapt and fit in (Frings, 1991, p. 29)
- women had to prove themselves in order to have any chance at assimilation, and part of this required a serious image (Renolds Milbank, 1989, p. 238)
- women in general were splitting off into pro- and anti- feminist camps (Clancy, 1996, p. 126)
- some feminists began questioning fashion in terms of its political correctness: the "under-aged sexuality" of 1960's styles was regarded as depraved and exploitative, and served only to satisfy male appetites (Clancy, 1996, p. 109)

- by the mid-70's, feminists were rejecting any styles that could be interpreted as oppressive (i.e. "man-pleasing" or "designed to keep a woman in her place") and opting for more sensible and comfortable clothing (Clancy, 1996, p. 126)
- the rejection of fashion was not restricted to feminists though: during the 1970's, the general attitude was that "'fashion' was not in fashion" – what was "in" was whatever women chose to wear (Steele, 1997, p. 79; Tortora, & Eubank, 1994, p. 482; Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 238)
- what women were choosing to wear was not void of influence though: fitness and health had become an obsession during the 70's (Frings, 1991, p. 28; Pexton Murray, 1989, p. 115) resulting in a general increase in body consciousness and demand for functional clothing (Pexton Murray, 1989, p. 115)
- by the end of the 70's, the outlook had become dismal: "government scandals, assassinations and a declining economy had wiped out the excesses of the" decade (Pexton Murray, 1989, p. 115)

2. GENERAL STYLES

- in an attempt to achieve the serious image required of women who wanted to assimilate into the male dominated business world (Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 238), many started wearing conservative business suits (Faludi, 1991, p. 173) "to give themselves a visual business-like credibility" (Frings, 1991, p. 29)
- trousers and pants also became increasingly popular with women – another "traditional symbol of masculine power" (Steele, 1997, p. 87; Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 240)
- according to Pexton Murray (1989), if there was one article of women's clothing that epitomized the 1970's, it was pants (p. 115)
- some describe the general styles of this decade as "anti-fashion" (Steele, 1997, p. 79; Frings, 1991, p. 29)
- the start of the 70's was a time of "retro-mania" (Clancy, 1996, p. 108), when styles still had a "hippie" look to them (Steele, 1997, p. 82) and the general goal was to look "natural" (Herald, 1992, p. 17; Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 241)
- there was no "one look" for the decade however: women had a lot of freedom in deciding what clothing to wear (Steele, 1997, p. 79; Sproles, & Davis Burns, 1994, p. 39; Mulvagh, 1988, p. 315)

- by the mid-70's, fashion started changing again: styles were still diverse ("Giving and getting", 1976, p. 156) and functional (Mulvagh, 1988, p. 355), but they were starting to slim down as well (Mulvagh, 1988, p. 342, 356, 361; "Out from underwear", 1977, p. 60)
- the man-tailored styles that had been introduced in the early 70's were on their way out, and being replaced by leaner, softer, romantic clothing (Herald, 1992, p. 57; Rennolds Milbank, 1989, pp. 246-7; "Out from underwear", 1977, p. 60)
- tailored fashions were also slimming down (Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 246), as well as becoming increasingly conservative (Steele, 1997, p. 82)
- skirts started getting longer (Pexton Murray, 1989, p. 115; Mulvagh, 1988, p. 336) – just a few years after attempts to launch the maxi (long) skirt failed miserably (1970) (Pexton Murray, 1989, p. 115)
- as the decade came to a close, styles continued to move in a conservative direction (Steele, 1997, p. 82) with the man-tailored fashions of the early 70's evolving into a more controlled, "preppy" appearance that was characteristic of the "dress for success" look (Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 247)
- non-work styles were a balance between simplicity and seductiveness (e.g. stretch spandex disco fashions, uncomplicated evening wear) (Mulvagh, 1988, p. 367)

3. SILHOUETTE

- overall, the silhouette was unfitted, fluid and relaxed (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 451; Mulvagh, 1988, pp. 315, 320, 339; Leopold, 1980, p. 315)
- for those who could emulate the "ideal of feminine beauty" – a long, slender, in-shape body - the silhouette was also unfitted, fluid and relaxed (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, pp. 451, 482), but it was also more snug, especially in the torso (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 482; Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 244; Mulvagh, 1988, p. 338; Ewing, 1972, p. 122)
- essentially, the "boyish look" popularized in the 1920's, had returned (Shapiro, Springen & Gordon, 1992, p. 57)

4. BRAS AND BREASTS

- small, firm breasts were in style throughout most of the 70's (Young, 1992, p. 142; "Four famous doctors", 1970, p. 140) [2.0]
- in late 1969/70 bras and girdles were not selling well – some stores were even reporting a drop in sales ("Enhance her clothing", 1976, p. 52; "The big letdown", 1969, p. 49)
- the women's movement and the sexual revolution had branded the bra as nothing more than stifling bondage, and feminists alleged that lingerie designers were "packaging breasts according to men's, rather than women's, specifications" (Yalom, 1997, p. 178-9)
- as a consequence of this feminist condemnation of the bra, many women stopped wearing them altogether (Duff, 1995, p. B7; Roberts, 1994, p. D3; Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 450)
- some women abandoned bras because they wanted to show-off their small and firm breasts, (characteristic of the slim and taut body- ideal at the time) (Braus, 1995, p. 54; Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 482; "Four famous doctors", 1970, p. 140), with this leading to the popularization of the bra-less look Young, 1992, p. 142; Foxworth, 1975, p. 40; Ramsey, 1975, p. 30; "Living bras", 1972, p. 80; Battelle, 1969, pp. 80, 156) [3.0]
- for those women wanting to wear a bra, styles were soft, light and "as discreet as possible" (Yalom, 1997, p. 179; Morris, 1994 b, p. B6; Roberts, 1994, p. D3; Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 443; O'Hara, 1986, p. 53) [3.0]
- the overall idea was to look natural, whether one was wearing a bra or not (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 482; Leopold, 1980, p. 315; Ewing, 1972, p. 122; Griffen, 1971, p. 152) [3.0]
- this trend toward a natural look came at a good time for the large numbers of women entering the workforce, who wanted more practical and comfortable lingerie (Del Sesto, 1993, p. 24) and outer wear (Mulvagh, 1988, pp. 317, 319, 324, 331, 333, 335)
- a popular style at this time was the '*no-bra*' bra: it was made of nude, nylon tricot and was so sheer that it made women look as though they were not even wearing a bra (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 450; Ramsey, 1975, p. 30) [3.0]

- this virtually non-existent style of bra predominated for most of the 1970's (Roberts, 1994, p. D3; Nunn, 1984, p. 223), with many manufacturers making their own versions – such as Warner's 'Starkers' bra: wearing one "was like going naked" (Del Sesto, 1993, p. 24)
- also fashionable, were garments that were designed to be a substitute for a bra, such as bodysuits (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 450) and "asexual T-shirts" (Morris, 1994 c, p. B6)
- generally speaking, women's breasts were not emphasized during the 70's - necklines were not revealing and were located near the neck, or open and showing a camisole underneath (Mulvagh, 1988, p. 339) [2.0]
- what was emphasized were women's legs and midriffs (Mulvagh, 1988, pp. 320, 324-5, 340)
- around the mid-70's, lingerie started undergoing modifications: styles were becoming more traditional (Yalom, 1997, p. 180) as evidenced by garments such as lacy corselets, camisoles and satin under shorts ("Out form underwear", 1977, p. 60)
- as lingerie styles changed, the ideal for women's breasts remained the same however: as Young put it, "breasts were not sexy because being fat was not sexy, and the two were inextricably bound" (p. 142)
- the trend toward slimmer, more regimented fashions (Mulvagh, 1988, p. 361) and an increasing emphasis on health and fitness contributed to women's changing views about bras: the long term consequences of going without a bra, coupled with the wear and tear on the breasts from exercising (e.g. the impact from jogging) was a matter for concern (Leopold, 1980, p. 315)
- it was around this time that the 'sports bra' was becoming popular, providing "motion control" for physically active women (Yalom, 1997, p. 180) [3.0]

1980's

1. SOCIAL CLIMATE

- politically, there was a shift to the right: the newly elected President Reagan began implementing policies that served only to desecrate the social welfare system and further widen the distance between the well-off and the impoverished (Clancy, 1996, p. 144)

2. GENERAL STYLES

- the fashions of the 1980's were a reflection of the social climate of the decade (Howell, 1990, p. 218): (i) styles in "smart Republican society" were "couture-led, traditionally glamorous and ostentatiously expensive" (Clancy, 1996, p. 144), and it was this lifestyle that was largely responsible for the 1980's being labeled as "the decade of excess and greed" (Steele, 1997, p. 109), (ii) women outside of this Republican realm were wearing clothing that reflected the separate worlds in which many lived (Howell, 1990, p. 218) – while at work, women wore styles that were tailored and conservative, turning to alluring, soft and sexy clothing for leisure (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 471; Pexton Murray, 1989, p. 119; Mulvagh, 1988, p. 384; Huowitz, 1982d, p. 98)
- according to Steele (1997), this decade was characterized by "pouf skirts and power suits" (p. 109)
- "power suits" and "dressing for success" were very popular for most of the decade (Clancy, 1996, p. 170; Sproles & Davis Burns, 1994, p. 39; Carnegy, 1990, pp. 12, 29; Howell, 1990, p. 218)
- this masculine style of dress gave many women a sense of authority and competency in so far as it distanced them from the stereotypical assumptions made about women (e.g. helplessness, submissiveness) (Steele, 1997, p. 134; Carnegy, 1990, p. 20)
- away from the office, women turned to more ornate and elaborate designer fashions (Duff, 1995, p. B7; Leland & Leonard, 1993, p. 65; Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 264; Huowitz, 1982d, p. 98)
- the fitness and health craze that had started in the 70's only intensified during the 80's, and this too had a powerful impact on fashion (Steele, V., 1997, p. 121; Frings, G.S., 1991, p. 28; Carnegy, V., 1990, p. 48; Mulvagh, J., 1988, p. 371): active sportswear (e.g. snug fitting lycra tops and leggings) became a popular fashion category in its own right (Frings, 1991, p. 28; Carnegy, 1990, p. 48; Howell, 1990, p. 218; Mulvagh, 1988, p. 371)
- this increased emphasis on health and fitness was accompanied by immense pressure to conform to the new body ideal: broad shoulders and a thin, toned, muscular body (Steele, 1997, p. 124, 144; Sproles, & Davis Burns, 1994, p. 39; Carnegy, 1990, p. 49; Howell, 1990, p. 218; Kaiser, 1990, p. 115; Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 264)

- during the early 1980's, clothing tended to be made from clingy fabrics and fit snugly ("Americans: long, lean and clean", 1984, p. 90; Hurowitz, 1982d, p. 98; Hurowitz, 1982c, p. 130; Leopold, 1980, p. 362; Queen, 1980, p. 72)
- fashions emphasized women's legs (Sproles, & Davis Burns, 1994, p. 43; Howell, 1990, p. 214)
- as the middle of the decade approached, styles started taking on a new look: generally speaking, clothing continued its trend of becoming increasingly snug (Faludi, 1991, pp. 171, 186; "The story beneath", 1988, p. 416; "Find your own", 1986, p. 123; "New York: fit", 1986, p. 122), but it was also becoming more feminine (i.e. softer) (Faludi, 1991, pp. 170-1, 183; Mulvagh, 1988, p. 393; Palumbo, 1987b, p. 10)
- women's legs were still the focus (Sproles & Davis Burns, 1994, p. 43; Howell, 1990, p. 214), with fashions directing increasing attention to them (e.g. slim legged jeans, skinny leggings, skirts that got shorter and shorter each year, lingerie with high cut legs) (Faludi, 1991, pp. 170, 183, 187; "The story beneath", 1988, p. 416; "Find your own", 1986, p. 126; "trends", 1986, p. 30)
- the "dress for success" look had met its demise by 1987 (Faludi, 1991, p. 177)

3. SILHOUETTE

- the predominant shape was based on the male form (Carnegy, 1990, pp. 20, 32; "Americans: long, lean", 1984, p. 90; Hurowitz, 1982c, p. 130) – essentially wide across the shoulders with a narrow line (Tortora, & Eubank, 1994, p. 483; Reynolds Milbank, 1989, p. 264; Mulvagh, 1988, pp. 375, 379; Hurowitz, 1984, p. 119; Hurowitz, 1982c, p. 130)

4. BRAS AND BREASTS

- feminine, frilly underwear started to make a comeback in the early 80's (Yalom, 1997, p. 180-1; "Beautiful bras", 1984, p. 220; Chakravarty, 1983, p. 79; Heiles, 1982, p. 160; Turbeville, 1980, p. 314)
- the bra styles now being offered provided greater control than those of the 1970's (Morris, 1994b, p. B6), but breasts were still not fashionable (Young, 1992, p. 144) [3.5] as evidenced by (i) the high necklines on clothing (Queen, 1980, p. 72) [2.0] and (ii) the emphasis on women's legs (Sproles & Davis Burns, 1994, p. 43; Howell, 1990, p. 214) – dresses were short and only got

shorter as the decade wore on (Mulvagh, 1988, p. 372; Hurowitz, 1983, p. 130; Queen, 1980, p. 72)

- by 1985, breasts were starting to make a comeback, as evidenced by a new emphasis on a full, uplifted bust (Steele, 1997, p. 144; Yalom, 1997, p. 181; Clancy, 1996, p. 166; Shapiro, Springen, & Gordon, 1992, p. 57; Young, 1992, p. 144; Faludi, 1991, p. 187; Mulvagh, 1988, p. 393; Donovan, 1987, p. 86) [4.0]
- new styles of bras offered more than just control – they were now being designed to shape the bust (e.g. underwire bras that enhanced a woman's cleavage) (Clancy, 1996, p. 166; "The story beneath", 1988, p. 416; Turbeville, 1986, pp. 510-11, 513) [4.0]
- the frilly, feminine lingerie that had become popular during the early 80's remained fashionable, and was joined in mid-decade by a resurgence of retro-undergarments (e.g. bustiers, petticoats, teddies, camisoles, lace bras) – all intended to enhance a draw attention to women's busts and cleavage (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 487; Faludi, 1991, p. 188; Bagot, 1989, p. 67; "Best of innerwear", 1987, p. 10, 12; Donovan, 1987, p. 86; Palumbo, 1987a, p. 14; Palumbo, 1987b, pp. 5, 10; "Seductive", 1987, p. 22; Stone, 1987, p. 66; "warming trend", 1987, p. 3, 19; "What's selling", 1987, p. 18; Haynes, 1986, p. 66)
- women's average bra size steadily increased throughout the 1980's (Parnes, 1991, p. 27; Rennolds Milbank, 1989, p. 264): breast enhancement surgery had become increasingly popular (Young, 1992, p. 146; Parnes, 1991, p. 27) and was largely responsible for the expansion of the average cup size from 34B to 36C (Parnes, 1991, p. 27) [4.5]
- according to the American Society of Plastic and Re-constructive Surgeons, there was a 61% increase in breast enlargement surgery from the 1970's to the 1980's (Young, 1992, p. 146)

1990's

1. GENERAL STYLES

- by the time the 1990's arrived, it had become difficult to pin-point any one style as being "in" – fashion had become incredibly diverse (Clancy, 1996, pp. 217-18; Frings, 1994, p. 26; Sproles & Davis Burns, 1994, p. 39; Frings, 1991, p. 30)

- Clancy (1996) described this time as one of “pluralism”, when fashion as a whole was comprised of several small groups, each with their own styles that eventually would filter down and be emulated by the general population (p. 206): “old money”, “new money/media stars”, “ladies who lunch”, “the suit and the working girl”, “youth”, and “street style” (e.g. “grunge fashion”) (Lecca, 1993, p. 65) were some such groups (Clancy, 1996, p. 186)
- one thing that was fairly standard however, was the new body ideal for women: large breasts coupled with the lean, trim, muscular “hard body of the 80’s” (Yalom, 1997, p. 7; Roberts, 1994, p. D3; Shapiro, Springen & Gordon, 1992, p. 57; Young, 1992, p. 144; Woodman, 1991, p. 77)
- some fashions became increasingly revealing (Morris, 1992, p. B11) and styles in general continued to slim down (Benatar, 1994, p. 76; Leland & Leonard, 1993, pp. 64-5), thus accentuating the new body ideal for women
- in 1993, this trim look went to the extreme with the popularization of the “waif look”: petite and fragile-looking models with boyish figures (e.g. Kate Moss) had de-throned the voluptuous models that had been the standard (Steele, 1997, p. 143; Clancy, 1996, p. 206; Leland & Leonard, 1993, pp. 64-5)
- the ‘waif look’ was short-lived however: by 1994, it was out again, and cleavage was back in (Yalom, 1997, p. 183; Levine, 1994, p. 120; Miller, 1994, p. 2; Morris, 1994c, p. B6; Roberts, 1994, p. D1)

2. BRAS AND BREASTS

- large breasts were the new ideal for women by the beginning of the 1990’s (Yalom, 1997, p. 7; Roberts, 1994, p. D3; Hawthorn, 1992, p. 127; Shapiro, Springen & Gordon, 1992, p. 57; Sutton, 1992, p. 60; Young, 1992, p. 144; Woodman, 1991, p. 77) – a standard that would continue for most of the decade (Yalom, 1997, pp. 181, 183, 277) [4.5]
- the push-up bra started to make a comeback at the beginning of the 90’s (Corwin, 1992, p. 85; “Vogue’s view: lingerie”, 1992, p. 218; Agins, 1991, p. B5C; Parnes, 1991, p. 27) and made an explosive re-entrance in 1994 (after the *‘waif look’ craze of 1993) *[2.0]: the ‘Wonderbra’ and similar styles by other companies, were “in” this year (Clancy, 1996, p. 198; “Fashioning form and function”, 1995, p. A24; Benatar, 1994, p. 76; Corwin, 1994, p. 56-7; Levine, 1994, p. 120;

Morris, 1994a, p. B7; Morris, 1994b, p. B6; Morris, 1994c, p. B6; "The trouble with bra ads", 1994, p. A1) – all designed to enhance women's cleavage (Benson & Esten, 1996, p. 51; Corwin, 1994, p. 57; Levine, 1994, p. 120; Miller, 1994, p. 2; Morris, 1994b, p. B6; Roberts, 1994, p. D3) [5.0]

- this push-up style of bra sold extremely well from the moment it was re-introduced in 1994 (Yalom, 1997, p. 182; Benson & Esten, 1996, p. 51; Braus, 1995, p. 56; Chandler & Palmer, 1995, p. 37; Duff, 1995, p. B7; Kantrowitz & Archer Biddle, 1994, p. 41; Liesse, 1994, p. 38; Levine, 1994, p. 120; Miller, 1994, p. 10; Morris, 1994b, p. B6; Roberts, 1994, p. D3; "Underwear is hot", 1994, p. A1), with some reports going so far as to dub them a "phenomenon" (Roberts, 1994, p. D3), a "marketing master stroke" (Garfield, 1994) and "the marketing success story of the 90's" (Braus, 1995, p. 56)
- however, women were no longer relying solely on the bra to help them accentuate their busts: the 'innerwear as outerwear' trend that started in the early 90's gave them a variety of new garments to help achieve this goal (Gill, 1992, p. 75; "Vogue's view: lingerie", 1992, p. 196; Shields, 1990, p. 344) [4.0]
- these new garments were inspired by fashions that had previously been worn underneath clothing, such as bustiers, corsets (Del Sesto, 1993, p. 28; Steele, 1993, p. 155; "Vogue's view: lingerie", 1992, p. 222; "View: lingerie report", 1990, p. 200) and Merry Widows (Shields, 1990, p. 344) – all being worn as tops
- 'waist clinchers' were also making a comeback (Chandler & Palmer, 1995, p. 37; Shields, 1990, p. 344), which indirectly emphasized the bust by reducing the waist (Tortora & Eubank, 1994, p. 420, 437; Morrison & Holden, 1973, p. 576) [4.0]
- not all women bought into the Wonderbra/ push-up bra craze (according to a 1994 poll by E.D.K. Forecasts, only 7% of women aged 35 to 44 wore push-up bras, compared to 22% of women under 35) (Braus, 1995, p. 56), but most women still wanted to wear a bra of some kind (Benson & Esten, 1996, p. 50; Clancy, 1996, p. 198; Morris, 1994b, p. B6)
- bras in general were selling well ("Intimately successful", 1997, p. A20; Yalom, 1997, p. 182; Duff, 1995, p. B7), especially underwire bras (Corwin, 1993, p. 41; Corwin, 1992, p. 85; Corwin,

1991, p. 37; Corwin, 1990, p. 37; Shields, 1990, p. 344) and sports bras ("Sports bras winning", 1997, p. A10; Clancy, 1996, p. 198; Hanford, 1996, p. A67; Corwin, 1995, p. 51; Corwin, 1994, p. 57; Morris, 1994b, p. B6; "Underwear is hot", 1994, p. A1; Corwin, 1993, p. 41; Corwin, 1992, p. 85, p. Corwin, 1991, p. 37, 39; Corwin, 1990, p. 37)

- according to Duff (1995), the last time women showed this much interest in bras and lingerie was the early 1960's (p. B7)
- by 1996, push-up bra sales started leveling off ("Going for bust", 1996, p. 90): according to merchandisers, there would always be a demand for push-up bras, but generally speaking, women only needed one or two because they were not being worn every day (i.e. women were wearing them with special outfits) ("Going for bust", 1996, p. 90) [5.0]
- simultaneously, retailers were forecasting a resurgence in the demand for soft cup bras (Reda, 1996, p. A32) [3.0]
- it is not clear that these two events signal an end to the emphasis on breasts though: a new invention called "Curves" (silicone breast-shaped sacks that fit inside women's bras) (Oliver, 1996, p. 40) [5.0] and the recent introduction of a new line of lingerie resembling that worn by Marilyn Monroe (Levere, 1997, p. D9) would indicate that the fixation on women's breasts is not yet over [5.0]
- as well, breast enhancement surgery has remained very popular throughout the decade: since 1992, there has been almost a 300% increase in such operations (Kesterton, 1998), and a 40% increase in the last two years alone ("Breasts implants soar", 1998) [5.0]

Data Synopsis

The following is a brief summary of the above data. It includes a brief description of the relevant data points that were assigned a value, the value they received, and a mean score for each period, in each decade. Characteristics that were mentioned more than once for the same period were only counted once. Characteristics that were described as being popular 'throughout the decade', for example, were counted in each period in which they were applicable, for each decade. For example,

small breasts were popular throughout the 1970's. Thus, this characteristic was counted (assigned a value) for the period of 1970 – 1974, for 1975 – 1978, and for 1979.

1970 – 1974

- the appearance of small breasts was the ideal [2.0]
- many women abandoned their bras / bralessness was in [3.0]
- bras were made to be light and discreet [3.0]
- the 'no-bra' type of bra was in style [3.0]
- the overall idea was to look 'natural' [3.0]
- breasts were not emphasized [2.0]

mean = 2.67

1975 – 1978

- the virtually non-existent style of bra was still popular [3.0]
- breasts were not emphasized [2.0]
- the appearance of small breasts was the ideal [2.0]

mean = 2.33

1979

- the virtually non-existent style of bra was still popular [3.0]
- breasts were not emphasized [2.0]
- sports bras were becoming popular [3.0]

mean = 2.67

1980 – 1984

- bras were becoming designed to offer more control [3.5]
- high necklines were still popular / breasts were still not being emphasized [2.0]
- women's average bra size was starting to increase / breasts augmentation surgery was becoming popular [3.5]

mean = 3.0

1985 – 1988

- there was a new emphasis on full, uplifted busts [4.0]
- bras were now being designed to shape the bust [4.0]
- women's average bra size continued to increase / breast augmentation surgery was becoming increasingly popular [4.5]

mean = 4.17

1989

- women's average bra size continued to increase / breasts augmentation surgery was still popular [4.5]

mean = 4.5

1990 – 1994

- the appearance of large breasts was the ideal [4.5]
- push-up bras (e.g. 'Wonderbra') were becoming popular [5.0]
- the innerwear as outerwear trend helped to accentuate the bust [4.0]
- waist clinchers were popular [4.0]
- the 'waif look' was popular during 1993 [2.0]

mean = 3.9

1995 – 1997

- the appearance of large breasts was still the ideal [4.5]
- "Wonderbra" sales were levelling off, but they were still selling well [5.0]
- there was a resurgence in the demand for soft cup bras [3.0]
- breast augmenting "Curves" were popular [5.0]
- 'Marilyn Monroe' bras becoming popular [5.0]
- breast enhancing surgery still popular [5.0]

mean = 4.58

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