

# Women in Electoral Politics

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## **WOMEN IN FEDERAL POLITICS**

### Female Presidential Candidates with over 50,000 Votes

1968\* - Charlene Mitchell (Communist Party)

1,075 Votes [First woman on record to surpass 1,000 votes]

1972 - Linda Jenness (Socialist Workers)

52,799 Votes

1984 - Sonia Johnson (Citizens)

72,200 Votes

1988 - Lenora Fulani (New Alliance)

217,219 Votes (0.2% of the Vote; 4<sup>th</sup> place)

1992 - Lenora Fulani (New Alliance)

73,714 Votes

2008 - Cynthia McKinney (Green)

161,313 Votes

### Female Vice Presidential Candidates on Tickets with over 1,000,000 Votes

1924\* - Marie Brehm (Herman P Faris/Prohibition)

56,268 Votes [First female VP on ticket with over 1,000 votes]

1984 - Geraldine Ferraro (Walter Mondale/Democratic)

37,577,185 Votes

2000 - Winona LaDuke (Ralph Nader/Green)

2,882,738

2008 - Sarah Palin (John McCain/Republican)

59,948,323

NOTES: There has been little consistency with female performance on the top of the ticket. Just 4 years after the first woman recorded votes, a woman surpassed the 50,000 threshold. But another woman wouldn't pass it again for a dozen years. In 1988 Lenora Fulani came in fourth, the best finish any woman has had in the general election.

### Female Cabinet Members

	President	Female Cabinet Members
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1969-73	Nixon	0
1973-77	Nixon/Ford	1
1977-81	Carter	3
1981-85	Reagan I	2
1985-89	Reagan II	2
1989-93	Bush (41)	3
1993-97	Clinton I	3
1997-2001	Clinton II	4
2001-05	Bush (43) I	3
2005-09	Bush (43) II	5
2009-13	Obama I	4
2013-	Obama II	3

### Female Members of Congress

From 1916-2013, 298 women have served in Congress. These women include:

- 194 Democrats and 104 Republicans;
- 254 (165 Ds, 89 Rs) women have served only in the House of Representatives;
- 34 (21 Ds, 13 Rs) women have served in both houses; and
- 4 (3 Ds, 1 R) women have served as Delegates in the house

	Women in the House of Reps.	Women in the Senate
1970	10 (2%)	1 (1%)
1975	19 (4%)	0 (0%)
1980	15 (3%)	2 (2%)
1985	23 (5%)	2 (2%)
1990	29 (7%)	2 (2%)
1995	48 (11%)	9 (9%)

2000	58 (13%)	9 (9%)
2005	70 (16%)	14 (14%)
2010	74 (17%)	17 (17%)
2012	76 (17%)	17 (17%)
2013	77 (18%)	20 (20%)
2014	82 (19%)	20 (20%)

In the 113<sup>th</sup> Congress (2013-2014):

-20 Women serve in the Senate (16 Ds, 4 Rs)

-82 serve in the House (63 Ds and 19 Rs and 3 delegates)

(Via *Womenincongress.house.gov* and Jennifer Manning, *Women in the United States Congress 1917-20013*; Congressional Research Service Report. December 16, 2013.)

### Female Incumbents

At least one woman has sought reelection to the senate in every election cycle since 1990. In the last 22 years both male and female senators have a reelection rate of roughly 87%.

*Reelection Rate of U.S. Senators by Gender, 1990-2012*

Cycle	# Men	Won	Lost	% Won	# Women	Won	Lost	% Won
1990	31	30	1	<b>96.8</b>	1	1	0	<b>100.0</b>
1992	27	22	5	<b>81.5</b>	1	1	0	<b>100.0</b>
1994	24	22	2	<b>91.7</b>	2	2	0	<b>100.0</b>
1996	20	19	1	<b>95.0</b>	1	0	1	<b>0.0</b>
1998	25	23	2	<b>92.0</b>	4	3	1	<b>75.0</b>
2000	26	20	6	<b>76.9</b>	3	3	0	<b>100.0</b>
2002	25	22	3	<b>88.0</b>	3	2	1	<b>66.7</b>
2004	21	20	1	<b>95.2</b>	5	5	0	<b>100.0</b>
2006	23	17	6	<b>73.9</b>	6	6	0	<b>100.0</b>
2008	27	23	4	<b>85.2</b>	3	2	1	<b>66.7</b>
2010	19	16	3	<b>84.2</b>	6	5	1	<b>83.3</b>
2012	17	15	2	<b>88.2</b>	6	6	0	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>87.4</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>87.8</b>

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Note: Includes U.S. Senators running for election that were first appointed into office. Table compiled by Smart Politics.

*This trend holds true for House Elections too.*

From 1956 to 2006 female members of congress won 95.8% of their reelections compared to male members winning 94.5% of their reelection campaigns. On average female incumbents won 67.3% of the vote in their races while male incumbents similarly won 64.5% of the vote.

*Via Palmer, Simon "Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling: Women and Congressional Elections"*

## Congressional Committee Heads by Gender and Party in the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress

### House of Representatives

	Female Republican Heads (23 Congresswomen)	Female Democratic Ranking Members (54 Congresswomen)
Committees (20)	1	4
Subcommittees (~100)	10	25

### Senate

	Female Republican Ranking Members (5 Senators)	Female Democratic Heads (12 Senators)
Committees (16)	4	4
Subcommittees (73)	5	19

## Female Congressional Staffers

Percent staffers who are women:

All Staffers: 50.3%			
House		Senate	
52.4%		54.1%	
House Democrats	House Republicans	Senate Democrats	Senate Republicans
54.5%	50.6%	55.7%	52.1%
All Leadership Offices: 48.2%			
House Leadership		Senate Leadership	
44.2%		52.5%	
House Democrats	House Republicans	Senate Democrats	Senate Republicans
51.2%	36.6%	50.3%	46.1%

Percent of Chiefs of Staff who are women:

House Democrats	House Republicans	Senate Democrats	Senate Republicans
44.6%	19.1%	32.8%	17.2%

\*Women and men are paid nearly the same for equal positions on Capitol Hill

(source: *National Journal*, Female Congressional Staffers, July, 2012.)

## First Female Head of Secret Service

In March 2013 Barack Obama appointed Julia Pierson as the new Director of the Secret Service. Pierson is the current chief of staff of the Secret

Service. She is a three-decade veteran of the force. This appointment is official, since the Senate does not have to confirm the director of the Secret Service. She is replacing Mark Sullivan who served as director for 7 years before retiring in February 2013.

Historically women working in the Secret Service exclusively held clerical positions. There were no female Secret Service agents until 1971, when 4 women simultaneously received appointments. 7 years later in 1978 Special Agent Mary Ann Gordon became the first female agent to get a permanent assignment to the White House detail. That same year a female agent also was assigned to Vice President Walter Mondale. The next major milestone for women in the Secret Service came in 2004 when Barbara Riggs was named deputy director, the first woman to hold that position. Riggs first became an agent in 1975 and was one of the first 10 women to achieve that role.



### Federal Judicial Appointees by Gender and President

In the 1970s, because there were so few female lawyers, it was tough, but not impossible to find female judges. By the 1980s, around a third of Law School graduates were female and by the 1990s, almost half were. The slow march toward equality in the courtroom is evident in the Presidential appointments of Federal Judges. As more and more qualified female lawyers become Judges; Democrats have clearly led the way when it comes to increasing diversity in the courts. As of 2013, of the 874 federal judgeships, 39% are held by women.

	Total Appointees	Female Appointees	Percentage Female
Richard Nixon	231	1	0.4%
Gerald Ford	62	1	1.6%
Jimmy Carter	259	40	15.4%
Ronald Reagan	376	31	8.2%
George H.W. Bush	192	36	18.8%
Bill Clinton	373	111	29.8%
George W. Bush	325	72	22.2%
Barack Obama	162	72	44.4%

Before Jimmy Carter, only 8 women had been appointed Federal Judges, with no President appointing more than 3 women. Carter overhauled the Judicial nominating process, taking the nominating power away from individual Senators. This meant that judicial appointments were less political and less about rewarding friends and supporters of the Senators. Once the Executive branch took more of a role in the nomination of

Judges, it was possible to nominate more diverse judges who might not be as politically connected as the Senate appointments.

A noticeable trend is that every President since Nixon has appointed a greater percentage of female judges than their most recent party compatriot at the White House.

*Via - Federal Judicial Center Database*

### Women in the Federal Reserve

#### 2014 Members of the Federal Reserve Board:

2 of 5 are women with 2 vacancies (as of 2/5/14)

-Janet L Yellen (Chair) - First female to chair the Federal Reserve Board

-Daniel K Tarullo

**-Sarah Bloom Raskin**

-Jeremy C. Stein

-Jerome H. Powell

#### Female Board Members Historically:

1913 Federal Reserve Board established

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>District</u>
1978-1984	Nancy H. Teeters	Chicago
1984-1991	Martha R. Seger	Chicago
1991-1998	Susan M. Phillips	Chicago

1994-1997/2010-Present San Francisco	Janet L. Yellen	San Francisco
1996-1999	Alice M. Rivlin	Philadelphia
2001-2007	Susan S. Bies	Chicago
2008-2013 Philadelphia	Elizabeth A. Duke	
2010-Present	Sarah Bloom Raskin	Richmond

**-Two current female presidents** among the heads of the 12 regional Federal Reserve Banks

#### History of Federal Reserve Female Bank Presidents by Regional Bank

Boston	1994-2007 Cathy E Mineham (2 president overall)
New York	No female president to date
Philly	No female president to date
Cleveland	1982-1987 Karen N Horn (1 president overall); <b>2003-Present Sandra Pianalto</b>

Richmond	No female president to date
Atlanta	No female president to date
Chicago	No female president to date
St. Louis	No female president to date
Minneapolis	No female president to date
Kansas City	<b>2011-Present Esther L. George</b>
Dallas	2004-2005 Helen Holcomb (Interim president)
San Francisco	2004-2010 Janet Yellen

### Directors of Federal Reserve Banks and Branches:

Men	Women
192	74

## Presidential Debate Moderators

	First Debate Moderator	Second Debate Moderator	Third Debate Moderator	Fourth Debate Moderator
1960	Howard K. Smith	Frank McGee	Bill Shadel	Quincy Howe
1976	Edwin Newman	<b>Pauline Frederick</b>	<b>Barbara Walters</b>	
1980	Bill Moyers	Howard K Smith		
1984	<b>Barbara Walters</b>	Edwin Newman		
1988	Jim Lehrer	Bernard Shaw		
1992	Jim Lehrer	<b>Carole Simpson</b>	Jim Lehrer	
1996	Jim Lehrer	Jim Lehrer		
2000	Jim Lehrer	Jim Lehrer	Jim Lehrer	
2004	Jim Lehrer	Charlie Gibson	Bob Schieffer	
2008	Jim Lehrer	Tom Brokaw	Bob Schieffer	
2012	Jim Lehrer	<b>Candy Crowley</b>	Bob Schieffer	

From 1976 to 1984 the debates were sponsored by the League of Women Voters. Under the League of Women Voters' stewardship, women made up 43% of moderators.

In 1987 the two parties established the Commission on Presidential Debates. Under the Commission on Presidential Debates, women have been selected to moderate 11% of debates.

Jim Lehrer alone has moderated more than twice as many debates as women have.

\*Both moderators of Vice Presidential debates sponsored by the League of Women Voters were male. Of the Six Vice Presidential debate moderators selected by the Commission on Presidential debates, half were female.

## Women in the White House

Obama White House:

## **WOMEN IN LOCAL POLITICS**

## **WOMEN AT THE STATE LEVEL**

## Women as Governors and Attorneys General

	Female Governors	Female Attorneys General
1970	0 (0%)	0
1975	1 (2%)	0
1980	2 (4%)	0
1985	2 (4%)	2
1990	3 (6%)	2
1995	4 (8%)	10
2000	3 (6%)	9
2005	9 (18%)	6
2010	6 (12%)	5
2012	6 (12%)	8

### Women Serving in State Legislatures

Year	Women Legislators	% of Total Legislators
1971	344	4.5
1973	424	5.6
1975	604	8.0
1977	688	9.1
1979	770	10.3
1981	908	12.1
1983	991	13.3
1985	1,103	14.8
1987	1,170	15.7
1989	1,270	17.0
1991	1,368	18.3
1993	1,524	20.5
1995	1,532	20.6
1997	1,605	21.6
1998	1,617	21.8
1999	1,664	22.4
2000	1,670	22.5
2001	1,666	22.4

2002	1,682	22.7
2003	1,654	22.4
2004	1,659	22.5
2005	1,674	22.7
2006	1,681	22.8
2007	1,732	23.5
2008	1,751	23.7
2009	1,797	24.3
2010	1,809	24.5
2011	1,750	23.7
2012	1,752	23.7
2013	1,789	24.2
2014	1,784	24.2

### Breakdown by Party for 2014:

	Total Legislators		State Senators		State Representatives	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Democrats	1,136	63.7	258	62.9	878	63.9
Republicans	663	65.5	141	34.4	492	35.8
Nonpartisans*	10	0.6	10	2.4	---	---
Progressives	4	0.2	---	---	4	0.3
Independent	1	0.1	1	0.2	---	---
Total	1,784	100.1	410	99.9	1,374	100.0

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

### Women in State Legislatures by State

States with the highest percentage of women in the state legislature:



State	Total number of women in lower chamber and Senate	% Women in legislature
Colorado	41	41%
Vermont	73	40.6%
Arizona	32	35.6%
Minnesota	68	33.8%
Washington	48	32.7
New Hampshire	137	32.3%
Hawaii	24	31.6%
Illinois	55	31.1%
Maryland	57	30.3%
New Jersey	36	30%
Oregon	27	30%

States with the lowest percentage of women in the state legislature:

State	Total number of women in lower chamber and Senate	% Women in legislature
Louisiana	18	12.5%
Oklahoma	20	13.4%
Alabama	20	14.3%
Wyoming	14	15.6%
Utah	17	16.3%
West Virginia	22	16.4%
Arkansas	23	17%
North Dakota	24	17%
Virginia	24	17.1%
Mississippi	30	17.2%

Sources: National Conference of State Legislatures via Aaron Blake, *The Fix*, 7.2.14; Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) Fact Sheet, January 2014

## WOMEN IN CITY GOVERNMENT

### Women as US Mayors

In the last hundred years, the 50 largest American cities of 2012; have had 52 different women serve as mayor. Of those 50 cities, 19 have never seen a female mayor; including three (New York, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia) of the nation's five largest cities.

*Both Portland, Oregon and Sacramento, California had female mayors serve in the 1940s. While those women were counted in the aforementioned tallies, they are not on this list.*

Year	Female Mayors
1970	0
1975	4
1980	9
1985	4
1990	10
1995	11
2000	9
2005	9
2010	4
2012	7

## WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

### Women in Power by Party

Women served as elected officials throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup>. In 1992, many in the Democratic Party declared that it would be the "Year of the Woman." In the last 20 years women have continued to make strides in this field, with Democratic women outpacing Republicans at the national level, and Republican women doing incredibly well at the state level.

### **Women in Congress:**

	Since 1992	Since 1789
Republicans	40	87
Democrats	83	157

### **Women in the Senate:**

	Since 1992	Since 1789
Republicans	8	15
Democrats	19	29

### **Women as Governors:**

	Since 1992	Since 1789
Republicans	13	14
Democrats	9	20

### National Party Female Chairpersons

Neither party has a strong record of Chairperson Diversity.

Since 1970 there have been 20 Chairpersons of the Democratic National Committee. Of those 20, only 3 have been women. First was Jean Westwood in 1972, then was Debra DeLee from 1994-1995 and last was Debbie Wasserman-Schultz, who is the current Chairperson and has held that role since 2011.

Since 1970 there have been 19 Chairpersons of the Republican National Committee. Of them only one was female. The lone female Chairperson of the RNC was Mary Louise Smith from 1974-1977.

	Chairwomen	Percentage of Chairpersons that have been female (Since 1970)	Years of Female leadership (Since 1970)	Percentage of Years led by a female Chairperson (Since 1970)
DNC	3	15.0%	5	11.9%
RNC	1	5.3%	3	7.1%

## WOMEN AND VOTING

## U.S. Women's Party ID and Ideology- Gallup Poll April 2012

	Stay-at-home mothers	All women
Republican	22%	26
Independent	45	38
Democrat	30	34
Conservative	37	37
Moderate	39	36
Liberal	20	23

## Female Votes by Marital Status

Married women tend to support Republicans while single women tend to vote for Democrats

	Share of Voting Population	Percentage Vote for Democrat	Percentage Vote for Republican
2012-Married Women	31%	46%	53%
2012-Unmarried Women	23%	67%	31%
2010-Married Women*	-	43%	54%
2010-Unmarried Women*	19%	61%	36%
2008-Married Women	32%	47%	50%
2008-Unmarried Women	21%	70%	29%
2006-Married Women	33%	48%	50%
2006-Unmarried Women	18%	66%	32%

\*In 2010 the Edison Research Poll, that year's National Election Pool Poll, did not publish votes by gender and marital status. The numbers used here are from a Lake Research Poll, conducted October 31<sup>st</sup> through November 2<sup>nd</sup> 2010. In their accessible press release, the married female share of the vote was not listed.

## Party Identification by Marital Status-Pew Research Center Poll March 2012

	Married Women	Single Women
Rep/Lean Rep	45	31
Dem/Lean Dem	48	62

	Married Men	Single Men
Rep/Lean Rep	53	44
Dem/Lean Dem	38	46

## Gender Gap in Presidential Elections

1976 was the last election in which a candidate won both gender by the same margin. Since then the Democratic Party has developed a strong base of support from women while Republicans have seen more support from men. The biggest gender gap in a presidential election came in 2000, when Al Gore won the female vote by 11 points while George W Bush won the male vote by 11 points, creating a 22 point total gap between the two genders.

	Winner	Female Vote	Male Vote	Gender Gap
1976	Jimmy Carter	+2	+2	0
1980	Ronald Reagan	+2	+19	17
1984	Ronald Reagan	+12	+25	13
1988	George HW Bush	+1	+16	15
1992	Bill Clinton	+8	+3	5
1996	Bill Clinton	+16	-1	17
2000	George W Bush	-11	+11	22
2004	George W Bush	-3	+11	14
2008	Barack Obama	+13	+1	12
2012	Barack Obama	+11	-7	18

## **WOMEN, POLITICS AND MONEY**

### Fundraising

-As candidates, female Democrats rely most heavily on the support of female contributors and received the highest proportion of their money from women.

-Democratic women running for Congress in 2014 have received almost 40 percent of their money from women, compared with 29 percent for female Republicans.

-Once women accumulated power, their fund-raising ability grows much stronger.

### Donating

-Males contribute more money to federal campaigns and make larger donations.

- Women historically have been more interested in giving to causes rather than to candidates.
- Of the top 100 contributors in 2012, only 11 were women; that's down from 21 in 1990.
- Women donate more consistently to congressional Democrats
- Of the top ten Senators with the highest percent of campaign donations from women, only ONE is not a female democrat
- In 2012, 56% of the donations from women who reported being employed outside the home went to Democrats, compared with 37% from women who identified themselves as homemakers.
- Women only made up 20% of donors to PACs in 2012, compared with 15% in 1990.
- Donations records for married couples often are filed under the name of the husband, but this does not mean the wife is not as active a participant in choosing and support issues and candidates.

Total percent of contributions by women to candidates, political action committees (PACs) and party committees:

Year	Women's contributions %
2012	25%
2010	26%
2008	31%
2006	27%
1990	22%

Sources: Sarah Bryner and Doug Weber, *Sex, Money & Politics*, [OpenSecrets.org](http://OpenSecrets.org); Jennifer Steinhauer, *As Fund-Raisers in Congress, Women Break the Cash Ceiling*, [New York Times](http://www.nytimes.com), 11/30/13.



\*Many women give alongside their husbands and lists tend to bench husbands' and wives' contributions together.

## WHY WOMEN?

### The Impact of Female Members of Congress

-Women are notably more likely than men to focus on *Women's Distinctive Concerns* (bills dealing with women's traditional areas of interest such as health care, children and the family, education, environment, housing, and the elderly):

*'Women's Distinctive Concerns'* as Lawmaker's Top Legislative Priority:

Women	Men
51%	37%

Female public officials are more active than men on women's rights legislation:

Female and Male Lawmakers' Work on Women's Rights Bills:

Women	Men
59%	36%

-Issues of particular importance to women are more likely to be introduced by women legislators than by men.

-Women officeholders are changing the way government works. When compared with their male colleagues:

- Women are more likely to bring citizens into the process

- Women are more likely to opt for government in public view rather than government behind closed doors.

- Women are more responsive to groups previously denied full access to the policymaking process

-It is common for congresswomen to consider how legislation will affect women throughout the country, beyond the boundaries of the districts they represent; they see themselves as “surrogate representatives” for women through the United States.

-Both women and men in the legislatures believe that women legislators have increased legislative attention to how bills will affect women, and that women have increased political access for economically disadvantaged groups.

-Women are often very good at finding common ground and building bipartisan support.

-Women tend to have a more collaborative style to legislating and have real trust in each other.

### Challenges Women in Congress Face

-42% of women legislators disagreed with the statement that “Most men in my legislature are supportive of moving women into leadership positions”

-Around 42% also disagreed with the statement that “The leaders in my legislature are as likely to consult with the women in their legislature as the men when making important decisions.

#### SOURCES:

Center for American Women and Politics and Political Parties, Research Inventory: American Women and Politics, August 2012.

Ed O’Keefe, *Women are wielding notable influence in Congress*, Washington Post, 1/16/2014.

Rutgers Center for the American Woman and Politics: The Impact of Women in Public Office 1991.

#### Why more Women aren’t Running

-Not enough women want to be politicians. Over a ten-year period, women’s interest in running for office dropped, whereas men’s stayed unchanged.

-A recent American University study of 2,100 college students found that even politically active young women didn’t see themselves as future politicians.

-Women are more concerned about their credentials and viability than men.

-Lingering sexism

-The “dirtiness” of politics: “With women, if you’ve done anything wrong ever, it’s gonna come out.”