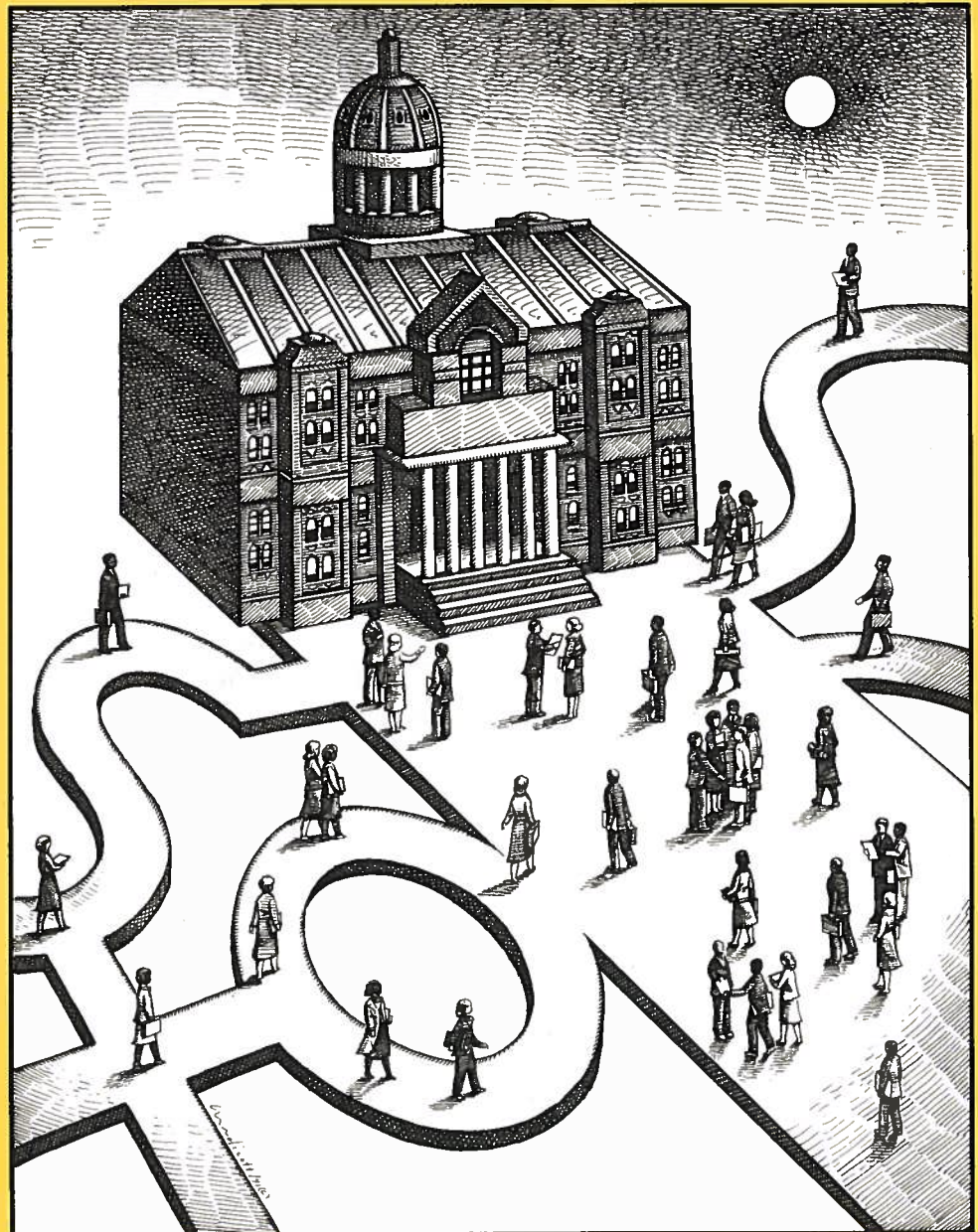# WOMEN, BLACK, AND HISPANIC STATE ELECTED LEADERS

The 1990 Symposium on the State of the States
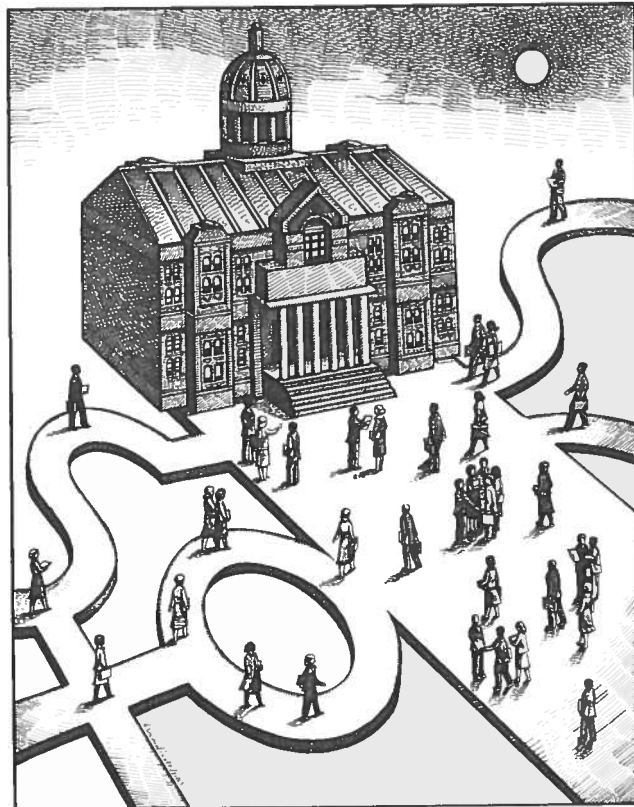
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Center for Public Service
University of Virginia

WOMEN, BLACK, AND HISPANIC STATE ELECTED LEADERS

1990 Symposium on the State of the States

Edited by Susan J. Carroll

Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Center for Public Service
University of Virginia

Cover illustration: James Endicott

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PART TWO

PREFACE

Thanks to a bequest from Charles and Inez Howell of New Jersey, the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University embarked in 1986 on an ongoing exploration of state political institutions and processes. This State of the States project is a celebration of the dynamism, significance, and variety of politics in the American states.

The first symposium was held in December 1987, with the proceedings published as *The Governor and the Legislature*. The second symposium was held in December 1988, and the proceedings were published as *The Courts: Sharing and Separating Powers*. The third symposium, on "Public Financing of Political Campaigns," took place in December 1989. In addition, as part of the overall project, a volume of essays by nine scholars—on governors, legislatures, supreme courts, administration, political parties, electoral politics, and the role of the states in American federalism—was published by CQ Press as *The State of the States* (1989). A second edition of that book is in process.

Since the beginning, the State of the States project has benefitted greatly from the advice and support rendered by the National Conference of State Legislatures, the National Governors' Association, and the Council of State Governments. The efforts of Bill Pound, Carl Tubbesing, and Barry Van Lare have been critical to the success of the enterprise.

The fourth annual State of the States symposium, held in December 1990, focused on "Women, Black, and Hispanic State Elected Leaders," a subject that has been of special concern to the Eagleton Institute of Politics since the establishment twenty years ago of its Center for the American Woman and Politics. This subject also has been of concern to the Center for Public Service at the University of Virginia, the cosponsor with Eagleton and host of the 1990 symposium.

This truly was a collaborative endeavor, with both the Eagleton Institute of Politics and the Center for Public Service sharing in planning the sessions, commissioning the papers, and inviting the participants. The Center had major responsibility for the arrangements and hospitality in Charlottesville, with Susan Carroll of Eagleton having major responsibility for publication of the proceedings. We wish to express special appreciation to Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Virginia, Mobil Corporation, and Virginia Power, who provided additional financial support for the symposium.

ALAN ROSENTHAL
Eagleton Institute of Politics

CARL STENBERG
Center for Public Service

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The major question that emerged during the symposium was how women and minority officials are to balance the expectation that they will carry the banner for women's or minority issues with their obligation to represent all people in their constituencies.

INTRODUCTION

The real challenge for us is not just to be elected. . . . We want to matter. We want to make something happen. We may also want to advance, but we never want to forget where we came from and that we are part of a group (women, Blacks, or Hispanics). It's a hell of a job.

This is how one public official who attended the 1990 State of the States symposium on "Women, Black, and Hispanic State Elected Leaders" summarized the situation confronting minority and women officeholders in the 1990s.

On December 6-7, 1990, more than sixty statewide officials, state legislators, other practitioners, and scholars gathered in Charlottesville, Virginia, for the fourth annual State of the States symposium. This symposium was sponsored jointly by the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University and the Center for Public Service at the University of Virginia.

In keeping with the State of the States project's general goal of understanding and appreciating dynamism and diversity in state politics, the 1990 symposium brought together representatives of three groups—women, African-Americans, and Latinos—whose numbers among state elected officials have increased in recent years despite the fact that all three groups remain underrepresented in state government. The purpose of the symposium was to discuss similarities and differences in the problems confronted, strategies employed, and goals pursued by women of all colors and minorities of both genders who serve as state elected leaders.

The major question that emerged during the symposium was how women and minority officials are to balance the expectation that they will carry the banner for women's or minority issues with their obligation to represent all people in their constituencies. African-Americans and Latinos seemed to feel more pressure than women to pursue a policy agenda focused on members of their group, perhaps because there is greater cohesiveness among these minority groups than among women. However, because African-American and Latino representatives frequently come from districts heavily populated with members of their group, representing the interests of minorities and representing the interests of their constituencies often go hand in hand. In contrast, women officials almost always are perceived as pursuing "special interests" rather than representing their constituency as a whole when they take action on behalf of women. (The case of Black and Hispanic statewide elected officials who represent majority white populations is, of course, more analogous to that of women in this respect than it is to that of minority representatives from majority-Black or majority-Hispanic districts.)

Symposium participants had a variety of opinions and advice about whether women, Black, and Hispanic elected officials should place priority on representing women and minorities and work openly for change or whether they should pursue a broader agenda and attempt to "mainstream" themselves, perhaps with the ultimate goal of attaining leadership positions where they would have more power to help members of their group.

Symposium participants had a variety of opinions and advice about whether women, Black, and Hispanic elected officials should place priority on representing women and minorities and work openly for change or whether they should pursue a broader agenda and attempt to "mainstream" themselves, perhaps with the ultimate goal of attaining leadership positions where they would have more power to help members of their group. The difference in perspectives was reflected in the comments of two state legislators, the first of whom argued:

> *In working within the system, are we supposed to turn around and stop fighting the very thing we had fought to get there? I worry about the attitude that says that now that you're there you should just become like everyone else and not try to correct those things that you came there to correct.*

The second legislator commented:

> *I personally think we've got to be doing banking and we've got to be doing insurance and we've got to be having an impact across the board. If we don't do that, then we limit ourselves. If you want to move in the system, I think you have to broaden your agenda and let people know that you care about their issues.*

Despite the fact that participants had made different choices for themselves, most seemed to agree with the idea of "different strokes for different folks." Most participants concurred that each elected official has to make an individual decision about her or his own representational role. Many did not see the choice as a dichotomous one of either representing group interests and challenging institutional norms or adopting a more mainstream agenda and conforming to institutional norms. Rather, some emphasized a middle ground, as did one legislator who noted:

> *In a sense, you can bank conformity credits, and banking those credits then allows you to move out on the edge and to deviate. But you've got to keep a balance. If you just keep banking conformity credits and you never use them to move out to the edge and advance the group further, you're not doing your job. And if you never even bank any conformity credits so that you just move out on that edge and then get cut off and never achieve anything, you're not doing your job, either. You've got to keep that balance.*

Most participants also agreed that prospects for moving to higher office or into leadership might well be greater for those women and minority officials who conform to institutional norms and who pursue an agenda not focused primarily on women or minorities. As one legislator observed:

> *I have to question being 30 percent of the population and 2 percent of the employment contracts. I think I need to raise that. To say that raising the level of aid for welfare recipients is more important than spending a couple of million dollars to gold leaf the dome, which is already shiny— I think I have to do that. But that doesn't get you floor leader positions and chairmanships and all of those kinds of things.*

The Proceedings of the Symposium

The pages that follow report in greater detail the proceedings of the 1990 State of the States symposium on "Women, Black, and Hispanic State Elected Leaders." The keynote address for the symposium was presented by

Governor L. Douglas Wilder from the host state of Virginia. In his speech, reprinted in this volume, Governor Wilder provides sage advice about how women and minorities can increase their numbers among public officials and open up the political process. He stresses the importance of acquiring experience in entry-level offices, learning the system and its players, mastering the art of compromise, crafting a message that has broad appeal, and staying in touch with the people.

The symposium opened with a panel discussion, "Women, Blacks, and Hispanics in State Elected Office," moderated by Alan Rosenthal, Director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, and based in large part on issues raised in three background papers prepared for the symposium. These papers are included in part 2 of this report. The paper on women was written by Susan J. Carroll of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, the paper on African-Americans was prepared by Georgia A. Persons of the Georgia Institute of Technology, and the paper on Latinos was written by Luis Ricardo Fraga of the University of Notre Dame.

These authors were joined on the opening panel by three individuals with state elective officeholding experience. Polly Baca, a Democrat, served in the Colorado House of Representatives from 1975 to 1978 and in the Colorado Senate from 1979 to 1986. At the time of the symposium she was directing the Colorado Institute for Hispanic Education and Economic Development. Roland W. Burris, a Democrat, was elected Illinois comptroller in 1978 and served three terms as the state's chief fiscal control officer. In 1990 he was elected attorney general for the state of Illinois. Kathi Williams, a Republican, served in the Colorado House of Representatives from 1985 to 1991. In the legislature she served as majority whip as well as vice-chair of the Rules Committee and of the Business Affairs and Labor Committee.

The opening panel discussion focuses primarily on the obstacles that women of all colors and minorities of both genders face in seeking election to office. Among the problems discussed are: the difficulty of raising campaign money, the lack of sufficient political opportunities, the under-mobilization of minority populations, the failure of women voters to support women candidates to the same extent that minority voters support minority candidates, and the reluctance of officeholders to give up power. Panel participants urge women and minorities not to wait to be asked before deciding to run for office, to take advantage of any opportunities that occur and make the most of them, and not to be held back by myths that women and minorities cannot win in certain districts. Panel participants also address the question of how much responsibility women and minority officeholders have to serve women and minority constituents and to promote public policies aimed at assisting women and minorities.

Each symposium participant took part in one of the three concurrent workshops that focused on changing political institutions, shaping state policy, and achieving leadership positions. Summary reports of the workshops are included in these proceedings.

Also included in this volume is the concluding address, "Building Coalitions among Minorities," delivered by Raul Yzaguirre, who has served as executive director of the National Council of La Raza since 1974 and as its president and chief executive officer since 1978. In his talk Yzaguirre discusses new social and political developments that have made working in coalitions both more critical and more difficult. Arguing that women and minorities tend to undervalue their contributions to coalitions, he urges members of these groups to develop better negotiation skills in order to protect their interests.

PART ONE

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Governor L. Douglas Wilder, Virginia

I am pleased to have this opportunity to be with you this evening. The setting for this two-day conference could hardly be more appropriate. As I am sure was the case with many of you, I recall reading as a youth the works of Jefferson and his contemporaries, the passion and seeming purity of those centuries-old words filling my heart with hope, my mind with determination, my spirit with purpose. I knew that they meant me, and others like me, when they wrote that *all* human beings are created equal: they *all* have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

But such sentiments were not practiced nor preached in the days of my youth. The events and dates to be remembered were few then: Emancipation Day, January 1, 1863. But we didn't celebrate that. There was the song about John Brown's body. I wondered why, when men like Nat Turner lived and died to be free, they were called "fanatics." I could not begin to fathom the logic (much less the legal reasoning) behind Roger Tanney's Supreme Court opinion in *Dred Scott* that "the Negro had no right that whites were bound to respect." In time, a war was fought that proved otherwise, and for the first time, in the Fourteenth Amendment, citizenship was defined in our Constitution.

As much as we esteem the lofty precepts of Jefferson and his contemporaries, we know that without the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Nineteenth amendments, without the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many of us would not be here this evening. In this evening's spirit of reflection and camaraderie, we are reminded that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Even though those days of youth offered a starkly different reality—in the streetcars I rode, in the schools I attended, in the water fountains from which I drank, in the libraries where I had to take the books home before I could read them—I believed that the dawning of a new day would come— not knowing when, but believing that it had to come. For me, and for millions of other Americans, the first glimmer of that light burst forth with the *Brown* decision—a profound moment when I came to believe that justice was attainable by working within the system, that oppression could be lifted, that the hands of all Americans disenfranchised and underrepresented for centuries finally could begin moving toward their rightful place on the helm of destiny. Then the Voting Rights Act brought those hands that much closer to that helm.

And yet, saying it was so, and even legislating that it was so, did not automatically make it so. Thus, the president observed shortly after the passage of that landmark legislation in 1965:

You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying, "Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please." You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate (that person), bring (him or her) up to the starting line of a race, and then say, "You are free to compete," and still just believe that you have been completely fair.

Clearly, despite the fact that women won the franchise decades ago, and that those of African-American ancestry had that fundamental privilege guaranteed with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and that with the extension of the act in 1975 to cover "language minorities," Latinos were likewise at long last protected, many rugged miles still remain between women, African-Americans, and Latinos and the horizon of equality.

And yet, it is committed individuals such as yourselves who are succeeding, who are narrowing the distance between those persons with proven ability, determination, and vision and the equality of opportunity that is their due. You are the stalwarts of the 1990s and the twenty-first century: men and women determined to push further open the door to political power and equality. As a result of your efforts and those of others, we indeed find that door slightly more ajar than in years past. Obviously, it's imperative that we never forget how it became ajar.

Last year, according to a study by the Center for the American Woman and Politics, there were 1273 women in state legislatures—more than four times the number in 1969. Unfortunately, today women still hold only 17 percent of state legislative seats. Only a handful are governors, and only 6 percent of the U.S. Congress is female. Moreover, according to the Center, prior to this November's election, Black women constituted only 7.6 percent of all women state legislators and Hispanic women accounted for less than 1 percent.

Within the last ten to fifteen years, Latino candidates have fared better than in years past, with Raul Castro having been elected governor in 1975 and Toney Anaya having won New Mexico's governorship in 1982. Bob Martinez was elected in Florida in 1987 although he lost his bid for reelection last month.

Tonight, I'd like to take this opportunity to share some of my personal thoughts regarding what must be done in order for women, African-Americans, and Hispanics to improve upon the numbers I just cited, to open up the political process, and to transform voices into forces for change and progress.

In my own case, I did not wake up one morning in 1989 and say, out of the blue, "I think I'll run for governor." The long and rugged road to the governor's office began with an awakening that took place over twenty years ago: an awareness in the late 1960s that I should be doing more than merely voicing my concerns and that if I wanted to bring about change, I was going to have to get involved and work within the system.

Those individuals desiring the chance to open the door to the decision-making apparatus—regardless of how intelligent, confident, and capable they are—must first scale the often slippery steps leading to that door.

But from my own experience I can assure you of this much: without a willingness to make concessions—to participate in the give and take—your ideals and your agenda have no chance of ever becoming realities. And as history has proven time and again, the hungry at least are fed something with half a loaf, rather than what they get with no loaf at all.

Potential candidates must direct their energies and talents to winning entry-level offices at the lower steps before they legitimately can even begin to think about becoming a viable voice and force in decision making. You have to learn the system (electoral and legislative alike), the players, and their personalities.

Moreover, both by working through the committee system and simply by observing, over the course of time you can master the art of compromise. For all too many individuals "compromise" remains a four-letter word, with some equating it to "selling out" on one's beliefs and ideals. Not surprisingly, these tend to be the same persons who believe volume and verbosity are substitutes for experience and effectiveness in the political arena. But from my own experience I can assure you of this much: without a willingness to make concessions—to participate in the give and take—your ideals and your agenda have no chance of ever becoming realities. And as history has proven time and again, the hungry at least are fed something with half a loaf, rather than what they get with no loaf at all.

When we look back over time to those women, African-Americans, and Hispanics who have risen to positions of prominence, we find a recurring pattern in their ascent: the vast majority began at a lower rung on the ladder to political success. Barbara Roberts of Oregon served as secretary of state before being elected governor. Anne Richards of Texas was state treasurer before moving to the top. Roland Burris in Illinois rose from comptroller to attorney general. Ed Brooke was Massachusetts' attorney general before being elected to the U.S. Senate. Mervyn Dymally was elected lieutenant governor of California after having served in the state senate. And Bob Martinez served two terms as mayor of Tampa before becoming governor of Florida.

But it wasn't experience alone that got these individuals elected to higher office; the message that they delivered during the course of their campaigns was a major contributing factor as well. Most important, they did not limit their focus to certain groups or special interests; they did not represent just women, African-Americans, or Latinos. Instead, they consistently endeavored to be representative of the wider constituency. They staked their credibility on broad issues that mattered to a vast cross section of the electorate—issues that had vital appeal and relevance to voters regardless of their race, color, sex, religion, or national origin.

I'm not recommending that women, African-Americans, and Hispanics deliberately ignore the needs of the tree while trying to get a good look at, and to develop a greater appreciation for, the forest. Rather, to be successful over the long term, it only makes sense for candidates and officeholders to be wise stewards of both the tree and the forest, realizing that the survival of one depends heavily upon the vitality of the other.

Some observers have pointed to my message and strategy in winning Virginia's '89 election as a proven formula for success. I disagree.

Today, there is a great deal of "conventional wisdom" in the media about women and minority candidates. But the word "conventional" relates to

As many of you may have witnessed, individuals running against women and minority candidates usually do what they can to depict their opponents as culturally out of step. Whether such charges relate to crime, finances (better known as "taxes"), or traditional values, it is imperative that we continue to show that we share common values and that our diversity does not detract from the culture, but rather is a component of the total American fabric.

what has taken place previously under tried and proven circumstances. Consequently, to the extent that a growing number of women and minorities seek office, how can there be any such thing as "conventional wisdom"? Moreover, in due course, those of us who have sought and won election will contribute volumes that, in turn, will be referred to as the "new" conventional wisdom of the day regarding women and minority officeholders. Therefore, it is vitally important that those of us holding office continue to go to the taproot of public participation and the wellspring of fundamental equity and fairness.

Although I categorically reject the vast majority of notions falling under the heading of "conventional wisdom," I do believe that there are certain "givens" that are imperative to any winning campaign. Among them, strong voter registration and get-out-the-vote programs, as we had in Virginia last year, are an absolute necessity.

Today, I am sincerely disturbed by what appears to be a significant decline in voter registration efforts in certain areas of the nation. Unfortunately, this development is only being exacerbated by the growing cynicism among the public over the political process, with many feeling that their one vote doesn't count. Believe me, having won last year's election by approximately seven thousand votes out of nearly two million cast, my appreciation for the importance of every vote has increased—about seven thousand times over.

There is no etched-in-stone formula for winning. Although it is my personal opinion that a message with broad appeal is vitally important to each campaign, the specifics of that message must reflect the nuances of the hour and must be in keeping with the will of the people. In most instances, losing campaigns suffer from one of two defects: either the candidate is in step with the people but bungles the delivery of the message, or the candidate is out of step with the people, in which case the delivery of his or her message usually becomes a moot point in rather short order.

As many of you may have witnessed, individuals running against women and minority candidates usually do what they can to depict their opponents as culturally out of step. Whether such charges relate to crime, finances (better known as "taxes"), or traditional values, it is imperative that we continue to show that we share common values and that our diversity does not detract from the culture, but rather is a component of the total American fabric.

Of course, one also has to take into account the individual style of each candidate. Some may be adept at giving great stump speeches while others may be more comfortable discussing issues one-on-one in more formal settings. When all is said and done, each candidate has to find a style and a message with which he or she is most comfortable while on the campaign trail. Above all, candidates must be true to themselves.

That's not to suggest, however, that advisors and so-called "experts" won't take every opportunity to tell you what they think is best for you. Although they occasionally may be right, more often than not, as I have found, you

In the final analysis, of course, those individuals and generations who follow us in the pursuit of elective office will be judged in no small measure by how we perform. . . . When we use wisdom and adhere to the principles of statesmanship in the execution of our constitutional and statutory duties, we make the going that much easier for those who inevitably will follow.

have to tell them what you know is best for them: to sit down over in that corner and be quiet.

The lesson here is to trust your own instincts, and the *only* way to develop winning instincts adequately is through years of apprenticeship. Obviously, at the same time this in no way diminishes the importance of having a core group of trusted advisers who reflect and are aware of demographics.

Perhaps of greatest importance for long-term success, candidates must continue to stay in touch with the people long after the hand has come off the Bible, encouraging at every opportunity their input and active involve-ment, thereby helping to ensure that government remains truly of, by, and for the people. Likewise, although it serves no purpose to model one's tenure in office exactly in the image of this or that minority officeholder, that is not to say that we cannot learn a great deal from one another—not by relying on the abstract "conventional wisdom" with which the pundits analyze our campaigns and records as leaders, but rather through an involvement and concern that is far more meaningful and direct, doing our utmost to keep open mutually beneficial lines of communication and cooperation.

In the final analysis, of course, those individuals and generations who follow us in the pursuit of elective office will be judged in no small measure by how we perform. Rightly or wrongly, that's a fact of life. When we use wisdom and adhere to the principles of statesmanship in the execution of our constitutional and statutory duties, we make the going that much easier for those who inevitably will follow. And yet, when we do not do so (or are perceived to have failed in our efforts to provide capable and visionary leadership for the people), we give undue credence to those who have criti-cized us from the outset as unrepresentative and unfit to serve.

In 1990, the door to political power and decision making is open far wider than ever before. And yet, for all of that progress, in relative terms, it still remains only slightly ajar. For my own part, I am convinced (and history is replete with examples) that hands calloused by years of experience can in-deed push that door open further with each passing year and that, once on the other side, minds and spirits steeped in the development of the highest potential, schooled in the art of the possible, and possessing a sincere spirit of justice and public service can create ample opportunities to oil those hinges of opportunity for those who will follow. I look forward to continu-ing to work with you and others in the coming years as together we put that oil where it belongs and is needed most.

May God bless and keep you all.

PANEL ON WOMEN, BLACKS, AND
HISPANICS IN STATE ELECTIVE OFFICE

Alan Rosenthal, Director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Moderator

In this opening panel and the symposium, we will be focusing on
the problems and possibilities that exist for women, African-
Americans, and Hispanics in state elective office. The first issue is
getting there—getting nominated, campaigning, and being elec-
ted. Second is the issue of adapting to office. And third, we'd like
to discuss accomplishing something, having an impact. We want
to consider similarities and differences in the problems that the three
groups face, but even more important are the strategies and techniques that
have proved useful for one group or another in overcoming obstacles.

The papers have been prepared as background for this symposium. The
three political scientists who wrote the papers are on the panel, and they'll
be giving the discussion a particular perspective, having surveyed the broad
scene and the political science research that has been done on these sub-
jects. Let me introduce the panelists.

The paper on women in state elective office is by my colleague at the
Eagleton Institute of Politics, Sue Carroll. She is an associate professor of
political science and a senior research associate at the Center for the Ameri-
can Woman and Politics. She has done quite a bit of work on the subject of
women in elective office and has written a major book on getting elected to
political office, and she is now involved in completing a study on the impact
of women in office.

Georgia Persons wrote the paper on African-Americans in state elected
office. She is an associate professor at the Georgia Institute of Technology. She
taught previously at Howard University and has written on African-Americans
in state politics. She's completing a volume on the new urban politics.

The paper on Latinos in state elected office is by Luis Fraga, an associate
professor of government at Notre Dame. This past year, Fraga was a fellow
at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford
University, and he will be joining the Department of Political Science at
Stanford beginning in the fall of 1991. He has written on ethnic and racial
political participation and is completing a book on minority communities
in America's cities.

Now, in addition to the three political scientists, the panel includes three
practitioners—state elected officials who have distinguished themselves in
political office.

Roland Burris was elected as attorney general to the state of Illinois, and
for twelve years previously he served as comptroller, having been elected
three times to that office. He has been president of the National Association

When seats open up—when opportunities do occur— very few people are out there looking for women to run for office. Instead, there tend to be a lot of other people lined up for those seats. So, women all too frequently have to challenge incumbents, and the odds of unseating an incumbent simply are not great.

of State Auditors, Comptrollers, and Treasurers and has been vice-chair of the Democratic National Committee.

Kathi Williams of Colorado spent almost a decade in community service before she was elected in 1984 to the Colorado house—the first Republican from her district in nearly two decades. In 1987, she became majority whip in the house. And I am sorry to say that in 1990, proving she was from a marginal district, she lost.

Polly Baca is currently executive director of the Colorado Institute for Hispanic Education and Economic Development. She served twelve years in the Colorado legislature in both the house and the senate, and she chaired the Democratic caucus in each body. She was the first Hispanic woman to hold a leadership position in any state senate in the United States. For a period of eight years, she has also served as a vice-chair of the Democratic National Committee.

The first question, and I think I'll start off with the political scientists and ask for a brief response, concerns getting elected to office. What can we learn about the problems that are encountered, the progress that has been made, and the obstacles that still have to be overcome? Sue, what about women?

Susan Carroll, Eagleton Institute of Politics

Let me just say that the progress of women in state elected office has been slow and incremental, but it has been upward this last couple of decades. Women now constitute 17 percent of all state legislators. We now have three women governors, which isn't a great record but it's more than we've ever had before.

In terms of the problems that women face in gaining election (or why those numbers aren't better than they are), let me just pick out two that are probably the most important ones. One is incumbency and the fact there are just too few good political opportunities out there. As we all know, incumbents frequently seek reelection and they win at a very high rate, despite Kathi Williams's experience to the contrary. When seats open up— when opportunities do occur—very few people are out there looking for women to run for office. Instead, there tend to be a lot of other people lined up for those seats. So, women all too frequently have to challenge incumbents, and the odds of unseating an incumbent simply are not great.

The other interrelated problem that I want to speak about briefly is money. It's an interrelated problem because, as we know, political money in this country tends not to go disproportionately to Democrats or Republicans, but rather it goes—particularly PAC money—disproportionately to incumbents. Women candidates say that money is the biggest problem that they face, and they perceive it to be a greater problem for them than it is for men. Women are not as often hooked into big money networks, at least when they first run for office. And I would just conclude by saying that

In terms of overall obstacles, the greatest obstacle is undermobilization of the Black population. . . . Perhaps the other major problem is that Black elected officials and Black candidates remain tethered to predominantly Black population centers in terms of their probabilities of success.

raising early money—the money that you need to get the campaign off the ground in the first place, to prove that you are a viable and serious candidate—is particularly troublesome for women candidates. It is hard for anyone who is not an incumbent to get money very early in a campaign, but it is more difficult in many cases for women.

Alan Rosenthal

Is any of that applicable to African-Americans?

Georgia Persons, Georgia Institute of Technology

The problems are different, but to some extent the differences make for some advantages. One of the advantages for African-American candidates is that money is not as imperative because the greatest obstacle is having an opportunity to run from the right kind of district. What we've found is that the population makeup of a district is the greatest determinant of the probability of success for an African-American candidate, independent of anything else. So questions about money tend not to be as important. There is substantial staying power once an individual is elected, and one can make an argument that that is sometimes good and sometimes bad.

In terms of overall progress, it depends on how one looks at it. There has been significant progress, in a sense, dating back to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which, of course, was the watershed event. That was the major impetus for the election of Blacks around the country. As of early 1990, there were 423 Blacks in state legislatures, about 5.6 percent of the total number of state legislators nationwide.

In terms of the outlook for the future, the downside is that most of the benefits to be derived from the Voting Rights Act indeed have been reaped. The greatest increases were realized about ten years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Now we see that the rate of increase across the board in terms of different categories of Black elected officials is either negative in direction or very small.

Overall, the greatest obstacle now is undermobilization of the Black population (assuming that the districts have been drawn in a way that enhances the possibility of the election of a Black). In general, the districting has become very favorable. But the problem of undermobilization remains. Perhaps the other major problem is that Black elected officials and Black candidates remain tethered to predominantly Black population centers in terms of their probabilities of success.

Alan Rosenthal

You obviously have examples of Blacks winning statewide office where there is a majority-white population. Are there any examples at the legislative

level or the congressional level, for that matter, of Blacks being able to win with only a small Black population?

Georgia Persons

Well, there are certainly many examples of that at the congressional level. And the pattern in that regard is not a new one. You know, in the wake of the November 1989 elections, there has been a great deal of excitement over Black crossover politics. However, this really is not a new phenomenon.

When you start to talk about statewide election of Blacks, you are talking about a different phenomenon because there is no state that has a majority-Black population. So, you're certainly talking about a requirement for crossover appeal. A question is raised (and I think legitimately so) about the extent to which the Black agenda will be served by those kinds of crossover candidates. It's a question that needs to be addressed. There's the possibility of a trade-off between symbolic representation and substantive representation—which is not to suggest, of course, that Blacks who are successful in statewide elections are not going to be attentive to the Black community. Nor is it necessarily to imply that those Blacks who are elected from predominantly Black settings are disproportionately attentive. But it does create something of a dilemma.

Alan Rosenthal

What are the problems of Latinos in terms of getting elected?

Luis Fraga, University of Notre Dame

Across the nation the experience of Latinos much more closely approximates the experience of African-Americans than it does that of women. Historically, a substantial increase in the number of Latino state elected officials is also directly related to the Voting Rights Act. In 1975 the Voting Rights Act was expanded to include a group that the legislation refers to as "language minorities" and, under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, to provide coverage to the entire state of Texas, a number of states in the Southwest, parts of other states in the Southwest, and parts of California. Prior to this, it was the custom in a number of these states to have elections to state legislatures countywide from multimember districts. Through redistricting that concentrates Latino populations within certain districts, there is much more opportunity now, particularly in the state of Texas, to elect Latino representatives.

The extent to which social scientists and political scientists have focused on the participation and successful incorporation of Latinos in state politics is minimal; there is not very much research at all. There's a great need

Finally, although the Latino community has been able to benefit from the history of residential segregation through the drawing of single-member districts, nationwide the Latino population is much less residentially segregated than the African-American population. Therefore, . . . if Latinos are going to maximize their representation at all levels of government, particularly at the state level, it's necessary to come up with alternatives to single-member districts as the basis for enhancing their representation.

for research to expand our knowledge. But, in terms of numbers, the figures from '78 to '89 show a 25 percent increase—to a total number of thirty Latinos—in state senates and a 23 percent increase—to a total of sixty-four Latinos—in state houses in the eight states with the largest concentrations of Latinos.

The combination of the Voting Rights Act, single-member districts, and a history of residential segregation has led to that increase. The near future should tell us whether or not we have reached a plateau similar to that which has apparently been reached in regard to the election of Black state legislators. There still is great concern as to whether or not districts are overly gerrymandered to pack Latino populations in particular ways. This is something that will be looked at very carefully in 1990.

I'd like to make two final points. With regard to elections to statewide office, the history of Latinos is focused largely on New Mexico, the state with the largest percentage of Latinos. New Mexico has elected two Latinos to the United States Senate and two governors. There also was a governor elected in Arizona in the mid-1970s. What these instances indicate is that such statewide success is limited, in that it doesn't set a precedent for Latinos to get elected in the future; it does not create, so to speak, a Latino seat. I think this point is potentially instructive with regard to the recent success of Black candidates statewide.

Finally, although the Latino community has been able to benefit from the history of residential segregation through the drawing of single-member districts, nationwide the Latino population is much less residentially segregated than the African-American population. Therefore, a number of academics as well as voting rights attorneys have suggested that if Latinos are going to maximize their representation at all levels of government, particularly at the state level, it's necessary to come up with alternatives to single-member districts as the basis for enhancing their representation. The alternative that is most often mentioned is a system of cumulative voting such that if, for example, three representatives are to be elected from a county, the voters would be given the opportunity to cast three votes and would be able to "plump" those votes for one candidate. Cumulative voting would allow a Latino community that is more residentially dispersed to express its preferences in a concentrated fashion to maximize the number of Latino elected officials.

Alan Rosenthal

Roland Burris, you've been in politics for awhile, winning statewide elections. From your position as an individual in politics, as a member of the African-American community, and from the perspective of Illinois, what do you think are the particular problems minority candidates face, and how can they be overcome?

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Unfortunately, there are not that many Blacks who want a career in politics. I have a son now, but he is not interested in politics because he says there is no money in it, and he is going to go out and make a living. There are not Black political dynasties, but we are blazing a new trail and hopefully there will be some dynasties established.

Roland Burris, Attorney General, Illinois

Being a politician and not a political scientist, I'll have to think about what the difficulties are. Anytime anybody—whether Black, white, or Hispanic—wants to run for office, there are problems. And when you add on the dimension of gender or race, you have added problems.

I have to give a little bit of history to let the participants know a little about myself personally. As a young kid growing up in southern Illinois, I set two goals. One goal was to become a lawyer and the other was to become a statewide elected official of Illinois.

The best thing that ever happened to me was in 1968 when I finished law school at Howard and started on the path toward becoming an official. Where I tried to start was at the legislature. The best thing that ever happened to me was that I lost. Because what politicians find is that, once you get slotted in an office, it is very difficult to move, whether it's at the city or county or legislative level. So, in the process I had to maneuver to try to run statewide.

It just so happened that in 1973 I went into the governor's cabinet. In 1976, our governor was running for reelection. There was a mayor of Chicago by the name of Daley (not the current Daley, but rather his father). Daley did not appreciate our Democratic governor. So in 1976 he drew up a slate of regular Democrats to run against the governor's slate. I was then on the governor's slate running for state comptroller. To balance me, the mayor also put an African-American on the ticket to run for attorney general. It was the best move that ever happened on behalf of Blacks in Illinois. On the governor's slate we all lost, but a Black was nominated for attorney general—the first time an African-American was nominated for a constitutional office in Illinois. He went on to lose the general election to the incumbent.

Because Illinois was then moving its elections off the presidential year, there was another election two years later, in '78. Through the support of the Black officials in Chicago, there was a request that, since we had run a Black for attorney general and lost in '76, we ought to have another Black on the ticket in '78. And as a result of that, I pushed very hard. I was slated, and I won in the primary. And then, of course, I went on to win in November of 1978 and become the first Black constitutional officer in the history of Illinois. I won by only a small margin against a Republican—a mere 150,000 votes.

Unfortunately, there are not that many Blacks who want a career in politics. I have a son now, but he is not interested in politics because he says there is no money in it, and he is going to go out and make a living. There are not Black political dynasties, but we are blazing a new trail and hopefully there will be some dynasties established.

Alan Rosenthal

But you are almost suggesting that for an African-American it's better to start at the top and run statewide than to try to get a district carved up in the Black community.

Attorney General Burris

Well, Alan, I don't care if you are Black or white or female. If you just look at the record, only some are able to move. Doug Wilder moved from the Virginia senate after sixteen years. He was able to build a base and then move into the lieutenant governor's spot. But you have to look at the record. It is very difficult to move from a local spot as Tom Bradley was trying to do in California, as Andy Young tried to do in Georgia, as Harvey Gantt tried to do in North Carolina.

Jim Lewis, who is sitting right here as the current treasurer of New Mexico and who will be giving up his treasurership to become the chief of staff of the governor of New Mexico, started at the county level. And there are not many Blacks in New Mexico. Jim started at the county level and was then able to build a very good reputation and run statewide in New Mexico at a treasury level. Now, if he had had to go from a county level to the governor's level, I think it would have been more difficult. It's even difficult for a white candidate to go from the county level to the gubernatorial level. When you add on the problems of gender and race, it's even harder. So, I would encourage individuals to begin by seeking to build up that base.

I ran for the United States Senate in '84 but lost the primary to Paul Simon. Then, I was going to run for attorney general in 1986, but because of the problems we had, we had to step back. So, I did not run in '86. I finally got running in 1990. I was planning on running for governor in 1990, but I made the adjustment and ran for attorney general rather than for governor.

You have to be practical. You certainly can run and establish yourself and get good experience and not win. However, I consider myself a classic politician. Politicians win elections. We are not on any kind of crusade or any kind of mission other than to get elected to office so that we can affect policy. That's what my bottom line is, and I've been rather successful at it.

Alan Rosenthal

But you also are suggesting that you've got to work at it constantly and run and be willing to lose and come back and keep at it. And I think that goes for African-Americans, Latinos, whites, anybody in politics. Polly Baca, how do you relate to the business of getting elected as a Latino?

Polly Baca, Colorado

I want to begin by commenting that all the time I was in the state legislature, my district was never more than 15 percent minority. When I went to the senate, it was less than 10 percent minority.

I would like to challenge the academicians we have with us, the writers of the three papers, about why we as minorities and women sometimes have difficulty getting elected despite the fact that some of us have been able

(T)here is a mind-set regarding minority and women candidates. People want to stay in power. Political parties and the powers that be want to maintain control of certain districts, and therefore, the myth is established that you must belong to a certain category in order to win.

to get elected in districts that are not minority and had never elected a woman before.

When I first ran for the legislature in '74, the myth was that conservative, Democratic, blue-collar Adams County had never elected a woman or minority to a partisan office in the history of that county and wouldn't for a long time. It was a myth because in '74 I became the first minority elected t the state legislature and also one of three women; we all were elected that year, and half of the house delegation was female. Since then the county ha: continued to elect both women and minorities. There's something else about myths. By virtue of being here and studying the past, we often estab-lish myths about the future. The future is changing. We can't do anything except study the past, but it doesn't always predict the future.

And let me suggest that when people are in power, they don't want to giv it up. I don't necessarily think it's the nature of the people, but rather the nature of power. When you have some power, I don't care who you are, you don't want to give it up. So you establish systems and structures that will maintain that power, and you also develop myths about who is able to be elected in districts and in areas that elect people to office. And those myth: say something like, "Well, you know, the only people that have ever run for senate in this district are white males." So, therefore, if you use deductive reasoning, then only white males can be elected to office in this particular district.

It isn't so. I've never gotten less than 62 percent of the vote in my legisla-tive district, ever. I've always gotten 62 percent plus. As a matter of fact, the people who have replaced me in the state legislature have never equaled m percentage. Yet the myth was, "We can't afford to lose that congressional di: trict. We've had it; it's a marginal district and we need to make sure that we continue to have it. And, you know, there has never been a minority repre-sentative. A minority woman cannot win that district, so, therefore, we mus nominate a white male." Quite frankly, if I had had the money and re-sources, I still could have won the primary, but I didn't have the money and the resources. Regardless of my past success, there is a mind-set regarding minority and women candidates. People want to stay in power. Political pai ties and the powers that be want to maintain control of certain districts, an therefore, the myth is established that you must belong to a certain categor in order to win. And I think that does a great deal of harm and creates grea obstacles for people from populations that have not served that district be-fore. This is an issue that has not yet been discussed in the papers we read.

Alan Rosenthal

Kathi Williams, what about from your point of view? Was there a sense of women not being expected to serve in the legislature when you ran? Is that something that you had to overcome?

The first time I ran, if I would have realized how much impact the numbers have, I might not have run. They told me, "There is no way a Republican can hold that seat with the voter registration in that district." But for whatever reason, I was too naive to understand that. And that was probably the best thing that ever happened to me.

Kathi Williams, State Representative, Colorado

Sure. You have to understand that I come from the same county as Polly, and the registration is overwhelmingly Democratic. Our Republican party in Adams County is extremely weak, so you don't see lots of Republicans coming forward saying, "Yes, please. I want to get beat up in the next election. Would you please allow me to be a candidate?"

Long ago I decided, just as Roland did, that I had a long-term goal and that I needed to serve in the state house in order to get to that long-term goal. It was interesting; I put my party chairman on notice that in 1984 I would be running for that seat. He gave me the nice proverbial pat on the head and said, "Okay, well, see me in '84 and we'll see how this all works out." I think that was fine with him because at certain times he had a hard time getting a candidate to run for every office. And if a good, qualified, male, Anglo-Saxon, white, Protestant, Mr. Wonderful didn't come along, he'd have someone to fill the seat. So, I think that is basically how the whole thing began.

Sue Carroll talked about the struggles women face as candidates. You know, sometimes we allow the perception of what the struggles are to define what the parameters are. It's interesting to me to hear Georgia Persons talk about the fact that it is easier for a Black to get elected in a Black district. And just as Polly has indicated to you, a lot of times we set up parameters, thinking that this is part of the rules. In order to win here, you have to be of a certain type. If you want everything on your side and you want an easy row to hoe, that's probably true. But that's not to say that the odds are insurmountable or that it can't be done against the odds.

The first time I ran, if I would have realized how much impact the numbers have, I might not have run. They told me, "There is no way a Republican can hold that seat with the voter registration in that district." But for whatever reason, I was too naive to understand that. And that was probably the best thing that ever happened to me. So sometimes we become too "expert" and allow ourselves to be limited in ways that we really shouldn't.

We talked about too few opportunities. I think we feel there are too few opportunities because, once again, we've built fences around ourselves that are very hard to see over. You know, it's interesting that this last year the Republican party came to me and asked me to run for governor because we had a very popular Democratic governor and they felt, "Well, we're probably not going to win the governor's seat, so we should do something unique like get a woman to run." That was their motivation: "Williams seems to be pretty high profile in this state, and she's done some pretty good things; she'll probably bring some excitement to this race." It probably was no different than Mondale picking Geraldine Ferraro specifically because she is a woman.

The best thing that you can do is take those opportunities and use them to your own best advantage. I know that I was a bit insulted, because when

So for those women or minorities who have a hard time getting big money early, I don't see that as an obstacle. All that tells you is that you'll want a lot of small money, you'll want a lot of volunteers, and you'll want to get them as early as you possibly can.

the current governor, Roy Romer, ran for the first time, five men and one woman wanted to run. Isn't it interesting that this time, when he was popular, we were searching around for a candidate? So they finally got down to a woman on the list. I would imagine that if Roy Romer does not run again, we will once again have five men at the top of that list, all really interested in running, and they probably won't be calling me and knocking on my door so readily.

The other obstacle that Sue Carroll talked about is money. And once again, sometimes we build a wall around ourselves so that we don't start building a war chest early. You know, that's one thing that has intimidated a lot of my male opponents—my building a war chest and discouraging some of the white, Anglo-Saxon males that traditionally had run against me.

My last race was the first time in which I'd ever had a woman opponent who also was talking about big money early. You know, if I were to tell you the two or three mistakes that I made in my last campaign, one of them was focusing too much on raising big money early. We had gotten to be such hotshots in our campaign and so overcome with how wonderful I am that we forgot about something critically important. Sometimes when you look on the other side of the fence, it seems like the grass is greener there, and there is an opponent who is getting a lot of big money early. What you've forgotten is the small contributor, the volunteerism—those things that big money cannot buy. And there is a commitment that comes with that, which big money will never be able to bring to you. So for those women or minorities who have a hard time getting big money early, I don't see that as an obstacle. All that tells you is that you'll want a lot of small money, you'll want a lot of volunteers, and you'll want to get them as early as you possibly can.

The other thing I want to discuss is being asked versus making an independent decision. When I first went into the legislature, I went in with two male colleagues. We had a "good ole boy" speaker at that time. It was interesting; the speaker was always asking my male colleagues to carry pieces of legislation and to do all of these wonderful things. I couldn't understand why he would never ask me because I'd sat with him several times, and I thought I had impressed upon him how much I wanted to make a difference and how much I wanted to be the best legislator that I could possibly be as well as one of the best legislators in Colorado. But, for whatever reason, it didn't seem to make an impact on him.

Until one day the speaker took me aside and said, "Kathi, I understand you're thinking about not running again." And he said, "I just want to let you know you are really bright for a woman. You probably never will be majority leader, but there will always be a role for you to play." I'm sure he meant that as the greatest compliment. I'm sure that it came from the bottom of his heart and that he thought that he was being fairly magnanimous. But if I had waited for the speaker of the house to ask me to do anything, I would still be sitting back in Colorado on my thumbs participating just at the level of everyone else.

Don't wait to be asked. If you have a vision of what needs to be done, then you need to set your plan and get it done. . . . It is a fact that in order for women and minorities to make an impact, we have to work differently, we have to work smarter, and maybe it's not fair, but no one ever said anything was fair.

So I guess what I want to say to you is: Don't wait to be asked. If you have a vision of what needs to be done, then you need to set your plan and get it done. I think what we're really talking about here is that if all things were equal, then everything would be wonderful. But all things are not equal. It is a fact that in order for women and minorities to make an impact, we have to work differently, we have to work smarter, and maybe it's not fair, but no one ever said anything was fair.

And I can tell you that a by-product of that, as far as I'm concerned, is the fact that when you do work harder, you are able to sustain and operate within the system a lot better. Some of the weakest legislators we have in Colorado are the ones that come from safe districts. They get offices through paying their dues rather than by working hard. I know most of you in this room have overcome a lot of obstacles and probably are much better legislators for it.

The last thing I'd like to say is that the process is personality driven. I really believe that. It's what you as an individual bring to the process. There will be a time when many of you will run against another minority, and the only thing that's going to make the difference is, in fact, what your personality brings to the process.

Alan Rosenthal

Let's open this up. Do you want to identify who you are?

Elaine Baxter, Secretary of State, Iowa

I'm Elaine Baxter. I'm secretary of state for Iowa, which is an elected position, and a former state legislator. It is interesting to me that when the academicians look at the research on how to increase the number of minority elected representatives, what I'm hearing is that the best way is to run in districts that contain minorities, where Blacks and Latinos are concentrated. And I think the numbers would show that an overwhelming preponderance of the minority voters within those districts would vote for the minority candidates. Why does the same thing not happen to women? In most states there are now more women voters than there are men voters. Why aren't 90 percent or 80 percent or 70 percent of the women in the state or the legislative districts voting for the woman candidate?

Representative Williams

The comment that I would like to make about that is that if you look at the voting population, they're really all special interests in one way or another. It is a matter of what their overriding special interest really is. It's interesting

(W)omen and minorities, when they are elected to office, are constantly torn between how to represent their constituency at large and how to represent the group from which they come. There's a constant pressure on them from both of these constituencies. The group from which they come will extend far beyond their district even if they are governors.

that in Democratic Adams County the women Democrats were more willing—or seemed to be from our polling—to go ahead and vote for a woman than for a male Democrat. But then all things being equal, they were more willing to make that vote for a female Democrat.

So you really have to begin to weigh people's special interests and where they fall. All things being equal, for a Black female running against a Black male, is there a prejudice there also? Would the Black community split their vote in a different way based on where their prejudices are? I think when you look at it, it may be that it's a special interest group preference as far as pro-choice or pro-life; it may be male versus female; it may be white versus Hispanic. So it may be that you have to gauge exactly where the voters' preference is on the special interest they care most about.

Polly Baca

There also is something else that we have not talked about, and that is that women and minorities, when they are elected to office, are constantly torn between how to represent their constituency at large and how to represent the group from which they come. There's a constant pressure on them from both of these constituencies. The group from which they come will extend far beyond their district even if they are governors. Certainly Ann Richards will be representing women way beyond Texas, and we women will feel like she is our governor.

There is something that happens to you when you are a minority or a woman. You are unique and so you represent a specific interest that is important, but you also have to represent the constituencies—consisting of many special interests—that voted for you across the board. I think the thing we have to consider and should talk about is what that does to the candidate.

When you have been representing those constituencies at lower levels and then run for a higher office, does the tug that you've encountered, that pulls you in one direction or the other, help or hinder you? Does the fact that maybe you are an outspoken feminist at the state legislative level help you or hurt you if you run for statewide office? Does it help you or hurt you with your women voters?

Again I get back to the fact that people who have power will want to maintain that power. And when they are part of a power structure, whether that be a political party or some other body that happens to hold power, they don't want to take the chance and risk losing. That hurts minority and women candidates.

Alan Rosenthal

Do minority officeholders feel that they have to serve a minority constituency and promote programs for minority populations?

However, if I get too Black, and I go up for reelection, you can rest assured that I will not be elected. If I get too white and go up for reelection, you can rest assured that I won't be elected.

Attorney General Burris

Well, take the Congressional Black Caucus. If you talk to a congressman from Chicago, you'll find he feels the pressure of every Black person across this country. He has to deal not only with the problems of his district, but also with the Black agenda. And the Black agenda is national; it involves the federal government.

Even if you bring it home to the states, I represent 11.6 million people. There is no Black American in this country who represents as many people as I do. But I also feel a special need to make sure that I am sensitive to the Black agenda. However, if I get too Black, and I go up for reelection, you can rest assured that I will not be elected. If I get too white and go up for re-election, you can rest assured that I won't be elected. And one of the most damaging problems for minorities is that white politicians are not on the same fence that a Black or Hispanic official has to be on. You feel the responsibility of trying to erode the existing power structure while at the same time not losing the little power that you have. And it is a very difficult situation to be in. I have to be a role model for African-Americans and yet still carry the burden and responsibility of representing 11.6 million people.

Alan Rosenthal

Do women have that same burden—but perhaps not as heavy—when they're running for legislative office?

Susan Carroll

I think women sit on the fence, too—particularly women who see themselves as somehow responsive to the agenda of the feminist community. There's that same conflict between trying to represent your entire constituency and also trying to be responsive and sensitive to the particular problems that women face. So, I think there are some analogies here. I would also add that African-American and Latino women have so many fences to sit on that it is overwhelming.

Helen Rhyne Marvin, State Senator, North Carolina

I just want to make a comment. I have long been involved in a North Carolina semirural community. I would like to believe that women do sit on the fence. But unlike minorities, I don't think women feel much pressure to address fully the agenda of their special interest group except maybe in some urban areas where there are strong women's organizations. We don't find

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them in North Carolina very much, so I have the constant pressure of feeling I can't be just a women's advocate. I don't have the same pressures from women constituents that I get on issues other than the women's agenda. In a legislature with predominantly male representation, I have to represent all the people or I won't get anywhere.

I also want to say something about why women do not support women to the degree that minorities support their candidates. I feel that Professor Carroll's observation in her paper about it being a matter of socialization is so true. Women aren't perceived by the general public as being political animals, as being particularly qualified or motivated to run for public office. This is something that is part of our heritage, our tradition, and we've got a big job of changing that before we can generate the kind of support we need.

Another factor—and again it's part of our socialization and our heritage—is that women in general aren't as interested as men in the political scene, and we too often tend to make our political preferences according to what the males in our families tell us to do. In the last election, when I was in North Carolina, I eked out a very narrow victory in a district that was overwhelmingly Republican, and I'm a Democrat. The day after the election, I attended a public function, and two-thirds of the people there came up to me and congratulated me and said, "I want you to know that you're the only Democrat I voted for." And I asked several, "How on earth can you vote for me and Jesse Helms at the same time?" Well, the answer from one woman was, "Jesse Helms is not going to let voters come in and dictate to my husband and his business whom he can hire." That was one of the answers I got.

Richard Martinez, Southwest Voter Registration Education Project

Along those same lines, I want to say that the fact is, very simply, that blood is thicker than gender. Racially polarized voting is a very important fact. It is a fact that has to be included as a central part of voting rights cases in federal court. And in every case that our organization has litigated, whether it be against gerrymandering or at-large elections, we have proven that there was racially polarized voting.

Now how does that affect women candidates versus minority women candidates? When an Anglo woman candidate runs against a minority candidate, whether male or female, the Anglo population will vote for the Anglo woman; the minority population will vote for the minority candidate whether the candidate is male or female.

Second, one element of access to political office that has only been alluded to here is the *legislative* political leadership, the *party* political leadership, and the *money* political leadership of the state who block minority candidates from being able to run effectively for office. It is the political

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It is the political leadership that tells Mexican-Americans when we can run for office and when we can't run for office. And it is that political leadership—whether on the national level or the state or local level—that has been one of the greatest impediments to minority political participation and growth.

party leadership that asked Kathi to be cannon fodder so the Republicans could have a candidate to run against Roy Romer. It is the political leadership that tells Mexican-Americans when we can run for office and when we can't run for office. And it is that political leadership—whether on the national level or the state or local level—that has been one of the greatest impediments to minority political participation and growth.

Polly Baca

That's the point I have been trying to make in terms of the nature of power. In 1980, I was the Democratic candidate for Congress against Hank Brown up in the northern end of the district because none of the other legislators would run against him. I became the candidate very easily because it was a Republican district and I was in midterm.

In '86, when there was a viable open seat that a Democrat could win, it was the party leadership that was questioning whether or not an Hispanic woman could win in that district. And that did dry up support as well as money. I sat on the education committee; I carried bills for the teachers. There was no way my opponent could have even come close to my record in terms of support of the teachers, but they endorsed my opponent on the assumption that an Hispanic woman could not win that seat. And yet I had proven that I could win in that area in a similar seat in a quarter of that district. I already had proven that by winning no less than 62 percent of the votes every time I ran.

So, that's the point I've been trying to make in terms of power structures. I certainly was not an outsider in terms of the Democratic party. I was vice-chair of the national party. Yet, I had women saying, "The Democrats have to hold that seat. We've got to hang on to that seat. So we can't nominate an Hispanic woman because she'll lose it." Yet there was no evidence of that. None of the polling showed that. It was a preconception. We as women and minorities have to overcome those preconceived notions.

James Lewis, State Treasurer, New Mexico

Let me give you just a little background about my situation. One of the things that I decided that I wanted to do after working about eleven years within the Democratic party was to run for public office. What did I have to do to convince the other folks that they needed to get behind me and support me? Well, I was asked first, "Where are you from? It's only 2 percent African-American in New Mexico. Are you from New Mexico?" And I had to convince a lot of people that I was a native New Mexican. The second question was, "What have you done for the party?" Well, I'd done voter registration, voter education, and voter participation for eleven years. I had walked all over that county on behalf of other candidates. Still, I had to convince a lot of the power folks within the party that I had been a team player.

When I ran for the first time for the office of county treasurer, the other thing I was asked was, "Do you think they are going to let a Black man handle money?" And this came not only from non-African-Americans; we also had African-Americans saying, "It can't be done; it's never been done before."

But I had the mentality that there is nobody to stop James Lewis but James Lewis himself. So my concern was to go out there and convince the community. What I also had done over the eleven years in which I was active in the party was to join a lot of Hispanic groups. I didn't join those groups primarily because I thought I was going to run for political office, but because I felt that there should be some sharing. I wanted to learn a little bit more about them, and, in turn, they could learn a little bit more about me. I also joined a Jewish men's club. I wanted to learn what they were doing, and in turn, they would learn about James Lewis.

Let me just add this. In my three previous campaigns, we never ran a TV campaign. New Mexico is the fifth largest state in the Union. You are only going to find maybe half a dozen candidates in New Mexico who are going to use electronic media as far as the TV. So we just ruled that out. However, being the president of the County Treasurer Association, I had set up a network all over the state. And I also had worked with a lot of the municipalities, so whenever we had to have petitions, I just sent them out all over the state. The folks I knew got them all filled out for me. That was a personal endorsement.

Attorney General Burris

In Illinois, when I ran in 1976, I had no money for TV. In '78, I became slated by the party and I was challenged by a white Democrat, and we did run commercials. In the general election, we ran commercials and we had my picture in the commercial. My opponent evidently thought I was not running enough commercials in 1978, so he put my picture in his commercials. He was going to make sure people knew that I was Black. He was saying that I was running my commercials selectively.

One of the reasons why I got elected statewide is because I come from deep southern Illinois. That's my base down there. When his commercials started showing up down there (and most of those people are Republican), they reacted and they reacted negatively, so much so that he could not even recover. There are some areas in Chicago where you hesitate to put your picture on posters because of the nature of some of the wards and some of the townships in Cook County. But you cannot limit that on television.

I just came through a race on November sixth where my rich, white, Anglo-Saxon, Irish Republican opponent also ran my picture on the law enforcement deal. He is a prosecuting attorney. And because I am not (I'm a lawyer, but I am not a prosecuting attorney), he turned the responsibility of the attorney general around. The attorney general's prosecutorial responsibility probably is 10 or 15 percent at most. But he said on the screen that

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he is a prosecutor and Burris is not a prosecutor, and he flashed my picture. In other words, "All those Black criminals are going to be roaming free in Illinois, and therefore, don't vote for Burris." It was effective. We had to counteract him with a commercial attacking his prosecutorial record, and that's what stopped the erosion and enabled us to win on November sixth.

Treasurer Lewis

When I first ran for county office, my opponent did the same thing the Sunday before the election. I really think it backfired on him because in the newspaper he ran pictures of myself and himself side by side. But after building a strong foundation in the largest county, we still were able to be the number one vote-getter. We led even the gubernatorial candidate in 1986. We got more votes than anybody in New Mexico. What we did was we built a foundation and went from there.

Workshop on Changing Political Institutions

Richard Martinez, Facilitator

Report by Charles W. Washington

> (T)he degree of aggressiveness that can be exhibited by minorities and women and that will be accepted by political institutions is not the same as that for white males.

The workshop participants began by identifying seven problems faced by women, Blacks, and Hispanics in becoming candidates and running for elective office. These problems are:

- A lack of willingness on the part of women, Blacks, and Hispanics to run for office because of what "running for office" means to their families. For women, there also is concern about the implications of assuming a role other than a traditional family-centered woman's role.
- The challenge of dealing with the existing power structure.
- The difficulty of raising money.
- The perception in some parts of the country that minorities and women—but not white men—must possess a college degree to be eligible to run for and hold political office.
- The prevailing view among the general population that minorities and women must meet higher qualification standards than other candidates.
- The perception, held by men and women, that women have no place in politics.
- The lack of fair media coverage given to minority and women elected officials. (This is especially true with respect to women.)

Strategies for Dealing with Problems

Several strategies for dealing with these problems and obstacles were identified. However, it was observed that, in employing these strategies, the degree of aggressiveness that can be exhibited by minorities and women and that will be accepted by political institutions is not the same as that for white males. It also was recognized that any changes resulting from these strategies will be short-lived if they are not pursued with vigilance. Participants suggested the following strategies:

- Workshops on leadership need to be held for minority and women elected officials, as well as for white male elected officials, to address the prevailing perceptions and the existing realities in political environments and institutions.
- Each Black, Hispanic, and woman elected official needs to make it his or her personal responsibility to establish an additional "Black" or "Hispanic" or "woman's" position in existing institutions to expand the so-called "African-American" or "Hispanic" or "woman's" position identified by majority members of those institutions.
- To achieve more positive media coverage, minority and women elected officials must serve with integrity. This is likely to do a great deal to offset negative or inadequate media coverage of women and minority officials.

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Minorities and women in power must teach each other how the system works and must impress upon those who designed and who manage the system the need for system changes.

- Minority and women elected officials need to develop a systematic mechanism to deal with inadequate or unfair media coverage. This mechanism must not be one established to serve the elected official's self-promotion agenda, but rather must be one that makes certain stories newsworthy and assures that they are given media coverage. (This was thought to be a major problem by the group.)
- Minority and women elected officials need to cultivate stronger media relations generally.

TYPES OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES NEEDED

Workshop participants discussed the types of institutional changes that need to be made. The following changes were suggested:

- "Term limitations" on political officeholders should be considered but approached with caution. This institutional change can have both negative and positive effects.

    Possible Negative Effects
    - Term limitations may threaten the seniority system just at the time when minorities and women are gaining seniority and taking advantage of the system to affect policy and the policy process.
    - This reform counters the basic concept of representative democracy and perhaps may have the long-term effect of limiting representative democracy.

    Possible Positive Effects
    - In some states term limitations may remove incumbents who have served a long time and have benefitted from their reelection advantage.
    - By removing incumbents periodically, term limits might open up new opportunities for minority and women candidates in some states.
- Minorities and women need to develop a system for getting those inside political institutions to accept newly elected minorities and women as peers and colleagues.
- Minorities and women in power must teach each other how the system works and must impress upon those who designed and who manage the system the need for system changes.
- Minorities and women need to be strategic in employing the petition process for gaining nomination.
- Minorities and women must develop mechanisms that reduce the prohibitive costs of running for elective office. These include supporting public financing of elections, limiting the money that can be spent, and limiting the contributions of individuals, corporations, and political action committees.
- Minorities and women need to design a mechanism that will reduce the disproportionate influence on policy and the policy process of highly vocal, single-issue groups.
- In the interim, minorities and women elected officials need to see the value of teaching specific constituents the importance of using a single-issue political approach in order to be influential in the political process.

COPING WITH LEGISLATURES DOMINATED BY WHITE MALES

There were a dozen or so suggestions about how to enhance the ability of minority and women elected officials to cope with legislative bodies that are not yet fully diversified. Participants' suggestions included the following:

- First learn the rules of the game and then employ them to your own advantage and for your own purposes.
- Learn the art and science of coalition building.
- Learn the skills associated with negotiation and compromise.
- Employ direct confrontation to deal with racism, sexism, and general bias and insensitivity when dealing with colleagues; in most circumstances, this is the best policy.
- Deal with inappropriate language by employing different styles of confrontation depending on the situation—but be sure to deal with it.
- Employ humor, where appropriate, in dealing with inappropriate language and behavior, but be cautious in the use of this strategy because it could be mistaken as a lack of seriousness.
- Employ a rotational system of correction and chastisement of colleagues to avoid giving the impression that the concern is that of a single individual. This is likely to bring swifter corrective action.
- Threaten to use the specific power you possess (e.g., delaying the process or other use of policy instruments), where appropriate, in order to educate others and build support, but be cautious. This strategy may be more useful for men than for women.
- For women, use power in a coalition-building fashion, but avoid being too confrontational.
- Use effectively and fully the power that accrues to the position you hold, i.e., enhance your power and personal influence by combining it with the scope of your legitimate authority. (This was perceived by some to be a matter of maximizing personal leadership.)
- Cultivate an individual leadership style. Know what your effective style is, work on it, and perfect it.
- Make effective use of the women's, Black, or Hispanic caucus. Make sure it has a legislative agenda and is properly positioned to exert influence and produce change. Strategically place caucus members on key committees and in committee leadership positions. (It was felt that being a member of the dominant party helps in this situation.)

WORKSHOP ON SHAPING STATE POLICY

Often elected on reform platforms that promise more inclusiveness, minority candidates face very different role requirements once in the legislature. Effectiveness and longevity become tests of how well an individual legislator has mastered the rules and norms of the institution.

Gerald Neal, Facilitator

Report by Roland Anglin

This workshop explored various techniques that minorities and women can use to influence state-level public policy. The group focused on the legislature as an institutional generator of public policy. Participants spent part of the session discussing the difficulties faced by minority legislators upon entering office. Often elected on reform platforms that promise more inclusiveness, minority candidates face very different role requirements once in the legislature. Effectiveness and longevity become tests of how well an individual legislator has mastered the rules and norms of the institution. Yet there is real pressure exerted by minority constituents who, perhaps more than the average voter, feel that their demands merit immediate attention.

Group members were in accord in acknowledging that there is no easy way to satisfy high expectations from minority constituents. Choices have to be made. The group endorsed a strategy for minority legislators that involves pursuing institutional effectiveness rather than making simple rhetorical appeals to constituents.

The group identified factors that promote the effectiveness of women and minority legislators:

- knowing the rules and norms of the institution
- establishing personal and professional relationships with colleagues
- having patience
- acquiring a knowledge base in various policy areas
- establishing links with leadership
- establishing links with caucuses
- establishing a working relationship with various interest groups
- providing service to the institution and to constituents (e.g., through committee work and constituent appeals)

These are all things that should concern any beginning legislator. The group consensus, however, was that many, if not all, of these factors needed to be of special concern to beginning women and minority legislators. Below is a more detailed discussion of each factor.

RULES AND NORMS

Newly elected African-Americans, women, and Hispanics must become keen observers of the legislative process. It is crucial that they have an understanding of the institutional history of the legislature as well as of the statutes and procedures that affect governance.

In many instances, the legislative agendas of women, Blacks, and Hispanics coincide. It is important that these groups establish ongoing relationships.

PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Women and minority legislators are encouraged to establish working relationships with their colleagues based on mutual self-interest. Furthermore, while tension is a necessary part of the legislative process, new legislators are advised to forgo unnecessary acrimony.

PATIENCE

The group felt strongly that the watchword for any beginning legislator should be patience. Aggressiveness is one mark of an effective legislator, but the group felt that new minority and women legislators should focus their attention on gains beyond the short term. Thus, aggressiveness should be tempered with a clear focus on policy objectives and the strategies by which to obtain these objectives.

POLICY EXPERTISE

Participants felt it was crucial for minority and women legislators to develop expertise in a limited range of public policies. This is not to say that they should become so focused that they become single-issue legislators. Rather, they should be conversant with two or three issues that can increase their individual visibility and value in the legislature.

LINKS WITH LEADERSHIP

It is difficult for a new legislator to make an impact in any legislative institution. Making an impact and becoming an effective legislator are predicated on ties to leadership, both in the legislature and in the executive branch. Through service and diligence, minority and women legislators are encouraged to establish their value to leadership.

LINKS WITH CAUCUSES

Broad-based acceptance and respect in the legislature are obvious goals for legislators, but minority and women legislators should recognize the clear advantage in forging links with other minority caucuses. In many instances, the legislative agendas of women, Blacks, and Hispanics coincide. It is important that these groups establish ongoing relationships.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH INTEREST GROUPS

While interest groups can exert an undue influence on the legislative process, they are an integral part of the process. Interest groups provide valuable information and can be effective mobilizers of support. Because of this, minority and women legislators would be judicious to cultivate linkages with interest groups that share their concerns.

SERVICE TO THE INSTITUTION

Service to the institution is accomplished through committee work. Such work often is not glamorous and at times is unrelated to the specific interests of the legislator. Yet, participants felt that minority and women legislators should view such work in a broader perspective. Committee assignments should be seen as a way to build coalitions that eventually will enhance the legislator's policy agenda.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, participants felt that minority and women legislators can only be effective in placing and promoting group demands on the agenda if they gain a thorough knowledge of the policy process. Part of the process is "going along to get along." But participants felt that effectiveness and the promotion of a policy agenda require more than this. A great deal of work is involved in building a base in the legislature. That work, as was brought out in the discussion, is very much the craft of politics and the next logical step after mobilization. Minorities and women have to master the art of legislative politics in order to make further strides.

Workshop on Achieving Leadership Positions

Paula McClain, Facilitator

Report by Deborah Roberts

THE FUNCTION OF POWER

Participants were not content to equate leadership with "power over"—that is, holding influential posts that come with seniority or after a single election victory. Instead, leadership is "power to"—in particular, power to effect change, shape agendas, articulate important issues for one's constituency, and have an impact on policy. Thus, one has to be savvy about acquiring and using power—such as by finding forums, organizing interest group support, building coalitions, and banking political credits and respect.

GETTING AHEAD BY BOTH PUSH AND PULL

Participants agreed that the "push" comes from an established political base and a supportive constituency that allow one to develop and demonstrate leadership potential. Before coming to the legislature, as one participant suggested, "We first had to be leaders somewhere else." Young people were urged to become active in party activities as early as possible. There was concern over the fact that Blacks have had to serve long apprenticeships of party work and officeholding at lower levels in order to be seen as legitimate, "proven" candidates for higher office. Another "push" is the candidate's own "fire in the gut" and mental toughness in resisting stereotypes and pigeonholing. Once in the system, women and minorities may be "pulled" up by good committee chairs, especially if they are tireless workers who make the chairs look good. However, one risks being pushed too soon for higher visibility solely to suit the agenda of others without having acquired the base to succeed.

THE ROLE OF MENTORS

Discussion centered on two forms of mentoring: purely personal mentoring (largely dependent on luck) and mentoring systems in which people are expected both to seek out mentors and to serve as mentors themselves. With regard to the first alternative, mentoring undeniably requires a personal commitment. As expressed by one legislator, "You need a person who believes you have the ability and who will help you through the process." Personal mentors should be looked to not only for "pull" in advancement,

(W)e need to encourage women and minorities to be calculated risk-takers with a strong, strategic sense of the right time and place to make a move. Candidates for higher office should groom successors before risking a minority seat.

but also for their broad range of experience and valuable advice. With regard to mentoring systems, each state's informal traditions on how the mentoring game is played establish a broader context in which mentoring takes place. For example, Attorney General Mary Sue Terry fit the classic profile for what was labelled Virginia's "escalator" system, where proteges are nurtured up through the ranks based on regional and family networks.

Participants agreed that it is up to the individual to take the initiative in seeking out mentors. Participants urged crossover mentoring. Assuming that a mentor must be the same sex or race is a mental barrier. Finally, a successful mentoring relationship may not be lasting (especially if the mentor helps for the wrong reasons). Women and minorities later may have to part company with, or even directly challenge, a former mentor.

TAKING RISKS

Participants had a heated discussion on how much risk women and minorities should take. Some warned women and minorities not to fall into the trap of becoming a complacent or too-cautious legislator, which can lead to personal and institutional stagnation. All agreed that there is risk in every election and great risk whenever minorities and women try to move up to higher elected office or leadership posts. Neither women nor minorities can expect the toleration given white males, who usually receive the benefit of the doubt; this intolerance may manifest itself as pinning the label of negative campaigning on a Black candidate, calling an assertive woman strident, or accepting women and minorities onto the first political rungs but not into leadership roles.

Blacks (and perhaps Hispanics) need to be especially sophisticated risk-takers. When whites—male or female—lose, they usually don't fall far, and often they remain as political contenders for a later run for office, perhaps through receiving plum appointments in the interim. In contrast, Blacks who lose elections go back home to the Black community or, at best, get a consolation prize such as a corporate post that takes them out of politics. There was a consensus that we need to encourage women and minorities to be calculated risk-takers with a strong, strategic sense of the right time and place to make a move. Candidates for higher office should groom successors before risking a minority seat.

MOVING UP AND MAKING A QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE

The most vehement disagreement was about the existence of an "invisible ceiling" for Blacks. Some Black participants were especially critical of certain Black candidates, castigating them as politically unsophisticated for leaving safe seats to run for another elected office, especially when this represented a move to a lower level of government or an executive office. Some saw Blacks who left safe congressional seats to run for statewide office or mayor of a large city as downwardly mobile.

However, many agreed that, as one participant observed, "the state level, not the national government, is where the action is and where problems are being solved." Others saw decisions to leave safe legislative seats as shrewd judgments of the policy impact one could have as the executive leader, as opposed to being one among many in a legislative body. Another point was that this trend of running for urban executive office simply reflects political reality, in that a minority candidate is more likely to win urban office because of concentrated areas of minority voting strength.

Participants cautioned that we should respect people's understanding of what their own strengths are: some are excellent legislators but mediocre executives and vice versa. Participants also noted that there are many less visible ways to exercise leadership and influence the course of public affairs besides moving up the hierarchy, such as advocacy in "bucking" agency policies and practices. Women and minority public officials undeniably are magnets; others are drawn to them specifically because they are women or minorities.

Participants focused on the need for race-gender crossover support. For instance, the chances of advancing a women's issue often are better if it is pushed forward by a man. As one white woman legislator expressed, "We should use each other. Blacks should use me when they think I'll be effective, and they can later return the favor in kind."

A PARADOXICAL BALANCING ACT

Participants repeatedly returned to Illinois Attorney General Roland Burris's point in the opening plenary session concerning the fine line between being seen as too Black or too white. Is there an inherent and irreconcilable conflict among the goals of being faithful to the interests of one's natural constituency, of all constituents, and of oneself? One sentiment was that representatives are elected to represent all the people in their district, and that it is dangerous to assume that one's first loyalty is to those who are of the same sex or race or any other shared allegiance. On the other hand, given the historical fact that groups have been treated differently, some felt that minority and women candidates should focus first on articulating concerns of their group. One participant noted that we are on a new frontier of race politics, and said that minority public officials and candidates should be urged to "build crossover coalitions but not to bend over backwards and neglect the minority community." Participants ended the session perhaps just as divided as they had started concerning how one strikes this delicate balance, but they agreed that the "expectation schism" was wider than ever.

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CONCLUDING ADDRESS ON BUILDING COALITIONS AMONG MINORITIES

Raul Yzaguirre, National Council of La Raza

L et me begin by telling you a little bit about who we are and what we do. The National Council of La Raza is the largest Hispanic network in the United States. We are an umbrella organization for about 140 organizations around the country that serve approximately one and one-half million people every year. Basically, we do two things. First, we're in the business of helping local groups serve their communities by providing them with training and technical assistance. We are headquartered in Washington, D.C., and we have field offices in Illinois, Texas, Arizona, and California. We assist local affiliates who provide services to Hispanics in areas such as education, housing, economic development, and employment training—all the services that have to do with solving socioeconomic problems at the local level and that open up opportunities for people to get jobs, housing, and the necessities of life.

The second thing we do, and the activity that gives us more visibility, is in the public policy arena. We have the largest public policy capacity in the Hispanic community. We are known as the Hispanic think tank. We produce a number of publications and conduct research on issues that affect our community. And we are, of course, very active on the Hill; we do a great deal of lobbying.

So, briefly, that's who the National Council of La Raza is, and I am very pleased that you invited me to be with you today. I want to thank the Center for Public Service at the University of Virginia and the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers for holding this conference. This is a very timely activity.

We have a tradition in this country of encouraging states to be living laboratories for experimenting with solutions to various issues. We've heard a lot about Wisconsin, for example, and how they're dealing with the welfare issue. Wisconsin reportedly is the only state that has shown a drop in welfare rates, whereas other states have gained. Wisconsin's experience may have implications for other states. But what is missing here—and what I think these conferences help us accomplish—is the dissemination of information coming from these "experiments." If we have fifty laboratories around this great United States of America but there isn't a forum for sharing our findings, it's like having research projects all over the place without an academic journal to help us understand the state of the art. Consequently, what you are doing is enormously important, and I congratulate you for it.

We are, of course, in an era in which the states are becoming more and more important. We have something called the "new federalism," which

But I believe that we need to realign and revitalize our coalitions in the face of some new realities. We live in a time of increasingly competing demands, some of which are not easily reconcilable. We have a phenomenon of rising, vocal, strong, single-purpose, single-issue organizations, who push their agendas with great zeal and uncompromising attitudes. So, while we have a history and a tradition of coalitions, the nature of the playing field is changing and the challenges are greater.

tends to bring about greater devolution of power to the states. The "new federalism" has been associated with the Republican party, but I'd like to dissuade you from assuming that it is simply a passing fad. It is not something that the Republican party or Ronald Reagan invented; it is something that Thomas Jefferson may have conceived and at least gave a lot of credence to. And it's a trend that's going to be here awhile. So, even if we have a change of administration, I doubt very seriously that this trend is going to be diminished in any significant way.

There are good reasons for proceeding along this course. First of all, we are beginning to see in a larger number of contexts the importance of making decisions and bringing about solutions at the point where the rubber meets the road. Even in the 1960s, at the height of federally initiated social action, Lyndon Johnson introduced programs like Medicaid and Medicare under state management. Even Model Cities became mainly a city- and mayor-operated program where citizens' groups were involved in implementing local solutions or programs to deal with broad national issues. So, it is a continuing trend and an appropriate one.

We see it in every facet of life. In education, the preference is for school-based management. We understand how difficult it is to try to make micro-level educational policy at the state level or even at the central-office level in large school districts. And we now understand that school-based management means that competent principals must have decision-making responsibility and accountability for what they do. And the trend is filtering down even further to the individual classroom. Teachers are saying, "I need to have some control over what happens in my own classroom; otherwise, you can't hold me accountable." So the issue of meshing accountability with responsibility and bringing decision making down as close as possible to where the problems are is going to be with us for a very long time.

I predict that those of you who are in state government will face the same kind of pressure from cities and counties. Just as you are asking the federal government for greater support for programs with no strings attached so that you can judge what makes sense for your own states, so, too, I believe that you will see the cities and counties asking their state governments for exactly the same kind of treatment, using the same kind of rhetoric.

In this context, I have been asked to talk to you about coalitions. And I do so in some very interesting times—the best of times and perhaps the worst of times. Coalitions, of course, are not new. They have been with us for a long time; we as a nation have had a lot of experience with all kinds of coalitions. If the U.S. had not coalesced with Spain and France, we still would be under British rule. Americans have perfected the art of working with each other and finding ways of volunteering and coalescing.

But I believe that we need to realign and revitalize our coalitions in the face of some new realities. We live in a time of increasingly competing demands, some of which are not easily reconcilable. We have a phenomenon of rising, vocal, strong, single-purpose, single-issue organizations, who push

We are entering a situation where it's Asians against Blacks, women against minorities, young against old. And these kinds of situations, I believe, demand a better political leadership, one with more ability to understand and negotiate among the many competing demands.

their agendas with great zeal and uncompromising attitudes. So, while we have a history and a tradition of coalitions, the nature of the playing field is changing and the challenges are greater.

At the same time, we are witnessing a decline of those institutions that helped this society mediate among those competing goals. I am talking about institutions like our political parties, our labor unions, our churches, and our courts. Now, some of these very institutions are vehicles for pushing narrow agendas.

There are other more recent changes in our nation—not the least of which is the recession that we are entering (or are well into). The current economic downturn is different, not because we've never had recessions before—they're part of the normal cycle—but rather because the formula we had for dealing with them may no longer be realistic. That formula calls for tried and true measures such as countercyclical spending. If the economy is down, government steps in to increase its spending even if this means deficit spending. Keynesian economics has worked well for Republican as well as Democratic administrations. But we already have had ten or eleven years of a deficit-driven economy that's been on a binge in terms of budget and trade deficits. We are beginning to understand that this can't go on forever. And we are now determined to reduce government services and government expenditures at the very time when the normal response would be to increase spending in order to stimulate the economy.

I believe that an issue of even more importance than these deficits is the mentality brought about by Gramm-Rudman. While it is justified as a necessary, albeit mindless, method of bringing discipline to the federal budgeting process, it also puts our body politic into something that is new in its experience—a zero-sum game.

In the old days, one could say, "Well, let's add another two billion dollars for this new airplane to the defense budget," and the education lobby did not really care because they were in their own world. Simply put, social programs did not substantively interconnect with defense expenditures. But that's no longer the case. Now, whatever you get comes out of my hide; whatever I get comes out of your hide. Because we now have the potential to pit one group against another, understanding the value of coalitions as a way of mediating competing demands becomes enormously more important. If we don't understand that, we can easily degenerate into acrimonious and destructive backbiting. And our ability to bring about a viable political consensus will be more and more limited.

We are in a new era in which some terms have lost their function. We used to talk about "minorities" and "nonminorities." Those terms are no longer descriptive of what we are facing because it's not simply a question of people of color versus whites or the "have-nots" versus the "haves." It's a much more variegated population. We are entering a situation where it's Asians against Blacks, women against minorities, young against old. And these kinds of situations, I believe, demand a better political leadership, one with more ability to understand and negotiate among the many competing demands.

My own experience leads me to believe that we as women and minorities tend to undervalue our own worth in the political process. We tend to undervalue the contributions we make to coalitions.

My own sense is that the most difficult and intractable division is the one between young and old. We have a situation now where 47 percent of our discretionary spending goes to the elderly. That is, if you take out defense and what we spend on interest on the national debt, 47 percent of what remains of the federal budget goes for programs that benefit the elderly. That figure is increasing, and in a matter of years, it will be over 50 percent. At a time when we have virtually eliminated poverty among the elderly, we've severely increased poverty among children.

In trying to sort out what's right or wrong, you begin to understand how complicated this issue is and how many competing demands there are. In a sense, we are not talking about "us" versus "some other people" because all of us, if we are lucky, are going to get old. And so it's not "them" versus "us"; rather, the elderly represent what we hope to become. Yet, we must understand that the weakest in our society, children who cannot vote, are getting the short end of the stick.

This trend also has some racial implications because the elderly are not a microcosm of the entire society. They have their own characteristics. They are largely white, they are largely female, and they're being supported through a system of taxation that is increasingly regressive. That is, so many of these programs for the elderly are financed through Social Security taxes, which are the most regressive taxes we have in this country. It used to be that we had something like seventeen workers supporting every elderly person on Social Security. Well, now we only have three workers supporting each retiree. And the amount of money that you have to spend to support that person is increasing while the number of workers is decreasing. Now, one out of those three workers is likely to be a minority, and the minorities are saying, "Wait a minute. What's happening here? Why am I paying so much out of my income to support a group that votes against my interests in a variety of arenas, including education bonds and a lot of the other tax issues?"

So, this very complex issue is forcing us to look at questions of intergenerational equity in greater detail. These are very legitimate questions. In a way, the developing crisis between old and young is a healthy phenomenon because no longer can we simply say, "You can get yours as long as I get mine." There is a cost to be paid. But what is dangerous is that these competing demands in an age of scarcity may end in a political gridlock.

We also are entering a new stage where we need to sharpen our skills as minorities and women in order to be able to participate successfully in these negotiations. My own experience leads me to believe that we as women and minorities tend to undervalue our own worth in the political process. We tend to undervalue the contributions we make to coalitions.

When I first came to the National Council of La Raza some sixteen years ago, I inherited a staff who had their own way of doing things. One of the first things that got shoved into my face was a piece of paper saying that we needed to be part of some coalition. I said, "What is it about?" "Well, it's the

> *Of course, coalitions only work where there is mutual respect; I have learned that the hard way. Never be part of a coalition when your own value and your participation are not respected. You might as well pull out because otherwise you are going to do harm to yourself and your partners in the long run.*

environment." "All right, well, that sounds like a good thing. Let's sign on to it." Then, pretty soon I got another piece of paper saying we're asked to sign on to a Common Cause program that has to do with good government. Well, obviously we are for that. So, we sign on to something that has to do with good government. And pretty soon the U.S. Conference on Civil Rights says they want us to sign on to the Voting Rights Act. And, of course, that can't be a bad thing, so we sign on to that. Then the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) says, "We want you to be against school vouchers." And I said, "Wait a minute."

"Let's back up a bit and ask some hard questions. Where are Hispanics in the Voting Rights Act? Are we covered?" The answer was no. "What does the AFT have to say about bilingual education? Are they supporting us?" The answer was no. "Has the environmental lobby ever talked about protecting jobs for Hispanics or about considering the human costs of protecting the pristine ocean front in terms of what it does to our community?" The answer was no. And regardless of what I asked, we were not part of the consideration. We were the afterthought. We were the good guys who settled for a pat on the head. We were giving away something of real worth and getting nothing in return.

My own experience is very characteristic of what happens to us as women and minorities. We don't understand the value that we bring to the table. So, we need better negotiation skills. We need to understand how to protect our interests. At the same time, we also need to understand how to be statespeople so that we are not just childish individuals who say, "I have to have mine and nobody else can have it," but are able to say, "I need to protect my interests and the interests of my community and the interests of the people I represent. But at the same time I understand that we are all in this together."

Of course, coalitions only work where there is mutual respect; I have learned that the hard way. Never be part of a coalition when your own value and your participation are not respected. You might as well pull out because otherwise you are going to do harm to yourself and your partners in the long run.

We also need to understand that when we talk about coalitions, it's not necessarily like marrying someone for life. There are four types of coalitions. There are permanent coalitions, and there are ad hoc coalitions. There are inside coalitions; there are outside coalitions. "Permanent," of course, means that you have made a major long-term commitment to your partners. For example, we belong to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and I'll talk a little bit more about that coalition later. That's an example of a permanent coalition because we have shared, or at least we thought we shared, long-term values. So we made a commitment to work on these issues collectively over the long run.

On the other hand, we coalesce with (or to use the Washington term, we "run with") people with whom we adamantly disagree on most issues. On the issue of immigration, for example, we may be in agreement with groups

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such as the Heritage Foundation, the American Manufacturers' Association, and, worst of all, the "devils" better known as the "growers" in California. And that's fine; we don't get sick and die. I don't even have to go to confession although my mother has suggested that I should.

You know, you don't go to hell for working with some of the people you oppose. It's part of the American political system. Also, you don't have to publicize it. This is an inside coalition, one that exists for a single issue and for a short period of time. You simply work on a private basis, and you have private discussions about strategy and tactics. When you have cooperative efforts that you are more proud of, that's when you tell the world, "We are part of this coalition."

We need, I think, to adopt the adage of the Congressional Black Caucus: "We have no permanent friends, no permanent enemies, only permanent interests." We need to understand the value of that idea.

We also need institutional memories. One of the problems we have in forging coalitions is that we don't have the stability in leadership to be able to document things so that we can understand the patterns of the past and therefore be able to predict the future. That, of course, has to do with resources. At the core of the issue is the reality that unless we have the resources to sustain our institutions, we're not going to be able to be part of the decision-making process.

Now, I want to talk to you a little bit about one coalition that I mentioned earlier, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. We were part of that coalition from the very beginning. And we went to them and said, "We need to be included in the Voting Rights Act." And they said, "No, it would weaken our ability to get that legislation through." So I said, "Okay. We'll do it on our own." And we did it on our own.

Then we asked for help on bilingual education. They said, "No, that's too controversial." And we said, "Voting rights are not controversial?" They said, "Well, that's different."

And then we went back and said, "You have to support us on employer sanctions. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 has something called employer sanctions, which makes it illegal to hire undocumented aliens. While we support efforts to control our borders, we believe that employer sanctions are going to cause serious, egregious, and widespread discrimination against Hispanics." And they said, "We don't believe that." We said, "Okay. We'll fight it on our own." Well, we fought and we lost. Employer sanctions became part of the law.

But we were able to get something in the law that you almost always can manage to get if you work hard enough, and that is a study. We got the GAO to do a study—actually three studies—that looked at the issue of government-induced employment discrimination. But we had some powerful enemies who established in the legislation what we thought was an impossible standard. They said, "We're going to let the GAO study the question, but the question will be defined as whether or not employer sanctions

directly and solely cause massive, widespread discrimination against Hispanics and Asians or other 'foreign-looking' people." Remember that we did not have any baseline data. So how was anybody going to prove that a piece of legislation caused widespread, pervasive discrimination? And how could they tell it was caused solely by this piece of legislation? We were highly pessimistic about being able to document discrimination.

But lo and behold, the results were worse than any of us had imagined. The law caused massive discrimination. The GAO—an agency, mind you, that had been for the legislation—now was being asked to prove that it had made a mistake. Yet, that is exactly what it found: 20 percent of employers practicing discrimination solely as a result of the new law. And we went back to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and asked for support to re-peal employer sanctions based on clear and compelling evidence that basic civil rights were being violated. And they said, "Yes, but. . . ." So, we had no choice but to begin to question the worth of this particular coalition, and we began the process of pulling out.

What I want to stress to you is not the fact that we may leave the Leader-ship Conference on Civil Rights and possibly take with us a number of other civil rights groups, religious organizations, and women's groups, or that we have the potential of splitting up the most important civil rights coalition in this country. Rather, what I want to stress is the way we are doing it. And I believe that there is an important lesson here.

Last night we were negotiating with coalition members on how to make sure that the agenda of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights remains a priority and that our leaving the conference in no way detracts from our joint interest in passing the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1991. We're try-ing to figure out how to minimize the fallout—how to protect our mutual interests while at the same time upholding a principle that is near and dear to our hearts. I think that is the kind of standard that we would like to see upheld across the country.

I've painted a fairly pessimistic picture of what is happening in society. That's not my nature, and that's not what I want to leave you with. In a larger sense, we have a lot going for us.

Let me give you one small insight into what I mean. We operate a small program in which we bring European racial and ethnic leaders to this coun-try to work with our organizations so that they can understand how we deal with questions of race and ethnicity in this country. As part of that pro-gram, I went over to France to understand what kind of problems they were facing. It was an interesting experience. The French showed us their slums. We went to the worst possible slum—a place outside of Marseilles. And they said, "Look how bad things are." And I laughed and said, "Wait, you want to talk slums? Come to the Bronx. I mean, we've got some really bad dudes. Your slums look like a country club."

While that implies that we have worse problems, in a sense, when I look beyond that, we've got it easy. We really have a much greater capacity to deal

with the question of diversity and the question of trying to bring a diverse population together. Europe, on the other hand, lacks an institutional infrastructure to deal with racial and ethnic problems. Even France, which is recognized as a progressive European nation in terms of race relations, is having a difficult time adjusting to some new challenges. European countries are facing demands from racial and religious minority groups that are not easily reconcilable with their values. In France minorities are demanding what many believe to be a theocracy based on their concepts of religion, which are dramatically opposed to Western secular values. The right to exclude women from attending school, the right to mutilate young girls for religious purposes, the right to have multiple marriages, and a host of other demands are part of the controversy.

We don't have quite that kind of polarization in this country. Fundamentally, all Americans subscribe to the same goals and the same shared values. We believe in secular government. We believe in egalitarian laws. We believe in universal education. We believe in equality before the law regardless of color, national origin, creed, and religion. These are the values that I believe will hold us together.

But what we need to do is to make sure we all buy into them. And we can't buy into them selectively. We can't say, "I want equality on the basis of color before the law," and forget national origin. Or, "We believe in freedom of religion except for Jews or except for this other group." We've got to buy into these values on a very consistent basis.

Coalitions are, after all, a response to the new realities of society. Throughout our history we've had mediating institutions: the church, political parties. As those fall apart, the only thing we can rely on is our ability to coalesce and to work out compromises.

Muchismas gracias.

PART TWO

WOMEN IN STATE ELECTIVE OFFICE: PROBLEMS, STRATEGIES, AND IMPACT

Susan J. Carroll

This essay provides an overview of the findings of contemporary research on women elected officials, focusing primarily on women in state elected office. This research offers both bad news and good news for those who are concerned about the status and impact of women in politics.

The bad news is that women face numerous obstacles, many of them directly related to their gender, in winning election to office, getting ahead in the institutions in which they serve, and making their presence felt. One part of the good news is that women have developed strategies and mechanisms, some highly effective, to confront and solve the unique set of problems they face in seeking office and adapting to life as a public official. The other part of the good news is that women officeholders bring with them into office perspectives and values that currently are underrepresented in our political system.

The vast majority of existing research focuses on one aspect of the careers of women in elective office—their election to office. At the beginning of 1991 women constituted less than 6 percent of members of Congress and about 18 percent of state legislators. Only three of the fifty state governors were women (Center for the American Woman and Politics 1990a). Researchers concerned with explaining this pattern of underrepresentation have surveyed candidates and officeholders and analyzed the backgrounds of women elected officials (usually in comparison to those of men) in order to identify barriers to candidacy and election for women. As a result, much is known now about the problems women face in running for office as well as the factors that may facilitate their entry into office. We know far less about the careers of women once they are elected to office; almost no research has examined women's movement into leadership within legislative institutions or the frequency with which, and conditions under which, women officials move on to higher office or out of politics. Recently, in large part as a result of research sponsored and conducted by the Center for the American Woman and Politics, a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, we have begun to learn about the impact women in public office are having. We now know some, although not nearly enough, about how public policies and political processes are changing as more women move into office. This review of research on women elected officials reflects the fact that much greater attention has been devoted to some aspects of women's political careers than to others.

Similarly, more research has focused on women who serve in state legislatures than in other state elective offices; very little research exists on women

who serve in executive positions at the state level. Consequently, the review of research in this paper focuses primarily on women who seek or hold legislative office.

Much of the research on women in politics has focused on women congressional candidates and officeholders. While the focus of this paper is on state elected officials, the findings of research on women in congressional politics will be reviewed whenever they seem relevant for women in state elective office.

This paper is divided into four sections. The first focuses on winning election to office, the second focuses on adapting to life as an officeholder and moving into leadership positions, and the third focuses on making a difference as a woman elected official. Each of these sections summarizes the major findings and conclusions of existing research regarding the obstacles women face and the strategies they have employed successfully. Because most studies of women officeholders, and consequently the findings of these studies, are based on samples of officeholders who are predominantly white, this paper also includes a section examining the status of African-American and Latino women in state elective office.

Winning Election to Office

This section reviews the major findings of existing research on women's recruitment to office and their political campaigns. Research has identified at least six different problem areas for women in running for office: too few political opportunities, proportionately too many women running in hopeless races, money, women's socialization to different values, private life considerations, and voter stereotypes. This section will examine briefly each problem area.

The major strategy that women have devised to overcome the obstacles they face in seeking elective office is the development of their own support networks and organizations to assist women candidates. This strategy of women supporting women also will be reviewed in this section.

TOO FEW POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES

Recent research has demonstrated that women are disadvantaged by certain features of our political system (e.g., Carroll 1985; Darcy et al. 1987). These features of the political system reduce the number of political opportunities that are available to women. The most important structural impediments are: (1) the advantages that accrue to incumbents in seeking reelection, and (2) the predominance of single-member over multimember districts and elections.

The staying power of incumbents poses a major impediment to women's electoral success—especially at the congressional level, but to varying degrees across the country at the state level as well. That incumbents often

> *The power of incumbency and the lack of greater numbers of open seats disadvantage women as a group because most women who run for office have to challenge incumbents, whom they rarely defeat.*

seek reelection and rarely are defeated is a well-known political fact; among incumbents in the U.S. House of Representatives, the rate of turnover is especially low, with more than 90 percent of incumbents who seek reelection winning. While the reelection rate is also very high at the state legislative level, slightly more vacancies occur because voluntary turnover is greater (Darcy et al. 1987, p. 151). The power of incumbency and the lack of greater numbers of open seats disadvantage women as a group because most women who run for office have to challenge incumbents, whom they rarely defeat.

At the state legislative level, women run in a greater proportion of multimember than single-member districts, and women who run in multimember districts win at a higher rate than those running in single-member districts (Darcy et al. 1987, p. 119; Carroll 1985, p. 110; Rule 1990). Evidence suggests that when states change from multimember to single-member districts, as several states have during the past three decades, the proportion of women running and winning decreases compared to national trends (Darcy et al. 1987, pp. 119-22). The explanation generally given for women's greater success in multimember districts is that party leaders or others involved in slating candidates are more likely to "balance" the ticket by including a woman in a multimember district than to put her forward for the sole seat in a single-member district; in the former situation her gender may be perceived as an asset in attracting voters to the ticket, while in the latter situation her gender may mean that she is viewed as an electoral risk (Darcy et al. 1987, pp. 118-19; Carroll 1985, p. 28). However, regardless of the explanation for women's greater success in multimember districts, the problem for women candidates is that at the congressional level the U.S. has only single-member districts and at the state legislative level there are far more single-member than multimember districts, with a recent trend in the direction of converting multimember into single-member districts (Carroll 1985, p. 44). [1]

HOPELESS RACES AND THE ROLE OF PARTIES IN CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT

Considerable evidence indicates that most women candidates for both congressional and state legislative offices run in "hopeless" races where the prospects of victory are very low and that larger proportions of female than male candidates run in such races (Gertzog and Simard 1981; Bernstein 1986; Burrell 1988; Van Hightower 1977; Clark et al. 1984; Carroll 1985). Women are more likely to run against incumbents and as minority party

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[1] Some of the conversion from multimember to single-member districts, especially in the South, has stemmed from Justice Department intervention or litigation brought under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its 1982 amendments. Historically, multimember districts have been used at times as a mechanism to dilute the Black vote and to insure that Blacks, who have tended to be concentrated residentially, did not constitute a majority of the voting population. See, e.g., Grofman and Handley (1991); Niemi, Hill, and Grofman (1985). Obviously, one would not want to argue for the preservation of multimember districts designed to prevent the election of Black candidates even if this led to greater representation for women. Rather, the challenge would seem to be to create a system of representation that disadvantages neither women of any color nor minorities of either gender.

. . . parties do not seem to be making any large-scale, concerted efforts to approach women and encourage them to run in situations where they might have a good chance of winning.

candidates in districts and states dominated by the other party. While some evidence suggests that the tendency for women to run in hopeless races has declined over time at the state legislative level (Clark et al. 1984), the opposite is true at the congressional level. As Robert A. Bernstein explains, the surge in nominations of women candidates for Congress in recent years

> *has failed to lead to a surge in seats because women are getting the wrong types of nominations— nominations to challenge incumbents, rather than nominations for open seats. From 1940 to 1972 women received a slightly higher percentage of open-seat than challenger nominations; however, since 1974, women have been twice as likely to get challenger nominations as open-seat nominations. In 1984 women got thirty-eight nominations to challenge incumbents but only one nomination for an open seat (1986, p. 155).*

It is true that many contests for open seats take place without any women entering the race; for example, only fifteen women ran in primary contests for the twenty-three U.S. House seats that were open at the primary stage in 1984 (Burrell 1988, p. 57). Nevertheless, as Bernstein points out, part of the problem is that women who run in open-seat primaries have had a much lower rate of success than their male counterparts (1986, p. 156).

To what extent are the political parties to blame for the disproportionate concentration of women in hopeless races, the lack of women candidates in races for open seats, and the low rate of success of those women who have entered open primaries? Political scientists have attempted to answer these questions, but the answers are not completely clear. The literature frequently makes reference to the tendency of party leaders to recruit women in hopeless races and has provided evidence that this happens (Diamond 1977, p. 78; Van Hightower 1977; King 1977; Carroll 1985; Stanwick 1983; Gertzog and Simard 1981). However, most of this research lacks male comparison groups. Consequently, it is not possible to ascertain whether proportionately more women than men are recruited for hopeless races by party leaders, especially once incumbents are excluded. Nevertheless, for the most part political parties have not engaged in affirmative action to end historical patterns of underrepresentation. The national parties have developed PACs to assist women candidates, and they have sponsored campaign techniques training sessions for women (Kleeman 1983; Darcy et al. 1987, pp. 157-58). However, parties do not seem to be making any large-scale, concerted efforts to approach women and encourage them to run in situations where they might have a good chance of winning (Carroll 1985, pp. 22-45). In fact, a nationwide study of women officeholders found that those women who ran in the most adverse electoral circumstances, in which winning was a long shot, most often were the ones who had been recruited by party leaders (Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 8, 72-73).

MONEY

Observers of women's campaigns have suggested that women candidates have a particularly difficult time raising money both because they are not well integrated into male-dominated financial networks and because they

Fundraising clearly is perceived by women candidates as a major problem, if not the *major problem, they confront.*

find it more difficult than men to ask for money for themselves (Mandel 1981, pp. 181-87; Paizis 1977, pp. 17-24; Tolchin and Tolchin 1976, pp. 189-95). Fundraising clearly is perceived by women candidates as a major problem, if not *the* major problem, they confront (Mandel 1981; Carroll 1985). For example, women candidates in primaries for state legislative, statewide, and congressional offices in 1976 cited money much more frequently than any other factor as the major problem they faced during their primary campaigns (Carroll 1985, pp. 51-52). Moreover, although fundraising is a major concern for many male candidates as well, there is evidence of gender differences in the perception of money as a problem. For example, a nationwide survey of women and men serving in state legislatures conducted by the Center for the American Woman and Politics in 1981 found that women legislators, especially those who ran in races for state senate seats where campaign expenses were greater, were more likely than men holding the same office to report that having financial resources sufficient to conduct a viable campaign was an important consideration in their decision to run (Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 112-13).

Despite the perceptions of women candidates, however, research from elections during the past decade indicates that women who are major-party nominees for congressional seats raise just as much money overall as do male major-party nominees running in similar campaign situations (Burrell 1985; Burrell 1988; Uhlaner and Schlozman 1986; Newman et al. 1984). In other words, Republican female challengers do just as well as Republican male challengers, Democratic female incumbents raise just as much money as Democratic male incumbents, and so forth. Moreover, one of these studies found that women congressional candidates in 1980 were not less likely than men to raise money from big donors (i.e., over five hundred dollars) or from PACs, although women were somewhat less likely than similarly situated men to receive money from their party (Uhlaner and Schlozman 1986, pp. 44-45). A similar study of congressional candidates in 1982 again found that women raised as large a proportion of their money from big donors as did men; in addition, in comparison to male challengers, women who were challengers, especially Democratic challengers, raised proportionately more money from PACs although less from individual contributions (Newman et al. 1984). Unlike the 1980 study, the 1982 study did not find that women received less money from their party; in fact, among Republicans women received more money from the party than men did (Newman et al. 1984).

Although these studies have demonstrated that women party nominees for congressional office in *general elections* can raise as much money as their male counterparts, systematic analyses comparing the fundraising success of female and male candidates in congressional *primaries* are lacking. Also, studies have not examined whether women have more difficulty raising early money or whether they have to devote larger proportions of their own or their campaign staffs' time to fundraising in order to raise the same

amount of money as comparable male candidates. Moreover, almost no studies compare the fundraising of women and men running for offices other than Congress. [2]

SOCIALIZATION TO DIFFERENT VALUES

Research on political women conducted in the early to mid-1970s frequently stressed gender-role socialization as an important reason for the small numbers of women serving in public office (e.g., Kirkpatrick 1974; Costantini and Craik 1977; Lee 1977). Darcy, Welch, and Clark provide several illustrations of common explanations for women's lack of greater political involvement, in which differences stemming from gender-role socialization are seen as key:

> *Perhaps women are not ambitious or lack the aggression necessary for political life. Or perhaps women are too naive and really do not understand what goes on in politics. Perhaps women are too concerned with issues relating to their traditional roles, such as child care and education, and not enough concerned with issues more central to the political agenda, such as inflation, the military, the budget, and taxes* (1987, p. 91).

The trend in recent scholarship has been to reject socialization explanations because such explanations tend to "blame the victim" by locating the reasons for women's political underrepresentation in the internalized attitudes and characteristics of women themselves; nevertheless, some form of socialization argument probably is important in helping to explain why more women do not step forward as candidates. While factors such as the staying power of incumbents, the predominance of single-member districts, and the tendency of women to run in hopeless races can help to explain why women have difficulty winning when they run, these factors are less adequate in explaining why relatively few women voluntarily put themselves forward as candidates. Despite the implicit (and sometimes explicit) tendency for socialization explanations to place the burden for change on women themselves, such explanations have pointed to gender differences that are potentially important in helping to account for the paucity of women candidates.

The recent literature on gender differences, produced largely by women's studies scholars (e.g., Gilligan 1982; Chodorow 1978; Ruddick 1983), suggests a way of recasting traditional sex-role socialization explanations so that they no longer blame the victim exclusively, but rather place some of the burden for change on the political system itself. Many scholars studying gender differences argue that women and men come to have different values and perspectives largely as a result of their different relationships to parenting and caretaking. The values and perspectives of women are not to be viewed as inferior to those of men; rather, they should be seen as complementary or in some cases even potentially transformative.

The argument is that the public world, largely the province of men and male values, needs female values. Women see the political world as one that

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[2] An exception is Darcy, Welch, and Clark (1987, p. 61), who found that women candidates for the Oklahoma state house in 1978 and 1980 raised more money than their male counterparts.

... many women are politically inactive not because their socialization has left them ill-equipped for politics, but rather because politics has not sufficiently incorporated women's values and concerns. Consequently, before massive numbers of women present themselves as candidates for political office, the system itself (and not just individual women) may have to change to better reflect women's interests and their values.

fails in important ways to reflect their values, their concerns, and their experiences, and consequently, as a world that is very unappealing to them. According to this argument, many women are politically inactive not because their socialization has left them ill-equipped for politics, but rather because politics has not sufficiently incorporated women's values and concerns. Consequently, before massive numbers of women present themselves as candidates for political office, the system itself (and not just individual women) may have to change to better reflect women's interests and their values.

PRIVATE LIFE CONSIDERATIONS

The political careers of women are influenced to a greater extent by family responsibilities and other private life considerations than are the political careers of men. An important contribution made by research on women and politics has been to call attention to the fact that men's political careers are affected by families and private sphere considerations to a greater degree than recognized in much of the traditional political science literature (e.g., Blair and Henry 1981; Carroll 1989). Nevertheless, the impact of these factors on the political careers of women is greater.

A number of studies conducted in the early to mid-1970s found that women elective officeholders are older than their male counterparts (Dubeck 1976; Kirkpatrick 1974, p. 38; Stoper 1977, p. 324). While a more recent 1981 nationwide study found the median ages of women and men holding various offices to be similar, nevertheless women were less likely than men to be under forty or over sixty (Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 14-15). The smaller proportion of women over sixty reflected men's longer tenure in office. However, the smaller proportion of women under forty suggests that women more often than men wait until after the early years of childrearing have passed before running for office. In fact, a number of studies have observed that women wait until their children are grown before seeking office (e.g., Lee 1977; Kirkpatrick 1974, p. 230; Johnson and Carroll 1978, p. 16).

This conclusion is further substantiated by the repeated finding that women officeholders are less likely than their male counterparts to have young children (e.g., Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 27-28; Johnson and Carroll 1978, p. 13). The fact that the responsibilities of parenthood more often affect women's political careers than men's is reflected as well in the finding that women officeholders far more often than their male counterparts report that the ages of their children influenced their decision to run for office (Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 28-29).

Just as parental responsibilities seem to have a greater impact on women's political careers than on the careers of men, so too do spousal attitudes. Married women officeholders at various levels of office are significantly more likely than their married male counterparts to report that their spouses are very supportive of their activities in politics and government

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The problem for women arises not necessarily because women give serious consideration to the likely effects on their families when making decisions about their political careers but because men do not weigh family considerations equally as heavily.

(Carroll 1989; Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 25-26; Mandel 1981, p. 74; Stoper 1977). This finding suggests that a supportive spouse is almost a prerequisite for a married woman to run for and win election to office, whereas some married men appear to pursue office with only lukewarm support from, or occasionally against the wishes of, their spouse.

The problem for women arises not necessarily because women give serious consideration to the likely effects on their families when making decisions about their political careers but because men do not weigh family considerations equally as heavily.

Gender-Role Stereotypes and Voter Prejudice

A number of studies, some based on representative samples of the public and others based on experiments usually using college students as subjects, have demonstrated that voters have a variety of stereotypes about women candidates. However, a number of studies also have found that women candidates fare about as well with voters as do male candidates of the same party running in comparable circumstances. In combination, these two sets of findings suggest that while voter prejudice and stereotypes exist, either stereotypes are less important than other considerations in affecting how people actually vote or voters who are prejudiced against women candidates are counteracted by voters who are predisposed to vote for women candidates.

Studies have documented that voters hold strong stereotypes of women candidates, some of which work to women's advantage and some to their disadvantage. Women candidates are perceived to be better than men at such things as understanding the "human" side of issues, getting things organized, having new ideas, managing details, caring, being effective, having strong opinions, fighting for their beliefs, understanding the needs of voters, being honest, speaking directly to the point, having compassion for the needy, being moral and upright, and working out compromises. Women candidates are perceived as less able than men to handle crises, the emotional demands of public life, the military, big business, large budgets, decisions under pressure, and extensive travel (Cooper and Secrest Associates 1984; Yankelovich, Skelly, and White 1984; Hickman-Maslin 1987; Boles 1989). Studies also have shown that voter prejudice against women candidates is notably greater when the woman candidate has small children (Hedlund et al. 1979; Yankelovich, Skelly, and White 1984), when the woman is attractive (Bowman 1984), or when the woman is a candidate for executive rather than legislative office or a judicial post as opposed to a seat on a local school board (Adams 1975; Hedlund et al. 1979).

Women candidates clearly must contend with voter stereotypes on the campaign trail, and they should consider these stereotypes when deciding how to appeal most effectively to voters. Nevertheless, evidence that these stereotypes really make a difference in election outcomes is lacking. Rather, numerous studies have concluded that women candidates are not significantly penalized at the polls on account of their gender (Darcy and

Women individually and collectively are engaged in special efforts to increase the numbers of women in elective office. . . . women in elective office have been aided by women and women's organizations and they, in turn, encourage other women to follow in their footsteps.

Schramm 1977; Hedlund et al. 1979; Ekstrand and Eckert 1981; Clark et al. 1984). Overall, women candidates may fare worse than male candidates, but this seems due largely to the fact that proportionately fewer women are incumbents and proportionately more women challenge incumbents. While some voters may be prejudiced against women candidates, voter prejudice in the aggregate is not a major obstacle to the electoral success of women candidates.

WOMEN'S NETWORKS AND THE STRATEGY OF WOMEN HELPING WOMEN

Women individually and collectively are engaged in special efforts to increase the numbers of women in elective office. Research shows that women in elective office have been aided by women and women's organizations and that they, in turn, encourage other women to follow in their footsteps.

Although women elective officeholders are much less likely than their male counterparts to be members of groups such as the Rotary or Chamber of Commerce, the majority of women officeholders at the state and national level are members of women's groups. In 1988 three-fourths of all women state legislators were members of at least one of three major traditional women's organizations (League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women) and/or a feminist organization (Carroll forthcoming). The level of membership in the League of Women Voters was especially high, with about two-fifths of women legislators reporting membership in this group. While the League cannot get involved directly in partisan politics, the high level of membership suggests that the organization serves an important role in stimulating interest in electoral politics and in developing leadership skills. Memberships in feminist organizations were also substantial, with more than one-fifth of all women legislators belonging to the National Organization for Women and almost one-third belonging to the National Women's Political Caucus (Carroll forthcoming).

Not only are women officeholders embedded in a network of women's organizations, but they also receive critical support from women's groups when they run for office. Women and women's organizations have developed a number of political action committees (PACs) to help women candidates. As of 1989, the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) was able to identify thirty-five PACs that gave money predominantly to women candidates and/or had a predominantly female donor base. Seventeen of these PACs provided CAWP with information about direct financial contributions made to candidates in 1988; these seventeen PACs contributed a total of $1,139,315 to women candidates (Center for the American Woman and Politics, Winter 1989, pp. 16-20).

About one-fourth of women state legislators surveyed by CAWP in 1981 reported that a women's organization actively encouraged them to run for office (Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 89-91). Moreover, about three-fifths of women state legislators surveyed by CAWP in 1988 claimed to have received formal or informal support during their campaigns from one or

While the support of other women and women's organizations may not be sufficient to counteract all of the obstacles women confront in deciding to run and winning election to office, this support nevertheless is important. Without the strategy of women helping women, there undoubtedly would be fewer women holding office at the state and other levels of government.

more women's organizations. About one-third of women state senators and about one-fourth of women state representatives reported that they received assistance from the National Organization for Women. Virtually equal proportions of women legislators received support from the Women's Political Caucus (Carroll forthcoming). Clearly, women's organizations have played a key role in encouraging and supporting many of the women who have succeeded in contemporary electoral politics.

In many cases, women officeholders also have received special assistance or learned about politics at the side of another woman. Women state legislators in the 1981 CAWP study were notably more likely than men to have worked on the campaigns of other women before running for office themselves (Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 38-40). Moreover, women officeholders who claimed to have had political role models or mentors much more often than their male counterparts had women role models or mentors (Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 44-50).

In turn, most elected women politicians feel a responsibility to help other women get involved in electoral politics. For example, among women state legislators, a majority report that they actively recruit women when hiring staff, encourage individual women to become active in politics, and speak to various groups of women urging them to become active (Carroll and Strimling 1983, pp. 135-36).

While the support of other women and women's organizations may not be sufficient to counteract all of the obstacles women confront in deciding to run and winning election to office, this support nevertheless is important. Without the strategy of women helping women, there undoubtedly would be fewer women holding office at the state and other levels of government.

Adapting to Office and Moving into Leadership

Perhaps because researchers have been so concerned with answering the question of why women are such a small proportion of officeholders, relatively little research has focused on the problems women officeholders face after they are elected. Women face obstacles both in adapting to political institutions and in moving into leadership positions in those institutions. Although research examining the problems of women in office is scant, this section will review what studies have suggested about the intrainstitutional problems women face and the strategies they have employed in overcoming these problems.

PROBLEMS WOMEN FACE ONCE ELECTED TO OFFICE

Research has identified at least four problems that women face once in office: their small numbers, their lack of seniority, their tendency to have preferences and interests that are undervalued in predominantly male institutions, and the attitudes and behaviors of their male colleagues.

Although women constitute more than one-fourth of state legislators in eight states (Center for the American Woman and Politics 1990a), in most state legislatures women are still a small minority. A woman who serves in a statewide elective position usually is the only woman, or one of a small number of women, serving at such a high level in any given state. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977a, 1977b), among others, has described at length the problems associated with being the only woman, or one of a few women, in an institutional setting dominated by males. These problems include isolation, marginalization, and ineffectiveness. Research suggests that women public officials who are in situations where they are in a small minority often experience these problems (e.g., Stanley and Blair 1989; Kirkpatrick 1974; Diamond 1977).

Lack of seniority is a second problem that women officeholders face. Because women have tended to wait to run for office until middle age, when their childrearing responsibilities have diminished, women officeholders often lag behind men of the same age in seniority (Johnson and Carroll 1978). Although seniority is not always the only factor that determines selections for committee chairs and other leadership positions, it is almost always an important factor. The fact that women tend to get a later start on their political careers and thus often have less seniority than men of the same age puts them at a relative disadvantage in seeking leadership positions.

The undervaluing of the preferences and interests of women elected officials is a third problem faced by women in office. There is some evidence that women who serve in state legislatures and other state offices have substantive interests that differ in some respects from those of their male colleagues. For example, the Center for the American Woman and Politics' 1988 nationwide survey of female and male state legislators found that women were more likely than men to report that their personal top priority legislation for the current legislative session focused on women's rights, the welfare of children, or health care. In contrast, men more often than women had top priority legislation focusing on tax and budget issues (Carroll and Taylor 1989b). Corresponding at least partially to these differences, women state legislators serving in 1988 were much more likely than men to serve on committees dealing with health and human services issues and somewhat more likely to serve on committees dealing with education issues. In state senates but not in state houses, men were notably more likely than women to serve on committees dealing with finance and revenue issues. Moreover, to a great degree these gender differences in committee assignments seem to reflect gender differences in interests and preferences. Most women assigned to education or health and human services committees were happy with their assignments, and the same was true for most men on finance and revenue committees (Carroll and Taylor 1989a). The problem for women legislators is not that these gender differences in interests exist, but rather that one set of preferences is valued more highly within predominantly male legislative institutions than the other. Appointments to committees such as education or health and human services are often considered less prestigious and important than appointments to finance and revenue or appropriations and budget committees.

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The fact that many male legislators have less than fully accepting and supportive attitudes toward women legislators and yet deny that their attitudes or behaviors pose any problems for their women colleagues ... does mean that women probably have to work harder and prove themselves more if they are to be accepted as equals by most of their male colleagues. These attitudes also suggest that in the eyes of some of their male colleagues women legislators simply will never be viewed as fully equal.

A final problem for women serving in state elective office is the attitudes and behaviors of their male colleagues. When asked about the difficulties they faced as women holding office, women public officials in a 1978 study most often responded in terms of the attitudes and behaviors of their colleagues and other men in politics. However, male officeholders do not perceive themselves as posing problems for their female colleagues, which undoubtedly makes the situation even more difficult for women. Male officeholders in the 1978 study more often perceived women's difficulties in office as stemming from conflicts between their officeholding responsibilities and their family lives, flaws in their personalities, and deficiencies in their qualifications (Johnson and Carroll 1978).

Two more recent studies provide further evidence that male officeholders may have attitudes or engage in behaviors that create obstacles for women's effectiveness and their advancement in state legislatures and other institutions. When asked whether they agreed or disagreed with a statement that most men within the legislature try to keep women out of leadership positions, only about one-sixth of the men but almost one-half of the women legislators surveyed by the Center for the American Woman and Politics in 1988 agreed. Another study conducted at about the same time classified male legislators from several northeastern states into five categories based on their attitudes toward their female colleagues. While men in one category, the "Legislative Feminists," were supportive of women legislators and saw them as bringing a different but valued perspective to the legislature, other categories of legislators were not so supportive. The "Good Ole Boys" were nostalgic for traditional gender roles and quite uncomfortable with the idea of having women in the legislature. The "Dancing Dog" legislators were amazed at the very concept of a "woman legislator" and generally were patronizing in their attitudes. "Angry Idolaters" saw women as very competent and hardworking but were upset because the energy and activity of women legislators set higher standards for the performance of male legislators like themselves. Finally, the "What's the Fuss" legislators argued that a legislator is a legislator regardless of the legislator's gender and that the gender of a legislator does not matter. While clearly preferable to some of the other categories of legislators, the gender blindness of "What's the Fuss" legislators led them to see no reason why more women were needed in the legislature (Deutchman 1990).

The fact that many male legislators have less than fully accepting and supportive attitudes toward women legislators and yet deny that their attitudes or behaviors pose any problems for their women colleagues does not necessarily mean that these men engage in blatant discriminatory behavior. Some of them may, but many of them undoubtedly do not. However, the fact that male legislators hold these attitudes does mean that women probably have to work harder and prove themselves more if they are to be accepted as

equals by most of their male colleagues. These attitudes also suggest that in the eyes of some of their male colleagues women legislators simply will never be viewed as fully equal.

STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS IN OFFICE

Research suggests two strategies, one more individual and one more collective, that women have employed in trying to overcome the obstacles they face in adapting to and becoming effective in office. First, there is some evidence that, on an individual basis, women try to prove their abilities by working harder than men. For example, the 1988 CAWP survey of legislators, replicating findings from earlier research (Johnson and Carroll 1978, p. 42A), found that about four-fifths of women legislators believed that the women in their legislature work harder than the men. Even one-third of the male legislators agreed that women work harder.

The second, more collective strategy that women have employed is organizing among themselves within the legislature. Women in state legislatures across the country come together in a variety of ways, ranging from informal social networking to ad hoc coalitions to formal women's caucuses (Mueller 1984). As of early 1989, at least ten states—California, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island—had formal women's caucuses within their legislatures (Center for the American Woman and Politics, Spring 1989, pp. 20-22; Center for the American Woman and Politics, Winter 1989, pp. 14-16). However, in addition to these caucuses, other types of organizing clearly take place among women legislators, as reflected in the fact that more than three-fourths of women legislators surveyed by CAWP in 1988 reported that women in their legislature had met either formally or informally during the current legislative session (Carroll forthcoming). While women's caucuses and other more informal or ad hoc forms of organization often focus on legislation of common concern to members of the group, these gatherings of women legislators also serve other purposes. They provide social support and a forum for exchanging information, both of which can be critical to a woman legislator's ability to thrive and to be effective within the legislature. In addition, they can serve as a basis of moral and political support for women who wish to advance to positions of leadership within the legislature (Mueller 1984).

Making a Difference as a Woman Elected Official

Recently, research has begun to focus increasingly on the question of what difference the presence of women in office is making. Are women elected officials having a distinctive impact on public policy and the political process? Although answers to this question are just beginning to emerge, this section will examine existing evidence concerning the difference women

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are making. It also will discuss the factors that seem to facilitate and impede women's impact and the major strategy women have employed in an effort to maximize their impact on public policy and the institutions in which they serve.

WOMEN'S IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICY AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS

A number of studies have demonstrated that, in the aggregate, women who serve in state elected offices and in Congress are more liberal in their views on many public policy issues, more liberal in their voting records, and more supportive of feminist positions on many of the issues of concern to the women's movement than are their male counterparts (Johnson and Carroll 1978; Stanwick and Kleeman 1983; Dodson 1989; Leader 1977; Frankovic 1977; Welch 1985). These findings are true for women officeholders in both parties: Democratic women are more liberal and more feminist than Democratic men, and Republican women are more liberal and more feminist than Republican men.

Recent research also has demonstrated that women have somewhat different legislative priorities than men and that they are more likely than men to work on legislation to benefit women. Women state legislators more often than their male colleagues give priority to legislation dealing with women, children, families, and health care (Carroll and Taylor 1989b; Thomas 1989; Thomas and Welch 1990; Saint-Germain 1989). Also, women state legislators surveyed in CAWP's 1988 nationwide study were significantly more likely than their male counterparts to have worked on legislation during the current session where the bill itself or specific provisions of the bill were intended to help women in particular. A majority of the women, but only about one-third of the men, had worked on such legislation (Carroll and Taylor 1989b).

There also is some evidence that women may be having an impact on state legislative institutions that goes beyond differences in policy priorities and perspectives. The 1988 CAWP survey of state legislators asked both women and men to specify how much difference the increased presence of women in their house of the legislature had made in terms of six different factors. Majorities (and in most cases large majorities) of the women said that their presence had made "a lot of" or "some" difference in terms of all six factors. Perhaps more interesting and significant is the fact that sizeable proportions of the men also reported that the presence of women had led to changes in the way the legislature operates. About one-third of the men said that the presence of women had made "a lot of" or "some" difference in the way legislators conduct themselves on the floor of the legislature and in the extent to which legislative business is conducted in public view rather than behind closed doors. Majorities of the men reported that the presence of women in their legislatures had made "a lot of" or "some" difference in both the state's expenditure priorities and in the extent to which the economically disadvantaged have access to the legislature. Perhaps not

surprisingly, male legislators believed women's greatest impact was on legislation affecting women. About three-fourths of male legislators acknowledged that women's increased presence in the legislature had made "a lot of" or "some" difference in the extent to which legislators consider how legislation will affect women as a group and in the number of bills passed that deal specifically with the problems faced by women.

IMPEDING AND FACILITATING WOMEN'S IMPACT

Research has found that several different factors impede or facilitate the impact of women in office. Based on a study of the Texas and Arkansas legislatures, Stanley and Blair (1989) concluded that women benefit as legislatures move toward increased professionalism and away from reliance on personal relationships as the principal means for conducting business in the legislature. Women are able to be more effective in a legislative context in which business is conducted formally and professionally rather than on an informal basis in bars or on hunting trips.

A personal identification with and commitment to feminism seems to be associated with working on legislation aimed at helping women. CAWP's 1988 study of state legislators found that women legislators who identified themselves as feminists (almost one-half of the women legislators) were more supportive of feminist positions on women's issues like the ERA or abortion than other women, than men who considered themselves feminists (about one-fifth of the men), and than men who did not consider themselves feminists. The same was true for work on legislation aimed at helping women. Feminist women were more likely than feminist men, nonfeminist men, and nonfeminist women to have worked on at least one bill during the current legislative session that was intended to help women (Dodson 1989). Thus, a personal commitment to feminism seems to enhance women's impact in promoting legislation dealing with the problems facing women in our society.

The number or proportion of women in a given office can also affect the impact women are able to have. Research suggests that a "critical mass" of women may be necessary before women can have a notable impact, although it is not clear what proportion of women is necessary to achieve a critical mass. It is clear, however, that larger numbers of women increase the influence and effectiveness of women as well as their impact on public policy (Stanley and Blair 1989; Saint-Germain 1989; Thomas and Welch 1990; Carroll and Taylor 1989b).

One of the reasons the number of women may be important to their potential impact is the fact that women are more likely to network and organize around common concerns as their numbers increase. Certainly, the sheer number of women is not the only factor determining where and when women organize; nevertheless, a critical mass of women seems to be a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for the appearance of formal or informal organizations of women officeholders. The attitudes of male

Women joining together to work collectively on issues of common concern, either through formal women's caucuses or on a more ad hoc or informal basis, is certainly a major, if not **the** *major, strategy women have employed in order to have an impact as women on legislation and the workings of the legislature.*

colleagues toward women organizing, the strength of partisanship, and the history of political differences among women legislators over specific controversial issues are other factors that have influenced whether and how women have organized in state legislatures (Mueller 1984).

Women joining together to work collectively on issues of common concern, either through formal women's caucuses or on a more ad hoc or informal basis, is certainly a major, if not *the* major, strategy women have employed in order to have an impact as women on legislation and the workings of the legislature. In 1989 the Center for the American Woman and Politics contacted women's caucuses in the ten states that at that time had formal women's caucuses and asked them about the legislative issues on which they were focusing. Most of the issues of concern to the caucuses dealt with women's rights, children, the family, and caring for the economically or otherwise disadvantaged groups in society (Center for the American Woman and Politics, Spring 1989, pp. 20-22; Center for the American Woman and Politics, Winter 1989, pp. 14-16).

CAWP's 1988 survey of women state legislators also provides evidence that organizing by women within the legislature results in increased attention to women's rights and other issues traditionally of concern to women. Women who both served in states where women in the legislature met collectively and attended those meetings themselves were significantly more likely than other legislators to have a women's issue, a children's welfare issue, or a health care issue as their top legislative priority. Women who met collectively with other women legislators also were much more likely than other legislators to have worked on legislation aimed at helping women (Carroll forthcoming).

African-American and Latino Women Officeholders

The numbers of African-American and Latino women holding state elective office continue to be very small despite the fact that their numbers have grown in recent years. Prior to the November 1990 elections, no Black women and only one Hispanic woman—Rebecca Vigil-Giron, the secretary of state in New Mexico—served in nonjudicial statewide elected office. Black women constituted only 7.6 percent of all women state legislators as of October 1990. African-American women held one hundred seats in state legislatures; there were nineteen senators and eighty-one representatives, all Democrats, serving in thirty-two states. Latino women constituted less than 1 percent of all women state legislators. Latino women held only twelve seats in state legislatures; there were three senators and nine representatives, all Democrats, serving in seven states (Center for the American Woman and Politics 1990b).

Because Black and Hispanic women are a small minority of both women state elected officials and Black and Hispanic state elected officials, studies

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of women officials and studies of minority officials fail to reflect adequately the experiences of African-American and Latino women. Unfortunately, very little research has focused specifically on Black or Hispanic women elected officials at the state level. For the most part, the few studies that exist have been concerned with documenting their small numbers and describing their backgrounds and political experiences (e.g., Darcy and Hadley 1988; Carroll and Strimling 1983; Stanwick and Kleeman 1983; Bryce and Warrick 1977; Prestage 1977; Prestage 1980; Williams 1982; Greene 1982).

Studies focusing specifically on African-American women generally have emphasized the dual discrimination they face. For example, a study comparing Black and white women officeholders found that Black women state legislators have stronger credentials, more political experience, and greater organizational support than white women legislators, perhaps because overcoming the dual effects of racism and sexism requires extraordinary effort and backing (Carroll and Strimling 1983). One might expect the same to be true for Latino women legislators, although comparable research is lacking.

Despite the fact that little research exists on Black and Hispanic women officeholders, it is clear that the obstacles that minority women who serve in state elected offices confront are even greater than those faced by white women elected officials. Undoubtedly, the determination and resources that are needed to overcome these obstacles are greater as well.

Conclusion

Women face numerous obstacles in winning election to office at the state level, in adapting to office and moving into leadership, and in attempting to have an impact on public policy and the political process. Nevertheless, although women face unique problems because of their gender, they also have distinctive priorities and perspectives, also related to gender, that are evident in their legislative activity and their behavior in office. Women have devised strategies to overcome the obstacles they face. The most effective of these strategies has been to organize on their own behalf, both in an attempt to elect more women to office and as a way to help women become more effective in pursuing their goals and agendas once elected to office.

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BLACKS IN STATE ELECTIVE OFFICE: THE CONTINUING QUEST FOR EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION

Georgia A. Persons

The year 1990 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Voting Rights Act is widely held as a landmark federal statute culminating years of direct protest activities, lobbying efforts, and litigation directed toward securing the unencumbered right to vote by Black Americans.

The Voting Rights Act directly affected only a handful of states, mainly in the South. However, the mobilization of the Black community, from which it emanated and which it, in turn, spurred, quickly yielded impressive benefits in terms of increases in the number of Black elected officials nationwide. Although Blacks had sought and obtained token representation as early as the days of Reconstruction, and although some congressional districts have been represented continuously by Blacks since the early forties, passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 constituted the first major step toward achieving effective representation of the African-American population. This paper focuses on the quest for effective representation of African-Americans in elective offices at the state level of government. The notion of effective representation permits assessment of the extent to which Blacks are able to elect members of their racial group in proportion to their presence in the population, as well as the extent to which Black elected officials are able to make a difference in the lives of the constituents they represent. In politics, getting elected is, of course, the critical first step to effective representation.

Twenty-five years after passage of the Voting Rights Act and thirty-five years after the birth of the civil rights movement, the major statement to be made about the political status of Blacks in America is that they remain grossly underrepresented at all levels of government relative to their numbers in the population. Thus, this paper focuses on the factors that have impeded, and in some instances continue to impede, effective representation of Blacks; the development of judicial remedies for enhancing effective Black representation; and changes in the factors impeding effective Black representation in various states over time as well as the consequences of these changes. Finally, the discussion briefly turns to the question of the prospects for future positive changes in the representational status of Blacks in American politics. What the analysis and discussion point toward is the

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critical element of race—race as a barrier to election, race as a political resource, and emergent efforts by Blacks to overcome the limitations of race in state-level politics.

Numbers and Changes over Time

Prior to passage of the Voting Rights Act, there were fewer than 200 Black elected officials nationwide. In 1970, just five years after its passage, there were 1469 Black elected officials (Williams 1982). As of January 1990, there were a total of 7370 Black elected officials nationwide; 415 served in state legislatures. For advocates of Black voting rights this is very reassuring evidence about the impact of the Voting Rights Act.

However, when reviewing the statistics on changes in the number of Black elected officials nationwide over time (from 1970 to 1990), the very sobering conclusion is that the upper limits of growth appear to have been realized. This seems to be the case at all levels of government and in all categories of elected office. Indeed, in some categories of office, consistent negative rates of increase are clearly observable. Overall, the greatest rates of increase were realized within ten years of passage of the Voting Rights Act.

The declining significance of the Voting Rights Act in increasing the numbers of Black elected officials takes on even more gravity when we underscore the following corollary observations:

- In terms of legislative remedies for impediments to Black political participation, the Voting Rights Act was the single most significant development of the modern era.
- Despite some continuing barriers, basic principles of equity and fairness in regard to voting rights have been established via legal remedies under the Voting Rights Act (and constitutional provisions) and now, although not without continuing controversy, generally are commonly accepted requirements in changing electoral systems and voting methods.
- Given prevailing philosophical predispositions, the limits of judicial remedies in regard to voting rights essentially have been exhausted.
- Nevertheless, African-Americans remain grossly underrepresented.

The Evolution of Judicial Remedies: An Overview

Judicial remedies in support of effective representation have been one of two major resources available to Blacks as a group. The second major resource has been the sheer number of Blacks in the population—a resource enhanced significantly by their presence in geographically distinct clusters.

The relationship between these two resources is a vital one. A major effect of judicial remedies as they have developed in the modern era has been to protect the integrity of Black voting strength as a function of the presence and concentration of Blacks in the population of political jurisdictions at all levels of government. A brief overview of the development of

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judicial remedies serves to illuminate the benefits gained by this major resource and reveals as well that barriers to effective representation remain or can reemerge with the opportunities created by the decennial requirement for redistricting.

Constitutionally, specific judicial remedies for attaining effective Black representation date back to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Protections provided by these amendments were readily lost to a host of measures designed to disenfranchise Blacks and/or to dilute the significance of their vote in the post-Reconstruction years (Kousser 1984). Thus, the more recent efforts to restore Black voting rights have been likened to a second reconstruction.

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Yet, despite the primacy of voting as a constitutional right, the greatest protection of Black voting rights has derived from remedies undergirded by congressional statutes. The statutory remedy of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act permits preemptive actions and establishes a standard based on results, which are infinitely easier to assess than is intent. Constitutional challenges must await actual implementation of electoral plans and still require a burden of proving intent or purpose, although easier requirements were set forth in *Rogers v. Lodge* (458 U.S. 613). Thus, while judicial remedies have substantially freed up the clout of the Black vote, constraints persist. Generally, these constraints are manifestations of race and racism in American politics as these affect the act of voting.

Furthermore, despite the gains resulting from judicial remedies, ample opportunities exist for hampering Black political power through subtle means that appear neutral on their face and can be advanced as reasonable or accidental, without blatantly denying the basic right to vote. Thus, we also see, as an explicit consideration, the emergence of the pivotal concept of Black/minority "vote dilution," which has been critical in assessing and remedying the representation of Blacks.

Persistent Constraints in Realizing Effective Representation

MEANS OF MINORITY VOTE DILUTION

There are a range of barriers to effective Black representation. Some that have existed in particularly egregious manifestations have been challenged and in some instances eliminated. However, many barriers persist in numerous settings, and only sometimes are their forms less blatant.

A review of these barriers provides a "before and after" picture of the successes and limitations of judicial remedies.

An excellent summary of the overall dynamics and nature of past and, to some extent, present resistance to Black political participation is provided by Frank Parker's (1990) assessment of the struggle for effective Black representation in Mississippi: with passage of the Voting Rights Act, white resistance shifted from efforts to deny Blacks the right to vote to efforts designed to prevent their election to office. Collectively, these efforts have been directed toward diluting the impact of the Black vote. The two main vote-diluting strategies used to disadvantage Blacks at the state level have been racial gerrymandering of voting districts and the use of multimember legislative districts.

Gerrymandering is a staple of American politics, generally used to disadvantage the electoral clout of one candidate/group in relation to another. Although gerrymandering generally conjures up notions of oddly shaped voting districts, racial gerrymandering can occur even when voting districts are neatly defined. In such instances, the techniques of cracking, stacking, and packing are utilized. Cracking as a means of racial gerrymandering occurs when a concentrated Black population, sufficient to warrant and support one or more distinct legislative districts, is dismembered and split up among several predominantly white districts. This is a common practice and occurred most notably in recent (1981) redistricting plans in two states: Mississippi, where the thirteen majority-Black counties of the Delta were split up among four congressional districts, and Virginia, where four of the five majority-Black southside counties in a single state house district were split up among five separate predominantly white legislative districts. A similar fate befell the Black population concentration of Norfolk, Virginia, in the 1981 drawing of state senate districts (Parker 1984).

Stacking is a gerrymandering technique "in which a large minority population concentration is put together with a larger white population for the purpose or effect of depriving minority voters of a voting majority" (Parker 1984, p. 92). Again, a recent Virginia case illustrates the point. Prior to the 1981 legislative reapportionment, Petersburg comprised a single district with a Black population of 61 percent. In the 1980 census count, the district was found to be slightly underpopulated and required the addition of surrounding population areas for correct apportionment. "Instead of combining Petersburg with adjoining majority-Black areas, the Virginia legislature combined the Black population concentration in Petersburg with the almost totally white adjacent city of Colonial Heights, turning a Black majority into a Black minority and creating a 56 percent white single-member House district" (Parker 1984, p. 96).

Packing occurs when the Black population is concentrated in a single legislative district far in excess of the level needed to elect one of their own to office. While packing supports the election of a single Black representative, it precludes the optimum distribution of the Black population in a

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manner that would support directly electing or influencing the election of additional representatives. In the 1981-82 reapportionment process in Virginia, a proposed plan would have created two majority-Black districts in the Hampton and Newport News areas. The plan that was adopted packed the Black population concentration of this area into a single-member district, combining portions of both cities, with a resulting Black population level of 75 percent.

The issue of packing as a form of racial gerrymandering clearly implies the existence of an optimum Black population concentration to effect Black electoral success. Population concentrations below this optimum are ineffective, and concentrations above this level are politically wasteful.

Indeed, advocates of Black voting rights have argued that actual Black voting strength, rather than a straight population percentage, must be the measure. Taking into account the differences in voter registration rates and turnout levels, it has been determined that minorities must constitute at least 65 percent of the total population, or 60 percent of the voting age population, in order to have an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. This has become known as "the 65 percent rule," which has been endorsed by the courts in several cases and accepted as the "rule of thumb" standard in Section 5 reviews by the Justice Department (Parker 1984, pp. 110-11).

The full impact of the Black vote can be diluted easily. Indeed, vigilance is required with each redistricting plan. We also must consider the possibility that some Black districts are "packed" due to the reluctance of Black incumbents to incur the perceived risk of altering the boundaries of their very safe districts.

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND BLACK REPRESENTATION

In a representative democracy that attaches political significance to ethnic and racial diversity, establishing election units merely to guarantee equal population distribution inevitably yields inequalities in representation. That is the thrust of much thinking regarding multimember election districts, which as a whole have equal population sizes but which individually submerge Black population clusterings within larger majority-white districts. Such multimember districts are particularly discriminatory when they are combined with at-large, winner-take-all voting methods (Grofman et al. 1986).

The discriminatory effects of multimember districts came into stark relief in the immediate aftermath of passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Despite dramatic increases in the numbers of Black voters in the southern states, the legislatures of these states remained virtually all white (Parker 1984, p. 88). The reason was the presence of multimember districts. As multimember districts were eliminated, corresponding increases in the numbers of Black representatives occurred.

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Presently, fifteen states have multimember district systems for electing state representatives, and five of these have Black populations near or above 10 percent: Alaska, Arizona, Georgia (31 percent), Idaho, Indiana (9 percent), Maryland (24 percent), New Hampshire, New Jersey (12 percent), North Carolina (21 percent), North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming. Studies of the impact of multimember as opposed to single-member districts on minorities show a somewhat mixed picture.

In Maryland, a recent assessment concluded that multimember districts aided Black representation in areas of heavy Black population concentrations—areas that produced all but one of the state's Black legislators (Conway forthcoming). Maryland has a multimember district system for its lower house of delegates. Each of the 47 state senate districts can elect three members to the house of delegates, for a total of 141. State senate districts may be subdivided into three single-member districts or one single-member district and a two-member district, or all three delegates may be elected at large by voters in the entire district (Conway forthcoming).

Conway concluded that the multimember district system served to enhance the representational status of Blacks in the two areas in the state that have significant Black population concentrations: Baltimore City and Prince George's County. Baltimore City contributed 44 percent of Black representation in the Maryland state senate and 52 percent in the house. Prince George's County contributed 28 percent of the Black representation in both houses (Conway forthcoming).

Alvin Thornton, professor of political science and activist in Maryland state politics, offers a somewhat different explanation that supports Conway's findings regarding the effects of multimember districts on Black representation. Thornton explains that multimember districts traditionally have not disadvantaged Blacks in Maryland because, in Prince George's County and to a lesser degree in Baltimore City, Blacks have been integral parts of the white-dominated political machines that handle the slating of candidates. Black candidates were included on pivotal slates and subsequently enjoyed pivotal support from white voters in at-large voting in multimember districts. Thornton's view is that white support is less pivotal now in both districts as the respective Black populations have reached the 60 percent level and the balance of power in both areas has shifted to favor Blacks (Thornton 1990).

Thus, we see that a concentrated Black population makes the difference, independent of the nature of the voting system. Thornton's assessment is that multimember districts in Maryland also serve to benefit Black voters in terms of policy issues, since they enhance, and sometimes dictate, the forging of countywide coalitions regarding policy issues (Thornton 1990).

However, a different situation prevails for Blacks in the Eastern Shore region of Maryland. Blacks here are not as large a proportion of the overall population of the region as their counterparts in Baltimore City and

Prince George's County, are more dispersed, and have not penetrated the dominant political organizations. Thus, Blacks on the Eastern Shore are not well served by the multimember district system. In fact, there was a recommendation in the early 1980s by the state attorney general to require single-member districts on the Eastern Shore as a remedy for Black vote dilution (Thornton 1990).

The state of Florida only recently (1982) shifted from multimember districts to single-member districts in its legislative reapportionment. The old system yielded five Blacks in the Florida house and none in the senate. The shift to single-member districts came about as a result of legal challenges and political pressures involving charges that multimember districts discriminated against racial minorities (Pritchard forthcoming). With the shift to single-member districts, the number of Black representatives increased to ten in the house and two in the senate (Pritchard forthcoming). In her analysis of the Florida case, Pritchard found that the increased level of Black representation was enhanced by the shift to single-member districts and by a commitment to drawing majority-Black election districts.

Georgia is somewhat unique in regard to its multimember district system. The state has 56 single-member districts for the state senate, while the 180 members of the house are elected from 156 districts. The result is that 14 districts elect multiple members (from 2 to 5), while most of the state is divided into single-member districts. All of the Black members of the Georgia house have been elected from single-member districts and none of the multimember districts are in areas of sizeable Black population concentrations. This arrangement resulted from a 1972 Justice Department rejection of a proposed reapportionment plan under the Connor Rule, which ensued from the ruling in the case of *Connor v. Johnson* (402 U.S. 690). In 1986, only one of these multimember districts had a Black population of 15 percent. The remainder had Black populations below 10 percent. In late 1990, there was some sentiment among state legislators to move to a total single-member district system statewide in anticipation of reapportionment following the 1990 census (Meggars 1990).

In an interesting twist, a shift to all single-member districts is likely to mean a loss of at least two Black legislators. In addition to a mix of single- and multimember districts, Georgia has two floterial districts that "float" across several single-member districts. Both of these districts are located in Fulton County. The rationale for establishing the floterial districts was based on the tremendous diversity in the demographic makeup of the county, which is the state's most populous and which contains Atlanta (and the state capitol). The reasoning was that having two floterial districts with representatives elected at large would ensure that the interests of the entire county would be balanced against the more parochial interests of the single-member districts. However, in 1986, both of the at-large floterial seats were won by Black candidates who lived on the same city block!

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Several conclusions can be drawn about the impact of electoral districting systems on Black representation. The foremost conclusion is that when election districts are drawn to protect the integrity of concentrated Black populations, Blacks benefit. More specifically:

- When Blacks are a numerical but sizeable minority, their inclusion on pivotal, white-dominated slates can offset the disadvantages posed by multimember districts. Bloc voting by Blacks can prove to be decisive among competing white-dominated slates. This is illustrated by the examples of Prince George's County and Baltimore City in Maryland prior to recent population growth.
- When Blacks constitute the population majority in election districts, multimember districts do not disadvantage Blacks.
- When Blacks are a minority in the population of multimember districts and are not integral parts of pivotal, white-dominated slates, they are disadvantaged by multimember districts. This has been the case with Blacks in Eastern Shore Maryland and was the situation in Florida prior to the 1982 reapportionment.
- Under a single-member district system where the Black population is sufficient to support distinct single-member districts and where districts are drawn to protect the integrity of Black population concentrations, Blacks clearly benefit. This is illustrated by the examples of Georgia and of Florida after the 1982 reapportionment.

The conclusion seems to be that the nature of the electoral system is considerably less important than the population makeup of the district.

The importance of Black population concentrations to the election of Black representatives, independent of the nature of the electoral system, is underscored by recent changes in Illinois, which has a 14 percent Black population. For reasons having nothing to do with race, the state of Illinois in 1870 had adopted multimember districts, supplemented by a system of cumulative voting, for the election of representatives to its lower house. Each house district elected three representatives, and voters had three votes each. There were no prohibitions against "bullet" voting, so voters could distribute their votes as they chose, casting all three votes for a single candidate if they so desired (Everson forthcoming). It has been argued that a system of cumulative voting in multimember districts or other at-large systems can benefit dispersed minorities, offsetting the otherwise negative effects of at-large systems (Engstrom et al. 1989).

In 1980, an initiative was advanced not only to eliminate cumulative voting but to reduce the size of the Illinois house from 177 to 118 members. Opponents argued that Blacks and women could be affected adversely by these actions. The reasoning was that both groups had used cumulative voting to target and elect members of their own group. However, even under cumulative voting, every Black member ever elected to the Illinois house had come from Chicago and East St. Louis, areas of concentrated Black populations—not from downstate areas where Blacks were dispersed and where the "bullet vote" should have been pivotal (Everson forthcoming).

The abolition of multimember districts and cumulative voting in Illinois coincided with reapportionment. As a consequence of a suit brought by

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Blacks, Hispanics, and Republicans, it was mandated that the redrawing of legislative districts take into account the location of minority population concentrations. The result was that Blacks suffered the loss of a single seat that could be attributed to the electoral system changes, while Hispanics were successful in electing their first representatives after the change. This suggests that neither group had benefitted from the earlier system of cumulative voting (Everson forthcoming).

The important factor was the population makeup of election districts, not the electoral process. Based on the experience of Blacks and Hispanics in Illinois, there is another conclusion to be drawn about multimember district systems with cumulative voting: in order for dispersed minorities to benefit from a system of cumulative voting, a very high level of mobilization must prevail, along with significant voter education to facilitate effective use of "bullet voting" by minorities.

EFFECTIVE MOBILIZATION AS THE BEDROCK FACTOR

As pivotal as a concentrated Black population is to the election of Blacks, this factor does not override the significance of effective mobilization. For a range of reasons, Blacks in majority-Black election districts do not always elect Black representatives. Although the problem is not exclusive to the South, there is some evidence to suggest that Black underrepresentation is particularly high in southern states (Grofman and Handley forthcoming), due only in part to a more dispersed population. The case of South Carolina is illustrative.

In response to a suit filed by Blacks, the election districts for the South Carolina house were reapportioned in 1973 to constitute 120 single-member districts, 23 of which had Black population majorities. Prior to this, only 3 Blacks (elected in 1970) had been elected to the South Carolina legislature. The 1973 reapportionment resulted in the election of 13 Blacks from the 23 majority-Black districts (Legette 1990).

Subsequent to a 1980 suit challenging house and senate district lines, 27 majority-Black house districts were created, an increase of 4, and 10 majority-Black senate districts were created (Legette 1990). The number of Blacks in the South Carolina house gradually increased, peaking at 20 in the 1981-82 session.

After the 1984 session, Blacks suffered a loss of house seats, with an apparent stabilization at 16 members for the 1987-88 session. In 1987-88, there were only 4 Blacks in the senate, with the potential for an additional 6 members, based on population characteristics of the districts, not having been realized (Legette 1990).

According to Legette, the districts created to elect Black representatives are well apportioned with respect to maximizing the chances of electing Blacks. It seems rather clear that the problem in South Carolina is largely one of uneven mobilization.

In late 1989, we witnessed a significant movement of Blacks running for office in situations requiring the support of substantial white majorities.

Blacks in Statewide Races: A Situation of Cumulative Constraints

Electoral politics inevitably boils down to a numbers game. Thus for any minority group, the smaller the election unit, the greater the chances of electing one of their own to office. It is much easier to elect minority group members to elective office at the city and county level, where they frequently constitute a majority or near-majority of the population. Moreover, in the case of state and U.S. congressional districts, which, by any standard used, are arbitrarily drawn, it is possible to draw district lines in a way that enhances or reduces the political chances of minority groups.

At the state level, the myriad disadvantages experienced by Blacks are cumulative in their effects. State boundaries are constitutionally fixed and therefore are not subject to manipulation. Blacks do not constitute a majority or near-majority in any state. In those states where Blacks constitute the largest proportion of the population, i.e., southern states, they are also less well mobilized and face stronger resistance from whites. As a result of these factors, fewer Blacks are able to advance through the ranks of state politics to emerge in significant statewide offices.

Despite the presence of cumulative disadvantages, a few Blacks have been elected to statewide offices. Many more have contested for a range of important but less visible state offices. Unfortunately, there is scant data on the dynamics of these less visible races.

To date we have witnessed several high-level statewide elections in which Black candidates were successful, and, recently, others in which Blacks were given a very good chance of winning and race was clearly a major issue. In the 1970s, Mervyn Dymally was elected lieutenant governor of California and George Brown was elected lieutenant governor of Colorado. Roland Burris was elected comptroller in Illinois. In Edward Brooke's successful campaign to become U.S. Senator from Massachusetts in 1973, race was not a particularly significant issue.

More recent races have included Tom Bradley's race for governor of California in 1985, L. Douglas Wilder's race for lieutenant governor and then governor of Virginia, Andrew Young's race for governor of Georgia, and Harvey Gantt's contest for the U.S. Senate from North Carolina. Of the more recent contestants, only Douglas Wilder has been successful, and twice so.

STATEWIDE ELECTIONS AND THE NEW BLACK CROSSOVER POLITICS

In the main, Black politics has been defined and constrained by its ties to Black population centers as the basis of primary and, in some cases, exclusive support. In late 1989, we witnessed a significant movement of Blacks running for office in situations requiring the support of substantial white majorities. One new dimension to these races was the temper of the times. Blacks had contested successfully before in predominantly white settings but had done so in a period when Black politics was a politics of insurgency. Times had changed. Jesse Jackson twice had mounted national campaigns

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for the Democratic nomination for president and by doing so had gotten the electorate ready for the idea of Blacks contesting for high office.

With the changing times, Blacks began competing for high office in new locations. In earlier races both Bradley and Brooke had run in states in which white resistance to Black political activities was perceived as less constraining than in the "Old South," which was still seeking to become the "New South." The Wilder, Young, and Gantt contests generated particularly high levels of interest nationwide in part because they took place in southern states.

DOUGLAS WILDER'S GUBERNATORIAL WIN

Doug Wilder's election as lieutenant governor of Virginia in 1985 was an accomplishment that generated national interest and enthusiasm. However, his win as governor of Virginia in 1989 was truly historic. It was the first time in American history that a Black had won the governorship of a state. That it occurred first in a state in the "Old South" made Wilder's victory all the more significant.

Wilder's margin of victory was razor-thin; he won by less than 1 percent. Not surprisingly, Wilder received over 96 percent of the Black vote. Blacks comprise a relatively small proportion of the state's total population, only 18 percent, but Black turnout in that race was very high—a bit over 70 percent of registered Black voters. Wilder won 41 percent of the white vote, which was a record-setting amount. Black candidates, primarily in mayoral elections, generally secure a high of 20 to 30 percent of the white vote.

To a significant extent the Wilder victory was built on the dynamics of "New South" political factors. His victory came disproportionately from the highly urbanized and cosmopolitan areas of the state. Wilder received 53.1 percent of the urban vote, winning overwhelmingly in central cities. Wilder also did best among the higher educated voters and drew disproportionate support from voters who had migrated to Virginia as adults (Sabato 1990). The northern Virginia area, a highly urban, cosmopolitan suburb of Washington, D.C., and a haven of well-educated transplants, was clearly an asset for Wilder.

Race was surely an issue in the Wilder victory, but in the final analysis it played to his benefit. First, Wilder had publicly stated in the mid-1970s that he had never run as a Black man, but rather as a politician who just happened to be Black. Thus, it was easy for Wilder effectively to avoid the race issue, leaving it to his opponent to inject the issue of race and to incur the political costs of doing so. Wilder's race also enhanced his appeal to the national media and generally resulted in an abundance of free, highly favorable coverage that gave his campaign added momentum.

Not unimportant in the Wilder contest (as well as the Young and Gantt contests) was the Jesse Jackson legacy. In his two national campaigns, Jackson had succeeded in laying the groundwork for increasing acceptance of Black candidates seeking high office. Wilder benefitted from the Jackson

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legacy also by displaying a style and political rhetoric that sharply contrasted with Jackson's. For many national-level political players, Wilder was the ideal person to promote as an alternative national Black leader. Jackson had played a politics of racial inclusion, but also of insurgency, which frequently had the effect of frightening many white voters. Wilder, by comparison, was the consummate insider politician, who promised a mainstream political style with the implicit imprimatur of Virginia's long line of historic leaders. Wilder cast himself as a son of Virginia, of whom everyone, Black and white, could be proud.

What, then, are the lessons we might draw from the Wilder victory? Despite the widespread sentiment of enormous pride in Wilder's achievement, the sobering reality is that Wilder almost did not win. This is a very important point when we consider his impressive strengths in the gubernatorial contest. Without a doubt, Wilder's race cost him considerable voter support. The persistence of racial considerations in the voting behavior of whites does not augur well for the success of Black candidates seeking high-level statewide office.

ANDREW YOUNG'S RACE FOR GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA

If Douglas Wilder was an ideal choice to pursue statewide office, Andrew Young, possessing a somewhat different but equally impressive set of credentials, was also apparently an excellent choice. In a sense, Young helped to initiate Black crossover campaigns. In 1972 he won the seat for the Georgia Fifth Congressional District, which at that time was only 39.5 percent Black. In that contest, Young ran as a civil rights activist and race relations moderate. By the time he contested for the governorship in 1989, Young had served as ambassador to the United Nations under President Carter as well as serving two four-year terms as mayor of Atlanta.

Young is a well-educated, sophisticated man, with a deep commitment to improving race relations and a political style that casts him as a moderate. As a mainstream politician, he has always taken positions in opposition to insurgent-style Black politics. As one illustration of this, Young opposed Jesse Jackson's 1984 candidacy, characterizing it as "dangerous."

In his 1989 race for governor of Georgia, Young utilized a race-neutral approach, very aggressively seeking white voter support. He was unsuccessful in his bid to become the first Black governor of Georgia.

The situation in Georgia provides an interesting contrast to the Virginia case. Georgia has a Black population of 31 percent; Virginia's is only 18 percent. The Black community appears to be better mobilized in Georgia than in Virginia, and Georgia has many more Black elected officials than does Virginia. Against the backdrop of the political dynamics in Georgia, Young was given a good chance of winning, although the contest was expected to be very close. As part of his effort to neutralize the race issue, Young chose a white politician from a small town in southern Georgia as his campaign

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manager, hoping to lure white voter support from below the southern Georgia "gnat line."

As impressive as Young was as a candidate, he had several major disadvantages. He was an outsider to state politics. He had not served in the state legislature or held any statewide office. Thus, he was seen by many as an interloper. Also, Young was an Atlantan, and in the eyes of many rural Georgians, Atlanta is the Babylon of the state, synonymous with high crime, traffic problems, decadent living, and strange politicians. Thus, in addition to the handicap of being Black, Young could not begin to pass himself off as a "good old boy." Furthermore, Young was seen as being closely tied to the Atlanta business establishment, and what is good for Atlanta is not automatically seen as being good for Georgia. Finally, Young was viewed as a liberal, in a state where political moderates are still fighting to prevail over the traditional sway of the conservative forces.

Young's strategy was to avoid and/or downplay the issue of race. When pressed, he responded that whereas racism used to prevail at a level of severity akin to cancer, it was now a mere nuisance factor akin to acne. Young attempted to espouse issues that transcended racial and class lines but that encompassed the interests of the poor. Thus, he emphasized economic development and aggressively sought to convince the public that agricultural and other commodities produced in the state could be exported to foreign markets. He emphasized improving education to better prepare citizens for a more competitive job market and as the answer to the problem of crime.

Young's support in the Black community was not very strong and not at all enthusiastic. Much of this was due to his years as mayor during which, it is alleged, he largely ignored the needs of the Black community.

Young's chief opponent in the contest, Zell Miller, had held the statewide office of lieutenant governor for sixteen years. Miller's main campaign issue was to give voters a choice on the issue of a state lottery to fund public education. This issue played very well to both Black and white voters. Miller had the reputation of being a racial moderate and was someone Blacks found acceptable. He naturally appeared much more knowledgeable on a number of issues than other candidates, including Young, due to his long years of involvement in the state legislature.

Young repeatedly fared well in the polls, but there was a consistent division along racial lines, with most Black voters supporting Young and most whites supporting Miller. Young received the endorsement of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and that of the main paper in Milledgeville, Georgia, a small town north of Atlanta. Miller was able to secure the lion's share of newspaper endorsements in the state.

In the Democratic primary, Young came in a distant second out of a field of five candidates, with 29 percent of the total vote to Miller's 41 percent. Young was visibly stunned by his relatively weak showing and lost much of the fire in his belly. Further, he could not expect to pick up the support of

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any of the other candidates, as they were much more conservative than he. In the runoff, Young garnered 27 percent of the vote to Miller's 63 percent. Winning the Democratic nomination was tantamount to winning the election for governor, as the state has not had a Republican governor in over one hundred years.

Thus, in the state of Georgia, which has been given titular leadership of the "New South," the time clearly had not yet come for large numbers of white voters to give their support to a Black candidate for governor.

THE DILEMMA OF BLACK CROSSOVER POLITICS

Clearly the campaign strategies of Black candidates in statewide races cannot be characterized as the "independent Black politics" associated with efforts in the early days of Black electoral politics. The strategy of Black crossover politics, or deracialized politics, of the sort seen in the Wilder, Young, and Gantt races, provokes significant ambivalence among many Black political activists, academicians, and other observers. There is clearly a great sense of pride that attends the election of a Wilder, for example, and a significant degree of hope that attends the campaign of an Andrew Young or a Harvey Gantt. The concern pivots around the question of how well the substantive interests of the larger Black community will fare in the wake of this new Black crossover politics.

What does it mean, for example, when a Douglas Wilder proclaims his nonidentification as a Black candidate, or when Andrew Young proclaims that racism is merely a benign nuisance in American life? Are these proclamations intended as a kind of sleight-of-hand to trick racist whites into forgetting their racist attitudes? These questions are particularly compelling when opinion surveys consistently show very significant levels of racist sentiment among white voters.

The other side of this issue pivots around the question of the expectations that white voters have when they support a Black candidate. White support for Black candidates is not a new phenomenon. However, Black candidates who explicitly pursue an insurgent-style politics focused around a system-challenging, social reform agenda send a very different signal to white voters than do Black politicians who pursue a politics of explicit crossover appeal. Hence, the fundamental question is: What is the fate of the Black agenda in deracialized politics? Stated another way, what is the relationship between political style and substantive interests?

The primary issue is not the conflict between racially exclusive and racially inclusive politics. Rather, the issue of profound concern is whether what was expected to be a strategy directed toward the achievement of broad social and political change, i.e., the new Black politics, is evolving over time into a mechanism that substitutes symbolic representation for substantive representation.

Conclusion

The enhancement of Black voting rights and the resulting move towards effective representation of the African-American population afforded by the Voting Rights Act and concomitant judicial remedies rests on an interesting set of dilemmas and constraints. Part of the dilemma stems from the tacit assumption that underlies the measures put into place to combat minority vote dilution, i.e., the assumption that some things will change and that other things will not.

What presumably will change are the racially motivated efforts to manipulate voting and election procedures in ways designed to stand in the way of political empowerment of Black Americans. This assumption that efforts deliberately detrimental to political empowerment of Blacks will soon disappear underlies the pattern of temporary extensions of the Voting Rights Act. Under the latest extension, granted in 1982, the Voting Rights Act is set to expire in the year 2007. Can we honestly proclaim with the certainty implied in this extension that serious threats to Black voting rights will no longer exist just sixteen years into the future?

The statutorily derived judicial remedies, resting on provisions of the Voting Rights Act, have offered the greatest shield against minority vote dilution. Although the Voting Rights Act has been used to establish a set of electoral rules and systems that enhance and protect Black voting strength, establishment of electoral rules and systems still lies within the realm of state legal authority. Absent the shield afforded by the Voting Rights Act, states could alter their electoral systems in ways that disadvantage Black voting strength but that may not be found to be in violation of U.S. constitutional provisions. We must not forget that had constitutional provisions afforded adequate protection, there would have been no need for passage of the Voting Rights Act.

The implicit assumption that some things will not change applies to the protected status of concentrated Black population clusters now afforded by judicial remedies that derive primarily from the Voting Rights Act. What we presently have is a situation in which Black representation is tied significantly to patterns of residential segregation. If the Black population disperses, if Blacks move, they lose in terms of representational status. Judicial remedies requiring that district lines be drawn to protect Black population clusters clearly have been beneficial. On the other hand, the failure of Blacks to get elected under multimember district systems in which the Black population is widely dispersed or in single-member district systems in which Blacks are in a minority in the population point to the limitations of judicial remedies.

The critical point, which bears reiteration, is that, given prevailing philosophical predispositions, the limits of judicial remedies in regard to voting rights essentially have been exhausted. Yet, African-Americans remain grossly underrepresented. Finally, a crucial point must be emphasized.

> *We are left with a somewhat perplexing conclusion: that there may be no remedy for Black underrepresentation in American politics in either the near or distant future. The best hope, which is not an altogether dismal one, is to maximize the possibilities afforded by an imperfect set of remedies.*

The philosophical principle underlying judicial remedies proffered by the federal courts is that of *equal opportunity* to win elections and/or *equal access* to participation in electoral and other political processes. The suggestion that any group has a right to representation equal to its proportion in the population is explicitly denied by the courts. Similarly, any interpretation of the court's rulings that might support a system of proportional representation is explicitly denied in several judicial decisions. Moreover, support for a system of proportional representation is explicitly denied in the congressional record of the hearings (establishing legislative intent) on the 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act (Derfner 1984).

Thus, there is no philosophical mooring currently available on which to construct a case for a dramatically different electoral system in the United States, such as proportional representation, which could enhance the representational status of Blacks. Systems of proportional representation work to benefit groups organized along political party lines. Although the idea of an "independent Black political party" has been raised repeatedly by activists and academicians alike, it seems less likely to garner widespread support in an era of Black crossover politics.

We are left with a somewhat perplexing conclusion: there may be no remedy for Black underrepresentation in American politics in either the near or distant future. The best hope, which is not an altogether dismal one, is to maximize the possibilities afforded by an imperfect set of remedies. Undoubtedly, the next round of immediate challenges will be presented by the politics of redistricting following the 1990 census report.

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LATINOS IN STATE ELECTIVE OFFICE: PROGRESSIVE INCLUSION IN CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Luis Ricardo Fraga

Like African-Americans, the two largest subgroups of Latinos—Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans—historically have been the victims of much explicit political exclusion. Whether in the form of violence and intimidation, English-only registration and voting procedures and practices, white primaries, gerrymandering, or multimember and at-large election plans, a wide variety of means have been used effectively to limit their political participation and influence.

This essay reviews the relevant literature that has been published in the social sciences on Latinos and state elective office. Among the most distressing features of this literature is its paucity. Political scientists have not devoted much effort to studying the inclusion or overall impact of Latinos on the politics of those states where Latinos reside in substantial numbers. This is unfortunate not only because it limits our ability to understand the political influence of the second largest ethnic/racial group in the United States, but also because it limits our understanding of the political development of the United States generally.

Like African-Americans, the two largest subgroups of Latinos—Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans—historically have been the victims of much explicit political exclusion. Whether in the form of violence and intimidation, English-only registration and voting procedures and practices, white primaries, gerrymandering, or multimember and at-large election plans, a wide variety of means have been used effectively to limit their political participation and influence. This began to change with the extension of the Voting Rights Act in 1975 to include "language minorities." Only since 1975 has there been a substantial and progressively increasing presence of Latinos at all levels of elective office, including state governments.

However, the precise nature of this change has not been the focus of much research. Fifteen years have passed since the Voting Rights Act was extended to include Latinos, and only a handful of articles have appeared attempting to analyze the patterns and consequences of this inclusion at the state level. Consequently, we are inhibited from understanding fully the most fundamental aspect of political development: the evolution of access to the system of governance by an identifiable group, namely, Latinos. The lack of published research on the evolution of access by Latinos—in other words, the extent to which the systems of election, representation, and policy making serve the expressed concerns and needs of Latinos as state citizens and residents—makes it difficult to determine both how much progress has been made and what the prospects are for gaining greater access.

Nonetheless, it is possible to construct a critical perspective that is fully informed by the available data on demographics and representation, which point to the substantial presence of Latinos as major portions of state populations and as potentially significant actors in state legislatures as elected

representatives. The perspective also will be informed by a thoughtful consideration of the policy agenda that Latino representatives and communities are likely to pursue in state politics. These two aspects of the Latino presence should serve to outline the dimensions of a scholarly research agenda and allow us to begin a systematic consideration of the likely meaning of increased Latino participation in state politics for the American polity generally. It is this *meaning* that clearly unites the scholar and the practitioner and that presents the most fascinating intellectual and practical challenges to all those concerned with the status of women, African-Americans, and Latinos in American society.

The Demographics of Latinos in State Politics

In 1980, the census estimated the Latino population in the continental United States at 14,251,000, or 6.3 percent of the population. This count reflected a dramatic increase of 61 percent from 1970. Although Latinos live in every state, 83.3 percent of all Latinos reside in the eight states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, New Mexico, New York, and Texas. California and Texas have the largest numbers, with 4,541,300 and 2,985,824, respectively. Among these states, the proportion of Latinos varies from a high of 36.6 percent of the population in New Mexico to a low of 2.4 percent in Colorado (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1982).

In addition to geographical dispersion, there also exists considerable diversity in the Latino population by country of origin. In 1980, 60 percent were of Mexican origin, 14 percent were Puerto Rican, 5 percent were of Cuban origin, and 21 percent were of other Latino origin, including countries in Central and South America (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1988, p. 2). For the eight states listed above, Latinos of Mexican origin are concentrated in the five southwestern states, Puerto Ricans are the largest Latino group in New York, and Latinos of Cuban origin are the largest concentration in Florida. Only Illinois has a substantial concentration of both Latinos of Mexican origin and Puerto Ricans, who represent, respectively, 64.2 percent and 20.3 percent of the Latinos in the state.

The correspondence between geography and Latino subgroup is related to different patterns both of geographical expansion by the United States and of settlement by immigrants and migrants. The Southwest became a part of the U.S. in 1848 as one of the unconditional demands made by the United States after the Mexican War (Acuna 1980) and subsequently became the area of greatest Mexican immigration. Puerto Rico became a U.S. commonwealth after the Spanish-American War in 1898 and, as of 1917, all Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens (Schaefer 1979, p. 305). Since the 1940s they have tended to migrate to the New York City area. Although Latinos of Cuban origin had been settling in Florida for several generations, they came to the United States in substantial numbers in 1959, fleeing the revolution led by Fidel Castro. These immigrants have concentrated in the Dade

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County area (Valdivieso and Davis 1988, p. 4). Of these three groups, Latinos of Cuban origin have the highest median family income and levels of education and the lowest poverty rate (Valdivieso and Davis 1988). Many of those who came in 1959 and soon thereafter were from the middle and upper classes in Cuba. This is very unlike the patterns of immigration and migration of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. However, in each of the eight states listed, Latinos as a group lag behind whites on all traditional measures of material well-being (e.g., high school graduation rate, unemployment rate, median household income, proportion of families below the poverty line) but are more well off as a group than African-Americans (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1982).

In 1988 the Current Population Survey estimated that, since the 1980 census, the number of Latinos in the U.S. increased by 34 percent to a total of 19,431,000, or 7.9 percent, of the U.S. population. Over the same time period the overall U.S. population increased by 8 percent. The eight states with the highest Latino concentrations in 1980 now include 85.8 percent of Latinos. California and Texas each showed increases of over one million Latinos (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1988).

This discussion of the national demographics of Latinos suggests two conclusions. First, Latinos are a considerable and growing segment of the population nationally and in these eight states in particular. As such, they represent both a substantial electoral constituency and a substantial service constituency. Census projections suggest that Latinos will have an increasing presence due to both higher-than-national-average birth rates and high legal and illegal immigration rates (Valdivieso and Davis 1988, p. 1). Although naturalization patterns vary, as a group Latinos continue to register and vote at levels approaching national averages. Traditional measures of material well-being suggest a very service-oriented constituency, particularly among Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans. Members of Latino subgroups are in immediate need of educational and other social welfare benefits at higher levels than whites.

A second conclusion is that it is critical to recognize the diversity of Latino subgroups when considering the Latino constituency in state politics. When referring to Latinos in Florida, one means largely people of Cuban origin; in New York, it is largely Puerto Ricans; and in the Southwest, it is people of Mexican origin. Variations in patterns of language use, naturalization, immigration, migration, and policy concerns must be noted. The needs and preferences of Latino communities can vary considerably across states.

The Representation of Latinos in State Politics

Latinos have had very limited success in winning governorships (Garcia 1986, p. 65). In 1975 Arizona and New Mexico elected Latino governors. Raul H. Castro (D) was elected for one term, which ended in 1978. Jerry Apodaca (D) was also elected for one term, which ended in the same year.

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In the state senates of five states in the Southwest (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas), there has been a 25 percent increase in the number of Latino senators from 1978 to 1989, to a present total of thirty.

Another Latino, Toney Anaya (D), was elected governor of New Mexico for the term 1983-86. Most recently, Robert Martinez (R) was elected governor of Florida in 1987. He lost his bid for reelection in 1990.

It is speculated that, in each of these cases, the Latino candidate was able to win in part due to overwhelming support from the Latino electorate. Unfortunately, there are no systematic accounts of the elections of these governors in the social science literature. It would be of great interest to know exactly what strategies candidates used to win the governorship, how much they relied upon a highly mobilized Latino electorate, how supportive traditional party leaders were of their candidacies, and how their ethnic background affected both the campaign and voting. It would also be of interest to know whether the political backgrounds and paths of recruitment and nomination show any similarities across the four governors. In particular, it would be of interest to know whether their experiences and backgrounds are systematically distinct from those of other recently successful governors in their respective states. These questions need to be examined.

Where Latinos have been consistently more successful in winning state office has been at the state legislative level. In the state senates of five states in the Southwest (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas), there has been a 25 percent increase in the number of Latino senators from 1978 to 1989, to a present total of thirty. Florida and Illinois had no Latino senators in 1984 and currently have three and one, respectively. Since 1984 New York has elected two Latino state senators (Martinez 1977; Martinez 1983; National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials 1989).

Representation-population parity ratios were calculated for the eight states as a measure of the extent to which the proportion of Latinos among state senators matches the proportion of Latinos in the general population. Based on population figures from the 1980 census, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, and New Mexico have parity ratios at or above .85 (1.0 is parity). Texas is slightly lower at .77. The states with the lowest parity ratios are California, New York, and Illinois, with scores of .39, .35, and .30, respectively. Clearly, there is considerable variation in the representation of Latinos in state senates.

A similar pattern emerges for Latino representation in state lower houses. Again, for the five states of the Southwest, there was a 23 percent increase in the number of Latino representatives from 1978 to 1989, to a total of sixty-four. During this period the number of Latino representatives increased from fifteen to twenty-two in Texas and from nineteen to twenty-five in New Mexico. California experienced a decrease from six to three Latino representatives. Florida, with eight, and Illinois, with two, had twice as many Latino state representatives in 1989 as they had in 1984. New York maintained its total of five Latino state representatives.

Overall, parity ratios are slightly lower at the state representative level than at the senatorial level. The two states approaching parity are New Mexico (.98) and Colorado (.92). Florida, Arizona, and Texas range from .70 to .76. The states with the lowest parity ratios are New York (.35), Illinois (.30), and California (.20). Again, considerable variation exists among the states.

Although systematic social scientific examination is lacking, there is well-reasoned speculation that the use of single-member districts in elections for both state senators and state representatives has increased the chances of Latinos winning state legislative office.

How can this variation be explained? Although systematic social scientific examination is lacking, there is well-reasoned speculation that the use of single-member districts in elections for both state senators and state representatives has increased the chances of Latinos winning state legislative office. (Arizona, which elects two state representatives from each state senate district, is an exception to this rule.) In *Graves v. Barnes* (343 F. Supp 704, W.D. Texas, 1972), the use of multimember legislative elections by the three largest counties in Texas was ruled unconstitutional due to its dilution of both Mexican-American and African-American votes. Hamm, Harmel, and Thompson (1981) provide systematic evidence concerning the effects of the conversion from multimember to single-member elections in the four Texas counties of Harris (Houston), Dallas (Dallas), Tarrant (Fort Worth), and Bexar (San Antonio). Their analysis of the ethnic, racial, and partisan composition of the state legislative delegations in 1963 and 1969 (during the use of countywide multimember elections), in comparison to the composition of these delegations in 1977 (after the adoption of single-member districts in each county), led them to conclude that "ethnic representation increased after the change to single-member districts" and that their findings "provide substantial support for the hypothesis that the change to single-member districting will enhance minority representation" (Hamm et al. 1981, p. 554).

The current use of single-member districts, carefully monitored by Latino leaders, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, and a number of private attorneys who have practices largely specialized in voting rights law, and all of whom use the Voting Rights Act as their guide, makes it unlikely that levels of Latino representation in state legislatures will diminish.

The pattern of substantial underrepresentation in California, Illinois, and New York does merit careful examination. A structured analysis to determine if the primary cause of this underrepresentation is gerrymandering, residential dispersion, the presence of large district constituencies due to a relatively small number of legislative seats, or lack of community mobilization, would be most informative. At a minimum such an analysis should include the eight states examined here. It might also compare these states to several in the South where African-Americans are similarly underrepresented in state legislatures.

Latino Representatives in State Politics

The published literature on the role and impact of Latino state legislators focuses on three issues: voting patterns, legislative success, and perceptions of legislative roles as delegates or trustees. Hamm, Harmel, and Thompson (1981) concluded that, coincident with the increased diversity of interests represented in the legislative delegations from the four Texas counties

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studied, levels of cohesion in the county legislative delegation decreased appreciably. New block formations developed under single-member districts (Hamm et al. 1981, pp. 554-55). In 1983 these authors examined the extent to which Latino and African-American legislators in the lower house of Texas and African-American legislators in South Carolina and Louisiana voted as a cohesive bloc during the period 1977-78. In Texas they found not only that Mexican-American legislators voted as a group, as did African-American legislators, but also that Mexican-American representatives and African-American representatives often voted together. They concluded: "The findings of this study are supportive of the expectation that the introduction of Blacks (or Mexican Americans in Texas) would result in the formation of relatively cohesive voting groups. In all three states, this expectation was fulfilled" (Harmel et al. 1983, p. 188). In sum, the one study examining the voting patterns of Latino state representatives reveals that Latino state legislators vote as a group and often are in coalition with their fellow African-American representatives.

However, voting cohesion does not lead necessarily to legislative success. Although legislative success may be achieved by Latino representatives, which issues are the primary focus of their attention? To what extent are the issues pursued by Latino representatives of direct interest and concern to their Latino constituencies? What difference do Latino representatives in state legislatures really make? These issues are addressed to an extent in a very provocative essay by Mindiola and Gutierrez (1986).

The authors examined the legislative activity of Chicano senators and representatives in the Texas legislature in 1981. Three of their findings are of particular note. First, Chicano legislators were less successful than other legislators in getting bills they introduced enacted into law. In this session of the legislature, 10.7 percent of the bills introduced by Chicanos became law, whereas 23.6 percent of the bills introduced by all other legislators became law (Mindiola and Gutierrez 1986, p. 353). Second, they found that of the 349 bills introduced by these representatives, only 19, or 5.4 percent, "had major or exclusive relevance for Chicanos" (Mindiola and Gutierrez 1986, p. 355). Third, they found that of these 19 bills, "only 4, or 21.1 percent, became law" (Mindiola and Gutierrez 1986, p. 357).

According to the authors, these findings should not lead one to conclude that Latino elected officials provide no major benefit to their Latino constituencies. Rather, they suggest that one should recognize the constraints—such as diverse constituencies, interest-group demands, institutional racism, the needs of logrolling, and limited legislative experience—that limit the ability of a Latino legislator to represent the Latino constituency successfully. In spite of these constraints, the potential for substantial legislative success in the interests of the Latino community is present whenever Latino representatives are present, and the chance for success increases as Latino legislators gain seniority. To further consolidate efforts and coordinate activity among Latino legislators, the Texas Latino delegation in the 1980s

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created the Mexican American Legislative Caucus (Mindiola and Gutierrez 1986, pp. 357-61).

The published comments of a current Democratic legislator from the state of Texas, Representative Albert Luna III, reveal the efforts made by Latino representatives to ascertain the issues of concern to their Latino constituencies. Representative Luna notes that Latino legislators tend to rely most heavily on "candid, informal discussions with . . . other (Latino legislators)" about their meetings with constituents to gauge Latino public opinion and to set "the minority agenda" (Luna and Quintero 1987, pp. 15-16). Public opinion polls are carefully scrutinized before they are accepted as gauges of Latino public opinion (pp. 17-21). This suggests that these legislators are very concerned with determining how best to represent their Latino constituents.

However, Representative Luna also notes the constraints on legislative success. Single sponsorship of a bill often is a wiser legislative strategy than multiple sponsorship. He states, "If thirty different members do not introduce separate bills on one issue, it does not mean that they are not all interested in the matter" (Luna and Quintero 1987, p. 16). Although an issue may be of great concern to Latino constituents, Latino legislators often must temper their public pronouncements on the issue so as to limit opposition. Alternatively, they may decide not to pursue enactment of a desired bill because it is too controversial to pass in a particular session and will likely be used by opposition to kill other bills favored by Latino legislators (Luna and Quintero 1987, p. 21).

The available evidence on the activity and success of Latino legislators allows us to reach several conclusions. First, while Latino representatives are not the representatives of Latino constituencies exclusively, their Latino constituents are a major concern. Second, these Latino legislators work within an environment of constraints that limits their success in enacting legislation of most direct concern to Latinos. In no state legislature are Latinos a majority, and the legislative majority often is unsupportive of their bills. Thus, to maximize their chances of success, they form coalitions, often with sympathetic African-American and white legislators. Finally, there is the hope that increased experience will result in increased legislative success. Seniority brings more favorable committee assignments and committee chairs, and caucus formation can be effective by pooling legislative resources as well as linking legislative interests. Success is not guaranteed, but the presence of Latino representatives at least provides continued opportunities for success.

Transforming the State Legislative Agenda

Latinos are an ever growing constituency in state politics. This is especially the case for those states with substantial Latino populations. The increased representation of Latino constituencies through the establishment of

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single-member districts guarantees that their chosen representatives will be an important part of the legislative process. Although the legislative success of these representatives is far from assured, it is likely that their increased legislative skill will make such success more likely in the future.

In light of the current status of Latino representation in state politics, it is important to look toward the future of Latino state politics. As we view the assessment of Latino state politics within a larger framework, the following questions should be examined: Are Latino politics distinct from mainstream politics? If they are distinct, what are the dimensions of that distinctiveness? Can that distinctiveness be reconciled within the confines of mainstream American politics? Are Latino politics doomed to slow incremental gains?

Historically, Latino politics have been distinct from mainstream politics in three fundamental respects. First, Latino politics have opposed the status quo by promoting change in policies, procedures of election, and overall access to governmental decision making. At times this focus on change has been antiestablishment, although most often the attempt has been to push American political practice to live up to reasonable interpretations of America's own political promise (Acuna 1980; Shockley 1974; Garcia and de la Garza 1977; Garcia 1989).

Second, Latino politics have been egalitarian. The primary goal of the call for change has been to raise the status of Latino interests to an equal footing as those of middle- and upper-class Anglos and, at times, African-Americans (Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 1984). This has been demonstrated most clearly in the calls by Latino political leaders for policy parity in areas such as voting, education, housing, employment, and criminal justice.

Third, Latino politics very often have focused on maintaining a distinct "cultural community." The elements of this community include the Spanish language, a pride in distinct origins, family relationships, celebrations, food, and, to an extent, religion. This cultural distinctiveness of Latino communities has been used to enhance popular mobilization, to establish candidate credibility, and most notably to limit assimilation as an unquestioned goal and strategy in politics (Rendon 1971; Acuna 1980).

The continued presence in the United States of Latino communities with distinct political interests has been due largely to the lack of opportunity for Latinos to advance within society. The barriers to advancement are well known and include such practices as discrimination, segregation, and violence. Among the primary promulgators of these practices has been an exclusionary political-economic system that has allowed, if not promoted, separation of minority groups from the mainstream.

In the 1990s, the three dimensions of Latino politics described above will no longer be as compatible. In fact, the very success of Latino politics, especially since the 1970s, in changing the system and achieving greater equality threatens the maintenance of a cultural community with clearly distinct political interests. Yet it has been this sense of a distinct culture that

has been the inspiration for much of the effort directed at change and equality. Greater opportunities for the free exercise of self-determination threaten the distinct cultural identity of Latinos more than exclusion and exploitation ever could.

This conflict between cultural distinctiveness and egalitarian change can be reconciled. However, it will require a recognition of the limits of interest-group politics focused on policy parity and a much broader understanding of community that explicitly includes the public interest. It will require the attainment of what I will term the *informed public interest*. This is the funda-mental challenge to Latino politics, including state politics, in the 1990s.

The important role played by an informed public interest can be seen by focusing on two major criticisms of contemporary Latino politics that should become even more prominent in the 1990s. Each of these criticisms flows from an understanding of *the* major change that has occurred in the recent past in American political development. That change, arising from alterations in the systems of election and representation brought about by the Voting Rights Act, is the enhancement of access by African-Americans and certain language minorities, including Latinos, to the system of gover-nance through greater formal representation.

An impassioned argument made by Thernstrom (1987) and other critics of the development of the Voting Rights Act is that the imposed inclusion of minority communities in formal representation leads to undesirable con-sequences for the polity. The major consequence seen by these critics is the institutionalization of ethnic and racial conflict within the regime, including state governments. Minority and nonminority representatives, the argument continues, participate within a system of representation that has been designed to reward ethnically and racially exclusive service to constituents. Cooperation and compromise, to the extent that they occur, represent aberrations in the structured legislative process. As a result, ethnicity and race continue to be dimensions on which both legislators and the public evaluate public policy. The elimination of ethnocentrism and racism in American society becomes even less likely.

This argument, which laments the structural changes that have led to greater representational equity for Latinos, is misguided in several respects. The transformation of the political system that has given Latinos greater opportunity to select candidates for office reflects underlying divisions within the society that have existed for many decades, but it neither initiates nor sustains these divisions. It is irrational to think that a constituency will con-tinue to identify its political interests as distinct from those of the majority solely because of its representation. The constituency will identify its inter-ests consistent with its understanding of reality. Until now, that reality has been one where ethnicity and race are relevant in assessing the costs and benefits of public policy. Denying racial and ethnic cleavages does not eliminate them.

The proponents of this argument also are misguided in their assumption that the representation of Latino interests is regressive and inconsistent

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Latino ethnic representation, when that representation is a minority of the interests represented in a legislature, can and must adapt to the requisites of legislative success in the modern polity. Coalition building, compromise, and the force of legislative argument and legislative politicking are the means to such success. Herein lies the origin of the conflict between greater opportunity for self-determination and the maintenance of traditional cultural communities.

with a properly evolving polity. (See the critical discussion in Rothschild 1981.) Although ethnic divisions can result in considerable violence, as has been demonstrated recently in countries as varied as Sri Lanka, the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, contemporary ethnic representation in a polity as developed as the U.S. is more likely to be as sophisticated and appropriately strategic as the representation of any other interest (e.g., industry, labor, and region). To conclude otherwise requires the assumption that Latino representatives do not have the capacity to distinguish between advocacy and policy success in a majoritarian legislature. If the representative of a Latino constituency is to provide for his/her community, he/she must be more than an instigator of conflict. To serve the needs of Latino communities in a system that now provides greater representational equity to Latinos, the representative of these communities must begin a process of politically redefining the Latino community and that community's interests in terms that are convincing to representatives of other constituencies. Latino ethnic representation, when that representation is a minority of the interests represented in a legislature, can and must adapt to the requisites of legislative success in the modern polity. Coalition building, compromise, and the force of legislative argument and legislative politicking are the means to such success. Herein lies the origin of the conflict between greater opportunity for self-determination and the maintenance of traditional cultural communities.

A strong argument is made by some critics that enhanced ethnic and racial representation in the formal political system has been largely symbolic and very minimally beneficial to the larger mass of disadvantaged African-Americans and Latinos. (See Reed 1988.) These critics maintain that at least three major disadvantages result from formal representation. First, ethnic and racial communities develop a false sense of hope that their representatives will be able to provide them with beneficial public policies. In fact, representatives can provide, at best, public policies that benefit middle-class elements in minority communities through, for example, greater state and local employment, appointments to boards and commissions, more favorable minority firm contracting, or capital-directed economic growth based on a faith in the "trickle-down effect." Second, the larger white community develops a false sense that real progress has been made. As a result, they become complacent, assuming that no further access to governance need be gained by ethnic and racial communities and accepting no responsibility for developing constructive solutions to the social and economic challenges still confronted by many minority communities. Third, geographically based ethnic and racial representation inhibits an interethnic class focus. Thus, ethnic and racial representatives are inhibited from developing the focus on class in their policy analysis and advocacy that is necessary to achieve real systemic change of benefit to most African-Americans and Latinos.

Critics of racial and ethnic representation tend to focus too narrowly on material parity. Material parity, of course, should be a standard measure

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of status in comparing segments of the population. However, an exclusive focus on material parity suggests a zero-sum understanding of benefit and is an insufficient justification for the receipt of favorable policy. When the public interest is broadened to include the interests of minority communities, benefit is defined in terms of the larger community, which encompasses both minority and nonminority communities. This informed public interest goes beyond interest group politics and moves toward a more inclusive discourse that requires demands to be stated and justified in terms that are acceptable to the broader long-term interests of the regime.

These critics also misunderstand the nature of community within ethnic and racial groups, assuming it to be rigid and unresponsive to outside influences. Yet how can a Latino politics that expects mainstream politics to change so as to incorporate Latino interests not have the same expectations of change for itself? The Latino political community, like Latino culture, is not static. The 1990s will be a time when a reconsideration of the dimensions of that community will be possible, and the major dimension to be reconsidered is the group's sense of purpose. As a way of constructively surviving the threatening actions of mainstream society, Latinos appropriately have placed a high priority on maintaining their cultural distinctiveness. However, what has been absent is a clear goal justifying this strategy of maintenance. The attainment of an informed public interest can provide that purpose by requiring representatives of Latino communities and scholars of Latino politics to ground their calls for policy benefit in terms consistent with the needs of the larger community.

In the end, the 1990s will be the time when Latino communities, largely through their elected representatives, begin to outline through self-determination the dimensions of that informed public interest. It is a safe assumption that this will take Latino representatives and their constituencies away from understandings of the traditional virtues of their ethnic communities. If Latinos do not do this through self-determination, it is likely to be done to them by others. A change in the nature of Latino communities is inevitable. If an understanding of purpose yields a more enlightened general polity, the preservation of a worthy Latino community is inevitable as well.

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