

CAWP News & Notes

CENTER for the
AMERICAN
WOMAN and
POLITICS

Winter 1991
Vol. 8 No. 1

POST-ELECTION WRAP UP

CONTENTS

1990 Election Credits and a Preview of Coming Attractions	1
Women Make Gains on the State Level	2
Gender Gap a Factor in a Majority of Races in 1990	4
The Gender Gap and Women Candidates in Senate and Gubernatorial Races 1990	4
1990 Races with Gender Gaps that Affected the Outcome (table)	5
Money Isn't Everything?	6
Women Candidates for Governor 1990	
Money Raised, Votes Received, and Gender Gap Data (table)	7
Women Candidates for U.S. Senate 1990	
Money Raised, Votes Received, and Gender Gap Data (table)	8
Women Candidates Seeking Open Seats for the U.S. House of Representatives 1990	
Money Raised and Votes Received (table)	9
Women's PACs in 1990: Continuing to Make a Difference	10
Women's PACs in 1990: Summary of Support	11
Women's PACs: A Contact List	12
1990 Elections Mark Bicentennial of Women's Suffrage	15
Of Interest	15
News about CAWP	
CAWP's Endowment Campaign Continues	16
CAWP Encourages NEW Leadership	16

Subscriber Information Service (SIS) enclosures

CAWP fact sheets: Women in Elective Office 1991; Women in the U.S. Congress 1991; Statewide Elective Executive Women 1991; Women in State Legislatures 1991; 1990 Women Candidates for Statewide Elective Executive Offices and U.S. Congress; Women Moving into State Legislatures; Women Candidates for Congress 1970-1990; Women Candidates for Governor 1970-1990; Women Candidates for State Legislatures 1974-1980, 1986-1990.

About CAWP

The Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) is a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. CAWP is a leading authority in its field and a respected bridge between the academic and political worlds.

Before CAWP was founded in 1971, no organization or educational institution was compiling information about women in government and politics or studying and monitoring the status and prospects of those women. Today, CAWP has taken on the multiple roles of catalyst and resource, provider of data and analyses, interpreter and guide. CAWP raises and responds to emerging issues, working daily with women leaders as well as journalists, scholars, students, women's groups, governmental agencies, civic organizations, and political parties.

CAWP's major programs and activities include: a clearinghouse about women in politics and government; a data bank on women in public office; research about women in leadership; national surveys of elected and appointed women; an ongoing Program for Women State Legislators; a Subscriber Information Service and newsletter; conferences and seminars; programs for college and high school students; a specialized library collection about women in public life; books, monographs, reports, fact sheets, a documentary film; consulting services.

Eagleton Institute of Politics

Since its founding in 1956, the Eagleton Institute has built a national reputation for its graduate fellowship program and for its research and public service activities in the field of American politics. The Institute houses three major centers (CAWP; the Center for Public Interest Polling; and the Center for Policy Research in Education) and a number of special programs about American public policy and the political process.

Would you like to contribute to
CAWP News & Notes?

If you or your organization has information which you think may be of interest to our readers, please contact Lucy Baruch at (908) 828-2210.

CAWP Staff

Ruth B. Mandel, *Director and Professor*
Lucy D. Baruch, *Editor, CAWP News & Notes and Information Services Coordinator*
Susan J. Carroll, *Senior Research Associate and Associate Professor*
Martha Casisa, *Secretary*
Joan A. Crowley, *Director of Development*
Debra L. Dodson, *Senior Research Associate and Assistant Research Professor*
Katherine E. Kleeman, *Senior Program Associate*
Patricia Michaels, *Secretary*
Debbie Walsh, *Director, Program for Women State Legislators*

1990 Election Credits and a Preview of Coming Attractions

Ruth Mandel, director of CAWP, delivered a version of these remarks at the National Press Club in Washington, DC on November 8, 1990 at a joint press conference held by women's political organizations reporting on the 1990 elections.

For observers of women in politics, the 1990 elections provided a preview of coming attractions for the next decade and the next century. Today we see a changing cast, with three new (quite literally) leading ladies featured in starring roles as governors, a part that has been played previously by only nine women. We're convinced that more women will get top billing in the years to come, joining the many who have been performing superbly in other parts.

The Center for the American Woman and Politics has been tracking women in politics for almost two decades, and one scenario has dominated — slow, steady incremental progress in electing women, dotted with bursts of excitement as new stars flash onto the screen. This year's plot is much the same, with several distinct themes.

Governors

Three new Democratic women governors — Ann Richards (Texas), Joan Finney (Kansas), and Barbara Roberts (Oregon) — have become instant stars. They were among eight women with major-party gubernatorial nominations, matching the 1986 record.

With Finney's election, Kansas becomes the only state in history to boast a woman governor, a woman U.S. Senator (Nancy Landon Kassebaum), and a Congresswoman (Jan Meyers) at the same time. And when Richards takes office, Texas will become the first state to have a second woman governor. (Miriam "Ma" Ferguson was governor of the Lone Star State from 1925 to 1927 and from 1933 to 1935, both times as a surrogate for her husband who could not run for re-election.)

Money

Women often play in low-budget productions, but this year saw female leads in some big extravaganzas, especially the California and Texas gubernatorial races. Still not matching their opponents dollar for dollar, many women raised enough to be serious contenders, even to win. (New Jersey Republican Senate candidate Christine Todd Whitman proved that money *isn't* everything; she nearly beat an incumbent senator who outraised her over 12 to 1.)

Congress

The new Congress will have the same number of women as its predecessor — two in the Senate and 29 in the House. (This figure includes a non-voting delegate from the District of Columbia, Eleanor Holmes Norton.) Five women left the House, three to run for the Senate and two who retired. Five new women (including Norton), all Democrats, were elected. The other Congresswomen-elect are Barbara-Rose Collins (MI), Rosa DeLauro (CT), Joan Kelly Horn (MO) and Maxine Waters (CA). While the number of women serving in the House has not increased, there are more Democratic women serving than ever before. Seventy women — a new high number — ran for the U.S. House. (The previous record was 65 in 1984.) No new women were elected to the Senate, but Senator Kassebaum won re-election to a third term, and Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) remains in office until 1992.

The next House will seat 24 returning incumbents plus four who won open seats and one — Horn — who upset an incumbent. This follows a well-established pattern. In the past 20 years, women have been their parties' House nominees 566 times. The majority of those women (55%), were challengers; 32% were incumbents; and 13% sought open seats. The incumbents won 97% of their races; those seeking open seats won 42% of the time, but those challenging incumbents won only 4% of their races.

Three of the five new women in the House (Collins, Norton and Waters) are Black. Joining Representatives Cardiss Collins (D-IL), Patsy Mink (D-HI) and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), they bring the total number of women of color in the House to six. The previous record was five women of color voting members of the House. More women of color than ever before,

including a high of eight Black women, along with four Hispanic women and two Asian/Pacific Islander women, ran for the House. One woman of color, Representative Pat Saiki (R-HI), left the House to run for the Senate and lost.

State legislative candidates

A record 2,064 women sought state legislative seats, 211 more than in 1988, and the largest increase in recent elections. The number of women legislators has risen about one percentage point in each recent election year, with about 60% of women candidates winning their races. If this pattern holds, the final 1990 results will probably be similar, making women about 18% of all legislators. At that rate, the Center for the American Woman and Politics calculates that in the year 2054 (64 more years), half of all state legislators will be women — just about when a child born today is ready for Social Security. Still, compared to estimates of more than 400 years some have said it will take for women to reach parity in Congress, that looks like speedy progress.

Conclusion

As the curtain falls on the 1990 elections, we're already looking ahead to the sequel in 1992. The story line is likely to be similar, with growth that is steady, if not dramatic, but the plot will be complicated by redistricting. Where will women have good chances at new seats? Which women will see their seats endangered by new district lines? Those scenes have yet to be written, but more women than ever before are well-positioned to have a say in that process.

To carry my cinematic imagery to its logical conclusion, if I could roll the closing credits, you would see many women's names. As our research at CAWP shows, a crucial element for women's political progress is the support of other women. Many of this year's prominent candidates — Ann Richards, Dianne Feinstein, Barbara Roberts, Claudine Schneider, Pat Saiki, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Rosa DeLauro, and Maxine Waters, to name just a few — have longtime ties to organized efforts to advance women in public leadership. These women and others benefitted from the membership, support, encouragement, and dollars of groups like those here today and the women's PACs that have sprung up around the country. With so many women confident that

they can change the face of government, continued progress is inevitable.

Finally, we must also credit the cast of thousands who — if the exit polls are correct — made a huge difference. The gender gap appears to be alive and well; women's votes elected Ann Richards and probably other women. If only women had voted, Dianne Feinstein would be packing up to move to Sacramento. The power of women's votes can be harnessed to serve women's interests. That's a scenario those of us here today enjoy watching.

Women Make Gains on the State Level

Confirming its earlier predictions, the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) released final figures that show the proportion of women state legislators edging up by one percentage point as a result of the 1990 elections. CAWP found that women now hold a record 1,351, or 18.1%, of all seats in state legislatures. This figure includes 299, or 15.0%, of the 1,995 state senate seats and 1,052, or 19.3%, of the 5,466 state house or assembly seats. (See enclosed fact sheet "Women in State Legislatures 1991.")

The 1990 elections follow the pattern of the past several years — slow, steady increases in the number of women lawmakers. The record number of women legislators was the result of a record number of women candidates for those seats — 2,064, an 11.4% increase over the number of candidates in 1988.

Since CAWP began tracking women state legislators in the 1970s, New Hampshire has traditionally been the top ranking state; 1990 was the first year any other state ranked number one (Vermont). Now with Arizona taking the lead, 1991 is the first time the top ranking state is not in the New England area. In Arizona 35.6% of the legislators are women; five other states have at least 30% women in their legislatures. In the ten highest-ranking states in 1991 (Arizona, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Washington, Colorado, Idaho, Hawaii, Kansas, and South Dakota) women occupy at

least one-fourth of all legislative seats. In contrast, the ten lowest-ranking states (Louisiana, Kentucky, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Tennessee) have fewer than 12% women among their legislators; all except New Jersey and Pennsylvania are in the South. With the exception of Louisiana, the lowest ranking state, every state has at least seven women in its house and at least one woman in its senate.

Overall at the state legislative level, Democratic women made more gains in the 1990 elections than did Republican women. Thirty-three more Democratic women serve in state senates in 1991 than served in 1990 (from 160 to 193); there was no change in the number of Republican women serving (97). (Ten nonpartisans served in state senates in 1990 as compared to nine in 1991.) In state houses, the number of Democratic women increased by 33 (from 586 to 619) and the number of Republican women by 13 (from 420 to 433).

As a result of the November elections and a number of special elections and appointments that have occurred since then, in 31 states the number of women serving increased while there was a decrease in 11 states and no change in nine states. Georgia, which has eight more women serving now than served in 1990, had the largest numerical increase of women (from 24 to 32); Georgia ranks 34th for the percentage of women serving in 1991. Pennsylvania, which still ranks in the bottom ten in 1991, has seven more women serving in 1991 than served in 1990 (from 17 to 24). Arizona, which is ranked number one in 1991, had the largest percentage point increase of women (5.6 percentage points — from 30.0% to 35.6%).

The number of women serving in state legislatures has more than quadrupled since 1969. At the top leadership levels, women's progress has been much slower. A record three women currently hold the highest-ranking legislative leadership positions in state senates: Senate President Pro Tempore Ellen Craswell (R-WA); Senate President Pro Tempore Bonnie Heinrich (D-ND); and Senate President Gwen Margolis (D-FL). Representative Jane Hull (R-AZ) is the only woman serving as speaker of a state house. In the history of the United States, excluding those women now serving, only three women

have served in top senate leadership positions and only six have served as speakers of houses or assemblies.

With the release of the new state legislative figures, CAWP's overall 1991 picture of elected women on the state level is now complete. Eighty-five women, more than in any past year, ran for statewide elective executive offices, and 47 of them won. They join ten holdovers, Arizona Governor Rose Mofford (D) (who will serve until a run-off election at the end of February), and Texas Railroad Commissioner Lena Guerrero (D) (who was appointed to fill an elected position that was vacant), giving women a record 59 statewide elective executive posts. In 1991, women hold 17.8% of the 331 available positions. Among these women, 34 are Democrats, 23 are Republicans, one ran on a third party ticket, and one was elected in a nonpartisan race. (See enclosed fact sheet "Statewide Elective Executive Women 1991.") These figures indicate that women's greatest gains in the 1990 elections were made at the statewide level; there was an increase of 13 women which is a 3.9 percentage point increase (from 46 to 59/from 13.9% to 17.8%).

Never before have four women served simultaneously as governors (in Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, and Texas) in the United States. With three new women attorneys general (in Colorado, Iowa, and Nevada) and one holdover (in Virginia) there are now a record four women elected to that position. Twelve newly-elected or re-elected women state treasurers join two holdovers to put an all-time high of fourteen elected women in charge of their states' finances. Another record has been set now that eight women have been elected to serve as their states' chief education officials. Although six women (1 Democrat, 4 Republicans, and 1 independent) serving as lieutenant governors is not a record, the 1990 elections mark the first time since 1954 that a Republican woman has been elected lieutenant governor. The first woman elected lieutenant governor was a Republican, all of the 14 other women elected since then had been Democrats until 1990.

As a result of the 1990 elections, Republican women more than doubled their numbers in statewide elective executive posts; in 1990 they held 11 such positions. There was no change in the number of Democratic or nonpartisan women serving between 1990 and 1991, and one third party candidate picked up a seat in 1991.

Gender Gap a Factor in a Majority of Races in 1990

See also 1990 Races with Gender Gaps that Affected the Outcome.

The 1990 elections show that the gender gap, which was evident throughout the 1980s in races around the country at various levels of office, continues to be a factor in a majority of races. In 1990, in 43, or 61%, of the 70 races where Voter Research & Surveys conducted exit polls there was a gender gap of at least four percentage points. In all but four of the 43 races with a gender gap, women voter's supported the Democratic candidates in larger numbers than did male voters. Among the four exceptions, three featured Republican women candidates (Senate — Kansas; Governor — Pennsylvania, Wyoming), and one included a man running as an independent (Governor — Connecticut).

In 10 of the 43 races, the gender gap affected the outcome including three U.S. Senate races, six gubernatorial races, and one other statewide race. In the Senate races, women voted for the Democrats who won in Minnesota and New Jersey; in North Carolina, women were about evenly divided between the two candidates where as men showed a clear preference for the Republican who won. In the gubernatorial races, the Democratic women governors in Oregon and Texas owe their victories to women as does Lowell Weicker who ran as an independent in Connecticut. In California,

Michigan, and Vermont men overwhelmingly supported the Republicans who won, whereas women showed a decisive preference for the Democrat in California and were about evenly divided between the two candidates in both Michigan and Vermont. The gender gap was largest in three races involving women Democratic gubernatorial candidates; in Dianne Feinstein's (D-CA) and Barbara Roberts's (D-OR) races there were 16 percentage point gaps, and in Ann Richards (D-TX) race, there was a 15 point gap.

The Gender Gap and Women Candidates in Senate and Gubernatorial Races 1990

See also Women Candidates for U.S. Senate 1990 and Women Candidates for Governor 1990 for detailed gender gap data.

Voter Research & Surveys polled in seven of the eight races (not in Alaska) where women were their parties' nominees for governor and in all eight races with women U.S. Senate candidates. There were gender gaps of four to 16 percentage points in nine of the 15 races. In seven of the nine races with gender gaps, women voted for women candidates in larger numbers than did male voters. Women's votes were decisive in three races including Oregon and Texas where Democratic women were elected governor, and in New Jersey, where the incumbent Democratic Senator narrowly defeated the Republican woman challenger.

WOMEN STATE LEGISLATORS SAVE THE DATES

The Center for the American Woman and Politics is proud to convene the
Third National

FORUM FOR WOMEN STATE LEGISLATORS

NOVEMBER 14-17, 1991

HOTEL DEL CORONADO — SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

An invitation with more information will be sent to you soon.
Until then, please mark these dates on your calendar and plan to join us!

1990 RACES WITH GENDER GAPS THAT AFFECTED THE OUTCOME

In six of the ten races, women's votes
could be said to have provided the margin of victory.

State	Candidate (Party)	Seat ²	Office Sought	% of Votes Received ³	Exit Polls ¹	
					% Women	% Men
MN	Paul Wellstone (D)	C	U.S. Senate	50.4	52	46
	Rudy Boschwitz (R)	I		47.8	48	54
NJ	Bill Bradley (D)	I	U.S. Senate	50.4	54	49
	Christine Todd Whitman (R)	C		47.4	46	51
NC	Harvey Gantt (D)	C	U.S. Senate	47.4	50	42
	Jesse Helms (R)	I		52.5	50	58
CA	Dianne Feinstein (D)	O	Governor	45.8	58	42
	Pete Wilson (R)	O		49.3	42	58
CT	Bruce Morrison (D)	O	Governor	20.4	23	20
	John Rowland (R)	O		36.9	35	42
	Lowell Weicker (ind.)	O		39.7	42	38
MI	James Blanchard (D)	I	Governor	49.1	51	44
	John Engler (R)	C		49.8	49	56
OR	Barbara Roberts (D)	O	Governor	45.7	56	40
	Dave Frohnmayr (R)	O		40.0	29	45
TX	Ann Richards (D)	O	Governor	49.5	59	44
	Clayton Williams (R)	O		46.9	41	56
VT	Peter Welch (D)	O	Governor	46.0	51	40
	Richard Snelling (R)	O		51.8	48	58
GA	Tim Ryles (D)	O	Insurance Comm.	51.3	56	44
	Billy Lovett (R)	O		48.7	44	56

¹Voter Research & Surveys.

²I=incumbent; C=challenger; O=open

³Office of the Secretary of State in each state.

Money Isn't Everything?

For detailed information about the amount of money the candidates raised and the election results, please see: Women Candidates for Governor in 1990; Women Candidates for the U.S. Senate 1990; Women Candidates Seeking Open Seats for the U.S. House of Representatives; Only Successful Female Challenger for a Seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Figures for the gubernatorial races are from the Offices of the Secretaries of State or from the candidates. Figures for Senate and House races are from the Federal Election Commission (FEC) and are as of October 17, 1990; it is possible that in the last few weeks before the election some significant changes occurred. Calls were made to fill in some of the gaps in the FEC report.

Conventional wisdom suggests that the relationship between money and campaign success is clear — a candidate who raises and spends significantly more than an opponent is likely to win. Moreover, it is incumbents who are most likely to have that edge.

Data compiled from the Federal Election Commission and from individual states suggest that the experiences of women candidates for the U.S. Senate and House in 1990 conformed, for the most part, to that conventional wisdom. However, the gubernatorial races involving women showed that other factors can complicate the equation.

Of the eight women with major party nominations for governor, three won. All three — including two (Ann Richards, D-TX and Barbara Roberts, D-OR) who ran for open seats and one (Joan Finney, D-KS) who challenged an incumbent — raised significantly less money than did their opponents. Of the three women winners, Richards came closest to matching her opponent dollar for dollar, but she raised only 56% of what Clayton Williams had available. (The majority of the difference between what Richards and Williams raised can be attributed to what Williams contributed to his own campaign.) Roberts raised about half of what her opponent raised, whereas Finney's opponent had almost seven times the amount she had to spend.

The only female incumbent who sought re-election, Governor Kay Orr (R-NE), raised almost twice as much as her challenger; but she lost. Two other candidates raised more than their opponents, but were defeated. Arliss Sturgulewski (R-AK), who ran for an open seat

raised slightly more than her opponents in what turned into a three-way race; hours before the filing deadline, a Republican jumped into the race on a third party ticket, taking Sturgulewski's running mate with him. In Wyoming, Republican Mary Mead, daughter of a former Wyoming governor, raised almost twice as much as her incumbent opponent. The two remaining women candidates who raised less than their opponents and lost were Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), who ran for an open seat and raised 71% of what her opponent raised and Barbara Hafer (R-PA), who raised about one fifth of the amount of her incumbent opponent.

In Senate and House races the outcomes were relatively predictable. Whether a candidate was running as an incumbent, challenger, or for an open seat had a great deal to do with how much money she raised and whether or not she won. Of the eight women with major party Senate nominations, only one won — the only incumbent, Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS). She raised more than 20 times as much as her opponent in a relatively low-budget, non-competitive race. Six women challenged incumbents, and all lost their races; five of the six raised less than their opponents, while one (Rep. Pat Saiki, R-HI) raised more. (Saiki's opponent, Daniel Akaka, had not been in the Senate for long; he was appointed in the spring of 1990.) The one woman who ran for an open seat, Josie Heath (D-CO), raised less than half as much as her opponent and lost.

In contests for the U.S. House of Representatives, of 70 women candidates, 29 won. All 24 incumbents who sought re-election raised more than their opponents and won. Of 38 women who challenged incumbents, all raised less than their opponents, and only one (Joan Kelly Horn, D-MO) won. Of eight women who ran for open seats, five raised more than their opponents and four of them won. Three raised less than their opponents, and all lost.

The story these figures don't tell is what happened early on in many of these races. No candidate can win the general without first getting through the primaries. It's clear that early money is essential and that even though a handful of women won the general without matching their opponents dollar for dollar, those who did had enough money to remain credible and competitive candidates in their races. The question remains unanswered as to whether more money would have made the difference for women in some of the closest races: Governor — Dianne Feinstein (D-CA); Senate — Christine Todd Whitman (R-NJ); U.S. House — Pat Malberg (D-CA/14), Sandra Scofield (D-NE/03).

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR 1990

Money Raised, Votes Received, and Gender Gap Data
Candidates 8 (4D, 4R) — Winners 3 (3D)

State	Candidate (Party)	Seat ²	\$ Raised ³	% of Votes Received ⁴	Exit Polls ¹	
					% Women	% Men
AK	Arliss Sturgulewski(R)	O	1,770,371	26.1	na	na
	Tony Knowles (D)	O	1,378,541	30.9	na	na
	Walter Hickel (Ind)	O	1,143,723	38.8	na	na
CA	Dianne Feinstein (D)	O	17,207,000	45.8	58	42
	Pete Wilson (R)	O	24,000,000	49.3	42	58
KS	Joan Finney (D)	C	464,542	48.6	53	54
	Mike Hayden (R)	I	2,471,166	42.5	47	46
NE	Kay Orr (R)	I	2,379,521	49.2	51	51
	Ben Nelson (D)	C	1,335,082	49.9	49	49
OR	Barbara Roberts (D)	O	1,931,290	45.7	56	40
	Dave Frohnmayer (R)	O	3,584,667	40.0	29	45
PA	Barbara Hafer (R)	C	1,791,214	32.4	35	31
	Bob Casey (D)	I	8,107,000	67.7	65	69
TX	Ann Richards (D)	O	12,283,000	49.5	59	44
	Clayton Williams (R)	O	21,880,000	46.9	41	56
WY	Mary Mead (R)	C	701,293	34.7	36	31
	Michael Sullivan (D)	I	363,307	65.4	64	69

¹Voter Research & Surveys (VRS). VRS did not poll in Alaska.

²I=incumbent; C=challenger; O=open

³According to the Offices of the Secretaries of State or the candidates. Figures are as of the following dates:
AK, 11/13/90; CA, 10/20/90; KS, 10/29/90; NE, 10/29/90; OR, 10/29/90; PA (R, 11/26/90), (D, 11/90);
TX (D, 11/90), (R, 1/16/91); WY, 11/20/90.

⁴Office of the Secretary of State in each state.

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR U.S. SENATE 1990

Money Raised, Votes Received, and Gender Gap Data

Candidates 8 (2D, 6R) — Winners 1 (1R)

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidate (Party)</u>	<u>Seat²</u>	<u>\$ Raised³</u>	<u>% of Votes Received⁴</u>	<u>Exit Polls¹</u>	
					<u>% Women</u>	<u>% Men</u>
CO	Josie Heath (D)	O	1,492,136	41.7	44	35
	Hank Brown (R)	O	3,763,326	55.7	56	65
DE	M. Jane Brady (R)	C	202,353	35.8	31	39
	Joseph Biden (D)	I	1,792,413	62.7	69	61
HI	Patricia Saiki (R)	C	1,685,283	44.0	48	49
	Daniel Akaka (D)	I	1,266,255	53.3	52	51
IL	Lynn Martin (R)	C	4,665,018	34.9	31	32
	Paul Simon (D)	I	7,850,359	65.1	69	68
KS	Nancy Kassebaum (R)	I	421,383	73.6	79	69
	Dick Williams (D)	C	16,012	26.4	21	31
NJ	Christine Todd Whitman (R)	C	543,312	47.4	46	51
	Bill Bradley (D)	I	7,803,089	50.4	54	49
RI	Claudine Schneider (R)	C	1,773,017	38.2	39	36
	Claiborne Pell (D)	C	1,964,368	61.8	61	64
WY	Kathy Helling (D)	C	5,389	36.1	37	39
	Alan Simpson (R)	I	1,116,192	64.0	63	61

¹Voter Research & Surveys.

²I=incumbent; C=challenger; O=open

³According to Federal Election Commission reports as of October 17, 1990.

⁴Office of the Secretary of State in each state.

WOMEN CANDIDATES SEEKING OPEN SEATS FOR THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 1990

Money Raised and Votes Received
Candidates 8 (7D, 1R) — Winners 4 (4D)

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Candidate (Party)</u>	<u>Seat</u> ¹	<u>\$ Raised</u> ²	<u>% of Votes Received</u> ³
CA	14	Pat Malberg (D)	O	202,204	48.5
	14	John Doolittle (R)	O	398,179	51.5
	29	Maxine Waters (D)	O	675,960	79.4
	29	Bill DeWitt(R)	O	na	18.6
CT	03	Rosa DeLauro (D)	O	819,191	46.2
	03	Thomas Scott (R)	O	214,191	42.5
DC	AL	Eleanor Holmes Norton (D) ⁴	O	399,419	61.7
	AL	Harry Singleton (R)	O	58,302	26.3
MI	13	Barbara-Rose Collins (D)	O	217,349	80.1
	13	Carl Edwards, Sr. (R)	O	na	16.5
NE	03	Sandra Scofield (D)	O	323,966	48.8
	03	Bill Barrett (R)	O	497,158	51.1
NJ	12	Marguerite Chandler (D)	O	1,511,358	31.1
	12	Dick Zimmer (R)	O	967,170	64.0
RI	02	Trudy Coxe (R)	O	450,537	40.8
	02	John Reed (D)	O	624,208	59.2

ONLY SUCCESSFUL FEMALE CHALLENGER FOR A SEAT IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 1990

Candidates 38 (18D, 20R) — Winners 1 (1D)

MO	02	Joan Kelly Horn (D)	C	278,239	50.0 ⁺
	02	John Buechner (R)	I	542,788	50.0

⁺Won by 54 votes

¹I=incumbent; C=challenger; O=open

²According to Federal Election Commission reports as of October 17, 1990.

³Office of the Secretary of State in each state.

⁴Norton was elected non-voting delegate from Washington, DC.

Women's PACs in 1990: Continuing to Make a Difference

Please also see Women's PACs in 1990: Summary of Support and Women's PACs: A Contact List.

There are 35 PACs which either give money predominately to women candidates or have a predominately female donor base (not including state affiliates of national organizations or issue PACs). In 1990, 27 of the women's PACs responded to our survey in addition to four that were inactive but hope to be active in the future.

Seventeen of the 27 contributed only to women candidates and 10 contributed to both women and men. Those 27 PACs gave direct financial assistance to 933 candidates, 68% (634) of whom were women. Twenty-six responded to questions about the financial contributions they made to candidates. Those 26 PACs contributed \$3,114,417; of that amount 87% (\$2,695,354) was given to women candidates. Even though 32% of the candidates the women's PACs supported were men, they gave only 13% of their monetary resources to male candidates.

The women's PAC that gave the largest total amount to women candidates was EMILY's List (\$1,486,000). The Women's Campaign Fund contributed to more women candidates than any other women's PAC (113). Twelve of the PACs contributed \$10,000 or less to women candidates; seven contributed between \$10,000 and \$50,000; three between \$50,000 and \$100,000; two between \$100,000 and \$200,000; and two gave substantially more.

There are women's PACs in 11 states as well as 10 national PACs, most of which are based in Washington, DC. While the state PACs contributed the majority of their funds to candidates running within their states, several contributed to women running in races outside their borders, primarily to women candidates in Senate and gubernatorial races. Although some of the state PACs are quite small, others such as the Minnesota Women's Campaign Fund gave \$73,154 to 89 women candidates.

Of the 35 women's PACs, about half of them are located in California. The California women's PACs

have formed a state network, the Women's Political Summit (see *CAWP News & Notes*, Vol. 7, No. 1); women's PACs in the Los Angeles area have also formed a network called the Wednesday Committee. There are two new women's PACs whose goals are to advance Latina issues and to increase the number of Hispanic women in politics; both — HOPE-PAC and Latina PAC — are located in California.

Comparisons between our 1988 survey of women's PACs (see *CAWP News & Notes*, Vol. 7, No. 2) and the 1990 figures show that seven of the PACs which responded in both years more than doubled their contributions to women candidates. Those PACs are: EMILY's List; Michigan Women's Campaign Fund; Minnesota Women's Campaign Fund; Missouri Women's Action Fund; Women's Campaign Fund; Women's Political Action Committee of New Jersey; Women's Political Committee of California.

Editor's Note: In conjunction with the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), the six Republican women who ran for the U.S. Senate formed a joint fundraising committee — Women's Senate Republican Victory Committee (WSRVC) — which raised over \$350,000. Under a formula agreed upon by the candidates, the contributions were divided as follows: the campaign committees of Lynn Martin, Claudine Schneider, and Patricia Saiki each received 28 percent; the campaign committees of Nancy Kassebaum, Jane Brady, and Christine Todd Whitman each received five percent. The NRSC received the remaining one percent. Depending upon the wishes of future Republican women Senate candidates, the WSRVC may be re-established. Contact person: Susan Schultz, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 506, Washington, DC, 20036, 202-659-2120.

CAWP's area code has been changed — our number is now 908 - 828-2210.

Women Justices: A Majority

The Minnesota Supreme Court is reportedly the only state's highest court where the majority of justices are women. Four of the seven appointed justices are women.

Women's PACs in 1990: Summary of Support¹

	\$ Women <u>Cand.</u>	# Women <u>Cand.</u>	# Women <u>Won</u>	\$ Total <u>Cand.</u>	# Total <u>Cand.</u>
American Nurses' Association, Inc.	74,000	29	22	287,000	223
Campaign California/Women's Equity Fund ²	1,000	1	1	1,000	1
East Bay Women's Political Action Committee (CA)	10,000	5	5	10,000	5
Eleanor Roosevelt Fund (CA) ³	3,000	7	*	3,000	7
EMILY's List ⁴	1,486,000	14	9	1,486,000	14
GOP Women's Political Action League	*	*	*	*	*
Hollywood Women's Political Committee	61,800	16	10	224,900	52
HOPE-PAC (CA)	1,500	3	*	1,500	3
Latina PAC (CA)	5,500	8	*	6,000	9
Los Angeles Women's Campaign Fund (CA)	*	*	*	*	*
Marin County Women's PAC (CA)	9,000	5	3	9,000	5
Michigan Women's Campaign Fund	38,450	37	*	38,450	37
Minnesota Women's Campaign Fund	73,154	89	36	73,154	89
Missouri Women's Action Fund	16,000	15	8	17,000	18
National Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs	9,750	18	8	18,100	31
National Organization for Women	194,450	110	61	208,850	120
National Political Congress of Black Women	**	**	**	**	**
National Women's Political Caucus	*	50	25	*	50
Pennsylvania Women's Campaign Fund	22,700	30	*	22,700	30
Republican Women's PAC (CA)	**	**	**	**	**
Sacramento Women's Campaign Fund (CA)	*	*	*	*	*
Santa Barbara Women's Political Committee (CA)	1,200	4	*	3,100	10
The Sullivan PAC (CA)	**	**	**	**	**
WISH List (IL)	**	**	**	**	**
Women For: (CA)	22,075	23	11	31,138	40
Women For: Orange County (CA)	2,500	3	1	4,250	10
Women in Illinois Needed Now	15,000	2	1	15,000	2
Women in Psychology for Legislative Action	5,000	5	2	5,000	5
Women Organizing Women PAC (CT)	6,000	6	2	12,000	18

Women's PACs in 1990: Summary of Support (continued)

	\$ Women Cand.	# Women Cand.	# Women Won	\$ Total Cand.	# Total Cand.
Women's Campaign Fund	500,000	113	58	500,000	113
Women's Investment Network (OR)	12,125	6	3	12,125	6
Women's Issue Network PAC (CT)	*	*	*	*	*
Women's Political Action Committee of NJ ⁵	11,150	22	8	11,150	22
Women's Political Committee (CA)	104,000	11	6	104,000	11
Women's Political Fund (CA)	<u>10,000</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10,000</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	2,695,354	634	***	3,114,417	933

¹List does not include state affiliates of national organizations or issue PACs.

²Campaign California is in the process of dissolving the Women's Equity Fund.

³The Eleanor Roosevelt Fund of California is a part of the California Democratic party which supported many women candidates in 1990; the above figures do not include all of the funds the Democratic party contributed to numerous women candidates running in California.

⁴According to *Notes from EMILY*, "EMILY's List [also] gave \$25,000 directly to candidates at critical moments."

⁵New Jersey holds state elections in odd-numbered years; these figures are for 1989 races.

*Either the information was not available or the PAC did not respond to the survey.

**PAC was inactive in 1990, but hopes to be active in the future.

***Since several PACs did not provide information about the number of winners, we did not total this column.

Women's PACs: A Contact List

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

Contact: Marla Bolotsky
1101 14th Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 789-1800

East Bay Women's Political Action Committee

Contact: Helen Tirsell, President
5736 Chelton Drive
Oakland, CA 94611
(415) 482-4941

Campaign California/Women's Equity Fund

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

Eleanor Roosevelt Fund of California

Contact: Andrea Leiderman
1001-158 Evelyn Terrace East
Sunnyvale, CA 94086
(408) 773-9791

Campaign California is in the process of dissolving the Women's Equity Fund.

EMILY's List

Contact: Wendy Sherman
Executive Director
1112 16th Street, NW, Suite 750
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 887-1957

GOP Women's Political Action League

Contact: Maureen Reagan, Chair
P.O. Box 66011
Washington, DC 20035
(202) 785-8242

Hollywood Women's Political Committee

Contact: Margery Tabankin
Executive Director
10536 Culver Boulevard, Suite 1
Culver City, CA 90232
(213) 559-9334

HOPE-PAC

Contact: Maria Contreras-Sweet
President
611 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 1202
Los Angeles, CA 90017
(213) 267-5853

Latina PAC

Contact: Maria Ochoa, Co-chair
915 L Street, Suite C-222
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 646-4578

Los Angeles Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Nettie Becker
Co-chair
150 El Camino Drive, Suite 110
Beverly Hills, CA 90212
(213) 275-4042

Marin County Women's PAC

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

Michigan Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Chrysanthé Kotis, Chair
P.O. Box 71626
Madison Heights, MI 48071
(313) 347-6669

Minnesota Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Tracy Whitehead, Chair
550 Rice Street
St. Paul, MN 55103
(612) 222-1603

Missouri Women's Action Fund

Contact: Vivian Eveloff, First Vice-chair
1108 Hillside Drive
St. Louis, MO 63117
(314) 781-1081

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

Contact: Mariwyn Heath, BPW/PAC Chair
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 293-1100, ext.: Gov't Relations

National Organization for Women

Contact: Alice Cohan
Political Director
1000 16th Street, NW, Suite 700
Washington, DC 20036-5705
(202) 331-0066

National Political Congress of Black Women

Contacts: Shirley Chisholm, Chair
Portia Dempsey, Executive Director
P.O. Box 411
Rancocas, NJ 08073
(609) 871-1500

National Women's Political Caucus

Contact: Sharon Rodine, President
1275 K Street, NW, Suite 750
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 898-1100

Pennsylvania Women's Campaign Fund

Contact: Susan Nenstiel, Treasurer
537 West Diamond Avenue
Hazleton, PA 18201
(717) 455-3100 (O)
(717) 454-2755 (H)

Republican Women's PAC

Contact: Diann Rogers
P.O. Box 163192
Sacramento, CA 95816
(916) 447-8186

Sacramento Women's Campaign Fund

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

Address may not be current.

Santa Barbara Women's Political Committee

Contact: Susan Rose, Vice President-elect
928 Las Palmas Drive
Santa Barbara, CA 93110
(805) 682-6767

The Sullivan PAC

Contact: Stephanie Cartwright
18600 Sheffield Road
Castro Valley, CA 94546
(415) 886-3082

Wednesday Committee

Contact: Adrianna Babior
1531 Purdue
Los Angeles, CA 90025
(213) 477-8081

The Wednesday Committee is not a PAC; it is a network of women's PACs in the Los Angeles area.

WISH List

Contact: Representative Peg McDonnell Breslin
1700 Champlain
Ottawa, IL 61350
(815) 433-0534

Women For:

Contact: Lucie Bava or Marilyn Kizziah
8913 West Olympic Boulevard
Beverly Hills, CA 90211
(213) 657-7411

Women For: Orange County

Contact: Francesjane "FJ" Kapsch, Vice-chair
13681 Carlstad Drive
Santa Ana, CA 92705
(714) 544-1918

Women in Illinois Needed Now (WIINN)

Contact: Senator Joyce Holmberg, Chair
P.O. Box 1555
Rockford, IL 61105
(815) 987-7555

Women in Psychology for Legislative Action

Contact: Toni Bernay, Ph.D., Co-chair
436 N. Bedford Drive, #404
Beverly Hills, CA 90210
(213) 271-2608

Women Organizing Women PAC (WOW PAC)

Contact: Barbara Pearce, Treasurer
P.O. Box 1652
New Haven, CT 06507-1652
(203) 281-3400

Women's Campaign Fund

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

Women's Investment Network (WIN-PAC)

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

Women's Issue Network PAC

Contact: Donna Cordova, Treasurer
51 Warrenton Avenue
Hartford, CT 06105

Address may not be current.

Women's Political Action Committee of NJ

Contact: Patricia Connolly, President
P.O. Box 170
Edison, NJ 08818
(201) 638-6784

Women's Political Committee

Contacts: Marsha Kwalwasser, Co-chair
Marcia Herman, Treasurer
600 Hanley Way
Los Angeles, CA 90049
(213) 655-2711

Women's Political Fund

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

1990 Elections Mark Bicentennial of Women's Suffrage

The following is an excerpt from an Allegheny College press release.

MEADVILLE, PA — November 5, 1990 — Tuesday's elections mark the 70th anniversary of national women's suffrage, but some women in the United States first got the right to vote 200 years ago in 1790, only to lose it 17 years later.

Irwin Gertzog, professor of political science at Allegheny College, reveals in the article "Female Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807," published in the journal *Women and Politics* that the New Jersey Election Law of 1790 explicitly gave women the right to vote. The law was made possible by an ambiguous provision contained in the 1776 New Jersey Constitution that conferred the vote on "all inhabitants" who met certain property and residence requirements.

"There is little evidence that women voted in the years immediately following the Revolution," Gertzog notes, "but when the [New Jersey] legislature revised its election law in 1790, the term 'he or she' was adopted to refer to eligible voters." The 1790 statute was limited to just seven of the state's 13 counties, but an act was passed in 1797 extending the franchise to women throughout all of New Jersey.

While "women probably voted as frequently as one might expect any newly enfranchised group of people to vote," Gertzog maintains that women were faced with several strong deterrents: the practice of choosing officials by voice vote and the fact that most polling places were located in taverns.

New Jersey women were disenfranchised by the Election Act of 1807, which limited the vote to "free, white, male citizens." Gertzog says historians disagree about the reasons why women had the right to vote taken away from them but offers his own explanation. "They were deprived of the vote largely because, as women — unable to hold public office and forbidden by the norms of the period from resorting to tactics fostering political mobilization — they could not protect themselves from

a resourceful majority who wanted to reform the election process and who believed that, in the process, it was in their own interests to disenfranchise politically marginal groups."

Of Interest

First Women State Legislators in the U.S.

Elected 1894 — Colorado House of Representatives

Carrie C. Holly (R)

Clara Cressingham (R)

Frances Klock (R)

First Woman State Senator in the U.S.

Elected 1896 — Utah State Senate

Martha Hughes Cannon (D)

Second Women State Representatives in the U.S.

Elected 1896

Colorado House of Representatives

Olive C. Butler (R)

Martha A. B. Conine (Nonpartisan)

Evangeline Heartz (Populist)

Utah House of Representatives

Sarah Elizabeth Nelson Anderson (D)

Eurithe LaBarthe (D)

Women's Suffrage

By 1896 women had been granted suffrage in Wyoming (1890), Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), and Idaho (1896). It was 14 more years before any other state extended full state voting rights to women and 24 more years before women were granted national suffrage. [See also 1990 Elections Mark Bicentennial of Women's Suffrage.]

Source: The Utah Governor's Commission for Women collected this information from various books/records and by corresponding with individual states.

CAWP's Endowment Campaign Continues

As the 20th anniversary of CAWP approaches, CAWP's endowment campaign is beginning to take shape — more about our efforts will appear in future issues. Contributions will be greatly appreciated either for CAWP's endowment or for the recently established Barbara Boggs Sigmund Award.

As a lasting memorial to the late Barbara Boggs Sigmund, one of New Jersey's best known political women and a former member of CAWP's staff, the Center for the American Woman and Politics has established an award in her name. The Barbara Boggs Sigmund Award, in honor of the inspiring example she set as a public leader, will be presented annually to a graduating senior at Douglass College, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, who is herself a promising public leader. The first award was given in April 1990.

Anyone wishing to contribute to either fund is welcome to send donations to CAWP, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901. All contributions to CAWP are tax deductible; please make your checks payable to the Center for the American Woman and Politics and specify the fund for which they are intended. For further information contact Joan Crowley, Director of Development (908-828-2210).

CAWP Encourages NEW Leadership

A future president of the United States may be spending ten days on the Douglass College campus next summer.

Preparing young women for leadership in public life — whether that means heading up a local organization, running for the state legislature, becoming a judge, or winning the White House — is the goal of NEW Leadership (National Education for Women's

Leadership), a program to be conducted by the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) under a major grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. The four-year, \$961,644 grant began in December 1990 and runs through November 1994. The Public Leadership Education Network (PLEN), a consortium of women's colleges working together to prepare women for public leadership, will collaborate with CAWP on the program.

The Center, a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, will conduct summer institutes to teach college women about leadership theory and skills and women's political history. Faculty for the program will include well-known and up-and-coming political women, as well as scholars and leadership experts. During the subsequent academic year, the students will return to their home institutions and create individual campus or community projects to test what they have learned. They will return to New Brunswick the following summer to report back, receive further training, and serve as mentors for new students in the program.

"We're concerned about the research that says many young people don't care about politics and government," noted Kathy Kleeman, CAWP's senior program associate, who is coordinating the new program. "We're going to find young women ready to make a difference in their world so we can nurture that interest, build their knowledge and skills, and introduce them to people and resources that can help them to become more effective leaders."

"As we approach CAWP's 20th birthday, we're more convinced than ever that we need women as full partners in every phase of public life," commented Ruth B. Mandel, director of CAWP. "We're excited about this opportunity to open doors for a new generation of women public leaders."

"We're especially delighted that the program will take place on the campus of Douglass College," added Mandel. "Dean Mary Hartman has made the college a center for leadership education programs for young women. This program will add a new dimension, expanding on collaborations between CAWP and Douglass that have already brought international recognition to Rutgers as a base for research and education about women and leadership."

Also participating in the training will be advisors, members of the faculty or staff at the students' home colleges. The program will enhance their capacity to assist the students in their individual projects and to create new public leadership education activities on campus. Through the institutes, they will be introduced to people, materials, ideas and skills that can make them more effective teachers and mentors for student leaders.

In addition to the summer institutes, CAWP and PLEN will conduct research and issue publications about public leadership education programs around the country. They will be identifying existing programs, assessing the efforts at PLEN member colleges, and suggesting new kinds of activities which ought to be implemented.

CAWP and PLEN will select twelve colleges, including six PLEN member institutions, to participate in the program each year. Two incoming juniors and one advisor will be selected from each college; a limited number of scholarships will be provided. PLEN member colleges include: Agnes Scott College, Decatur, GA; College of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, MN; Carlow College, Pittsburgh, PA; College of St. Catherine, St.

Paul, MN; College of St. Elizabeth, Convent Station, NJ; College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore, MD; Douglass College (Rutgers University), New Brunswick, NJ; Hood College, Frederick, MD; Mount St. Mary's College, Los Angeles, CA; Mount Vernon College, Washington, DC; Stephens College, Columbia, MO; Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, VA; Trinity College of Vermont, Burlington, VT; Wells College, Aurora, NY.

The W.K. Kellogg Foundation was established in 1930 to "help people help themselves." As a private grantmaking foundation, it provides seed money to organizations and institutions that have identified problems and have designed constructive action programs aimed at solutions. The Foundation supports programs in the broad areas of agriculture, education, health, leadership and youth. Programming priorities concentrate grants in the United States, Latin America, the Caribbean, and southern Africa.

Additional information about the program is available from CAWP.

**Know others who might be interested in
CAWP's Subscriber Information Service (SIS)?
Please pass on this form.**

**Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP)
Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901 • (908) 828-2210**

____ Please enroll me in SIS; enclosed is \$20 for a one year subscription. SIS subscribers receive three packets, each of which includes: *CAWP News & Notes*; fact sheets; reports; reprints of articles; and other timely information. All subscriptions must be prepaid; please make checks payable to CAWP.

____ Enclosed is a _____ tax deductible contribution to CAWP.

Name & Title _____

Organization/Company (if applicable) _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____