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CONTENTS

CAWP's First Findings: An Update on "The Impact of Women in Public Office" . . .	1
Women Legislators 1974-1989 and Women Candidates 1986-1988	3
Win or Lose, Nurses Who Ran for Office Sought Better Health Services for Young and Old	6
CAWP Forum for Newly Elected Women State Legislators	8
The First National Conference By, For and About Women in Their Twenties	8
Women's Appointments: One State Takes Action	9
Attaining a Gender Balance on State Boards and Commissions as a Route Into Elective Office for Women	10
Reapportionment, Redistricting and Women: The Dangers and Opportunities in California	13
Women's Political Participation in Korea	14
Organizations of Women Legislators: Update 1989	18
Women's PACs: Update 1989	23
National Organizations of Women Officeholders: A List	28
Statewide Organizations of Elected Women: A List	28
Statewide Organizations of Women in Municipal Government: A List	29
Organizations of Administrative Women in Government: A List	30

SIS Packet Enclosures

CAWP fact sheets, including a new release on "Women Appointed to Presidential Cabinets" and the revised "Women Candidates for State Legislatures: 1988 Election Results" ** CAWP Press Release: "Gender Gap Found in Legislative Support for Abortion" ** Paper by Susan J. Carroll: "New Strategies to Bring More Women Into Office: Organized Efforts to Increase the Number of Women Appointed to Recent Presidential Administrations in the United States" ** Conference report on "Democratic Leadership: The Women Who Ran the '88 Campaigns" (We thought this might be of interest to readers regardless of party affiliation; we would very much like to include information on similar efforts by Republican women in the next edition of News & Notes if available.) **

Articles by contributors to News & Notes represent their opinions and not necessarily those of CAWP.



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CAWP'S FIRST FINDINGS: AN UPDATE ON "THE IMPACT OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE"

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The Center for the American Woman and Politics' (CAWP) research project to examine "The Impact of Women in Public Office" is entering its third year. The project, supported by a grant from the Charles H. Revson Foundation, has two components: 1) a grants program which is funding twelve research projects by scholars unaffiliated with CAWP and 2) a national survey of state legislators conducted by CAWP.

Last summer CAWP conducted telephone interviews with a sample of 704 women and 704 men state legislators from across the nation and completed interviews with 87% of the women and 69% of the men. Analysis of the responses has begun. Two questions addressed by CAWP researchers at a recent political science conference were:

- 1) Do women who are political insiders differ from other women in their attitudes and their actions on feminist policies?¹
- 2) Are there gender differences in committee assignments and if so, is this the result of preference or discrimination?

Can Women Be Political Insiders and Make a Difference?

In the past two decades, the proportion of women in the state legislatures has quadrupled, rising from 4% in 1969 to almost 17% today. Yet in spite of these gains, women officeholders remain a numerical minority within each state legislative

chamber in the nation. As members of a minority group it is not surprising that some women in earlier years were ridiculed and trivialized by their male colleagues for voicing the concerns of women and children and for advocating feminist policies. While times have changed, two of the questions that still remain are: 1) Can women who advocate feminist policies gain access to formal status within male dominated legislative institutions or will the selection process exclude them? and 2) Once women become political insiders, will they continue to make a difference or will they conform to institutional norms set by their male colleagues?

The results of our analysis show that women who are legislative insiders (by virtue of holding a committee chair or other leadership position) are generally just as supportive of feminist policies as other women legislators in their party. Within each party, women legislative leaders were just as likely as other women legislators to oppose banning abortion, to support ERA, to be willing to extend full abortion rights to minors, to support the concept of comparable worth, and to support government provision of childcare (with charges based on the ability to pay). There were partisan differences, however, with Democrats being more supportive of these feminist policies (to varying degrees) than Republicans.

But attitudes are only one part of the story -- women must translate these attitudes into action if women are to make a difference. And indeed, women legislative leaders were at

¹Throughout the article, feminist positions are defined as those endorsed by the major national feminist organizations such as NOW or the NWPC.

least as likely (and sometimes more likely) than other women legislators to report having worked on at least one bill during the most recent session targeted primarily at helping women. Fifty-four percent of Republican women who were legislative leaders and fifty-four percent of other Republican women reported that they had worked on such a bill. Eighty-two percent of Democratic women legislative leaders and sixty-eight percent of other Democratic women legislators reported that they had worked on a bill targeted at helping women. Women legislative insiders have not been coopted by the legislature; the data suggests that they are just as likely as other women to express feminist attitudes and to work on legislation aimed at helping other women.

Gender Differences in Committee Assignments

Previous research has provided some evidence that men and women serve on different committees within the legislature. However, this evidence was inconclusive as to whether the difference was due to preference or discrimination. Hypothetically, women and men could end up on different committees for any of the following reasons: 1) women and men prefer different committees, 2) legislative leaders think women are better suited for certain committees despite women's preferences, or 3) a combination of the above two reasons.

There is a clear pattern of gender differentiation in the committee assignments of women and men serving in state legislatures although the pattern is largely in one direction. Women are much more likely than men to be assigned to committees that have been traditionally viewed as women's special areas of expertise. In both chambers, larger proportions of women are serving on committees dealing with health and human service issues than on any other type of committee.

Proportionately, more women than men also serve on education committees in both chambers, and in state senates women more often than men have been assigned to committees focusing on government affairs.

Nevertheless, for the most part women are just as likely as their male counterparts in either chamber of the legislature to serve on so called "prestige" committees (ie., appropriations and budget, finance and revenue, judiciary, rules, ways and means, and banking, business and commerce). The single exception is that men senators are almost twice as likely to serve on finance and revenue committees than women senators, suggesting that this is a particularly popular committee assignment among men.

The pattern of gender differentiation in committee assignments is not mediated by party, tenure in the legislature, or professionalization of the legislature (ie., citizen or professional).

In order to assess whether the gender differentiation is due to differences in preferences of women and men legislators or to discrimination by legislative leaders who may assign women to committees that are counter to women's own preferences, legislators were asked the following three questions: 1) if they were serving on any standing committee to which they originally did not want to be assigned, 2) if there was a standing committee on which they would like to serve but to which they had not been appointed, and 3) which of their assigned committees dealt with legislation that interested them most.

Women state senators, more often than their male colleagues, report that they are serving on a committee on which they originally did not wish to serve. A gender difference is not apparent for state representatives overall; however, among those represen-

tatives who have served two years or less, the women are more likely than the men to express discontent with at least one committee assignment. These findings indicate that women are less likely than men to receive committee assignments that are consistent with their personal preferences, thus suggesting the possibility of discrimination.

Women legislators are only slightly more likely than men legislators to want to serve on a committee other than those on which they currently serve. The gender difference is somewhat greater among those who have served less than one term in both houses. The most desirable committees among those legislators not serving on the committee are finance and revenue committees and appropriations and budget committees.

Women's and men's levels of interest in the work of the committees on which they serve vary quite markedly. Women in both chambers of the legislature who serve on health and human services committees report, much more often than their male counterparts, that this is the committee whose work interests them the most.

Similarly, women representatives serving on education committees are more likely than their male counterparts to point to this committee's work as that which interests them the most. More men senators than women senators serving on finance and revenue committees are interested in the committee's work, and men on judiciary committees and banking, business, and commerce committees in state houses express more interest than women on these committees. However, women senators on appropriations and budget committees and women representatives on finance and revenue committees express more interest in their committee's work than their male counterparts. Also, contrary to what one might expect for what have traditionally been viewed as the "housekeeping" committees of the legislature, men serving on government affairs committees in both houses of the legislature are more likely than women to choose this committee as the one whose work interests them most.

Overall, gender differentiation in committee assignments appears to be due to both discrimination and differences in preference.

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WOMEN LEGISLATORS 1974-1989 AND WOMEN CANDIDATES 1986-1988

Lucy D. Baruch, Research Associate, CAWP
Katherine E. Kleeman, Senior Program Associate, CAWP

Later this year CAWP plans to issue a report profiling the status of women in state legislatures from 1974 through 1989. The following article previews some of the data.

Since 1974, women's representation in state legislatures has increased steadily; although women are currently only 16.9% of all state lawmakers, a review of the figures over the past 15 years reminds us how far we've come. In addition, an examination of legislative elections involving women candidates in 1986 and 1988 suggests that women who do run fare reasonably well.

A Comparison Between 1974 and 1989

In 1974, women constituted only 6.1% of all state legislators. While the 10.8 percentage point increase in the past 15 years is noteworthy, a comparison of the states with the highest and lowest percentages of women serving in those years may be more striking.

A state needed only 10% or more women in its legislature to rank among the top ten in 1974; each of the ten lowest ranking states had fewer than 2.8% women serving. In contrast, in 1989 a state needs at least 23.7% women to rank in the top ten, and a state with 9.2% women ranks among the bottom ten (see table below).

In 1974, in almost half (23) of the state legislatures, less than 5% of the membership was female, and in 41 states fewer than 10% of the legislators were women. Today, only one state -- Louisiana -- has less than 5% women, and only ten remain below the 10% mark (see graph below).

New Hampshire's legislature, the largest in any state, has long had the highest proportion of women serving; in 1974, it was the only state with more than 20% women in its legislature. In 1989, 17 states boast at least 20% women. Three states -- Arizona, Maine, and Vermont -- have, for the first time, joined New Hampshire in having 30% or more women in their legislatures in 1989.

Women Candidates in 1986 and 1988¹

The record of candidates in the 1986 and 1988 general elections can be summarized by noting that women running for state legislatures faced predictable outcomes: most incumbents won, most challengers lost, and about half of those vying for open seats were successful. In 1986, of 1,813 women candidates for state legislatures, 95.4% of incumbents, 8.8% of challengers, and 50.9% of those running for open seats won their races. Similarly in 1988, of 1,853 women candidates, 96.1% of incumbents, 11.1% of challengers, and 48.6% of those seeking open seats won. Overall, women

won 58.7% of their races in 1986, while in 1988 59.9% of the women candidates won.

There were some differences between Democratic and Republican women in their success rates for 1986 and 1988. Democratic women won 63.6% of their races in 1986 but only 59.7% in 1988. Republican women, in contrast, upped their success rate, winning 53.1% in 1986 and 59.9% in 1988. Republican women were especially successful in winning open seats in 1988; while they won only 42.2% of the open seats they sought in 1986, they triumphed in 55.1% of such races in 1988. In contrast, Democratic women won 57.2% of the open seats they tried for in 1986, but their rate of victory in open seat races dropped to 43.9% in 1988.

A look at the results of the 1988 elections reveals that in 30 states there was an increase in the number of women serving in the state legislatures while in 7 states there was a decrease. There were no changes in 13 states, including 6 states that did not have legislative races in 1988. The greatest numerical increases were in Vermont and Kansas; both states added 9 women to their legislatures. In the Vermont legislature the number of women increased from 46 in 1988 to 55 in 1989 (out of 180 total seats) and in Kansas the numbers rose from 33 to 42 (out of 165 seats). The greatest decrease was in Florida, where 6 fewer women are serving in 1989 (27 out of 160) than served in 1988 (33 out of 160).

What -- if any -- conclusion can we draw from the figures about women candidates? Without comparable figures for candidates overall (women and men) it's hard to generalize, but one message is clear. When women do run,

¹It should be noted that in 1988 there were 151 (110D, 38R, 1NP) women state legislators who were holdovers as compared to 97 (56D, 34R, 1I, 6NP) in 1986.

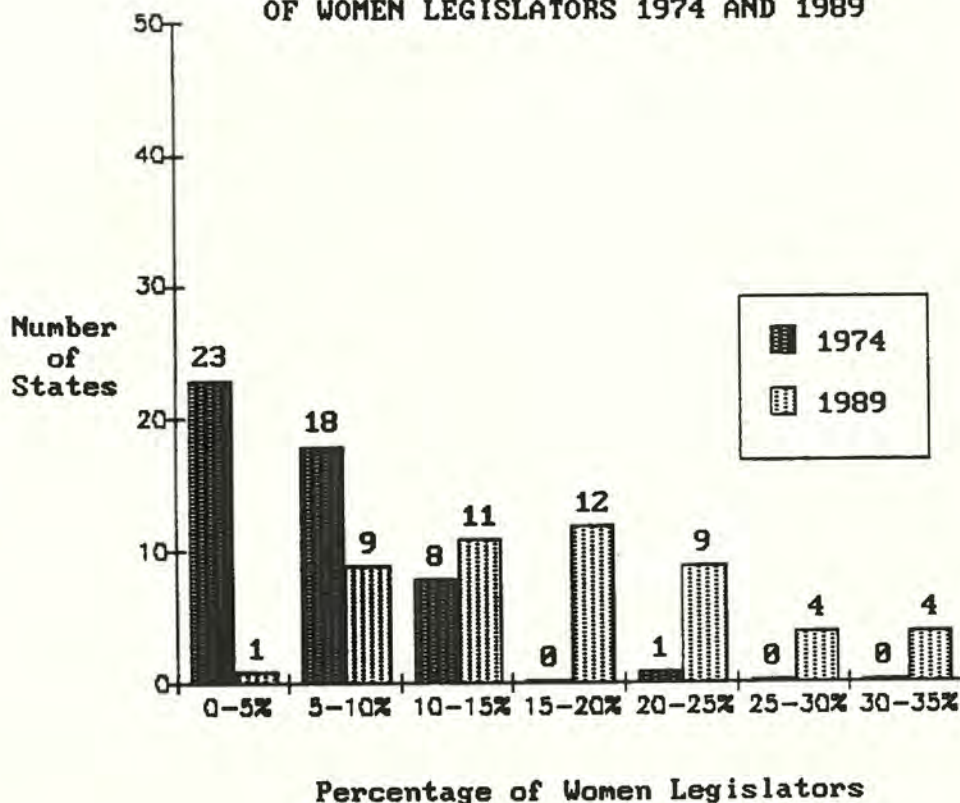
except in the always-difficult races where they are challenging incumbents, they stand a good chance of winning. Forty more women ran in 1988 general elections than in 1986 -- and 44 more

women won in 1988. Therefore, it seems logical to assume that to have more women win, we need to have more women run.

Women State Legislators 1974-1989

Year	# of Women	Total # of Positions	% Women in Legislatures	% of Women Needed to Rank:	
				Top 10	Bottom 10
1974	458	7563	6.1	10.0	2.8
1979	770	7481	10.3	14.4	5.3
1984	996	7438	13.4	19.0	7.9
1989	1261	7461	16.9	23.7	9.2

THE NUMBER OF STATES WITH THIS PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS 1974 AND 1989



WIN OR LOSE, NURSES WHO RAN FOR OFFICE SOUGHT BETTER HEALTH SERVICES FOR YOUNG AND OLD

This article, which appeared in the February 1989 issue of the American Journal of Nursing, has been reprinted with permission.

"There was a need for younger people, especially nurses, to be represented," says **Jacquie Kelley**, a pediatric nurse practitioner who went after a seat in South Dakota's senate in November.

Kelley pitched her campaign to the elderly, hurt by federal cuts, and the struggling young families who feel they have no voice in state government. In the state's biggest upset, she beat out the senate majority leader, an 18-year incumbent.

She typifies the energy and idealism of dozens of nurses around the country who took state office in January. Common campaign issues, they report, were expanded health care education and services, better care for children and more support for nursing education and salaries. For many of the RNs, running for office also meant challenging their state's most powerful political leaders.

Kelley's "pro-family" platform called for parental leave, better prenatal care for low-income mothers, and child care in industry and state government. She's well-qualified to pursue those problems; as coordinator of parent-child health outreach at Pierre's St. Mary's Hospital, she works to prevent abuse and handicapping conditions.

She will serve on both the tax and health committees. With the shortage catching up with South Dakota, she'll take a hand as the legislature moves to re-fund nursing programs and approve at least two new schools. Nursing education is the focus of much attention, she says, "since we are headed toward two practice levels."

"I went door to door." Nurse practitioner **Jim Lendall** is storming into Arkansas' legislature with plans to shake up his state. He collected 64 percent of the vote and ousted a 10-year incumbent who was also Little Rock's mayor.

A nurse practitioner at Arkansas Children's Hospital, Lendall ran as an Independent after four attempts to get his name on the ballot in previous years. He won, he says, by campaigning door-to-door from February to election time: "People hadn't seen a politician do that in years!"

The Arkansas RN didn't wait for the legislature to meet; he prefiled a bill to raise cigarette taxes by 10 cents and apply the \$120 million in new revenues to Medicaid funding. He'll also try to raise salaries for teachers, school and public health nurses (some PHNs who cover whole counties earn \$15,000 a year), abolish the sales tax on food, put consumers on the state's pollution control board, promote recycling, and consolidate school districts to save money.

Most controversial is the bill he'll cosponsor to fund school-based clinics. Lendall is braced for battle; the plan is drawing fire from anti-abortionists.

"There's an art to persuading." Setting out on a second stint in New Hampshire's house, former nursing exec and educator **Katherine Foster** says she took on another two years because her first term had shown her "how little my committee (health and human services) knew about some issues." She's found there's a key role for RN legislators in a state where major problems

are developing around nurse shortages, child health and the care of mental outpatients and prisoners.

Foster is one of a whopping total of 10 RNs serving in New Hampshire's house. Five are starting first terms: **Irene Pratt** and **Cecelia Kane** join the Democratic side while **Jeanette Barry**, **Kathleen Hoelzel** and **Alice Ziegler** strengthen the Republican majority.

What's the mutual attraction between nurses and politics in New Hampshire, where legislators are paid \$100 a year?

Foster credits the New Hampshire Nurses Association's energetic government affairs committee and its enthusiastic lobbyists. With their "mentoring," she feels she's making a "definite contribution.... You learn there's an art to persuading people who have no interest in health care to support it."

Nurse Candidates Fared Better Than Ever in November Races

The overwhelming majority of November's RN candidates were winners. AJN's post-election poll found only seven who lost among the more than 40 nurses who sought public office.

Kathleen Connell won her bid for a second term as Rhode Island's secretary of state. In Pennsylvania, **Barbara Hafer** came out on top in her try for the office of auditor general.

A newcomer in Minnesota's senate is **Patricia Pariseau**, a Republican. **Karen Clark** is starting her fifth term in the house, where she will continue to tackle such problems as nurses' rights as workers and urban health care. Two Minnesota RN candidates ran strong but losing campaigns against long-term incumbents; both **Katie O'Brien** and **Charlotte Fisher** were backed by over a third of the voters in their districts.

Utah elected its first RN legislator: **Paula Julander**, a Democrat and first-time candidate.

Another first-time winner was **Ruth Eskesen**, an Arizona Republican and now a state representative. She combined campaigning with completing her doctorate from U/Texas at Austin.

Republican **Jean Leising** reached Indiana's senate on her first try, while Sen. **Patricia Miller** won re-election handily.

After losing a close race two years ago, **Nancy Crandall** recovered to win election to the Michigan house. **Margaret O'Connor** recaptured her house seat, but **Cheryl Anderson-Small** lost in the primaries against a well-entrenched incumbent.

Texas Rep. **Nancy McDonald** was re-elected. The **DeMers** of North Dakota, **Judy** and **Pat** (not related) also gained readmission to the house. South Dakota Rep. **Mary Vanderlinde** was returned to office and **Jacquie Kelley** reached the senate in her first attempt.

The November election made it a nursing foursome in Kansas' state legislature, with Sen. **Norma Daniels** and Rep. **Jessie Branson** the senior members. **Cindy Empson** was re-elected to the house where a newcomer, Republican **Joann Flower**, also laid claim to a seat.

Washington State Rep. **Margarita Prentice** undertook her second term, having previously been appointed to fill a vacant seat. In 1984, Prentice was the first state nurses' association member to be named to the Democratic National Platform Committee.

Wisconsin Rep. **Judy Robson** also returned to a seat she had won in a special election. Fellow Rep. **Walter Kunicki**, an incumbent, went unopposed.

Incumbent RNs proved popular in Ohio, where Rep. Joan Lawrence was re-elected, and in West Virginia, where delegate Barbara Hatfield enters another term. But it wasn't a winning year for new candidates Hanna Lochner, Mary Dunning and Brenda Alexander, who all set their caps for Ohio's legislature. William Abernarius Jr. fell short in his bid for office in West Virginia.

Nurses are prominent this session in the Maine legislature, which expects to spend 90 percent of its time on health care issues. On hand for action are Anne Rand, re-elected to her second term, and novice candidate Christine Burke, a Democrat.

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CAWP FORUM FOR NEWLY ELECTED WOMEN STATE LEGISLATORS

The Center for the American Woman and Politics will convene the first Forum for Newly Elected Women State Legislators from November 16-19, 1989. All 240 of the women who were elected for the first time to a state legislative seat in 1988 have been invited to the conference.

The Forum will offer participants the unique opportunity to meet their newly elected colleagues from across the country as well as a selected group of veteran women legislators, including top legislative leaders, and national resource experts.

While the freshmen orientations in each state introduces the nuts and

bolts of the legislative procedure, the Forum for Newly Elected Women State Legislators is geared specifically for the woman who has served for one legislative session. The four-day meeting will focus on topics such as: increasing effectiveness in the legislature; strategies for working with legislative leaders, lobbyists, journalists and constituents; coping with the demands of public and private life; staying in public office.

For further information, please contact Debbie Walsh, the director of CAWP's Program for Women State Legislators at 201-828-2210.

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THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE BY, FOR AND ABOUT WOMEN IN THEIR TWENTIES

The Center for Women Policy Studies (CWPS) will convene the First National Conference By, For and About Women in Their Twenties, November 10-12, 1989, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, DC. This agenda-setting conference will be a unique opportunity for young women of all racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds from every region of the country to come together in a national forum to discuss their concerns about the future and to begin to create new policy options that will meet the

needs of this generation of women and their families. This conference will launch CWPS' Young Women's Program, designed to bring young women into the policy process by encouraging them to take leadership positions on feminist issues, and to reconceptualize women's issues and strategies for institutional change in the coming decades.

The conference is being planned by a Steering Committee of women in their twenties assisted by a Senior Advisory Board of experienced women

leaders, a collaboration beginning the intergenerational partnership that will be a hallmark of the conference itself. On Friday, November 10, to begin these three days of historic meetings, CWPS will present the 1989 Jessie Bernard Wise Women Awards at an "intergenerational partnership" luncheon -- women of every age from teens to seniors will come together

for celebration, networking and mentoring.

For information on participation please write: Mara Verheyden-Hilliard, Director, Young Women's Program, Center for Women Policy Studies, 2000 P Street, NW, Suite 508, Washington, DC 20036.

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WOMEN'S APPOINTMENTS: ONE STATE TAKES ACTION

Joan A. Crowley, Director of Development, CAWP

In the drive to bring more women into public office, increasing numbers of women are recognizing the importance of supporting one another. Women are raising money, running training programs, acting as mentors and serving as advocates for the advancement of women in public life. Some are also making efforts to ensure the appointment of women in the executive branch of government.

Since the mid-1970s, women have organized across party lines to act as advocates for the placement of women in key positions in state and federal administrations. The first of these efforts, the Washington DC-based Coalition for Women's Appointments, was formed in 1976, and now includes 85 women's organizations. It is currently pressuring the Bush administration to appoint a substantial number of women to high-level posts. The Coalition, administered by the National Women's Political Caucus, screens and recommends women for appointments; it has served as a model for states undertaking similar efforts.

One such effort is the New Jersey Bipartisan Coalition for Women's Appointments (NJBCWA). Originally formed in 1981, the NJBCWA was reconvened by the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) in anticipation of the 1989 New Jersey gubernatorial election campaign. The group

began developing strategies more than a year before the November election to guarantee that it would have an early influence on the candidates and to be sure women would have important positions in their campaigns. The participants also agreed on the importance of "creating an expectation" that women must be included in substantial numbers at every level, in elective and appointive offices, and in the party structures.

To carry out its goals, representatives of the NJBCWA are meeting with the candidates to convey the group's message and to find out what measures the candidates will take to ensure that women are fairly represented before and after the election. Specifically, the Coalition is urging candidates to appoint women to prominent positions in their campaigns -- special women's committees are not acceptable -- and to include women on the transition team and in the new administration. NJBCWA is challenging the candidates to promise to better current New Jersey Governor Thomas H. Kean's record of six women in the cabinet. The Coalition will also push for women to be considered to head non-traditional departments (such as transportation and commerce) and appointed in greater numbers to the governor's staff, judgeships, and key boards and commissions.

The Coalition will hold press conferences to generate public awareness and to report on progress toward achieving its goals. After New Jersey's June primary, the candidates will be invited to speak to a general meeting so that Coalition participants can question them directly. The group will meet regularly to assess the performance of the candidates and to develop a strategy for working with the transition team of the governor-elect after November. A procedure will be developed for soliciting, screening, and forwarding resumes of women seeking appointments so that the Coalition can ensure that qualified women are being considered.

More than 125 women from every part of the state -- including leaders in government, politics, business, the professions, and organizations -- have signed on as affiliates of the Coalition. An eleven-member steering committee, including five prominent representatives of each party as well

as the president of the state's League of Women Voters, shapes the Coalition's specific policies and plans in accordance with suggestions raised at general meetings of the group. CAWP serves as secretariat for the Coalition.

In a recent statement to the press, two leaders of the NJBCWA spoke for many of the group's participants. Hazel Frank Gluck, New Jersey Commissioner of Transportation and a Republican, declared: "Someone who wants to be governor of all the people of New Jersey ought to be willing to make a commitment to a truly representative administration, with women and minority group members included in substantial numbers at all levels." Added Democratic Assemblywoman Barbara Kalik: "Women in New Jersey are no longer content to be window-dressing, playing token roles in campaigns or in government. This Coalition unites us across party lines in our determination to be part of the action."

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ATTAINING A GENDER BALANCE ON STATE BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS AS A ROUTE INTO ELECTIVE OFFICE FOR WOMEN

Kappie Spencer, Director for Women's Issues
American Association of University Women

What will state legislatures look like in the year 2000? Will there be a steady but minimal increase in the percentage of women, as we have seen since 1969? Or will we begin to see sizable increases in the number of women legislators, particularly in those states which have followed the lead of Iowa in passing legislation which places women and men in equal numbers in appointive state policy-making positions? Is equal representation for women an impossible dream, or will a nationwide Gender Balance Project pay off in the next ten years? I believe that the project will not only prove to be a breakthrough for women in attaining office, but could

also prove to be a milestone in the contemporary women's movement.

In January of 1988, at the first Women's Agenda Conference, sponsored by the Federation of Business and Professional Women and co-sponsored by fifty other national women's organizations, I was struck by the tremendous wealth of knowledge, political savvy, experience and skills assembled under one roof. But to reflect upon that tremendous energy and pool of talent was to invite feelings of anger and frustration. Why, with all of the combined resources at our fingertips, should we be so powerless to increase the pitiful percentage of women in positions of power?

Just three weeks later I read the Des Moines Register account of the newly enacted Iowa Gender Balance law. Enacted in 1987, the law requires the Governor to attain and then maintain a gender balance on all appointive state boards, commissions, councils and committees.¹ Inherent in this law I began to see a real possibility of a breakthrough for women if it could be replicated throughout the nation. Since service on appointive boards and commissions is an important route into elective office for many women, there is a potential for a concomitant increase in the number of women in elective office in the next decade.

Research from the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) shows that more than half of the nation's women legislators have held one or more appointive positions in state government and that service in appointive positions is often the route into elective office for both women and men. It is in these positions where many gather political knowledge and skills, meet the Governor and state legislators, become involved in state government and expand their political networks. Here people are also likely to become involved in political parties and to meet the party leaders who are most likely to offer support in elective campaigns.

For women, service on the state level is especially valuable because women are too often placed in roles with little visibility and clout and are therefore hidden from view. Service on state boards and commissions helps them to become known and respected for their capabilities and encourages them to think about themselves as candidates for elective office.

Women also bring distinctive perspectives to public service since, according to CAWP, they are more likely to be sensitive to issues and decisions that affect women and children. They have been socialized differently from men because they are daughters, sisters, wives or mothers; because they frequently follow sex-segregated educational and career paths; because they have biological differences, and because their collective histories are distinctly different from those of men. The need for a more balanced representation is obvious. A society in which women constitute more than 50% of the members but less than 17% of the lawmakers is governed without the benefit of balanced views.

The scrutiny of women's appointments and resulting publicity generated by the quest for gender balance legislation will stimulate public awareness. The pursuit of gender balance laws, whether or not they pass in any state, will call attention to the issue of representation for women, will put state legislators' votes on record, and will create added incentives for Governors to improve their records on appointments for women. I believe that an increase in the number of women in policy-making positions (and therefore into the pipeline for higher office) may well prove to be the breakthrough we have sought. I believe that a proliferation of state laws based on the Iowa model may well be the "vaccine" to wipe out the "virus" of legislation which is not always in the best interests of women and families.

These beliefs shaped the plan, but the belief which has caused me to proceed with a vengeance is that one

¹Editor's note: The Iowa legislation was spearheaded by State Representative Minnette Doderer. It allows for a few exceptions in cases where the pool of qualified appointees for a given board or commission is very small and heavily weighted in favor of one sex.

person can make a difference. In April of 1988, I unveiled a plan which became a project of national proportions practically overnight with the help of Mary Wiberg, President of the National Association of Commissions for Women, and Iowa then-Representative Sue Mullins, 1988 chair of the Women's Network of the National Conference of State Legislatures. The master plan calls for a "network of networks" -- state alliances among Commissions on Women, women legislators, and state women's organizations working in concert to attain gender balance laws patterned after the Iowa law.

According to the plan, legislation will be introduced, and women's legislative caucuses will promote the concept in statehouses. Commissions on Women will compile statistics on women in state policy-making positions, distribute information on the appointments process and positions to be filled, and maintain rosters of potential appointees. Women's organizations will work within state women's networks where they exist or form new ones, and from their own memberships and communities they will seek capable women who are interested in serving on state boards and commissions. They will also be instrumental in seeking legislative sponsors and lobbying for legislation once it is introduced.

In 1988 I "marketed" the idea for gender balance legislation through workshops and presentations to the National Association of Commissions for Women, the Women's Network of the National Conference of State Legislatures, the American Association of University Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, and the National Women's Conference Committee. I have distributed informational packets to the national presidents of some sixty women's organizations who comprise the Council of Presidents, and through a national network of legislators and women with whom I have worked for many

years. The idea which was conceived just a year ago has now become a nationwide project which has blossomed and now is bearing fruit.

Although the wording differs from state to state, legislation has either been introduced or is in the drafting process in an increasing number of states in 1989.

In Florida SB 206, introduced by Senator Carrie Meek, would "prohibit the appointment or reappointment of a person to a statutorily created board, commission, council or committee of the state if the appointment or reappointment would cause the number of appointed members of that body who are of one gender to exceed a number equal to one-half of the number of appointed members plus one in the case of an odd-numbered appointive membership or one-half of the number of members in the case of an even-numbered appointive membership."

Kansas State Representative Joan Wagon has introduced two bills which address the issue. The gender balance bill did not get out of committee this year, but a hearing is planned for the fall. The second bill (fate unknown) would establish a Commission on Women and Families. Among the duties specified for such a commission is "to monitor the gender composition of state boards, commissions, committees, councils and other state governmental bodies and recommend persons for appointment."

A contact in Montana has affirmed that a Resolution (HJR 28) sponsored by Representative Jessica Stickney has passed both the House and the Senate urging "that all appointive boards, commissions, committees, and councils of the state be gender-balanced to the greatest extent possible." While this does not have the force of law, it is felt to be a valid first step. And word from California is that there is a move there to press for a similar

resolution by the Assembly and Senate, requesting the Governor to establish a policy of actively pursuing the goal of a more equitable gender balance when making appointments to state boards and commissions.

In North Dakota where women make up about 25 percent of the 100 plus state boards and commissions, (with nearly a third of the panels all male), SB 2410 was introduced by Senators Jerry Waldera, Corliss Mushik, and Ray Holmberg and passed by a 49-3 vote. A companion bill introduced in the House by Representatives Kit Scherber, Cathy Rydell and Janet Wentz passed with a 74-26 vote and has been sent to the governor for his signature. The final version of the bill read that boards "should be balanced...", and that "professional boards should strive to meet the gender balance of the profession."

In Minnesota, State Representative Sandra Pappas has introduced a gender balance bill, HF 741. A companion bill (SF 406), introduced by Senator Donna Peterson, conforms to the Iowa law in intent but not language. Meanwhile, an aide to Representative Jane Campbell has confirmed that a gender balance bill is being drafted for introduction during this session of the Ohio legislature. And in New Jersey, a similar bill will have Senator Wynona Lipman as its prime sponsor.

Kappie Spencer can be reached at the following addresses: from July to October -- 1700 SW Bell Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa, 50315, 515-243-5743; and from November to June -- 3735 Beneva Oaks Way, Sarasota, Florida, 34238, 813-924-2191 (wk), 813-924-2326 (hm).

* * * * *

REAPPORTIONMENT, REDISTRICTING AND WOMEN: THE DANGERS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN CALIFORNIA

California Women's Political Summit is an informal network of more than 30 organizations -- women's PACs, women officeholders, and women's political groups -- meeting to share information and increase their effectiveness. Initially intended to be a one-time meeting of these organizations, the Summit was convened

Currently at least two states, Florida and Rhode Island, are forming women's networks around the issue. Other states which have begun some form of action are Alabama, Alaska, Delaware, Hawaii, Mississippi, Missouri, Oklahoma, and South Carolina.

Women's organizations will be instrumental to the success of this effort. In June of 1988 the national board of directors for the American Association of University Women voted unanimously to promote a nationwide effort to attain gender balance on state boards and commissions. By January 1989 the idea had spread to other national women's organizations, and a recommendation "that we call on every state to enact a Gender Balance law in the upcoming legislative sessions" was brought before the second Women's Agenda Conference by Molly Yard, President of the National Organization for Women. Shortly thereafter the National Women's Political Caucus adopted a gender balance resolution for immediate action. And a similar resolution is pending conference action in the National Association of Commissions for Women.

Information on other states will be welcome. Please contact me with news of action in these or other states.

in the fall of 1987 and has continued to meet since then. The focus of the next meeting is the issues of reapportionment and redistricting. Efforts are also underway to develop a "Women's Reapportionment Project." The following is excerpted from information sent to Summit representatives in preparation for their next meeting. For more information about the Women's Political Summit, contact: D.J. Soviero at 415-474-6808 or Johanna Willmann at 415-331-7974.

If 98% of U.S. Congressional incumbents get re-elected and 95% of the U.S. Congress is male then women can expect to achieve parity in Federal legislative office in 410 years. The prospects at the state and local level are better but equally frustrating. It is becoming apparent that incumbency, as much as sexism, is a barrier to entering and advancing women in elected office.

Women, however, have a once-in-a-decade chance to improve these statistics by paying early, rapt and informed attention to redistricting. In 1990 the U.S. Census will verify the population shift in this country from the snowbelt to the sunbelt. Under the U.S. Constitution, Congress is obligated to re-apportion 435 seats to the various states in proportion to their population gain or loss. Furthermore, all California Senate, Assembly and Board of Equalization Districts must be re-drawn to accommodate the population shifts within the state.

California, indeed, will be the land of opportunity for women candidates because it is expected to gain the most Congressional seats of any state. Estimates are as high as seven. This means seven theoretically "open" Congressional districts with no

incumbent. In a secondary wave of opportunity, officeholders will vacate state and local seats in a melody of political musical chairs. Newly re-drawn districts will leave some incumbents severely disadvantaged and others will choose not to run. This domino effect will create yet more non-incumbered seats at the state and local level.

Likewise, there is danger in the re-creation of so many elective districts. There must be a vigilance to guard the gains that have been made. In 1993, we hope to look back and say we minimized the dangers and enhanced the opportunities. For now, the goals are simple:

- 1) To protect women incumbents we have worked so hard to elect from losing their seats;
- 2) To create opportunities for the women we support to move in and/or up the political career ladder;
- 3) To support viable women candidates for offices in Federal, state and local offices where winning is within reasonable reach.

* * * * *

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KOREA

Bong-Scuk Sohn (Ahn)

Bong-Scuk Sohn (Ahn) has been a visiting scholar at the Center for the American and Politics during the 1988-89 academic year. She is an Instructor in the Department of Political Science at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, Korea. Upon her return to Korea, Dr. Sohn plans to open a Korean center for women and politics. She has received some initial funding from UNIFEM.

I. Features of Women's Participation in Politics

Since the birth of the Republic of Korea in 1948, women's participation in politics has remained by and large in token stages. One may review the characteristic features of women's political participation in South Korea in accordance with three developmental stages.

Nation-Building Period

During the nation-building period there were limited opportunities for women to participate in politics. So-called "super women" who combined family and work and were highly educated and well-known to the public by virtue of their privileged family, social and educational backgrounds, dominated women's participation in politics. This mainly took the form of a very few select women being appointed to public positions in government. This type of participation did not lead to an institutionalization of women's involvement in the political process. In many cases, these women politicians were not especially concerned about women's issues. They were pleased and satisfied with their given positions and cooperated closely with their male counterparts rather than working for women's causes. In some cases, they kept their distance from ordinary women when conflicts of interests arose.

Modernization Period, 1960-70s

During the 1960-70s, South Korean society underwent an unprecedented period of rapid social change and modernization in every sector, including women's lives. However, although there was a big movement into the

workforce by women laborers, no significant progress in women's political participation was made. There were a handful of mobilized women politicians who were widely known. The authoritarian regime selected these women for legislative seats through the members-at-large electoral system.¹ This type of participation served essentially as a means to show off that government was concerned about women's status. Even though there were more women politicians than during the preceding period (see table 1), they did not turn into effective political channels through which women's demands could be met with adequate public policies. However during this period, with the assistance of women in the Assembly, there were gains made for women, such as amending several clauses in the family laws to benefit women.

Transition Period, 1980s:

Since the late 1970s, Korea has experienced a radical political transition from an authoritarian government to a more open, democratic regime. Many political leaders still tend to be authoritarian. But citizen participation has increased and become more visible than ever before. Rapid economic growth over the last two decades has also contributed to this trend. Accordingly, women's political participation has entered a new stage.

Currently, movements for increased women's political participation are on the rise and are much more diversified than before. The mainstream includes those women who are already active in politics, the majority of whom are selected by the government or the ruling party. They work within the political system, and seek some new roles for women in order to identify

¹In the members-at-large system, party leaders select who will appear in what order on the slate; the number of seats each party then receives is related to the percentage of votes it obtains. Candidates who are highest on the party's list have the greatest probability of serving in the Assembly.

themselves as the main proponents of women's advancement. Although their efforts do sometimes benefit women, there are great limitations on what they accomplish because of their obligations to party leaders.

A second group tries to seek democratization through movements outside the established political structures. These women are involved in various campaigns such as human rights, the labor movement, or public causes like anti-pollution or consumer protection. Along with these and other social democratization campaigns, they strongly promote issues of sexual equality.

The third stream is represented by more radical groups, which consist of educated, urban, young, and predominantly single women. This stream, often using a Marxist analysis, calls for an entirely new solution to sexual discrimination and advocates a fundamental change of existing social structures. They are more directly concerned about marginal people who they claim are exploited by the "unjust" current social structure. They also tend to oppose all kinds of sexual discrimination against women, including the division of labor by sex. This group of women is not large or strong enough to bring changes of far-reaching significance at the moment. Nevertheless, it plays an important role, sometimes generating shocks among traditional women's circles or occasionally facilitating cooperation among less radical women's groups.

II. Women's Participation in Major Political Institutions

Women in the Legislature

Korea has perhaps had one of the smallest proportions of women in its national legislative body of any country. Since the first National Assembly was established in 1948,

women as a percentage of all legislators has remained within a range of 0.5% to 5.5%.

The electoral system of Korea has changed several times over the past four decades. From the first to fifth Assembly, there were only 1-3 National Assemblywomen out of over 200 seats chosen by popular vote in the minor constituency system. A new electoral system was introduced beginning with the sixth Assembly: two-thirds of the National Assembly members were elected by the minor constituency system and one third by the nation-wide constituency system. At the beginning of this new system, differences in the number of elected women in the National Assembly were marginal. However, since the 8th Assembly, as table 1 shows, the national constituency system brought a slightly increased number of women to the Assembly.

As table 1 indicates, the number of women legislators who were selected by direct popular vote has consistently remained only one or two. In the latest election, held in 1988, no woman was elected directly by popular votes. Thus, competing with men through direct election is extremely difficult for women who want to enter the political arena. That is one of the main reasons why some political women take an easier route to the National Assembly by being coopted by the male dominant system.

Women in Administration

Since 1948, there have been only six women ministers on the cabinet level. Three women served for less than one year. Former Minister Chung-Rye Kim, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, is the only woman to have served in the cabinet for three years. In 1989, one woman, Minister Yung-Chung Kim, of the 2nd Ministry of Political Affairs, serves in the cabinet; Minister Kim primarily handles matters affecting women, youth, and the

elderly. This suggests that there are still serious obstacles to women being appointed and retained in the highest governmental positions.

As table 2 shows the percentage of women in high governmental office (positions with fifth rank or higher) is 0.9% at the national level and 1.4% in local administrative positions. A majority of these positions are appointive.

There are also hundreds of committees within the government to which members are appointed (salaries are not paid for committee work, though stipends sometimes are). As of 1984, there were 156 women out of a total of 7,071 in such positions. The percentage of women members was only 2.2%.

Judiciary

By all measures, Korea is one of the worst countries in the world in terms of women's representation in the judicial sector. As of 1988, there were about 30 women who had passed the national bar examination, which is the sole channel for recruiting judges and lawyers. Currently, the country has 20 women judges and 8 licensed women lawyers serving in this field.

III. Major Obstacles

Why are women so underrepresented in elite positions? What are the factors working against their recruitment and/or election in South Korea?

It takes a complex analysis in order to answer the question fully. It appears that such factors as family responsibilities, women's own attitudes, discriminatory practices of male political leaders, difficulty in raising money and the nature of the regime or political process itself are all related to the lack of women's representation in politics.

Many in the past emphasized that family responsibilities and women's stereotyped attitudes toward politics were the primary sources of inhibition. Fear of sex discrimination, and having observed other women being discriminated against, have also been major factors holding women back from running for office. In addition, male political leaders in government and/or political parties have tried to keep the number of women in leadership positions to a minimum.

Election campaigns are very costly. Financial resources are one of the most important factors for winning elections. In general, raising money to run for office in the minor constituency system is more difficult for women than for men in Korea. Among the reasons are because women do not have the same connections to industry and other sources of funds, and because those who have traditionally given to campaigns often do not perceive women as the kinds of candidates they want to support. In addition, in a political system where quid-pro-quo for campaign contributions are a fact of life, women are viewed as incorruptible and contributions to their campaigns are not seen as good investments.

Recruitment channels and political networks in Korea are also very much closed and informal. In such cases, getting to know the top politicians and party leaders who select candidates for the electoral process is crucially important for those who want to launch a political career. Male politicians receive comparative advantages in this respect as well. Women politicians, no matter how able they may be, are used to being left outside of the major channels for political recruitment.

In spite of the inhibiting factors, political awareness among women and the desire for more participation are rapidly growing. The existing

(male dominant) system is under pressure and there are mounting challenges aimed at opening up more political positions to women. Since the military coup in 1961 there have not been elections on the local level. It is expected that a restoration of local

governments and the election of local assemblies -- which are imminent political changes -- will provide women with political ambitions important avenues for their career advancements and with greater opportunities to make meaningful changes for women.

Table 1: Number of Women in the National Assembly 1948-1988

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Number of National Assembly</u>	<u>Total Number of Women Legislators</u>	<u>Women as a % of All Legislators</u>
1st	1948	200	1	0.5
2nd	1950	210	2	1.0
3rd	1954	203	1	0.5
4th	1958	233	3	1.3
5th	1960	201	1	0.5
6th	1963	175	2 (1)*	1.1
7th	1967	202	3 (1)	1.5
8th	1971	204	5 (0)	2.5
9th	1973	219	12 (2)	5.5
10th	1978	221	8 (1)	3.6
11th	1981	276	9 (1)	3.3
12th	1985	276	8 (2)	2.9
13th	1988	299	6 (0)	2.0

*The number in parentheses is the number of women who were elected by direct popular vote.

Table 2: Women in High Governmental Office 1984

	<u># Male</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u># Female</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
National Level	9,884	99.1	90	0.9
Local Level	6,568	98.6	87	1.4
Total	16,462	99.0	177	1.0

* * * * *

ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS: UPDATE 1989

Debbie Walsh, Director of the Program for Women State Legislators, CAWP

The following information was collected by sending a questionnaire to the 13 organizations of women state legislators. We hope to provide information in the next issue of News & Notes about those caucuses that have not yet responded. The caucus contact person, address, and phone number are listed first. If a questionnaire was filled out, more information follows.

National State Legislative Networks

**National Order of Women Legislators
(NOWL)**

Contact: Rep. Kaye H. Steinmetz
President
13 Longhenrich Drive

Florissant, MO 63031
(314) 751-4481

The oldest organization of women legislators, NOWL's was founded in

National State Legislative Networks (continued)

1938. NOWL has a membership of approximately 450 current and former women state legislators; members pay dues of \$25 per year. Other funds are raised from corporations and organizations. NOWL has one paid staff member and meets once a year. In addition, NOWL periodically issues a newsletter.

National Organization of Black Elected Legislative Women (NOBEL/Women)

Contact: Holly Mitchell
Staff Assistant
4401 Crenshaw, Suite 300
Los Angeles, CA 90043
(213) 295-6655

Senator Diane Watson, President

NOBEL/Women, founded in 1985, is the national unifying body of Black women state legislators. It was established to improve the lives of Black women through education and training, and to increase the number of Black women in local, state and national elected and appointed offices. NOBEL/Women provides a national united voice on issues affecting the lives of women. Members of NOBEL/Women support, author and sponsor legislation; give testimony at public hearings; serve on national, local and corporate boards; and join others to promote career opportunities for Black women.

All 98 Black women state legislators are members of NOBEL/Women; members are asked to pay annual dues of \$50. The organization meets twice a year; once at the National Black Caucus of State Legislators' meeting and once independently. In early 1990 they will meet in New York City.

Each calendar year NOBEL/Women focuses its attention on one legislative issue. In 1989, that issue is at-risk

youth. On Valentine's Day, members of NOBEL/Women held press conferences around the nation declaring that week National Youth At Risk Week.

Women's Network of the National Conference of State Legislatures

Contact: Sue Mullins
Executive Director
RR One, Box 49
Corwith, IA 50430
(515) 583-2156

Representative Jane Campbell
Chairperson
Representative Louise Miller
Vice-Chairperson

The Women's Network, founded in 1980, is part of the National Conference of State Legislatures, the professional organization of state legislatures. The Network meets three times a year: December, March, and in the summer. Through the Network, women legislators exchange information and strategies. The Network is expanding its activities so more women legislators can participate in its programs.

All women legislators are members by virtue of their state's membership in NCSL. There are no membership dues; funding is provided from corporations, interest groups and foundations. The network has one paid part-time staff member.

The issues the Network has focused on include:

- o women's health
- o leadership training
- o gender balanced appointments to state boards and commissions
- o connecting with elected women from other countries.

State Legislative Caucuses

[Note: The Alaska caucus of women legislators no longer exists.]

California Women Legislators

Contact: Assemblywoman Sally Tanner
State Capitol
Room 4146
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 445-7783

Connecticut Order of Women Legislators

Contact: Representative Norma Gyle
6 Milltown Road
New Fairfield, CT 06812
(203) 240-8700

Illinois Conference of Women Legislators (COWL)

Contact: Joyce Nardulli
Staff Assistant
1114 Stratton Building
D-Wing
Springfield, IL 62706
(217) 782-4468

Representative Suzanne Deuchler
COWL Co-convener
Representative Mary Flowers
COWL Co-convener

The Conference of Women Legislators meets every week during the spring session. Currently, 26 of the 28 women serving in the legislature are members; members pay token dues of \$1.00 per year to confirm membership and pay for coffee. The legislative leadership provides four staff members and pays for COWL stationery.

The issues COWL focused on in 1989 were:

- o enhancing business opportunities for women and minorities
- o legalizing birthing centers
- o certifying midwifery
- o studying the high incidence of cesarean sections.

In the future, COWL plans to explore other issues including on-site day care at state facilities.

Iowa Women's Legislative Caucus

Contact: Rep. Johnnie Hammond
3431 Ross Road
Ames, IA 50010

[Note: The Kansas Study Group on Issues of Interest to Women no longer exists.]

Women Legislators of Maryland

Contact: Karen O. Dorsey
Executive Director
6 Bladen Boulevard
Lowe House Office Building
Room 200
Annapolis, MD 21401
(301) 841-3013

Delegate Eileen Rehrmann, President
Senator Mary Boergers, President-Elect

Women Legislators of Maryland was founded in 1972; currently all 41 of the women serving in the legislature are members. Members pay dues of \$100. The caucus holds one fundraiser each session and the state provides office space, some office equipment, furniture, and telephone services. In addition to the paid executive director, two Fellows from the University of Maryland's Project for Women and Politics serve as legislative interns during the spring and are given a \$500 stipend from the caucus.

The caucus meets once a week during the legislative session and subcommittees meet as needed. In the interim, the caucus meets approximately once a month. A number of subcommittees also meet during the interim (day care, endorsements, legislative, honoring women, higher education, and

State Legislative Caucuses (continued)

the steering committee for the Center for Women and Politics).

The issues the caucus focused on in 1989 were:

- o child care
- o domestic violence
- o poverty: Aid to Families with Dependent Children and General Public Assistance payments, nutrition and housing.

In addition, the caucus has been interviewing and endorsing women who are potential gubernatorial appointees, such as judges and commissioners.

In July, Women Legislators of Maryland is sponsoring a reception at the Southern Legislative Conference.

Massachusetts Caucus of Women Legislators

Contact: Barbara J. Talkov
Executive Director
State House, Room 156
Boston, MA 02133
(617) 722-2266

The Massachusetts Caucus of Women Legislators, founded in 1975, originally included members of the House; it now includes both House and Senate members. Over the years, Caucus priorities have been narrowed so the legislative agenda for the year is manageable. Task forces were implemented about four years ago to focus attention and research on specific issue areas.

Of the 35 women serving in the Massachusetts legislature, 29 are members of the Caucus. The Caucus chair rotates alphabetically every six months. The Caucus meets once a month when the legislature is in formal session and meets on an ad hoc basis when an issue arises.

Members pay annual dues of \$35; staff and administrative expenses are paid by the House of Representatives. The Caucus has two paid staff members and usually has one volunteer intern a semester that is recruited from local schools, colleges and universities.

The following is a list of the Caucus' 1989 priorities:

- o latch-key children
- o on or near-site child care at state agencies
- o day care facilities at public institutions of higher education
- o preventing abuse and strengthening the family through comprehensive programs in health, education and human services in public schools
- o employment leave insurance
- o access to elderly home care
- o adoption consents in the commonwealth
- o compensation for victims of violent crime
- o protection for abused persons
- o sex discrimination in insurance.

Legislative Women's Caucus of New York State

Contact: Arlene Rosenfeld
State Capitol, Room 645
Legislative Office Building
Albany, NY 12248
(518) 455-3016

North Carolina Legislative Women's Caucus

Contact: Senator Lura Tally
3100 Tallywood Drive
Fayetteville, NC 28303

State Legislative Caucuses (continued)

Rhode Island Caucus of Women Legislators

Contact: Representative Linda Kushner
President
560 Lloyd Avenue
Providence, RI 02906
(401) 831-3771

The women in the Rhode Island legislature have been meeting informally for four years. In 1988 they adopted a formal structure, based on the Maryland caucus of women legislators, and endorsed legislation for the first time in 1989.

The Caucus, whose membership includes 22 of the 23 women serving in the legislature, meets four to five times a year including a two-day retreat in January. Members pay dues of \$10 and the Caucus receives some funding from the state for the January retreat. The Caucus has no paid staff but does have a student intern.

The issues the Caucus focused on in 1989 were:

- o child care: increasing the number of persons eligible for day care assistance and increasing state reimbursement rates for eligible children
- o health care/long term care: direct reimbursement for midwives and nurse practitioners
- o environment: waste disposal
- o certification of state law enforcement agencies.

Women's Round Table (WRT)

Contact: Delegate Mary A. Marshall
2256 North Wakefield Street

Arlington, VA 22207
(703) 528-1710

Virginia does not have a formal women's legislative caucus, instead there is the Virginia Women's Round Table convened by Delegate Mary Marshall. WRT was established in 1981 and is the focal point for information and lobbying affecting women. The group meets weekly during the legislative session, holds an annual conference in October, and a pre-session briefing in December. Between 100-150 women and men attend the weekly meetings and about half of the 14 women legislators participate.

Members of the Round Table do not pay any dues; operating funds are raised at the annual conference. A female-headed law firm does weekly summaries of meetings on a mostly *pro bono* basis. While there are no elected leaders of the organization, the League of Women Voters of Virginia provides a chairperson and handles all mailings. WRT issues a newsletter which includes weekly summaries of bills.

The issues WRT focused on in 1989 included:

- o reproductive rights and adoption
- o children's issues: child care, child abuse, custody and visitation
- o divorce and child support
- o family life education
- o health care for women and children.

* * * * *

WOMEN'S PACs: UPDATE 1989

Lucy Baruch, Research Associate, CAWP

The following information was collected by sending a questionnaire to PACs which either give money predominately to women candidates or have a predominately female donor base. The list does not include state affiliates of national organizations. The names of women's PACs recently brought to CAWP's attention are included; if you know of other women's PACs, please let us know. We hope to provide information in the next issue of News & Notes about those PACs that have not yet responded, PACs recently brought to our attention, and those affiliated with national organizations.

The PAC contact person, address, and phone number are listed first. If a questionnaire was filled out, more information follows. A guide to the information is as follows:

- * = PAC was recently brought to CAWP's attention; not yet surveyed
- ** = do not know if PAC still exists; not deliverable
- *** = address may not be current
- NA = not available

- 1) year PAC established
- 2) number of donors who contribute to the PAC and the percent that are women
- 3) types of candidates PAC supports: Women (W); Men (M); Republicans (R); Democrats (D)
- 4) levels of office PAC supports (if applicable, number in parentheses indicates priority level for office)
- 5) types of support PAC provides: monetary (\$); technical assistance; other
- 6) if PAC was active in the 1988 election cycle
- 7) total number of candidates PAC supported in the 1988 election cycle/number who were women/number of women who were successful
- 8) total monetary contributions PAC made in the 1988 election cycle/PAC monetary contributions to women
- 9) by level of office -- number/monetary contributions made to women candidates who were in the general elections (includes funds given to these candidates at any time during the '88 election cycle); does not include candidates defeated in the primaries.

American Nurses' Association, Inc. (ANA-PAC)

Contact: Pat Ford-Roegner
Political Director
1101 14th St., NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 789-1800

- 1) 1974
- 2) 20,000 individual nurses (99% W)
- 3) W, M, R, D
- 4) Pres, US Sen (1), US Rep (2)
- 5) \$, technical, volunteers
- 6) yes
- 7) 303/25/18
- 8) \$292,000/\$71,803
- 9) US Sen (1/\$2,000); US Rep (21/\$59,503)

Campaign California/Women's Equity Fund*

Contact: Barbara Perzigian
40 N. First Street
Suite 204
San Jose, CA 95113
(408) 286-6113
(408) 248-2332

Campaign Fund for Republican Women** Washington, DC

[Note: The Committee of 21 in New Orleans, LA no longer exists.]

Women's PACs (continued)

East Bay Women's Political Action Committee***

Contact: Kare Anderson
c/o Taylor Associates
958 Alma Place
Oakland, CA 94610

- 1) 1984
- 2) donor network -- 2,025 individual donors (90% W), 20 PAC donors
- 3) W, D
- 4) US Sen, US House (considering Statewide in '89)
- 5) \$, technical
- 6) yes
- 7)+ 9/9/2
- 8)+ \$600,000/\$600,000
- 9) US Rep (7/\$534,000)

Economic Security PAC**

Washington, DC

Eleanor Roosevelt Fund

Contact: Nancy Kirschner
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 863-8000

[PAC is currently inactive.]

+Emily's List contributed \$600,000 to 9 endorsed candidates in House races; in addition, 2 candidates who sought Democratic nominations for the US Senate were given \$10,000 in direct contributions.

Eleanor Roosevelt Fund of CA*

Contact: Andrea Leiderman
3117 Middlefield Road
Palo Alto, CA 94306
(408) 277-5257
(415) 856-4175

GOP Women's Political Action League

Contacts: Maureen Reagan, President
Kate Armfield, Secretary
PO Box 66011
Washington, DC 20035
(202) 785-8242

Eleanor Roosevelt Fund of New Mexico

Contact: Kathleen Casey
Treasurer
1820 Gabaldon NW
Albuquerque, NM 87104
(505) 242-6516

- 1) 1986
- 2) 250 individuals (97% W)
- 3) W, D
- 4) Statewide, St Leg, County, Municipal
- 5) \$, technical, volunteers
- 6) yes
- 7) 4/4/3
- 8) \$1,500/\$1,500
- 9) St Leg (4/\$1,500)

- 1) 1985
- 2) NA
- 3) W, R
- 4) US Sen (1), US Rep (3), Statewide (2), St Leg (4)
- 5) \$
- 6) yes
- 7) 36/36/14
- 8) \$25,000/\$25,000
- 9) NA

Hawaii Women's Political Action League**

Honolulu, HI

Emily's List

Contact: Rosa DeLauro
Executive Director
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 412
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 887-1957

Hollywood Women's Political Committee

Contact: Margery Tabankin
Executive Director
10536 Culver Blvd., #H
Culver City, CA 90232
(213) 559-9334

- 1) 1985
- 2) 150 individuals (100% W)
- 3) W, M, R, D

Women's PACs (continued)

- 4) Pres, US Sen (1), US Rep (1),
Statewide, St Leg
- 5) \$
- 6) yes
- 7-9) NA

Los Angeles Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Nancy Main
1900 Avenue of the Stars
Suite 2450
Los Angeles, CA 90067
(213) 553-7176

- 1) 1982
- 2) 40 individuals (95% W)
- 3) W, R, D
- 4) US Sen, US Rep, Statewide (1), St
Leg (1), County (1), Municipal (1)
- 5) \$, endorsements
- 6) yes
- 7) 10/10/NA
- 8-9) NA

Marin County Women's PAC

Contact: Johanna Willmann
Chair
4 Third St.
Sausalito, CA 94965
(415) 331-7974

- 1) 1983
- 2) 30 individuals (100% W)
- 3) W, M (not \$ support), R, D
- 4) US Rep, Statewide, St Leg, County,
Municipal
- 5) \$, technical
- 6) yes
- 7) 8/8/5
- 8) \$7,000/\$7,000
- 9) US Rep (2/\$3,000); Municipal
(5/\$3,000)

Michigan Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Rep. Maxine Berman
Chair
480 Roosevelt Bldg.
State Capitol
Lansing, MI 48909
(517) 373-1788

- 1) 1980
- 2) 300 individuals (100% W)

- 3) W, R, D
- 4) St Leg, Judicial
- 5) \$, technical, volunteers
- 6) yes
- 7) 28/28/7
- 8) \$18,000/\$18,000
- 9) St Leg (5/\$8,000); Judicial
(4/\$2,500)

Minnesota Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Virginia Ward
Chair
26 East Exchange Street
Suite 206
St. Paul, MN 55101
(612) 293-1298

- 1) 1982
- 2) 187 individuals (99% W)
- 3) W, R, D (and Independents)
- 4) US Sen, US Rep, Statewide, St
Leg, County, Municipal, School Bd
- 5) \$
- 6) yes
- 7) 50/50/21
- 8) \$36,875/\$36,875
- 9) US Sen (1/\$9,000); St Leg
(18/\$12,075); County (14/\$11,000);
Municipal (8/\$2,275); School Bd
(9/\$2,525)

The Missouri Women's Action Fund

Contact: Vivian L. Eveloff
1108 Hillside Dr.
St. Louis, MO 63117
(314) 781-1081

- 1) 1988
- 2) 85 individuals (100% W)
- 3) W, M, R, D
- 4) US Sen, US Rep, Statewide, St
Leg (1)
- 5) \$
- 6) yes
- 7) 29/24/12
- 8) \$8,450/\$7,300
- 9) US Sen (1/\$200); US Rep
(5/\$1,000); Statewide (1/\$500);
St Leg (10/\$4,600)

Women's PACs (continued)

National Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs (BPW/PAC)

Contact: Marilyn Heath
BPW/PAC Chair
2012 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 293-1100

- 1) 1979
- 2) NA
- 3) W, M, D, R
- 4) US Sen, US Rep
- 5) \$, access to membership
- 6) yes
- 7) 60/26/17
- 8) \$25,000/\$13,750
- 9) NA

National Organization for Women

Contact: Alice Cohan
Political Director
1000 16th St., NW, Suite 700
Washington, DC 20026
(202) 331-0066

NOW Equality PAC

- 1) 1977
- 2) NA
- 3) W, M, R, D
- 4) Statewide (1), St Leg (1), County, Municipal
- 5) \$, technical, volunteers
- 6) yes
- 7-9) NA

NOW PAC

- 1) 1977
- 2) NA
- 3) W, M, R, D
- 4) Pres, US Sen, US Rep
- 5) \$, technical, volunteers
- 6) yes
- 7-9) NA

National Political Congress of Black Women

Contacts: Shirley Chisholm, Chair
Portia Dempsey, Executive Director
PO Box 411
Rancocas, NJ 08073
(201) 871-1500

National Women's Political Caucus

Contact: Marie Morse
Political Director
1275 K St., NW, Suite 750
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 898-1100

CSC & Victory Fund

- 1) 1975
- 2) 77,000 individuals (90% W)
- 3) W, R, D
- 4) US Sen (1), US Rep (1), Statewide (1), Municipal (pop. > 30,000)
- 5) \$, technical, volunteers
- 6) yes
- 7) 48/48/24
- 8-9) NA

[Note: According to the former contact person for the **Network for Women's Elections** in St. Louis, MO, the Network has folded into the Missouri Women's Action Fund.]

Pennsylvania Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Shawn Murphy
President
63 North Franklin
Wilkes-Barre, PA 18701
(717) 829-0490

Republican Women's PAC*

Contact: Diann Rogers
PO Box 163192
Sacramento, CA 95816
(916) 324-0773

Sacramento Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Andrea Rosen
PO Box 162212
Sacramento, CA 95816
(916) 457-6721

The Sullivan PAC* (for Democratic Women)**

Contact: Stephanie Cartwright
18600 Sheffield Road
Castro Valley, CA 94546

Women's PACs (continued)

Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Jane Danowitz
Executive Director
1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-3700

- 1) 1974
- 2) 10,000 donors -- individuals (80% W), organizations, corporations, unions
- 3) W, R, D
- 4) Pres, US Sen, US Rep, Statewide, St Leg, County, Municipal
- 5) \$, technical
- 6) yes
- 7) 131/131/72
- 8) \$233,000/\$233,000
- 9) Pres (1/\$2,000); US Sen (3/\$17,000); US Rep (35/\$127,473); Statewide (22/\$52,541); St Leg (55/\$20,199); Municipal (18/\$14,178) -- [note: figures include a few exploratory campaigns and special elections]

Women For:*

Contact: Marilyn Kizziah
8913 Olympic Blvd.
Beverly Hills, CA 90211
(213) 657-7411
(213) 394-3068

Women For: Orange County*

Contact: June Bickford
PO Box 4065
Orange, CA 92613-4065
(714) 974-2739

[Note: According to the former contact person for the **Women's Congressional Council of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC)**, the Council no longer exists because the DCCC believes they have been doing a better job and now have adequate funds for women (and men) candidates.]

Women's Investment Network (WIN PAC)

Contact: Jewell Lansing
Treasurer
3333 Southwest Arnold
Portland, OR 97219
(503) 246-6022

- 1) 1987
- 2) 200 individuals (90% W), some organizations
- 3) W, R, D
- 4) St Leg
- 5) \$, technical
- 6) yes
- 7) 10/10/2
- 8) \$23,000/\$23,000
- 9) NA

Women's Issue Network PAC***

Contact: Donna Cordova
Treasurer
51 Warrenton Ave.
Hartford, CT 06105
(203) 683-8708

Women's Political Action Committee of California*

Contact: Gayle Binion
373 Woodley
Santa Barbara, CA 93108
(805) 961-2114
(805) 969-0380

Women's Political Action Committee of New Jersey

Contact: Pat Connolly
PO Box 170
Edison, NJ 08818
(201) 638-6784

Women's Political Committee

Contact: Marsha Kwalwasser
Chair
600 Hanley Way
Los Angeles, CA 90949
(213) 874-1673

Women's PACs (continued)

Women's Political Fund

Contact: D.J. Soviero
Chair
PO Box 421811
San Francisco, CA
94142-1811
(415) 474-6808

1) 1981

- 2) 60 donors -- individuals (97% W), partnerships and businesses
- 3) W, M, R, D
- 4) US Sen, US Rep, Statewide, St Leg, County (1), Municipal (1)
- 5) \$
- 6) no

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NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN OFFICEHOLDERS: A LIST*

Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues

Contact: Lesley Primer
Executive Director
2471 Rayburn House Office
Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-6740

National League of Cities --

Women in Municipal Government (WIMG)

Contact: Jamie Quarrelles
WIMG Liaison
National League of Cities
1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 626-3130

Women Executives in State Government

Contact: Meg Armstrong
Executive Director
1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW
Suite 814
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 293-7006

National Association of Women Judges

Contact: Barbara Oliverio
National Center for State
Courts
300 Newport Avenue
Williamsburg, VA 23187-8798
(804) 253-2000

National Association of Counties --

Women Officials in NACo (WON)

Contact: Lee Palmer
NACo -- WON
440 First Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 393-6226

*The three national organizations of women legislators are listed with the other organizations of women legislators beginning on page 18.

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STATEWIDE ORGANIZATIONS OF ELECTED WOMEN: A LIST

California Elected Women's Association for Education and Research (CEWAER)

Contact: Kate Karpilow
Executive Director
1823 11th Street
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 441-3870

Illinois Women in Government (IWIG)

Contact: Marge Benson
President
3146 34th St.
Rock Island, IL 61201
(309) 786-8774

Statewide Organizations of Elected Women (continued)

Maryland Association of Elected Women

Contact: Delegate Nancy Murphy
Lowe House Office Bldg.
Room 304
Annapolis, MD 21401
(301) 841-3378

Chair, EWO
Multnomah County Commissioner
1021 SW 4th Ave., Rm. 605
Portland, OR 97204
(503) 248-5219

Minnesota Women Elected Officials (MWEO)

Contact: Janet Ditmanson
c/o P.O. F-8
2004 Randolph Avenue
St. Paul, MN 55105
(612) 690-6819

Pennsylvania Elected Women's Association (PEWA)

Contact: Joan Gaumer
4463 Steuben Road
Bethlehem, PA 18017
(215) 250-5015
(215) 759-3384

Nevada Women's Network

Contact: Senator Sue Wagner
845 Tamarack Drive
Reno, NV 89509

South Carolina Women in Government

Contact: Rep. Harriet Keyserling
Box 1108
Beaufort, SC 29901
(803) 524-5944

New Jersey Association for Elected Women Officials (NJAFEWO)

Contact: Lynn Shapiro
Executive Director
210 West Front Street
Red Bank, NJ 07701
(201) 530-8927

[Note: Texas Women in Government
no longer exists.]

New York Association of Women Office-holders (NYAWO)

Contact: Nancy Lederman
PO Box 2391
Empire State Plaza Station
Albany, NY 12220
(518) 473-3366

Elected Washington Women (EWW)

Contacts: Rep. Jennifer Belcher
Co-chair
323 Maple Park
Olympia, WA 98501
(206) 786-7992
(206) 352-2198

Rep. Louise Miller
Co-Chair
17005 191st Ave., NE
Woodinville, WA 98072
(206) 788-3404

Elected Women of Oregon (EWO)

Contact: Commissioner Gretchen Kafoury

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STATEWIDE ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: A LIST

Iowa Women in Municipal Government

Contact: Councilwoman Susan Horowitz
1129 Kirkwood
Iowa City, Iowa 52240
(319) 354-4255

Massachusetts -- Women Elected Municipal Officials

Contact: Marie Johnson
MA Municipal Association
60 Temple Place

Statewide Organizations of Women in Municipal Government (continued)

Boston, MA 02111
(617) 426-7272

Federal Liaison, League of
Minnesota Cities
183 University Avenue East
St. Paul, MN 55101
(612) 227-5600

Michigan Women in Municipal Government (MWIMG)

Contact: Councilwoman Doreen Brown
PO Box 552
Albion, MI 49224
(517) 699-1238

Washington Women in Municipal Government (WWIMG)

Contact: Judy Sheraton
Finance Department
Tacoma Municipal Bldg.
747 Market Street
Tacoma, WA 98402
(206) 591-5818

Minnesota Women in City Government

Contact: Ann Higgins

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ORGANIZATIONS OF ADMINISTRATIVE WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT: A LIST

American Planning Association -- Planning and Women Division

Contact: Michelle Jama-Bussard
Chair
c/o Downtown Partnership
1319 F Street, NW, Suite 710
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 393-1144

1630 Duke Street, Box 1443
Alexandria, VA 22313
(703) 683-8100

California Women in Government -- San Diego

Contacts: Nielsine Archibald
P.O. Box 81307
San Diego, CA 92138
(619) 694-2950

American Public Works Association -- Women in Public Works

Contact: Yvonne Taylor-Allen
1313 E. 60th Street
Chicago, IL 60637
(312) 667-2200

Sheryl White
8618 Nottingham Place
La Jolla, CA 92037
(619) 453-1109

American Society for Public Adminis- tration -- Section for Women in Public Administration

Contact: Mary Ellen Guy
Dept. of Political Science
and Public Affairs
Birmingham, AL 35294
(205) 934-9680

California Women in Government -- North San Diego County

Contact: Phyllis Laderman
c/o City of Escondido
201 N. Broadway
Escondido, CA 92025
(619) 741-4676

American Society for Training and Development -- Women's Network

Contact: Deborah McGauley
Member Unit Affairs
Assistant

California Women in Government -- Sacramento

Contact: Esther Raines
(916) 324-4038
[current address unknown]

Organizations of Administrative Women in Government (continued)

Federally Employed Women (FEW)

Contact: Karen R. Scott
Executive Director
1400 Eye St., NW, Suite 425
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 898-0994

Women in State Government -- Michigan

Contact: Mary Ellen Parrott
President
Box 14133
Lansing, MI 48901
(517) 373-9284

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