Appendices to:

“Why Women Won:

The Strange Career of Women’s Rights in the US”

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Includes:

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Appendix Figure 1. Complaints Filed with EEOC: New Charges (in logs) and Share “on Account of Sex”Appendix 1: Chronology of Critical Moments in Women’s Rights History

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| **Year** | **Code** | **Critical Moments: Legislative, Judicial, Political, Social** |
| 1846 | E | Massachusetts adopts a Married Women's Earnings Act |
| 1848 | P | Seneca Falls convention, Declaration of Sentiments drafted "all men and women are created equal" |
| 1848 | E | New York State and Pennsylvania adopt Married Women's Property Acts. |
| 1855 | E | Massachusetts adopts a Married Women's Property Act; first state to have both Married Woman's Earnings and Property Acts. |
| 1860 | E | NYS passes a Married Women's Earnings Act (by 1900 almost all had passed legislation often modeled on the NYS acts) |
| 1869 | P | Territory of Wyoming gives full suffrage to women |
| 1873 | W | *Bradwell v. Illinois*: 14th Amendment does not give a married woman the right to practice law in a state that bars it. |
| 1879 | E | California is first state to pass a state ERA |
| 1893 | P | Colorado is the first state to give women full suffrage |
| 1908 | W | *Muller v Oregon* (Brandeis brief): Supreme Court upholds (9-0) ten-hour day for females; beginnings of workplace protections for women only. |
| 1916 | P | Formation of the National Woman's Party by Alice Paul, which was first a major force in the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. |
| 1919 | W | First equal pay laws enacted by states |
| 1919 | P | Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution passed Congress granting women the vote in federal and state elections. |
| 1920 | P | Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution ratified granting women the vote in federal and state elections. |
| 1920 | P | Establishment of the Women's Bureau, directed by Mary Anderson from 1920 until 1944. |
| 1923 | E | Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) first introduced to Congress by the National Women's Party. |
| 1933 | P | Frances Perkins appointed Secretary of Labor; first woman and longest serving in this role. |
| 1938 | W | Fair Labor Standards Act: Minimum wage instituted (with no differences on the basis of sex). Exempt sectors are mainly female (see 1973). |
| 1943 | E | Lanham Act money is deployed to fund pre-schools and extended hours programs for the children of working women in areas of labor shortage. |
| 1943 | E | Harvard becomes coeducational; women take classes in the Yard during WWII rather than in the Radcliffe Quad. |
| 1945 | W | "Women's Equal Pay Act of 1945" failed in the Senate (79 S1178) for "equal pay for work of comparable quantity and quality.” |
| 1947 | W | *State ex Rel. Wood v. Board of Education of City of St. Louis* (Dec 8, 1947): Missouri Supreme Court voids dismissal of married teachers. |
| 1954 | E | *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka Kansas:* Supreme Courtseparate but equal by race is unconstitutional. Important in cases regarding sex. |
| 1955 | P | Martha Griffiths elected to the House of Representatives from Michigan; remains to 1975 and sponsors many of the feminist bills. |
| 1960 | B | Birth control pill (Enovid) approved by FDA as an oral contraceptive |
| 1961 | E | Presidential Commission on the Status of Women established to advise the US President on issues concerning the status of women. |
| 1961 | P | *Hoyt v. Florida*: failed challenge to FL law exempting women from jury duty, argued under the 14th; Hoyt was convicted of murdering her husband. |
| 1963 | E | Release of President Kennedy's Status of Women Commission Report (initially chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt). It did not give support to an ERA. |
| 1963 | W | 24 states require that women who do the same or comparable work as men be paid the same. |
| 1963 | W | Equal Pay Act (EPA) of 1963 (amended the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938). House 362-9; Senate by voice vote. |
| 1963 | P | Publication of Betty Frieden's *The Feminine Mystique* |
| 1964 | W | Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act: prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, *and sex*. |
| 1964 | W | Bennett Amendment limits sex discrimination claims to those allowed by the 1963 EPA. |
| 1964 | W | Title VI of the 1964 Act prohibits discrimination based on race … (*but not sex*) in programs that receive federal funds, such as schools. |
| 1964 | W | EEOC created to enforce the 1964 Civil Rights Act. |
| 1964 | W | 40 states and DC still have maximum-hours laws constraining women's work. |
| 1964 | E | Brown University and Pembroke College merge; Brown becomes coeducational |
| 1965 | W | Executive Order 11246: Federal contractors must undertake affirmative action in hiring minorities. Extended to women in 1967. |
| 1965 | B | *Griswold v Connecticut*: Supreme Court rules that married couples have a right to birth control under right to privacy. |
| 1966 | P | NOW formed in response to inaction on the part of EEOC with regard to sex discrimination cases. |
| 1967 | W | Executive Order #11375 (revision to #11246): Affirmative Action extended to women by President Johnson. |
| 1968 | E | IRS allows widows and single or divorced women older than 35 to receive head of household status with deductions |
| 1968 | W | *Rosenfeld v. Southern Pacific Company:* 9th Circuit Court; interpreted Title VII as ending state protective legislation. Sex was not a BFOQ. |
| 1968 | W | EEOC rules help-wanted ads specifying gender no longer permissible (ads specifying race banned in 1965). Ruling challenged; see Pittsburgh (1973). |
| 1968 | W | Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) founded: A more conservative group, to advocate enforcing anti-discrimination legislation. |
| 1968 | P | Disruption at Miss America pageant in Atlantic City, NJ by women’s liberation groups. |
| 1968 | P | Consciousness-raising groups spread throughout the country. |
| 1968 | P | Shirley Chisolm elected to House, first Black women. Would be first woman, first Black, candidate for a major-party nomination for President. |
| 1968 | P | NOW issues an extensive Bill of Rights |
| 1969 | P | Radical feminist groups increase (Redstockings; WITCH, Cell16, Boston's Bread and Roses; 35 groups in SF area; 30 in Chicago; 50 in NY). |
| 1969 | W | *Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Company*: Protective legislation case; Weeks lost case in 1967 but won in Appeals Court. |
| 1969 | E | Princeton University, Yale University, Wesleyan College become coeducational institutions. |
| 1969 | W | Executive Order #11478 by President Nixon requires Federal departments and agencies to have an affirmative action program. |
| 1970 | B | 12 states by 1970 had legalized abortion, which had become a feminist issue in the late 1960s. |
| 1970 | E | CA adopts no fault divorce |
| 1970 | W | NOW sues 1,300 corporations for failure to file affirmative action plans with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC). |
| 1970 | E | Women’s Equity Action League (WEAL) files suits against 160 colleges and universities to enforce EO 11246 (11375); employment not students. |
| 1970 | W | EEOC contends that AT&T discriminated and should not be allowed a rate hike; AT&T eventually agreed (in 1974) to an AA plan |
| 1970 | W | Lutheran church allows women to be ordained. |
| 1970 | E | Williams, Colgate, and Lafayette Colleges become coeducational. |
| 1970 | B | First edition of *Women and Their Bodies*, which became *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (Boston Health Book Collective). |
| 1970 | P | *Ladies' Home Journal s*it -in (March); Women's Strike for Equality (August) |
| 1971 | P | Bella Abzug elected to the House from NYS; remains to 1977 and sponsors many of the feminist bills of the 1970s. |
| 1971 | E | *Reed v. Reed* (RBG lawyer) won rights of a mother to be administrator of her son's estate. First Supreme Crt decision sex case using 14th Amendment. |
| 1971 | E | Professional Women’s Caucus files a class action sexual discrimination suit against every law school. |
| 1971 | W | *Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corp.*: Corporation could not discriminate against a potential female hire because she has preschool-age child. |
| 1971 | W | *Griggs v. Duke Power Co*.: Tests given for employment were artificial and unnecessary and had disparate. Race case important for sex cases. |
| 1971 | W | Sprogis v. United Airlines, Inc.: Supreme Crt finds a no-marriage rule against female flight attendants is in violation of Title VII and not a BFOQ. |
| 1971 | E | *Cohen v. Chesterfield County School Board*: prevents firing of pregnant teachers under the 14th Amendment (US District Court overturned on appeal) |
| 1971 | P | National Press Club allows women as full members. |
| 1971 | P | Women's Strike for Equality (Aug. 26): 50K in NYC, organized by NOW on the 50th anniversary of the 19th Amendment |
| 1971 | E | ERA passes in the House of Representatives (Oct. 1971; 354 to 23). |
| 1971 | E | Revenue Act of 1971: Household services and child care expenses are deductible if incurred to enable employment. |
| 1971 | E | Equality for Married Female Federal Employees (PL 92-187): Equalized employment benefits for married women federal employees with others. |
| 1971 | W | Nondiscrimination provisions were added to various laws by Abzug, including Revenue Sharing and Water Pollution Acts. |
| 1972 | E | ERA passes in the Senate (March 1972; 84 to 8), needs to be ratified by the states |
| 1972 | W | EEO Act: Enabled EEOC to pursue cases on its own without request from an employee; House 303-110; Senate 62-10. |
| 1972 | W | Title VII amended by the EEO Act to include employees by sex hired by educational institutions. But Title VI was not changed. |
| 1972 | E | Title IX of the 1972 Education Act: Prohibits sex discrimination in all federally-aided education programs. |
| 1972 | W | Equal Pay Act of 1963, amended to cover executive, administrative, and professional employees. |
| 1972 | B | *Eisenstadt v. Baird:* U,S. Supreme Court rules that the right to privacy encompasses an unmarried person’s right to use contraceptives. |
| 1972 | W | *Diaz v. Pan American World Airways*: Airline passengers preferring female flight attendants is not a BFOQ. |
| 1972 | E | Comprehensive Child Development Act: Congress passes (vetoed by President Nixon). |
| 1972 | P | *Ms. Magazine:* First independently published edition, July 1972 (an early version was a sample insert in *New York* magazine, Dec. 1971) |
| 1972 | E | Dartmouth College becomes coeducational |
| 1972 | P | National Committee to STOP ERA: formed by Phyliss Schlafly, notion that ERA would undermine special privileges for dependent women. |
| 1972 | P | Women’s Rights Project formed by Ruth Bader Ginsburg. |
| 1973 | B | *Roe v. Wade*: Abortion as a fundamental right guaranteed by the due-process clause of the 14th Amendment and the right to privacy |
| 1973 | E | *Frontiero v. Richardson* (Supreme Court; argued by RBG): Wives are entitled to same dependency allowance for husbands as husbands are for wives. |
| 1973 | W | *Pittsburgh Press Co. v. Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations* (1973) ruled that banning ads based on sex was not unconstitutional. |
| 1973 | E | Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. |
| 1973 | P | Seven women newly elected to the House. |
| 1973 | E | 26 states have unilateral divorce laws by 1973. |
| 1973 | W | AT&T settles EEOC case; agrees to pay backpay and raises to women and minorities even though they did not apply for the jobs |
| 1973 | W | Domestic workers covered by FLSA, minimum wage law |
| 1973 | W | Only NV still had a maximum hours law. All other states dropped their protective legislation. See *Rosenfeld v. Southern Pacific Co.* (1968). |
| 1974 | W | *Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur*: Illegal to compel a pregnant woman to take leave on the assumption that she cannot work. |
| 1974 | E | Equal Credit Opportunity Act: Prohibits credit discrimination on account of sex or marital status; married women can get credit on their own name. |
| 1974 | E | 13 states passed state ERA from 1970 to 1974; 4 passed an ERA before 1970. |
| 1974 | B | In 27 states women 16 and older can obtain “the Pill” and in 43 states the age of majority is 18 years. |
| 1974 | E | Women's Educational Equity Act: To develop nonsexist educational facilities and to help meet requirements set by Title IX. Unfunded after 2010. |
| 1974 | E | *Geduldig v. Aiello*: SC affirmed US District Court in N. CA, which upheld the state’s refusal to insure all pregnancies as a disability under the 14th Am. |
| 1975 | P | Pres. Ford issues EO 11832 creating a National Commission on the Observance of International Women’s Year (Rep. Jill Ruckelshaus chair) |
| 1975 | P | Seven women newly elected to the House of Representatives. |
| 1975 | E | *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*: Supreme Court argued that gender-based differences in the Soc Sec Act violated due process clause of 5th Amendment. |
| 1975 | P | *Taylor v. Louisiana*: States cannot exclude women from juries. Sixth Amendment case citing a “jury of one’s peers.” |
| 1975 | E | US military academies open to women by Congressional action. |
| 1975 | E | State ERA is defeated by referendum in NYS and NJ; large loss for ERA Amendment supporters |
| 1975 | E | ERA ratification fails in OK, MO, AZ, GA, NV, NC, IL, and in IN, which later ratified. |
| 1976 | P | *Craig v. Boren*: Supreme Court set new standards for reviewing laws that treat men and women differently; disallows different drinking ages. |
| 1977 | E | ACLU asks Rhode Island Supreme Court to allow women to use their own name instead of that of their husbands |
| 1976 | E | *General Electric v. Gilbert*: Supreme Court overturned lower court; firms can exclude pregnancy from disability benefit. Led to PDA passage, 1978. |
| 1977 | E | 35 of the needed 38 states have ratified the ERA. |
| 1977 | P | National Women's Conference, Houston TX; 26 plank report, but turning point with major pro- and anti-feminist demonstrations |
| 1977 | W | *Dothard v. Rawlinson*: First US Supreme Court case in which the BFOQ defense was used. Height and weight requirement were discriminatory. |
| 1978 | E | *City of Los Angeles Dept of Water & Power v. Manhart*: Supreme Crt. Finds that pension plans charging women more are in violation of Title VII. |
| 1978 | P | March on Washington (100K): NOW organized to demand extension of time limit to ratify ERA. |
| 1978 | E | Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA): Amendment to Title VII |
| 1978 | E | Congress allocates $5 mil to the DOL to set up centers for displaced homemakers. |
| 1979 | W | *Steelworkers v. Weber:* Supreme Court holds that Title VII does not condemn all private, voluntary, race-conscious AA plans (see also Johnson 1987). |
| 1980 | P | Mother’s Day March (90K) in Chicago for IL ratification of ERA. |
| 1981 | P | Sandra Day O'Connor becomes first female justice appointed to the US Supreme Court. |
| 1981 | W | *County of Washington v. Gunther*: Title VII requires “reasonably” equal work for equal pay, akin to Comparable Worth. |
| 1983 | E | Retirement Equity Act: Mandates equal benefits to women in private pension systems. |
| 1983 | W | General Motors agrees to pay $42 million to settle a 10-year old “job bias” class action claim under Title VII. |
| 1984 | P | *Roberts v. U.S. Jaycees*: Supreme Court forbids membership sex discrimination. |
| 1985 | W | *Berkman v. City of New York* (626 F. Supp. 591): Female firefighters win regarding entry tests tampered with to make women, but not men, fail. |
| 1985 | B | *Ramona Arnold v. City of Seminole Oklahoma* (614 V. Supp. 853): Sexual harassment of female officer intended to create a hostile environment. |
| 1986 | B | *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*: Supreme Court held that a hostile work environment due to sexual harassment is a form of discrimination. |
| 1987 | E | *California Federal Savings and Loan v. Guerra*: Court determined that CA maternity leave under the PDA was like any other leave. |
| 1987 | P | Congress declares that March is Women's History Month. |
| 1987 | W | *Johnson v. Transportation Agency, Santa Clara County*: Upheld use of sex in hiring to have affirmative action; similar to Weber (1979). |
| 1988 | E | Family Support Act: Requires automatic wage withholding for child support |
| 1989 | W | *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*: Employee did not fit partners’ idea of a female lawyer. Gender stereotyping is actionable as sex discrimination. |
| 1989 | W | *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*: Supreme Court upheld MO law forbidding institutions receiving state funds to perform abortions |
| 1991 | W | *United Automobile Workers v. Johnson Controls, Inc.*: Prohibiting women from potentially hazardous occupations is discriminatory under PDA. |
| 1991 | W | Civil Rights Act reauthorized: Women can collect back pay in cases of intentional discrimination |
| 1992 | W | State Farm Insurance Company agreed to pay $157 million to 814 women denied jobs as agents in the largest sex discrimination case in US history |
| 1992 | E | 26 women newly elected to the Congress (2 to Senate; 24 to House) |
| 1993 | B | *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*: prevented states from banning abortion before fetal viability, generally within the first 24 weeks. |
| 1993 | B | *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc*.: Supreme Crt. set conditions for determining sexual harassment under Title VII using a “reasonable person” criterion. |
| 1993 | P | FMLA passed by Congress guaranteeing 12 weeks of family and medical leave, unpaid but with job protection. |
| 1998 | B | *Burlington Industries, Inc. v. Ellerth*; *Faragher v. City of Boca Raton:* Supreme Court rules that employers are liable for sexual harassment. |
| 1998 | B | Mitsubishi Motor Manufacturing of America settles EEOC lawsuit over sexual harassment. |
| 2004 | E | California has paid parental leave. |
| 2007 | W | *Ledbetter v Goodyear Tire and Rubber:* Supreme Court declined request; pay inequity occurred more than 180 days before case was brought. |
| 2009 | E | Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act: Congress restored original meaning of EEOC that clock restarts each time a form of discrimination occurred. |
| 2009 | W | New Jersey has paid parental leave. |
| 2013 | W | Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA): Discrimination based on sexual orientation passes Senate; dies in House. |
| 2013 | W | Ban against women in military combat positions ended; Pentagon had decided in 1994 to restrict women from these roles. |
| 2014 | E | Rhode Island has paid parental leave. |
| 2015 | E | *Young v. UPS*: Supreme Court determined that firms must accommodate pregnant workers if other disabilities are equivalently treated. |
| 2017 | P | #MeToo Movement generally dated with the Oct. 2017 accusations against Harvey Weinstein, although Tarana Burke used the term in 2006. |
| 2017 | P | Women's March January 21, 2017 day after Donald Trump's inauguration, estimated at 200K in DC and 2.2 to 4.6 million across the US |
| 2018 | E | New York has paid parental leave. |
| 2020 | E | *Bostock v. Clayton County, GA*: Supreme Court interprets Title VII as protecting individuals on the basis of sexual orientation. |
| 2020 | W | Washington State and the District of Columbia have paid parental leave. |
| 2021 | E | 26 women newly elected to the House of Representatives. |
| 2021 | P | Massachusetts has paid parental leave. |
| 2022 | B | *Roe v. Wade*: Struck down by *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization:* the Constitution does not confer a right to abortion. |
| 2022 | E | Connecticut has paid parental leave. |
| 2022 | E | Pregnant Workers Fairness Act (PWFA): guarantees reasonable accommodations for pregnant workers. |
| 2023 | E | Oregon will have paid parental leave, making it the ninth state (including DC) to enact and put into effect some form of paid parental leave |

BFOQ = Bona Fide Occupational Qualification

*Sources*: Unless listed otherwise, sources are general. Bird (1997); Freeman (1975); Geddes and Tennyson (2013) on married women’s property and earnings acts; Goldin (1990); Goldin and Katz (2002) on contraception; Goldin and Katz (2011) on coeducation; McBride and Parry (2016); National Women’s History Alliance website; Rosenberg (1992); Stevenson (2007) on divorce laws; Thomas (2016).

*Notes*: Codes are E = Economic/Social; P = Political; W= Workplace; B = Female Body. See text.

Appendix 2: ProQuest Newspapers

The exploration of articles that mention Title VII and the Equal Pay Act used the ProQuest Newspapers database. To automate the exercise, research assistant Maya Roy use the ProQuest Text and Data Mining (TDM) Studio. Everything that was done with TDM could have been done manually (and much slower) with the usual ProQuest newspapers. Because the coverage of newspapers can change, it should be noted that the data exploration was executed August 25, 2023 for the legislation search and on September 18, 2023 for the discrimination search.

The newspapers used were those in the historical series excluding foreign newspapers, the Black newspaper collection, and a few others. Those included were major newspapers in US cities in the period covered. The newspapers searched by ProQuest are the following with the year of the last edition accessed.

* Chicago Tribune (2014)\*
* Hartford Courant (1997)\*
* Los Angeles Times (2014)\*
* Newsday (1994)
* New York Tribune / Herald Tribune (1962)
* Pittsburgh Courier (1966)
* St. Louis Post Dispatch (2003)
* The Atlanta Constitution (1984)
* The Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution (1967)
* The Austin American Statesman (1980)
* The Austin American (1967)
* The Austin Statesman (1973)
* The Boston Globe (1991)
* The Christian Science Monitor (2009)\*
* The New York Times (2019)\*
* The Philadelphia Inquirer (2001)
* The Wall Street Journal (2011)\*
* The Washington Post (2007)\*

\*An additional year is added every year.

The fields searched were restricted to articles, editorials, letters to the editor, and reviews. All others (e.g., advertisements, obituaries) were omitted. Duplicates of articles (those having the same title and publication date in the same newspaper) were dropped. Due to copyright laws, most ProQuest newspapers that continued to publish end around the early 2000s. One could expand the data beyond those years by using specific newspapers online, such as *The New York Times*.

The exact searches done were as follows, although the search routine is not case dependent:

* + “title vii” AND (“sex” OR “women”)
  + “equal pay act”
  + “equal rights amendment”
  + “race discrimination” or “racial discrimination”
  + “sex discrimination” or “gender discrimination”
  + “January” (used as a denominator)

Appendix 3: Polling and Opinion Data

1. Data Sources:

* ANES: Cumulative Data File 1948-2020:

https://electionstudies.org/data-center/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/

* Gallup: Roper ipoll:

https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/ipoll/

1974 onwards from Roper ipoll:

https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/ipoll/

* General Social Survey (GSS): UC Berkeley GSS Cumulative Datafile:

https://sda.berkeley.edu/sdaweb/analysis/?dataset=gss18

* Great Aspirations (GA): See discussion in Goldin (2021), appendix p. 254. A version of the ICPSR data made more usable has been re-archived. See: https://scholar.harvard.edu/goldin/pages/data and https://www.openicpsr.org/openicpsr/project/183306/version/V1/view
* Life Style Survey, DDB Needham: June 2000 version:

http://bowlingalone.com/?page\_id=7

* Virginia Slims (VA Slims): 1970 UNC dataverse:

https://dataverse.unc.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.29/H-2050

1. Questions referred to or used in the paper:

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Question # | Question | Survey | Years Asked | Answers |
| 1: Should married women be employed for pay? | “Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money (holding a job) in business or industry if her husband is capable of supporting her?” | Gallup | 1938, 1945, 1970, 1975, 1993, 1997 | Yes, No, No opinion (In 1945 choices are: approve, disapprove, no opinion, qualified) |
| GSS | 1972, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998 | Approve, Disapprove, Don’t Know |
| 2: Would it be better if women were more politically active? | “Some people say that if there were more women in Congress and … government positions, the country would be better governed. Do you agree or disagree?” | Gallup | 1952 | Agree, Disagree, Neither or No Difference, If Qualified |
| “Do you think the US would be governed better or worse if women had more say in politics?” | Gallup | 1969, 1975, 1984, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2014 | Better, Worse, Same, Don’t Know |
| 3: Would you vote for a female presidential candidate? | “Would you vote for a woman for President if she qualified in every other respect?” | Gallup | 1937 | Yes, No, No opinion |
| “If your party (the party whose candidate you most often support) nominated a woman for President of the US, would you vote for her if she seemed best qualified …?” | Gallup | 1945, 1949, 1955, 1958, 1969, 1971, 1975, 1978, 1983, 1984, 1987, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2012, 2015 | Yes, No, No opinion |
| GSS | 1972, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2008, 2010 | Yes, No, Wouldn’t Vote, Don’t Know |
| 4: Should women be paid the same as men? | “If women take the place of men in industry, should they be paid the same wages as men?” | Gallup | 1942 | Yes, No, No opinion |
|  | “Do you approve or disapprove of paying women the same salaries as men, if they are doing the same work?” | Gallup | 1954, 1962, 1993 | Yes, No, No opinion |
| 5: Child suffer if mothers work | A pre-school child is likely to suffer emotional damage if his mother works | GA | 1964 (only for college graduate men and women) | Strongly agree, mildly agree, neutral, mildly disagree, strongly disagree |
|  | Preschool children will suffer if their mother’s work | GSS | 1977, 1985, 1986, 1988. 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2021 | Strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree |
| 6: Should women be granted an equal role in business, industry, government? | “Recently there has been … talk about women’s rights. Some feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry and government. Others feel that a women’s place is in the home. … some people have opinions in between, at points 2,3,4,5, or 6. Where would you place yourself … or haven’t you thought much about this (code 9)?" | ANES | 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2004, 2008 | Scale from 1 to 7, with 1 meaning an equal role and 7 meaning a woman’s place is in the home |
| 7: Support for strengthening women’s status | “On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today?” | VA Slims | 1970, 1974, 1980, 1985, 1989 | Favor, Oppose, Don’t Know |
| 8a: Feeling about the women’s (liberation) movement | “We’d also like to get your feelings about some groups in American society. When I read the name of a group, we'd like you to rate it with what we call a feeling thermometer.” –women’s liberation | ANES | 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1980, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 2000 | Scale from 0 to 100 where 50 to 100 means “you feel favorably and warm toward the group”, 0 to 50 means “you don’t feel favorably towards the group”, and 50 is that you aren’t inclined in either direction |
| 8b: Approval of the women’s liberation movement | “I think the women’s liberation movement is a good thing” | Life Styles DDB | 1975 to 1998, annually | Six point scale from “definitely disagree” to “definitely agree” |
| 9a: Feeling about feminists | “We’d also like to get your feelings about some groups in American society. When I read the name of a group, we'd like you to rate it with what we call a feeling thermometer.” – feminists | ANES | 1988, 1992, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020 | Scale from 0 to 100 where 50 to 100 means “you feel favorably and warm toward the group”, 0 to 50 means “you don’t feel favorably towards the group”, and 50 is that you aren’t inclined in either direction |
| 9b: Identity as a feminist | “Do you consider yourself to be a strong feminist, a feminist, not a feminist or an anti-feminist?” | Gallup | 1986 | Strong feminist, Feminist, Not a Feminist, Anti-Feminist, Don’t Know |
|  | “Do you consider yourself a feminist or not?” | Gallup | 1991, 1992, 1999, 2008 | Yes, No, No Opinion |
| 9c: Identity as a feminist or as a traditionalist | “Indicate the extent to which your own views approximate the “A” or the “B” viewpoint, where “A” is the *feminist* viewpoint, stressing greater equality between men and women… and “B” is a *traditional* viewpoint, stressing the differences …” | GA | 1964 (only for college graduate women) | Strongly A, Moderately A, Mixed A+B, Moderately B, Strongly B, Don’t know |
| 10a: Were women subjected to discrimination? | "Do you feel women are discriminated against or not in obtaining top jobs in the professions?" | VA Slims | 1970, 1974, 1980, 1985, 1989 | Discriminated against, Not discriminated against, Not sure |
| 10b: Were women subjected to discrimination? | "Do you feel women are discriminated against or not in getting a college education?" | VA Slims | 1970, 1974, 1980, 1985, 1989 | Discriminated against, Not discriminated against, Not sure |

1. Sample Weights:

* ANES: Weight variable VCF0009z for years 1958, 1960, 1970, 1974, 1976, and 1992 onwards. These are the years the cumulative file has weights.
* Gallup: Census-based weights created by RA by modifying code from Cascio and Shenhav (2020), provided in their replication files: <https://www.opnicpsr.org/openicpsr/project/117331/version/V1/view> The code creates shares of individuals in the census by year, sex, race, region South, high school completion, and birth cohort. Our steps are identical through #6. Created weight is then the ratio of the share of the population in a given cell in the census to the share of the population in a given cell in the Gallup data, normalized by the sum of that ratio across the entire survey. Cascio and Shenhav (2020) were followed in dropping duplicate observations (both weighted and unweighted), which were found by RA only in the 1962 survey (1962-0660). The weights can be used starting in 1940. Farber et al. (2021) discuss a method to construct weights using occupation, which can be done for years prior to 1940. Weights do not make a substantive difference to the results, a finding shared by the authors of both these papers.
* GSS: “Compwt,” which is the composite weight available for the entire GSS cumulative file, is used.
* GA: Contains weights.
* Life Styles DDB: Contains weight variables for all years.
* Virginia Slims: Virginia Slims data are used unweighted. For years 1974, 1985, and 1989 there are no weights provided (or they are not identifiable in the documentation). For 1980 weights are given, but they do not meaningfully change the results.

Appendix Figure 1. Complaints Filed with EEOC: New Charges (in logs) and Share “on Account of Sex”

*Sources*: EEOC, *Annual Reports*, 1966 to 1995.

*Notes*: Total charges are all new complaints filed with EEOC during the fiscal year given. The proportion of charges due to sex-related discrimination complaints is derived from a different total because EEOC listed the basis of the charge in a manner that involves double-counting. This graph updates the material in Goldin (1990), figure 7.1.