

# EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS



A NEWSLETTER OF THE EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AT RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

SPRING 2001

## Civic Education Grants Underway

The Eagleton Institute's New Jersey Civic Education Consortium has used funds from the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation to distribute civic education grants to eleven innovative programs in New Jersey. Grants were awarded to six schools and five non-profit organizations located throughout the state. The topics of the projects vary, but all share the goal of teaching children about the functions of government and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

One grant is allowing fifth-graders at the **Grant School** in Bergen County to establish a town museum. Students testified before the Town Council and the Mayor in support of the museum. Having successfully advocated for their plan, the students are now collecting and restoring town memorabilia that will comprise the museum's collection.

*continued on page 11*



Grant School teacher Carol Banicki (center) and her fifth grade students present the historical artifacts they gathered for their town's new museum. The students initiated the idea for the museum and appeared before the Town Council to advocate its opening.

## Women Lawmakers to Meet in November

### Their Political World Is Very Different from That of an Earlier Generation

Elected women from across the nation and across the political spectrum will gather November 15 - 18 at the new St. Regis Monarch Beach Resort in Dana Point, CA for CAWP's fifth national Forum for Women State Legislators. Every woman state legislator in the country is invited to join in exploring critical questions such as:

- How can women officeholders maximize their effectiveness? What are the most valuable skills, tools and resources, and how can women get them? When and why should women join forces?
- How can elected women move into powerful leadership slots? What makes an effective and respected leader?

- How do the media treat political women? How can women officeholders develop successful strategies for working with the media?
- What changes in the political environment could help women advance? Which changes may be impeding women's progress? What is the significance of term limits for women officeholders? What about campaign finance reform – does it help or hurt women candidates?
- What are the visible and invisible effects of money on political life? How do women candidates raise the

*continued on page 10*

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## Bipartisan Coalition Reconvened; Seeks Significant Roles for Women

In preparation for the 2001 New Jersey gubernatorial campaign, Eagleton's Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) and the Eagleton New Jersey Project have been instrumental in revitalizing the Bipartisan Coalition for Women's Appointments (BCWA.) The Coalition aims to ensure the placement of women in key positions throughout the state's government, regardless of who becomes the next governor.

Ingrid Reed, director of the Eagleton New Jersey Project, Debbie Walsh, associate director of CAWP, and Tema Javerbaum, program associate at CAWP, are members of a bipartisan Convening Committee of prominent New Jersey women who decided to revive the BCWA, originally formed in 1981 prior to the Kean-Florio election. The committee has articulated the Coalition's two main goals:

- to create the expectation within both major parties and the campaigns of their gubernatorial candidates that women will be engaged in campaign staff and committee roles and will be included in significant state government positions in even greater numbers than in the current administration at every level of appointment—from Cabinet positions to unpaid boards and commissions.
- to create a "talent bank" of resumes from New Jersey women interested in being considered for appointments in the next administration.

At a Trenton press conference late in 2000, several prominent women, including



Assemblywoman Loretta Weinberg; Judy Shaw, GluckShaw Group; Christy Davis, Davis and Associates; and then-Assemblywoman Carol Murphy at Trenton press conference kicking off the 2001 Bipartisan Coalition for Women's Appointments.

Assemblywomen Loretta Weinberg and Carol Murphy, addressed approximately 60 other endorsers of the Coalition as well as members of the Governor's cabinet and representatives of numerous media outlets. They stressed the importance of a support network to encourage women already serving their communities and those active in the private sector to take their commitment to a higher level and to utilize their experience and talents in state government.

The Coalition has already received the endorsement of over 100 prominent individuals, including other members of the state legislature and elected officials on various levels, as well as dozens of organizations throughout the state. The Convening Committee of the Coalition plans to begin implementing its first stated goal by direct contact with state and county

party chairs, committees of the Democratic and Republican parties, and the campaigns of their potential gubernatorial candidates. Several members of the Convening Committee – as well as other endorsers of the Coalition – have expressed interest in serving as liaisons to their parties' leadership and campaigns. They will convey directly the message of the importance of women's involvement in the campaigns, on the candidates' staffs, on the transition team and in the administration.

To implement its other major goal – establishing a "talent bank" of New Jersey women interested in appointments in a new administration – the Coalition has devised a biographical form for prospective appointees. Once completed forms are received and reviewed, resumes and other information may be requested. The form is also available on CAWP's web site at [www.cawp.rutgers.edu](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu) (The form cannot be filled out on-line; it must be printed, completed, and mailed or faxed to CAWP.)

Anyone interested in becoming an endorser of the BCWA or obtaining additional information should contact Tema Javerbaum at 732/932-9384 ext. 265. ❖ ❖ ❖

*They stressed the importance of a support network to encourage women already serving their communities and those active in the private sector to . . . utilize their experience and talents in state government.*

## Eagleton's CPIP Plays Role in Two Studies on Newborns

Each year more than 150,000 infants born in the United States (one in 33 births ) have one or more birth defects. Currently, birth defects account for more than 20 percent of all infant deaths and contribute substantially to illness and long-term disability. Medical researchers have attributed 10 percent of birth defects to environmental causes and 20 percent to chromosomal factors, leaving 70 percent of birth defects without a known cause. In the past it has been hard to identify the causes of birth defects because many are rare. In 1996 and 1997 the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) created eight Centers for Birth Defects Research and Prevention to begin work on a five-year study on birth defects. The Centers, located in Arkansas, California, Georgia, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Texas, conduct interviews and collect cheek-cell DNA from families of newborns with and without birth defects.

CDC targeted New Jersey as one of the centers for its national study because the New Jersey Department of Health and Senior Services (NJDHSS) has the oldest birth defect registry in the country (established in 1928). Out of

approximately 110,000 babies born each year in New Jersey, nearly 5,000 newborns have a birth defect and another 5,000 have other special health needs.

In 1998 NJDHSS asked Christopher Bruzios, senior research analyst at Eagleton's CPIP (Center for Public Interest Polling), to assemble a team to interview approximately 400 mothers of newborns per year (300 mothers with babies exhibiting one of the targeted birth defects and 100 control mothers). Emily Renaud, a graduate assistant, oversees the interviewing process. Brenda Cruz, Kymm Pardo, and Jessica Romero schedule interviews, conduct the English and Spanish telephone interviews, and make follow-up calls for the cheek-cell samples. So far the team has completed over 1250 one-hour telephone interviews with mothers throughout New Jersey and have even located mothers who have moved to Florida, Virginia, Oregon, California, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and London, England.

In January, the same interviewers began work with NJDHSS, Emory University, and the National Institutes of Health (NIH) to study Trisomy 21 or Down syndrome. Since the late 1980s, researchers at Emory University have conducted interviews and collected DNA samples from families in the Atlanta area who have a baby born with Down syndrome. They have now expanded the study to include New Jersey, Arkansas, California, Iowa, and New York. Nationally, approximately one in 800 to 1,000 babies have Down syndrome; in New Jersey over 100 babies are born each year with this syndrome. Many babies born with Down syndrome also have other birth defects and health problems. Although this syndrome has no cure, researchers at Emory University, with the assistance of the participating centers, are confident that additional evidence gathered from a larger population will aid medical researchers in their quest to reduce the incidence of Down syndrome and its related health risks. ❖ ❖ ❖



Birth defect interviewing team (left to right: Kymm Pardo, Jessica Romero, Brenda Cruz, and Emily Renaud) during a training for the Downs Syndrome study.

## South Poll

Burlington County is the location of the newest Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP) office. The new office, in the Ashurst mansion in historic Mount Holly, will be the administrative site for the Burlington Partnership Project, a multi-year study evaluating mental health services for youth.

The Burlington Partnership is federally funded by the Center for Mental Health Services and joins 67 other projects that have been funded nationally over the past seven years. The main objective of the project is to change the system of delivering services to youth with emotional and behavioral disturbances. CPIP is responsible for conducting the nationally mandated evaluation of the program. ❖ ❖ ❖



## Ways of Being a Political Woman

*The following is excerpted from "Women's Leadership in American Politics: The Legacy and the Promise," a chapter written by Institute director Ruth B. Mandel for The American Woman 2001-2002: Getting to the Top, edited by Cynthia B. Costello and Anne J. Stone and published by W.W. Norton. The book is available from the Women's Research and Education Institute for \$16.95 including postage and handling. Credit card orders may be placed on the WREI website, [www.wrei.org](http://www.wrei.org), or by phone (202/628-0444); mail orders may be paid for by check.*

The question of how political women define themselves in relation to their gender has long been a subject of considerable interest to the media and students of women in politics. Based on surveys, media coverage, and observation over the past several decades, it seems fair to say that most women entering public office, especially at the state and federal levels, should expect their gender to be an issue. A woman at the beginning of the twenty-first century is challenged to confront the twin questions of what it means to her to be a leader who is a woman and what is expected of her because she is a woman political leader.

Women have not responded monolithically to this challenge. Although former Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder's oft-quoted response to the reporter's question of whether she was running as a woman – "Do I have a choice?" – seems patently unarguable, women have chosen a variety of ways to cope, or not cope, with their identities as woman. At one extreme is the woman who separates herself from her gender identity entirely, taking offense when someone so much as notices that she is a woman and returning a researcher's questionnaire with an angry comment about any study comparing men and women being a waste of time and, especially, money.

Somewhat less defensive is the woman officeholder who maintains that gender does not matter. This woman, found quite often in legislative bodies, accepts the culture and mores of the institution she has worked hard to enter. She is proud to serve there and eager to fit in and excel according to time-honored traditions; she wants to be

*. . . they look forward to a day when women leaders are not a novelty, when their presence in public life is so common that gender, no longer a handicap, loses its status as a special category of identity.*

called "Mr. Chairman," the title accorded the majority of her legislative colleagues in leadership positions. After all the time and effort she has given to "mastering" the system, she wants to make it work for her. The last advice she wants is that she should stand apart and change the system. Now is her time to reap rewards, not shoulder a special burden to remake the world. If she can succeed, she believes, so can other women.

Next comes a woman leader who also knows the ropes and has won both status and respect in the political world. This woman believes that gender is a relevant issue that makes a difference in some, but not all, public matters. Seeing herself as someone who can help others, she makes a special effort to work for policies that aid women and to encourage women with political aspirations. She knows how to compartmentalize. Her success illustrates that a woman can have a gender agenda and still be supported by men. Women leaders of this type have risen to major leadership positions in institutions where the overwhelming majority of officeholders are men. They have done so with the support of many male colleagues who felt comfortable with the women's agendas and their styles of leadership.

Farther down the gender road is the elected official who is admired as

effective and successful inside the male political world, but whose leadership as a woman is central to her self-image and the policies she supports. She works very well with her fellow officeholders and on many issues important to the state and her diverse constituency, but she also has a gender agenda and is sensitive to the special needs of women. Issues with special gender content may not come up every week or every month, but when they do, she can be counted on to pay attention. A feminist consciousness colors her perception of daily politics, legislative issues, and institutional interactions in the same way that any heightened aspect of someone's experience would contribute a special perspective on awareness. Should this feature of her personality make her colleagues slightly uncomfortable, she is ready to draw on humor, collegiality, and political savvy to finesse the situation.

In theory, at the opposite end of the spectrum from the woman who is hostile to her gender being noticed at all is the political woman for whom gender is all that matters. Because promoting gender issues is her mission, she would not think of compartmentalizing her agenda or behavior. While such a leader can be

*continued on page 10*

## Star-Ledger/Eagleton-Rutgers Poll Reports on Jersey Political Attitudes

*The latest survey conducted by the Star-Ledger/Eagleton Rutgers Poll shed light on several timely political issues in the Garden State. The poll included 802 residents statewide, of which 632 were registered voters, and has a margin of error of + 3.5 percentage points (4 points for registered voters). Among the findings:*

**April 22, 2001**

### ***On Voters' Leanings for November Elections...***

Gubernatorial candidate and Woodbridge Mayor Jim McGreevey and the Democratic Party are well-positioned for the November elections. Before Acting Governor Donald DiFrancesco dropped out of the governor's race, McGreevey had an 18-point lead over him among registered voters, and a 24-point lead over Jersey City Mayor Bret Schundler (who is still running). State voters were also leaning Democratic in races for the state assembly – 42 percent of New Jersey registered voters said they would vote Democratic for assembly, while 33 percent said they would vote Republican.

**April 20, 2001**

### ***On Verniero and Racial Profiling...***

Over three-quarters of New Jerseyans were paying at least some attention to the recent state senate hearings on racial profiling. And among those who were paying attention to the profiling hearings, a majority of 53 percent said they believed Supreme Court Justice Peter Verniero misled the state senate about racial profiling in his 1999 confirmation. Also among those paying attention to the hearings, 79 percent said Verniero should no longer serve on the

Supreme Court if it could be shown that he did mislead the senate.

**April 19, 2001**

### ***On DiFrancesco's Business Dealings...***

As acting Governor Donald DiFrancesco continued to come under fire for questionable business dealings, the Poll found that only one-third of New Jerseyans were paying attention to the issue. But among those who were paying attention, most – 62 percent – thought DiFrancesco had done something unethical or worse.

**March 25, 2001**

### ***On the quality of government in New Jersey...***

New Jerseyans give the quality of their government average marks: 54 percent said they think the quality of government is good or better, while 43 percent think it is only fair or poor. Underlying these feelings was a general skepticism about politicians – 57 percent think most people go into politics for reasons of personal gain, rather than public service – although it's not specific to their politicians. Large majorities think that New Jersey government and politicians are of comparable quality to those in other states. ♦ ♦ ♦

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## Eagleton New Jersey Project Campaign Watch Attracts New Support

During the 2000 campaign season, Eagleton monitored New Jersey campaigns for Congress to find out what information was available to citizens and whether candidates followed the suggestions for better campaigns — “say it yourself” if you criticize your opponent, don't distort the image of your opponent, debate often, media should focus on the issues. A grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation provided major support.

As a partner in the national Alliance for Better Campaigns, Eagleton was able to organize an effort to appeal to television broadcasters to live up to a recommendation they helped make

to provide five minutes a night of candidate-centered coverage 30 days before the election. Civic and political leaders from around the state supported this appeal. Corporate leadership for the effort was co-chaired by Joseph Semrod of Summit Bank and Albert Gamper of the CIT Corporation. Despite New Jersey campaigns buying an extraordinary number of ads, the state's citizens experienced minimal coverage.

The campaign watch studies will continue in the 2001 campaigns. For information, call Ingrid Reed, director of the Eagleton New Jersey Project, at (732) 932-9384, ext. 232 or e-mail [ireed@rci.rutgers.edu](mailto:ireed@rci.rutgers.edu). ♦ ♦ ♦

## Events at Eagleton

On October 27, then-Governor **Christine Todd Whitman** came to Eagleton to make a major statement about the need for reforms to New Jersey's system of campaign finance. She presented a series of proposals to be presented to the legislature in time for enactment before the upcoming gubernatorial race. (See photo at right.)

On November 8, the Institute held a roundtable discussion, "What Happened in Yesterday's Election?" Moderated by **Ingrid Reed**, the panel of Institute faculty included CPIP director **Janice Ballou** and Professors **Susan Carroll**, **Kerry Haynie**, **Ruth Mandel**, and **Gerald Pomper**. (See photo below.)



**Congressman Rodney Frelinghuysen** spoke at Eagleton in December about the responsibility of public officials in civic education. The Congressman has made a commitment to speak in at least two schools in his district each week. He stressed the importance of meeting primarily with small groups so that students, and sometimes teachers and staff, can "poke and prod" and see politicians as real people with interesting and important jobs.

Also in December, Eagleton sponsored a two-part program on "The 2000 Census and Redistricting in New Jersey." The first session was a talk by **Ken Prewitt**, then-director of the US Census, followed a week later by a panel discussion focused on the redistricting process in New Jersey.

**Nathan Persily** from the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, **Robert Richey** from the Center for Voting and Democracy, and **Frank Parisi** from the New Jersey Office of Legislative Services began the discussion. The respondents, a group of people active in past redistricting processes in New Jersey, included **Dave Goldberg**, who was Counsel to Governor Hughes, a delegate to the 1966 Constitutional Convention, and counsel for the Democratic Members of Congress in litigation following the 1970 census, and is now retired; former **Assembly-**



woman **Greta Kiernan**, who is now chief of staff for Assemblywoman Greenstein; **Mark Murphy**, who served as staff to the redistricting commission in 1990 and now directs the Fund for New Jersey; **Ernie Reock**, who worked with several past redistricting commissions and is emeritus professor from Rutgers Center for Government Services; and **John Sheridan**, who was counsel to the Republicans in the 1980 redistricting process and is now in private practice. Background information related to this session is on the Eagleton website.

In the aftermath of the 2000 presidential election, Eagleton hosted a panel in late February titled, "The Electoral College: Should We Drop Out?" The program arranged and moderated by Eagleton Political Science Professor **Kerry Haynie** included three other professors from Rutgers' Department of Political Science: **Ross K. Baker**, **Benjamin R. Barber**, and **W. Carey McWilliams**.

Other Spring speakers at Eagleton have included nationally syndicated columnist **David Broder**, former Congressman and U.S. Senate candidate (and now gubernatorial candidate) **Bob Franks**, Assemblyman and incoming chair of the New Jersey Democratic Party **Joe Roberts**, and New Jersey Secretary of State **DeForest B. Soaries Jr.**

In addition, Eagleton co-sponsored a talk with Rutgers' Religion Department, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and Douglass college with Professor **Jean Elshtain** from the University of Chicago on "Faith of our Mothers and Fathers."

For a complete list of speakers at Eagleton during 2000-2001 and notice of upcoming events, visit our web site at [www.eagleton.rutgers.edu](http://www.eagleton.rutgers.edu) and click on "Public Events." ♦ ♦ ♦

## Eagleton People

The Center for American Women and Politics will undergo a leadership change as of July 1, 2001. After three years as CAWP's director, Professor **Mary Hawkesworth** will leave her administrative role to devote full time to her faculty responsibilities. The new director of the Center will be **Debbie Walsh**, the current associate director, who has led CAWP's work with women public officials for many years.

In her role as vice chair of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, Institute director **Ruth B. Mandel** participated in events surrounding the annual Days of Remembrance. After taking President George W. Bush on a tour of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum the evening before, she officiated at the annual candle lighting during the April 19 ceremonies in the Capitol Rotunda, speaking on the program after Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel and President Bush.

### New staffers at Eagleton

**Monika McDermott** has joined the Institute as associate director of the the *Star-Ledger*/Eagleton-Rutgers Poll (SLERP). She is a Californian who earned her B.A. from the University of California, Santa Barbara and her Ph.D. from UCLA. From May, 1999 until December, 2000, McDermott worked for the CBS News Election and Survey Unit, conducting public opinion surveys on politics and current events for the CBS Evening News and other CBS News programs. She co-taught Media and Public Opinion with SLERP director Cliff Zukin this spring. She has co-authored, with Kathleen Frankovic, a chapter on "Public Opinion in the 2000 Election: The Ambivalent Electorate" in *The Election of 2000*, edited by Eagleton's Professor Gerald Pomper.



**Susan Sherr** is Eagleton's new director of the Civic Engagement and Political Participation Program. She comes to Eagleton after six years at the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research there included projects to stimulate student involvement in and media coverage of the 1999 Philadelphia mayoral election.

Sherr has also been project leader for a Pew grant monitoring the quality of campaign discourse in ten gubernatorial races. In addition, she has studied campaign discourse over the last 50 years. A graduate of Brandeis University, Sherr is currently writing her Ph.D. dissertation at the Annenberg School for Communication, where she has also been a teaching assistant. She has a number of publications in the field of political communication.



**Michelle Horgan** is Eagleton's new events coordinator. Her most recent experience was as a member of AmeriCorps, where she served as special event and project manager for HomeFront, an agency serving the homeless in Mercer County, NJ. She also trained new AmeriCorps members and led volunteer teams during environmental clean-ups. Michelle is a graduate of the University of Delaware with a B.A. in political science and history.



### New books

Institute associate director **John Weingart's** book, *Waste Is A Terrible Thing To Mind: Risk, Radiation and Distrust of Government*, was published by the Center for Analysis of Public Issues and reviewed in April. The *Star-Ledger* said it is "a reflective, insightful book raising important questions about whether we as a society have the will to solve complex problems."

Recently retired Professor **Gerald Pomper** (see page 9) edited the seventh in his series of books on U.S. elections — *The Election of 2000: Reports and Interpretations*, which was recently released by Chatham House. The book includes a chapter co-written by SLERP associate director Monika McDermott (see above). ❖ ❖ ❖

## Using Legislative Research:

# A Collaboration Among Political Practitioners and Political Scientists

Since its establishment, one of Eagleton's principal objectives has been to mediate between the world of political practice and that of political science. In their own research members of the Institute faculty have tried to produce research that would be of use to practitioners.

In line with this objective, Eagleton secured a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to explore the possibility of getting state legislative scholars from around the country to focus on research that would be of particular use to the nation's legislatures and legislators.

At an Eagleton conference planned and led by Professor Alan Rosenthal, a dozen state legislative scholars spend two days with senior staff of the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), Council of State Governments (CSG), and the State Legislative Leaders Foundation (SLLF), as well as with staff from legislatures in California, Florida, and New Jersey. A total of 35 people participated in this conference on "Using Legislative Research," which was held at the Institute this past October.

The meeting concluded with an agreement by state legislative practitioners on the one hand and state legislative scholars on the other to collaborate on a project studying the effects of term limits on legislative processes and power. Several of the scholars were already conducting term-limits research and legislative leaders – especially

those in the 19 states where term limits were in effect or going into effect – had requested that NCSL do a comprehensive study of how term limits are affecting state legislatures. Thus, there was both a demand from practitioners for such research and a willingness on the part of political scientists to meet the demand. A steering committee spearheaded by NCSL, CSG, and SLLF, and including Professors Susan Carroll and Rosenthal from Eagleton and several other legislative scholars, was formed to decide on the next steps.

Following up on the Eagleton conference, in early January the working group met in Denver and spent two days laying out the dimensions of a large-scale study. One phase would be the establishment by NCSL of an ongoing data collection of the demographics and career paths of all 7425 members of the 50 legislatures. Another phase would be a national survey of all state legislators. The final phase would be a ten-state, three-year intensive monitoring effort to determine the effects of term limits on legislative committees, leaders, and processes and on the distribution of power among governmental and interest-group participants in the legislative process.

The collaboration between political practitioners and political scientists, which had its gestation at Eagleton, is moving along nicely. The next step is to obtain funding of about \$600,000 for the overall endeavor. ♦ ♦ ♦

## Fellows Honored at Year-End Celebration

The twelve Eagleton Fellows and the inaugural class of eight Henry J. Raimondo Legislative Fellows celebrated the end of the academic year in a May 10 gathering at Wood Lawn with Eagleton faculty, administrators and staff, as well as with family and friends.

Speakers for the event were two alumni of the Eagleton Fellowship Program, Bill Hughes '91 and Christine Stearns '96. Hughes, who was until recently an assistant U.S. attorney in Camden, is running for the New Jersey State Senate. Stearns, also an attorney, is with the Princeton Public Affairs Group, a Trenton lobbying and

government relations firm. Also offering remarks at the event were Institute director Ruth B. Mandel and

associate director John Weingart, as well as Fellows Jennifer Crea and Christopher Jones. ♦ ♦ ♦



Eagleton fellow Megan Willoughby, who held the Alumni fellowship, and John Leyman, an Eagleton Fellow and Raimondo Fellow, celebrate at the Institute's year-end event on May 10, 2001.

## Gerry Pomper Retires – Sort of

On December 31 after the end of the fall term, Board of Governors Professor Gerald M. Pomper, distinguished member of the political science department and a long-time stalwart faculty member of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, assumed professor emeritus status.

On January 18<sup>th</sup>, just as the spring term began, more than 90 colleagues, former students, family and friends gathered at the Institute to salute Gerry's career and his contributions to research and public service in the field of American politics, including of course the politics of his home state of New Jersey. A highlight of the festivities was a videotaped tribute of reminiscences – humorous and touching – produced by Alan Rosenthal, Pomper's longtime colleague at Eagleton and in political science.

Within days of the celebration of his new status in life, rather going off to winter in Florida or embark on a leisurely cruise, Pomper:

- Once again began teaching the spring term course on “The Practice of Politics” that Eagleton Undergraduate Associates take enthusiastically even though it is required.
- Introduced his seventh and final edited book on U.S. elections – **The Election of 2000: Reports and Interpretations** – at an Eagleton staff meeting and presented his chapter that is devoted to the contest between Al Gore and George W. Bush, a chapter that took much longer than he and his publisher had anticipated.
- Published a definitive article in *Party Politics* with his frequent collaborator, Rutgers political science Professor Richard R. Lau, on negative campaigning by U.S. Senate candidates in elections from 1988 to 1998. The findings are that “such practices are disproportionately employed by candidates with relatively few campaign resources, by challengers, by Republicans, by candidates in open seat races, and by candidates whose opponents ‘go negative.’”
- Continued to guide the Eagleton New Jersey Project's study of the congressional campaigns in his home state. For a second time, Pomper's criteria for campaigns useful to citizens drawn from political science theory



Professor Gerald Pomper now — and then. A high school graduation photo of Pomper replaced one of the Eagleton Drawing Room portraits during the event celebrating his career.

were one of the measures used to evaluate the New Jersey campaigns.

- Accepted countless calls from journalists who wanted his opinion on the latest political turn of events.
- Supervised the dissertations of Ph.D. students.

What doesn't this happy retiree do? Attend meetings. But he continues to do all the things he loves at his own pace – writing books, researching articles, interacting with students, coming to events at Wood Lawn, talking politics, and continuing to be a vibrant, vital part of Eagleton. ❖ ❖ ❖

## Eagleton Fellows Run For The Legislature

In this most unusual election year in which little is completely certain, it appears that two former Eagleton Fellows will be on the ballot in November as major party nominees for the New Jersey Legislature. Both are taking on incumbents, but are unchallenged for their parties' nominations. Tom Dallessio '83 is the likely Republican

candidate against Democratic Assembly Representatives Reed Gusciora and Bonnie Watson-Coleman in the 15<sup>th</sup> District, which includes portions of Mercer County. Bill Hughes '91 is the likely Democratic nominee against Republican Senator James Cafiero in the 1<sup>st</sup> District, which includes portions of Cape May, Cumberland and Atlantic Counties. ❖ ❖ ❖

## Women Lawmakers Meet in November (continued)

funds they need without consuming all their time or compromising their principles?

- Why aren't there more women in legislatures? What must be done to recruit more talented, knowledgeable women to serve in the states?

The Forum will also address policy issues confronting legislatures, such as:

- understanding, regulating and using the new technology;
- economic trends;
- land use, sprawl and the environment;
- state finance and taxation;
- implications of budget decisions for your constituents;
- crime, punishment and rehabilitation;
- using mediation instead of the courts to settle disputes in the public sector;
- health care and the states;
- trends and standards in education.

The lawmakers will discuss distinctive perspectives women bring to policymaking and analyze unintended effects of seemingly gender-neutral policies on women, children and families. Also participating in the Forum will be women at other levels of office; party and organization leaders; political women from other nations; representatives of the business, labor and foundation communities; scholars and journalists.

**Women in Public Office in 2001:** The women who gather in California will be discussing a political world very different from that of 1972, when CAWP first brought women lawmakers together. There are more women in both the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives than ever before, but only four women serve as governors, and the number of women in state legislatures has actually declined slightly since last year.

**U.S. Senate:** In 1972, there were two women in the U.S. Senate. In 2001, the U.S. Senate includes 13 women (10D, 3R), exceeding the previous high of 9 first achieved in 1996. In the 2000 elections, every woman who had a major party nomination for the U.S. Senate won – not only the three incumbents from California, Maine and Texas generally expected to win, but also challengers in Washington and Michigan who took seats from male incumbents, and the well-known winner of a hotly-contested open seat in New York. They are joined by Missouri's new senator who, in a twist on the traditional widow's path into the Senate, was appointed to the seat won by her husband after his death. Three states (Maine, California, Washington) have Senate delegations consisting entirely of women and fully 20% of the Senate's Democrats are women.

**U.S. House of Representatives:** In 1972, there were 13 women in the House. In 2001, a record 60 women serve in the House, along with the two women who represent the District of Columbia and the U.S. Virgin Islands as non-voting delegates. The previous record, set in 1999, was 56 women in the House.

**Governors:** Five women governors are now serving, a new record. For a few days at the beginning of the year there was another, until New Jersey's Christine Todd Whitman stepped down to become EPA administrator.

**State Legislatures:** As of early April 2001, women held 1,663 seats in state legislatures or 22.4% of the total, down from the 2000 figure of 1670, or 22.5%. There are 394 women state senators, or 19.9% of the total, and 1,269, or 23.3% of the total. Washington has the highest proportion of women state legislators (38.8%) and Alabama has the lowest (7.9%).

For complete information about the Forum for Women State Legislators and about women in public office, visit CAWP's web site at [www.cawp.rutgers.edu](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu). ❖ ❖ ❖

## Ways of Political Women (continued)

imagined, in reality, she is more likely to be found as an activist in the advocacy community outside traditional politics, since mainstream political parties shy away from nominating single-issue candidates, and voters tend not to elect them.

Except for the last example, each of the above sketches is based on a real woman leader holding legislative office in 1999. Elected and appointed women across the country loosely mirror these models, encountering expectations and questions regarding their gender and often embracing and

resisting them at the same time. On the one hand, many women in politics still enjoy the advantages of celebrity status and accept the roles and extra burdens they carry as pioneers; on the other, they look forward to a day when women leaders are not a novelty, when their presence in public life is so common that gender, no longer a handicap, loses its status as a special category of identity. Presumably at such a time, women leaders will no longer have to shoulder responsibilities for the diverse unrepresented interests of more than half the population. ❖ ❖ ❖

## Civic Ed (continued)

For their project, elementary school students at the **Peter Muschal** School in Bordentown are meeting their elected officials. The children are interviewing the politicians on camera and creating a cd-rom to use as tool for learning about local government. The interviews focus on the role of the government official as well as his or her opinions on issues of interest to the students.

In the **Jackson School District**, elementary and high school students are forming partnerships to engage in hands-on learning about the local government and history of Jackson Township. The young people will visit their municipal building and local historic sites. Together, students will find creative ways of showcasing the data they collect for viewing by their school community.

The **New Jersey League of Women Voters Education Fund** is developing the on-line resource, *A Voting Booth for Future Voters*. This Web site will feature information and interactive activities that revolve around the act of voting and the functions of representative democracy. Children will learn how voting works, who represents them, and when one vote made a difference. Teachers visiting the site will find numerous links to resources that help fulfill New Jersey's Core Curriculum Standards in Social Studies as well as information about exemplary civic education practices in the state.

As a result of the **Union Industrial Home for Children's** civic education grant, teen-age mothers who attend Camp MAC (Mother and Child) will spend a week focusing on the theme "Government and You." Participants will become

familiar with the various departments that make up the state government and learn which ones to contact in order to obtain information. The girls will also learn how government affects their lives and how they can become their own advocates within the political system.

Other grant projects include **Hoboken Charter School's** "Empty Bowls" program, which focuses on issues of hunger and homelessness; the **Lincoln School's** interdisciplinary exploration of the flag and national anthem; **St. John Vianney School's** examination of the election process, culminating in a mock election; a curriculum development partnership between the **New Jersey Center for Civic and Law Related Education** and the **Criminal Justice and Public Service Academy at Trenton High School**; **The Save the Park at Riverbank (SPARK) Ironbound Community Corporation's** curriculum that involves students in reenacting the organization's struggle to save their park; and the **Girl Scouts of the South Jersey Pines Girls in the Law** program that will bring girls into a courtroom and allow them to both shadow a mentor and participate in a mock trial.

These projects all give children the opportunity to witness first-hand the way the government works. Student participants are gaining an understanding of the role of public officials and the processes of voting. The students will also learn that they have a role to play in the affairs of their community. For further information about these projects, contact Susan Sherr at 732/932-9384 ext. 268. ♦ ♦ ♦

## Remembering Professor Sebastian de Grazia

Professor Sebastian de Grazia, a professor of political philosophy at Eagleton from 1962 - 1988, died on December 31, 2000. De Grazia, who earned his bachelor's degree and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, was a man of wide-ranging interests and intellect. He won the 1990 Pulitzer Prize in biography for his book *Machiavelli in Hell* (1989, Vintage). At the time of his death, he was working on a book about first ladies around the world; his earlier works included *A Country with No Name: Tales from the Constitution* (1997, Pantheon) and *Of Time, Work and Leisure* (1962).

In the early 70s, at the request of then-director of the Institute Donald Herzberg, de Grazia drafted the initial proposal establishing the Center for American Women and Politics. He was also instrumental in creating the advisory committee that gave CAWP credibility in its first few years, at a time when programs about women and politics were unheard of. Many of the prominent members of that

committee were drawn from de Grazia's personal contacts, including anthropologist Margaret Mead and New York City Parks Commissioner August Heckscher.

Institute director Ruth B. Mandel remembers her first meeting with de Grazia, when she came to interview for a job at the new Center. She had recently completed her doctoral dissertation on Herman Melville, and she recalls sipping tea with de Grazia while he guided the discussion not only to her interest in the proposed new center about women and politics, but also to Melville's "Bartleby the Scrivener" and "Benito Cereno." Her recollection is of a cultivated man with broad knowledge, someone "interested in contemporary leaders and their actions, but always also set in a broader context of political history and thought."

Sebastian de Grazia is survived by his wife, Lucia, who co-chaired CAWP's advisory committee in its early years, as well as by a daughter, four sons, and three brothers. ♦ ♦ ♦

### Visit Our Websites

Eagleton Institute of Politics at [www.eagleton.rutgers.edu](http://www.eagleton.rutgers.edu)

Center for American Women and Politics at [www.cawp.rutgers.edu](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu)

CAWP's site for NEW Leadership at [www.newleadership.rutgers.edu](http://www.newleadership.rutgers.edu)

Center for Public Interest Polling at [eagletonpoll.rutgers.edu](http://eagletonpoll.rutgers.edu)

Star-Ledger/Eagleton-Rutgers Poll at [slerp.rutgers.edu](http://slerp.rutgers.edu)

### About the Eagleton Institute of Politics

The Eagleton Institute of Politics is a nationally recognized center of learning and inquiry for faculty, students, political practitioners, journalists and the interested public. Established in 1956 at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Eagleton conducts innovative and practical research, educates students, and informs policymakers and the public. The Institute includes two major research and public service centers, the Center for American Women and Politics and the Center for Public Interest Polling/Eagleton Poll. It is home to programs including the "Eagleton New Jersey Project" and an initiative on "Practicing Politics in a Nation of Differences." Eagleton is also well known for its long-standing interest in state legislatures and state-level politics. The Institute is housed in Wood Lawn, a nineteenth century mansion listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

### Send Us Your Comments

We welcome your comments and responses to our newsletter, as well as your suggestions for future issues. Current and past issues are posted on Eagleton's website. The Eagleton Institute of Politics newsletter is edited by Katherine E. Kleeman and designed by Linda Phillips. Contributors to this edition include: Janice Ballou, Mary Hawkesworth, Michelle Horgan, Tema Javerbaum, Chris Lenart, Ruth B. Mandel, Monika McDermott, Ingrid Reed, Emily Renaud, Alan Rosenthal, Debbie Walsh, and John Weingart.

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