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PRESERVATION COPY

A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE:

A political survey by Women's Day  
magazine and Wellesley College  
Center for Research on Women

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO       MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
FROM                   MERRIE SPAETH *MS*  
SUBJECT                READERSHIP SURVEY BY WOMAN'S DAY MAGAZINE

Woman's Day Magazine, one of the largest "woman's" magazines, conducted a readership survey in early winter. Of their 7 million readers, 115,000 responded. The study was done by the Wellesley Center for Women's Study at Harvard. (Copy of survey Tab A.)

In brief, the participants are "wives, mothers" -- not career professionals who read Working Woman or Savvy -- and they display a deep conservative tendency on certain issues: criminal justice, defense, government spending. (Interpretation material Tab B.)

The initial publicity the survey is receiving interprets the findings as showing that the American mainstream woman is more "liberal" on issues traditionally considered "woman's issues" than previously thought. (Judy Mann article Tab C.)

We have been working with Woman's Day, and they asked for our input in scheduling a press conference they are holding in New York City on May 30. That conference will present the findings to the Business Community and New York Media. Two academic commentators are included. (We suggested and they accepted Dr. Wendy Gramm, at the F.T.C., and Phil Gramm's wife, as one.) Two elected officials, one from each party, are to comment on the implications of the findings for each party.

Ellen Levine, Editor in Chief of Woman's Day, participated in the New York City briefing of women's magazine editors and will be here for the May 24th briefing as well.

# A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE

★ A POLITICAL SURVEY BY WOMAN'S DAY MAGAZINE AND ★  
ELLESLEY COLLEGE CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN

Women now outvote men by a margin of millions. What's more, on issues that directly affect the security and well-being of our families, we cast our ballots differently than men. Those votes can win - or lose - an election.

## A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE



## on ELECTIONS

- Do you think politicians are courting women's votes more now than in the past?
  - Yes .....87%
  - No .....13%
 If "Yes," do you expect major policies to change as a result?
  - Yes .....37%
  - No .....63%
- Do you think Americans are ready to elect a woman President?
  - Yes .....11%
  - No .....89%
- Would you vote for a woman for President?
  - Yes .....72%
  - No .....28%
- Would a woman vice-presidential candidate influence your vote?
  - Yes, I'd be more likely to vote for her ticket .....24%
  - Yes, I'd be more likely to vote against her ticket .....7%
  - No, it wouldn't influence my vote ...69%
- Do you think there will be as many women as men in Congress in twenty years?
  - Yes .....18%
  - Probably .....36%
  - Probably not .....40%
  - No .....6%
- In general, do you think women bring different concerns and expertise in politics than men?
  - Yes .....85%
  - No .....15%
- Comparing women and men politicians, who do you think is generally:
  - More effective at getting things done
    - Women .....34%
    - Men .....18%
    - No difference .....48%

### b. More responsive to constituents' concerns

- Women .....53%
- Men .....6%
- No difference .....41%

### c. More honest\*

- Women .....44%
- Men .....2%
- No difference .....53%

### d. More oriented toward peace

- Women .....74%
- Men .....2%
- No difference .....24%

### 8. Is there any single issue you feel so strongly about that you wouldn't vote for a candidate holding a position different from yours?

- Yes .....74%
- No .....26%

### 9. Would you vote for a competent politician who:

#### a. Is homosexual

- Yes .....48%
- No .....52%

#### b. Is unfaithful to spouse

- Yes .....31%
- No .....69%

#### c. Abuses drugs

- Yes .....1%
- No .....99%

#### d. Drinks too much

- Yes .....2%
- No .....98%

#### e. Has questionable financial dealings

- Yes .....3%
- No .....97%

### 10. If you are married, do you and your husband usually support the same candidates?

- Yes .....70%
- No .....30%

### 11. If you are married, do your views on the following subjects usually agree or disagree with those of your husband?

#### a. Banning nuclear weapons

- Agree .....77%
- Disagree .....12%
- Don't know .....11%

#### b. Use of death penalty

- Agree .....80%
- Disagree .....13%
- Don't know .....7%

### c. Need for peacetime draft

- Agree .....72%
- Disagree .....10%
- Don't know .....18%

### d. Abortion

- Agree .....80%
- Disagree .....11%
- Don't know .....8%

### e. Equal Rights Amendment

- Agree .....73%
- Disagree .....17%
- Don't know .....10%

### f. Government support for the poor

- Agree .....78%
- Disagree .....14%
- Don't know .....8%

### 12. Do you favor the proposed Equal Rights Amendment?

- Support strongly .....27%
  - Support .....41%
  - Oppose .....19%
  - Oppose strongly .....13%
- 68%  
32%

### 13. In the last year, were you involved in politics in any of the following ways?

#### a. Put bumper stickers on my car

- Yes .....17%
- No .....83%

#### b. Contributed money

- Yes .....44%
- No .....56%

#### c. Did volunteer work in a campaign

- Yes .....17%
- No .....83%

#### d. Ran for office

- Yes .....1%
- No .....99%

### 14. Did you vote in the last presidential election?

- Yes .....91%
- No .....9%

### 15. Do you consider yourself a member of a political party?

- Democrat .....35%
- Republican .....35%
- Other .....3%
- None .....27%

\*Because of standard rounding off procedures, the responses to this and several other questions do not add up to 100%.

## A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE



### on JOBS and the ECONOMY

**16.** Over the past decade, do you think discrimination against women in the workplace has:

Declined	57%
Stayed about the same	40%
Increased	3%

**17.** Do you favor the following ways to provide more jobs for women and minorities?

**a. Affirmative action programs**

Support strongly	16%	} 54%
Support	38%	
Oppose	18%	} 26%
Oppose strongly	8%	
Undecided	20%	

**b. Tax credits for employers who hire members of certain groups**

Support strongly	7%	} 30%
Support	23%	
Oppose	40%	} 57%
Oppose strongly	17%	
Undecided	13%	

**c. Government-subsidized job programs**

Support strongly	12%	} 50%
Support	38%	
Oppose	27%	} 38%
Oppose strongly	11%	
Undecided	12%	

**18.** Have you or your family experienced signs of the country's general economic recovery?

Yes, a lot	7%
Yes, several	17%
A few	44%
No, none	32%

**19.** Overall, how have you or your family been affected by today's economy?

We're doing better than ever	11%
We're doing all right	50%
We're just getting by	29%
We're hurting	10%

**20.** If you have or are planning to have children, do you worry about being unable to provide for them as well as you'd like?

A lot	29%
Moderately	28%
A little	23%
Not at all	20%

**21.** Do you think Social Security will be making payments when you retire?

Yes	12%	} 38%
Probably	26%	
Probably not	33%	} 53%
No	20%	
I'm already retired	9%	

**22.** How much pressure do you feel from the following to get or stay on a job?

**a. Your husband**

A great deal	9%
A moderate amount	17%
Very little	24%
He doesn't want me to work	16%
None	33%

**b. Other family members**

A great deal	8%
A moderate amount	13%
Very little	22%
None	57%

**c. Friends**

A great deal	5%
A moderate amount	14%
Very little	23%
None	58%

**d. Society in general**

A great deal	17%
A moderate amount	23%
Very little	20%
None	40%

**23.** If you are employed, what is the main reason you work?

Our family can't get by without my salary	24%
The sense of achievement	23%
To support myself	23%
To afford "extras"	14%
I like having my own source of income	13%
I'd feel guilty if I didn't work	2%
My husband wants me to	1%

**24.** If you are employed, which of the following changes would most improve your job?

Higher salary	41%
Increased opportunities for advancement	10%
More challenging work	7%
Job security	6%
More flexible hours	6%
Closer to home	4%
Child care at the job site	2%
More congenial co-workers	2%
None of the above because my job is fine the way it is	22%

**25.** If you are a working mother, how much difficulty have you had arranging adequate child care in the last year?

A great deal	10%
A moderate amount	17%
Very little	23%
None	50%

**26.** Do you favor a federally subsidized national day-care program for children under school age?

Yes, with all families paying the same regardless of income	6%	} 61%
Yes, but with fees based on a family's ability to pay	45%	
Yes, but only for low-income families	10%	
None	39%	

No	32%
Undecided	8%

**27.** Do you think it's acceptable for mothers of children under age three to work outside the home?

Yes, if they choose to	49%
Yes, but only part time	5%
Only if financially necessary	41%
No, even at the cost of severe money problems	6%

**28.** Given the choice between a job in an office and a comparable one that allowed you to work at home, which would you take?

The office job	26%
The home-based job	55%
Doesn't matter	19%

## A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE



### on the SCHOOLS

**29.** How do you rate the overall quality of public schools in America?

Excellent	2%
Good	27%
Mediocre	51%
Very poor	18%
Undecided	2%

**30.** Which of the following changes do you think would do the most to improve the quality of teaching in public schools?

Set higher salaries for all teachers	17%
Give merit raises to excellent teachers	22%
Eliminate the tenure system	18%
Require that teachers pass regular competency tests	43%

**31.** Which of the following changes do you think would do the most to improve the education children receive in schools?

Increased emphasis on teaching basic skills	47%
Longer school day and/or school year	4%
Smaller classes	16%
More classroom discipline	13%
Greater parental involvement in education	21%

**32.** Do you favor banning certain books from school libraries and classroom use?

Yes	25%
No	62%
Undecided	13%

**33.** Should public school facilities be used for after-school day-care programs for children whose parents work?

Yes	63%
No	20%
Undecided	17%
<b>If "Yes," where should the bulk of the money come from?</b>	
Federal or state government	13%
Local taxes	5%
Parents using the programs	82%

**34.** Do you favor tuition tax credits for parents who send children to private or parochial schools?

Yes	40%
No	51%
Undecided	9%

## A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE

**on her COUNTRY**



**35.** How well do you think the country is dealing with the challenges facing it today?

Very well	6%
Moderately well	50%
Not very well	36%
Poorly	8%

## GOVERNMENT SPENDING

**36.** If you were in control of the federal budget, would you spend more, less or the same amounts on the following areas? (Figures below show the percentage of the 1984 budget allotted to each area; they do not add up to 100 percent because they don't include the 20 percent that repays the federal debt along with certain other lesser expenditures.)

**a. Defense (29%)**

More	17%
Less	45%
Same	33%
Undecided	5%

**b. Social Security (21%)**

More	34%
Less	12%
Same	47%
Undecided	7%

**c. Health (11%)**

More	53%
Less	13%
Same	28%
Undecided	6%

**d. Public assistance (5%)**

More	24%
Less	35%
Same	32%
Undecided	10%

**e. Education (3%)**

More	71%
Less	6%
Same	19%
Undecided	3%

**f. Veterans' benefits (3%)**

More	35%
------	-----

Less	9%
Same	49%
Undecided	7%
<b>g. Unemployment (2.6%)</b>	
More	24%
Less	22%
Same	45%
Undecided	10%

**37.** How well do you think the country is dealing with the needs of the following groups?

**a. The elderly**

Very well	6%
Moderately well	34%
Not very well	42%
Poorly	18%
} 40%	
} 60%	

**b. The poor**

Very well	10%
Moderately well	36%
Not very well	37%
Poorly	17%
} 46%	
} 54%	

**38.** Do you agree with the following statements about taxes?

**a. Current income tax laws favor the rich.**

Agree strongly	52%
Agree	30%
Disagree	11%
Disagree strongly	3%
Undecided	4%
} 82%	
} 14%	
} 4%	

**b. The middle class pays more than its share.**

Agree strongly	60%
Agree	31%
Disagree	6%
Disagree strongly	5%
Undecided	3%
} 91%	
} 6%	
} 3%	

**39.** Do you think our tax system encourages cheating?

Yes	79%
No	10%
Undecided	11%

## HEALTH

**40.** Do you support a federally funded national health insurance program?

Yes	42%
No	40%
Undecided	18%

**41.** Do you or your family have enough health insurance to cover most of your medical costs?

Yes	75%
No	17%
Don't know	3%
Don't have health insurance	5%

**42.** Do you think the federal government should:

**a. Severely restrict or ban abortion**

Yes	28%
No	67%
Undecided	6%

**b. Require treatment of severely defective infants**

Yes	21%
No	64%
Undecided	15%

**c. Insist that heroic measures be used to extend life**

Yes	7%
No	83%
Undecided	10%

**d. Establish the circumstances under which the dying may be removed from life-support systems**

Yes	50%
No	39%
Undecided	10%

**43.** Should a woman have the right to choose whether or not to have an abortion?

Yes	79%
No	21%

**44.** If you were pregnant and learned that you were carrying a severely defective child, would you consider an abortion?

Yes	72%
No	28%

**45.** Suppose you gave birth to a premature baby who was severely brain damaged. The child would never be able to do anything for himself. He developed further medical complications and needed major surgery just to stay alive. Would you want it to be performed?

Yes	23%
No	77%

**46.** A terminally ill woman asks that no heroic measures be used to extend her life. Should her request be honored?

Yes	97%
No	3%

**47.** An elderly woman in a coma is being kept alive by life-support systems. Does her family have the right to terminate treatment?

Yes	88%
No	12%

## CRIME

**48.** Do you think there are cases in which the death penalty should be used?

Yes	83%
No	11%
Undecided	6%

**49.** Do you favor uniform sentences for crimes?

Support strongly	41%
Support	32%
Oppose	12%
Oppose strongly	3%
Undecided	12%
} 73%	
} 15%	

- 50.** Do you agree with the following statements?
- a. The law tends to treat criminals better than victims.**
- |           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| Agree     | 86% |
| Disagree  | 7%  |
| Undecided | 7%  |
- b. Handguns should be banned.**
- |           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| Agree     | 40% |
| Disagree  | 45% |
| Undecided | 15% |
- c. Persons convicted of drunk driving more than once should receive jail sentences.**
- |           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| Agree     | 88% |
| Disagree  | 5%  |
| Undecided | 7%  |
- d. Juveniles who commit repeated serious crimes should be tried as adults.**
- |           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| Agree     | 85% |
| Disagree  | 7%  |
| Undecided | 8%  |

- 51.** Have your children or any youngsters you know ever expressed concerns about:
- a. Having a bicycle or other possession stolen**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 74% |
| No  | 26% |
- b. Being roughed up or robbed by gangs of children**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 34% |
| No  | 66% |
- c. Having their home broken in**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 54% |
| No  | 46% |
- d. Being sexually molested**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 30% |
| No  | 70% |
- e. Being kidnapped**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 26% |
| No  | 74% |

- 52.** Have you or any member of your immediate family been a victim of violent crime?
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 17% |
| No  | 83% |

- 53.** Within the last five years, did you take any of these steps to guard against crime?
- a. Put house lights on a timer system**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 46% |
| No  | 54% |
- b. Installed stronger locks**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 58% |
| No  | 42% |
- c. Installed a burglar alarm**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 9%  |
| No  | 91% |
- d. Stopped going out as much**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 30% |
| No  | 70% |
- e. Moved to a safer neighborhood**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 22% |
| No  | 78% |
- f. Bought a gun**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 15% |
| No  | 85% |

## ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT

- 54.** Have you taken the following energy-conservation measures over the past five years?
- a. Set the thermostat lower in winter**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 89% |
| No  | 11% |
- b. Weatherized the house (insulation, storm windows, etc.)**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 78% |
| No  | 22% |
- c. Installed an alternate heat source (wood stove, solar panels, etc.)**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 33% |
| No  | 67% |
- d. Used less air conditioning**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 76% |
| No  | 24% |

- 55.** How often do you worry that:
- a. The water you drink is unsafe**
- |            |     |
|------------|-----|
| Frequently | 18% |
| Sometimes  | 42% |
| Never      | 40% |
- b. The air you breathe is unhealthy**
- |            |     |
|------------|-----|
| Frequently | 29% |
| Sometimes  | 47% |
| Never      | 24% |
- c. Your family has been exposed to toxic materials**
- |            |     |
|------------|-----|
| Frequently | 14% |
| Sometimes  | 45% |
| Never      | 41% |

## A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE



## on the WORLD

- 56.** Do you think the United States' position as a world power has slipped in the last ten years?
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 75% |
| No  | 25% |
- If "Yes," does that worry you?
- |            |     |
|------------|-----|
| Very much  | 37% |
| Moderately | 41% |
| A little   | 17% |
| Not at all | 6%  |
- 57.** Do you think the United States should do more to:
- a. Guard against the spread of communism**
- |           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| Yes       | 55% |
| No        | 26% |
| Undecided | 19% |
- b. Help feed the world's hungry**
- |           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| Yes       | 51% |
| No        | 35% |
| Undecided | 14% |
- c. Try to correct human-rights abuses around the world**
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | 44% |
|-----|-----|

- |           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| No        | 35% |
| Undecided | 21% |
- d. Take in large numbers of refugees**
- |           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| Yes       | 11% |
| No        | 71% |
| Undecided | 18% |

- 58.** Do you support a nuclear freeze?
- Yes, if other nuclear powers agree to a verifiable pact . . . . . 62%
- Yes, even if other powers refuse to go along . . . . . 13%
- No . . . . . 18%
- Undecided . . . . . 6%

- 59.** Do you worry that the United States will be involved in a nuclear war during your lifetime?
- |            |     |
|------------|-----|
| Very much  | 24% |
| Moderately | 30% |
| A little   | 32% |
| Not at all | 14% |

- 60.** What do you think of our current policy toward the Soviet Union?
- |                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| Should be tougher   | 32% |
| Is just about right | 19% |
| Is too tough        | 4%  |
| Is too inconsistent | 37% |
| Undecided           | 9%  |

- 61.** The United States is involved in several trouble spots around the world, including Central America. To protect our interests, should we intervene to help a country even if it is a military dictatorship with little regard for human rights?
- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| Yes, even if that means sending troops           | 15% |
| Yes, but only through diplomacy and economic aid | 41% |
| No   | 44% |

- 62.** Do you favor a peacetime draft?
- a. For men:**
- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| Yes  | 31% |
| Yes, but only with an alternative service option | 40% |
| No   | 30% |
- b. For women:**
- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| Yes  | 13% |
| Yes, but only with an alternative service option | 35% |
| No   | 52% |

- 63.** Do you think women in the armed forces should take part in combat?
- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| Yes                                    | 21% |
| Yes, but only if they volunteer for it | 50% |
| No                                     | 29% |

- 64.** To protect jobs and industry, do you think the government should curb imports of certain foreign products, even if they're cheaper and better made than the American-made goods?

Yes .....46%  
 No .....39%  
 Undecided .....15%

## A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE



## About YOU and your FAMILY

### 65. How old are you?

18-24 ..... 5%  
 25-34 ..... 24%  
 35-44 ..... 27%  
 45-54 ..... 22%  
 55-64 ..... 17%  
 Over 65 ..... 6%

### 66. What is your marital status?

Single, never married ..... 7%  
 Married ..... 79%  
 Divorced or separated ..... 10%  
 Widowed ..... 5%

### 67. How many children do you have?

None ..... 18%  
 One ..... 16%  
 Two ..... 30%  
 Three or more ..... 37%

### 68. How old are your children?

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Children under 3 ..... 11%  
 3-5 ..... 12%  
 6-12 ..... 21%  
 13-17 ..... 22%  
 18-21 ..... 18%  
 Over 21 ..... 41%  
 Don't have children ..... 17%

### 69. Are you currently employed?

Yes, full time or part time ..... 62%  
 No ..... 38%

### 70. What is your current occupation?

Clerk secretary ..... 16%  
 Factory worker ..... 2%  
 Service worker (hairdresser, waitress,  
 day-care worker, health aid, etc.) . . 6%  
 Sales ..... 5%  
 Professional technician (teacher, nurse,  
 computer programmer, etc.) ..... 24%  
 Manager Administrator ..... 9%  
 Full-time homemaker ..... 31%  
 Other ..... 7%

### 71. Are you self-employed?\*

### 72. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Up to high school graduate ..... 27%  
 Some college ..... 36%  
 College graduate/graduate school ... 37%

### 73. What was your total combined family income last year before taxes?

Up to \$24,999 ..... 43%  
 \$25,000 to \$44,999 ..... 37%  
 \$45,000 and over ..... 20%

### 74. What was your personal income before taxes?\*

#### 75. Do you:

Own your own home ..... 77%  
 Rent ..... 20%  
 Live with relatives ..... 3%

### 76. What part of the country do you live in?

Northeast ..... 27%  
 Southeast ..... 17%  
 Midwest ..... 28%  
 Northwest ..... 11%  
 Southwest ..... 18%

### 77. Do you live in a:

City ..... 35%  
 Suburb. .... 36%  
 Rural area ..... 29%

### 78. What is the size of your community?

A large city with a population over  
 500,000 ..... 13%  
 A medium-sized city with population  
 between 100,000 and 500,000 ..... 15%  
 A city of more than 50,000 population  
 but under 100,000 ..... 13%  
 A small city with population 10,000 to  
 50,000 ..... 28%  
 A small town with population under  
 10,000 ..... 31%

### 79. Are you:

White ..... 98%  
 Black ..... 1%  
 Hispanic, Asian, American Indian or  
 other ..... 1%

### 80. What is your religion?

Protestant ..... 61%  
 Catholic ..... 21%  
 Jewish ..... 3%  
 Other ..... 6%  
 None ..... 9%

### 81. How religious are you?

Very much ..... 31%  
 Moderately ..... 43%  
 Slightly ..... 17%  
 Not at all ..... 9%

### 82. I am most proud of myself for:

Being my own woman ..... 18%  
 Building a good marriage ..... 18%  
 Providing a good life for my family .. 15%  
 Living by my beliefs no  
 matter what ..... 13%

Handling job and family  
 responsibility successfully ..... 10%  
 Making it through a difficult  
 period (divorce, illness,  
 unemployment, etc.) ..... 9%  
 Raising a wonderful child ..... 9%  
 Having a satisfying career ..... 3%  
 Developing close friendships ..... 2%  
 Giving to others through my  
 volunteer work ..... 1%  
 Other ..... 1%

### 83. What impact has the women's movement had on your life?

It made it easier for me to  
 do what I want ..... 27%  
 It hasn't changed my  
 life very much ..... 65%  
 It brought about change that  
 made my life more difficult ..... 7%

\*Data is useful only in special contexts.



**THE WOMAN'S DAY SURVEY**

**A WOMAN'S POLITICAL STATUS**

**Politicians are Now Courting Women's Voters More**



**Major Policies Will Change as a Result**



**I'd Vote For a Woman For President**



**Americans are Ready to Elect a Woman President**



**SOURCE: "A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE," WOMAN'S DAY 1984**

THE WOMAN'S DAY SURVEY

**WOULD A WOMAN VICE-PRESIDENTAL  
CANDIDATE INFLUENCE YOUR VOTE?**

**No Influence**

**69%**

**More Likely to Vote For**

**24%**

**More Likely to Vote Against**

**7%**

**SOURCE: "A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE," WOMAN'S DAY 1984**

THE WOMAN'S DAY SURVEY

**THE MAINSTREAM AMERICAN WOMAN SUPPORTS:**

The Death Penalty in Some Cases

**83%**

Pro-Choice on Abortion

**79%**

A Nuclear Freeze

**75%**

Some Type of Peacetime Draft

**71%**

**SOURCE: "A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE," WOMAN'S DAY 1984**

THE WOMAN'S DAY SURVEY

**THE MAINSTREAM WOMAN: TOUGH ON LAW AND ORDER**

**Send Two-Time Drunk Drivers to Jail**

**89%**

**Try Juveniles as Adults for Repeated Serious Crimes**

**85%**

**Use the Death Penalty in Some Cases**

**83%**

**SOURCE: "A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE," WOMAN'S DAY 1984**

THE WOMAN'S DAY SURVEY

**THE MAINSTREAM WOMAN: TOUGH ON LAW AND ORDER**

**Set Uniform Sentences for Crimes**



**Ban Handguns**



**SOURCE: "A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE," WOMAN'S DAY 1984**

THE WOMAN'S DAY SURVEY

**THE MAINSTREAM AMERICAN WOMAN SUPPORTS:**

**The Proposed ERA**



**Doing More to Guard Against Communism**



**Affirmative Action Programs**



**SOURCE: "A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE," WOMAN'S DAY 1984**

# A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE

★ A POLITICAL SURVEY BY WOMAN'S DAY MAGAZINE AND ★  
WELLESLEY COLLEGE CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN

## WOMAN'S DAY MAGAZINE

WOMAN'S DAY, with a total audience of 27 million adult women, is among the country's leading magazines devoted exclusively to women. Founded in 1937, the magazine is known in particular for the strength of its service material, geared to busy women taking care of homes and families and covering a wide range of subjects including food and nutrition, health, money management, home improvement, needlework and crafts, fashion and family and personal relations. WOMAN'S DAY also has a long tradition of publishing groundbreaking articles in several areas, notably health and social issues. The magazine has been honored with several awards from such programs and organizations as the Penney-Missouri Magazine Awards competition, the American Heart Association and the American College of Family Physicians.

WOMAN'S DAY has a broad readership that cuts across many social and economic lines. Some 68 percent of readers are married, and most have children. The median age is 41.9, with 64 percent between the ages of 18 and 49. Slightly more than half work outside the home; almost a quarter are working mothers. Thirty percent are college educated; the median household income is \$26,196.

WOMAN'S DAY is published fifteen times a year by CBS Magazines, a division of CBS, Inc.

Ellen R. Levine joined CBS Magazines as vice president and editor-in-chief of WOMAN'S DAY in August 1982. Mrs. Levine began her publishing career at The Record (Hackensack, N.J.), where she was a reporter and feature writer from 1964 to 1970. She then free-lanced for several years, writing several books as well as articles for such publications as The New York Times. In 1976 she joined the staff of Cosmopolitan magazine as food and decorating editor. While in that position, she created and was the editor of Cosmopolitan Living, a lifestyle magazine published by the Hearst Corporation in 1980 and 1981. Mrs. Levine holds a BA in political science from Wellesley College.

# A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE

★ A POLITICAL SURVEY BY WOMAN'S DAY MAGAZINE AND ★  
WELLESLEY COLLEGE CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN

## HOW THE SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED

A six-page questionnaire, "A Woman's Influence," was published in the February 7 issue of WOMAN'S DAY, a non-subscription magazine that is primarily sold in supermarkets and retail drug outlets. The magazine went on sale January 10; readers were asked to mail completed questionnaires by February 15.

As the surveys arrived at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, they were numbered consecutively and every fortieth one was pulled to form the sample used to analyze responses. Approximately 100 (less than 4 percent) of the questionnaires drawn were excluded from the sample, either because entire sections were left unanswered or because it was obvious several respondents had completed one form. Returns were monitored closely, and there was no evidence of systematic efforts by special-interest groups to influence results. The sample was drawn from the 112,600 responses that were sent by the cutoff date.

The total number of questionnaires analyzed was 2,777. Based on statistical considerations, this is sufficient to insure that the sample reflects the characteristics of all respondents with less than a 2 percent chance of error in either direction.

Data analysis was conducted by Laura Lein and Lydia O'Donnell of the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women in consultation with Mary Ellen Colton of the University of Massachusetts Center for Survey Research and Georgie Duquet of the Wellesley College Computer Service.

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# A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE

★ A POLITICAL SURVEY BY WOMAN'S DAY MAGAZINE AND ★  
ELLESLEY COLLEGE CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN

## THE GENDER GAP FACT SHEET

--In the 1980 presidential election, women outvoted men by 5.5 million. Many political specialists think that figure will increase to at least 6 million in 1984.

--Women were less likely than men to vote for Ronald Reagan in 1980 by 8 percentage points.

--Network television exit polls on election day in 1982 indicate that women cast the decisive votes in the New York and Texas gubernatorial races and possibly Michigan and Connecticut as well.

--In the 1984 New York primary, women counted for 58 percent of the vote though they comprise only 52 percent of the population.

--Women are more likely to identify themselves as Democrats than men. Almost three fifths of Democrats are women; in contrast, women comprise just under half of Republicans.

--In 1980, the turnout rate for women voters was not only higher than that for men for the first time (59.4 percent to 59.1 percent) but also showed a slight increase over that for 1976, compared to a decline for men. Since 1976, when the Bureau of the Census first began collecting voting data, the turnout rate has declined 12.8 points for men, compared to only 7.6 points for women; if those trends continue, women will soon constitute an overwhelming proportion of the electorate.

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Wednesday, May 2, 1984

# JUDY MANN

## ANSWERS

Mainstream American women are getting tough on law and order, favor a verifiable nuclear freeze, think education has deteriorated badly, believe the nation should do more to combat communism. They are concerned about maintaining national defense but don't want more money spent on it, show strong support for female candidates, including a woman president, and strongly support some form of national day care, abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment—even though they do not consider themselves feminists.

These were among the findings of a survey conducted by Women's Day Magazine and the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women which drew 115,000 responses to an 83-question political survey. The survey, which ought to interest any politician going after the women's vote, provides fascinating insights into political perceptions and priorities of women by party affiliation. More than that, it is a barometer of the growing political awareness and interest of women voters and the values they hold dear.

Those who responded to the survey published in the February issue of the magazine range from late teens to their 80s; 62 percent were employed, with the remainder being either temporarily out of work, retired, students or full-time homemakers. More than a third were college educated, almost 80 percent were married, most had children and their median household incomes were between \$25,000 and \$30,000 a year.

Researchers at the Wellesley Center point out that the survey drew a heavier response proportionately from Republican women than exists in the general population and a lower response from minorities. In addition, those women who responded were slightly better educated, more affluent and more were married than the general population. They also were much more politically active than most women: 91 percent said they voted in the last election, compared to only 59 percent of all women; 44 percent said they contributed money to campaigns.

Findings on women's toughening stance on law and order were striking: 85 percent believe that juveniles with criminal records should be tried as adults; 83 percent believe that the death penalty should be used in some cases, nearly three-fourths favor uniform sentencing for crimes and all said they would send drivers convicted of two drunk driving offenses to jail.

"Women's experiential truths are being translated into public policy," says Ellen R. Levine, a political science major at Wellesley and former newspaper reporter who is now editor-in-chief of Women's Day. "Women are assumed to be soft. They're not. They feel threatened." Seventeen percent of the survey respondents said either they or a member of their immediate family had been victims of violent crime. Forty-five percent oppose a ban on handguns, 15 percent said they have bought a handgun in the past five years, nearly half have installed timers for houselights, and 22 percent said they have moved to safer neighborhoods.

An overwhelming majority—85 percent—thought women politicians are more oriented toward peace and constituent concerns and are more able to get things done and more honest. Character issues remain extremely important: 52 percent said they would not vote for a competent homosexual politician, while 69 percent said they would not vote for a competent politician who was unfaithful to his spouse.

Experts are predicting that some 6 million more women than men will vote this year, making them a potentially pivotal force in state and national elections. But how politically aware and motivated women have become remains a mystery.

The response to the survey provides a clue to the growing politicization of women voters. The magazine sells 8 million copies on newsstands, according to Levine. Some 115,000 women, most of whom work, took more than an hour to complete a tough, thought-provoking survey. One in 15 wrote letters explaining their positions. These are women who said they are "predominantly interested in their home," says Levine. "You would have expected them to more conservative."

The profile that emerges from the survey response has less to do with women taking liberal versus conservative positions: The overriding conclusion, in Levine's words, is that the mainstream American woman "is stunningly political." The survey shows strongly held beliefs about what should be done in a wide variety of areas.

It also suggests that the majority of voters aren't going to be silent any more