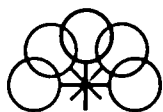

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: The Woman Voter



National Women's Political Caucus

President

Anita Perez Ferguson

Vice Presidents

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Linda M. Tangren
Pat Deal
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Hazel B. Thomas

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Audrey Rowe
Jill Ruckelshaus
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Mary Louise Smith
Mary Stanley
Gloria Steinem
Marlo Thomas
C. Delores Tucker
Carmen Delgado Votaw
Kathy Wilson
Harriett Woods

Executive Director

Jody Newman

A HISTORY OF WOMEN VOTERS

Women won the right to vote 75 years ago with the passage of the 19th Amendment, culminating a 70-year struggle to which thousands of women literally devoted their lives. The amendment received approval from the necessary three-quarters of the states when Tennessee voted yes on Aug. 18, 1920, and it was officially ratified on Aug. 26, 1920. Approximately 8 million women voted for the first time in November 1920.

A great deal of anxiety and fear on the part of men accompanied passage of women's suffrage. One senator claimed it would "convert all the now harmonious elements of society into a state of war, and make every home a hell on earth." A newspaper wrote that war between the sexes had all but been declared. There was widespread expectation that an organized women's party, or at least a powerful woman's voting bloc, would develop.

Yet women as a group did not make a substantial political mark for years to come. After winning the right to vote in 1920, they voted less frequently than men. And it was assumed -- although there were no exit polls to prove it -- that women voted the way their husbands did or told them to.

By 1964, the first time the U.S. Census Bureau asked people whether they voted, women made up a majority of voters, and they have continued to do so ever since. Women were able to achieve this majority, despite the fact that their reported turnout rates were lower than men's, because there were more voting age women than men in the population. Beginning in 1980 and in each election since then, women's reported turnout rate has been higher than men's. In other words, a higher percentage of eligible women than men go to the polls.

Women voted slightly more Republican than men in most elections from the 1950's through 1980. In 1980, Ronald Reagan did better among men than among women, and a gender gap between men and women voters began to be discussed. In every election year since then, women have voted more Democratic than men, usually by three to five points. The largest gender gap ever measured was produced in 1994 when a slight majority of women continued to vote Democratic, while men voted significantly more Republican.

Women continue to make up the majority of voters, and to turn out to vote at higher rates than men. However, as is the case with men, large proportions of eligible women do not vote. Susan B. Anthony, who died without ever being allowed to cast a vote, might find it difficult to understand the great numbers of Americans who do not go to the polls.

Compiled from various sources
August 1995

This page is an excerpt from "Women Voters and the Gender Gap" page 1. For further information, please contact the NWPC.

1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW ■ Suite 425 ■ Washington, DC 20036 ■ 202/785-1100 ■ Fax 202/785-3605

THE GENDER GAP

The "gender gap" refers to differences between women and men in political attitudes and voting choices. Although the gender gap has historical roots, political differences between women and men have increased in scope and shown greater persistence in recent years. A gender gap has been apparent in voting behavior, party identification, evaluations of performances of recent presidents, and attitudes toward various public policy issues.

VOTING CHOICES IN RECENT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Election day voter polls showed notable gender gaps in voting in all three presidential elections held during the 1980s. In each of these elections, fewer women than men voted for the victorious Republican candidate (by 6-9 percentage points). In 1992 women showed a stronger preference than men for Bill Clinton, the victorious Democratic candidate, but the gender gap was smaller (4 percentage points) than in other recent presidential elections. In 1992 women also were less likely than men to vote for Ross Perot.

Presidential Candidates

Voter Research & Surveys

Women Men

1992

Bill Clinton	45%	41%
George Bush	37%	38%
Ross Perot	17%	21%

ABC News/ Washington Post

Women Men

CBS News/ New York Times

Women Men

NBC News

Women Men

1988

George Bush	50%	57%	50%	57%	51%	57%
Michael Dukakis	49%	42%	49%	41%	49%	43%

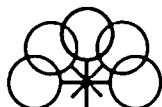
1984

Ronald Reagan	54%	62%	56%	62%	55%	64%
Walter Mondale	46%	38%	44%	37%	45%	36%

1980

Ronald Reagan	47%	53%	46%	54%	47%	56%
Jimmy Carter	42%	35%	45%	37%	45%	36%
John Anderson	9%	9%	7%	7%	8%	8%

Note: this page is an excerpt from the 5 page CAWP factsheet "The Gender Gap."



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WOMEN VOTERS and THE GENDER GAP*

by Jody Newman

Executive Director

National Women's Political Caucus

August, 1995

KEY POINTS

- The gender gap is in danger of being blown out of proportion and misinterpreted. Although important and interesting, the gender gap is smaller than many other gaps which divide the electorate, such as the marriage gap, urban/rural gap, religion gap, income gap, and race gap. For example, the gender gap in 1994 was 11 points, while the marriage gap was 12.5 points, the "born-again" gap 21 points, and the gap between whites and blacks 50 points.

- Commentators have tried to declare a "war between the sexes" ever since 1920 when women first won the right to vote, but the truth is that the way women and men vote is much more similar than different. Talk of a "chasm" or a "war between the sexes" implies that all women vote one way and all men the opposite, which is a misinterpretation of the gender gap.

- Women voters are not monolithic, and do not constitute a voting bloc in the same sense as blacks (who vote 85-90% Democratic) or Jews (who vote 75-80% Democratic). It makes no sense to talk about "the women's vote" as though all women vote the same.

- Women voters will be crucial in the 1996 elections. They make up the majority of the electorate, and turn out in higher percentages than men. In 1994 57% of Democratic voters and 46% of Republican voters were women.

- A higher percentage of women than men have tended to vote Democratic since 1980. This gender gap is fairly widespread, occurring among married and unmarried people, and for all income levels, ages, and regions of the country.

*The following is an excerpt of this report. For more information, please contact NWPC.

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FINDINGS

- Women made up the majority of voters in 1994, as they have in every election cycle since at least 1964, when the Census Bureau began asking people whether they voted. According to exit polls, women made up one percent less of the electorate in 1994 than in 1992, and one percent more than in 1990, the last non-presidential election.
- A higher percentage of eligible women than men voted in 1994, as they have in every election cycle since 1980.
- The percentage of eligible women who reported voting was lower in 1994 than in 1990, the last non-presidential year, as was the case for men.
- Women voters were crucial for both parties in 1994. They made up the majority of Democratic voters (57%) and a large portion of Republican voters (46%) in Congressional elections in 1994.
- According to exit polls, women have voted more Democratic than men in Congressional elections since 1980. There was a gender gap -- a difference between the way women and men vote -- of about three points in 1990 and 1992. The greatest gender gap (11 points) occurred in 1994, when 53% of women and 42% of men voted Democratic. The increase in the gap from 1992 to 1994 was caused by a large drop in the percent of men who voted Democratic.
- Since 1980, according to exit polls, a majority of women (ranging from 58% in 1982 to 53% in 1994) has consistently voted Democratic, while the percent of men who voted Democratic has varied between a high of 55% (1982) and a low of 42% (1994).
- Although women vote more Democratic than men, women do not all vote Democratic, nor do all men vote Republican. Even in the 1994 Congressional elections, when a majority of women voted Democratic and a majority of men voted Republican, still 47% of women voted Republican and 42% of men voted Democratic.

FINDINGS, cont'd.

- The largest group of women identify themselves as Democrats, the second largest as Republicans. For men, it is Republicans first and Democrats second. Independents place third for both men and women.
- Most women identify themselves ideologically as "moderates," as do most men. However, for men in 1994, "conservative" was a close second. "Liberal" ranked third for both women and men, although the percentage was somewhat higher for women than men.
- The gender gap, while important, is not as large as other "gaps" which divide the electorate. Gaps in the 1994 congressional elections were as follows:

"Gender gap" between women and men	11.1 points
"Marriage gap" between married and single	12.5 points
"Geography gap" between urban and rural	28.9 points
"Religion gap" between Protestants and Jews	37.6 points
"Income gap" between rich and poor	19.4 points
"Born-again gap" between born-again and others	21.0 points
"Race gap" between blacks and whites	49.7 points

- In general, a gender gap can be found within all demographic groups (incomes, ages, regions of the country, etc.). There are some interesting exceptions and patterns to note, however. For example, there is little gap among those who never went beyond high school, but a large gap for college graduates and post graduates.

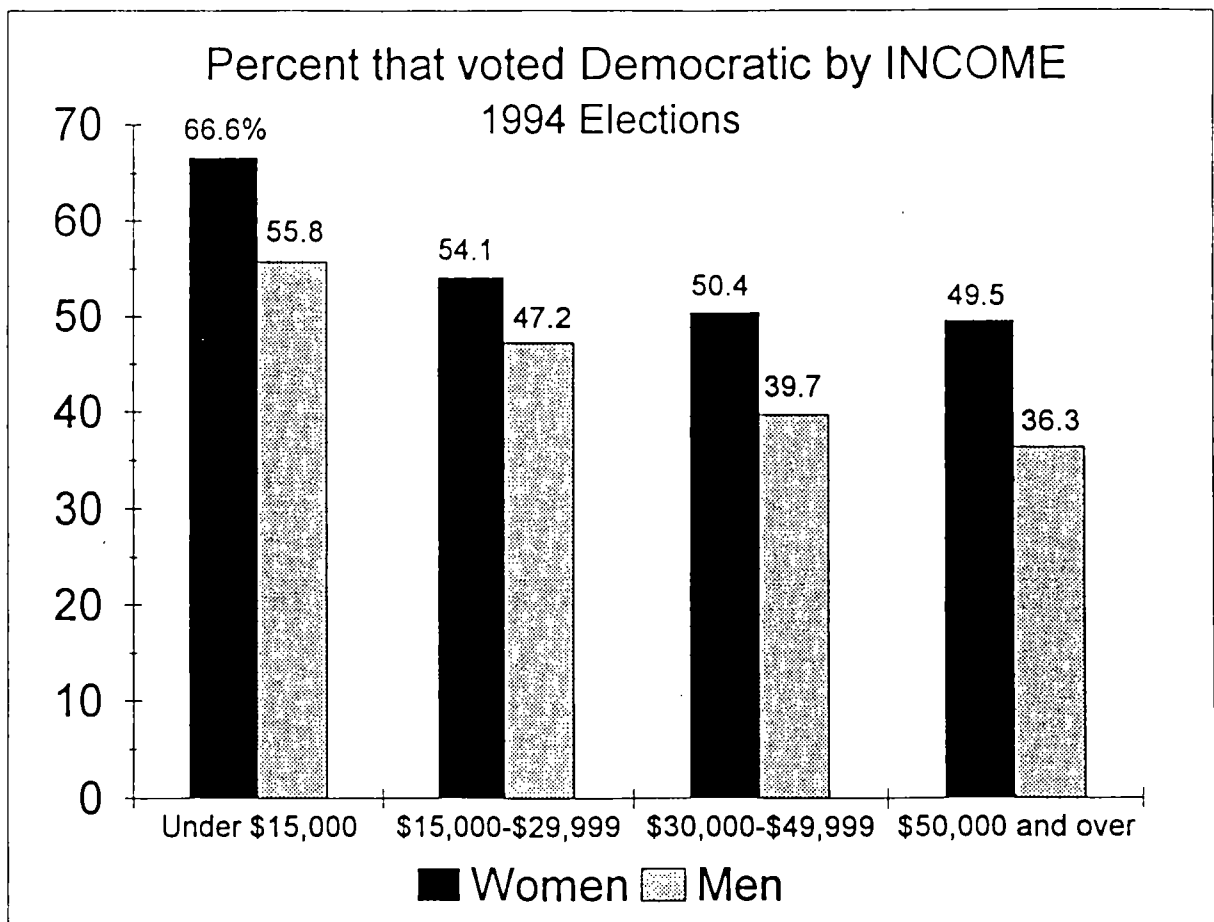
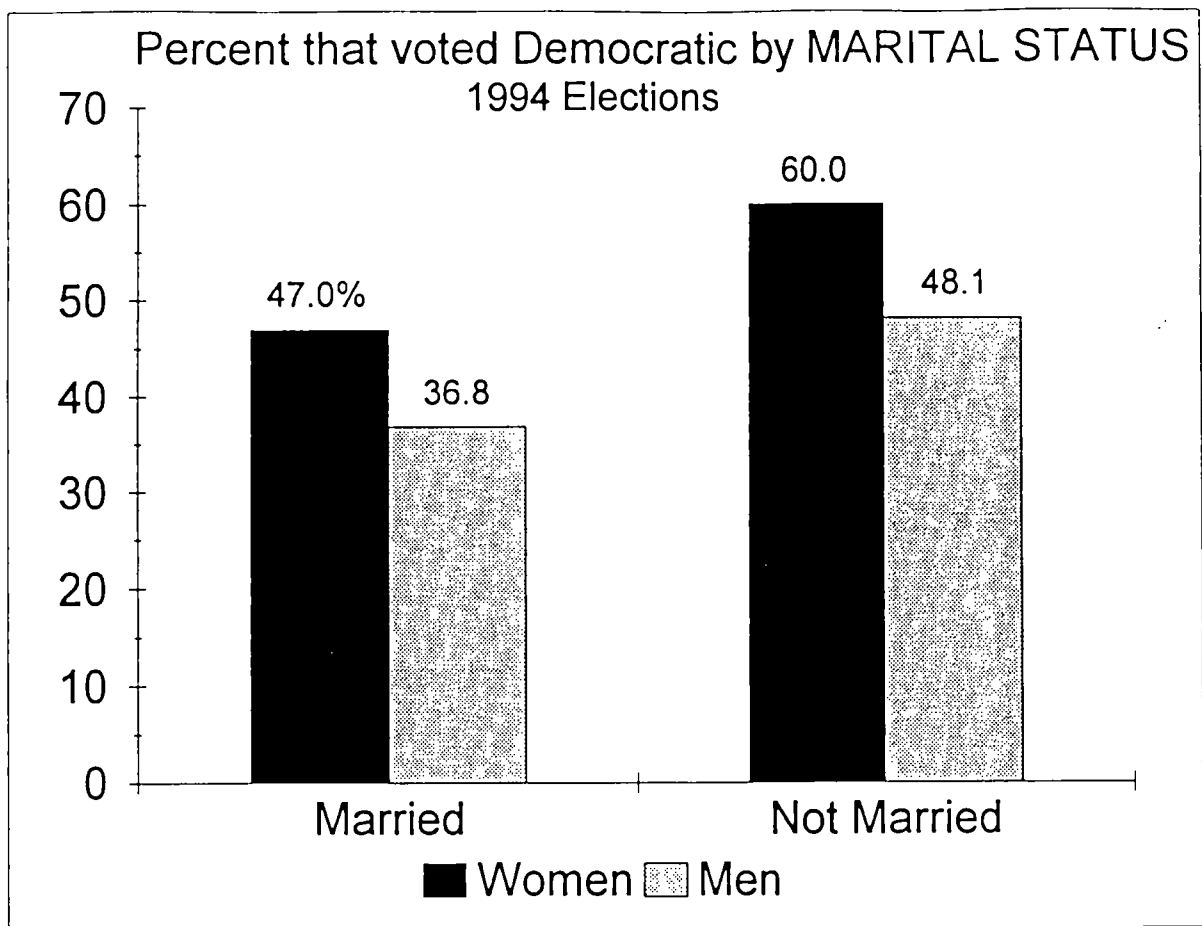
THE GENDER GAP 1980-1994

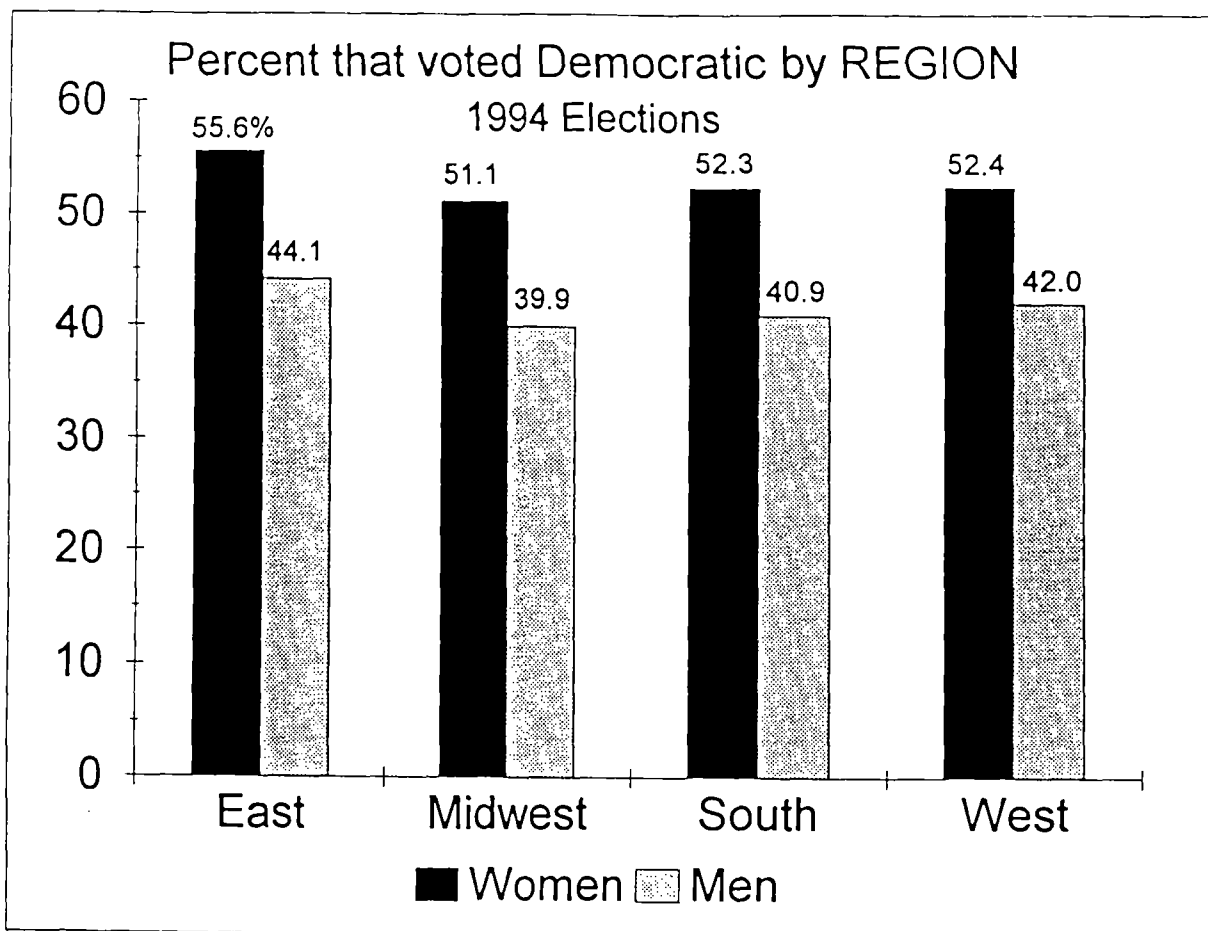
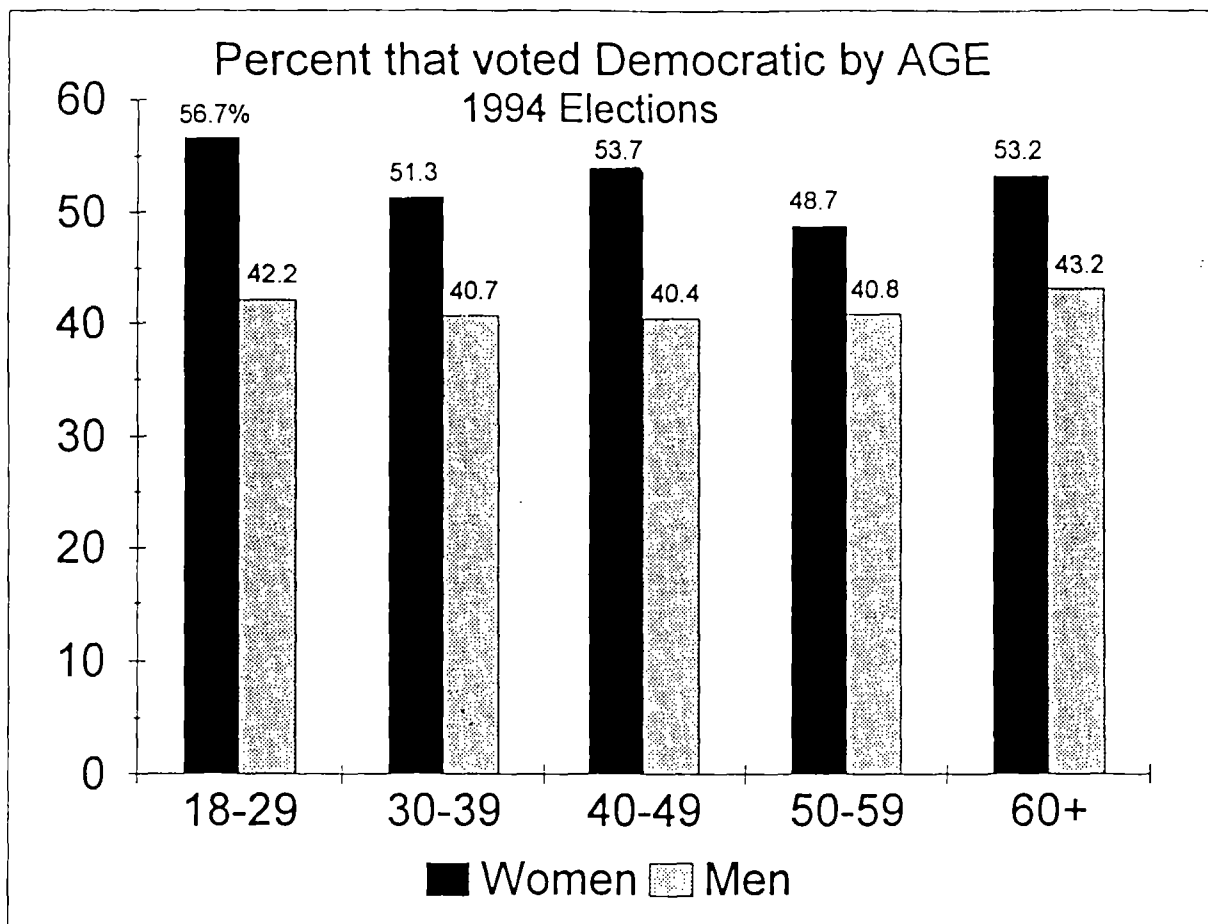
How Women and Men Voted in Congressional Races (Exit Poll Data)

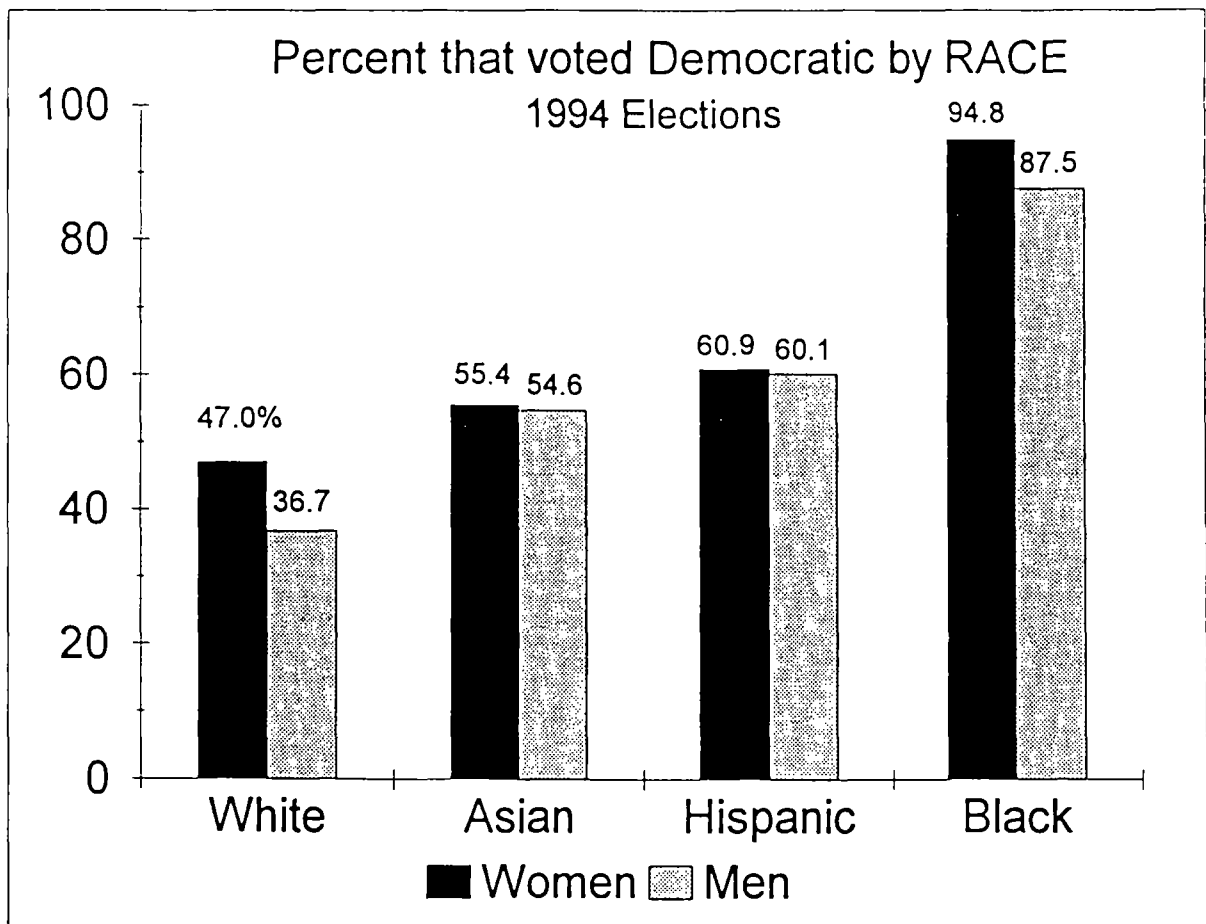
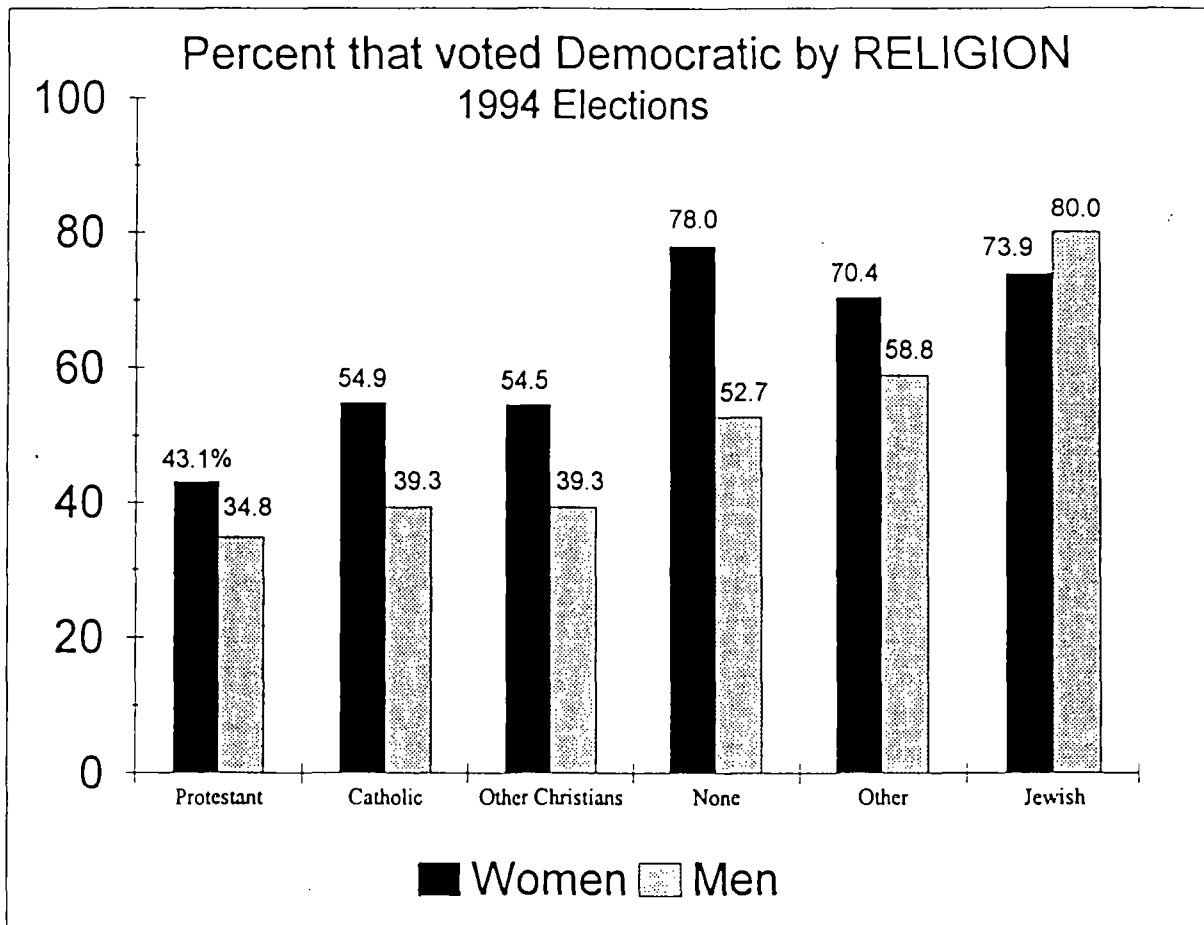
	<u>WOMEN</u> (Percent Who Voted Democratic)	<u>MEN</u> (Percent Who Voted Democratic)	<u>GAP</u>
1994	53%	42%	11 points
<i>1992</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>3 points</i>
1990	56	53	3 points
<i>1988</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>5 points</i>
1986	54	51	3 points
<i>1984</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>6 points</i>
1982	58	55	3 points
<i>1980</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>6 points</i>

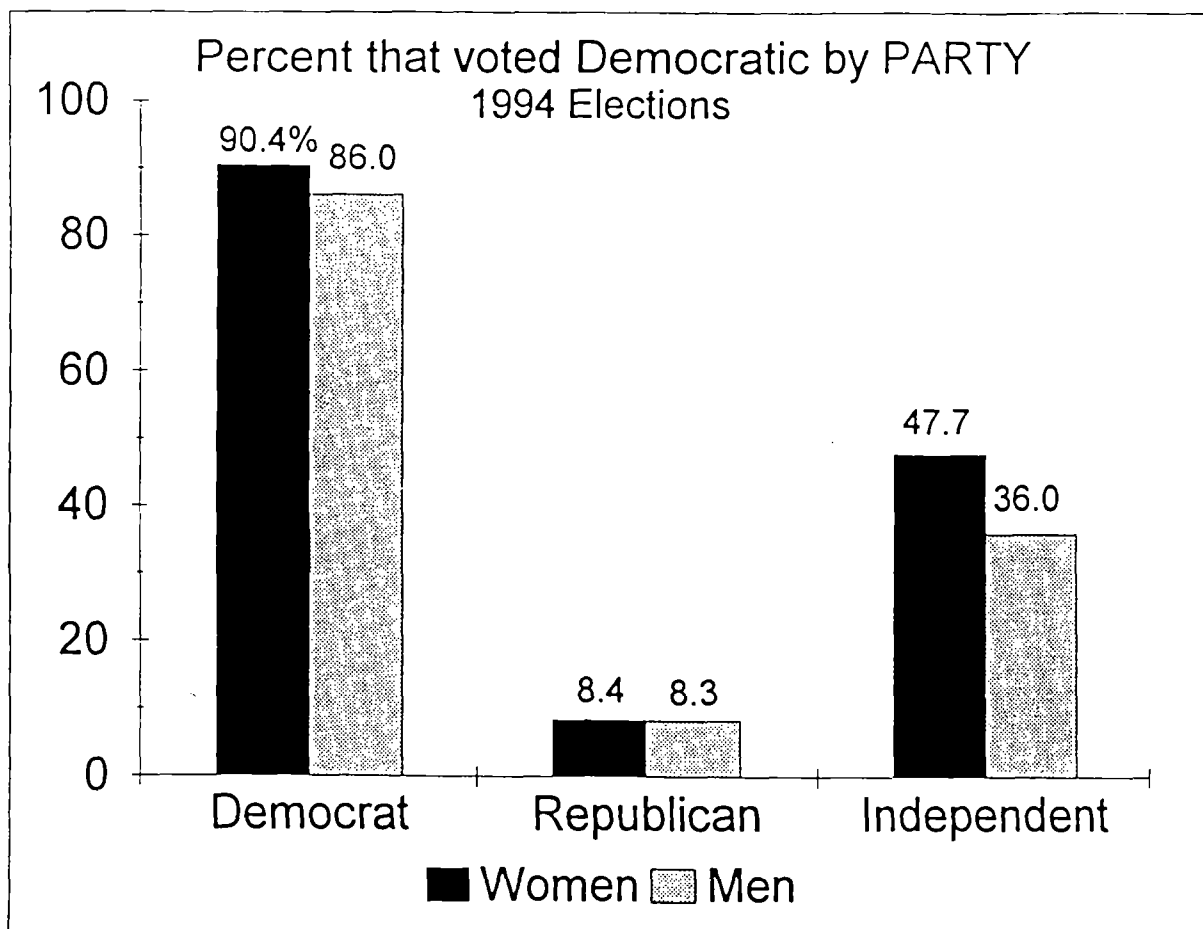
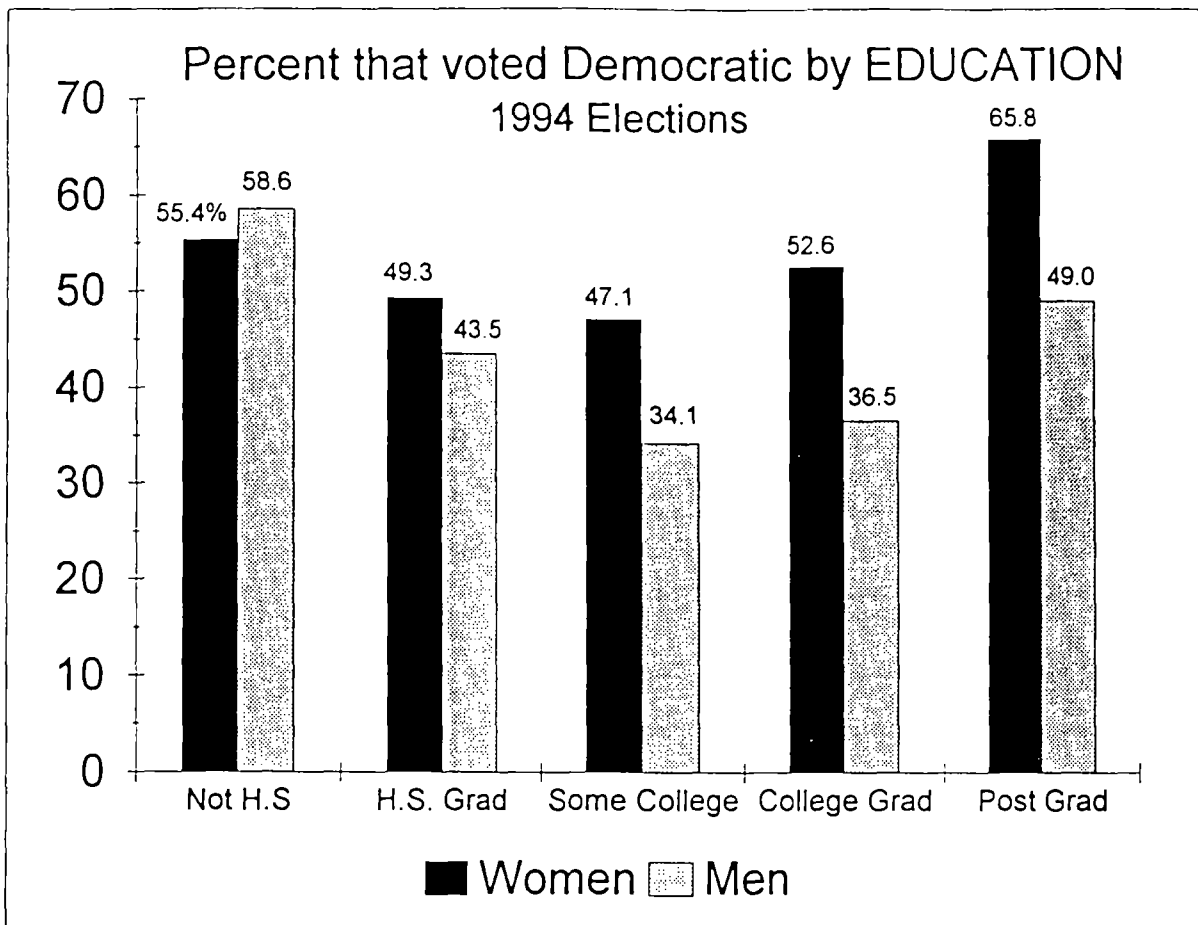
Please note: Presidential election years are in italics.

Sources: 1994 -- Voter News Service (VNS)
1992 and 1990 -- Voter Research and Surveys (VRS)
1980 - 1988 -- CBS/New York Times surveys









SEX DIFFERENCES IN VOTER TURNOUT

In recent elections voter turnout rates for women have equalled or exceeded voter turnout rates for men. Women, who constitute more than half the population, have cast between four and seven million more votes than men in recent elections.

VOTER TURNOUT IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

In every presidential election since 1980, the proportion of eligible female adults who voted has exceeded the proportion of eligible male adults who voted. In all presidential elections prior to 1980, the voter turnout rate for women was lower than the rate for men. The number of female voters has exceeded the number of male voters in every presidential election since 1964.

Presidential Election Year	% of Voting Age Population Who Reported Voting		Number Who Reported Voting	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1992	62.3	60.2	60.6 million	53.3 million
1988	58.3	56.4	54.5 million	47.7 million
1984	60.8	59.0	54.5 million	47.4 million
1980	59.4	59.1	49.3 million	43.8 million
1976	58.8	59.6	45.6 million	41.1 million
1972	62.0	64.1	44.9 million	40.9 million
1968	66.0	69.8	41.0 million	38.0 million
1964	67.0	71.9	39.2 million	37.5 million

VOTER TURNOUT IN NONPRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Since 1986, the proportion of eligible female adults who voted has exceeded the proportion of eligible male adults who voted, reversing the historical pattern of higher turnout rates for men than for women.

Nonpresidential Election Year	% of Voting Age Population Who Reported Voting		Number Who Reported Voting	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1994	44.9	44.4	44.6 million	40.4 million
1990	45.4	44.6	43.3 million	38.7 million
1986	46.1	45.8	42.2 million	37.7 million
1982	48.4	48.7	42.3 million	38.0 million
1978	45.3	46.6	36.3 million	33.3 million
1974	43.4	46.2	32.5 million	30.7 million
1970	52.7	56.8	33.8 million	32.0 million
1966	53.0	58.2	31.8 million	30.7 million

Among Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites, the number of female voters in recent elections has exceeded the number of male voters. While the difference in voter turnout rates between the sexes is greatest for Blacks, women have voted at higher rates than men across all three groups in the last three presidential elections.

	% of Voting Age Population Who Reported Voting		Number Who Reported Voting	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1992				
Black	56.7	50.8	6.6 million	4.8 million
Hispanic	30.9	26.8	2.3 million	1.9 million
White	64.5	62.6	52.9 million	47.6 million
1988				
Black	54.2	48.2	5.9 million	4.2 million
Hispanic	30.1	27.4	2.0 million	1.8 million
White	59.8	58.3	47.7 million	42.7 million
1984				
Black	59.2	51.7	6.1 million	4.2 million
Hispanic	33.1	32.1	1.7 million	1.4 million
White	62.0	60.8	47.7 million	42.4 million

VOTER REGISTRATION

Women outnumber men among registered voters.

	Number Reporting They are Registered Voters	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1994	62.7 million	55.3 million
1992	67.3 million	59.3 million
1990	60.2 million	53.0 million
1988	63.4 million	55.1 million
1986	59.5 million	52.2 million
1984	62.1 million	54.0 million

Data are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports, Series P-20, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1964" and subsequent reports for all years through 1994. These figures are from post-election responses to supplementary questions in the monthly Current Population Survey for a sample of households in November of each election year. Respondents to the survey report their own voting activity and that of other members of their household. The sample systematically over reports both voting and registration by several million people.

A note to users of this information: Please credit the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

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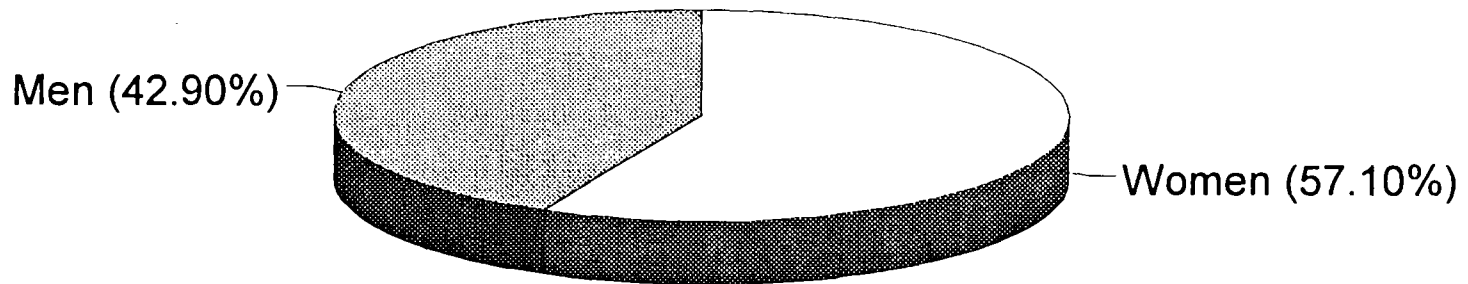
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Percentage of Voters Who Were Women
1992 and 1994 General Elections

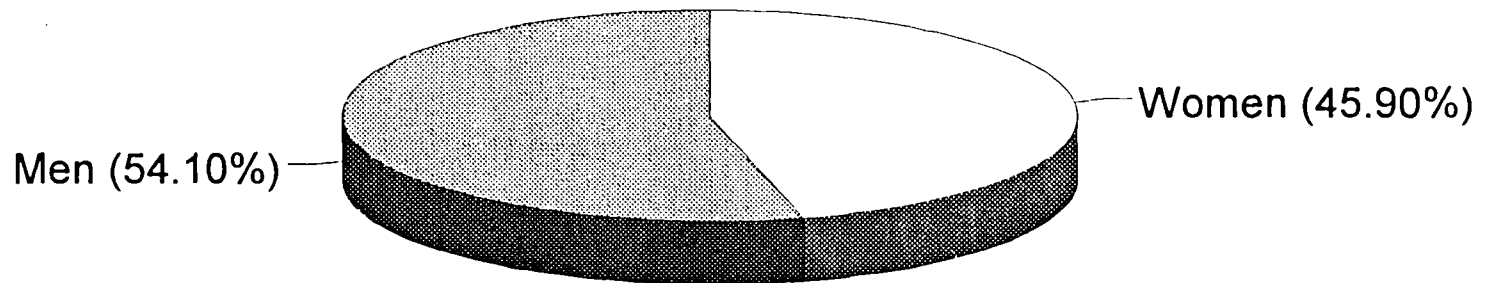
	<u>1992</u>	<u>1994</u>
National	53	52
<u>State</u>		
Alabama	54	53
Alaska	50	
Arizona	56	52
Arkansas	55	55
California	53	50
Colorado	52	51
Connecticut	54	53
Delaware	54	51
District of Columbia	57	
Florida	51	55
Georgia	52	52
Hawaii	50	
Idaho	51	51
Illinois	52	52
Indiana	54	
Iowa	53	53
Kansas	53	49
Kentucky	55	
Louisiana	55	
Maine	53	52
Maryland	52	52
Massachusetts	53	50
Michigan	52	50
Minnesota	48	50
Mississippi	55	
Missouri	54	51
Montana	55	49
Nebraska	54	50
Nevada	55	51
New Hampshire	51	
New Jersey	52	52
New Mexico	53	50
New York	52	51
North Carolina	50	
North Dakota	52	
Ohio	52	52
Oklahoma	55	53
Oregon	50	50
Pennsylvania	51	52
Rhode Island	54	
South Carolina	56	53
South Dakota	50	
Tennessee	54	52
Texas	52	53
Utah	52	
Vermont	52	
Virginia	53	53
Washington	50	48
West Virginia	53	
Wisconsin	52	50
Wyoming	53	52

Source: Voter News Service (VNS)

Women and Men as a Percent of Each Party's Voters (1994)



Democratic



Republican

Why Women Should Register Women To Vote

Millions of women depend on income and nutritional supplements, health care, job training, and child care to survive. Moreover, the majority of college-educated women who work are employed in the health/ education/ welfare complex, and many will lose their jobs as a result of government cuts. It is in the interests of women service providers to mobilize their clients for political participation. And, when women are registered, they vote. Of the 67 million women who were registered to vote in 1992, more than 60 million voted, almost 90 percent.

There are over 20 million women who are not registered to vote, two-thirds of whom are low-income. The times thus beg for a coalition of the women's movement and the social service sector; they have an overlapping membership and interests in common. Women workers registering women clients could bring millions to the ballot box.

Unregistered Women Voters in your state:

Alabama	337,350	Kentucky	365,300	N. Dakota	0
Alaska	36,400	Louisiana	296,400	Ohio	972,400
Arizona	429,650	Maine	55,900	Oklahoma	258,050
Arkansas	225,550	Maryland	475,150	Oregon	180,050
California	3,338,400	Massachusetts	510,250	Pennsylvania	1,233,050
Colorado	287,950	Michigan	581,750	Rhode Island	92,950
Connecticut	242,450	Minnesota	210,600	S. Carolina	359,450
Delaware	73,450	Mississippi	173,550	S. Dakota	38,350
DC	45,500	Missouri	345,150	Tennessee	494,650
Florida	1,598,350	Montana	50,700	Texas	1,738,750
Georgia	742,950	Nebraska	98,150	Utah	156,650
Hawaii	141,700	Nevada	180,050	Vermont	37,700
Idaho	92,950	New Hampshire	98,800	Virginia	636,350
Illinois	1,032,200	New Jersey	778,700	Washington	427,050
Indiana	598,000	New Mexico	163,800	W. Virginia	180,700
Iowa	169,650	New York	1,991,600	Wisconsin	295,750
Kansas	198,900	N. Carolina	672,750	Wyoming	33,150

United States	23,736,700
---------------	------------

These figures are a conservative estimate based on US Census Data, adjusted for various biases including the subtraction of noncitizens. Human SERVE, 1996.

How to vote

Here are questions you might have:

What happens after I sign up to vote?

You will get a postcard in the mail telling you that you are registered.

The postcard will tell you where you go to vote. You may also get a sample ballot in the mail that tells you where to go.

How do I vote?

1. You will sign your name on a list of all the voters in your area.
2. You will be given a paper ballot or you will enter a voting booth.
3. You will fill out the paper ballot in private or you will push buttons inside the voting booth.

Can someone help me when I go to vote?

- * Yes, you can bring a friend, a teacher, a parent, or your pastor. You cannot bring your boss.
- * This person can help you read the ballot or use the voting booth to vote.

keep going →

What will I be voting on?

- * We vote on 2 types of things:

People: candidates who are running for elected office

Plans: ballot measures which change state or local laws

- * You do not have to vote on everything. You can just vote on the things you care about.

Where can I get more information?

- * TV and radio news
- * Election summaries in the newspaper
- * Talk to your family and friends
- * Your library
- * Call the Elections Office or a community group like the League of Women Voters or the NAACP

This information was drawn from:

The Key to Community Project of the Santa Clara County Library Reading Program, in partnership with the Center for Civic Literacy. Most of these tips were written by learners for learners.

Designed by:

Human SERVE (212) 854-4053

Special thanks to:

ARC-US
Citizenship Education Fund

Agencies should call Project Vote Smart at 800-622-SMART (7627) for more voter education materials.

Please copy and distr. this brochure.



It's Your Vote

The next election is for the President and Congress.

Election day is Tuesday, November 5th.

Tell them what you want. Vote in November.

Learn how to vote:
Look inside ↗

Agencies:

Please hand this to every client when you offer voter registration.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

TARGETING WORKING WOMEN VOTERS

April 1996

Focusing on working women

Summary: Broadly, working women in the current electorate fall into three categories: college-educated, younger non-college (under age 50), and older non-college. Currently, college-educated working women and older non-college women strongly incline Democratic, while younger non-college women are somewhat less Democratic and more independent.

- College-educated working women: These women are largely Democratic, they see a role for government on economic issues, and their economic concerns, while acute, focus more on issues such as education than on immediate economic survival. On a range of issues, college-educated women are nearly polar opposites from college-educated men, who are the most focused on cutting the deficit and reducing the role of government. They differ from non-college women in that they are less likely to want the government to promote traditional values.
- Younger non-college working women: Among women, this is perhaps the most volatile group politically. These are the women who are least likely to vote, who are among the most economically anxious, and who are among the most frustrated and angry with the political system.

These women are also among the most resentful of welfare recipients and immigrants, and they are among the most responsive to conservative language about values. For example, there is overwhelming agreement among these women with statements such as "too many people refuse to take responsibility for their own actions" (95%) and "too many people who don't deserve help get handouts from government" (87%). This gives the GOP a real opportunity to make inroads among these voters with a populist conservative message.

- Older non-college working women: These women are less politically volatile than their younger counterparts; indeed, in the wake of the budget debate they have moved strongly Democratic. However, this group shares the overwhelming anxiety of other non-college women, and are near panic-stricken about their own futures. They are struggling to send their children to college and care for their own aging parents, and few are able to save for their own retirement -- a combination which is terrifying to them. Older non-college women are also among the most likely to want the government to promote traditional values.

- Women in union households: These women voters are among the most loyal to Democrats. They personally like Bill and Hillary Clinton and are among the most angry at the Republican Congress. They believe that Congress has failed, hurt families like theirs and broken its promises. They have strong disagreements with the Republicans on their spending priorities and feel strongly that education, Medicare and children's programs should not be cut. They are more likely than many groups to believe that the Democrats share their values -- especially values such as commitment to family, economic and personal security, and opportunity. They are populist voters who strongly believe Democrats are more on the side of the middle class. Union women worry about the economy and jobs and economic instability more than some other voters. While they give Democrats high marks on education and raising middle class living standards, they worry about Democrats' long-term economic policies and their commitment to improving the economy.

Turnout among working women

- In 1994, women in every economic sector of the labor force turned out at just slightly higher rates than men in the labor force, although they were registered at significantly higher rates. In addition, women under the age of 65 who are not in the labor force also turned out at higher rates than men. In contrast, senior women both registered and voted at much lower rates than senior men.

(1994)	Registered		Voted	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Civilian labor force	59.8%	64.8%	43.1%	45.7%
Employed	60.6%	65.7%	44.0%	46.6%
Private	57.5%	61.8%	40.1%	41.7%
Government	77.2%	79.1%	62.6%	63.7%
Self-employed	64.9%	72.3%	51.2%	55.5%
Agriculture	58.3%	71.8%	41.8%	53.9%
Unemployed	43.6%	49.7%	27.3%	29.4%
Not in labor force	63.9%	60.8%	48.3%	43.7%
Under 65	49.8%	52.4%	31.9%	35.2%
Over 65	77.9%	72.8%	64.7%	55.7%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

- The slightly higher turnout levels among women are driven by the comparatively high turnout among women clerical workers, who are a substantial part of women in the work force. Women in lower paid service jobs, however, turned out at a very low rate in 1994, which is consistent with our findings that lower-wage women and younger non-college women are among the angriest and most alienated from the political system.

(1994)	Registered		Voted	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Executive/admin.	73.7%	75.0%	59.2%	56.9%
Professional	75.5%	78.4%	62.0%	62.4%
Technicians	67.6%	66.5%	52.2%	44.3%
Sales	66.1%	61.2%	49.6%	40.5%
Clerical	65.7%	70.5%	45.6%	51.4%
Service	52.1%	50.8%	36.3%	31.6%
Farm, forest, fish	56.2%	69.0%	40.0%	49.7%
Skilled and crafts	54.1%	53.6%	37.1%	31.8%
Other laborers	47.3%	50.3%	27.5%	29.0%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Why are women important targets?

Summary: Women are important targets because in the past four years they have been volatile both in partisanship and in turnout. In 1994, women were less Democratic than they had been in the past, and turnout -- particularly among women without a college-education -- was unusually low. In early 1996, women have re-emerged as strongly Democratic and focused on economic issues, but continue to evince an anger that makes turnout levels uncertain.

- Women are critical to the outcomes of the 1996 elections. In the past, women have been crucial to Democratic victories, supporting Democrats by an average 8-point margin (12-points among non-college educated women), and surpassing turnout by Democratic men. In 1994, the Democrats lost both these advantages. According to exit polls, while white women voted Democratic in congressional races by a margin of 51 to 49 percent in 1992, they voted Republican by a margin of 53 to 47 percent in

1994. They shifted, in other words, from a 2-point advantage for Democrats to a 6-point advantage for Republicans.

- Currently, the gender gap is again substantial. In the first poll of the Emily's List *Women's Monitor* (April 1996), women identified themselves as Democratic by a 16-point margin (54 % to 38%), supported Clinton by a 19-point margin (57% to 38%), and planned to vote Democratic in their congressional race by a 13-point margin (50% to 37%). In contrast, men identified Republican overall (47% to 43%), they supported Clinton by a narrower 6-point margin (51% to 45%), and they leaned Republican in congressional races (47% to 41%):
- Retired women have swung massively Democratic. They now give Clinton a 33-point margin in a two or three-way race against Dole and support the generic Democratic candidate for Congress by 20-points. Working women and women in union households are also key to Democratic fortunes. Women in union households give Clinton a 36-point advantage and vote Democratic for Congress by 28-points. Working women give Clinton a 21-point advantage and gave the Democrats for Congress a 14-point advantage.
- The women who are least likely to vote are also among the most likely to vote Democratic. Women who are "drop-off voters" -- that is, people who voted in 1992 but stayed home in 1994 -- identify with the Democratic party by a margin of 18-points (55% to 37%), they support Clinton by a substantial 33-point margin (64% to 31%), and they plan to vote Democratic for Congress by a 20-point margin (52% to 32%).

	Women	Drop-off women	Men
Democrats	54	55	43
Republicans	38	37	47
<i>Margin</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>-4</i>
Clinton	57	64	51
Dole	38	33	45
<i>Margin</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>6</i>
Democrat for Congress	50	52	41
Republican for Congress	37	32	47
<i>Margin</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>-6</i>

Source: Greenberg Research and Lake Research for Emily's List, 4/96.

- The challenge is bringing these women back into the electorate. Exit polls in 1994 suggested that these "drop-off voters" were disproportionately women without a college education (48% according to polling by Greenberg), and our subsequent research for Emily's List on non-college women confirmed first, that these women were (and are) among the angriest and most alienated from politics, and second, that their failure to vote had more to do with anger than apathy. Similarly, in our January research for *The Ladies' Home Journal*, four in ten women who are not registered to vote said that they don't believe that voting makes a difference (23%) or that they are so angry they do not want to vote (17%). A third of them do not trust any party to help their families or address the problems most important to them, a third are not sure they will vote in 1996, and a solid majority would like different candidates. **There is no guarantee these voters will come out to vote in November. They will need to hear the right message and believe that candidates care about them and their families.**

	Percent of women who agree	
	Drop-off voters	Consistent voters
These days, it doesn't seem like elections really change anything.	61%	53%
Usually, you can't trust the government or elected officials to do what is right.	62%	54%
I often feel that the politicians don't really listen to people like me.	75%	71%

Source: Lake Research and Martilla & Kiley for Emily's List, 7/95.

The mood and issue context for women

Summary: Women voters are pessimistic about the direction of the country, worried about their families' future, alienated by the apparent failure of government and the political system to respond to their concerns. Over two thirds of women (68%) say they believe the country is going in the wrong direction. When asked to describe in one word their feelings about the country, they say "pissed off," "depressed," "disappointed," "sad," "frustrated," "scared" and "anxious."

Women also feel economically marginal, and they respond powerfully to issues of economic security, particularly health care, retirement, and education issues. They have a diverse set of concerns, including the economy and jobs (17%), retirement and Social Security (16%), crime and drugs (13%), education (12%), health care (12%) and moral decline (12%). Over two

thirds of women (69%) also say they are worried and concerned about what the next five years will be like for themselves personally. They feel short of time and money.

More than men, children are the critical filter for women, as they are motivated more by concerns for their children's future than for themselves. Women are also far more activist in their approach to government than men, approving of a much larger role for government. At the same time, women have deep concerns about moral issues, and respond strongly to values-oriented language.

- Economic security. Women personally feel more economically marginal than men, and women without a college education are among the most pessimistic about the economy. In our January poll for *U.S. News and World Report*, a plurality of non-college women believed the economy is in recession (40%), and only one in ten saw the economy as expanding (13%). In contrast, at the other extreme, a plurality of college-educated men (39%) saw the economy as expanding, while just 17% said it was in recession. (College-educated women fell in between, with 25% seeing expansion and 27% seeing recession.)

		Expanding	Stagnating	Recession
Women	College educated	25%	38%	27%
	Non-college	13%	32%	40%
Men	College educated	39%	39%	17%
	Non-college	21%	40%	30%

Source: Lake Research and The Tarrance Group for *U.S. News and World Report*, 1/96

Women's economic concerns are also quite personal. In our focus group research, women consistently express a sense of being on the edge and precariously balanced. One woman's comment is typical of what we hear powerfully and constantly: "It seems like you just can't get ahead. You do one thing, and it just seems like...something happens or you run into something. The money just doesn't go far enough any more. I pay for five kids so it is really hard to make it stretch. When the car breaks, we are completely finished."

Women's major concern, therefore, is economic security, driven by anxiety about money, health care, and retirement. Health care and retirement are particularly intense concerns of women 50-64 who fear that Social Security and Medicare will not be there when they retire, and that they are too old to start planning on their own right now. Indeed, these concerns are particularly intense among older homemakers and have moved these women Democratic for the first time in years. These issues, as well

as government waste, generated the most intense levels of concern in our January *Ladies' Home Journal* poll, with a majority saying they worry "all the time" about the following:

Social Security and Medicare being there when you retire	57%
Being able to make ends meet	56%
Having affordable health insurance for your family	54%
Taxes eating up too much of your family's income	54%
Government wasting too much of your money	53%
Having a secure retirement	52%

Women's personal concerns center above all on money. "Being able to make ends meet" is a central concerns for all but the most affluent women and is closely related to income. Worrying about money is closely connected for women to worrying about such things as affording college (45%), having enough time with family (42%), losing a job (34%), finding affordable child care (23% overall, but 49% for younger women) and having a job that pays well with good benefits (45%).

In addition, non-college women especially agree that "it's getting harder and harder for middle-class families to survive" (93% in our 1995 poll for Emily's List) and that "the American dream is almost impossible for the average family to achieve" (72%).

Importantly, for women, economic security is about much more than simply having a job. In fact, women are less fearful about someone in their family losing a job (34% worry all the time) than about having a job that pays well and has good benefits (45%), and they worry less about either of these than about health care and retirement security. "Personally, I'm worried about retirement," one woman told us. "I'll be working at 7-11 when I'm 75. Is the government going to take care of me then? I'm not so sure."

Education is also a powerful issue for women, representing their top solution to a bad economy. Education carries powerful symbolism. In addition to representing economic security, it represents respect and independence, and they see education as key to their children's future. Women perceive education as a major part of the solution to both the economic and moral crises their children face. Almost half of women worry a lot about the quality of education children are getting (48%), which is a particularly intense concern of mothers of young children (58%) and working moms (59%). Despite the fact that in the past women have seen education as mostly a state and local concern, women now place education as their top priority for the President as well.

- Values. Women have powerful concerns with values, and they prefer an activist role for government on promoting values as well as on promoting economic security: 51% believe that "government should do more to promote traditional values," while just

37% believe that government should not favor one set of values over another (*Ladies' Home Journal*, 1/96). Older women are the most likely to look to government to promote values. In fact, while younger Republican women are much more likely than younger Democratic women to believe that the government should promote values, there is no difference between older Democratic women and older Republican women on this question:

	Gov't should do more to promote values	Gov't should not favor one set of values over another
Younger women		
Democrats	39%	55%
Republicans	60%	35%
Older women		
Democrats	54%	33%
Republicans	55%	36%

Source: Lake Research and American Viewpoint for *The Ladies' Home Journal*, 1/96.

Indeed, conservatives have a great deal to say to women about values. For women, an increasingly violent society, their children's safety, and economic issues are closely intertwined. Women believe the economic crisis and the moral crisis in this country are closely related. Economic struggles force parents to work long hours, keeping them away from their children and unable to protect them or teach them the right values. Women are desperate for ways to reduce violence, protect their children, and return to a world where families are more stable and secure. Indeed, a majority of women believe that "women do not necessarily have more choices now, because these days more women have to work, whether they want to or not (54% among women overall and 56% among working women), and fewer believe that "women are better off today than they used to be, because they have more job options and have a real choice of whether they want to work outside the home" (41%).

This is the context in which women center their concerns about crime. No longer is crime mainly about personal victimization for women; instead, crime and violence are broad moral issues, and issues which directly concern their children. Thus, it is juvenile crime, the symbol of guns in the schools, and sex and violence in the media

which raise women's strongest concerns. In our poll for *The Ladies' Home Journal*, majorities of women worried "all the time" about each of these:

Rising juvenile crime and crime rates	54%
Guns in schools threatening our children	54%
Too much sex and violence in the media	51%
Declining family values and morals	48%

- Role of government.** One of the biggest gender gaps between women and men is their difference of opinion on the role of government. Women believe that "the government can help people, and needs to be made to work for average working families" (52%) over the alternative, that "government is the problem, not the solution to our problems" (32% in our January poll for *The Ladies' Home Journal*). Similarly, women believe that "government should do more to solve national problems" (49%), rather than "government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals" (39%). In contrast, men believe "that government is the problem, not the solution to our problems" (53% in our July 1995 poll for *U.S. News and World Report*).

	Women	Men
Government <u>can</u> help people, and needs to be made to work for average working families.	52%	32%
Government is the problem, not the solution to our problems.	37%	53%

Source: Women - Lake Research and American Viewpoint for *The Ladies' Home Journal*, 1/96; Men - Lake Research and the Tarrance Group for *U.S. News and World Report*, 7/95.

Women also tend to be government activists when it comes to policy preferences, preferring solutions that require spending and that directly improve people's lives. For example, in our *Ladies' Home Journal* poll, women prefer "increasing jobs, wages and benefits" (51%) over "creating an environment where businesses can thrive" (42%). They prefer "trying to do something about the underlying social problems, like jobs and schools, that are associated with crime" (52%) over "doing more to arrest and put away criminals who commit violence crimes (34%).

Women's approach to spending differs most clearly from men's when it comes to the federal deficit and their reactions to the GOP Congress. By a large margin, women prefer "getting the budget balanced gradually, so we don't hurt people or the economy by cutting programs too quickly" (61%) over "getting the budget balanced as quickly as possible so that our children are not burdened with debt and to help the economy" (28%). Thus, when it comes to evaluating the GOP Congress, women are more likely than men to feel that they are going too far. In our work for the '96 Project, a

plurality of swing women identified "going too far in cutting programs" as their biggest concern about the Republican Congress (28%), compared to just 18% among men. This was an even more dominant concern for senior women (33%), non-college women (32%), and it was a higher concern for union women (27%) than union men (19%).

	They have gone too far in trying to cut social programs	They have not gone far enough in reforming gov't to save taxpayers' money
Non-college women	61%	24%
College-educated women	52%	30%
Non-college men	50%	37%
College-educated men	38%	48%

Source: Lake Research for The '95 Project, 8/95

Thus, while both men and women agree that government is not helpful to their families now (61%) and that government is too intrusive (75%-78%), women would like to see something different -- a government that does help -- while men are more inclined to rule out government-driven solutions.

- Role of business. Although women are clearly more likely than men to believe that government can help solve problems, they too are disillusioned with government and don't believe that it is effectively solving the problems that families are facing. In addition to wanting more from government, women have also begun to ask and expect more from their employers. Women now see businesses as a partner in solving the problems that confront working class families. For example, women look to businesses to provide child care and leave options, to provide a more flexible work schedule, and to provide opportunities for education and training. In fact, many of these women suggest that companies have an obligation to help employees pay for training and education and that helping employees further their education and training would be both good for business and good for families. As one focus group participant argued, businesses "could invest more in training employees so they could keep them as opposed to laying them off" because "they have the money."

The contours of the women's electorate

Summary: Politically, women voters vary significantly by both age and work status. In our last Battleground poll, the differences were particularly stark -- older women were more likely to support Clinton (27 points) than younger women (11 points), working women were more likely to support Clinton (25 points) than women who were not working (16 points). In our recent *Women's Monitor* poll for Emily's List, along with Greenberg Research we identified fifteen distinct audiences as follows:

- **Democratic women:** Within the women's electorate, the most Democratic groups are older women, particularly retired women and non-college women over the age of 50, single women (not retired), minority women, Catholic women, and women in union households. Current Democratic support among retired women and non-college women nearing retirement is particularly notable. These voters are giving both the President and the Democrats running for Congress explosive levels of support -- stronger margins than ever -- and likely lies in the crystallization of Medicare and retirement issues. Moreover, these women are determined to vote and are the most likely to say that "the campaign makes me want to vote" (79%).

	Democratic audiences		
	Partisanship	Presidential vote	Congressional vote
Minority	+62	+54	+48
Union households	+31	+39	+28
Retired	+22	+33	+20
Single and not retired	+19	+29	+26
Non-college, not retired, over age 50	+19	+20	+18
Catholic	+18	+25	+16

Source: Greenberg Research and Lake Research for Emily's List, 4/96

- **Swing women voters:** Currently, the most volatile women voters are younger non-college women, women in lower-wage occupations, suburban women, middle income women, and professional women.

The political dynamics of younger non-college and lower-wage women, however, are very different than the dynamics for suburban, middle-class, and professional women. For younger non-college and lower-wage women, the volatility of their vote lies in their economic anxiety and anger at the political system. Lower-wage women, for

example, are among the most likely to see the economy as offering more instability than opportunity (52%). In contrast, suburban and professional women combine a more Republican partisan tilt with strong support for Clinton over Dole. These women are somewhat more conservative on deficit issues, but liberal on social issues (suburban women, for example, are among the most strongly pro-choice -- 65%).

	Swing audiences		
	Partisanship	Presidential vote	Congressional vote
Younger non-college	+13	+13	+10
Lower wage	+6	+7	+10
Suburban	+3	+18	+4
Middle-income	+2	+12	+7
Professional	0	+18	-1

Source: Greenberg Research and Lake Research for Emily's List, 4/96

- Republican women: The most Republican women voters are southern white women, homemakers, married moms, and devout evangelicals. The biggest news about this set of voters is how weakly committed they are. Only among devout evangelicals does the Republican margin exceed 10 points, and these women are among the most likely to say that they are thinking of not voting (32%).

Married mothers are one of the Republican party's top stated targets, and the Republicans are clearly making inroads. These voters are among the most likely to favor the Republicans on the economy and taxes (16 and 19 points respectively), and they are responsive to messages about values.

	Republican audiences		
	Partisanship	Presidential vote	Congressional vote
Southern white	-1	-5	0
Homemakers	-3	-1	-2
Married moms	-4	-6	-5
Devout evangelical	-16	-16	-13

Source: Greenberg Research and Lake Research for Emily's List, 4/96

Framing messages for women

- Messages for women are most effective when framed in terms of their children's future. Indeed, women are rarely motivated to vote or participate politically for themselves; they are far more motivated by their children. Americans believe that their children's future is uncertain (majorities believe that the next generation will not be better off), and our messages should focus on the things we need to do to create a more secure future for them -- a future where education is available, where education will lead to a job, where jobs pay decent wages and provide decent benefits that allow people to raise children and retire securely. Finally, non-college women and younger women in particular want to invest in children.
- Women are also very concerned about the culture of violence and how it impacts children and families. Women across the ideological spectrum worry about domestic violence, child abuse, juvenile crime, and sex and violence on television. They want political leadership that is as disgusted about those issues as they are. They want policies based in reinforcing and teaching values that will help turn the tide on the erosion of values, family and community.
- The strongest messages are focused on economic security -- particularly "family economic security." Such messages appeal to both college and non-college women, all of whom worry about their families getting ahead, achieving security, and ensuring a good future for their children. A majority of women believe that the next generation of America's children will be worse off (not better off) than their parents and they feel that is a fundamental violation of the American dream. In addition, non-college women respond to populist economic themes which talk about putting average people and middle class families ahead of the wealthy and powerful special interests.
- More than anything a message of economic security needs to focus on "pocketbook economics" -- that is the money people need to meet rising prices, pay for health care

and retirement, and pay for education. Working women respond to the ideas that "more and more families are just one paycheck away from disaster and increasingly that paycheck is a woman's." Women believe that their paychecks and their husbands' paychecks are not able to keep up with the rising prices even when they get raises. that the middle class is disappearing, and that few political leaders seem to care.

- Style and tone matter as much in an effective message as substance. Women respond to the economic conversation that would occur around their kitchen tables rather than on a C-SPAN seminar. They respond to personal stories and parochial language. They want to know that the speaker is in touch with average people's lives and knows the cost of milk, gas, and tennis shoes for children.
- Union women are in a good position to deliver a message to other working women. Female union members tend to be among the most Democratic of voters, but are also persuasively working and average women. Thus, they could appeal to women who are undecided or unsure. Since women respond well to everyday people that they can relate to, an appeal made by union women to working women outside the labor movement should be made based on issues which these two groups have in common. For example, both union women and non-union women share similar struggles in their life with combining work and family, making ends meet, worrying about a health care crisis and a secure retirement. Non-union women are often negative about labor unions, but union women can be effective organizing points for the voices of mothers, workers and average families.

Delivering the message to women voters

- Women, as well as men, are extremely suspicious of anything which appears political or partisan. For swing voters in particular, their enemy is neither the Democrats nor the Republicans, but rather Congress generally. They believe that Congress puts partisanship ahead of good policy, and they are extremely resentful of this. Therefore, the most credible messengers for delivering a message to women voters are independent and *non-partisan* (rather than *bipartisan*), and they come from outside of Washington, D.C. In addition, they have agendas that put people ahead of abstract principle. We have found that women respond particularly well to spokespeople who seem like everyday people who they can relate to. They also like coalitions that they think are citizen-based. Women are particularly responsive to groups like the League of Women Voters, consumer groups, pediatricians, nurses, teachers, etc.

In general, women remember ads with a women's voice over ads with men's voices. They particularly remember ads that begin with a women's voice. At the same time, women find male announcers more persuasive in delivering facts and attacks.

- We know from survey data that women get most of their information from television, and less from radio. Nevertheless, 90% of women listen to drive time radio. According to Arbitron data, women are most likely to listen to radio stations which play adult contemporary music, soft rock and oldies. In terms of television, women are heavy watchers of national news, local news and CNN. Older and non-college women are much more likely to watch local news than they are national news because they believe national news is depressing and distant, whereas local news is relevant to their lives and about communities. According to Arbitron data, women are heavy viewers of daytime soaps, daytime talk shows and they tend to watch prime time shows such as ER, Seinfeld, and Cybil. In fact, prime time television audiences are now 65% female because men are much more likely to be watching cable television and sports events. Nevertheless, women are extremely busy, and as Barbara Mikulski says, "they are not prime time viewers, they are on my time viewers," meaning that they have to view television when they have the time. Likewise, women are also much more likely to be doing other things when they are watching television than are men. Women are also very heavy mail order catalog users. Sixty-five percent read mail order catalogs regularly. We may not have figured out how to reach women through the mail, but J.C. Penny certainly has.
- Given the busy, active lives that women lead, it's not surprising that they are often difficult to reach using the traditional communication methods. Thus, reaching women voters may require a targeted and creative strategy which goes beyond traditional communication methods. We need to go where women are likely to be and advertise in the arenas that they come in contact with in their daily lives. As one woman said, "When I am not at work, I live my life at the grocery store, at the break room, at the day care center, and at the ladies room. If you want to find me, you have to work there." For example, one could take advertisements out in popular women's magazines; buy space in local supermarket coupon books; or hang posters on bulletin boards in shopping malls, grocery stores and day care centers and work break rooms. These women are busy, so for us to be successful, we must find them where they live

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96

THE DECIDING VOTE

What Is the Women's Vote Project?

The **Women's Vote Project** was initiated by a coalition of 118 national women's organizations, called the Council of Presidents, in reaction to the steady decline in women's voting participation in recent years. The goal of the Project is to dramatically increase the number of women who vote in the 1996 election, and in so doing, to ensure that the issues of greatest concern to women -- across both political parties -- are put at the top of our nation's and states' political agendas.

The project will especially focus on reaching low and lower-middle income women who make up such a large majority of non-voting women. All efforts of the Project are nonpartisan and noncandidate-based and focus on encouraging women to make their own choices at the polls based on the issues of concern to them.

What Are the Project's Activities?

The project includes a **media message campaign** that consists of public service announcements for television, radio, and print publications in English and Spanish; a voter registration campaign; and a get-out-the-vote campaign. The project's media message campaign is being implemented nationally and was officially launched in November 1995 with placement of the PSA in People magazine and on Washington Metropolitan Transit Authority buses. The project's media partners include People, Working Mother, Working Woman, Latina Style, Essence, Country Living, Colonial Homes, and Vista magazines; Pacifica News Radio, Paramount-Viacom, Capital Cities/ABC, Univision Television, Lifetime Television; and public transit authorities in seven major metropolitan areas. In addition to a national media message campaign, the project has identified eleven "target" states -- based on research examining women's historical voting participation across the states -- in which it is mounting **intensive registration and get-out-the-vote efforts**. These states include **Massachusetts, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Colorado, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Missouri**. In each of these eleven Target States, the Women's Vote Project will be implemented by broad, local coalitions of women's organizations and individual women whose work will be coordinated by the project's State Coordinators. The project is also being implemented within up to ten Affiliate Sites throughout the country.

How Is The Project Funded?

The Women's Vote Project is a 501(c)(3) non-profit project, and all parts of the project adhere to the non-partisan, non-candidate based requirements of this tax status. The project is funded through the generous support of a wide variety of corporate and private foundations and labor unions. All public service announcements are placed on a pro-bono basis.

What Is The Structure Of The Project?

Leadership for the project is provided by the Women's Vote Project Administrative Committee, chaired by Irene Natividad, Chair of the National Commission on Working Women.

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The Administrative Committee is composed of the Presidents of eighteen of the 118 organizations making up the Women's Vote Project '96. Additional leadership is provided by the project's Grassroots Committee, co-chaired by Cindy Marano, Executive Director of Wider Opportunities for Women, and Gloria Johnson, President of the Council of Labor Union Women; by the project's Media Message Committee, co-chaired by Harriett Woods, former President of the National Women's Political Caucus, and Marcella Rosen, President of the Deciding Vote; and by the project's Women's Vote Day Committee, co-chaired by Audrey Tayse-Haynes, Executive Director of Business and Professional Women USA, and Jeanine Faubion, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The project is managed at the national level by a Staff Coordinator of the Women's Vote Project '96. State-level leadership will be provided within each of the project's target states by Women's Vote Project State Coordinators.

How Can I Become Involved With The Project?

There are three primary ways you can join the project and help make women's voices heard in the '96 elections.

1. If you live in one of the project's Target States or in one of the cities or states which has been designated a Women's Vote Project Affiliate Site, you can become a member of your state's Women's Vote Project coalition. As a member of the project, you will commit to registering and helping to turn out women to vote, and/or assisting in placing the project's public service announcements with your local radio, televisions, and print outlets. If you would like to become a member of your state's Women's Vote Project coalition and assist in either of these two activities, please send a brief letter, indicating what state and city you live in and what activity you are interested in working on, to the Women's Vote Project, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 504, Washington, DC 20036. You can also send your letter via e-mail to wevote96@sprynet.com.
2. If you live in a state that is not a Target or Affiliate Site, you can take responsibility for working with the national Women's Vote Project to place the project's public service announcements with television, radio, and print publications in your city. If you would like to assist in placing the Women's Vote Project public service announcements with your local radio, television, or print outlets, please send a brief letter of interest, indicating what state and city you live in, to Megan Contakes, Media Coordinator, Women's Vote Project, at 1211 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 504, Washington, DC 20036. Your letter can also be sent via e-mail to wevote96@sprynet.com.
3. You can host a Women's Vote Day event on September 7, 1996! On this day, thousands of Women's Vote Day events will be held around the country to bring attention to the importance and potential power of voting to positively affect women's lives and the lives of those they care about; and to raise critical funds for the Project's Get-Out-The-Vote activities. Events will include brownbag lunches, speakers forums, roundtable discussions, and any other format women choose to energize women in their communities. To host a Women's Vote Day event in your home or community, please call 1-888-WEVOTE96 to request a Women's Vote Day "Host Kit".

How Can I Get More Information About The Project?

You can get more information about the project by calling the Women's Vote Project Information Line, at 1-888-WEVOTE96 or 1-202-966-6479.

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96
THE DECIDING VOTE

NEWS RELEASE
March 13, 1996

CONTACT: Lisa Lederer
Sarah Varela
202/371-1999

WOMEN'S GROUPS TARGET TEN STATES
FOR INTENSIVE VOTER REGISTRATION & ACTIVATION IN '96

*New Scorecard On Women's Vote Shows That Women's Turnout
Is Almost 50 Percent Higher In Some States Than Others*

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Releasing data that show that women's voting participation varies dramatically from state to state, a historic coalition of women's organizations today announced ten target states in which it will conduct the most sophisticated voter outreach ever directed at women voters. Designed to make the women's vote the deciding vote in 1996 from local to national elections, *Women's Vote '96* targeted Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Texas for intensive outreach this year.

The nonpartisan campaign is being organized by a record voter outreach coalition of 110 women's organizations. It includes: powerful English- and Spanish-language television, radio and print public service announcements; grassroots activities throughout the country; and a special campaign conducted by Univision Television to reach Latina women.

Women's Vote '96 released a scorecard analyzing the women's vote in every state in the last three presidential elections. "What we found is alarming," said Irene Natividad, Chair of *Women's Vote '96*. "In the last three presidential elections, fewer than two-thirds of eligible women actually went to the polls. There are striking and dramatic disparities from state to state."

The scorecard shows that in 18 states, more than 70 percent of eligible women turned out to vote in the last three presidential elections. The highest marks went to Wisconsin, Connecticut and Utah, in which more than 75 percent of eligible women actually went to the polls in the last three presidential elections. Utah averaged the highest women's turnout in the nation in those elections.

more

Add One

But in nine other states -- Texas, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, North Carolina, West Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and Kentucky -- fewer than 60 percent of women went to the polls in the last three presidential elections. With just 52.5 percent of eligible women voting, Kentucky has the worst women's turnout in the country.

The scorecard also includes other measures of women's voting. Nearly eight million women who were registered to vote in the last three presidential elections did not go to the polls. In Wyoming -- the first state to elect a woman to Congress -- nearly 95 percent of registered women voters actually voted. The other end of the spectrum is North Dakota, where fewer than 80 percent of registered women voted in the last three presidential elections. Women's turnout in Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama is nearly as low as in North Dakota.

Congresswomen Nita Lowey (D-NY) and Connie Morella (R-MD), co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus on Women, voiced strong support for the campaign and its potential impact on women candidates.

Cindy Marano, the *Women's Vote '96* Co-Vice Chair for Grassroots Organizing and Executive Director of Wider Opportunities for Women, said that in each of the ten target states, the coalition will use "the most sophisticated voter outreach tools" to activate women voters, focusing both on women who are not yet registered to vote and on women who are registered but don't vote. Marano said the project will place public service announcements in local print and broadcast media and on buses, reach out to register women at YWCAs and local job training centers, and urge women to vote through phone calls and direct mail. Coalition members also will offer transportation assistance to help women get to the polls, and referrals to candidate information through Project Vote Smart.

more

Add Two

"Seventy-five years after suffragists won women the right to vote, voting is not yet a habit for American women," Natividad said. "We intend to change that. Women's low voter turnout is a symptom of a much broader problem -- a pervasive sense of alienation from government that is more profound now than it was any time in the past. Women today have little faith in government's ability to address their concerns about the economy, education, health care and crime. The women's vote is not a niche vote -- or a special interest vote. It is a majority vote. When women turnout in all our numbers with all our strength, our concerns will finally be at the forefront of the national agenda."

-- 30 --

NOTE: Copies of the new scorecard, **WHERE ARE WOMEN VOTING?**, are available from Sarah Varela or Lisa Lederer at 202/371-1999. Copies of the English- and Spanish-language print and broadcast public service announcements also are available.

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96
THE DECIDING VOTE

WHERE ARE WOMEN VOTING?

**AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S
VOTING PARTICIPATION
BY STATE**

**Women's Vote Project '96
of the
Council of Presidents
Irene Natividad, Chair**

**Laura Good
Researcher**

March 13, 1996

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96

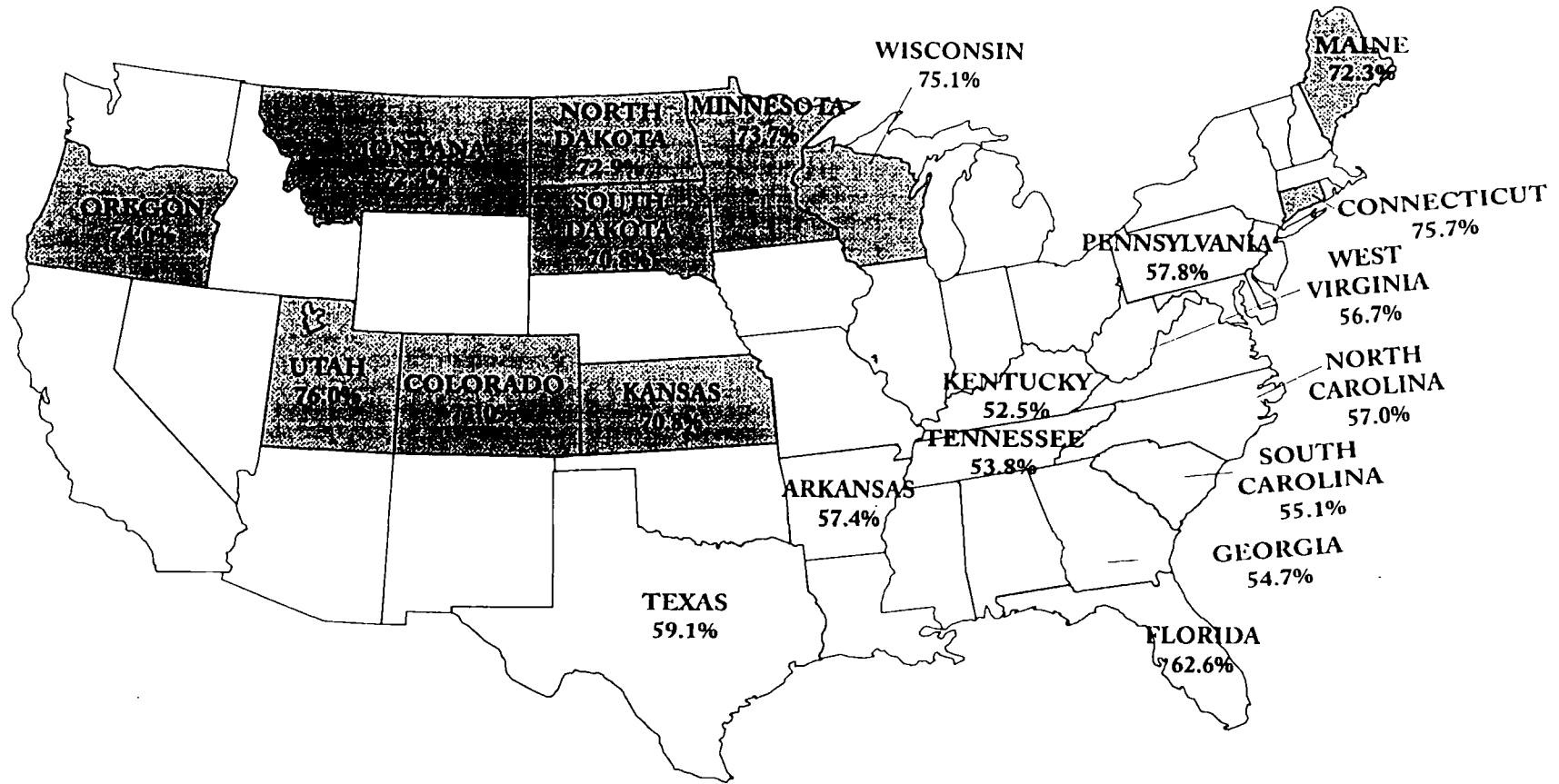
THE DECIDING VOTE

Women's Voting Participation

Highlights

- Over the last three presidential elections, 63.8 percent of eligible women voters went to the polls (see table I).
- The percent of eligible women who voted in these elections, however, varied dramatically across the states. While more than seventy percent of women turned out to vote in eighteen states, in another nine states, just over half of all women voted (see table I).
- In Utah, the state with the highest turnout among women, women voted at an almost fifty percent higher rate than in Kentucky, the state with the lowest turnout among women (see table I).
- While 65.4 million women were registered to vote in the last three presidential election cycles, 7.9 million -- or 12.1 percent -- of these registered women did not actually go out and vote (see table II).
- There was a significant amount of variation across states, however, in the number of women who were registered to vote but did not in fact vote. While in seven states, less than 8 percent of registered women failed to vote, in another twelve states, more than 15 percent of registered women did not go to the polls (see table II).
- The percent of registered women who did not vote in North Dakota -- the state with the highest percentage of women who were registered, but did not vote -- is four times higher than the percent of women who did not vote in Wyoming, the state with the lowest percent of registered women who did not vote (see table II).
- In twenty-eight states, women made up a larger percent of the vote than they did of the population. In these states, women exerted an influence on the elections that exceeded their representation in the population. In another twenty-two states, however, women made up a smaller percent of the vote than they did of the population (see table III)

Percentage of Women Who Voted Over the Last Three Presidential Elections¹ Best and Worst Ten States



■ = BEST 10 states with the highest average percentage of women who voted over the last three presidential elections

□ = WORST 10 states with the lowest average percentage of women who voted over the last three presidential elections

National Average: 63.8%

¹ Women's Vote Project Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data

**Table I: Percentage of Women Who Voted Over Last
Three Presidential Elections**

State By State Ranking

(bottom and top ten in bold)

	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
Utah	1	76.0%	
Connecticut	2	75.7%	
Wisconsin	3	75.1%	
Oregon	4	74.0%	
Minnesota	5	73.7%	
North Dakota	6	72.9%	
Montana	7	72.4%	
Maine	8	72.3%	
Colorado	9	71.0%	
South Dakota	10	70.8%	
Kansas	10	70.8%	
Maryland	11	70.7%	
Washington	12	70.5%	
DC	12	70.5%	
Idaho	13	70.2%	
Rhode Island	14	70.0%	
Iowa	14	70.0%	
Illinois	14	70.0%	
Missouri	15	68.9%	
Louisiana	16	68.6%	
Wyoming	17	68.3%	
Vermont	18	68.2%	
California	19	67.9%	
Arizona	20	67.6%	
New Jersey	21	67.3%	
Alaska	22	66.7%	
Massachusetts	23	66.3%	
Delaware	24	66.2%	
Mississippi	25	65.8%	
New Mexico	26	65.6%	
New York	27	65.5%	
Nebraska	27	65.5%	
Michigan	27	65.5%	
Oklahoma	28	65.1%	
Ohio	29	64.7%	
New Hampshire	30	64.5%	
Hawaii	31	64.2%	
Nevada	32	63.6%	Below U.S. Average
Indiana	33	63.3%	
Virginia	34	62.7%	
Alabama	35	62.7%	
Florida	36	62.6%	
Texas	37	59.1%	
Pennsylvania	38	57.8%	
Arkansas	39	57.4%	
North Carolina	40	57.0%	
West Virginia	41	56.7%	
South Carolina	42	55.1%	
Georgia	43	54.7%	
Tennessee	44	53.8%	
Kentucky	45	52.5%	

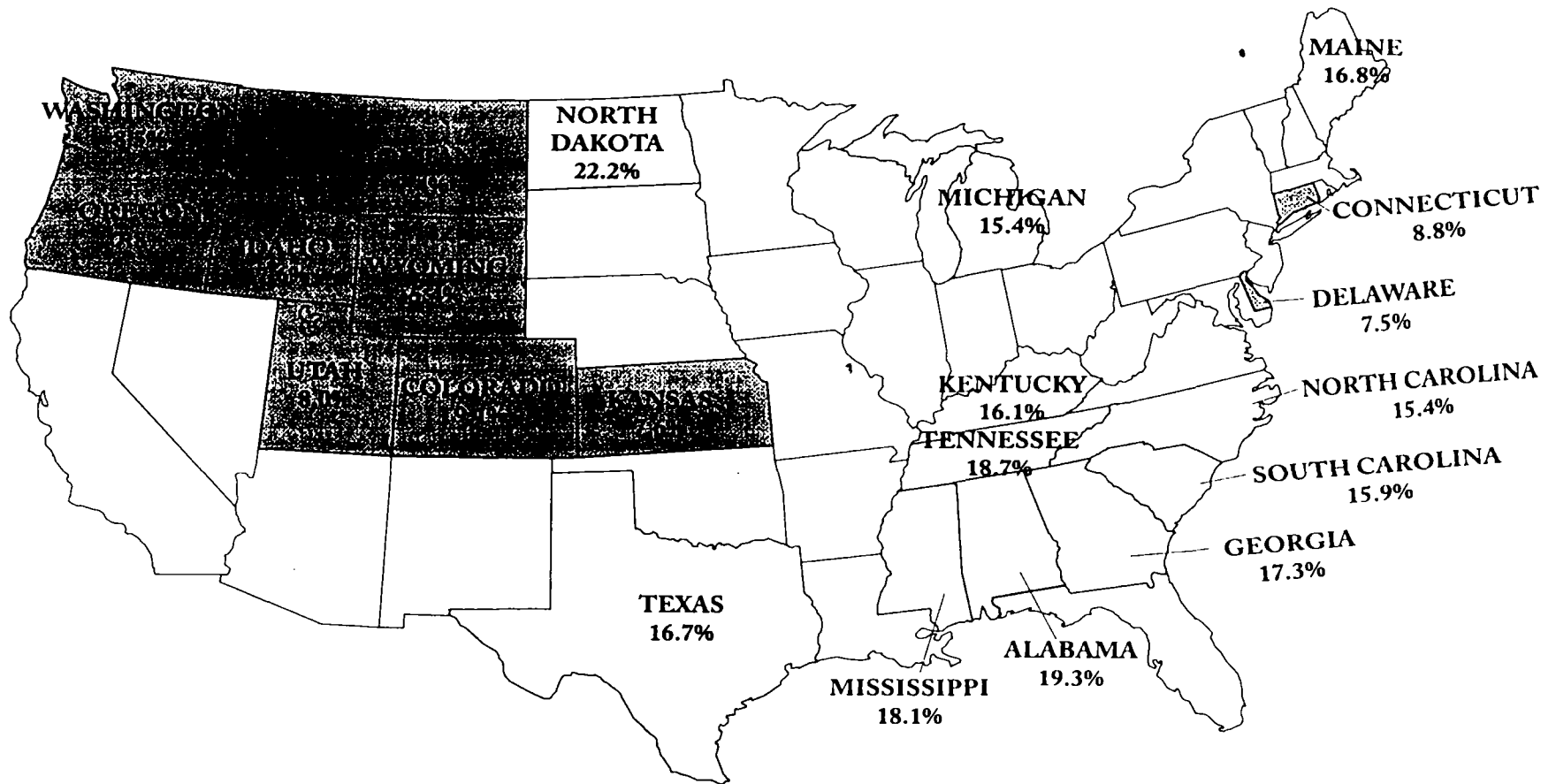
U.S. Average

63.8%

Source: Women's Vote Project Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau Data

Percentage of Women Who Were Registered to Vote But Did Not Vote Over the Last Three Presidential Elections¹

Best and Worst Ten States



 = BEST 10 states with the highest average percentage of women who were registered to vote who did, in fact, vote over the last three presidential elections

 = WORST 10 states with the lowest average percentage of women who were registered to vote who did, in fact, vote over the last three presidential elections

National Average: 12.1%

¹ Women's Vote Project Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data

**Table II: Percentage of Women Who Were Registered to Vote But
Didn't Vote Over Last Three Presidential Elections**

State By State Ranking

(bottom and top ten in bold)

	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Percent Registered Who Didn't Vote</u>	
Wyoming	1	5.4%	
Montana	2	7.4%	
Delaware	3	7.5%	
Idaho	4	7.6%	
Kansas	4	7.6%	
Oregon	5	7.8%	
Utah	6	8.0%	
Washington	7	8.5%	
Connecticut	8	8.8%	
Colorado	9	9.1%	
Indiana	10	9.4%	
Ohio	11	9.6%	
Rhode Island	11	9.6%	
New Hampshire	12	9.8%	
New York	12	9.8%	
Pennsylvania	13	9.9%	
Iowa	13	9.9%	
Maryland	14	10.3%	
Nebraska	15	10.4%	
New Jersey	16	10.8%	
New Mexico	16	10.8%	
California	16	10.8%	
Nevada	17	10.9%	
Virginia	17	10.9%	
Massachusetts	18	11.1%	
Hawaii	19	11.2%	
Illinois	20	11.2%	
Louisiana	20	11.2%	
South Dakota	21	11.3%	
Minnesota	22	11.4%	
Oklahoma	23	11.7%	
Alaska	24	12.2%	Below U.S. Average
Florida	25	12.4%	
DC	26	12.8%	
Missouri	27	13.0%	
Vermont	28	13.0%	
Arizona	29	13.3%	
Wisconsin	30	13.5%	
West Virginia	31	14.0%	
Arkansas	32	15.0%	
North Carolina	33	15.4%	
Michigan	34	15.4%	
South Carolina	35	15.9%	
Kentucky	36	16.1%	
Texas	37	16.7%	
Maine	38	16.8%	
Georgia	39	17.3%	
Mississippi	40	18.1%	
Tennessee	41	18.7%	
Alabama	42	19.3%	
North Dakota	43	22.2%	

U.S. Average

12.1% Source: Women's Vote Project Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau Data

Table III: Extent to Which Women Voted in Proportion to Their Presence in the Population in the Last Three Presidential Elections

State By State Ranking

(bottom and top ten in bold)

	Rank	Percent of Population that are Women Vs. Percent of Total Votes Cast that Were Cast By Women
Nevada	1	+5.7 percentage points
Montana	2	+4.3
Arizona	3	+4.2
Kentucky	4	+3.4
Kansas	5	+2.8
Wyoming	5	+2.8
Nebraska	6	+2.5
Delaware	7	+2.4
Maine	8	+2.3
South Carolina	9	+2.0
Louisiana	10	+1.9
Missouri	11	+1.7
Mississippi	12	+1.5
Arkansas	13	+1.4
New Mexico	14	+1.2
Rhode Island	15	+1.0
Vermont	15	+1.0
Alabama	15	+1.0
Delaware	16	+0.9
California	17	+0.7
West Virginia	17	+0.7
Idaho	17	+0.7
Wisconsin	17	+0.7
New Hampshire	17	+0.7
Michigan	18	+0.5
Iowa	19	+0.5
Texas	20	+0.4
Connecticut	21	0.0
Indiana	22	-0.2
Virginia	23	-0.3
Ohio	24	-0.4
Utah	24	-0.4
Tennessee	25	-0.5
Illinois	26	-0.5
Massachusetts	27	-0.6
New Jersey	28	-0.7
Washington	29	-0.9
New York	29	-0.9
Maryland	29	-0.9
South Dakota	29	-1.2
Oregon	29	-1.2
North Dakota	29	-1.2
Pennsylvania	30	-1.5
Georgia	31	-1.6
Colorado	31	-1.6
Florida	32	-2.0
North Carolina	33	-2.6
Alaska	34	-2.7
Hawaii	35	-5.0
Minnesota	36	-5.2 percentage points

April 3, 1996

Regional, state, and federal governments are essential as sources of ideas, technical support, coordination, and deep pockets to help local civic actors carry through their vision for a better community.

The First Meeting

Keep the first meeting of these diverse people light. The purpose is serious, but this first meeting is a time for getting acquainted.

It's a good idea to have the invitation come from a key community leader whose invitation to a kick-off meeting or party can not be turned down lightly. Community leaders representing the various new civics groups should start by getting familiar with one another; a base level of comfort is essential to the evolution of a dialogue.

Make sure that everyone is prepared to listen and learn from one another. The neighborhood activist, the corporate executive, the elected official, the public employee, and the foundation president must recognize the need to step outside their traditional roles and modes of thought and spend time learning

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96

THE DECIDING VOTE

TARGET STATES

West S. Central

Texas
Arkansas

South Atlantic

Georgia
North Carolina

New England

Massachusetts

Middle Atlantic

Pennsylvania

West North Central

Minnesota

East S. Central

Tennessee
Kentucky

East N. Central

Missouri

Mountain

Colorado

OUTREACH STRATEGY

In each of these eleven states, the project will use a three part outreach strategy to increase women's voting. The project will include large-scale voter stimulation and get-out-the vote initiatives, and will focus both on women who are not yet registered to vote and on those who are registered, but don't vote. State Coordinators will be put in place within each state, and special efforts will be made to reach low- and lower-middle income women who make up such a large percentage of non-voting women.

Voter Stimulation

1. A massive media campaign that includes powerful television, radio, and print public service announcements in both English and Spanish will be launched in each target state. Announcements will remind women that, by voting, they can have an impact on the issues they care about most. Paramount-Viacom, Univision, Lifetime Television, Pacifica Radio, People, Working Women, and Capital Cities/ABC have already agreed to run the spots, which will be distributed widely to print and broadcast outlets throughout the project's target states.

Registration

2. Women who are not yet registered to vote will be registered by broad local coalitions of service organizations in these states -- such as the YMCA, the network of job training centers belonging to Wider Opportunities for Women, displaced homemakers that belong to Women Work!, and literacy and child care centers. These sites will seek to register each of their clients who is not already registered.

In addition to on-sight registration within these service organizations, the project

will identify low-income neighborhoods with historically low voting participation for door-to-door registration drives.

Get-Out-The-Vote

3. **Newly Registered Women.** To make sure each newly registered woman goes to the polls, two follow-up phone calls will be made to each woman reminding them to vote. In states which allow voting-by-mail, callers will provide instructions on how to cast a ballot by mail. Callers will identify women who need transportation to the polls, and vans and other transportation will be provided on election day. Callers will also provide women with a telephone number to contact to get information on candidates' positions on a range issues.

Already Registered Women. Women who are already registered to vote but have not voted over the last several elections will be contacted via direct mail. Letters will stress the importance of voting to the issues women care about most, and will provide a telephone number for women to call to get information on candidates' positions on a wide range of issues. In states which allow voting-by-mail, simple directions on how to cast a ballot by mail will also be included.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Project target states were selected on the basis of three measures of voting strength: the percentage of eligible women who voted over the last three presidential elections; the percentage of women registered to vote who did in fact vote over the last three presidential elections and; the percent of voters who were women compared to the percent of the population who are women.

Additional criteria for the selection of target states included geographic distribution and the presence of strong Council of President member organizations to head up the project's get-out-the vote activities.

For more information, please call Laura Good, National Coordinator, Women's Vote Project, at 202/835-3875.

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96

THE DECIDING VOTE

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96 - STATE COORDINATORS

ARKANSAS

Arkansas Public Policy Panel
Cindy Patterson
c/o Mar-bax Shirt Co.
Highway 345 North
Gassville, AR 72635
501/435-3215
501/435-6211
501/435-2220 FAX

COLORADO

Mi Casa Resource Center for
Women
Rosario C. de Baca
571 Galapago Street
Denver, CO 80204
303/573-130
303/595-0422 FAX

GEORGIA

YWCA of Cobb County
Carol Brantley
366 Fourth Street, NE
Atlanta, GA 30308
404/876-0555
404/874-9300 FAX

KENTUCKY

Kentucky Women Advocates
Virginia Woodward
7403 Covey Place
Louisville, KY 40291
502/564-6643
502/564-2315 FAX

MASSACHUSETTS

Bay State Skills (Acting
Coordinator)
Donna LeClair
101 Summer Street
Boston, MA 02110
617/292-5100
617/292-5105 fax

MINNESOTA

Minnesota Women's Consortium
Bev Swenson
550 Rice Street
St. Paul, MN 55103
612/228-0338
612/292-9417 FAX

MISSOURI

Missouri Women's Political
Caucus Research and Education
Fund
Maureen McGrath
2798 Barrett Station
St. Louis, MO
314/965-4496
314/865-3932 fax

NORTH CAROLINA

YWCA of Wake County
Gwen Moragne
1012 Oberlin Road
Raleigh, NC 27605
919/828-3205
919/828-4072 FAX

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania Women Work!
Mary Pat Brennan
424 George Street
Braddock, PA 15104
412/271-0239
412/271-8281 FAX

TENNESSEE

YWCA of Nashville
Yvonne Wood
405 Westland Road
Lebanon, TN 37087
615/444-9663

TEXAS

Houston

YWCA of Houston
Jane Minton
3621 Willia
Houston, TX 77007
713/868-9922
713/868-5235 FAX

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96
THE DECIDING VOTE

WOMEN'S VOTE PROJECT '96
MEDIA PARTNERS
AS OF JULY 1996

TELEVISION

Capital Cities/ABC
Lifetime
Paramount-Viacom
Univision
WUSA-D.C. (CBS Affiliate)

PRINT

Boston
Colonial Homes
Country Living
Essence
Hearst Publications
Hispanic Magazine
In Style
Latina Style
Ms. Magazine
National Enquirer/Star
People
Redbook
Smart Money
Soap Opera Digest
Vista
Working Mother
Working Woman

RADIO

Pacifica News Radio
KMOX - St. Louis

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

Charlotte Transit System
Chattanooga Area Regional
Transit Authority
City Link (Abilene, TX)
Duluth Transit Authority
Durham Area Transit Authority
El Metro (Laredo, TX)
Massachusetts Bay
Transportation Authority
Metropolitan Council Transit
Operations (Minneapolis, MN)
Sun Metro (El Paso, TX)
Waco Transit System
Washington Metro Area Transit
Authority
Winston-Salem Transit Authority

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: The Woman Politician

Center for the American Woman and Politics

Eagleton Institute of Politics • Rutgers University • New Brunswick, NJ 08901 • (908) 828-2210 • FAX (908) 932-6778

WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS 1996

In 1996, women hold **56**, or **10.5%**, of the 535 seats in the 104th U.S. Congress — **8**, or **8.0%**, of the 100 seats in the Senate and **48**, or **11.0%**, of the 435 seats in the House of Representatives. In addition, one woman serves as the Delegate to the House from Washington, DC.

The **eight** women currently serving in the Senate are: **Barbara Boxer** (D-CA), elected in 1992; **Dianne Feinstein** (D-CA), elected in a special election in November 1992 to serve out the remaining two years in a term and re-elected in 1994; **Kay Bailey Hutchison** (R-TX), elected in a special election in June 1993 to serve out the remaining 18 months of a term and re-elected in 1994; **Nancy Landon Kassebaum** (R-KS), elected in 1978 and re-elected in 1984 and 1990; **Barbara Mikulski** (D-MD), elected in 1986 and re-elected in 1992; **Carol Moseley-Braun** (D-IL), elected in 1992; **Patty Murray** (D-WA), elected in 1992; and **Olympia Snowe** (R-ME), elected in 1994. (See CAWP's fact sheet on Women in the U.S. Senate.)

Forty-eight women from 23 states serve in the House of Representatives; **31** are Democrats and **17** are Republicans. In addition, one Democratic woman serves as Delegate to the House from Washington, DC. (See also CAWP's fact sheet on Women in the U.S. House of Representatives.)

In 1994, 9 (4D, 5R) women were nominated for Senate seats, three (1D, 2R) of whom won. The winners included two incumbents who had originally been elected to fill vacancies and one who ran for an open seat. A record 112* women gained House nominations in 1994; 47 women won their races, including 36 (26D, 10R) incumbents, 8 (4D, 4R) who ran for open seats, and 3 Republican challengers. Of the 47** women who served in the House in 1994, three did not seek re-election, one ran for and won a U.S. Senate seat, one ran for governor and lost her primary, and one retired. Eight (all Democrats) were defeated in the general election, and 36 others won re-election.**

A total of **173** (111D, 62R) women have served in the U.S. Congress to date: **23** (14D, 9R) in the Senate and **154** (99D, 55R) in the House. Four women — **Barbara Boxer** (D-CA), **Margaret Chase Smith** (R-ME), **Barbara Mikulski** (D-MD), and **Olympia Snowe** (R-ME) — have served in both the House and the Senate. In addition, 2 (1D, 1R) women have served as Delegates to the House.

The first woman elected to the House of Representatives was **Jeannette Rankin** (R-MT), who served from 1917 to 1919 and again from 1941 to 1942. The first woman to serve in the Senate was **Rebecca Latimer Felton** (D-GA); appointed in 1922, she served for one day. **Nancy Landon Kassebaum** (R-KS) is the first woman to have been elected to the Senate without having previously filled an unexpired Congressional term; **Barbara Mikulski** (D-MD) is the first Democratic woman to do so.

California has sent more women to Congress than any other state — a total of 19 to date. Seven states have never sent a woman to either the Senate or the House. They are: Alaska; Delaware; Iowa; Mississippi; New Hampshire; Vermont; and Wisconsin.

To date, a total of 20 (18D, 2R)** women of color have served in Congress including: 15** African Americans; two Asian American/Pacific Islanders; and three Latinas. All but one served in the House of Representatives. Elected in 1992, **Carol Moseley-Braun** (D-IL) is the first African American woman to win a major party Senate nomination and the first woman of color ever to serve in the U.S. Senate. Nine African American women currently serve in the House: **Cardiss Collins** (D-IL) who was first elected in 1973; two** who were elected in 1990 — **Barbara-Rose Collins** (D-MI) and **Maxine Waters** (D-CA); five who were elected in 1992 — **Corrine Brown** (D-FL), **Eva Clayton** (D-NC), **Eddie Bernice Johnson** (D-TX), **Cynthia McKinney** (D-GA), and **Carrie Meek** (D-FL); one who was elected in 1994, **Sheila Jackson Lee** (D-TX); and one member who won a special election in March, 1996, **Juanita Millender-McDonald** (D-CA). The first Black woman to serve in Congress was **Shirley Chisholm** (D-NY); elected in 1968, she served until 1983. Three other African American women have served in the House: **Yvonne Brathwaite Burke** (D-CA, 1973-1979), **Barbara Jordan** (D-TX, 1973-1979), and **Katie Hall** (D-IN, 1982-1985). Asian American/Pacific Islander women elected to the House have included: **Patsy Takemoto Mink** (D-HI), who served from 1965-1977 and was re-elected in a special election in September 1990 and in the November 1990, 1992, and 1994 general elections; and **Patricia Saiki** (R-HI, 1987-1991). **Ileana Ros-Lehtinen** (R-FL), elected in a special election in August 1989 and re-elected in the November 1990, 1992, and 1994 general elections, is the first Cuban American (female or male) and the first Hispanic woman ever elected to Congress. First elected in 1992, two additional Latinas serve in the House — **Lucille Roybal-Allard** (D-CA), who is the first Mexican American woman to serve, and **Nydia Velazquez** (D-NY), who is the first Puerto Rican woman to serve.

*This number does not include Eleanor Holmes Norton (D) and Eileen Peterson (D), nominees for Delegate to the House, from Washington DC and the Virgin Islands, respectively.

**In addition, Norton (D), who is African American and was first elected in 1990, currently serves as a Delegate to the House from Washington, DC.

A note to users of our fact sheets: Please credit the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. Additional information from *Women in the United States Congress*, Congressional Research Service.

WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS 1917-1996*

CONGRESS	DATES	WOMEN IN SENATE	WOMEN IN HOUSE	TOTAL WOMEN
65th	1917-1919	0 (OD, OR)	1 (OD, 1R)	1 (OD, 1R)
66th	1919-1921	0 (OD, OR)	0 (OD, OR)	0 (OD, OR)
67th	1921-1923	1 (1D, OR)	3 (OD, 3R)	4 (1D, 3R)
68th	1923-1925	0 (OD, OR)	1 (OD, 1R)	1 (OD, 1R)
69th	1925-1927	0 (OD, OR)	3 (1D, 2R)	3 (1D, 2R)
70th	1927-1929	0 (OD, OR)	5 (2D, 3R)	5 (2D, 3R)
71st	1929-1931	0 (OD, OR)	9 (5D, 4R)	9 (5D, 4R)
72nd	1931-1933	1 (1D, OR)	7 (5D, 2R)	8 (6D, 2R)
73rd	1933-1935	1 (1D, OR)	7 (4D, 3R)	8 (5D, 3R)
74th	1935-1937	2 (2D, OR)	6 (4D, 2R)	8 (6D, 2R)
75th	1937-1939	2 (1D, 1R)* *	6 (5D, 1R)	8 (6D, 2R)
76th	1939-1941	1 (1D, OR)	8 (4D, 4R)	9 (5D, 4R)
77th	1941-1943	1 (1D, OR)	9 (4D, 5R)	10 (5D, 5R)
78th	1943-1945	1 (1D, OR)	8 (2D, 6R)	9 (3D, 6R)
79th	1945-1947	0 (OD, OR)	11 (6D, 5R)	11 (6D, 5R)
80th	1947-1949	1 (OD, 1R)	7 (3D, 4R)	8 (3D, 5R)
81st	1949-1951	1 (OD, 1R)	9 (5D, 4R)	10 (5D, 5R)
82nd	1951-1953	1 (OD, 1R)	10 (4D, 6R)	11 (4D, 7R)
83rd	1953-1955	2 (OD, 2R)	11 (5D, 6R)***	13 (5D, 8R)***
84th	1955-1957	1 (OD, 1R)	16 (10D, 6R)***	17 (10D, 7R)***
85th	1957-1959	1 (OD, 1R)	15 (9D, 6R)	16 (9D, 7R)
86th	1959-1961	2 (1D, 1R)	17 (9D, 8R)	19 (10D, 9R)
87th	1961-1963	2 (1D, 1R)	18 (11D, 7R)	20 (12D, 8R)
88th	1963-1965	2 (1D, 1R)	12 (6D, 6R)	14 (7D, 7R)
89th	1965-1967	2 (1D, 1R)	11 (7D, 4R)	13 (8D, 5R)
90th	1967-1969	1 (OD, 1R)	11 (6D, 5R)	12 (6D, 6R)
91st	1969-1971	1 (OD, 1R)	10 (6D, 4R)	11 (6D, 5R)
92nd	1971-1973	2 (1D, 1R)	13 (10D, 3R)	15 (11D, 4R)
93rd	1973-1975	0 (OD, OR)	16 (14D, 2R)	16 (14D, 2R)
94th	1975-1977	0 (OD, OR)	19 (14D, 5R)	19 (14D, 5R)
95th	1977-1979	2 (2D, OR)	18 (13D, 5R)	20 (15D, 5R)
96th	1979-1981	1 (OD, 1R)	16 (11D, 5R)	17 (11D, 6R)
97th	1981-1983	2 (OD, 2R)	21 (11D, 10R)	23 (11D, 12R)
98th	1983-1985	2 (OD, 2R)	22 (13D, 9R)	24 (13D, 11R)
99th	1985-1987	2 (OD, 2R)	23 (12D, 11R)	25 (12D, 13R)
100th	1987-1989	2 (1D, 1R)	23 (12D, 11R)	25 (13D, 12R)
101st	1989-1991	2 (1D, 1R)	29 (16D, 13R)	31 (17D, 14R)
102nd	1991-1993	4 (3D, 1R)**	28 (19D, 9R)+	32 (22D, 10R)+
103rd	1993-1995	7 (5D, 2R)***	47 (35D, 12R)+	54 (40D, 14R)+
104th	1995-1997	8 (5D, 3R)	48 (31D, 17R)+	56 (36D, 20R)+

* Please note: table shows maximum number of women elected or appointed to serve in that Congress at one time. Some filled out unexpired terms and some were never sworn in.

** A total of three (2D, 1R) women served in the Senate in the 75th Congress, but no more than two served together at any one time. Part of the time two Democrats served together, and part of the time one Democrat and one Republican served together.

*** Does not include a Republican Delegate to the House from pre-statehood Hawaii.

+ Does not include a Democratic Delegate to the House from Washington, DC.

** On election day in 1992, three women served in the Senate; two were elected and one was appointed. On November 3rd, Dianne Feinstein won a special election to complete two years of a term; she was sworn in on November 10, 1992.

*** Includes Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX), who won a special election on June 5, 1993 to serve out the remaining year and one half of a term.

WOMEN IN ELECTIVE OFFICE 1996

In 1996, the number of women in Congress is at a record level; the number of women in the Senate rose from 7 to an all-time high of 8 as a result of the 1994 elections, and the previous record number of women in the House (47) first set in 1993 was topped in March 1996 when a special election added a 48th woman to the House. The number of women in statewide elective executive posts dropped to 83 from the record of 84 set in 1995, while the proportion of women in state legislatures has held steady. Increases in Republican women accounted for most of the gains at all levels since 1994.

CONGRESS In 1996, women hold **56**, or **10.5%**, of the 535 seats in the 104th U.S. Congress — **8**, or **8.0%**, of the 100 seats in the Senate and **48**, or **11.0%**, of the 435 seats in the House of Representatives. In addition, one woman serves as the Delegate to the House from Washington, DC.

Eight women serve in the **Senate**: **Barbara Boxer** (D-CA); **Dianne Feinstein** (D-CA); **Kay Bailey Hutchison** (R-TX); **Nancy Landon Kassebaum** (R-KS); **Barbara Mikulski** (D-MD); **Carol Moseley-Braun** (D-IL); **Patty Murray** (D-WA); and **Olympia Snowe** (R-ME).

Forty-eight women from 23 states serve in the House of Representatives; **31** are Democrats and **17** are Republicans. In addition, one Democratic woman serves as the Delegate to the House from Washington, DC.

STATEWIDE ELECTIVE EXECUTIVE OFFICES In 1996, **83** women hold statewide elective executive offices across the country; women hold **25.6%** of the 324 available positions. Among these women, 35 are Democrats, 45 are Republicans, and 3 were elected in nonpartisan races.

GOVERNORS — 1 (1R)
Christine Todd Whitman (R-NJ)

LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS — 19
(7D, 12R)
Fran Ulmer (D-AK)
Gail Schoettler (D-CO)
M. Jodi Rell (R-CT)
Ruth Ann Minner (D-DE)
Mazie Hirono (D-HI)
Joy Corning (R-IA)
Sheila Frahm (R-KS)
Kathleen Blanco (D-LA)
Kathleen Kennedy Townsend (D-MD)
Connie Binsfeld (R-MI)
Joanne E. Benson (R-MN)
Kim Robak (D-NE)
Rosemarie Myrdal (R-ND)
Elizabeth McCaughey Ross (R-NY)
Nancy P. Hollister (R-OH)
Mary Fallin (R-OK)
Carole Hillard (R-SD)
Olene S. Walker (R-UT)
Barbara Snelling (R-VT)

Attorney General - 9 (5D, 4R)

Secretary of State - 11 (4D, 7R)

State Treasurer - 12 (7D, 5R)

State Comptroller - 3 (2D, 1R)

State Auditor - 4 (4R)

Chief State Education Officials — 11
(2D, 6R, 3NP¹)

Commissioner of Agriculture - 1 (1D)

Commissioner of Insurance - 3 (2D, 1R)

Commissioner of Labor - 1 (1R)

Railroad Commissioner - 1 (1R)

Commissioner of Public Lands - 1 (1D)

Corporation Commissioner - 2 (2D)

Public Service Commissioner - 3 (2D, 1R)

Public Utilities Commissioner - 1 (1R)

¹ NP = election was nonpartisan.

STATE LEGISLATURES In 1996, **1,542**, or **20.8%**, of the 7,424 state legislators in the United States are women. Women hold **343**, or **17.3%**, of the 1,984 state senate seats and **1,199**, or **22.0%**, of the 5,440 state house seats. The number of women serving in state legislatures has increased five-fold since 1969 when 301, or 4.0%, of all state legislators were women. The ten states with the **highest percentages** of women state legislators are:

<u>State</u>	<u>% Women</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>% Women</u>
Washington	39.5	New Hampshire	29.7
Nevada	34.9	Oregon	28.9
Colorado	33.0	Maryland	28.7
Arizona ¹	30.0	Kansas	27.9
Vermont ¹	30.0	Idaho	27.6

COUNTY GOVERNING BOARDS In 1988, in the 47 states which have county governing boards, women held **1,653**, or **8.9%**, of the 18,483 available seats across the country.² Between 1975 and 1988, the number of women serving at the county governing board level more than tripled, rising from 456 in 1975, to 1,653 in 1988.

MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS In January 1995, among the 100 largest cities in the U.S., **17** have women mayors. In order of city population,³ the mayors are: **Susan Golding** (San Diego, CA - 6th largest city); **Susan Hammer** (San Jose, CA - 11th); **Kay Granger** (Fort Worth, TX - 28th); **Vera Katz** (Portland, OR - 30th); **Beverly O'Neill** (Long Beach, CA - 31st); **Meyera E. Oberndorf** (Virginia Beach, VA - 33rd); **M. Susan Savage** (Tulsa, OK - 41st); **Roxanne Qualls** (Cincinnati, OH - 46th); **Sharon Sayles Belton** (Minneapolis, MN - 47th); **Elma Broadfoot** (Wichita, KS - 51st); **Jan Laverty Jones** (Las Vegas, NV - 54th); **Mary Rhodes** (Corpus Christi, TX - 62nd); **Pam Miller** (Lexington-Fayette, KY - 70th); **Joan Darrah** (Stockton, CA - 75th); **Carolyn Allen** (Greensboro, NC - 87th); **Eileen Givens** (Glendale, AZ - 97th); **Glenda Hood** (Orlando, FL - 100th). In March 1995, of the 972 mayors of U.S. cities with populations over 30,000, **177**, or **18.2%**, are women.⁴

According to the National League of Cities (NLC), in June 1994, of the 21,601 mayors and municipal council members (and their equivalents) serving nationwide in cities with populations over 10,000, **4,513**, or **20.9%**, were women. These figures include: **465**, or **15.8%**, of the 2,947 mayors (and their equivalents); **88**, or **14.8%**, of the 593 council presidents; and **3,960**, or **21.9%**, of the 18,061 council members (and their equivalents). (Please note: NLC data include 352 member cities with populations under 10,000; there were 413 women among the 2,217 elected officials in these cities.)

In 1985, women comprised **14.3%** of all mayors and municipal council members (and their equivalents) in the states for which complete data were available. There were **14,672** women elected to these posts out of a total of 102,329 officials.⁵ The percentage of women holding municipal and township offices more than tripled from 1975 to 1985, rising from 4% to 14.3%.

PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN IN ELECTIVE OFFICES

<u>Level of Office</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1996</u>
U.S. Congress	4%	4%	3%	4%	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%	10%	10%	10%
Statewide Elective	10%	10%	11%	11%	11%	14%	14%	14%	18%	22%	26%	26%
State Legislatures	8%	9%	10%	12%	13%	15%	16%	17%	18%	21%	21%	21%
County Governing Boards ¹	3%	4%	5%	6%	8%	8%(1984)	9%	9%(1988)	NA	NA	NA	NA
Mayors & Municipal Councils	4%	8%	10%	10%	NA	14% ⁵	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

¹ States with the exact same percentage (AZ & VT) are given the same rank; since there is a tie, no state is ranked fifth. States which round out to the same figure, but are not exactly the same, are ranked differently.

² The three states without county governing boards are CT, RI, and VT.

³ According to data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

⁴ Source: CAWP. Information was compiled using the United States Conference of Mayors' January 1995 directory, "The Mayors of America's Principal Cities," as the primary reference.

⁵ Includes data from Washington DC. States for which data were incomplete and therefore not included are: IL, IN, KY, MO, PA, WI.

Center for the American Woman and Politics

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WOMEN OF COLOR* IN ELECTIVE OFFICE 1996**CONGRESS, STATEWIDE, STATE LEGISLATURE****CONGRESSWOMEN — 16 (15D, 1R)**

Of the 56 women serving in the 104th U.S. Congress, 15, or 26.8%, are women of color; in addition, an African American woman serves as Delegate to the House from Washington, DC.

African American

Senator Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL)
 Representative Corrine Brown (D-FL)
 Representative Eva Clayton (D-NC)
 Representative Barbara-Rose Collins (D-MI)
 Representative Cardiss Collins (D-IL)
 Representative Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX)
 Representative Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)
 Representative Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)
 Representative Cynthia McKinney (D-GA)
 Representative Carrie Meek (D-FL)
 Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC)
 Representative Maxine Waters (D-CA)

Asian American/Pacific Islander

Representative Patsy Takemoto Mink (D-HI)

Latina

Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)
 Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA)
 Representative Nydia Velazquez (D-NY)

STATEWIDE ELECTIVE EXECUTIVES — 5 (4D, 1R)

Of the 83 women serving in statewide elective executive offices, 5, or 6.0%, are women of color. In 1994, Vikki Buckley (CO) became the first Republican African American woman elected to a statewide office.

African American

Vikki Buckley (R-CO), Secretary of State
 Pamela Carter (D-IN), Attorney General

Latina

Stephanie Gonzales (D-NM), Secretary of State
 Gloria Tristani (D-NM), Corporation Commissioner

Asian American/Pacific Islander

Mazie Hirono (D-HI), Lieutenant Governor

STATE LEGISLATORS — 222 (210D, 9R, 3I)

Of the 1,542 women state legislators serving nationwide, 222, or 14.4%, are women of color. There are 54 senators and 168 representatives; all but 12 (9R, 3Ind.) are Democrats.

African American women hold 165 (160D, 3R, 2Ind.) seats in state legislatures. There are 40 senators and 125 representatives serving in 35 states.

Asian American/Pacific Islander women hold 11 (10D, 1R) seats in state legislatures. There are 5 senators and 6 representatives serving in 3 states (HI, OR, WA).

Latinas hold 38 (35D, 3R) seats in state legislatures. There are 8 senators and 30 representatives serving in 13 states (AZ, CA, CO, CT, FL, IN, MN, NJ, NM, NY, TX, UT, WA).

Native American women hold 8 (5D, 2R, 1Ind.) seats in state legislatures. There are 1 senator and 7 representatives serving in 5 states (AK, GA, MT, NM, WY).

* We use "women of color" when referring to African American, Asian American/Pacific Islander, Latina, and Native American women as a group. We understand that both the terms "women of color" and "minority women" are problematic, but know of no preferable inclusive term.

A note to users of our fact sheets: Please credit the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

STATEWIDE ELECTIVE EXECUTIVE WOMEN 1996

In 1996, **83** women hold statewide elective executive offices across the country; women hold **25.6%** of the 324 available positions.* Among these women **35** are Democrats, **45** are Republicans, and **3** were elected in nonpartisan races.

As a result of the off-year elections in 1995, the number of Democratic women serving in statewide elective executive offices decreased by one.

After the 1994 elections, more Republican than Democratic women served in statewide elective posts. In those elections Republican women increased their numbers by 15, while the number of Democratic women decreased by 4.

As of January 1996, 19 women serve as lieutenant governors, far surpassing the previous record of 11. Other record numbers of women are serving as comptrollers/controllers (3), chief state education officials (11), and public service commissioners (3). In nine states (Alaska, Colorado, Delaware, Hawaii, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, and New Jersey) in 1996, at least one-half of the statewide elective executive posts are held by women. (In New Jersey, the only statewide elective executive position is held by a woman.)

To date, women have been elected statewide to executive offices in 46 of the nation's 50 states. In 1994 women were elected statewide to executive posts for the first time in Alaska, Georgia and Maryland. (In Alaska and Maryland women were elected lieutenant governor on tickets where voters cast one ballot for the governor and the lieutenant governor.) In Maine and New Hampshire, the governor is the only executive elected statewide, and a woman has never served as governor in these states. The other two states where women have never been elected statewide to executive posts are North Carolina and West Virginia.

GOVERNORS

One woman serves as governor in 1996.

Christine Todd Whitman, a New Jersey Republican, defeated the incumbent governor in 1993. Prior to serving as governor, Whitman was appointed president of the New Jersey Board of Public Utilities (a cabinet-level post) in 1988 and served in that position until she resigned in 1990. She previously served in county government for five years, including terms as director and deputy director of the Somerset County governing board.

HISTORY OF WOMEN GOVERNORS

The first woman sworn in as a governor was **Nellie Tayloe Ross** (D) of Wyoming. Ross won a special election to replace her deceased husband and served from 1925 to 1927. **Miriam "Ma" Ferguson** (D), inaugurated as governor of Texas fifteen days after Ross' Wyoming inauguration, served from 1925 to 1927 and again from 1933 to 1935. Both **Lurleen Wallace** (D) of Alabama, who served from 1967 to 1968, and Ferguson were elected as surrogates for their husbands who could not run for re-election. **Ella Grasso** (D) of Connecticut was the first woman governor elected in her own right. She was elected in 1974 and re-elected to a second four-year term in 1978; Grasso stepped down for health reasons in December of 1980. **Dixy Lee Ray** (D), elected in 1976, served as governor of Washington from 1977 to 1981. **Martha Layne Collins** (D) of Kentucky was elected in 1983 and served from 1984 through 1987. **Madeleine Kunin** (D) of Vermont is the only woman governor to have been elected to serve three terms; first elected in 1984, she served from 1985 to 1991. **Kay Orr** of Nebraska was the first Republican woman to have been elected governor and the only woman to have run against another woman for a gubernatorial post; elected in 1986, Orr served from 1987 to 1991. **Rose Mofford**, an Arizona Democrat, became governor in April 1988 following the impeachment and conviction by the legislature of Governor Evan Mecham (R); she served until March 1991. Mofford had been serving as secretary of state when she became governor by constitutional succession. **Joan Finney**, a Kansas Democrat, was the first woman to defeat an incumbent governor; elected in 1990, she served from 1991 to 1995. **Ann Richards** (D), elected in 1990, served as governor of Texas from 1991 to 1995. **Barbara Roberts** (D), elected in 1990, served as governor of Oregon from 1991 to 1995.

To date, a total of 13 (11 Democrats and 2 Republicans) women have served as governors. Of the 13, 9 were elected in their own right. The 4 women who served in 1994 (Finney, Richards, Roberts, and Whitman) were the largest number ever elected to serve simultaneously. In addition, from January to March 1991, 4 women (Finney, Mofford, Richards, Roberts) served simultaneously but Mofford became governor as a result of constitutional succession.

*These figures do not include: officials in appointive state cabinet-level positions; officials elected to executive posts by the legislature; members of the judicial branch; or elected members of university Boards of Trustees or Boards of Education.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS

In 1996, 19 women (7D, 12R) serve as lieutenant governors among the 42 states with such positions, matching the record first set in 1995: Joanne E. Benson (R-MN); Connie Binsfeld (R-MI); Kathleen Blanco (D-LA); Joy Corning (R-IA); Mary Fallin (R-OK); Sheila Frahm (R-KS); Carole Hillard (R-SD); Mazie K. Hirono (D-HI); Nancy P. Hollister (R-OH); Elizabeth McCaughey Ross (R-NY); Ruth Ann Minner (D-DE); Rosemarie Myrdal (R-ND); M. Jodi Rell (R-CT); Kim Robak (D-NE); Gail Schoettler (D-CO); Barbara Snelling (R-VT); Kathleen Kennedy Townsend (D-MD); Fran Ulmer (D-AK); and Olene S. Walker (R-UT).

To date, 41 women have served as lieutenant governors; 38 (22D, 15R, 1ACP¹) were elected and 3 (2D, 1R) were appointed to fill vacancies.

ADDITIONAL WOMEN IN STATEWIDE ELECTIVE EXECUTIVE POSITIONS

State	Name	Party
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ATTORNEY GENERAL - 9 (5D, 4R)

CO	Gale A. Norton	R
DE	M. Jane Brady	R
IN	Pamela Carter	D
KS	Carla J. Stovall	R
ND	Heidi Heitkamp	D
NV	Frankie Sue Del Papa	D
OH	Betty Montgomery	R
UT	Jan Graham	D
WA	Christine O. Gregoire	D

SECRETARY OF STATE - 11 (4D, 7R)

AR	Sharon Priest	D
AZ	Jane Dee Hull	R
CO	Vikki Buckley	R
FL	Sandra B. Mortham	R
IN	Sue Anne Gilroy	R
MI	Candice S. Miller	R
MN	Joan Anderson Growe	DFL
MO	Rebecca M. Cook	D*
NM	Stephanie Gonzales	D
SD	Joyce Hazeltine	R
WY	Diana J. Ohman	R

*Appointed in December 1994 to fill a vacancy.

STATE TREASURER - 12 (7D, 5R)

AL	Lucy Baxley	D
AR	Jimmie Lou Fisher	D
DE	Janet C. Rzewnicki	R
ID	Lydia Justice Edwards	R
IL	Judy Baar Topinka	R
IN	Joyce Brinkman	R
KS	Sally Thompson	D
KY	Frances Jones Mills	D
ND	Kathi Gilmore	D
PA	Catherine Baker Knoll	D
RI	Nancy J. Mayer	R
TX	Martha Whitehead	D

STATE AUDITOR - 4R

AL	Patsy Duncan	R
MN	Judi Dutcher	IR
MO	Margaret Kelly	R
PA	Barbara H. Hafer	R

STATE COMPTROLLER/CONTROLLER - 3 (2D, 1R)

CA	Kathleen Connell	D
CT	Nancy Wyman	D
IL	Loleta A. Didrickson	R

State	Name	Party
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CHIEF STATE EDUCATION OFFICIAL 11 (2D, 6R, 3NP*) (title varies from state-to-state)

AZ	Lisa Graham	R
CA	Delaine Eastin	NP*
GA	Linda Schrenko	R
ID	Anne C. Fox	R
IN	Suellen K. Reed	R
MT	Nancy A. Keenan	D
OK	Sandy Garrett	D
OR	Norma Paulus	NP*
SC	Barbara Nielsen	R
WA	Judith Billings	NP*
WY	Judy Catchpole	R

*Election was nonpartisan.

COMMISSIONER OF INSURANCE - 3 (2D, 1R)

DE	Donna Lee Williams	R
KS	Kathleen Sebelius	D
WA	Deborah Senn	D

COMMISSIONER OF LABOR - 1R

OK	Brenda Reneau	R
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COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE - 1D

ND	Sarah Vogel	D
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COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS - 1D

WA	Jennifer Belcher	D
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RAILROAD COMMISSIONER - 1R

TX	Carole Keeton Rylander	R*
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*Elected in November 1994 to fill an unexpired term.

CORPORATION COMMISSIONER - 2D

AZ	Marcia Weeks	D
NM	Gloria Tristani	D

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER - 3 (2D, 1R)

AL	Jan Cook	D
ND	Susan E. Wefald*	R
TN	Sara Kyle	D

*Appointed in January 1993 and elected in November 1994 to fill an unexpired term.

PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSIONER - 1R

SD	Laska Schoenfelder	R
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¹ACP = A Connecticut Party.

WOMEN IN STATE LEGISLATURES 1996

In 1996, **1,542**, or **20.8%** of the 7,424 state legislators in the United States are women. Women currently hold **343**, or **17.3%**, of the 1,984 state senate seats and **1,199**, or **22.0%**, of the 5,440 state house or assembly seats. Since 1969, the number of women serving in state legislatures has increased five-fold.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Women Legislators</u>	<u>% of Total Legislators</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Women Legislators</u>	<u>% of Total Legislators</u>
1969	301	4.0	1985	1,103	14.8
1971	344	4.5	1987	1,170	15.7
1973	424	5.6	1989	1,270	17.0
1975	604	8.0	1991	1,368	18.3
1977	688	9.1	1993	1,524	20.5
1979	770	10.3	1995	1,532	20.6
1981	908	12.1	1996	1,542	20.8
1983	991	13.3			

The **party breakdown** for women serving in state legislatures in 1996 is:

	<u>Total Legislators</u>		<u>State Senators</u>		<u>State Reps.</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Democrats	851	55.2	193	56.3	658	54.9
Republicans	674	43.7	136	39.7	538	44.9
Nonpartisans*	12	0.8	12	3.5	---	---
Independents	5	0.3	2	0.6	3	0.3
Total	1,542	100.0	343	100.1	1,199	100.1

The ten states with the **highest percentages** of women state legislators are:

<u>State</u>	<u>% Women</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>% Women</u>
Washington	39.5	New Hampshire	29.7
Nevada	34.9	Oregon	28.9
Colorado	33.0	Maryland	28.7
Arizona**	30.0	Kansas	27.9
Vermont**	30.0	Idaho	27.6

The ten states with the **lowest percentages** of women state legislators are:

<u>State</u>	<u>% Women</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>% Women</u>
Alabama	3.6	Pennsylvania	11.9
Kentucky	8.0	South Carolina	12.4
Oklahoma	10.7	Arkansas	12.6
Louisiana	11.1	Tennessee	13.6
Mississippi	11.5	Utah	14.4

In 1894, the first women state legislators were elected to serve in the United States. Three Republican women were elected to the Colorado House of Representatives: Clara Cressingham; Carrie C. Holly; Frances Klock. The first woman state senator, Democrat Martha Hughes Canon, was elected to the Utah State Senate in 1896.***

* In Nebraska, where the legislature is unicameral, legislators are elected on a nonpartisan basis.

** States with the exact same percentage (AZ & VT) are given the same rank; since there is a tie, no state is ranked fifth. States which round out to the same figure, but are not exactly the same, are ranked differently.

*** Source: Utah Governor's Commission for Women.

A note to users of our fact sheets: Please credit the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

WOMEN IN STATE LEGISLATURES 1996

STATE	STATE RANK	SENATE		TOTAL WOMEN/ TOTAL SENATE	HOUSE		TOTAL WOMEN/ TOTAL HOUSE	TOTAL WOMEN/ TOTAL LEGIS.	% WOMEN OVERALL
		D	R		D	R			
AL	50	1	0	1/35	4	0	4/105	5/140	3.6
AK	20	2	2	4/20	4	5 (1 ind)	10/40	14/60	23.3
AZ*	4	3	5	8/30	7	12	19/60	27/90	30.0
AR	43	0	1	1/35	14	2	16/100	17/135	12.6
CA	30	3	1 (1 ind)	5/40	16	3	18/80	23/120	19.2
CO	3	5	5	10/35	12	11	23/65	33/100	33.0
CT	11	4	4	8/36	30	12	42/151	50/187	26.7
DE	25	2	4	6/21	0	7	7/41	13/62	21.0
FL	29	3	3	6/40	20	5	25/120	31/160	19.4
GA	32	6	2	8/56	23	12	35/180	43/236	18.22
HI	28	5	0	5/25	6	4	10/51	15/76	19.7
ID	10	4	3	7/35	5	17	22/70	29/105	27.6
IL	21	5	5	10/59	15	16	31/118	41/177	23.2
IN	23	7	7	14/50	6	13	19/100	33/150	22.0
IA	35	4	6	10/50	7	10	17/100	27/150	18.00
KS	9	3	11	14/40	12	20	32/125	46/165	27.9
KY	49	0	2	2/38	5	4	9/100	11/138	8.0
LA	47	2	0	2/39	11	2 (1 ind)	14/105	16/144	11.1
ME	12	7	3 (1 ind)	11/35	23	15	38/151	49/186	26.3
MD	8	6	1	7/47	36	11	47/141	54/188	28.7
MA*	17	6	2	8/40	27	13	40/160	48/200	24.0
MI	22	2	1	3/38	17	13	30/110	33/148	22.3
MN	13	11	7	18/67	19	13	32/134	50/201	24.9
MS	46	3	0	3/52	14	3	17/122	20/174	11.5
MO	27	0	3	3/34	18	18	36/163	39/197	19.8
MT*	17	7	2	9/50	11	16	27/100	36/150	24.0
NE	14	NONPARTISAN		12/49	UNICAMERAL			12/49	24.5
NV	2	2	3	5/21	9	8	17/42	22/63	34.9
NH	6	3	3	6/24	45	75	120/400	126/424	29.7
NJ*	37	1	0	1/40	7	10	17/80	18/120	15.0
NM	26	6	2	8/42	9	6	15/70	23/112	20.5
NY	34	8	1	9/61	21	8	29/150	38/211	18.01
NC	36	3	3	6/50	7	15	22/120	28/170	16.5
ND	39	5	4	9/49	4	9	13/98	22/147	14.97
OH*	15	3	5	8/33	10	13 1	24/99	32/132	24.2
OK	48	5	2	7/48	6	3	9/101	16/149	10.7
OR	7	4	3	7/30	11	8	19/60	26/90	28.9
PA	45	3	1	4/50	12	14	26/203	30/253	11.9
RI*	17	8	2	10/50	20	6	26/100	36/150	24.0
SC	44	2	1	3/46	8	10	18/124	21/170	12.4
SD	33	4	1	5/35	4	10	14/70	19/105	18.1
TN	42	2	1	3/33	11	4	15/99	18/132	13.6
TX	31	2	2	4/31	18	11	29/150	33/181	18.23
UT	41	1	0	1/29	4	10	14/75	15/104	14.4
VT*	4	5	6	11/30	29	14	43/150	54/180	30.0
VA*	37	6	1	7/40	10	4	14/100	21/140	15.0
WA	1	14	6	20/49	20	18	38/98	58/147	39.5
WV	40	3	2	5/34	10	5	15/100	20/134	14.9
WI*	15	2	6	8/33	15	9	24/99	32/132	24.2
WY	24	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1/30</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>18/60</u>	<u>19/90</u>	<u>21.1</u>
TOTALS		193	136	343/1,984	659	538	1,195/5,440	1,542/7,424	20.8
		(12 nonpartisans) (2 independent)			(3 independents)				

* States with the exact same percentage (AZ & VT = 4; OH & WI = 15; MA, MT & RI = 17; NJ & VA = 37) are given the same rank; since there is a tie, no states are ranked 5th, 16th, 18th, 19th or 38th. States which round out to the same figure (GA & TX; IA & NY; NJ, ND & VA), but are not exactly the same, are ranked differently.

WOMEN CANDIDATES 1996 SUMMARY(Preliminary information - List changes regularly - major party nominations)
as of 7/12/96

Number of states where filing deadlines have passed: 44

Number of states where primaries have been held: 29

US Senate - 17 (8D, 9R)

Filed (primary not yet held)	15	(8D, 7R)
Won Primary	2	(2R)
TOTAL STILL IN THE RUNNING	17	(8D, 9R)

[In addition, 5(4D,1R) women who filed have so far lost primary races for US Senate seats.]

US House - 156 (96D, 60R)*Not included in the totals are 2 Democrats, who have won their primaries for Delegate - 1 from the District of Columbia and 1 from Puerto Rico*

Filed (primary not yet held)	73	(39D, 34R)
Won Primary	64	(45D, 19R)
Not yet filed	19	(12D, 7R)
TOTAL STILL IN THE RUNNING	156	(96D, 60R)

[In addition, 65 (45D, 20R) women who filed have so far lost primary races for US House seats.]

Governor - 8 (3D, 5R)

Filed (primary not yet held)	3	(2D, 1R)
Won Primary	1	(1D)
Not yet filed	4	(4R)
TOTAL STILL IN THE RUNNING	8	(3D, 5R)

[In addition, no women who filed have so far lost primary races for governorships.]

Additional Statewide Elective Executives - 31 (20D, 11R)**7 women currently serving in Congress will not be returning in 1997.** Among them are, Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS), Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-IL), Rep. Blanche Lambert Lincoln (D-AR), Rep. Jan Meyers (R-KS), Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), Rep. Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV), Rep. Enid Greene Waldholtz (R-UT).**RECORD NOMINATIONS:** The previous records for major party nominees are:

- 11 nominees for US Senate (1992)
- 112 nominees for US House (1994 -- including 3 nominees for Delegates)
- 10 nominees for Governor (1994)

A note to users of our information: Please credit the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Center for the American Woman and Politics

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SUMMARY OF WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS 1996*

	Total Filed	U.S. Senate		Total Filed	U.S. House	
		Won	Lost		Won	Lost
AK	1	-	-	2	-	-
AL	2	0	2	1	1	0
AR	0	0	0	0	0	0
AZ	-	-	-	2	-	-
CA	0	0	0	36	24	12
CO	1	-	-	4	-	-
CT	-	-	-	-	-	-
DE	-	-	-	-	-	-
FL	-	-	-	11	-	-
GA	-	-	-	2	-	-
HI	-	-	-	-	-	-
IA	1	0	1	3	2	1
ID	0	0	0	1	1	0
IL	0	0	0	12	4	8
IN	0	0	0	10	4	6
KS	-	-	-	4	-	-
KY	0	0	0	2	1	1
LA	3	-	-	-	-	-
MA	-	-	-	2	-	-
MD	0	0	0	14	2	12
ME	2	1	1	1	0	1
MI	1	-	-	8	-	-
MN	-	-	-	-	-	-
MO	-	-	-	8	-	-
MS	0	0	0	3	0	3
MT	0	0	0	1	0	1
NE	0	0	0	0	0	0
NC	0	0	0	3	2	1
ND	0	0	0	0	0	0
NH	-	-	-	3	-	-
NJ	0	0	0	6	4	2
NM	0	0	0	1	1	0
NV	-	-	-	3	-	-
NY	-	-	-	15	-	-
OH	0	0	0	7	5	2
OK	-	-	-	2	-	-
OR	1	0	1	5	2	3
PA	0	0	0	2	1	1
RI	1	-	-	2	-	-
SC	0	0	0	2	1	1
SD	0	0	0	2	0	2
TN	-	-	-	2	-	-
TX	0	0	0	13	6	7
UT	0	0	0	1	0	1
VA	0	0	0	0	0	0
VT	-	-	-	-	-	-
WA	-	-	-	-	-	-
WI	-	-	-	2	-	-
WV	1	1	0	1	1	0
WY	3	-	-	1	-	-

* States with dashes in any of the columns have not yet had their primaries.

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WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE 1996*

State	Filing Deadline	Primary Date	Office	Dist.	Name and party	Filing Status	GE Seat
AK	06/01/96	08/27/96	US Sen.		Theresa Nangle Obermeyer (D)	Filed	C
	06/01/96	08/27/96	US Rep.	AL	Georgianna Lincoln (D)	Filed	C
	06/01/96	08/27/96	US Rep.	AL	Sybil Skelton (R)	Filed	O?
AL	04/05/96	06/04/96	US Rep.	006	Mary Lynn Bates (D)	Won Pri.	C
AZ	06/27/96	9/10/96	US Rep.	002	Vida Florez (R)	Filed	C
	06/27/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	004	Maria Elena Milton (D)	Filed	C
	06/27/96	09/10/96	Corp. C.		Barbara Sherman (D)	Filed	O
CA	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	001	Michela Alioto (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	004	Katie Hirning (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	006	Lynn C. Woolsey (D)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	008	Nancy Pelosi (D)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	009	Deborah Wright (R)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	010	Ellen O. Tauscher (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	014	Anna G. Eshoo (D)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	016	Zoe Lofgren (D)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	021	Deborah A. Vollmer (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	022	Andrea H. Seastrand (R)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	025	Diane Trautman (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	030	Patricia Jean Parker (R)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	033	Lucille Roybal-Allard (D)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	035	Maxine Waters (D)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	036	Jane Harman (D)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	036	Susan Brooks (R)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	037	Juanita Millender-McDonald (D)	Won Pri.	I
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	042	Linda M. Wilde (R)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	044	Anita Rufus (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	045	Sally J. Alexander (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	046	Loretta Sanchez (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	047	Tina Louise Laine (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	051	Rita Tamerius (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/29/95	03/26/96	US Rep.	052	Darity Wesley (D)	Won Pri.	C
CO	06/07/96	08/13/96	US Sen.		Gale Norton (R)	Filed	O
	06/07/96	08/13/96	US Rep.	001	Diana DeGette (D)	Filed	O
	06/07/96	08/13/96	US Rep.	002	Patricia E. Miller (R)	Filed	C
	06/07/96	08/13/96	US Rep.	002	Shannon A. Robinson (R)	Filed	C
	06/07/96	08/13/96	US Rep.	006	Joan Fitz-Gerald (D)	Filed	C
CT	08/07/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	001	Barbara B Kennelly (D)		I
	08/07/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	002	Lenny Winkler (R)		C

*General Election Seat: I=Incumbent; C=Challenger; O=Open Seat; O?=Open if defeats incumbent in primary; U=Unopposed.
Blank filing status field=women considering running. For more information, including endorsements, please see *CAWP News & Notes*, Vol.11 No.1 (subscription form following these pages.)

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WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE 1996 (continued)*

State	Filing Deadline	Primary Date	Office	Dist.	Name and party	Filing Status	GE Seat
CT	08/07/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	002	Catherine Cook (R)		C
	08/07/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	003	Rosa L. DeLauro (D)		I
	08/07/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	003	Susan Johnson (R)		C
	08/07/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	005	Kathy Galullo (D)		C
	08/07/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	006	Charlotte Koskoff (D)		C
	08/07/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	006	Nancy L. Johnson (R)		I
DC	02/28/96	05/07/96	US Rep.	AL	Eleanor Holmes Norton (D)	Won Pri.	I/U
DE	07/26/96	09/07/96	Gov.		Janet C. Rzewnicki (R)		C
	07/26/96	09/07/96	Lt. Gov.		Ruth Ann Minner (D)		I
FL	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	002	Anita Davis (D)	Filed	O
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	002	Carole Griffin (R)	Filed	O
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	003	Corrine Brown (D)	Filed	I
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	004	Tillie K. Fowler (R)	Filed	I
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	005	Karen L. Thurman (D)	Filed	I
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	009	Pamela Mills Corbino (R)	Filed	O?
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	011	Phyllis Busansky (D)	Filed	O
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	011	Sandra W. Freedman (D)	Filed	O
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	017	Carrie P. Meek (D)	Filed	I
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	018	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R)	Filed	I/U
	05/10/96	09/03/96	US Rep.	019	Beverly Kennedy (R)	Filed	O
GA	04/26/96	07/09/96	US Rep.	001	Rosemary D. Kaszans (D)	Won Pri.	C
	04/26/96	07/09/96	US Rep.	004	Cynthia A. McKinney (D)	Won Pri.	I
	04/26/96	07/09/96	Sec. St.		Willou Smith (R)	Runoff	O
HI	07/23/96	09/21/96	US Rep.	002	Patsy T. Mink (D)		I
IA	03/15/96	06/04/96	US Rep.	002	Donna L. Smith (D)	Won Pri.	C
	03/15/96	06/04/96	US Rep.	004	Connie McBurney (D)	Won Pri.	C
ID	04/05/96	05/28/96	US Rep.	001	Helen Chenoweth (R)	Won Pri.	I
IL	12/18/95	03/19/96	US Rep.	008	Betty Hull (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/18/95	03/19/96	US Rep.	013	Susan W. Hynes (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/18/95	03/19/96	US Rep.	015	Laurel Lunt Prussing (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/18/95	03/19/96	US Rep.	016	Catherine M. Lee (D)	Won Pri.	C
IN	02/23/96	05/07/96	US Rep.	006	Carrie J. Dillard-Trammell (D)	Won Pri.	C
	02/23/96	05/07/96	US Rep.	009	Jean Leising (R)	Won Pri.	C
	02/23/96	05/07/96	US Rep.	010	Julia M. Carson (D)	Won Pri.	O
	02/23/96	05/07/96	US Rep.	010	Virginia Blankenbaker (R)	Won Pri.	O
KS	06/10/96	08/06/96	US Sen.	(1)	Sally Thompson (D)	Filed	O
	06/10/96	08/06/96	US Sen.	(2)	Jill Docking (D)	Filed	C
	06/24/96	08/06/96	US Sen.	(2)	Christine Campbell-Cline (D)	Filed	C
	06/10/96	08/06/96	US Sen.	(2)	Joan Finney (D)	Filed	C
	06/10/96	08/06/96	US Sen.	(2)	Sheila Frahm (R)	Filed	I
	06/10/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	002	Cheryl Brown Henderson (R)	Filed	O
	06/10/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	003	Judy Hancock (D)	Filed	O
	06/10/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	003	Bonnie Rahimian (R)	Filed	O
	06/10/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	003	Anne Lyddon (R)	Filed	O
KY	01/30/96	05/28/96	US Rep.	003	Anne Meagher Northup (R)	Won Pri.	C

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE 1996 (continued)*

State	Filing Deadline	Primary Date	Office	Dist.	Name and party	Filing Status	GE Seat
LA	07/12/96	09/21/96	US Sen.		Sadie Roberts-Joseph (D)	Filed	O
	07/12/96	09/21/96	US Sen.		Mary Landrieu (D)	Filed	O
	07/12/96	09/21/96	US Sen.		Peggy Wilson (R)	Filed	O
MA	06/07/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	001	Jane Maria Swift (R)	Filed	C
	06/07/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	007	Patricia Long (R)	Filed	C
MD	12/26/95	03/05/96	US Rep.	002	Connie C. DeJuliis (D)	Won Pri.	C
	12/26/95	03/05/96	US Rep.	008	Constance A. Morella (R)	Won Pri.	I
ME	04/01/96	06/11/96	US Sen.		Susan Collins (R)	Won Pri.	O
MI	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Sen.		Ronna Romney (R)	Filed	C
	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	003	Betsy J. Flory (D)	Filed	C
	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	004	Lisa Donaldson (D)	Filed	C
	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	008	Debbie Stabenow (D)	Filed	C
	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	010	Susy Heintz (R)	Filed	C
	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	013	Lynn N. Rivers (D)	Filed	I
	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	015	Carolyn Checks Kilpatrick (D)	Filed	O?
	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	015	Barbara-Rose Collins (D)	Filed	I
	05/13/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	015	LaNell Buffington (R)	Filed	C
MN	07/16/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	001	Mary Elizabeth Rieder (D)		C
MO	03/26/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	002	Mary Ann Kostecki (D)	Filed	C
	03/26/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	002	Joan Kelly Horn (D)	Filed	C
	03/26/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	002	Susan Johnson (D)	Filed	C
	03/26/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	003	Deborah Lynn Wheelehan (R)	Filed	C
	03/26/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	005	Karen McCarthy (D)	Filed	I
	03/26/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	006	Pat Danner (D)	Filed	I
	03/26/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	007	Ruth Bamberger (D)	Filed	O
	03/26/96	08/06/96	US Rep.	008	Emily Firebaugh (D)	Filed	O
	03/26/96	08/06/96	Gov.		Ruth Redel (D)	Filed	O
	03/26/96	08/06/96	Gov.		Margaret Kelly (R)	Filed	O
	03/26/96	08/06/96	Sec. St.		V. Marvalene Pankey (D)	Filed	O?
	03/26/96	08/06/96	Sec. St.		Rebecca McDowell Cook (D)	Filed	I
MT	03/21/96	06/04/96	Lt. Gov.		Judy H. Jacobson (D)	Won Pri.	O
	03/21/96	06/04/96	Lt. Gov.		Judy Martz (R)	Won Pri.	O
	03/21/96	06/04/96	Sup. P.I.		Nancy Keenan (D)	Won Pri.	I
NC	02/05/96	05/07/96	US Rep.	001	Eva M. Clayton (D)	Won Pri.	I
	02/05/96	05/07/96	US Rep.	009	Sue Myrick (R)	Won Pri.	I
	02/05/96	05/07/96	Sec. St.		Elaine Marshall (D)	Won Pri.	O
	02/05/96	05/07/96	St. Treas.		Ann Q. Duncan (R)	Won Pri.	C
ND	04/12/96	06/11/96	Lt. Gov.		Barbara Pyle (D)	Won Pri.	C
	04/12/96	06/11/96	Lt. Gov.		Rosemarie Myrdal (R)	Won Pri.	I
	04/12/96	06/11/96	Sec. St.		Shelley Seeberg (D)	Won Pri.	C
	04/12/96	06/11/96	Aty. Gen.		Heidi Heitkamp (D)	Won Pri.	I
	04/12/96	06/11/96	St. Treas.		Kathi Gilmore (D)	Won Pri.	I
	04/12/96	06/11/96	St. Aud.		Shirley Dykshoorn (D)	Won Pri.	C
ND	04/12/96	06/11/96	C. Agric.		Dina Butcher (R)	Won Pri.	O
	04/12/96	06/11/96	P.S. Comm.		Susan E. Wefald (R)	Won Pri.	I

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE 1996 (continued)*

State	Filing Deadline	Primary Date	Office	Dist.	Name and party	Filing Status	GE Seat
NE	02/15/96	05/14/96	P.S. Comm.		Ann Boyle (D)	Won Pri.	O
NH	06/14/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	001	Toni Pappas (R)	Filed	O
	06/14/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	001	Vivian Clark (R)	Filed	O
	06/14/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	002	Arnie Arneson (D)	Filed	C
	06/14/96	09/10/96	Gov.		Jeanne Shaheen (D)	Filed	O
NJ	04/11/96	06/04/96	US Rep.	002	Ruth Katz (D)	Won Pri.	C
	04/11/96	06/04/96	US Rep.	005	Marge Roukema (R)	Won Pri.	I
	04/11/96	06/04/96	US Rep.	009	Kathleen Donovan (R)	Won Pri.	O
	04/11/96	06/04/96	US Rep.	010	Vanessa Williams (R)	Won Pri.	C
NM	03/27/96	06/04/96	US Rep.	002	E. Shirley Baca (D)	Won Pri.	C
NV	06/04/96	09/02/96	US Rep.	002	Jessi Winchester (D)	Filed	O
	06/04/96	09/02/96	US Rep.	002	Cheryl Lau (R)	Filed	O
	06/04/96	09/02/96	US Rep.	002	Patty Cafferata (R)	Filed	O
NY	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	001	Nora Bredes (D)	Filed	C
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	004	Carolyn McCarthy (D)	Filed	C
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	007	Rose Birtley (R)	Filed	C
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	011	Phyllis Taliaferro (D)	Filed	O?
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	011	Claudette Hayle (R)	Filed	C
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	012	Nydia M. Velazquez (D)	Filed	I
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	013	Susan Molinari (R)	Filed	I
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	014	Carolyn B. Maloney (D)	Filed	I
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	017	Darlene Cocco (D)	Filed	O?
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	018	Nita M. Lowey (D)	Filed	I
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	018	Carol Berger (R)	Filed	C
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	019	Sue W. Kelly (R)	Filed	I
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	021	Nancy Norman (R)	Filed	C
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	026	Sue Wittig (R)	Filed	C
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	028	Louise McIntosh Slaughter (D)	Filed	I
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	028	Margaret DeFrancisco (R)	Filed	C
	07/11/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	029	Nancy Naples (R)	Filed	C
OH	01/19/96	03/19/96	US Rep.	005	Ann Saunders (D)	Won Pri.	C
	01/19/96	03/19/96	US Rep.	009	Marcy Kaptur (D)	Won Pri.	I
	01/19/96	03/19/96	US Rep.	012	Cynthia Ruccia (D)	Won Pri.	C
	01/19/96	03/19/96	US Rep.	014	Joyce George (R)	Won Pri.	C
	01/19/96	03/19/96	US Rep.	015	Deborah Pryce (R)	Won Pri.	I
OK	07/10/96	08/27/96	US Rep.	002	Virginia Jenner (D)	Filed	C
	07/10/96	08/27/96	US Rep.	003	Evelyn L. Rogers (R)	Filed	O
	07/10/96	08/27/96	Corp. C.		Wanda Jo Peltier (D)	Filed	O
OR	03/12/96	05/21/96	US Rep.	001	Elizabeth Furse (D)	Won Pri.	I
	03/12/96	05/21/96	US Rep.	005	Darlene Hooley (D)	Won Pri.	C
	03/12/96	05/21/96	St. Treas.		Bev Clarno (R)	Won Pri.	C
PA	02/13/96	04/23/96	US Rep.	005	Ruth C. Rudy (D)	Won Pri.	O
	02/13/96	04/23/96	St. Treas.		Mina Baker Knoll (D)	Won Pri.	O
	02/13/96	04/23/96	St. Treas.		Barbara Hafer (R)	Won Pri.	O

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE 1996 (continued)*

State	Filing Deadline	Primary Date	Office	Dist.	Name and party	Filing Status	GE Seat
PR	01/14/96	03/10/96	US Rep.	AL	Celeste Benitez (D)	Won Pri.	C
RI	06/26/96	09/10/96	US Sen.		Nancy Mayer (R)	Filed	O
	06/26/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	001	Naomi Davis Young (R)	Filed	C
	06/26/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	002	Kathryn O'Hare (D)	Filed	O
SC	04/30/96	06/11/96	US Rep.	003	Debbie Dorn (D)	Won Pri.	C
TN	05/16/96	08/01/96	US Rep.	001	Kay Smith (D)	Filed	O
	05/16/96	08/01/96	US Rep.	001	Ann Pope (R)	Filed	O
TX	01/02/96	03/12/96	US Rep.	006	Janet Carroll Richardson (D)	Won Pri.	C
	01/02/96	03/12/96	US Rep.	008	Cynthia C. J. Newman (D)	Won Pri.	O
	01/02/96	03/12/96	US Rep.	010	Teresa Doggett (R)	Won Pri.	C
	01/02/96	03/12/96	US Rep.	012	Kay Granger (R)	Won Pri.	O
	01/02/96	03/12/96	US Rep.	018	Sheila Jackson Lee (D)	Won Pri.	I
	01/02/96	03/12/96	US Rep.	030	Eddie Bernice Johnson (D)	Won Pri.	I
	01/02/96	03/12/96	Rail Comm.		Carole Keeton Rylander (R)	Won Pri.	I
UT	03/18/96	06/25/96	Lt. Gov.		Shari Holweg (D)	Won Pri.	C
	03/18/96	06/25/96	Lt. Gov.		Olene S. Walker (R)	Won Pri.	I
	03/18/96	06/25/96	Aty. Gen.		Jan Graham (D)	Won Pri.	I
	03/18/96	06/25/96	St. Treas.		D'Arcy Dixon Pignanelli (D)	Won Pri.	C
	03/18/96	06/25/96	St. Aud.		Karen L. Truman (D)	Won Pri.	O
VT	07/15/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	AL	Susan Sweetser (R)		C
WA	07/26/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	002	Ann Weinzierl (D)		C
	07/26/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	003	Karen Fraser (D)		C
	07/26/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	003	Liz Luce (D)		C
	07/26/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	003	Linda Ann Smith (R)		I
	07/26/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	004	Valoria Loveland (D)		C
	07/26/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	005	Judy Olson (D)		C
	07/26/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	008	Jennifer Dunn (R)		I
	07/26/96	09/17/96	US Rep.	009	Judith Billings (D)		C
	07/26/96	09/17/96	Gov.		Ellen Craswell (R)		O
	07/26/96	09/17/96	Gov.		Pam Roach (R)		O
	07/26/96	09/17/96	Gov.		Nona Brazier (R)		O
	07/26/96	09/17/96	Sec St.		Phyllis Kenney (D)		C
WI	07/09/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	001	Lydia Spottswood (D)	Filed	C
	07/09/96	09/10/96	US Rep.	003	Hazel Green (D)	Filed	O
WV	02/03/96	05/14/96	US Sen.		Betty A. Burks (R)	Won Pri.	C
	02/03/96	05/14/96	US Rep.	003	Sharon Lord (R)	Won Pri.	C
	02/03/96	05/14/96	Gov.		Charlotte Pritt (D)	Won Pri.	O
	02/03/96	05/14/96	Aty. Gen.		Charlotte Lane (R)	Won Pri.	C
WY	06/07/96	08/20/96	US Sen.		Kathleen Karpan (D)	Filed	O
	06/07/96	08/20/96	US Sen.		Nimi McConigley (R)	Filed	O
	06/07/96	08/20/96	US Sen.		Kathleen Jachowski (R)	Filed	O
	06/07/96	08/20/96	US Rep.	AL	Barbara Cubin (R)	Filed	I

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WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN RESEARCH FUND

Did You Know? Facts About Women in Office

- Of the 106 nations with freely elected parliaments, the U.S. ranks 43rd in women's representation, trailing behind South Africa, the Russian Federation and Canada, among others.

Federal

- 33 states have never elected a woman to the U.S. Senate, and 11 states have never elected a woman to the U.S. House of Representatives.
- Women currently hold a little over 10% of the seats in Congress. This represents the closest women have ever come to achieving parity in Congress.
- More than half of the states do not have a single woman representative or senator in the 104th Congress.
- In 1995 women held only 16.8% of federal judgeships.

State/Local

- The number of women governors *decreased* from 4 in 1994 to only 1 in 1996.
- 4 states have never elected a woman to statewide office, while 8 states currently have *no* women in statewide elective executive office.
- Across the nation, women hold 22% of state house or assembly seats and only 17.3% of state senate seats.
- 1,541 of the 7,424 state legislators in the U.S. are women. Of the 1,541 women state legislators, 221 are women of color.*
- Women serve as mayors in only 18.2% of cities with populations over 30,000.

* "Women of color" refers to African American, Asian American/Pacific Islander, Latina and Native American women as a group.

These statistics are compiled from: *Women Elected Officials: A Fifty State Resource*, Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, 1995; "Women of Color in Elective Office 1996," "Women in State Legislatures 1996," Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University; The Boston Globe 9/24/95; Center for Policy Alternatives, *The State of the States for Women & Politics*, 1995; Roll Call 9/14/95; The New York Times 8/27/95.

WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN RESEARCH FUND

Women Leaders for A Change

The Women's Campaign Research Fund (WCRF) is proud to present *Women Leaders for A Change*, a national nonpartisan campaign aimed at educating the electorate on the critical role women elected officials play in shaping our government's actions. Through a series of advertisements, this voter education campaign answers the question, "Who needs women in office?... **"WE DO!"**"

Women legislators make real differences for our communities, our families and our children in elected offices across the country. Women legislators pushed for passage on family medical leave, they have spearheaded legislation on daycare, violence against women, pay equity, education equity, enforcement of child support payments, job training with child care, as well as other key legislation benefitting women and families. WCRF strongly believes that if voters learn the difference women make in elected office, voters will more likely support women at the ballot box.

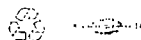
The *Women Leaders for A Change* campaign plans to do just that - educate voters on the difference women make in elected office. The campaign kicks off in Fall 1995 and continues as an ongoing project through the 1996 elections, and beyond. The project is designed as a national print advertising campaign comprised of several black and white advertisements placed in national and trade publications as well as organization newsletters. Using photographs and words, each advertisement serves to educate the electorate on the importance of having women in office. Each ad includes a toll free 1-800 number for readers to call for information on women political leaders in their state, how to get involved in their community, and information on issues that women are spearheading in government.

The success of this public education endeavor will be measured over the next decade and beyond as women's political leadership increases both numerically and in substantive impact.

For more information please contact our Communications Director, Micheline Kennedy Carter, or Managing Consultant, Anne Zill, at the WCRF office (202) 393-8164.

* * *

The Women's Campaign Research Fund, a 501 (c) (3) tax-deductible nonprofit organization, was founded in 1982. WCRF is the educational and political arm of the Women's Campaign Fund, the first national nonpartisan political action committee founded in America to support pro-choice women candidates. This voter education campaign has been funded by a generous grant from the Ford Foundation and by in-kind contributions from an Advisory Board. Agi Clark is the Creative Director for this project.



WHO NEEDS MORE WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT?

**MORE THAN HALF
THE WORKFORCE DOES.**

**THOUGH JUST OVER 10% OF
THE CONGRESS, WOMEN
FOUGHT FOR AND HELPED
PASS A RECORD NUMBER OF
LAWS BENEFITING WOMEN
AND FAMILIES.**

**LAWS ADDRESSING:
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN,
JOB TRAINING, DAYCARE,
HEALTH CARE, BREAST
AND CERVICAL CANCER
PREVENTION.**

**THEY WROTE THE LAWS
ON FAMILY AND MEDICAL
LEAVE SO WOMEN AND MEN
CAN TAKE UP TO 12 WEEKS
TO CARE FOR A NEWBORN
WITHOUT THE FEAR OF
LOSING A JOB.**



**10% ACCOMPLISHED A LOT.
THINK WHAT 20%,
30%, 50% COULD DO!**

If you want to learn more about how women in office can improve the lives of your family and community, call 1-800-711-0165 or write Women's Campaign Research Fund, 734 15th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

WHO NEEDS MORE WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT?

OUR MOTHERS DO.

**DID YOU KNOW THAT
WOMEN HEADS OF HOUSE-
HOLDS AND ELDERLY
WOMEN LIVING ALONE
ARE THE MOST AT RISK FOR
BECOMING POOR IN THIS
COUNTRY?**

**THOUGH JUST OVER 10%
OF CONGRESS, WOMEN
LAWMAKERS ARE FIGHTING
HARD FOR PENSION AND
HEALTH CARE REFORM, AND
TO SAFEGUARD SOCIAL
SECURITY AND MEDICARE.**

**WOMEN WROTE AND
PASSED THE VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN ACT, AND
THE FAMILY AND MEDICAL
LEAVE ACT (SO MEN AND
WOMEN CAN TAKE UP TO 12
WEEKS OFF TO CARE FOR A
SICK SPOUSE OR A PARENT).**



**10% ACCOMPLISHED A LOT.
THINK WHAT 20%,
30%, 50% COULD DO!**

If you want to learn more about how women in office can improve the lives of your family and community, call 1-800-711-0165 or write Women's Campaign Research Fund, 734 15th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

WHO NEEDS MORE WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT?

MEN DO.

**65% OF MEN BELIEVE WE'D
HAVE A BETTER CONGRESS
IF IT HAD MORE WOMEN.**

**WOMEN BRING A MUCH
NEEDED FOCUS TO ISSUES
THAT TOUCH THEIR FATHERS,
THEIR HUSBANDS, THEIR
SONS.**

**A MAJORITY OF WOMEN
LEGISLATORS (UNLIKE MEN)
LIST HEALTH CARE, CHILDREN,
FAMILY, HOUSING,
ENVIRONMENT AND
EDUCATION AS
THEIR TOP PRIORITIES.**

**IN 1993, WHEN THEY
DOUBLED THEIR NUMBERS
TO JUST OVER 10% IN
CONGRESS, WOMEN HELPED
WRITE AND PASS MORE LAWS
BENEFITING THE FAMILY THAN
IN ANY PREVIOUS YEAR.**



**10% ACCOMPLISHED
A LOT. THINK WHAT 20%,
30%, 50% COULD DO!**

If you want to learn more about how women in office can improve the lives of your family and community, call 1-800-711-0165 or write Women's Campaign Research Fund, 734 15th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

WHO NEEDS MORE WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT?

FUTURE PRESIDENTS DO.

**OUR CHILDREN NEED THE
FOCUS WOMEN BRING TO
ISSUES DIRECTLY AFFECTING
THEIR FUTURE.**

**WHEN ASKED ABOUT
THEIR TOP PRIORITIES,
A MAJORITY OF WOMEN
LEGISLATORS (UNLIKE
MEN) LISTED CHILDREN,
EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE,
FAMILY, HOUSING AND
ENVIRONMENT.**

**IN 1993, THOUGH JUST
OVER 10% IN CONGRESS,
WOMEN HELPED WRITE
AND PASS MORE LAWS
BENEFITING THE FAMILY
THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS
YEAR.**

**TO HELP IMPROVE THE
ODDS FOR OUR DAUGHTERS
TOMORROW, WE NEED TO
ELECT MORE WOMEN TODAY.**



**10% ACCOMPLISHED
A LOT. THINK WHAT 20%,
30%, 50% COULD DO!**

If you want to learn more about how women in office can improve the lives of your family and community, call 1-800-711-0165 or write Women's Campaign Research Fund, 734 15th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

WOMEN'S ROUTES TO ELECTIVE OFFICE

Excerpts from CAWP study
"Bringing More Women into Public Office"

Many women officeholders received encouragement and support for their candidacies from women's organizations.

- o Women officeholders report that an organization played an important role in getting them to run for office. About a fourth were actively encouraged by women's organizations to run for office, and more than half received formal or informal support for their candidacies from women's organizations.

A majority of women officeholders belong to women's organizations.

- o More than 3/4 of women state legislators belong to at least one of five major women's organizations (AAUW, BPW, LWV, NOW or NWPC)

Women have been inspired and assisted in their political careers by other women.

- o Women officeholders were inspired by political role models and/or mentors, and many had worked on women's campaigns before running for office themselves.

Women legislators more often take liberal stands on women's issues than do their male colleagues.

- o Women officeholders are more likely to support ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and to oppose a constitutional amendment to ban abortion.

Women are less likely to have held previous elective offices, but more often have had other types of political experience.

- o Women have less elective experience in office, but are more likely than their male colleagues to have held appointive government positions. They are also more likely to have worked in political campaigns before they ran for office themselves.

Women legislators tend to have similar backgrounds.

- o Women are more likely to have attended college. Among state legislators a majority of both men and women are college graduates and at least a fourth have advanced degrees, but women are less likely to have law degrees.

- o About a third of women state legislators have worked in traditionally female occupations (teaching, nursing, social work)

- o More than three-fourths (fewer than their male counterparts) are married. A majority have children who are at least 18 years old.

BLACK WOMEN OFFICEHOLDERS

Black women officeholders have strong educational and professional backgrounds.

- o Black women officeholders are more likely to have attended college than women officeholders overall. More than a third hold advanced degrees. Two-thirds to three-fourths have professional/technical, or managerial/administrative occupations.

Few black women officeholders have held elective office, but have acquired significant political experience in other activities.

- o About a third have held appointive government positions, and are more likely to have worked on political campaigns before running for office themselves. More than two-thirds of black women state representatives worked on women's campaigns. They are more likely than women overall to have worked for women candidates before running themselves.

Black women take liberal stands on women's issues

- o Support for the Equal Rights Amendment is nearly unanimous among black women legislators, as is opposition to a constitutional amendment that would prohibit abortion.

Women's organizations play a key role in black women's political careers.

- o One-third to two-fifths of black women officeholders report that an organization played an important role in getting them to run for office. Groups mentioned include civil rights, church, community, and women's groups. They are equally or more likely than women officeholders overall to belong to women's organizations, and to have been encouraged to run, and supported in their candidacies by women's organizations. Two-thirds of black women state representatives received formal or informal campaign support from women's organizations.

- - - - -
This information is condensed from a report Women's Routes to Elective Office: A Comparison with Men's. The report is based on a nationwide survey of state legislators and county and local officeholders in 1981. Although percentages herein may differ from today's findings, the trends are significant. Information on positions on issues is taken from Women Make a Difference. Both reports are part of a seven-report series entitled "Bringing More Women into Public Office". (This was a project of the Center for the American Woman and Politics, Rutgers---The State University of New Jersey, and was supported by a grant from the Charles H. Revson Foundation). For more information call 908/828-2210 (FAX 908/932-6778)

National Women's Political Caucus

**When women run for office,
they win ... as often as men do.**

The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) conducted a comprehensive study of the success rates of men and women candidates in general elections for state senate, state house, U.S. House, U.S. Senate and governor, and found that a candidate's sex did not affect his or her chances of winning general elections. **The success rates for male and female candidates were virtually identical at every level of office.**

The research clearly shows that electoral success has nothing to do with sex, and everything to do with incumbency. One reason for the common perception that women have a tougher time winning elections than men is that most incumbents are men, and incumbents win far more often than challengers and open seat candidates. But when male incumbents were compared to female incumbents, men running for open seats to women running for open seats, and male challengers to female challengers, **women won as high a percentage of their races as men.**

Although women are 51 percent of the population and 53 percent of voters, they make up only 11 percent of U.S. House members, 7 percent of U.S. Senators, 8 percent of governors and 21 percent of state legislators. The study showed that the reason there are so few women in public office is not that women candidates don't win elections, but that so few women have run. **There is a striking similarity between the percentage of officeholders and the percentage of candidates who are women for each level of office.** Since 1972, 7 percent of candidates for the U.S. House and U.S. Senate and 6 percent of gubernatorial candidates have been women. Since 1986, 20 percent of state legislative candidates have been women.

Perception and Reality:

**A Study Comparing
the Success of
Men & Women Candidates**

by Jody Newman

Executive Summary

THE STUDY

Why are there so few women in public office?

The common perception has been that women candidates are less likely to win elections. A recent NWPC poll found that two-thirds of voters believe that women have a tougher time getting elected to public office than men do. Surveys show that even voters who say they are more likely to vote for women predict that men will win the election.

Lacking adequate research, the media and political pundits have had to rely on anecdotes and impressions to draw their own conclusions about why more women aren't elected to public office. They speculated that the "good old boys" keep women from being nominated for winnable seats, that women voters just won't vote for women, that women candidates can't raise money as well as men, etc.

Then in 1992, the "Year of the Woman" in politics, women candidates were seen as having an advantage over men. Commentators offered several reasons for the supposed shift, including the Hill/Thomas hearings, voters' dislike of "insiders" and a change in the political agenda from the Cold War to domestic issues.

To resolve the issue of whether women candidates are less (or more) likely to win elections than men, relying on statistics and facts rather than anecdotes and impressions, NWPC undertook this comprehensive study of 50,563 candidates:

- All of the major party candidates, both men and women, who ran in general elections for state house and state senate in 1986, 1988, 1990 and 1992, and
- All of the major party candidates, both men and women, who ran in general elections for U.S. House, U.S. Senate and governor from 1972 to the present.

Using this data base, success rates for male and female candidates (the percentage who won) were calculated for each office, party, year and incumbency status.

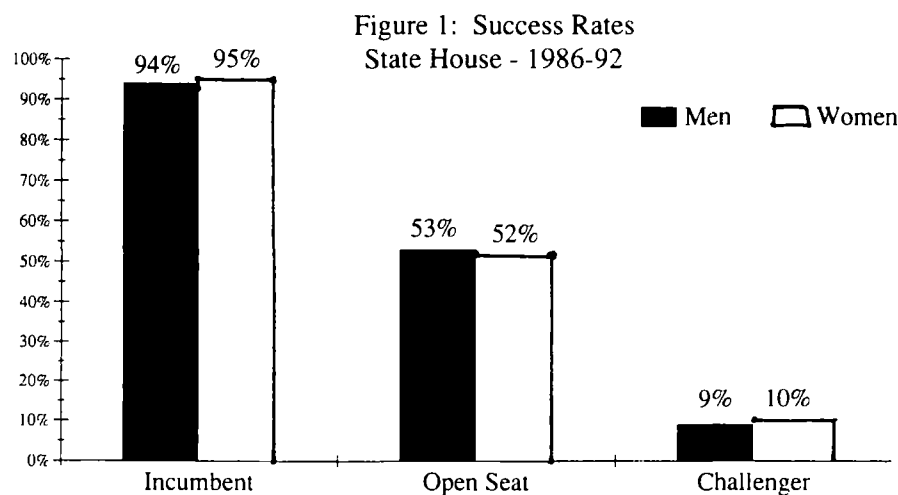
KEY FINDINGS

The study found no significant differences between men's and women's success rates in general elections at any level of office. Based on the overwhelming weight of the data gathered, the conclusion is clear: **a candidate's sex does not affect his or her chances of winning election.**

All of the findings refer to major party candidates in general elections in the years covered by the study.

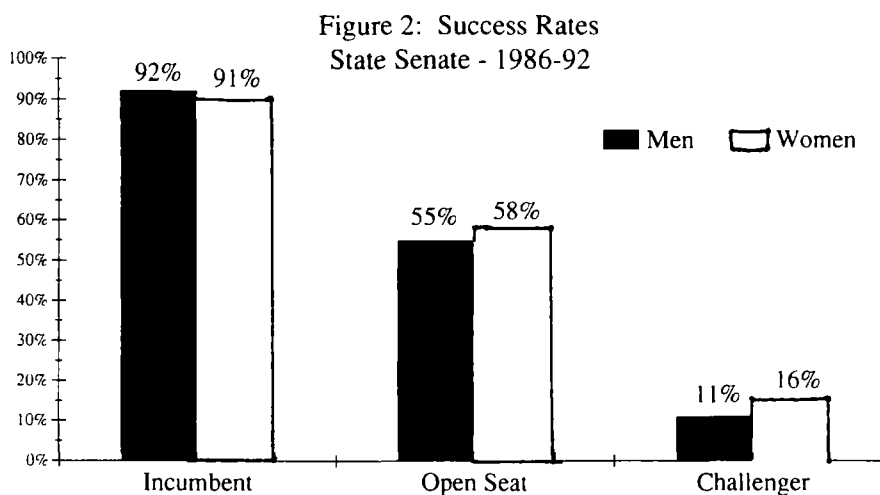
STATE HOUSE

The success rates for men and women running in general elections for state house were almost identical. Incumbent women won 95 percent of their races compared to 94 percent for incumbent men. Women running for open seats won 52 percent of their elections, compared to 53 percent for men. Female challengers won 10 percent of their races, compared to 9 percent for men.



STATE SENATE

Women running in general elections for state senate did as well as men -- if not better. Female incumbents won 91 percent of their elections and male incumbents 92 percent. Women running for open seats won 58 percent of their races, compared to 55 percent for men. Female challengers won 16 percent of their races, compared to 11 percent for men.



STATE LEGISLATURE BY STATE, REGION, AND MULTI-MEMBER DISTRICTS

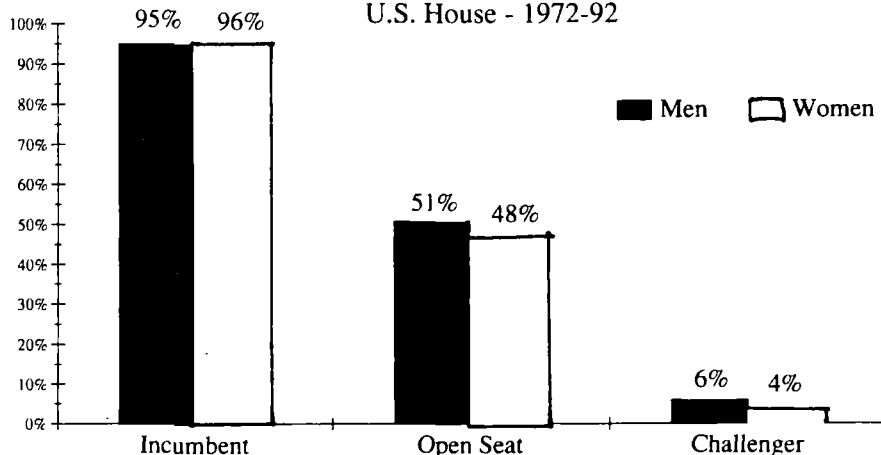
Success rates were compared for state legislative races (state house and senate combined) by state, by U.S. census region and by whether the candidate ran in a single-member district or multi-member district (where more than one member is elected). The only region in which there was a statistically significant difference was New England, where women did better than men (96 percent of female incumbents won, compared to 91 percent for male incumbents, and 15 percent of female challengers won, compared to 11 percent for men).

Women did better in multi-member districts than in single-member districts. The study also found that women comprised a greater percentage of the candidates in multi-member districts than in single-member districts.

U.S. HOUSE

The study found no significant difference between success rates for men and women running in general elections for the U.S. House of Representatives. Incumbent women won 96 percent of their races compared to 95 percent for men; 48 percent of women running for open seats won compared to 51 percent for men; and female challengers won 4 percent of their races compared to 6 percent for male challengers.

Figure 3: Success Rates
U.S. House - 1972-92



U.S. SENATE AND GOVERNOR

Just 53 women have run for the U.S. Senate and 33 for governor in general elections since 1972, too small a number to make meaningful generalizations or comparisons between men and women. The study found no evidence that women were less likely than men to win these offices, or that women were less likely to win a race for the executive office of governor than a race for the U.S. Senate. Those who argue that women are less likely to win executive seats than legislative seats cannot base the arguments on quantifiable evidence or statistically significant data.

WHEN A MAN FACED A WOMAN

Success rates were also calculated for state legislative races in which a woman ran against a man. Once again, women did at least as well as men, if not better.

- Women won 55 percent and men 45 percent of state senate open seat races between a man and a woman.
- Women won 52 percent and men 48 percent of state house open seat races where a man faced a woman.
- Female challengers in state senate races beat male incumbents 17 percent of the time, while male challengers beat female incumbents only 11 percent of the time.

SUCCESS RATES OVER TIME

Success rates were also examined year by year to see if aggregating the data might be masking significant differences in one or more of the years studied. However, the similarity between success rates held true over the entire period; no clear-cut trends or changes over time were found.

Figure 4: Success Rates Over Time

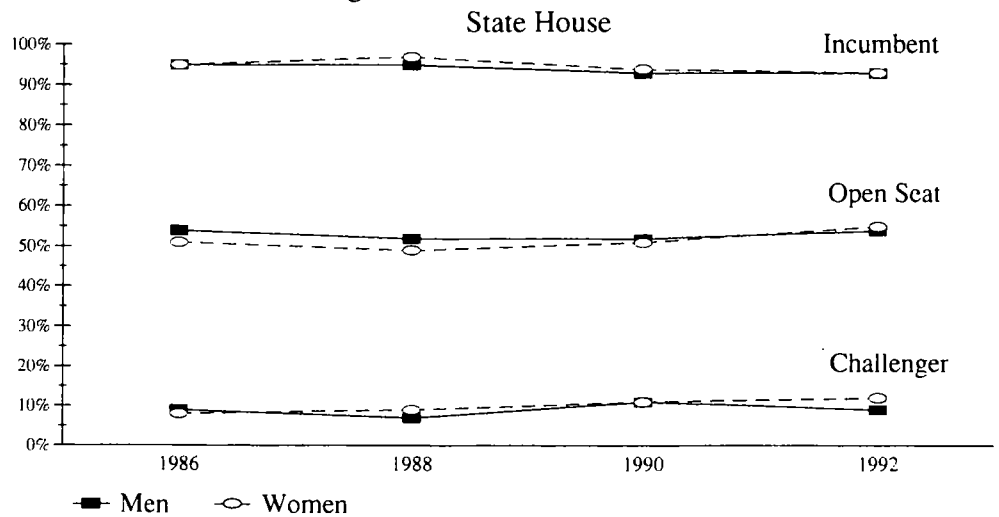


Figure 5: Success Rates Over Time

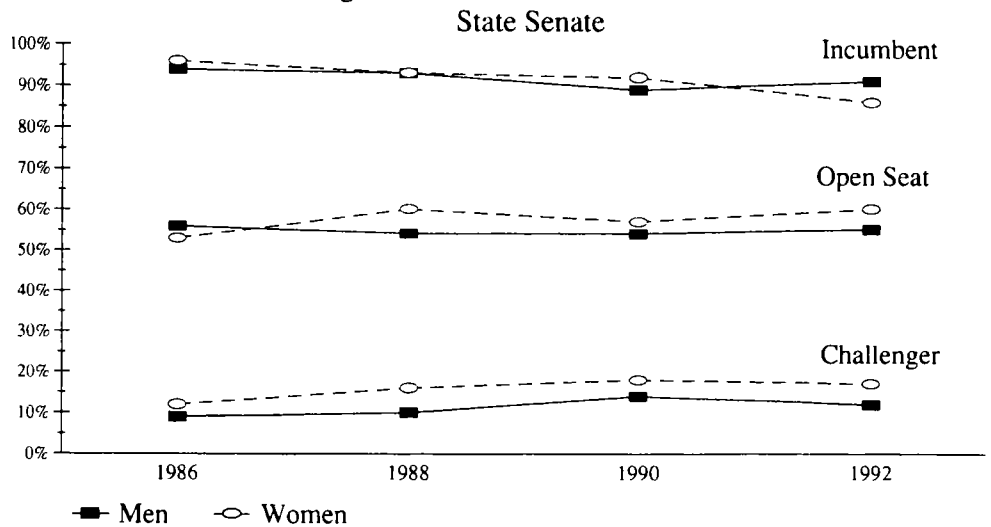
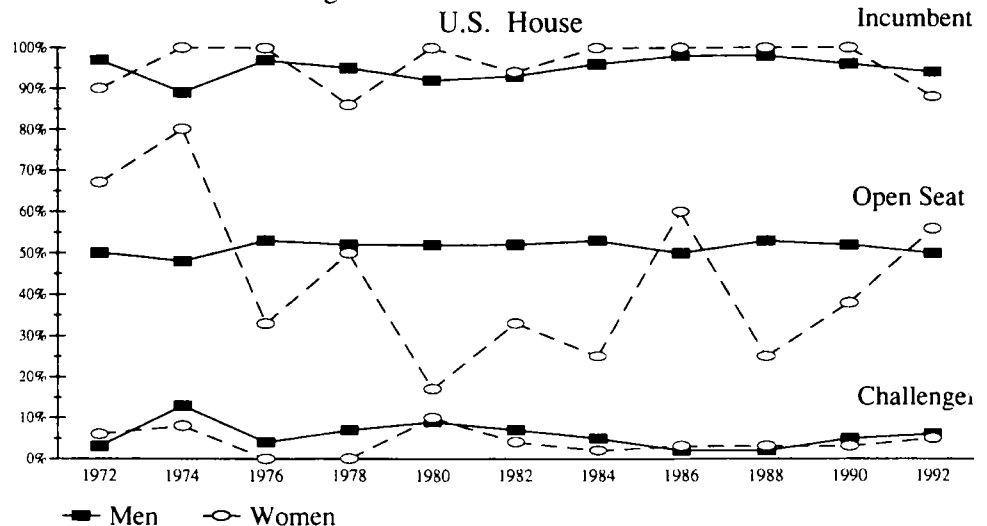


Figure 6: Success Rates Over Time



INCUMBENT OPPOSITION

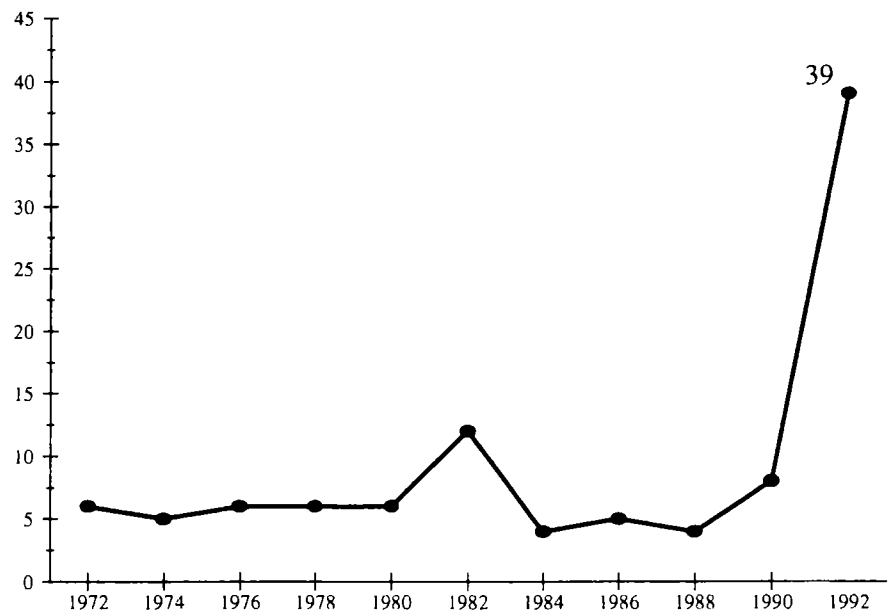
Women incumbents running for re-election had opposition more frequently than men did. For state house, 68 percent of women incumbents were challenged in the general election, compared to 62 percent of the men. For state senate, 75 percent of female incumbents, compared to 65 percent of male incumbents, had general election opposition. For the U.S. House, 95 percent of the women incumbents had general election opponents, compared to 85 percent of the men.

Female incumbents may be perceived as more vulnerable than male incumbents. However, in actuality, women were as likely to win re-election as men. When success rates for incumbents who had opposition in the general elections were compared, women did at least as well as men at all three levels -- state house, state senate and U.S. House. (There were not enough cases of women running for re-election for governor or U.S. Senate to do a similar analysis for those offices.)

YEAR OF THE WOMAN?

Although 1992 was called "the Year of the Woman" in politics, success rates for women were still extremely similar to those for men. **Women won no more often than men in 1992, just as they won no less often than men in earlier years.** Women made dramatic gains in the U.S. House in 1992 because of two factors: women made up a record high percentage of open seat candidates, and there were an unusually high number of open seats available due to redistricting, retirements and resignations. Thirty percent of Democratic candidates and 15 percent of Republican candidates for open seats in 1992 were women. Twenty-two of the 24 new women elected to the U.S. House in 1992 won in open seats.

Figure 7: Number of Women Who Ran for Open Seats
U.S. House



OBSERVATIONS

Voters may be ahead of political pundits and the media in being able to look past sex to consider a candidate on his or her own merits and characteristics. While some voters may tell pollsters they are less (or more) likely to vote for a woman "all other things being equal," all other things are never equal. When it comes down to an actual choice in a voting booth, the candidate's sex is but one of many factors which enter into the choice.

The fact that women win as often as men does not mean that voters see no difference between men and women candidates. Surveys show that women candidates are assumed to be better or worse than men on certain issues, and to have different characteristics, just because they are women. Women may encounter different obstacles in their campaigns, and may win their votes in different places or from different groups of people.

This study does not say that the sex of candidates does not play a role in their campaigns. What this study clearly concludes is that women candidates win as often as men in general elections.

It is possible that women have a tougher (or easier) time than men winning primary elections. However, the limited research which has been done on primaries indicates no significant difference. Two small-scale studies concluded that women do as well as men in primary elections, just as this study found that women and men do equally as well in general elections.

NOT ENOUGH WOMEN RUN

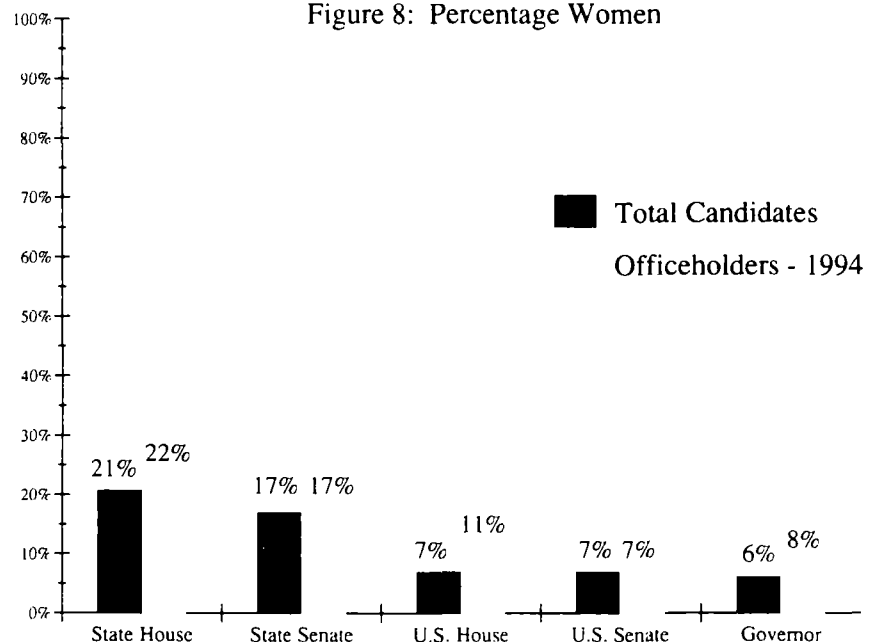
The research proves that women do as well as men in general elections. It also shows that the reason there aren't more women in public office is that not many women have run. **Women have made up a very small percentage of candidates in general elections, particularly at higher levels.**

Since 1972, only 7 percent of candidates for the U.S. House and U.S. Senate and 6 percent of gubernatorial candidates have been women. Just 21 percent of state house and 17 percent of state senate candidates were women during the last four election cycles. These percentages are strikingly similar to the percentage of officeholders in 1994 who are women. Women make up only 11 percent of U.S. House members, 7 percent of U.S. Senators, 8 percent of governors, 22 percent of state representatives and 17 percent of state senators.

IF MORE WOMEN RUN, MORE WILL WIN: A HYPOTHETICAL EXAMPLE

If women made up half of all open seat and challenger candidates in general elections for the U.S. House, they could make dramatic gains. Starting in 1994 and assuming 50 open seats each cycle and the same success rates as those found in the study, a computer simulation found that women would hold one-third of all seats in the U.S. House by the year 2000.

Figure 8: Percentage Women



OPEN SEAT OPPORTUNITIES

The study confirmed that open seats provide the best opportunity for non-incumbents to win public office. Candidates for open seats (where no incumbent is running) were anywhere from two to nine times as likely to win as were challengers.

Forty-five percent of those elected governor between 1972 and 1993 won in open seat races in the general election, yet only 7 percent of open seat gubernatorial candidates were women. Women comprised just 10 percent of open seat candidates for U.S. House, 8 percent for U.S. Senate, 19 percent for state senate and 24 percent for state house.

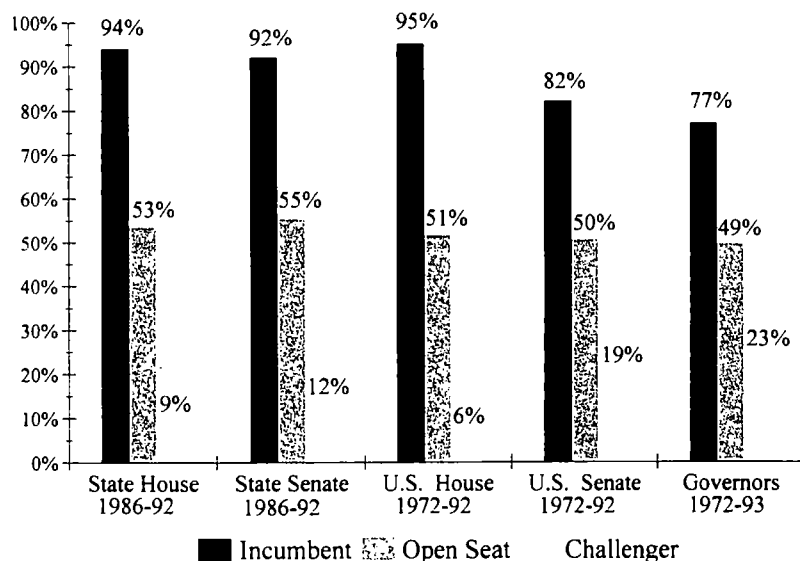
THE INCUMBENT ADVANTAGE

While sex has little impact on success rates, incumbency has an enormous effect. **The study found a huge disparity between success rates for incumbents and challengers.**

In general elections:

- Incumbent state representatives won 94 percent of their races
-- more than 10 times as often as challengers.
- Incumbent state senators won 92 percent of their races
-- almost eight times as often as challengers.
- U.S. House incumbents won 95 percent of their elections
-- almost 16 times as often as challengers.
- Incumbent U.S. Senators won 82 percent of their races
-- more than four times as often as challengers.
- Incumbent governors won 77 percent of their elections
-- more than three times as often as challengers.

Figure 9: Success Rates Without Regard to Sex



Most incumbent officeholders, at every level of office, are men, and a higher percentage of male candidates than female candidates are incumbents. Since 1972, about half of the men who have run in general elections for U.S. House have been incumbents, compared to less than a third of the women. Forty-three percent of the male candidates in general elections for U.S. Senate were incumbents, compared to only 9 percent of the women.

The fact that a greater percentage of male candidates are incumbents, combined with the fact that incumbents have much higher success rates, means that if male candidates are compared to female candidates without considering incumbency, men do better. When all men are grouped together and all women together, without regard to incumbency, women win 3 percent less often than men for state house and state senate, and 17 percent less often for U.S. House.

This may explain the common perception that women have a tougher time winning office. Women do win less often than men, not because they are women, but because they are less often incumbents.

PARTY DIFFERENCES

In general elections at every level of office, women comprised a higher percentage of Democratic candidates than Republican candidates. By 1992, women made up almost one-third of Democratic non-incumbent candidates running for state legislature and one-fourth of Democratic non-incumbent candidates for the U.S. House. In 1994, 61 percent of women state legislators, 74 percent of women in the U.S. House, 71 percent of women in the U.S. Senate, and 75 percent of women governors are Democrats. By comparison, 58 percent of male state legislators, 57 percent of men in the U.S. House, 55 percent of men in the U.S. Senate, and 57 percent of male governors are Democrats.

The study also compared success rates by political party, regardless of sex, and found that Democratic candidates did better than Republican candidates at every level of office for every type of race.

WHEN WOMEN RUN, WOMEN WIN

As this study makes clear, **the major reason that there are so few women in public office is simply that there haven't been many women running for office** -- particularly for open seats, where the chances of winning are good.

The myth that women are less likely to win elections may have deterred women from making the decision to run for office. If women believe they are less likely to win, they may be less likely to try. Since perception can become reality in politics, the perception that women candidates have a tougher time may also have made it harder for them to gain support and funding.

Clearly, the prescription for greater progress in the future is to recruit more women to run for public office, particularly to recruit well-qualified women to run for winnable open seats. Women make up only a small portion of public officeholders not because they win less often than men, but because they have made up only a small portion of those running for office.

In addition, our political system is tremendously biased in favor of incumbents. Most incumbents are men, and incumbents are extremely difficult for anyone -- man or woman -- to defeat. Female candidates have faced the challenge of unseating sitting incumbents, or waiting for incumbents to die, retire or resign.

As long as most incumbents run for re-election and continue to enjoy huge advantages when they do so, it will be difficult for any outsider -- male or female -- to win. Further research is needed on term limits, campaign finance reform, multi-member districts, cumulative voting and other measures which might level the playing field for women candidates.

Perhaps women's progress is better than it seems to those who are impatient for faster gains. Women have been taking their places in public office at about the same rate as in business, academia and law, if not a little faster. There are 54 women in the U.S. Congress, and only one Fortune 500 company is headed by a woman. Since 1972, the number of women has tripled in the U.S. House and almost quadrupled in state legislatures.

As we see the results of the "pipeline" of women who have entered public office begin to pay off, and as women continue to become more powerful and prevalent in worlds outside the home, the numbers of women in public office will no doubt continue to rise.

This study proves that when women run, women win as often as men do. Perhaps this knowledge in itself will encourage more women to run for public office and lead to higher numbers of women officeholders in the future.

Women make up only a small portion of public office holders not because they win less often than men, but because they have made up only a small portion of those running for office.

TO ORDER THE FULL STUDY

For a copy of the full study, including 28 graphs, 90 tables and state-by-state comparisons, send a check for \$15 to:

National Women's Political Caucus
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., #425
Washington, D.C. 20036

For more information about the National Women's Political Caucus, call (202)785-1100 or 1-800-729-NWPC.

September 1994

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Women Show Strength as Campaign Fundraisers

Katheryne McCormick, CAWP Volunteer
Lucy Baruch, Director, Information Services

Unless otherwise noted, all monetary figures are for total receipts through October 19, 1994 as reported by the Federal Election Commission (FEC) on November 4th. Since these figures were collected 20 days before the elections, the final figures will change. Figures are for major party congressional candidates; receipts for delegates to the House are not included. A few of the female House candidates and a few of their opponents did not report their receipts. For information about specific races, see the list beginning on page 23.

Women congressional candidates were well financed in 1994, but money does not tell the whole story of this year's elections. Three Republican women won House races while raising only 17, 30, and 78 percent, respectively, of what their opponents raised; one Democratic woman won her Senate seat with only 44 percent of her opponent's total receipts. This year 11 women were defeated even though they raised more than their opponents, including one Democratic Senate candidate and 10 House candidates, all but one of whom were Democrats.

Research has shown that when it comes to fundraising in general elections, women candidates raise about as much as their male counterparts in comparable races (e.g. comparing female incumbents to male incumbents) and that incumbents almost always raise more than challengers. In 1994 these patterns continued. (The following percentages are combined figures for Senate and House contests.) Female incumbents raised more than their opponents in 93 percent of their races. In contrast, only one of the 57 challengers raised more than the incumbent she opposed. In races where no incumbents were running in the general elections, women tended to outpace their opponents: women seeking open seats raised more than their opponents in 72 percent of their races.

Nine women ran for the U.S. Senate, three of whom won; 112 women ran for the U.S. House, 47 of whom won. Women congressional candidates raised \$65,592,592 as compared to the \$91,766,454 their

opponents raised. While many candidates contribute to their own campaigns, one female Senate candidate's opponent put almost \$25 million into his own campaign; subtracting the \$25 million from the overall opponents total brings the figures for women candidates and their opponents close to even. Considering that nearly half of the women candidates were challengers, these figures suggest that women overall were strong fundraisers.

U.S. Senate Races by Seat Status: Of the two incumbent women who ran, both of whom won, one candidate raised more than her opponent did and the other raised less than hers. Kay Bailey Hutchison's (R-TX) total receipts (\$6,179,856) were almost twice as high as her opponent's while Dianne Feinstein's (D-CA) receipts were less than half as much as her opponent's. Feinstein's opponent, Michael Huffington, contributed or loaned almost \$25 million of his own money to his campaign — all but about \$1.4 million of his total receipts; Feinstein, by comparison, contributed about \$1.5 million to her total campaign receipts of \$11,410,842.

Both of the women who sought open seats raised more than their opponents. Olympia Snowe (R-ME), who won her race, raised a total of \$2,042,835, which was \$701,778 more than her opponent. Ann Wynia (DFL-MN), who lost her race, raised \$2,116,589, a total of \$514,850 more than her opponent.

All five of the women who challenged incumbents lost their races and raised substantially less than their opponents. Jan Stoney (R-NE), the female challenger with the highest receipts, raised only 35 percent of what her opponent raised.

Top Receipts for U.S. Senate Races: The Federal Election Report shows that among the Senate candidates who raised the most money in 1993-1994 (not total receipts, just 1993-1994) two of the top five are women. Both are incumbents who won their races: Feinstein (D-CA) ranks third and Hutchison (R-TX) ranks fifth. Wynia (DFL-MN), who ran for an open seat and lost, ranks 38th; Snowe (R-ME), who won an open seat, ranks 39th; and Stoney (R-NE), who ran as a challenger and lost her race, ranks 43rd. (FEC figures show 70 major party nominees for the Senate.)

U.S. House Races by Seat Status: Of the 44 (34D, 10R) women incumbents who sought re-election, 36 (26D, 10R) won their races. All but two of the incumbent

women who ran raised more than their opponents. Karen Shepherd (D-UT) raised about half (\$896,497) as much as the woman who defeated her; Shepherd's opponent, Enid Greene Waldholtz whom she had defeated in 1992, raised \$1,836,502. Leslie Byrne (D-VA), who also lost her race, raised \$949,266, almost 90 percent of her opponent's total receipts.

Of the 16 (10D, 6R) women seeking open seats, 8 (4D, 4R) won. Overall, 11 (7D, 4R) of the 16 raised more than their opponents. Only one woman won an open seat having raised less than her opponent: Barbara Cubin (R-WY), raised \$344,106, only 17 percent of the \$2,045,141 her opponent raised.

Of the 52 (28D, 24R) women who challenged incumbents, three won. All three were Republicans, two of whom defeated Democratic women incumbents. The only winning challenger to raise more than her opponent was Waldholtz. The two challengers who won their races having raised less than their opponents were: Linda Smith (R-WA), who raised 30 percent (\$241,200) of the \$810,422 her incumbent opponent Jolene Unsoeld raised; and Helen Chenoweth (R-ID), who raised 78 percent (\$579,435) of her incumbent opponent's total receipts.

Top Receipts for U.S. House Races: On the House list for the 50 top money raisers in 1993-1994, there are nine women. Eight Democratic women incumbents made the list as did one Republican woman challenger. The women candidates are: winners Enid Waldholtz (R-UT), 5th; Nita Lowey (D-NY), 16th; Jane Harman (D-CA), 20th; Elizabeth Furse (D-OR), 26th; Carolyn Maloney (D-NY), 37th; and losers Margorie Margolies-Mezvinsky (D-PA), 11th; Lynn Schenk (D-CA), 14th; Leslie Byrne (D-VA), 30th; Karen Shepherd (D-UT) 40th. (FEC figures show 822 major party nominees for the House.)

Median Receipts for U.S. House Races: In U.S. House races, comparing median receipts of women candidates to total median receipts (men and women) by party and seat status, the median for women candidates was higher than the median for *all* candidates in four of the six categories shown in the table below. Democratic women, whether they were running as incumbents, challengers or for open seats, had a higher median than did Democrats overall in each of those categories. The median for incumbent Republican women was higher than that for *all* Republicans. The median for Democratic women was

also higher than the median for Republican women in each category. While the median for *all* Democratic challengers was significantly less than the median for *all* Republican challengers, the medians for women challengers in each party were very close, with Democratic women raising slightly more than Republican women. Similarly, while the median for *all* Democrats running for open seats was less than the median for *all* Republicans, the median for Democratic women was higher than that of Republican women.

U.S House Races Median Receipts*

	All Candidates	Women Candidates
Incumbents		
Democrats	\$451,089	\$463,797
Republicans	425,457	453,526
Challengers		
Democrats	60,478	99,152
Republicans	118,419	96,095
Open Seats		
Democrats	406,489	483,510
Republicans	456,432	441,476

Conclusion: People often assume that women are not good fundraisers and this perception has sometimes contributed to women being denied spots on tickets. An analysis of campaign receipts of congressional candidates in 1994 shows that women continue to be strong fundraisers in general elections. These data suggest that where women lost in 1994, other forces must have been more significant; women overall did not lose because they lacked sufficient funding.

*If an incumbent loses in the primary, the FEC describes both of the candidates in the general election to be challengers; at CAWP we describe them as running for an open seat. There are very few cases where this comes up and it is unlikely that the differing assumptions would change the table significantly.



FIFTY PLUS ONE YOUR FIRST CAMPAIGN Issues Tips

A Project of the Tides Foundation

- Early in the campaign, identify, select and define topic areas that can be tied into your previous experience and developed into themes that voters can understand.
- You should find two or three issues that you claim as your own and become an authority and an expert on these issues. They will be the core of the campaign for you and will reflect your passion for the job you seek. In the absence of major, unforeseen circumstances, stick firmly to your position on these issues.
- Try to find issues beyond the traditional ones with which women have always been associated.
- The issues you develop need to tie into your overall campaign theme and slogan used on campaign brochures and literature.
- Research campaign issues personally if you can, but also expect to receive briefings from volunteer researchers, review written drafts of short and long versions of issue papers and participate in practice sessions in which you respond to hypothetical questions.
- Avoid getting sidetracked into topics unrelated to your office. Learn to turn the discussion back to your topic. The position you run for will help you decide which issues you should side-step and which you can't.
- If you are undecided, explain that you have not yet had a chance to fully research the issue, that you see good points on both sides, and that you'll make up your mind when you have all the facts. Work to ensure that being undecided is the exception and not the rule.

Fifty plus One trains pro-choice women in the electoral campaign skills necessary to successfully run for local, state and national office.

Sources used in compiling these talking points:

Electoral Guide for the National Abortion Rights Action League Action Corps. Prepared by Kim Haddow with the help of NARAL staff, consultants and affiliate staff.

Campaigning to Win: The NWPC Guide to Running a Winning Campaign by the National Women's Political Caucus.

Campaigns and Elections American Style chapter entitled, The Principles of Planning by William R. Sweeney.

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FIFTY PLUS ONE YOUR FIRST CAMPAIGN

Campaign Research

Research is the beginning of a successful campaign plan and strategy. Research will provide you with a reading of the electorate.

Types of Research

Voter and District Research

When doing voter research you basically want to answer the following questions:

- What was the turn-out in recent elections and how many votes do you need to win?
- Who are the voters?
(i.e.; age, income, race, occupation, religion, party affiliation, organizations to which they belong, where they live, shop, worship etc.)
- What issues do the voters care about?
- Are voter lists available and in what form?

Answering these question will help you to understand where your supporters, swing votes and opponents are located in a effort to target your campaign resources.

Check the local library for reports from the Census Bureau and Bureau of Labor Statistics for information on your district. Find out who the major employers and key industries are. Look at the unemployment rate and other economic indicators. Talk to the city or county clerk and other elected officials for voter information, including party strength. Also consult with party officials, supportive officeholders and former candidates. Find out if voter registration lists can be obtained, as well as the cost, available formats, etc.

Finances

Find out how much money was raised in similar elections in the past and how it was raised (PAC or personal contributions, events, direct mail, etc.) Talk to

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former treasurers, fundraisers and politicians. In most cases state and local laws require that campaigns to file financial reports that can be reviewed by the public.

Legal Requirements

What are the procedures and deadlines for you to file as a candidate? Is there a filing fee or a certain number of signatures you needed on a petition? Are there educational or age requirements for the office for which you are running? Must any fiscal disclosure statements be filed?

Opposition Research

You may have several opponents in a primary, so this process may be time consuming. If there is one opponent which has a far greater chance of winning, you may want to focus your research on them. This is a strategic decision.

Opposition research is used to develop a profile of the opponent. You will want to look at your opponent's positions on key issues voting record, attendance record, bills sponsored, campaign contributions, scandals, broken promises, financial records, issues in previous campaigns, news coverage and personal background. Make sure you can verify anything you plan to expose about your opponent and that it comes from a primary source.

Vulnerability/Accomplishment Study

Vulnerability / Accomplishment Study is done by your campaign on your candidate to identify strengths, weaknesses, personal data, finances, civic, organizational and professional affiliations, and accomplishments. Assume that the opposition will learn of your candidate's weaknesses and attack them. The campaign should be the first to know your candidate's faults. A good vulnerability study will help you find vulnerabilities and plan for how to address them if and when your opponents raises them.

Ballot Research

Political planners should also look at the election ballot since it is the instrument by which the voters will elect or defeat your candidate.

- Who is on the ballot?
- Is it a presidential or gubernatorial year?
- Is a U.S. senator running for election or reelection?
- Are mayoral or other local offices on the ballot?
- Are there initiatives, constitutional amendments or referenda on controversial issues?

Polls

Polls are an impartial way of gathering information from a sample of voters that is used to generalize about a larger group from which the sample is taken. Polls provide a snapshot of the mood of the voters, their concerns, feelings toward your candidate and the opponent.

Your campaign budget should serve as the reality check for polling. Polls cost several thousand dollars. The bottom line is that candidates for local office usually cannot afford and do not need a poll. Some races for higher level state office can afford to and should do a poll. Even if you don't do a poll of your own, you should consult polls which may contain information on your district from higher level candidates, interest groups, the party or independent sources like newspapers.

Fifty plus One trains pro-choice women in the electoral campaign skills necessary to successfully run for local, state and national office. If you are interested in attending a training or if you are affiliated with an organization which is interested in sponsoring its own beginner-level electoral campaign training for your staff, board members and/or activists, call Fifty plus One.

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FIFTY PLUS ONE

IF WOMEN MAKE UP **51%** OF THE POPULATION...

What is Fifty plus One?

Fifty plus One is designed to train pro-choice women in electoral campaign skills to successfully run for local, state and national offices. We are a non-profit, non-partisan, grassroots organization. Fifty plus One is so named because women make up 51 percent of the U.S. population and, through our trainings we will work to see them represented at all levels of politics in proportion to their numbers in the population. In addition, it takes 50 percent plus one vote to win an election.

If women continue to be elected at the current rate, it will take as many as 342 years for women to achieve political parity with men. At Fifty plus One, we want women to reach political parity with men by the year 2051.

By recruiting women at the grassroots level for our trainings, we will be reaching out to unleash the potential of thousands of women who otherwise might never consider running for public office. History has proven that if women want to achieve social, economic and political justice by trying to influence men, we will not succeed. We will only succeed by achieving gender balance in politics.

Why Do We Need a Group Like Fifty plus One?

Ever since women won the right to vote over seven decades ago, the percentage of women in the United States House of Representatives has been under 11 percent. The percentage of women in the United States Senate is only eight percent. On the average, women make up only 21 percent of state legislatures. (Statistics are taken from the Center for the American Woman and Politics, National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.)

...WHY ARE WE STILL ONLY **8%** OF THE US SENATE?

817 SILVER SPRING AVENUE, SILVER SPRING, MD 20910 (301) 587-8061

Until women are represented in politics in proportion to their percentage in the population, issues of particular concern to women will not be adequately addressed. More women in elective office would lead to a national reordering of priorities.

During the last two decades, there was a consistent gender gap on certain issues related to women, families and social well-being. In a 1980 study, only 26 percent of women legislators agreed that abortion should be prohibited in almost all circumstances compared with 39 percent of male legislators. Seventy nine percent of women state legislators supported the Equal Rights Amendment compared with 61 percent of men. (Study was published in *How Women Legislate*, by Sue Thomas, published by Oxford University Press, 1994.)

Without the achievement of political parity which is the goal of Fifty plus One, women will be forever in the status of petitioner, not decision maker.

The Trainings

During intensive two-day training sessions, participants will learn from women elected officials and seasoned campaign professionals what it is like to run for office as a woman candidate and how to manage an electoral campaign.

FIFTY PLUS ONE

presents:

EIGHT IS NOT ENOUGH: MOBILIZING OUR MAJORITY A Beginner-level Electoral Campaign Training for Pro-choice Women

Topics to be covered during the training sessions include, but are not limited to:

- Making the Decision to Run for Public Office
- Campaign Planning
- Campaign Issues, Research and Staffing
- Campaign Finance Laws
- Fundraising and Budgeting
- Message Development and Delivery
- Getting Free and Paid Media Exposure
- Grassroots Field Organizing (working with volunteers, targeting, persuasion mail, getting out the vote)
- The Role of the Democratic and Republican Parties and Women's Organizations in Your Campaign

As a participant, you will receive a training packet and a list of organizations and publications you can consult further when you decide to run for office.

Please call the office for membership information, fall 1996 training dates, or if your organization is interested in sponsoring its own beginner-level, electoral campaign training for members, staff or activists.



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Jody Newman

BACKGROUNDER ON THE CAUCUS

What is the National Women's Political Caucus?

Founded in 1971, the National Women's Political Caucus (known as NWPC or the Caucus) is a national, grassroots organization dedicated to increasing the number of women in elected and appointed office at all levels of government, regardless of party affiliation. More than 50,000 women participate in the Caucus's activities each year.

How Does the Caucus Work?

NWPC's mission is to identify, recruit, train and support women seeking elected and appointed office. The national Caucus initiates activities from Washington while hundreds of state and local Caucus chapters reach out to women in communities across the country, hosting training seminars and taking action to improve the status of women.

The Caucus Provides Campaign Training.

NWPC's regional campaign skills workshops bring together women candidates and campaign workers with national campaign trainers and political leaders at the state and local level. The workshops cover all aspects of successful campaigns, including how to raise money, develop a campaign plan and message, motivate volunteers and address the news media. In the 1993-94 campaign cycle, the national Caucus trained more than 2,500 women from more than 30 states, nearly three times the number the Caucus trained in the 1990-91 cycle. In the 1995-96 campaign cycle the Caucus will host more than 40 trainings.

The Caucus Provides Campaign Support.

The Caucus endorses progressive women candidates for federal and statewide offices; state and local chapters support candidates for other state and local offices. The Caucus president raises money and enthusiasm for women candidates by campaigning in their region. The national Caucus provides technical assistance while state and local chapters raise money and provide crucial volunteers for get-out-the-vote efforts.

The Caucus Helps Women Be Appointed To Office.

Since 1976, the Caucus has organized efforts to encourage the appointment of women to key policy-making posts. The 1993 Coalition for Women's Appointments, composed of more than 70 women's and public interest groups, reviewed nearly 1,000 women's credentials and offered the names of more than 600 women to fill key policy-making posts throughout the Administration.

The Caucus Provides Information About Women In Politics.

The Caucus regularly publishes *Candidate Lists* and *Special Election Reports* tracking women running for higher-level office. The *Women's Political Times* is NWPC's quarterly newsletter for and about women in politics. NWPC's *Directory of Women Elected Officials* lists the names and addresses of women serving in state legislatures, in statewide offices, in Congress and as big city mayors. NWPC's *Fact Sheet on Women's Political Progress* chronicles women's political advancement. Both are updated biennially.

-more-

The Caucus Leads Research on Women Candidates.

The Caucus conducts research on women as candidates for public office in order to increase the number of women who are candidates and who win their races. In 1994, the Caucus released Perception and Reality, a comprehensive study comparing the success rates of men and women candidates in general elections from 1972 to 1992, covering more than 50,000 candidates for state legislature, governor, and Congress. A subsequent analysis examined men's and women's success rates in the 1994 primaries. The Caucus also released a pilot study exploring why more women do not run for office.

The Caucus Is A National Networking Forum For Women In Politics.

NWPC's state and local Caucuses meet on a regular basis in communities across America. NWPC's steering committee meetings and two annual award ceremonies also provide networking opportunities for women. The Good Guys Awards honor men for exceptional records of advocacy on behalf of women. The Exceptional Merit Media Awards (EMMA's) honor members of the news media for outstanding coverage of political women and their concerns.

NWPC Special Trainings

Specialty Trainings for Women Executives, Younger Women and Women of Color

The Caucus offers a program to train executive women on how to impact public policy from inside the corporation. Each training is held in partnership with a corporation. The first series was held in 1993 with the McDonnell Douglas corporation. The Caucus held 1994 trainings with Anheuser-Busch and Pfizer Pharmaceuticals. The Caucus held its **Second Campaign Skills Training for Young Women** in June 1994, drawing more than 400 under-30 women to this one-day event. The Caucus also offers **trainings designed for women of color candidates and campaign managers**. In 1994 these trainings were held in partnership with the National Political Congress of Black Women, Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the National Hispana Leadership Institute. In 1995, the Caucus will sponsor specialty trainings in addition to special trainings at the National Convention.

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September 1995

WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN RESEARCH FUND

OVERVIEW

The Women's Campaign Research Fund (WCRF) is a nonprofit, 501(c)(3), leadership training and political education organization dedicated to supporting pro-choice women candidates. For more than a decade, WCRF has played a unique role providing leadership training to scores of women now sitting in the U.S. Congress, governor's mansions or holding statewide or state legislative office.

In 1989, WCRF launched its nationally acclaimed **Leadership 2000** Program. Held biennially, **Leadership 2000** is an intensive three-day national conference designed to provide nonpartisan political and public policy-making assistance to fifty of our country's top women office holders, women poised to run for federal or statewide office. Many of the women now sitting in the U.S. Congress or holding key statewide offices have participated in this highly acclaimed program.

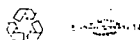
WCRF's "**Making It to the Top**" Seminars Program is designed to build upon the success of **Leadership 2000**. Each seminar provides a select group of thirty office holders -- women interested in gaining leadership and women running for higher office -- with strategic long-term political career training. A special emphasis is placed on women of color.

WCRF also conducts **Political Leadership Workshops** for women at national conferences on leadership development. These workshops focus on the skills needed for women to lay a base to run for public office and expand that base to run for higher office.

With the assistance of a professional media coach, WCRF offers one on one and group **Communications Training**. This program provides women with a personal training approach designed to develop media skills and to refine individual campaign messages.

Through programs such as **Leadership 2000**, **Making It to the Top Seminars**, **Political Leadership Workshops**, and **Communications Training**, WCRF seeks to provide seasoned women office holders with the sophisticated policy-making and political skills necessary for advancement.

Wendy Mackenzie and Nancy Rubin serve as co-chairs of the Women's Campaign Research Fund. Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky is President of WCRF.



WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN FUND

The Women's Campaign Fund -- Making a Difference

WCF was the first national, nonpartisan political action committee founded in America dedicated to providing the first contributions to progressive women candidates running at all levels of government. Since 1974, WCF has sustained 1,300 candidates -- Democrats, Republicans and Independents -- running for public office. We help elect women to the U.S. Congress, statewide office, state legislatures and city and county seats.

WCF's goal has never changed. For over 20 years, WCF has helped progressive women win at every step of their careers. Many of our candidates first enter public life at the local level. In 1980, Dianne Feinstein ran for and was elected mayor of San Francisco, and today she is a seasoned U.S. Senator. WCF was committed to her then and we are committed to her now.

WCF's candidates are making a difference. Women of the 103rd Congress made historic gains by passing a record number of bills benefitting women, families and children. Women on both sides of the aisle -- Democrats and Republicans -- are working together to ensure "real" change in government.

WCF gives money when it is most needed. We launch successful campaigns by making contributions early -- often more than a year in advance of an election. WCF was the first national political committee to contribute to a majority of the progressive Congresswomen and the second national political committee to contribute to Sue Kelly (R-NY). "WCF comes through early. Early money makes a difference...WCF was an early believer in me," Congresswoman Connie Morella (R-MD).

WCF's donors form a national network of women and men dedicated to electing progressive women. Even before this election year began, WCF contributed to 26 women in 20 states, more progressive women candidates than any other national political committee. Approximately half of our support goes to women running for state or local office -- our investment for the future success of women's political leadership.





The WISH List

3205 N Street, NW ☆ Washington, DC ☆ 20007
(800) 756-WISH ☆ (202) 342-9111 ☆ Fax: (202) 342-9190

Electing Republican Pro-choice Women as America's Leaders

What We Are

The WISH List (Women in the Senate and House) is a nationwide political donor network created to raise significant money for qualified Republican pro-choice women candidates. Our goal is to help more women take their rightful place as America's leaders.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Whom Do We Support

The WISH List support pro-choice Republican women candidates in strategic races who have demonstrated and ability to raise money and run well-organized campaigns.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

How The WISH List Operates

☆ First we assess major races where a pro-choice Republican woman is running for higher office - including U.S. Senate, U.S. House of Representatives, or state-wide office.

☆ We examine the candidate's campaign organization, record of service, and her chance of winning. If, after careful screening, we determine that she is a viable candidate, we recommend her to our members through regular mailings that profile each candidate and her position on key issues.

☆ Each member then decides which candidate to support of those recommended by The WISH List, and writes check for \$100 or more to at least two candidates in each election cycle. All members retain complete control over their own candidate choices and contributions.

☆ The WISH List then forwards these checks, with hundreds of others we receive, to the candidates.

☆ Thus, each member of The WISH List gets the credit for his or her own candidate contributions and each of our voices is magnified through collective action.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Results

☆ Founded in 1992, The WISH List supported pro-choice women candidates in the general election for Congress. As a result, the number of Republican women in the House of Representatives rose from nine to twelve.

☆ In 1993, The WISH List contributed more than \$40,000 to assist Christine Todd Whitman in becoming New Jersey's first woman governor and the first Republican pro-choice woman governor in the country.

☆ In a special election in Texas, The WISH List contributed more than \$55,000 to the campaign of Kay Bailey Hutchison, making her the second Republican woman in the U.S. Senate.

☆ In 1994, The WISH List gave over \$370,000 to 40 candidates, including the only newly elected female Senator, Olympia Snowe, and all of the Republican pro-choice incumbent Congresswomen. We also assisted the only newly elected pro-choice Republican congresswoman, Sue Kelly.

☆ In 1995, with Republican women in the U.S. Senate holding three seats (versus five Democrats); in the House, 17 seats (versus 30 Democrats); and with only one female governor in the United States, it is clear **the time has come to change the face of government in America and truly "balance the power."**

☆ The 1996 election cycle provides us with a new set of challenges and opportunities. In fact, WISH has already made several exciting endorsements. For information on WISH endorsed candidates, please call Karen Ye, Political Director.

We must elect more pro-choice Republican women to higher office.



See reverse side for membership information.

Please consider becoming a part of our effort to elect pro-choice Republican women.

Republican Women Have the POWER to Change the Face of American Politics

I want to help The WISH List support
Republican Pro-Choice Women Candidates!

____ 1996 Benefactor Dues: \$5000

\$5000 annually to The WISH List. Benefactors receive all the benefits of Team 1000 members, plus they receive complimentary invitations to ALL of the WISH List events throughout the year and throughout the country.

____ 1996 Team 1000 Dues: \$1000

\$1000 annually to The WISH List. Team 1000 members receive all the benefits of regular membership, plus invitations to WISH events throughout the year and throughout the country, such as our Breakfast at the San Diego Republican National Convention, and Team 1000 events with Republican officeholders and special briefings from The WISH List. Membership entitles you to one complimentary ticket to a WISH List event.

____ 1996 Membership Dues: \$100

\$100 annually to The WISH List and a commitment to contribute to at least two WISH endorsed candidates over a two year election cycle. Members will receive candidate profiles, quarterly newsletters and invitations to WISH List events and receptions in their area.

____ \$1500 ____ \$750 ____ \$500 ____ \$250 Other: _____

*Please make checks payable to: **The WISH List**. Corporate and PAC contributions are accepted.
Donations are not deductible for tax purposes.*

The Federal Election Commission requires the following information:

NAME: _____

STREET ADDRESS: _____

CITY, STATE & ZIP _____

PHONE () _____ WORK () _____ FAX () _____

OCCUPATION: _____

EMPLOYER: _____

**____ Please contact me directly. I am interested in hosting or helping to organize a
WISH List event in my community.**

*Associates want to get involved?
Please list names and addresses of anyone you would like us to contact for membership. Thank you!*

**The WISH List ☆ 3205 N Street, NW ☆ Washington, DC ☆ 20007
(800) 756-WISH ☆ (202) 342-9111 ☆ Fax: (202) 342-9190**

EMILY's List: A Force for the Future of Women in Politics

In 1985, frustrated by the barriers women candidates faced, Ellen Malcolm and a group of friends founded EMILY's List, an acronym which stands for "Early Money is Like Yeast" because it "makes the dough rise." The idea was to provide early money to the campaigns of pro-choice Democratic women candidates to give their campaigns credibility and show the political establishment that they are serious candidates who can raise serious money.

EMILY's List is now the nation's biggest resource for federal candidates. EMILY's List's mission: to elect more women to office. Its method: to raise money for women candidates, to help women build effective campaigns and to mobilize women voters, who are most likely to support women candidates.

EMILY's List has helped establish credibility for women candidates and enhanced their ability to run for office. Since 1985, EMILY's List has helped elect 33 women to the U.S. House of Representatives, five to the U.S. Senate, and two as governors. Since 1990, membership in EMILY's List has increased 900 percent, from 3,612 in 1990 to 33,156 in 1994.

Raising money for women candidates

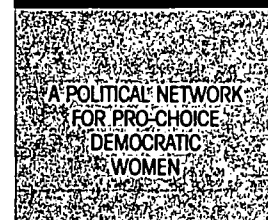
Unlike most political action committees, whose boards decide how to spend members' contributions, EMILY's List is a grassroots political network. The members of EMILY's List receive carefully researched profiles of viable pro-choice Democratic women candidates. They then write their checks directly to the candidates they choose. Over the course of the 1993-94 election cycle, EMILY's List raised over \$8.2 million in member contributions to candidates, with an average contribution of less than \$100.

Providing women with political resources

As part of its program to build strong campaigns, EMILY's List provides professional training for candidates and campaign staff. This training program has filled a void in Democratic politics and will be even more valuable in the 1995-96 election cycle, when EMILY's List plans to hold up to 18 training seminars for campaign managers, fundraisers, press secretaries and candidates.

EMILY's List also supports campaigns by conducting surveys and issue research; developing resource materials; and providing professional guidance from the organization's political staff to support planning, fundraising, media and message development for campaigns.

--more--



EMILY's List
805 15th Street, NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20005
Telephone 202-326-1400
Fax 202-326-1415

Ellen R. Malcolm
President

Mary Beth Cahill
Executive Director

Honorary Advisors
Senator Barbara Boxer
Representative Corrine Brown
Representative Eva Clayton
Representative
Barbara-Rose Collins
Representative Cardiss Collins
Representative Rosa DeLauro
Representative Anna Eshoo
Senator Dianne Feinstein
Representative Elizabeth Furse
Representative Jane Harman
Representative
Eddie Bernice Johnson
Representative Barbara Kennelly
Representative Sheila Jackson Lee
Representative
Blanche Lambert Lincoln
Representative Zoe Lofgren
Representative Nita Lowey
Representative Carolyn Maloney
Representative Karen McCarthy
Representative Cynthia McKinney
Representative Corrie Meek
Senator Barbara Mikulski
Representative Patsy Mink
Senator Carol Moseley-Braun
Senator Patty Murray
Representative
Eleanor Holmes Norton
Representative Nancy Pelosi
Representative Lynn Rivers
Representative
Lucille Roybal-Allard
Representative Pat Schroeder
Representative Louise Slaughter
Representative Nydia Velazquez
Representative Maxine Waters
Representative Lynn Woolsey
Honorable Leslie Byrne
Honorable Maria Cantwell
Honorable Karen English
Honorable
Marjorie Margolis Mezvinsky
Honorable Ann Richards
Honorable Barbara Roberts
Honorable Lynn Schenk
Honorable Karen Shepherd
Honorable Jolene Unsoeld

Paid for by EMILY's List and
not authorized by any candidate.

Mobilizing women voters

EMILY's List's voter mobilization program got its start in 1994, when a partnership with the California Democratic Party produced the California WOMEN VOTE! project, a get-out-the-vote effort targeted at pro-choice women voters. WOMEN VOTE! was a huge success for Democrats up and down the ticket in California, most notably for Sen. Dianne Feinstein, who was re-elected on the strength of women voters. In 1995-96, EMILY's List will duplicate this model in states where pro-choice Democratic women candidates are running.

How to join

Members contribute \$100 or more to EMILY's List to finance candidate recruitment and research, and pledge to contribute at least \$100 directly to two or more recommended candidates during the two-year election cycle. Membership in EMILY's List lasts for the full two years of a cycle. In addition to frequent candidate mailings, members receive a quarterly newsletter, *Notes From EMILY*, which keeps them up-to-date on the candidates and the issues. For more information about joining EMILY's List, call 202-326-1400 or write to EMILY's List at 805 Fifteenth St., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C., 20005.

Overview

When Women Vote, Women Win

WOMEN VOTE! is an ambitious EMILY's List initiative to mobilize women voters from now through the year 2000. This multi-election, \$10 million investment is critical to the long-term progress of women candidates, Democrats and progressive politics alike.

It's time to energize the progressive voting bedrock on which future Democratic victories must be built. It's time for WOMEN VOTE!

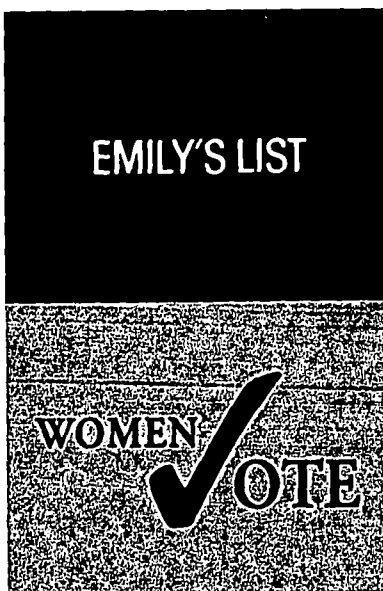
But its most immediate impact will be felt in the crucial 1996 elections, when the battle for House control may hinge on 15 marginal seats captured by Republicans in 1994 — which we would have won if we had shifted less than 32,000 votes.

WOMEN VOTE! will identify the women whose votes can create the margins of victory in close races like those next year, and elect pro-choice Democratic women to the House and other offices across the country.

WOMEN VOTE! will energize women voters by communicating about the particular issues — like child care, crime and education — most likely to motivate their support.

And WOMEN VOTE! will mobilize enough women voters to cast absentee ballots or get to the polls on Election Day to counter aggressive Republican and radical right GOTV campaigns.

As legislators take increasingly conservative positions to placate the exaggerated influence of an angry male voting minority, the project's ultimate impact will be on policy. A steadily-expanding pool of informed, motivated *women* voters will remind lawmakers that support for *progressive* policies that help women and their families is the key to electoral success — because WOMEN VOTE!



Case Study

What Happens When WOMEN VOTE!

■ In 1994, freshman Rep. Maria Cantwell of Washington ran *without* the benefit of a WOMEN VOTE! project to energize her base of support. In the face of an aggressive Republican absentee ballot campaign, her 800-vote Election Night lead turned into a 6,444-vote defeat.

Washington 1:

The area northwest of Seattle is a classic opportunity district for EMILY's List candidates: 31% of voters have college degrees, median income is \$40,390 and 64% of the women are in the workforce. Maria Cantwell won here in 1992, when Democrats ran well statewide. But the climate in 1994 was far less promising.

The GOTV Strategy Without WOMEN VOTE!

Though national anger at Democratic Congressional incumbents centered on House Speaker Tom Foley of Washington, GOTV resources were allocated on the basis of an overly-narrow voter identification analysis. The net effect was an unmobilized base and a sharp drop-off in turnout among Democratic voters.

The state Republican party, however, ran a \$450,000 GOTV and absentee ballot campaign that identified nine categories of voters. That sophisticated process, coupled with strong follow-up, led to a Republican landslide that captured eight of the state's nine House seats, including the one held by Maria Cantwell.

The Turnout:

Despite a strong, well-funded campaign, Maria Cantwell was unable to overcome the combination of Democratic attrition and Republican organizing. Statewide voter turnout dropped 22% between 1992 and 1994 — but Cantwell's vote dropped more than one-third.

Despite the drop-off at the polls, organizing efforts by Republicans kept statewide absentee ballots at virtually the same level. Of those cast in Cantwell's district, 87% went to challenger Rick White — enough to turn his 800-vote deficit at the polls into a 6,444 victory, and make Maria one of six House Democrats defeated in Washington last year.

■ But freshman Rep. Jane Harman had the California WOMEN VOTE! project on her side, which turned her 93-vote Election Night deficit into an 812-vote victory — a margin of victory that shows the power of women voters and the potential of WOMEN VOTE!

California 36:

Though this district in the South Bay area of Los Angeles is marginally Republican, it sent Democrat Jane Harman to Congress in the 1992 "Year of the Woman." But as anti-Democratic sentiment grew throughout 1994, her campaign needed to mobilize every potential voter, and prevent the turnout drop-off that usually accompanies midterm elections. The California WOMEN VOTE! project made sure it did.

The GOTV Strategy With WOMEN VOTE!

California WOMEN VOTE! was a statewide effort to mobilize occasional Democratic women voters. In Harman's district, it targeted 16,000 women who voted in the 1992 presidential election but not the midterm election two years earlier. Indications were they would sit out the 1994 election as well, unless they could be effectively motivated to vote.

WOMEN VOTE! began that process with a letter from Hillary Rodham Clinton, which talked about the momentum for change these voters ignited in 1992, and the need to keep it going. Two later mailings emphasized crime and education, issues research showed were of special concern.

Calls from a paid phone bank encouraged each woman to request a vote-by mail application, and were followed by mailings of applications pre-printed with the voter's name and ready to be signed and mailed. A final follow-up call reminded them of the October 28 application deadline, or the need to postmark their ballot by Election Day.

The Turnout:

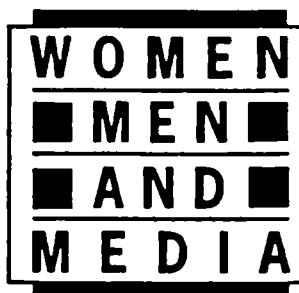
Of the 16,000 women targeted, 1,749 requested absentee ballots — twice the number needed to turn Jane Harman's 93-vote deficit on Election Night into an 812-vote victory.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: Women and Media



MARGINALIZING WOMEN

Front-Page News Coverage of Females Declines in 1996

Front-page newspaper references to females declined for the second year in a row in 1996, constituting only 15% of front-page references. That was a key finding of the eighth annual survey of news coverage of and by women.

Male voices, activities, and images saturated newspaper front pages (85% of references), key local pages (76% of references), and key business pages (86% of references). When females were covered on key pages as the main figure of a story, more than half were victims or perpetrators of crimes or alleged misconduct, rather than as persons of accomplishment and achievement.

Fewer than 1% of the references in front-page political stories were to females, even though they represent 52% of the U.S. population and 53.2% of all registered voters in the 1994 general elections. Women in power in both the public and private sectors received minimal coverage, either as newsmakers or sources of important information.

The study was sponsored by Women, Men and Media which monitors how women are covered, hired, and promoted in the press. It was originated and has been conducted by M. Junior Bridge of Unabridged Communications since 1989.

This year's study was conducted in February. Four key pages in 20 newspapers from around the country — from large, medium, and small markets — were examined. The percentage of references to females (proper names only found in headlines, photo captions, and copy), female bylines, and appearances of one or more females in photos were tabulated for the front pages, the first local or equivalent page, and the first business or equivalent page.

The study also calculated a gender breakdown of bylines appearing on the opinion pages opposite the editorial page. Lastly, a brief thematic content analysis was undertaken to provide a better perspective on news coverage of females.

The following report highlights the key findings.

Background on the Survey

Diversity in news coverage is the focus of Women, Men and Media (WMM), founded in 1989 and co-chaired by Betty Friedan and Nancy Woodhull. Toward this end, WMM has sponsored an annual, month-long study which was originated and has been conducted by M. Junior Bridge. These surveys began with an examination of three key pages in 10 major-market newspapers from around the country.

In succeeding years, the study was expanded to include 10 medium and small-market papers. Periodically, television nightly news has been examined as well. The 1996 study examined once again the percentage of female references, bylines, and photos on key pages in 20 newspapers. A content analysis of these pages was also conducted.

The major newspapers reviewed included *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Miami Herald*, *The New York Times*, *The Seattle Times*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *USA TODAY*, and *The Washington Post*.

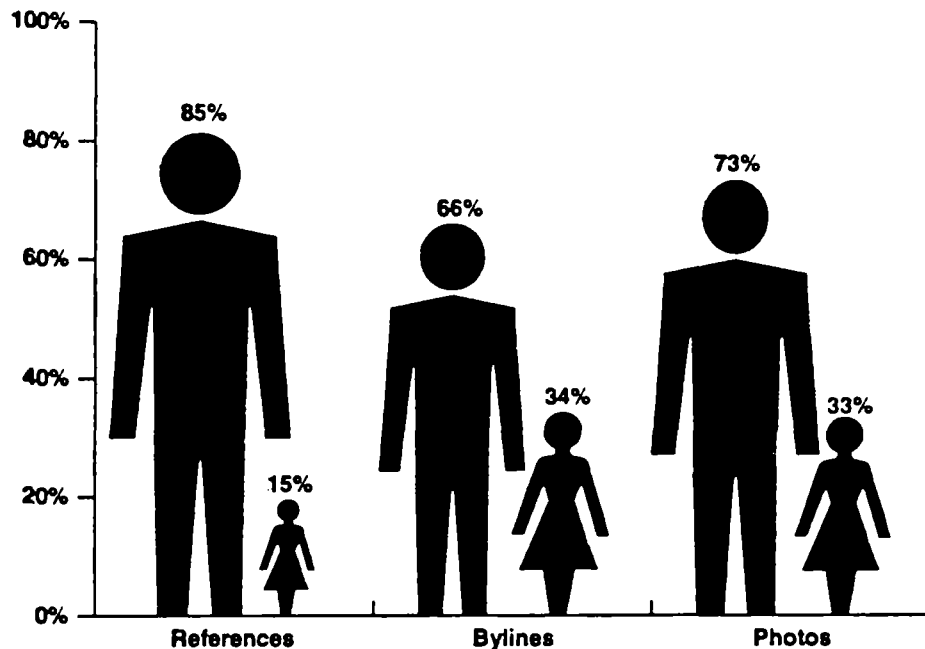
The medium- and small-market papers examined were the *Albuquerque Journal* (NM), *The Beacon-News* (Aurora, IL), *The Courier* (Findlay, OH), *Daily Camera* (Boulder, CO), *Enid News & Eagle* (OK), *The Joplin Globe* (MO), *The News-Times* (Danbury, CT), *Pine Bluff Commercial* (AR), *Sun-Journal* (Lewiston, ME), and *The Tuscaloosa News* (AL).

Friedan is an internationally known author and teacher, currently a distinguished visiting professor at Mount Vernon College in Washington, DC and a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Woodhull is senior vice president of The Freedom Forum and executive director of the forum's Media Studies Center in New York City. Bridge is president of Unabridged Communications, a research and education firm that specializes in media content analysis. The WMM program director is Sheila Gibbons, an author and specialist on women and media.

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For further information or additional copies of the report, contact Shirley Gazsi, The Freedom Forum Media Studies Center (212/678-6600); Sheila Gibbons, Women, Men and Media (301/445-3231); or M. Junior Bridge, Unabridged Communications (703/671-5883).

THE FACE OF THE NEWS FEBRUARY 1996



Fewer than two out of every ten front-page references were to females.

Women, who are the nation's 52% majority, were the 15% news minority in front-page references. This is the second year of decline in this category. In 1990, the study's second year when it was expanded to include the current 20 newspapers, the front-page average percentage of references to females was 14%. This year's percentage, then, represents not only a second year of decline, but a stagnation in the news coverage of females.

In the past, women fared better on the front pages of smaller-market newspapers. That was true again this year. The 10 major-market front-page references averaged only 12%, while the others averaged 18%. Local pages have typically provided more coverage of females also, as was the case this year. The average for both the major- and smaller-market newspapers was the same: 24%.

Six percent of the front pages examined carried no female references.

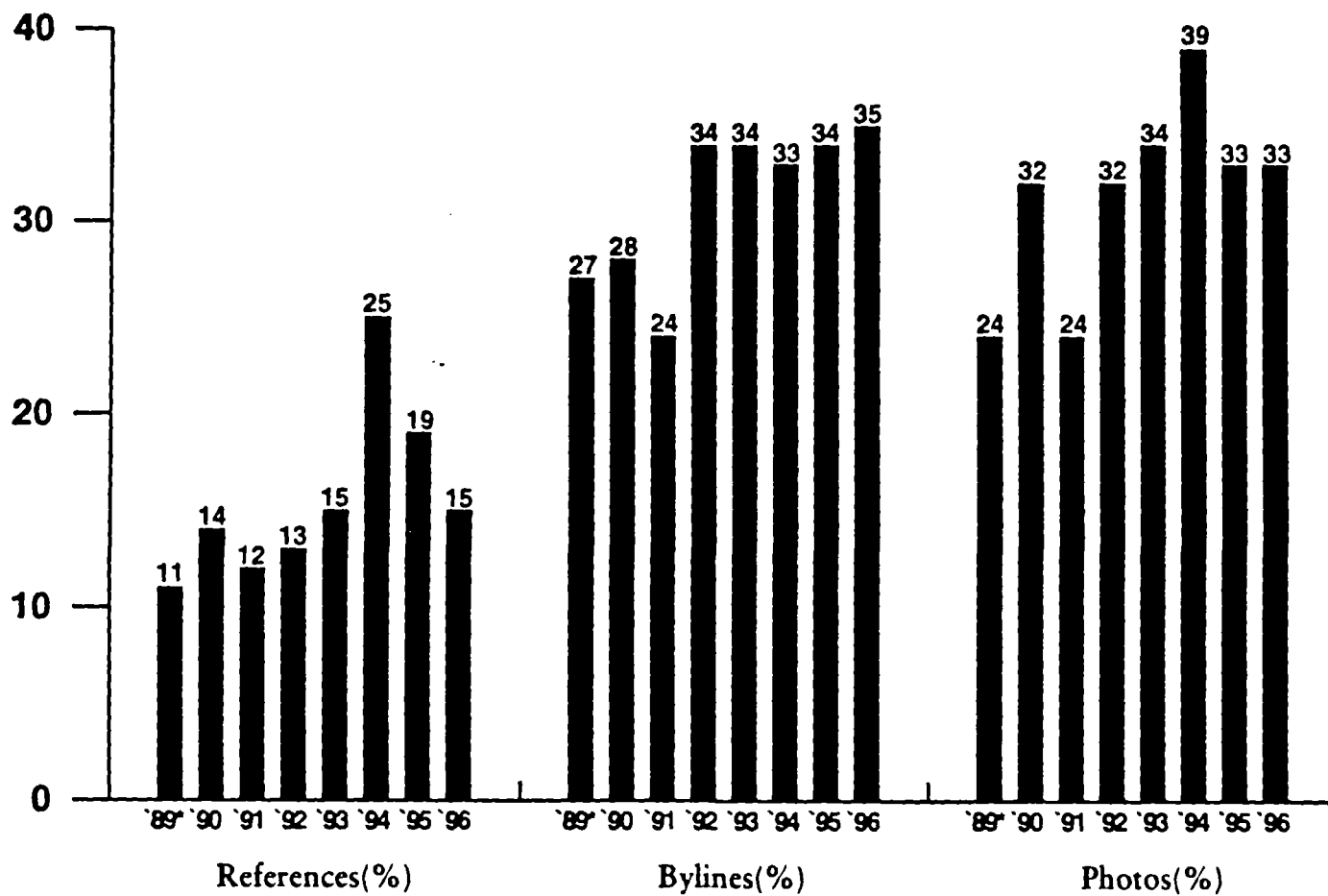
Twenty-eight of the 35 front pages lacking female references were found in eight of the major-market newspapers. The remainder were in five of the smaller-market papers. There were no front pages devoid of male references. As in previous surveys, it was not uncommon to find that female references, when they were carried, were concentrated in fewer stories (sometimes only one or two on a page), as opposed to male references which appeared in almost every story.

Bad news about or negative images of women dominated front-page news coverage of women.

A review of the front-page stories in which the key figure was female showed that slightly more than half concerned victims or other negative news. Women and girls who were murdered, missing, or abused; females who were accused of crime or other wrongdoing; and deaths were frequently reported along with bad news such as the divorce announcement of England's Princess Diana.

In most of the newspapers examined, stories about women who were accused of misconduct or were victims of crime or some sort of disaster predominated on the front and first local pages. For

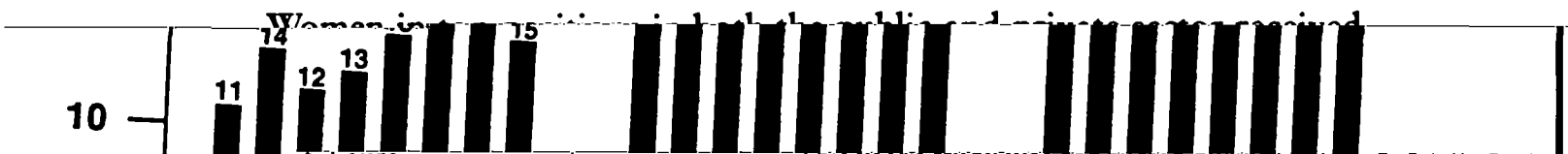
FRONT-PAGE AVERAGES FOR FEMALES



*Only 10 major-market papers were surveyed in the initial study in 1989.
Twenty papers were examined in subsequent years.

example, more than half of the front-page references to females in the *Houston Chronicle* in February were to victims and females who were accused of wrongdoing.

Sixty percent of the key-page articles about Hillary Rodham Clinton were negative. She was criticized on many fronts, from the political to the personal. *The Joplin Globe* was the only paper during the study period to carry three commentaries by the First Lady. The paper also carried three commentaries about her, two of which were highly critical of Mrs. Clinton.



times was a main topic. Yet, Laura
mentioned in these stories less than a

first female in the U.S. Senate,
and minimally at that. It is worth
Committee. She made the front
time and Ross Perot another.

rs, Barbara Boxer and Dianne
Los Angeles Times. The same was
Tribune.

p female figure whose economic
onomy stories. Her presence in
os of her, doing such things as
cials.

Malveaux, financial analysts, and
also largely missing from these
e Republican candidates for the

went up, the percentage is not
year's percentage is the highest
found on the key local pages, as

percent unchanged from

average 33% of the time, the same

decline.

on the op ed or equivalent pages,
on pages examined had no male

This year's study was conducted during a month in which econo
Tyson, the President's top economic advisor, was quoted or ment
dozen times.

Although she holds a national office and is Washington state
Patty Murray was covered mostly on *The Seattle Times'* local pages,
noting, too, that she serves on the prestigious Senate Appropriation
pages only when in the company of men — President Clinton one

Coverage of California's two pioneering female U.S. Senat
Feinstein, also received minimal coverage on the key pages of the
true for Illinois' U.S. Senator Carol Moseley Braun in the *Chicago*

New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman was another to
opinions and commentary would have been appropriate in the e
February's news was minimal, although there were several pho
shaking hands with the President and meeting with male public off

Comments from leading female economists, such as Julianne
other women with appropriately high-level expertise to offer, wer
stories. Male views and input were provided predominantly by t
presidential nomination in the majority of the economic stories.

Front-page female bylines increased slightly.

Although the percentage of female bylines on the front page
significantly different from what it has been since 1992. This
recorded to date: 35%. A higher percentage of female bylines was
in past studies: 43%.

Front-page female photo appearance average v 1995.

Females appeared in front-page photos in the 1996 study on a
as last year. This was a decrease from a high in 1994 of 39%.

Commentary written by women continued to

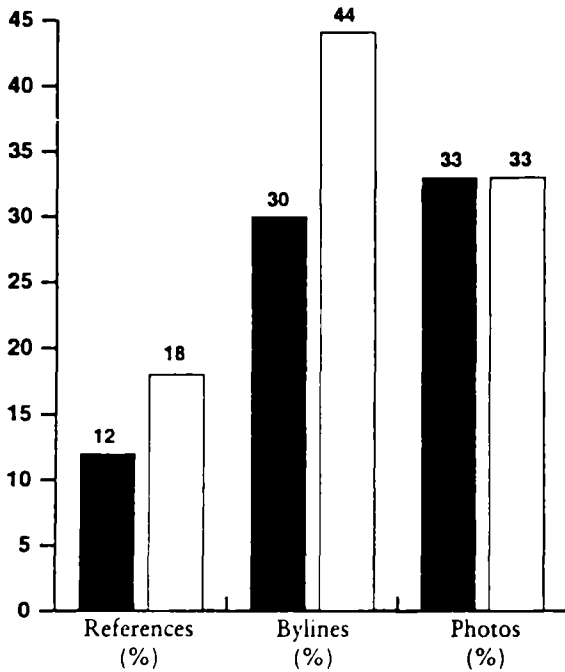
Women wrote an average of only 26% of the opinion pieces
down from 27% in 1995 and 28% in 1994. Only 2% of the opin
bylines, but 28% lacked female bylines.

FEMALES IN THE NEWS

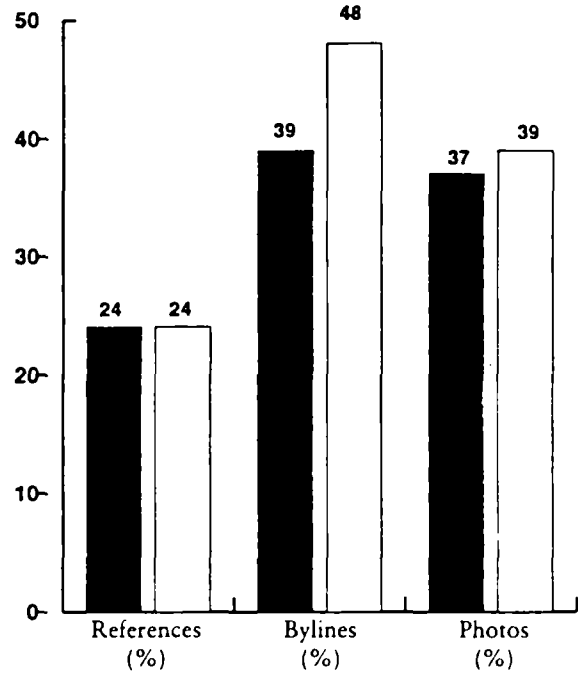
Major and Smaller- Market Newspapers

February 1996

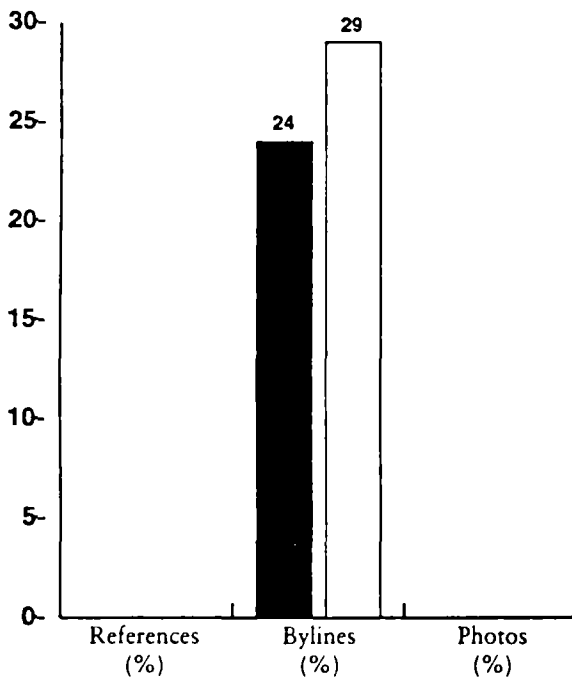
Front Page



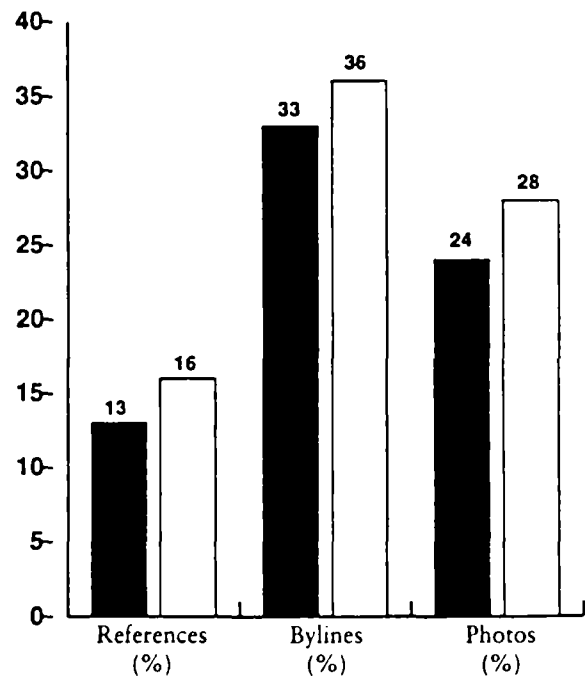
Local Page



Op Ed Page



Business Page



■ Major Market □ Smaller Market

Women were underrepresented on the key business pages.

References to females on the key business pages averaged 14%. Women were pictured on average in 25% of the photos, and wrote 34% of the first-page business section stories. Of these pages, 13% had no female references, bylines, or photos. None lacked a male presence.

Women own nearly eight million businesses — about a third of the nation's companies. They now employ one out of every four workers in this country, and account for \$2.3 trillion in sales, according to a recently released report by the National Foundation for Women Business Owners. In an era of corporate downsizing, it was reported last year that women-owned businesses employ 35 percent more people in this country than the Fortune 500 companies employ worldwide. Yet, of the stories that appeared in February's papers which focused on business owners, officials, or policymakers, 88% were about males.

A report issued in late January by the President's Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise showed that many women entrepreneurs still face the same problems that have always dogged them. These include limited access to capital, scarcity of training and technical assistance, and difficulty competing for federal procurement. This report was mentioned by only one business writer on the key business pages during the study period. None of the issues listed in the report were addressed by key-page business writers, male or female, in February.

More commonly, stories about women in business were found on inside pages and/or in feature sections of the newspapers, not in the business sections. A few examples:

— The business acumen of Helen Gurley Brown, credited with turning a failing magazine called *Cosmopolitan* into a gold mine, was the subject of an article on a page that contained engagement announcements and a half-page ad on 15 fat-burning foods (*Albuquerque Journal*, 2-8-96).

— The lucrative niche in fitness TV and videos which entrepreneur Denise Austin carved for herself was covered on the inside pages of the "By Design" section of the *Los Angeles Times* (2-22-96).

— The business success of 78-year-old Betty James was featured in *The New York Times* Living Section (2-21-96). She is known primarily for naming and marketing a toy (the Slinky), invented by her husband who abandoned the family.

Females were rarely mentioned in political stories. Their voices and concerns were largely missing from economic stories.

Less than one percent of the references in the front-page political stories were to females. In those instances where female references did appear, they were mostly to wives and daughters.

Who was winning or losing was the predominant theme of the articles and commentaries which appeared. Of the issues addressed, the economy, or some aspect thereof, received the most attention. The flat tax proposal by candidate Steve Forbes was the focal point early in the study month. Pat Buchanan refocused the economic debate on worker job insecurity and stagnating wages. In general, solutions for issues of job insecurity brought on by continuing corporate downsizing and stagnant incomes were secondary, if that.

Discussion of the impacts of massive corporate layoffs on individuals, communities, and the health of the U.S. economy were sparse. In general, workers — especially women and minorities who have traditionally been in less secure and lower-paid positions in the workplace — were not sought out for their views on the subject.

Stories on inside pages of the papers tended to treat the economic issues more substantively. For example, Marilyn Geewax, in her column on page five of *The Atlanta Constitution* (2-4-96), stated that consumer confidence is eroding because of "constantly seeing people fired — regardless of job performance or company profitability."

She continued: "The dramatic decline in confidence must be hard to understand in the boardroom. Profits are strong, productivity is up, interest rates are down and stock prices are rising to astonishing heights. But down on the factory floor, the economy looks very different. For most employees, pay raises have been meager, work hours have grown longer and job insecurity has increased . . . Political stability depends on having most people, most of the time, believe the U.S. economic system rewards hard work."

Reading just the key pages of these 20 newspapers would not have provided information about the economy's impact on children and families. Missing were analyses of the impact of the rising cost of goods; the relationship between economic insecurity and political hate-mongering; the affordability of basic services, such as health and child care; and how genuinely needy people will be assisted.

Polling information about women's concerns and news coverage of these concerns diverged widely.

A recently released poll by *The Washington Post* showed that women voters are concerned about the economic prospects for their children, their neighbors, and society's needy. Further, a Knight-Ridder survey showed that women will be the swing voters in the upcoming presidential election. The pollsters were reported as saying that neither party seems to be paying attention (*Daily Camera*, 2-8-96).

The gap between women's concerns, as elicited by these polls, and the themes reflected by news coverage was evident in article placement. Priority placement — front pages, lead positions — was given in February to the campaign ups and downs, and candidates' charm, personality, and style. As previously noted, substantive coverage of the issues, when carried at all, was more likely to be found on inside pages. One such in-depth article was written by Knight-Ridder's Rachel L. Jones.

Entitled "Children at Risk," Jones reported (*Daily Camera*, 2-11-96) that although the United States is the richest and most powerful country in the world, its child poverty and infant mortality rates are the highest among 18 industrialized nations. Teen pregnancy rates are triple those of some other nations.

As reported in February's newspapers, the political attention of both politicians and journalists was focused largely elsewhere than on the plight and concerns of women, children, and the needy. The coverage of women and girls was low in numbers, short on substance regarding issues of concern to them, and dominated by negative images.

FRONT PAGE

21%	The Beacon-News
20%	Daily Camera
19%	Pine Bluff Commercial Sun-Journal
18%	Enid News & Eagle
17%	St. Louis Post-Dispatch The Tuscaloosa News
16%	Houston Chronicle The Joplin Globe The News-Times The Seattle Times
15%	The Atlanta Journal-Constitution Albuquerque Journal The Courier
14%	The Miami Herald
11%	Chicago Tribune Los Angeles Times
9%	USA Today The Washington Post
8%	The New York Times
Overall average.....15%	

LOCAL PAGE

32%	Daily Camera
30%	Los Angeles Times
29%	The Seattle Times
28%	Albuquerque Journal The Miami Herald
27%	The Atlanta Journal-Constitution Houston Chronicle Pine Bluff Commercial
26%	Enid News & Eagle Sun-Journal
25%	The Washington Post The News-Times
23%	The Beacon-News
22%	The New York Times
21%	St. Louis Post-Dispatch
20%	The Courier The Joplin Globe
18%	Chicago Tribune
15%	USA Today The Tuscaloosa News
Overall average.....24%	

AVERAGE FEMALE REFERENCES BY PAPER February 1996

BUSINESS PAGE

21%	The Beacon-News
20%	Enid News & Eagle
19%	The Courier The News-Times Pine Bluff Commercial
18%	The Joplin Globe
17%	Houston Chronicle
15%	The Atlanta Journal-Constitution Chicago Tribune Miami Herald Albuquerque Journal
14%	Los Angeles Times St Louis Post-Dispatch
13%	Daily Camera Sun-Journal
11%	The New York Times The Seattle Times
9%	The Tuscaloosa News
8%	USA Today
7%	The Washington Post
Overall average.....14%	

AVERAGE FEMALE BYLINES BY PAPER

February 1996

FRONT PAGE

84% Enid News & Eagle	35% The Seattle Times	30% Los Angeles Times
55% Sun-Journal	Pine Bluff Commercial	29% Chicago Tribune
50% Daily Camera	34% The Miami Herald	27% The Courier
42% St. Louis Post-Dispatch	33% Albuquerque Journal	23% The Washington Post
The Joplin Globe	The Tuscaloosa News	19% The New York Times
40% USA Today	31% The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	Overall average.....34%
38% The Beacon-News	Houston Chronicle	
The News-Times		

LOCAL PAGE

79% Enid News & Eagle	46% The Beacon-News	33% Houston Chronicle
72% Daily Camera	44% St. Louis Post-Dispatch	The Joplin Globe
68% Pine Bluff Commercial	42% The Miami Herald	32% Los Angeles Times
60% The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	41% Albuquerque Journal	The New York Times
57% The News-Times	39% The Tuscaloosa News	25% Chicago Tribune
51% The Seattle Times	38% Sun-Journal	19% The Courier
48% USA TODAY	34% The Washington Post	Overall average.....43%

OP ED PAGE

40% The News-Times	30% The Miami Herald	23% The Joplin Globe
Pine Bluff Commercial	27% USA TODAY	22% St. Louis Post Dispatch
37% Sun-Journal	26% The Seattle Times	19% The Courier
36% Daily Camera	Los Angeles Times	18% The New York Times
34% The Beacon-News	25% Albuquerque Journal	13% The Washington Post
The Tuscaloosa News	24% Chicago Tribune	9% Enid News & Eagle
31% The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	Houston Chronicle	Overall average.....26%

BUSINESS PAGE

100% The Courier	36% Houston Chronicle	25% Chicago Tribune
63% Sun-Journal	31% Los Angeles Times	23% The New York Times
59% Daily Camera	30% The Beacon-News	20% The Seattle Times
50% The Miami Herald	Pine Bluff Commercial	The News-Times
45% USA TODAY	29% The Washington Post	14% Enid News & Eagle
44% Albuquerque Journal	The Tuscaloosa News	7% The Joplin Globe
42% The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	26% St. Louis Post Dispatch	Overall average.....34%

AVERAGE FEMALE PHOTOS BY PAPER February 1996

FRONT PAGE

46%	The Washington Post
39%	The Beacon-News
38%	The Atlanta Journal-Constitution Houston Chronicle St. Louis Post-Dispatch Albuquerque Journal
34%	Los Angeles Times The New York Times Pine Bluff Commercial
33%	Daily Camera The Joplin Globe Sun-Journal
32%	The News-Times
31%	Enid News & Eagle The Tuscaloosa News
28%	The Miami Herald The Seattle Times
26%	Chicago Tribune The Courier
25%	USA TODAY

Overall average.....33%

LOCAL PAGE

55%	Los Angeles Times
50%	Pine Bluff Commercial
49%	The Seattle Times
48%	The Washington Post Enid News & Eagle
47%	The News-Times
44%	The Miami Herald Sun-Journal
43%	Daily Camera
42%	The Courier
39%	The Beacon-News
38%	St. Louis Post-Dispatch
37%	Albuquerque Journal
36%	Chicago Tribune
35%	Houston Chronicle
31%	The Tuscaloosa News
27%	The New York Times
24%	USA TODAY The Joplin Globe
13%	The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Overall average.....38%	

BUSINESS PAGE

62%	The Courier	29%	The New York Times Albuquerque Journal	19%	Enid News & Eagle
50%	The Washington Post	26%	Los Angeles Times	17%	St. Louis Post-Dispatch
37%	The Atlanta Journal Constitution	25%	Sun-Journal	15%	Daily Camera
34%	The Tuscaloosa News	24%	The News-Times	12%	The Seattle Times
33%	Houston Chronicle	23%	The Joplin Globe	9%	USA TODAY
31%	Pine Bluff Commercial	22%	Chicago Tribune	Overall average.....38%	
30%	The Beacon-News	20%	The Miami Herald		

Most Visible Reporters in 1995

	Reporter	Stories	Race	Sex	Network
1.	Tom Brokaw*	295	W	M	NBC
2.	Brian Williams*	179	W	M	NBC
3.	David Bloom	153	W	M	NBC
4.	John Cochran	152	W	M	ABC
5.	Rita Braver	145	W	F	CBS
6.	Bill Whitaker	140	B	M	CBS
7.	Bob Schieffer*	139	W	M	CBS
8.	Peter Jennings*	130	W	M	ABC
9.	Robert Hager	126	W	M	NBC
10.	John McWethy	114	W	M	ABC
11.	Dan Rather*	113	W	M	CBS
12.	Lisa Myers	109	W	F	NBC
13.	Jim Stewart	107	W	M	CBS
14.	Brit Hume	103	W	M	ABC
15.	Bob Simon	98	W	M	CBS
16.	David Martin	96	W	M	CBS
17.	Scott Pelley	90	W	M	CBS
18.	Bill Redeker	88	W	M	ABC
19.	Aaron Brown	86	W	M	ABC
20.	Dr. Bob Arnot	83	W	M	CBS
21.	Lisa Stark	82	W	F	ABC
	Allen Pizzey	82	W	M	CBS
	Pete Williams	82	W	M	NBC
24.	Jackie Judd	80	W	F	ABC
25.	Roger O'Neil	76	W	M	NBC
26.	Bob Orr	74	W	M	CBS
27.	John Donovan	73	W	M	ABC
28.	Andrea Mitchell	71	W	F	NBC
29.	Jack Ford	71	W	M	NBC
30.	Robert Bazell	69	W	M	NBC
31.	Diana Olick	65	W	F	CBS
32.	John Blackstone	64	W	M	CBS
33.	Jim Maceda	62	W	M	NBC
34.	John Martin	60	W	M	ABC
35.	George Lewis	59	W	M	NBC
36.	Barry Petersen	57	W	M	CBS
37.	Art Rascon	57	H	M	CBS
	Kelly O'Donnell	57	W	F	NBC
39.	George Strait	56	B	M	ABC
40.	John Roberts	55	W	M	CBS
	Linda Douglass	55	W	F	CBS
	Ed Rabel	55	W	M	NBC
43.	Richard Threlkeld	53	W	M	CBS
	Gwen Ifill	53	B	F	NBC
45.	James Hattori	51	A	M	CBS
	Randall Pinkston	51	B	M	CBS
	John Palmer	51	W	M	NBC
48.	Jim Cummins	50	W	M	NBC
49.	Erin Hayes	49	W	F	ABC
	Ray Brady	49	W	M	CBS

*Note: Excludes "headline" anchor pieces.

Newsroom Diversity

Both minority and women correspondents were less visible on the evening news last year than in 1994. One out of eight stories (12%) was reported by a minority reporter last year, down from 14 percent in 1994, while women reported about one-fifth (21%) of all news stories in 1995, down from 25 percent. Despite this year's drop, however, both women and minority correspondents are more visible than in 1990, when women reported only 13 percent of all stories and only seven percent were reported by a minority journalist.

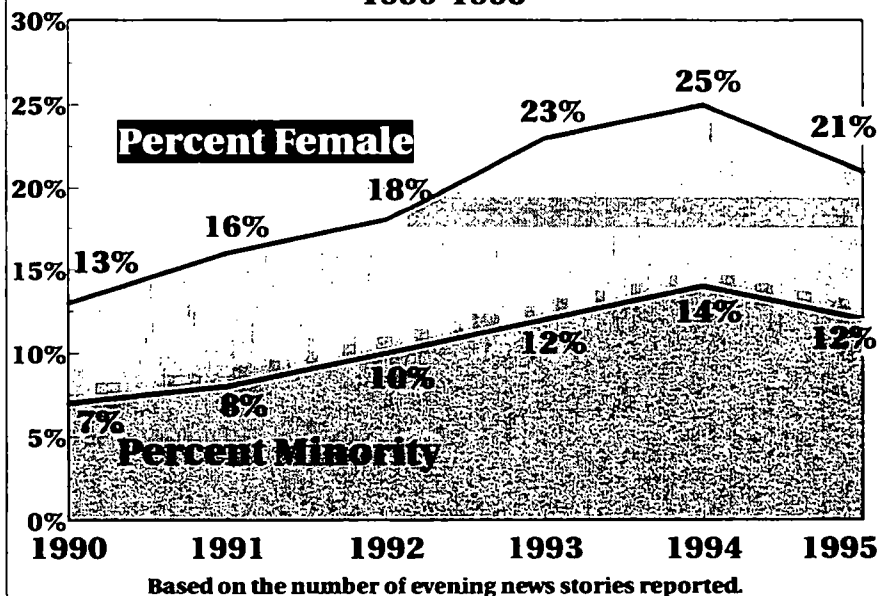
NBC anchor Tom Brokaw was the most visible reporter last year, narrating 295 lengthy reports for *Nightly News*. Brokaw's total ranged from field reports in Oklahoma City to regular features such as his *American Close-Up*. In second place was NBC White House correspondent (and substitute anchor) Brian Williams with 179 reports. ABC anchor Peter Jennings also landed in the Top 10 with 130 stories, while CBS's Dan Rather placed at #11 with 113 lengthy reports. (All totals exclude short lead-ins and

"headlines" read by the anchor from the studio.)

Regular coverage of the Republicans' "Contract with America" and debate over the Federal budget shifted some

Schieffer (CBS, 139 stories) and Lisa Myers (NBC, 109 stories) to rival their White House counterparts' visibility in 1995. The other prominent news beat was the O.J. Simpson trial in Los Angeles, which added some new faces

Demographics of Network Reporters 1990-1995



attention from the White House to the Republican-led 104th Congress. This enabled Capitol Hill reporters John Cochran (ABC, 152 stories), Bob

to the top ten reporters. NBC's David Bloom placed third on the list with 153 stories, up from 78 in 1994, and CBS's Bill Whitaker placed sixth with 140 stories, up from 98.

Most Visible Anchors in 1995

	Reporter	Newscasts	Race	Sex	Network
1.	Dan Rather	234	W	M	CBS
2.	Tom Brokaw	221	W	M	NBC
3.	Peter Jennings	207	W	M	ABC
4.	Connie Chung	87	A	F	CBS
5.	Brian Williams	78	W	M	NBC
6.	John Roberts	53	W	M	CBS
7.	Carole Simpson	46	B	F	ABC
8.	Bob Schieffer	45	W	M	CBS
9.	Katherine Crier	31	W	F	ABC
10.	Forrest Sawyer	28	W	M	ABC
11.	Giselle Fernandez	27	H	F	NBC
12.	Renee Poussaint	12	B	F	ABC
	Diane Sawyer	12	W	F	ABC

Based on number of weekday and weekend newscasts anchored during 1995. List only includes those who anchored ten or more newscasts. Some newscasts had two anchors.

In 1994, three women (Mitchell, Braver and Myers) ranked among the top 10 reporters. Last year, only Braver remained in the top 10, and she reported 20 percent fewer stories in 1995. NBC's Andrea Mitchell, who was the most visible network reporter from 1992-1994 dropped to #28 after switching from the White House to foreign policy. Overall, women lost visibility at both CBS and NBC (21% and 19% respectively) but gained ground at ABC (24%, up from 20%). Minority reporters' visibility was reduced at CBS (18%, down from 24%) and ABC (10%, down from 12%) but held steady at NBC (9% in both 1995 and 1994).



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Female Ownership of Mass Media Companies

- The FCC currently does not collect data on the gender or race of broadcast and television licenses. No incentives exist to increase female ownership despite that women are severely underrepresented: only 1.9% of television stations and 3% of all radio stations are female-owned.
- The collection of data on the representation of women in the industry, especially in top management and ownership, is important to the formulation of appropriate policies and programs for women by the FCC and other government agencies. Only with facts in hand can appropriate federal policies be developed.
- The media is a powerful industry, having influence over perceptions and social attitudes of the public. The absence of women's perspectives in the decision-making about messages that transmit in the media is cause for alarm.
- A comprehensive study must be done at once to, among other things:
 - Analyze the communications industry with emphasis on the role of women, using historical data and contemporary factors;
 - Analyze the requirements for entry and advancement;
 - Identify barriers to capital and other systemic factors that negatively affect women's participation; identify ways to overcome these barriers;
 - Determine the nexus between women's ownership and diversity of programming. Would news, public affairs, editorial content, public service announcements, and entertainment programming be different if women defined the content?

AWRT is working to encourage the undertaking of such a study by the federal government.

For more information, contact Terri Dickerson, executive director.

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Today, women creating their own media are undercutting the male control of the mass communications which has provided the common knowledge on which the public bases its decisions. Women have been able to accomplish this through the following three-step process:

- **Creating our own media and establishing our own common knowledge through discussion of shared ideas and experiences.**
- **Having our issues reach enough people and creating visibility to the point where they can no longer be ignored by the mass media.**
- **Adding our established knowledge to the existing male-dominated public knowledge corrects the imbalance and approaches an equal sphere of knowledge representing the whole public.**

As a result of this three-step process, the public is able to make more viable, constructive political decisions having the once silenced population's information.

"Women are the key players in a transformation of communication that is rapidly moving the world toward a democracy based on everyone being heard," according to the evidence assembled in WIFP's new booklet, *The Media Technology Road to Democracy and Equality* by Dr. Donna Allen, WIFP founder.

"Examination of no more than four decades from the 1960s to the 1990s shows how the change came about. It was caused by women acquiring and using communication technology they never previously possessed, enabling millions more, worldwide, to take part in political decision-making."

DON'T FORGET THE POWER OF OUR OWN PRESS !!

All progress for women begins with our communication – speaking for ourselves in our own media. History has shown that mass media cover nothing until we have raised the issues in our own media, using all the communications technology we have at the time – from person-to-person (lobbying, conferences, demonstrations, etc.) to print, broadcast, film, art, music, and now FAX and E-mail and the World Wide Web.

DON'T FORGET TO USE ALL FORMS OF OUR OWN MEDIA.

THEY ARE THE KEY TO OBTAINING COVERAGE IN THE MASS MEDIA

The following are excerpts, showing 2 examples, from *The Media Technology Road to Democracy and Equality*:

FIRST Male Viewpoint: Violence Against Women Is Acceptable.

It took just two decades for women to win adoption of their viewpoint that violence to women is far more than a minor problem affecting only a few. Women reversed the long-held male viewpoint that violence to women is "natural" and unavoidable and therefore acceptable.

Women's viewpoint on violence against women is now official U.S. policy. Congressional passage of the Violence Against Women Act in 1994 is the most stunning illustration of women's success in reaching enough of the public to replace the male viewpoint that prevailed for thousands of years. In authorizing nearly 2 billion dollars over a six-year period, the law firmly acknowledges that violence to women is a major not a minor problem, and that violence is not acceptable. The law also affirms the women's viewpoint that because violence against women is not "natural," it is avoidable. It does this by authorizing more than one billion dollars for law enforcement training grants, and for education and training of state and federal judges, and for youth education and community programs on domestic violence, to name a few among numerous other programs, such as working with offenders and establishing a domestic violence hotline.

It may yet take a long time to eradicate violence against women or, still more

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: Election Resources

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK FOR WOMEN

The National Voter Registration Act — What it Means to Women

President Clinton signed the National Voter Registration Act into law on May 20, 1993. This important new law requires that:

- Department of Motor Vehicles offices must provide voter applications when issuing driver's licenses or renewals.

- Registration must be offered in public assistance offices (including food stamps, Medicaid, WIC, and AFDC), agencies that primarily serve people with disabilities and receive state funds, Armed Forces recruitment offices, public schools and libraries. Offices must provide the same level of assistance as in completing other forms.

- States must offer mail-in registration forms. They are not allowed to require notarization or other formal authentication and must make forms available for public and private distribution. Eligible applicants must be accepted as voters, if the form is postmarked or accepted at an agency, not later than the lesser of 30 days before the date of the Federal election or the period provided by state law.

- Names are not to be removed from the registration rolls because voters have not voted. They may only be removed at the request of the voter or by state law, in case of criminal conviction or mental incapability.

- Voter registration forms can be submitted to the Federal Elections Commission as well as local, county, and state election officials.

You can view the National Voter Registration Act and other Internet voter registration information on the Feminist Majority Foundation's Women's WebWorld at:

<http://www.feminist.org>

The National Voter Registration Act provides an unprecedented opportunity to galvanize women to register and to vote. Almost 40% of women eligible to vote in 1994 were not registered -- 56.6% of young women (18-24) were unregistered.

The National Clearinghouse on Election of the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) can provide copies of the National Voter Registration postcard package including 2 cards and a booklet explaining state regulations for \$1. The FEC also can provide printing specifications, so that you can reproduce the postcards. You can contact the FEC @ 800-424-9530 or 202-219-3670 or write 999 E St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20463.

Voter Registration Deadlines and Contacts — State by State

Below we describe how you can obtain mail-in registration forms, as well as the deadline to submit them to state and local election officials. (The information below is compiled from Human SERVE and Federal Elections Commission publications.)

Alabama

Director of Voter Registration
Montgomery AL
334-242-4337
deadline: 10 days before the election

Alaska

Division of Elections
Juneau AK
907-465-4611
deadline: 30 days before the election

Arizona

Office of Assistant Secretary of State
Phoenix AZ
602-542-4919
deadline: 29 days before the election

Arkansas

Election Services
Little Rock AR
501-682-5070
deadline: 21 days before the election

California

Office of Chief of Elections
Sacramento CA
916-657-2166
deadline: 29 days before the election

Colorado

Elections Office
Denver CO
303-894-2680 #1
deadline: 30 days before the election (If the application is received in the mails without a postmark, it must be received within 5 days of the close of registration.)

Connecticut

Elections Office
Hartford CT
203-566-3106
deadline: 14 days before the election

Delaware

Office of State Election Commissioner
Dover DE
302-739-6794
deadline: 20 days before the election

District of Columbia

Board of Elections and Ethics
Washington DC
202-727-2525
deadline: 30 days before the election

Florida

Division of Elections
Tallahassee FL
904-488-7690
deadline: 29 days before the election

Georgia

Elections Division
Atlanta GA
404-656-2871
deadline: The fourth Friday before any general primary, general election, or presidential preference primary. The ninth day after the date of the call for all other special primaries and special elections.

Hawaii

Elections Division
Honolulu HI
808-453-8683
deadline: 30 days before the election

Idaho
Office of Secretary of State for
Elections
Boise ID
208-334-2300
deadline: 25 days before the election

Illinois
Board of Elections
Springfield IL
217-782-4141
deadline: 29 days before the election
* has established dual voter registration systems, one system in which NVRA registrants may vote in federal elections only and a second system for state and local elections requiring voters to register in person, with witnesses, or other procedures

Indiana
State Election Board
Indianapolis IN
317-232-3939
deadline: 29 days before the election

Iowa
Office of Secretary of State
Des Moines IA
515-281-5823
deadline: 10 days before the election, if it is a state primary or general election; 11 days before all others. Registration forms which are postmarked 15 or more days before an election are considered on time even if received after the deadline.

Kansas
Elections Office
Topeka KS
913-296-2236
deadline: delivered 15 days before the election
*has established dual voter registration systems, one system in which NVRA registrants may vote in federal elections only and a second system for state and local elections requiring voters to register in person, with witnesses, or other procedures

Kentucky
State Board of Elections
Frankfort KY
502-573-7100
deadline: 28 days before the election

Louisiana
Office of Commissioner of Elections
Baton Rouge LA
504-925-7885
deadline: 24 days before the election

Maine
Elections Office
Augusta ME
207-287-6308
deadline: 15 days before the election (or delivered in-person up to and including election day)

Maryland
Board of Elections
Annapolis MD
410-974-3711
deadline: 9:00pm on the fifth Monday before the election

Massachusetts
Office of Director of Elections
Boston MA
617-727-2828
deadline: 20 days before the election

Michigan
Office of Director of Elections
Lansing MI
517-373-2540
deadline: 30 days before the election

Minnesota
Office of Secretary of State
St. Paul MN
612-296-2805
deadline: delivered by 5:00pm 21 days before the election (there is also election day registration at polling places)

Mississippi
Elections Office
Jackson MS
601-359-1350
deadline: 30 days before the election
* has established dual voter registration systems, one system in which NVRA registrants may vote in federal elections only and a second system for state and local elections requiring voters to register in person, with witnesses, or other procedures

Missouri
Election Services
Jefferson City MO
314-751-4875
deadline: 28 days before the election

Montana
Office of Secretary of State
Helena MT
406-444-4732
deadline: 30 days before the election

Nebraska
Office of Secretary of State
Lincoln NE
402-471-2554
deadline: The fourth Tuesday before the election (or delivered by 6pm on the second Friday before the election)

Nevada
Office of Secretary of State for
Elections
Carson City NV
702-687-3176
deadline: 9:00pm on the fifth Saturday before any primary or general election. 9:00pm on the third Saturday before any recall or special election.

However, if a recall or special election is held on the same day as a primary or general election, the registration closes at 9:00pm on the fifth Saturday before the day for the elections.

New Hampshire
Assistant Secretary of State
Concord NH
603-271-3242
deadline: In New Hampshire, The National Voter Registration postcard form may be used only as a request for a State voter registration

application, which must be received by your city or town clerk by 10 days before the election. However, this is currently being challenged in court.

New Jersey
Election Division
Trenton NJ
609-292-3761
deadline: 29 days before the election

New Mexico
Bureau of Elections
Sante Fe NM
505-827-3622
deadline: 28 days before the election

New York
State Board of Elections
Albany NY
518-474-8100
deadline: 25 days before the election

North Carolina
State Board of Elections
Raleigh NC
919-733-7173
deadline: 25 days before the election

North Dakota
*does not accept NVRA because they have no voter registration

Ohio
Office of Secretary of State
Columbus OH
614-466-2585
deadline: 30 days before the election

Oklahoma
State Election Board
Oklahoma City OK
405-521-2391
deadline: 25 days before the election

Oregon
Office of Secretary of State
Salem OR
503-986-1518
deadline: 21 days before the election (there is no deadline for applications for a change of name, change of address or to register with a party)

Pennsylvania
Office of Commissioner of Elections
Harrisburg PA
717-787-5280
deadline: 30 days before the election

Rhode Island
Office of Director of Elections
Providence RI
401-277-2340
deadline: 30 days before the election

South Carolina
State Election Commission
Columbia SC
803-734-9060
deadline: 30 days before the election

South Dakota
Office of Supervisor of Elections
Pierre SD
605-773-3537
deadline: delivered 5 days before the election

Tennessee
Elections Office
Nashville TN
615-741-7956
deadline: 30 days before the election

Texas
Office of Secretary of State
Austin TX
512-463-5650
deadline: 30 days before the election

Utah
Office of Director of Elections
Salt Lake City UT
801-538-1040
deadline: 20 days before the election

Vermont
Office of Secretary of State
Montpelier VT
802-828-2304
deadline: delivered to the town clerk before 12:00 noon on the third Saturday before the election
*will not accept NVRA until 1999 because of their delayed implementation in order to amend their constitution

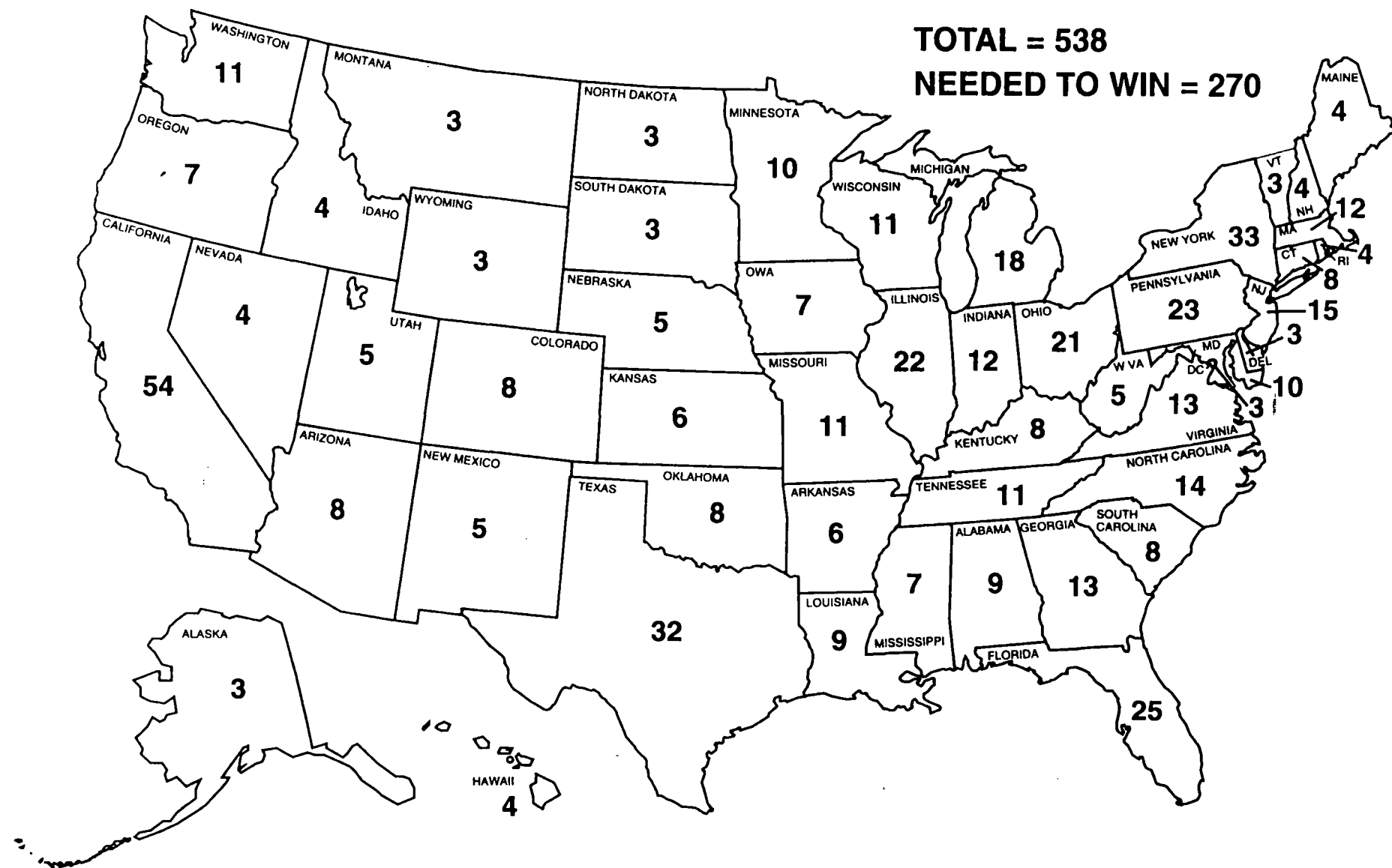
Virginia
State Board of Elections
Richmond VA
804-786-6551
deadline: delivered 29 days before the election
*will not accept NVRA until 3-6-96 because of their delayed implementation in order to amend their constitution

Washington
Office of Election Director
Olympia WA
360-753-2336
deadline: 30 days before the election (or delivered in-person to the local voter registration office 15 days before the election)

West Virginia
Office of Chief of Staff
Charleston WV
304-558-6000
deadline: 30 days before the election

Wisconsin
State Elections Board
Madison WI
608-266-8005
deadline: 13 days before the election (or completed in the local voter registration office 1 day before the election or completed at the polling place on election day)
*has special mail-in procedures

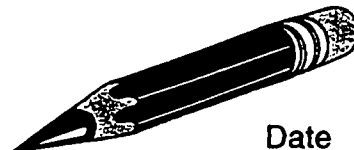
Wyoming
Deputy Secretary of State
Cheyenne WY
307-777-5333
deadline: 30 days before the election
*does not accept NVRA because they have election day registration



★ **ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATE** ★

Note: These pages were reprinted with permission from Campaign '96: A Workbook for the 1996 Political Year. For further information, contact Capitol Advantage, P.O. Box 1223, McLean, VA 22101-1223, 1-800-659-8708.

Who's Ahead?



Date _____

Democratic Candidate	%	Republican Candidate	%	Third Party Candidate	%

Closing Times for State Polls

[All times listed in Eastern Standard Time]

Alabama	8 p.m.	Montana	10 p.m.
Alaska	Midnight	Nebraska	9 p.m.
Arizona	9 p.m.	Nevada	10 p.m.
Arkansas	8:30 p.m.	New Hampshire	7/8 p.m.
California	11 p.m.	New Jersey	8 p.m.
Colorado	9 p.m.	New Mexico	9 p.m.
Connecticut	8 p.m.	New York	9 p.m.
Delaware	8 p.m.	North Carolina	7:30 p.m.
District of Columbia	8 p.m.	North Dakota	8/10 p.m.
Florida	7/8 p.m.	Ohio	7:30 p.m.
Georgia	7 p.m.	Oklahoma	8 p.m.
Hawaii	10:30 p.m.	Oregon	11 p.m.
Idaho	10/11 p.m.	Pennsylvania	8 p.m.
Illinois	8 p.m.	Rhode Island	9 p.m.
Indiana	6/7 p.m.	South Carolina	7 p.m.
Iowa	10 p.m.	South Dakota	9 p.m.
Kansas	8/9 p.m.	Tennessee	8 p.m.
Kentucky	7 p.m.	Texas	8/9 p.m.
Louisiana	9 p.m.	Utah	10 p.m.
Maine	8 p.m.	Vermont	7 p.m.
Maryland	8 p.m.	Virginia	7 p.m.
Massachusetts	8 p.m.	Washington	11 p.m.
Michigan	9 p.m.	West Virginia	7:30 p.m.
Minnesota	9 p.m.	Wisconsin	9 p.m.
Mississippi	8 p.m.	Wyoming	9 p.m.
Missouri	8 p.m.		



As public officials, advocates for women's rights, policy-makers, organizations and individuals, we sign this Contract with Women of the USA to implement the Platform for Action adopted September 1995 at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women by consensus of 189 governments, including the United States of America.

We pledge our mutual commitment to the goal of equality and empowerment for American women, who are the continuing majority population of our nation and states.

We pledge to work together to overcome discrimination based on sex, race, class, age, immigration status, sexual orientation, religion and disability. We seek to end social, economic and political inequities, violence and the human rights abuses that still confront millions of women and girls in our country.

Looking to the 21st century, we enter into this Contract with Women of the USA for ourselves and for future generations to achieve our vision of a healthy planet and healthy nations, states and communities, with peace, equality and justice for all.

1. EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

We pledge to work for empowerment of women in all their diversity through their equal participation in decision-making and equal access to shared power in government, in all spheres and at every level of society.

2. SHARING FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

We pledge to work for equal sharing of family responsibilities, recognition and respect for the diversity of families, and for practices and policies that enhance the multiple roles, security and well-being of women and girls, men and boys.

3. ENDING THE BURDEN OF POVERTY

We pledge to work for economic justice and to end the increasing burden of poverty on women and their children, who are a majority of the poor. Recognizing the value of women's unpaid and underpaid labor to our families, communities and economy, we support a living wage for all workers and adequate funding for welfare and other social safety nets, child care, education and job training, and access to collateral-free credit for women-owned small businesses.

4. HIGH QUALITY, AFFORDABLE HEALTH CARE

We pledge to work to reaffirm the rights of women and girls, regardless of income or where they live, to high quality, accessible, affordable and respectful physical and mental health care, based on sound women-focused research.

5. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

We pledge to work to reaffirm and uphold the sexual and reproductive rights of all women, including their right to control their own reproductive lives free of coercion, violence and harassment.

6. WORKPLACE RIGHTS

We pledge to work for guarantees of equal pay for work of comparable value and an end to discriminatory hiring and sexual harassment. We support family-friendly workplace practices, job training and opportunities programs, strengthening of affirmative action, employees' rights to organize unions and to work in safe, healthy working environments.

7. EDUCATIONAL EQUITY

We pledge to work for educational equity for women and girls, including creation and strengthening of gender-fair multicultural curricula and teaching techniques, equal opportunities and access for girls and women throughout their lives to education, career development, training and scholarships, educational administration and policy-making.

8. ENDING VIOLENCE

We pledge to work for policies and programs to end violence against women and children in every form and to ensure that violence against women and children is understood as a violation of their human rights and civil rights.

9. PROTECTING A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT

We pledge to work to end environmental degradation and eliminate toxic chemicals, nuclear wastes and other pollutants that threaten our health, our communities, country and planet. We uphold active roles by government at all levels and public and private sectors to continue and expand environmental protection programs.

10. WOMEN AS PEACE MAKERS

We salute women's leading roles in peace movements and conflict resolution and pledge to work for their inclusion in policy-making at all levels aimed at preventing wars, halting the international arms trade and eliminating all nuclear testing. We seek reductions in military spending and conversion of military facilities to socially productive purposes.

11. HONOR COMMITMENTS AND RATIFY CEDAW

We pledge to support the commitments made by the United States government to implement the UN Platform for Action, which constitutes a contract with the world's women. We call on the United States Senate to ratify the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which the United States has signed.

12. A LONG-TERM PLAN TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY

We who are state and federal policy makers pledge to work in partnership with women's organizations to develop and enforce a long-term plan to achieve our goals of equality and empowerment for women. We support the re-establishment of a national Advisory Panel on Women and the creation or strengthening of similar panels or commissions in each state, to ensure that governments at every level take the necessary steps to implement this Contract.

Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO)
845 Third Avenue, 15th Floor
New York, NY 10022
Phone (212)759-7982 Fax (212)759-8647

Center for Women Policy Studies (CWPS)
1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 312
Washington, DC 20036
Phone (202) 872-1770 Fax (202)296-8962





HUMAN
RIGHTS
CAMPAIGN

WOMEN AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN: FIGHTING FOR EQUALITY

"Women contribute to every aspect of our success in the movement and at the Human Rights Campaign. HRC is expanding its already strong commitment to issues of particular concern to lesbians and all women."

Elizabeth Birch, Executive Director

Elizabeth Birch comes to the Human Rights Campaign with a lifelong commitment to lesbian and gay activism as well as high-level corporate experience at one of the world's most successful computer companies. Elizabeth served as Worldwide Director of Litigation and Human Resources Counsel for Apple Computer, Inc., where she played a key role in securing a non-discrimination policy and domestic partner benefits for Apple's lesbian and gay employees. She went on to become a visible spokesperson for lesbian and gay equal rights in the workplace, contributing significantly to the national movement to establish domestic partnership coverage in a variety of workplace settings.

Elizabeth has a long history of activism in the lesbian, gay and AIDS/HIV communities. She is a former co-chair of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the founder of AIDS Legal Services, a model program for people with HIV in Northern California. Elizabeth has also authored several AIDS anti-discrimination ordinances which have been enacted in California municipalities.

These experiences have prepared Elizabeth to head up HRC in its work to end discrimination, secure equal rights, and protect the health and safety of all Americans. Elizabeth leads the national staff, volunteers and members throughout the country, as they lobby the federal government on lesbian, gay and AIDS issues; educate the general public; participate in election campaigns; organize volunteers; and provide expertise and training at the state and local level.

Lesbians and our issues play a vitally important and highly visible role in the Human Rights Campaign and its work on behalf of lesbian and gay equality.

WOMEN'S ISSUES:

LESBIAN HEALTH. Research indicates that lesbians have a higher chance of developing breast cancer compared to heterosexual women. HRC helped secure increased federal funding for breast and cervical cancer research and worked to ensure that funding for women's health research and education included lesbians as a targeted population. A leader in the Lesbian Health Advocacy Network, HRC co-sponsored the first-ever Lesbian Health Roundtable, and is a member of the Campaign for Women's Health. In a ground breaking meeting, HRC and other lesbian health advocates met with the women's health coordinators at the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to lay a foundation for future action addressing the health needs of lesbians. HRC lobbyists also work to ensure that any health care reform addresses needs unique to lesbians.

WORKING FOR LESBIAN AND GAY EQUAL RIGHTS.

1101 14th Street NW, Suite 200 Washington, D.C. 20005
phone (202) 628 4160 fax (202) 347 5323 email hrc@hrcusa.org



LESBIAN CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTION. In addition to the economic discrimination lesbians face as women, a study by the University of Maryland found that -- due to sexual orientation discrimination -- lesbians earn up to 14% less than their heterosexual female peers with similar jobs, education, age and residence. No federal law protects people from being fired, denied work or otherwise discriminated against merely for being lesbian, gay or bisexual. In response, HRC lobbyists are working to pass the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), which would prohibit job discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

LESBIAN YOUTH. Studies indicate that 20% of young lesbians and 45% of young gay males are physically or verbally assaulted in high school -- 28% feel forced to drop out. HRC leads the fight to protect school programs addressing the needs of lesbian and gay youth against attacks by Senator Jesse Helms and other extremists in Congress.

LESBIAN FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE. Anti-lesbian violence is on the rise across the country. HRC led the successful effort to pass the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act, the first federal law to increase penalties for hate crimes against lesbians and gay men, and the first such legislation including "gender" as a category. HRC continues working to protect women, lesbians and gay men under federal hate crimes legislation.

LESBIAN FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND VISIBILITY. HRC has opposed attempts to censor lesbian artists, such as Holly Hughes and Karen Finley, funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. Our National Coming Out Day program has featured actress Amanda Bearse and rock star Melissa Etheridge as national media spokespeople for lesbian and gay visibility.

LESBIANS IN THE MILITARY. Women are three times more likely than men to be discharged under the military's ban on lesbians and gays. Lesbian-baiting is a favorite tactic used throughout the armed forces to keep all women "in line." HRC works to educate Members of Congress, the Administration and the American public that sexual orientation does not affect performance of military duties -- and to change the policy that allows women to be harassed and discharged solely on the basis of their perceived sexual orientation.

PRO-CHOICE AND PRO-PRIVACY. The Human Rights Campaign is pro-choice and pro-privacy -- advocating for the basic right to control our own bodies and define our own families without interference from the government. Our legislative agenda includes advocating access to abortion services for all women, including low-income women, and legislation prohibiting states from restricting reproductive choice. HRC worked for passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act to protect women entering health clinics from the violence of anti-choice zealots, and will oppose any effort to reinstate the federal "gag rule" forbidding health workers from even discussing abortion.

SUPPORT FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES. While Congress remains an overwhelmingly male institution, HRC has a strong record of support for women federal candidates. Our Political Action Committee (PAC) has given over \$400,000 to women in the last two elections alone. This represents about 30% of our PAC contributions to candidates, an impressive number given that women make up only 10% of Congress. HRC will continue to be a leader in helping to elect women who support fairness for lesbian and gay Americans.

THE WOMEN OF HRC:

Women co-chair HRC's Board of Directors and Board of Governors and make up well over 40% of their membership. Women are similarly well represented on the full-time staff, comprising more than half of the organization's management team and professional lobbyists.

HRC recognizes and celebrates the talented and committed women who daily make enormous contributions to the organization and the fight for lesbian and gay equality. Join HRC and become one of the tens of thousands of women members who contribute their time, energy and resources as a part of the HRC team.

STUDENTS: UNTAPPED VOTING POWER

The percentage of college aged people who vote is far smaller than that of all other age groups. In 1994, only 20% of 18-24 year-old women and men exercised their right to vote (21% of 18-24 year-old women voted versus 19% of 18-24 year old men). By comparison, 56% of 45-64 year-old women and men voted. Among 65-74 year olds, 61% voted.

As a result, even though 18-24 year-olds make up nearly as large a block of potential voters as those 65 years and older — 13.5% of all potential voters — older voters actually out-vote younger voters by a whopping 7-1 margin.

Students Have the Right to Vote

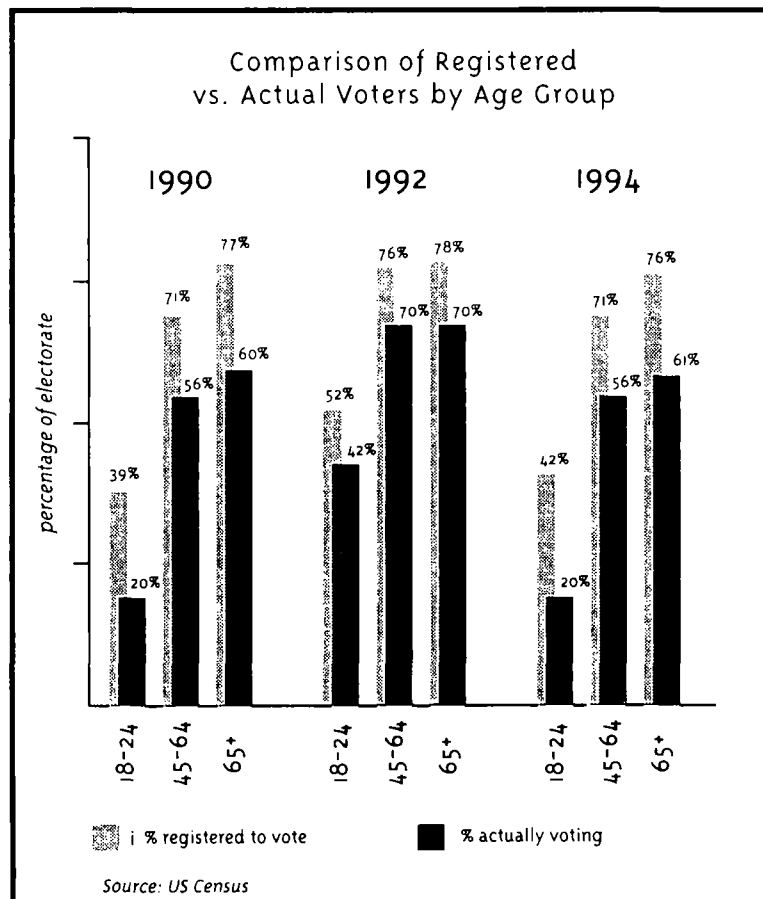
Students should feel angry — not guilty — about these statistics. Time and time again students are told they are "apathetic." The truth is that students are actively discouraged and prevented from using their electoral power. The myth that students must register to vote in their home states is frequently used to discourage students from

voting. Out-of-state students wishing to register to vote are often told that they will jeopardize their financial aid if they register to vote.

Many times local officials argue that students should not vote because they are not "permanent" residents. But students do pay local taxes (sales taxes are one of the largest revenue sources for state government) and their buying patterns have a substantial impact on local economies through their rental agreements, purchases of food, housing, clothing and entertainment — not to mention providing a cheap labor force. Universities are often integral to a local town's economy.

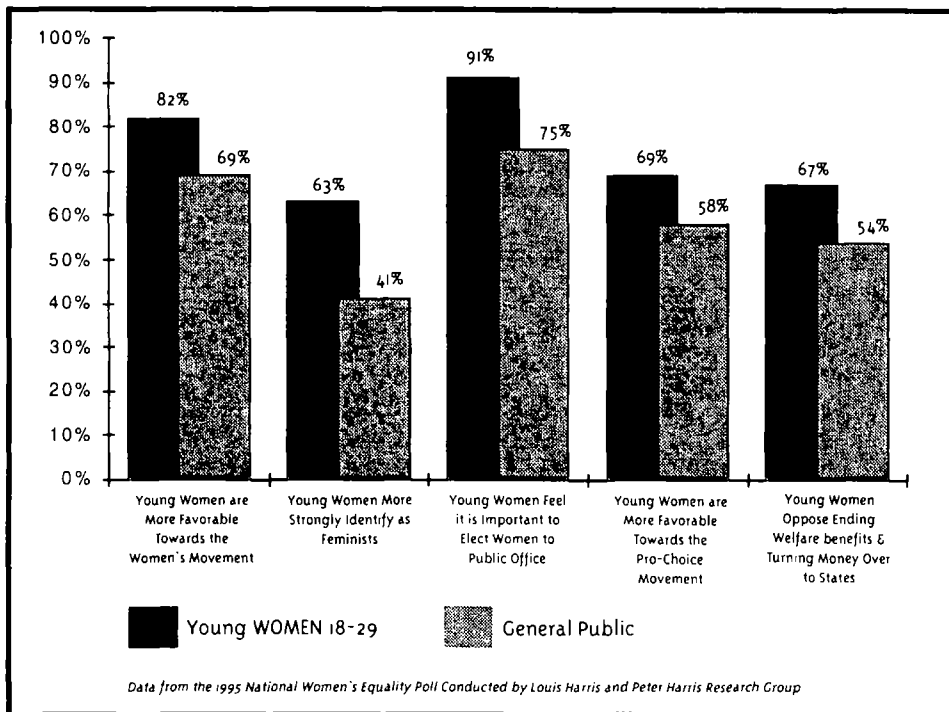
So, don't let anyone discourage you from registering and voting. *State and local elections where you go to school affect you and you have every right to vote in them.*

While each state requires its voters to be residents, the sole determinant of residency is "an intent to remain in the state." Obviously, students intend to remain in a place where they have a commitment to their education. Some states do require that voters be residents for a certain amount of time preceding an election, but that time period never exceeds 50 days. *In short, students can and should vote in the state where they attend school.*



Don't let the myths scare you away.

YOUNG WOMEN'S VOTES COUNT



CAMPUS VOTER REGISTRATION: A MUST

Encourage your college or university to make it easy for students to register to vote by having the necessary forms highly visible during class registration — at least as highly visible as class registration manuals or publicity materials advertising room telephone and refrigerator rentals.

Encourage the Dean of Students or department heads to mandate voter registration in all classes one day a term or semester. Set up permanent voting and registration sites on campus and in high schools. Sponsor dorm, sorority, campus organization, departmental voter registration drives and competitions. Host voter registration concerts or parties. Be creative.

The outcome of public elections builds for your future as much as your education does. So start planning your voter registration drive now!

RESOURCES FOR CAMPUS VOTER REGISTRATION

USSA- United States Student Association 1612 K Street, NW, Suite 510 Washington, DC 20006 202.347.8772

Third Wave- 185 Franklin Street, 3rd Floor, New York, NY 10013 212.925.3400

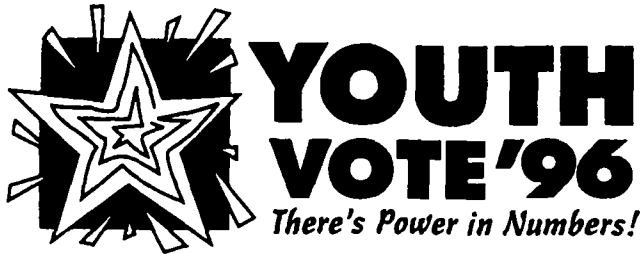
Youth Vote '96- 1731 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 501, Washington, DC 20009 202-234-5993

Rock the Vote- 1460 4th Street, Suite 200, Santa Monica, CA 90401 1.800.CALL.RTV

FEMINIST MAJORITY FOUNDATION

1600 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 801 Arlington, Virginia 22209 • 703.522.2214

8105 West 3rd Street Los Angeles, California 90048 • 213.651.0495



1731 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 501
Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-5993
yv96@access.digex.net
<http://www.cgv.org/cgv/yv96.html>

20/20 Vision is dedicated to revitalizing democracy by engaging citizens in strategic communications with policymakers to preserve the environment and promote peace. Contact: Alex Campbell, (202) 833-2020; <http://www.2020vision.org>.

ACORN, the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, is the largest low and moderate-income membership organization in the country. Contact: Nadege Adam, (202) 546-3492.

A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI), Contact: Jena Roscoe, (202) 289-2774.

Campus Green Vote, a project of the Center for Environmental Citizenship, is dedicated to training and organizing a diverse national network of young voters to protect the environment. Contact: Thérèse Heliczor or Dottie Hodges, (202) 234-5990; <http://www.cgv.org/cgv>.

COOL is a national nonprofit whose mission is to educate and empower college students to strengthen our nation through community service. Contact: Lloyd Jacobson, (202) 637-7004; <http://www.cool2serve.org/cool/home.html>.

The **Free the Planet!** campaign is a national grassroots network of student environmental chapters. Contact: Rick Taketa, (202) 547-3656; http://www.essential.org/earth_day/home.html.

Frontlash is a youth based organization that works on labor, civil and human rights issues. Contact: Amy Cohen & Teferi Gebre, (202) 783-3993.

Green Corps is a field school for environmental organizing. Contact: Leslie Samuelrich or Adam Ruben, (617) 426-8506.

Hillel, the Foundation For Jewish Campus Life, is dedicated to serving the needs of Jewish students nationwide. Contact: Ari Hoffnung, (202) 857-6543; <http://www.hillel.org>.

Mainstream Voters Project, Maine is dedicated to promoting participation in the democratic electoral process. Contact: Barry Horn, (207) 286-3718.

The **National Association of Students for Higher Education (NASHE)**, a group of 35 universities and state associations, engages in government relations, issue education and voter registration. Contact: Marc Ross, (202) 739-0463.

The National Coalition for the Homeless (NCH) is a national advocacy network of persons who are or have been homeless, activists, service and housing providers, and others committed to a single goal of ending homelessness. Contact: Michael Stoops, (202) 775-1322; <http://nch.ari.net>.

The National Coalition for Students with Disabilities is a coalition of student organizations on college campuses that deal with disability rights issues. Contact: Michael Beattie, (703) 273-3973.

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR), the largest constituency-based national Hispanic organization, works to reduce poverty and discrimination, and improve life opportunities for Hispanic Americans. Contact: Marco Davis, (202) 785-1670.

Public Allies, Contact: Michael Watts, (202) 638-3300, Ext. 230

The Public Interest Research Groups are non-partisan environmental and consumer watchdog groups that work for a safe sustainable future. Contact: Ivan Frishberg, (202) 546-9707; <http://www.pirg.org/pirg>.

Rock the Vote is dedicated to protecting freedom of speech, educating young people about issues that affect us, and motivating young people to participate. Contact: Mark Strama, (310) 656-2464; <http://www.rockthevote.org>.

Sierra Student Coalition is the 30,000 member student-run arm of the Sierra Club. Contact: Kim Mowery, (202) 547-1141; <http://ssc.org/ssc>.

The Entrepreneurial Development Institute, or TEDI, is a national nonprofit organization whose mission is to serve as a catalyst for permanent social change, economic development and community empowerment for youth and their families. Contact: Melissa Bradley, (202) 822-8334; <http://www.bedrock.com/tedi>.

Third Millennium is a national, non-profit, non-partisan advocacy and educational organization launched by young adults offering solutions to long-term problems facing the U.S. Contact: Richard Thau, (212) 979-2001; <http://www.thirdmil.org>.

Third Wave is a member-driven, national non-profit organization devoted to young feminism for social change. Contact: Vivian Labaton, (212) 925-3400.

United States Student Association, or USSA, advocates for student interests by tracking and lobbying for federal legislation and policy and by voicing student concerns on issues affecting access to education. Contact: Star Wilbraham, (202) 347-8772; <http://www.essential.org/ussa>.

Youth Voices is a joint project of the Center for Policy Alternatives and *Who Cares Magazine* to identify the common dreams and concerns of 18-24 year olds around which they can be mobilized to more actively participate in the civic life of our nation. Contact: Jehmu Greene, (202) 956-5125

THE GREATEST RISE IN VOTER REGISTRATION IN AMERICAN HISTORY IS NOW UNDERWAY

But Poorer Women and the Disabled are Being Left Out

A NATIONAL SUMMARY

Americans are registering or updating their voting addresses at the rate of nearly one million per month in 41 states since January 1995, when the National Voter Registration Act went into effect.¹ Based on these figures, we expect that the rolls will rise by 20 million before the '96 election, and 20 million more by the '98 midterm election when the full 4-year drivers' license renewal cycle will be completed. The resulting increase would be far and away the largest among already eligible voters (as contrasted with the enfranchising of new groups, such as women and the 18 year old) since the personal voter registration system was introduced in the closing decades of the 19th century. It's awesome.

The NVRA requires that states offer to register people to vote when they get or renew drivers' licenses (called "motor voter"), or when they apply for AFDC, Food Stamps, Medicaid, WIC, and disability services (called "agency-based" voter registration). More than 11 million enrolled or updated their voting addresses in the first year, 5.5 million of them in drivers' license agencies, 1.3 million in public assistance agencies, and 4.2 million by mail (see charts on pages 5 and 6).

Most important, the NVRA could eliminate historic disparities in registration rates by race, income, and age. Registering drivers is a great equalizer. Only 40% of those 18-21 years of age are registered, but 85% have drivers' licenses. Even poorer and minority people are more likely to drive than to be registered, and many who don't drive can be signed up in public assistance agencies. Finally, the address-updating feature of the NVRA system is equalizing because in the past it took poorer and minority people much longer than better-off people to get re-registered after moving.

¹ The status of the remaining 10 states is as follows. North Dakota has no registration system. Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Wyoming are exempt because they had election-day registration at the time of NVRA passage in 1993. New Hampshire and Idaho enacted election-day registration subsequent to NVRA passage. Arkansas, Vermont, and Virginia were permitted to delay implementation in order to amend their state constitutions (Arkansas began implementation on 1/1/96, Virginia began on 3/6/96 and Vermont is currently in court to determine its start date). South Carolina, which lost its court challenge, is expected to be in compliance by May 1, 1996.

Poor women are not being registered as much as they should be. More than 5 million should have been signed up in public assistance agencies during 1995, not 1.3 million, especially since on-going recipients are supposed to be offered a chance to register at eligibility recertification interviews which are scheduled every 3 or 6 or 9 months depending on the program. The problem of poor implementation is regional. Southern-tier states registered high percentages of the public assistance applicant/recipient pools during the first year.

Alabama	21%	Florida	21%
Georgia	22	Kentucky	19
Louisiana	12	Maryland	7
Missouri	38	N. Carolina	19
Oklahoma	26	Tennessee	31
Texas	23	W. Virginia	15

Two of these states actually enrolled more people in public assistance than in drivers' agencies -- Alabama, and West Virginia.

The problem of low public assistance registration is largely confined to the North. The NVRA first became the target of a resurgent states' rights legal movement led mainly by governors in the large northern industrial states. Although Article I, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution grants Congress the power to "make or alter" regulations regarding the time, place or manner of federal elections, some governors nevertheless went to court to claim that this power is "reserved to the states" under the 10th Amendment.

So far, federal district courts in Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia, California, and Illinois, as well as appellate courts in the latter two states, have flatly affirmed the primacy of Article 1, Section 4 over the 10th Amendment. A case in Michigan is still to be heard (Michigan established the first motor voter program in 1976, but state officials are resisting public assistance registration). California appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but was turned down.

Political obstruction is now taking form in administrative resistance. Public officials are failing to tell public assistance eligibility workers that they are required to offer to register clients, or they are telling them not to bother if they don't have time (and this at a moment when cost-cutting is raising worker caseloads sharply). Or workers may not be kept supplied with voter registration forms. This strategy is succeeding. With the exception of Indiana, which signed up 33% of applicants and recipients (which was more numerically than in DMVs), the figures from large industrial states are low. Connecticut, 6%; Massachusetts, 2%, Ohio, 14%; New York, 17%; Rhode Island, 0.3%. Significantly, officials in three northern states refuse to disclose statistics on the numbers being registered in PA agencies: Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

A NATIONAL PLAN OF ACTION

Unions:-- Unions could circumvent governors. Almost all public assistance eligibility workers in the North belong to unions. Human SERVE has been meeting with AFSCME and SEIU and other relevant unions to urge them to identify their eligibility worker members and explain that they are obligated by law to register the poor and minorities. If necessary, unions can even supply workers with mail-in registration forms -- after all, they would be helping to carry out the law.

Nonprofit social agencies:-- To compensate for the poor performance in public assistance agencies, Human SERVE has mobilized a national voter registration campaign by nonprofit social service agencies -- day care centers, family planning agencies, community health centers, and others which serve mainly poorer and minority people. Agencies by the thousands can make voter registration available at their reception/intake desks, just as is supposed to be done in public agencies. The Christian Right, with considerable effect, is signing up congregants in church auditoriums (another form of agency-based registration). But most social service agencies are not yet enrolling their clients.

Much is being made of the way social program cuts will drive many children into poverty. But not enough is being made of the impact of cuts on women whose survival also depends on income and nutritional and health supplements, as well as job training and day care. Moreover, by far the majority of college-educated women who work are employed in the health/education/welfare complex, and many will lose their jobs as a result of cuts. To be sure, there's a war on children, but it's also a war on women. It is therefore in the interests of middle-class women service providers to mobilize their clients for political participation.

The women's movement, with its middle-class membership, has no way of reaching down to mobilize poorer women. But private social agencies can provide the essential linkage, staffed as they are by better-off women serving less-well-off women. The times thus beg for a coalition of the women's movement and the social service sector; they have an overlapping membership and interests in common. And unlike traditional hands-on voter registration campaigns whose scale is limited by the pool of volunteers willing to staff tables or canvass lines, women workers registering women clients could add millions to the rolls.

In the late spring of 1995, Human SERVE began holding what turned out to be well-attended meetings in Washington, D.C. of national social service associations to urge them to reach out to local affiliates to make voter registration a regular service at reception/intake desks. More than 50 organizations have joined up, seemingly with a good deal of energy and commitment, including: the National Association of Social Workers, Family Service America, Food Research and Action Center, National Association of Child Advocates, Planned Parenthood Federation, Voters for Choice Education Fund, Child Welfare League of America, National Black Women's Health Project, and the like. These organizations now meet regularly under the banner **VOTE USA**, and they are using conferences, newsletters and mail to spread word of the

campaign among local agencies. As for political education and get-out-the-vote, we hope agencies, as a matter of public information, will inform clients that government is slashing the services and benefits they and their children receive. That could be a powerful motivating message on election day.

Private agencies could also compensate for the failure of public officials to ensure that Americans with disabilities are registered. All private sector agencies receiving state-funding to provide disability services are required by the NVRA to make registration available, but only 58,000 people were signed up during the first year. Public officials are remiss in not informing these agencies of their new obligation, but the agencies themselves are also remiss -- nothing is preventing them from complying with the law by obtaining and helping clients fill-out mail-in forms (as well as absentee ballots when the time comes).

Legal defense organizations:-- These organizations can use the Freedom of Information Act to force states to provide PA registration figures. They can threaten suits through the use of 90-day notices. They can send observers to PA offices to determine firsthand whether clients are being routinely afforded a chance to register. They can bring pressure on public officials, and use the press, to bring about better compliance. If all else fails, they can file lawsuits.

Will people vote: Overall, about 85% of registered voters do in fact vote in presidential elections, leading the US Census to conclude that people "overwhelmingly go to the polls" if they are registered. In a separate study limited just to public assistance recipients, Project VOTE, a national voter registration organization, checked election records and verified that 70% of those whom its volunteer canvassers had registered on welfare, unemployment, Food Stamp, and federal surplus-cheese distribution lines had voted in the 1984 presidential election. And Cain and McHue, researchers at the California Institute of Technology, studied election records in Los Angeles County and also found that slightly more than 70% of the people registered by volunteer canvassers at low income sites (e.g., welfare waiting rooms) voted in 1984. To be sure, 70% is below the national average of 85% of all registrants who vote, but it is still impressive.

Elections could determine whether the New Deal/Great Society will survive into the next century, whether the rights and benefits won in the industrial age will persist into the information age. With the stakes so high, everyone should have an equal opportunity to vote. That just may be possible, if unions, nonprofit agencies and legal defense campaigns succeed.

January - December 1995 Voter Registration Totals*

States with Complete Totals

	DMVs	Public Assist.	Disabil. Agencies	Mail-in	Recruit. Offices	Other	TOTAL
Alabama	39,163	39,884	1,374	16,583	188	37,223	134,415
Alaska	28,579	2,083	74	8,551		21,687	60,974
California	457,470	97,855				1,390	556,715
Colorado	98,345	5,228		3,642		115,361	222,576
Connecticut	11,179	5,023	103	22,413	43	44,137	82,898
Delaware	24,198	2,173				3,844	30,215
DC	22,953	7,926	164	12,910	27	2,968	46,948
Florida	694,714	117,095	6,594	270,842	1,083	237,103	1,327,431
Georgia	365,236	64,456	1,682	64,848	151	72,464	568,837
Indiana	77,614	58,280	4,936	175,159	103	60,207	376,299
Iowa	119,670	18,210	483	38,792		46,990	224,145
Kentucky	104,324	32,970	1,497	4,719	11	54,769	198,290
Louisiana	82,587	29,930	2,082	83,012	123	94,728	292,462
Maine	24,760	11,858			44	20,388	57,050
Maryland	80,233	11,010	548	70,149	19	200,160	362,119
Massachusetts	2,999	3,328	901	45,047		61,908	114,183
Mississippi	12,000	22,767	3,109				37,876
Missouri	207,003	82,172	1,899	22,618	155	62,256	376,103
Nebraska	63,085	5,838	1,023	27,616	48	3,614	101,224
Nevada	60,689	7,387		11,607	63	7,681	87,427
New Jersey						258,000	258,000
New Mexico	22,221	13,684	574	22,290		20,595	79,364
New York	272,786	156,281	4,184	216,701	394	10,456	660,802
North Carolina	226,910	44,950	3,750	42,269	745	97,450	416,074
Ohio	260,550	64,828	4,322	145,731	175	303,821	779,427
Oklahoma	110,189	34,935	764	38,829	24	43,173	227,914
Oregon	88,479	18,673	3,869			676	111,897
Rhode Island	3,058	105		135			3,298
Tennessee	90,728	84,511		51,421	196	57,561	284,417
Texas	632,799	204,206	3,779	309,101	1,091	145,129	1,296,105
Utah	33,674	14,582	191	15,939		34,273	98,659
Washington	176,835	26,274	8,367	117,426	658	30,713	360,273
West Virginia	15,996	16,577	1,406			2,810	36,789
SUB-TOTAL	4,511,026	1,305,279	57,675	1,838,350	5,341	2,153,535	9,871,206

States with Incomplete Totals**

Arizona	25,000	2,744	716	126,273		18,175	172,908
Hawaii	10,668	630					11,298
Illinois	82,755						82,755
Kansas	71,214						71,214
Michigan	771,376						771,376
Montana	36,000						36,000
Pennsylvania	158,165						158,165
South Dakota	819	3,195	151	1,418	21	6,540	12,144
SUB-TOTAL	1,155,997	6,569	867	127,691	21	24,715	1,315,860

TOTAL	5,667,023	1,311,848	58,542	1,966,041	5,362	2,178,250	11,187,066
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* Some states are not included. ID, MN, NH, WI and WY are exempt because they have election-day registration.

AR, VT and VA are allowed extra time to comply with the NVRA in order to adjust their state constitutions.

(AR began complying 1/1/96, VT delay is being challenged in court and VA will begin complying 3/6/96.)

Due to litigation, SC has not yet begun to comply. ND has no registration.

** See full report for more details.

January - December 1995 Voter Registration Totals

NVRA Registrations as a Percentage of a State's Total Unregistered Population

STATE	VAP* (000s)	% of VAP REG.*	NVRA REGS.	NVRA RATIO**
Alabama	3,007	77.1	134,415	19.5%
Alaska	347	75.1	60,974	70.6%
Arizona	2,671	70.5	172,908	21.9%
Cal	22,340	57.6	556,715	5.9%
Colorado	2,451	74.7	222,576	35.9%
Conn	2,428	76.8	82,898	14.7%
Delaware	519	70.7	30,215	19.9%
DC	398	73.9	46,948	45.2%
Florida	10,342	62.7	1,327,431	34.4%
Georgia	4,723	62.0	568,837	31.7%
Hawaii	813	60.6	11,298	3.5%
Illinois	8,676	72.1	82,755	3.4%
Indiana	4,183	68.0	376,299	28.1%
Iowa	2,100	77.9	224,145	48.3%
Kansas	1,818	77.1	71,214	17.1%
Kentucky	2,724	64.9	198,290	20.7%
Louisiana	2,972	77.0	292,462	42.8%
Maine	938	85.4	57,050	41.7%
Maryland	3,605	71.7	362,119	35.5%
Mass	4,501	72.5	114,183	9.2%
Michigan	6,811	74.6	771,376	44.6%
Miss	1,839	79.3	37,876	9.9%
Missouri	3,803	74.2	376,103	38.3%
Montana	570	77.3	36,000	27.8%
Nebraska	1,167	73.1	101,224	32.2%
Nevada	955	63.4	87,427	25.0%
N Jersey	5,838	68.0	258,000	13.8%
New Mex	1,079	67.1	79,364	22.4%
New York	13,401	62.0	660,802	13.0%
N Carolina	4,976	68.7	416,074	26.7%
Ohio	8,060	69.6	779,427	31.8%
Oklahoma	2,295	74.3	227,914	38.6%
Oregon	2,206	74.7	111,897	20.0%
Penn	9,170	65.1	158,165	4.9%
Rhode Isl	757	74.0	3,298	1.7%
S Carolina	2,580	67.0	0	0.0%
S Dakota	500	80.1	12,144	12.2%
Tenn	3,714	65.0	284,417	21.9%
Texas	12,267	64.9	1,296,105	30.1%
Utah	1,097	78.8	98,659	42.4%
Wash	3,699	71.5	360,273	34.2%
WV	1,367	64.9	36,789	7.7%
TOTALS	169,707	67.9	11,187,066	20.5%

Public Assistance (PA) Registrations as a Percentage of the Eligible PA Population

ELIGIBLE PA ADULTS^	# REG IN PA	PA RATIO^^
194,000	39,884	20.6%
14,000	2,083	14.9%
169,000	2,744	1.6%
1,061,000	97,855	9.2%
96,000	5,228	5.4%
87,000	5,023	5.8%
20,000	2,173	10.9%
37,000	7,926	21.4%
546,000	117,095	21.4%
296,000	64,456	21.8%
45,000	630	1.4%
450,000	n/a	0.0%
175,000	58,280	33.3%
71,000	18,210	25.6%
68,000	0	0.0%
176,000	32,970	18.7%
250,000	29,930	12.0%
55,000	11,858	21.6%
148,000	11,010	7.4%
172,000	3,328	1.9%
391,000	0	0.0%
120,000	22,767	19.0%
216,000	82,172	38.0%
25,000	0	0.0%
40,000	5,838	14.6%
40,000	7,387	18.5%
204,000	n/a	0.0%
78,000	13,684	17.5%
903,000	156,281	17.3%
233,000	44,950	19.3%
478,000	64,828	13.6%
135,000	34,935	25.9%
114,000	18,873	16.6%
477,000	n/a	0.0%
36,000	105	0.3%
131,000	0	0.0%
17,000	3,195	18.8%
276,000	84,511	30.6%
901,000	204,206	22.7%
42,000	14,582	34.7%
177,000	26,274	14.8%
113,000	16,577	14.7%
9,277,000	1,311,848	14.1%

States not included: ID, MN, NH, ND, WI and WY are exempt. AR, VT and VA are allowed extra time to comply.

* Voting Age Population, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Table 4, US Census, 1992.

** NVRA Ratio = The total number of NVRA registrations divided by a state's total unregistered population.

^ Estimated number of Public Assistance adults who are citizens but are not currently registered to vote.

^^ PA Ratio = The number of Public Assistance registrations divided by a state's total unregistered PA adult citizen population.

! Incomplete totals.

Note: Taken from The National Voter Registration Act of 1993: The Barriers to Voter Registration in America Are Coming Down (pp. 1-6), a report prepared by Human SERVE for the National Motor Voter Coalition, March 1996. For more information, contact Human SERVE at (212) 854-4053.

Enfranchise America Campaign

The fate of **SERVICES TO WOMEN** will be decided at the polls.

Voter Registration Guide For Nonprofit Organizations

◆ Prepared by ENFRANCHISE AMERICA, A Project of Human SERVE ◆

NEW!! Come Visit us at our World Wide Web Site!!! Our address (URL) is: http://www.essential.org/human_serve/human.html

NONPROFITS CAN OFFER VOTER REGISTRATION

Health and human service agencies can give women a voice in government by systematically offering voter registration to clients during intake or orientation and by registering employees to vote.

More than 20 million American women, mostly low income, are not registered to vote. This is why Sec. 7b of the National Voter Registration Act encourages "all nongovernmental entities" to register their clients. This includes: women's health centers, child care centers, family planning clinics, child welfare agencies, mental health clinics, community social services, job training and education programs, senior centers, and all other services women use.

Many will vote. Studies show that 70% of the people who are registered to vote by canvassers in welfare offices actually vote in presidential elections.

FOLLOW THESE 4 EASY STEPS

Appoint one permanent staff person to oversee voter registration. This person should figure out the best way to routinely offer voter registration at intake or during orientation at your agency. She should make sure the agency has state mail-in voter registration forms which can be obtained from the local elections office.¹ Also, this person should register staff to vote.

- 1. Agency intake forms and procedures should be amended to include the question, "IF YOU ARE NOT REGISTERED TO VOTE WHERE YOU NOW LIVE WOULD YOU LIKE TO REGISTER HERE TODAY?"** Rubber stamps with this question are available for \$5 from Human SERVE, tel (212) 854-4053, fax (212) 854-8727.
- 2. Clients should always be offered help completing the voter registration form.** Check to be sure the application is properly filled out, and offer to mail it to the elections office. Obtain answers to common questions from your elections office such as, How will I know if I'm registered? Where do I Vote? How do I get an absentee ballot? Do I need an I.D. card to vote? How do I register if I am Homeless? How do I know if I am a U.S. citizen? Do I have to choose a political party when I register? If I vote in a party's primary election do I have to vote for that party in the general election? (Attached are state elections telephone #'s.)
- 3. Record of the names and phone numbers of people when voter registration is offered.** This step is to Get-Out-The-Vote before elections and is legal. Keep a tally of how many people register through your agency to document your success to staff, your board, funders, local coalitions, press, or national affiliate.

¹ As of June 1, 1996, mail-in voter registration may not be available in: Illinois (available for federal elections only); Mississippi (in litigation: one mail-in form requires witness – registered voter of county – which will register for all elections; mail-in form without witness only registers for federal elections); New Hampshire; Vermont (Voter's oath required before voting until 1999, in litigation); Wisconsin (needs witness); Wyoming.

ALL VOTER REGISTRATION SERVICES MUST BE NONPARTISAN

Nonpartisan means that the activity or program shall not be influenced by, affiliated with, or supportive of the interest or policies of any political party or candidate. Support for candidates of two different parties in an election ("bipartisanship") is not a nonpartisan activity.

Q. Can my organization work in coalition with other groups that conduct voter registration, education and get-out-the-vote programs?

A. Yes, so long as the effort is nonpartisan. Participating organizations and individuals cannot make any statements in support of or in opposition to any particular candidate or party, or carry on any other activity designed to reflect a preference or recommendation for any political candidate or party.

Q. Can vehicles owned by nonprofit organizations be used to transport voters to the polls? Can drivers employed by the organization transport voters to the polls?

A. Yes, to both questions. You can even affix non-partisan messages to vehicles encouraging voters to go to the polls. *However*, make certain that the vehicles and the drivers do not have any partisan literature, buttons, posters, flyers, bumper stickers or other political propaganda.

Q. Can a staff person registering voters in a 501(c)(3) agency wear a button or put a bumper sticker on his/her car that has the name of a favored candidate?

A. No, not while registering voters. This caution does not apply to referenda: you *may* urge citizens to "register and vote to stop Proposition X".

Q. Can my agency place posters, such as the following, in conspicuous places?

The next election will set our course for

- ✓ Jobs
- ✓ Health Care
- ✓ Human Services
- ✓ Civil Rights
- ✓ The Arts
- ✓ The Environment

**Make a difference.
Use your right to vote.**

Register to

VOTE

Here TODAY!

A. Yes! As long as it does not refer to political parties or candidates.

Human SERVE also makes available the following documents to aid you in implementation. For your free copies, send completed form to:

Enfranchise America
c/o Human SERVE
622 West 113th Street Suite 410
New York, NY 10025

or call Jo-Anne Chasnow, Coordinator: (212) 854-4053, FAX (212) 854-8727.

- ☐ Legal Issues Document
- ☐ Sample Article "Why Women Should Register Women to Vote"
- ☐ Questions Clients Commonly Ask
- ☐ Sample Data Recording Sheet

- ☐ Voter Education Brochure
- ☐ Get-Out-The-Vote Phone List
- ☐ Sample Poster

NAME: _____ Phone/ Fax: _____

ORGANIZATION: _____

ADDRESS: _____

HOW DID YOU FIND OUT ABOUT HUMAN SERVE? _____



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20543

4/25/96

**ANSWERS TO THE MOST COMMONLY ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT
THE NATIONAL MAIL VOTER REGISTRATION FORM**

1. Where can I get the National Mail Voter Registration Form?

Contact the chief State election official in your State. This official is quite often the Secretary of State, but may also be the State Board of Elections or Lieutenant Governor. In most cases, the chief State election officials have forwarded quantities of the National Form to their respective County election officials or voter registrars for distribution to the general public and organized voter registration drives. In other cases, chief State election officials distribute the National Form from their offices in the State capitols. Finally, the Federal Election Commission distributes camera-ready copy and print specifications for the National Form to groups interested in contracting with a private printing company to produce the Form. Also remember that if you are registering in your home State, or conducting an in-State voter registration drive, it will almost always be easier and more cost effective to use your State mail voter registration form instead of the National Form. State forms are available from the same offices that provide the National Mail Voter Registration Form.

2. Can I register to vote in any State or the District of Columbia using the National Form?

Yes, with the following exceptions: North Dakota does not have voter registration; Wyoming, by State law, cannot accept the National Form; Illinois, and Mississippi will accept the Form to register individuals for Federal elections only; and New Hampshire and Vermont town and city clerks will accept the National Form only as a request for their own mail-in voter registration form.

3. Can the Form be photocopied?

Yes. Please be aware, however, that photocopied voter registration applications will not be accepted by all States. To the best of our knowledge, 22 States currently accept a photocopied voter registration application. Those States are: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin. Those States not accepting photocopies will only accept the National Mail Voter Registration application printed according to Federal Election Commission regulations and specifications.

There are several legitimate reasons why States do not accept photocopies of a voter registration application. Among these are problems of insufficient paper weight stock and copy quality. Many State laws require that the local election officials keep a hard copy of the voter registration application to provide a trail to establish voter identification through signature verification. In some instances, these documents must be transferred from the election office to the polling places for each election. These offices have found that regular Xerox weight photocopy paper will not provide the file durability that they need for the application document. The varying quality of photocopied images can also present a major problem. This is especially true since a poor quality photocopy can result in an almost unreadable image when the application document and/or signature is electronically scanned.

4. Can my organization supply just the application cards and simply provide the General and State Instructions separately as hand-outs or posters?

Yes. As a money saving alternative to printing the entire National Mail Voter Registration Form, you may want to have a supply of only the voter registration application cards printed according to the FEC specifications, and simply photocopy the General and State Instructions. The instructions could then either be handed out with each application card, or enlarged and posted at the registration site.

5. Is the National Form available on-line through the Internet?

Yes. In addition to the Federal Election Commission, several private entities have incorporated the National Mail Voter Registration Form as a component of a voter registration information service on their World Wide Web Home Page. The State of South Carolina has also made their State voter registration application available via the Web. The electronic

transmission of the applications will not, however, be permissible in the immediate future because of the need for an original signature on the application document. Those States that accept photocopied application documents will accept copies of the National Voter Registration Application printed from a computer image, signed and mailed in an envelope with the appropriate postage.

6. I want to do a massive voter registration drive. How many of the National Forms can I get at one time?

The number of Voter Registration Forms distributed to a single organization is generally at the discretion of the chief State election official. Many States base the number of Forms distributed on the size of the target population of the proposed registration drive, method of distribution, number of individuals registered by the organization in any previous voter registration drive and a number of other variables. Organizations interested in conducting voter registration activities should remember that the voter registration forms are paid for from tax dollars and should plan to request a realistic number of forms to minimize wastage.

7. Can my organization mail the completed Forms we receive in our registration drive, or do the individuals need to mail them personally? If we can mail them, do they have to be individually stamped or can they be bundled?

An organization may mail completed Voter Registration Applications to the appropriate election office(s) individually or in a bundle. The Department of Justice interprets the cost of first class postage to fall into the realm of "facilitating" voter registration, and not as an attempt to induce an individual to register to vote by giving something of value, which would be prohibited by the "vote buying" provisions of the Voting Rights Act.

8. I want to register a group of new citizens who are less than proficient in the English language. Has the National Form been translated into any other language?

Yes. The National Mail Voter Registration Form has been translated into Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Tagalog (Philippino), to facilitate registration by these language minority groups. The translated Forms are available in jurisdictions covered by the language minority provisions of the Voting Rights Act, or may be had as camera-ready copy through the Federal Election Commission's Office of Election Administration.

OVERCOMING EXCUSES — TRANSFORMING A "No" TO A REGISTERED VOTER

TRAINING MATERIALS BY PROJECT VOTE

When people don't want to register to vote, it's usually because they don't understand how voting can affect their lives. It's your job to find out why they don't want to register, and then help them see why that is really a reason they should register.

Here's How In Four Simple Steps:

1. Find Out Why They're Saying No.

Remember, an excuse may hide a more basic reason. For example, they may say "I don't have time" when they really mean "I don't want to take the time to register because I don't believe voting matters."



2. Agree With Them.

Make yourself their friend, not an opponent. Let them know you heard what they said—and that you share their concern.



3. Use Their Reason to Convince Them.

Explain how their concern is really a reason they should register.



4. Ask Their Name and Fill Out the Form.

Assume you've convinced them and (without pausing or asking if they want to register) ask for their name. Begin filling out the registration form.

Of course, some people will refuse to register no matter what you say. Don't worry about them. Just move on to the next person. But before you give up on someone, try using these four steps to transform their reason for not registering into a powerful reason to register and vote.

THE 4-STEP TRANSFORMATION STRATEGY IN ACTION

How does the 4-Step Transformation Strategy work in a real-life situation? Check out this example:

Volunteer: "Hi! We're fighting to get Head Start and day care and decent schools by registering people to vote. What's your last name?"

Non-Voter: "Thanks anyway, but I don't want to register."

Step ①

Find out why.

Volunteer: "Why not?"

Non-Voter: "Those politicians are all alike anyway. None of them do anything for us once they get elected."

Step ②

Agree with them.

Volunteer: "Yeah, I know what you mean. Sometimes it seems like none of the politicians are working for you and me; they're just working for people who have a lot of money."

Step ③

Use their reason to convince them.

Volunteer: "That's why I'm out here registering voters. I'm fed up with politicians getting away with that just because people like us aren't voting. You know last year, there was an election here that was decided by a few hundred votes. So a bunch of us have decided we're going to register enough voters so we can make the politicians pay attention to what we need—or we can fire them on election day."

Step ④

Ask their name and fill out the form.





Let's look at some more common excuses people give for not wanting to register—and samples of some responses you can give, using the 4-Step Strategy.

The "I Don't Have Time" Excuse

Your response: "I know you're busy. That's why we're out here, to save you the time of going down to the registrar's office. This way you won't have to give up your right to vote, and it will take less than a minute. What's your last name?"



The "My Candidates Always Lose Anyway" Excuse

Your response: "I know what you mean. I've been really frustrated the same way. And then I found out that half our people didn't vote last time. That's thousands more people than it would take to win. So people like you and me who are fed up have gotten together. And we're going to register 5,000 people right here in town so we can decide who wins. What's your last name?"

People Who Think They Are Already Registered

Lots of people who think they are already registered have actually been taken off the registration rolls—either because they moved or because they didn't vote in recent elections. Be sure to ask your trainer to explain when voters are taken off the rolls in your state.

If someone tells you they are already registered, respond like this...

"Great, but you may have been taken off the registration rolls. Did you get a chance to vote when _____ ran against _____? Have you moved since then?"



People Who Are Already Registered

If you've made sure that the person really is still on the registration rolls, is your job done? No! People who are already registered are your *best prospects* to become volunteers. Every volunteer you recruit multiplies your own work. Your work in recruiting new volunteers is just as important as your work in registering voters.

So what do you say once you know someone is already registered?

"Great, but don't go away. Listen, it's people like you and me—people who understand how important it is for everyone to vote—who are the heart of our campaign. You know we have an election coming up for _____, and it could have a big impact on whether we get Head Start and day care and health care for all the kids that need it. The people we get registered could decide that election. You'd be helping us sign up new voters. It's fun and you meet a lot of great people, and you really know you're making a big difference. You could work with us a few hours couldn't you?" (Write down their name, address, and phone number on your Volunteer Sheet.)

People Who Have Been Convicted of a Crime.

Most people think that they can't vote if they were convicted of any crime, but in many states they *can* vote, depending on what crime they were convicted of, and whether they have finished their sentence.

Your response (if state laws allow):

"You've already done your time, right? You're still a citizen, and now you have the right to vote again. But it's up to you to use it. What's your last name?"

People Whose Religion Opposes Voting

Jehovah's Witnesses and people of certain other religions are taught that they should not vote. You won't change their minds. Politely thank them, and move on to the next person.



YOU TRY IT!

Write down an excuse you've heard people use
for not registering to vote:

Now work out a response to the objection using
the 4-steps for dealing with excuses:

STEP 1: Identify Excuse

Listen carefully. Is it a real reason or just a cover-up? If it's a cover-up, what question will you use to uncover their real reason for not wanting to register? What is their basic excuse? They don't want to register because:

STEP 2: Agree With Them

What will you say to let them know you heard them and that you understand that they have a valid concern?

STEP 3: Give Them a Reason

Given their valid concern, what's a GREAT reason for them to register now?

STEP 4: Crunch

Without pausing what do you ask them?

What's Your _____?

Remember: Many times reluctant voters won't give you their name the first time you ask. You may have to give them another great reason to register and ask for their name a second time--or even a third time--before they decide to register.

1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation and the goals that need to be achieved.

1. *Implications for the future of the*
European Union

FIGURE 10.10. *Continued*

[illegible]

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and other _____

2000年12月29日 星期四

6. *Chlorophyll *a** and *Chlorophyll *b** were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971).

1. *Identify the author's purpose.*
 2. *Identify the author's main idea.*
 3. *Identify the author's supporting details.*
 4. *Identify the author's conclusion.*
 5. *Identify the author's tone.*
 6. *Identify the author's style.*
 7. *Identify the author's audience.*
 8. *Identify the author's point of view.*
 9. *Identify the author's bias.*
 10. *Identify the author's credibility.*

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GET THE FACTS AND THE WOMEN'S NETWORK FOR CHANGE

The Women's Network for Change: The Women's Network for Change is a nationwide voter education campaign to educate more women voters about the attacks on women's issues by the current extreme forces in Congress. The backlash in this Congress threatens civil rights, reproductive choice, workplace equity issues, gender fairness in education, and women's health. This campaign is nonpartisan and does not endorse political candidates. By linking women's and progressive organizations across the country and reaching into every state and thousands of communities, we can achieve our goal of empowering more women to take action and make their voices heard in Congress and in the 1996 elections.

Get the Facts: The Women's Network for Change distributes Get the Facts alerts, which are developed by representatives of the organizations listed below. Alerts are issued every other Friday when Congress is in session.

How You Can Make A Difference: By receiving these alerts and passing on the information, you play a key role in this effort. We hope you will use these alerts in several ways:

- *The most important activity of this campaign* is to share the alerts immediately with women in your community who may not belong to an organization or have access to this information. The impact will be tremendous if you can post the alerts in just five locations that you go to in your daily routine. Here are some suggested places to post the alerts to reach more women:

day care centers	community centers	summer day camps	park bulletin boards
swimming pools	senior centers	elevators	grocery stores
libraries	health clubs	post offices	dry cleaners
laundromats	hospitals	doctors' offices	cafeterias
bus stops	hair salons	women's centers	bathroom stalls

- Discuss the information with other community activists, co-workers, friends, and family members who care about women's rights. Distribute the alerts at women's and community forums. Give copies to people you know.
- Alert members of your organizations to what is happening in Congress and generate rapid-response grassroots lobbying action.

The stakes are high. Together, we will inform, empower, and mobilize women voters for 1996.

WOMEN'S NETWORK FOR CHANGE • American Association of University Women • Advocates for Youth • American Jewish Congress • American School Health Association • Business and Professional Women/USA • Center for Policy Alternatives • Coalition of Labor Union Women • Federally Employed Women • Feminist Majority • Fifty plus One • Girls Incorporated • Gray Panthers • Independent Federation of Flight Attendants • International Association for Feminist Economics • MANA, A National Latina Organization • Ms. Foundation for Women • 9to5, National Association of Working Women • National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League • National Abortion Federation • National Association of Social Workers • National Center for the Early Childhood Work Force • National Council of Jewish Women • National Council of Negro Women • National Organization for Women • National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc. • National Women and HIV/AIDS Project • National Women's Law Center • National Women's Political Caucus • Older Women's League • Planned Parenthood Federation of America • ProChoice Resource Center • Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice • United States Student Association • Wider Opportunities for Women • Women Work! • Women's Campaign Fund • Women's Environment and Development Organization • Women's International League for Peace and Freedom • Women's Legal Defense Fund • YWCA of the U.S.A. • a project of the Council of Presidents

15 Ways to Get Women to the Polls

The ultimate goal of the Voter Education Campaign is to get out the women's vote. The women we educate about the issues need to be mobilized to get out and vote on the issues. Remember, no get-out-the-vote (GOTV) activity should favor or support a particular candidate or party. As election day approaches, plan some of the following activities to get out the vote in your area.

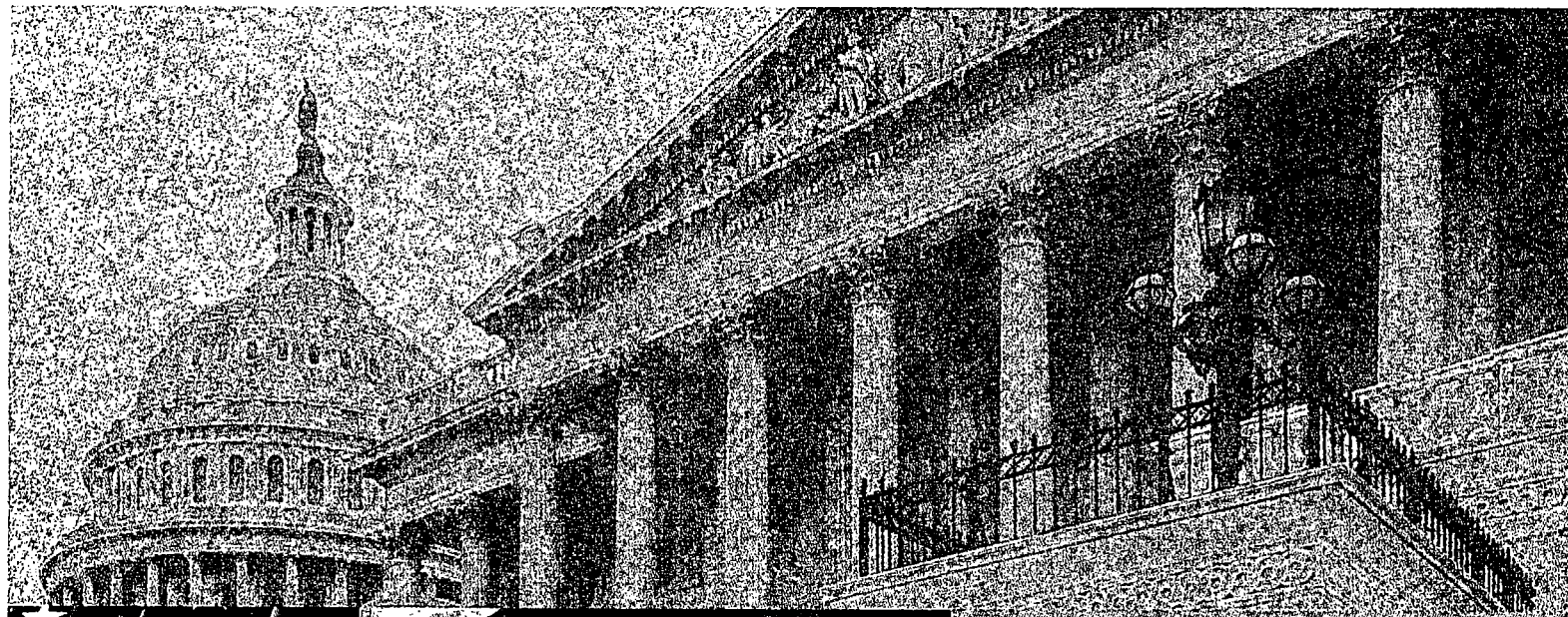
- 1) Work in coalition with other Women's Network for Change organizations to pool your GOTV resources and volunteers.
- 2) Organize day care services on election day to make voting more accessible for mothers.
- 3) Coordinate efforts to distribute your candidate scorecards or voter guides on election day.
- 4) Set up a phone bank to give voting information to low-income women.
- 5) Offer senior citizens rides to the polls.
- 6) Organize a visibility campaign in targeted communities.
- 7) Using information from *Get The Facts* alerts, call in to radio talk shows, and encourage women to vote for issues that affect them.
- 8) Post get-out-the-vote reminders in locations where you have posted *Get The Facts*. A simple message like "Remember to vote next Tuesday" will suffice.
- 9) Make announcements at organization meetings encouraging women to vote since so much is at stake this year.
- 10) Design a GOTV flyer that explains the issues and encourages women to vote. Highlight issues that particularly affect target groups such as working women, the poor, youth, seniors, or ethnic groups. Include why, when, and where to vote.
- 11) Pass out GOTV flyers or *Get The Facts* at grocery stores, community centers, college campuses, or at churches and synagogues.
- 12) Ask a local newspaper, radio, or TV station to run a GOTV public service announcement (PSA). Talk about AAUW's voter education efforts and explain the possible content of your PSA. (The Voter Education Campaign staff have possible scripts.)
- 13) Go door-to-door in neighborhoods with candidate scorecards, voter guides, or a GOTV flyer. Or plan other distribution of these materials.
- 14) Ask a business with regular customer mailings, such as banks or clinics, to include a GOTV flyer in their next mailing. Businesses that cater to women should be asked to help distribute flyers on the issues and GOTV. Ask your local grocery to include a GOTV flyer in all bags. Ask your hair dresser to give a GOTV flyer to every customer and offer a special discount to customers who voted.
- 15) Call 202/728-7633 for more information and tips on getting out the vote.

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GETTING INTO ISSUES

YOUR GUIDE TO THE 1996 ELECTIONS

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS EDUCATION FUND