

# UC Berkeley

## Working Papers

### Title

You say you want to change the world : an analysis of the role of the League of Women Voters in political reform and its changing future

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1358h664>

### Author

Elizer, Susanne

### Publication Date

1993

A1458  
no. 93-19

2/12/94

**"You Say You Want to Change the World"  
An Analysis of the Role of the League of  
Women Voters in Political Reform and its  
Changing Future**

Susanne Elizer  
University of California, Berkeley

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL  
STUDIES LIBRARY

FEB 10 1994

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Working Paper 93-19



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

"You Say You Want to Change the World"  
An Analysis of the Role of the League of  
Women Voters in Political Reform and its  
Changing Future

Susanne Elizer  
University of California, Berkeley

Working Paper 93-19

Working Papers published by the Institute of Governmental Studies provide quick dissemination of draft reports and papers, preliminary analysis, and papers with a limited audience. The objective is to assist authors in refining their ideas by circulating research results and to stimulate discussion about public policy. Working Papers are reproduced unedited directly from the author's pages.

# **"YOU SAY YOU WANT TO CHANGE THE WORLD"**

*An Analysis of the Role of the League of Women Voters  
in Political Reform  
and its Changing Future*

By

*Susanne Elizer*

Professor Bruce Cain  
Political Science 279  
May 21, 1993

*We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*

With these words, the founding fathers of the United States sought to establish a representative government that would protect the purposes and ideals set out in the preamble to the Constitution. Despite a comprehensive system of checks and balances, the goals of justice, domestic tranquillity, common defense, general welfare, and liberty proved evasive. Consequently, since its nascence, government has pursued a continuous struggle to regulate and reform those abuses of power that corrupt and hinder the desired goals of a representative democracy.

Many different actors, from government itself to individual citizens, have contributed to and motivated the process of reform. However, one of the most effective stimuli to political reform is interest groups. Interest groups are defined by Hrebennar and Scott as, "any group that is based on one or more shared attitudes and makes certain claims upon other groups or organizations in society"(Hrebennar and Scott, 1990, 5). Although each interest group has its own mode of operating to achieve its objective, they collectively prove very influential in shaping public policy and the political process. While some have a well-defined and explicit role in the political reform process, the role of others, such as the League of Women Voters is nebulous. This obscurity makes it difficult to determine the true impact of these interest groups on the political reform process. Are their low-key efforts effective? Do they actually accomplish anything in particular and if so, what? Answering these questions is essential in helping to delineate modes of effective participation in reforming the political process. While interest groups are only one factor, they are a major factor. Society often has a tendency to overlook that which does not confront us directly and aggressively, thereby discounting its effects on reform. When explaining and pursuing political reform do we overlook the impact of groups such as the League of Women Voters? Or is their role so obscure because it is minimal?

By analyzing the role of the League of Women Voters in the political reform process, I hope to shed light on the impact of interest groups such as theirs. The League of Women Voters is a good paradigm for this study for several reasons. First, it is one of the oldest

political organizations in the country and has an excellent reputation. Part of this reputation encompasses the idea that the League is extremely effective. One League brochure recruiting new members cites the League as the means of realizing one's desire to "change the world" (Join Us Now, LWV National Brochure). Due to its more discreet style, however, the League's actual impact and the manner in which it effects reform is difficult to measure. In an analysis of the League, Lisa Schmidt, found that, "more often, results of League action are hard to measure, because their work is more subtle: a new development may be brought to the council's attention, or an item moved up on the list of priorities." This fact makes the League a model organization in trying to point to the way in which political reform can be affected by different types of interest groups. Yet, rather than propose to empirically answer the question of what their role in political reform is due to the limited scope of this paper, I will instead hypothesize the League's role in the reform process based upon the available literature, and personal interviews with League members and others. I will also attempt to raise the questions and determine the appropriate methods necessary for further study to fully understand what the role of the League of Women Voters is in political reform. Finally, I will consider if the changing societal role of women effects the League and its political reform role.

An analysis of this type must begin with a comprehensive overview of the subject in question. What is the League? Who are its members? What is its structure?

The League of Women Voters is a national, nonpartisan organization which originated from the suffrage movement in 1920 to promote more educated female voters. Since that time, its scope has expanded from voter education to support of and action for various policies. In the mid-1970's, the League welcomed men into its membership.

The League of Women Voters, a grass-roots multi-level organization, is best known for its sponsorship of political debates and voter education efforts. With 1200 chapters in all fifty states, it is active at the local, state, and national levels. The League tackles a wide range of issues encompassing every sector of society, from election reform to waste management and pollution control. For the purposes of this paper, however, I will concentrate on the League's participation in political regulation and reform. Each level deals with those issues which specifically effect it. For example, the national League focuses on such concerns as national defense, the Freedom of Choice Act, and other issues facing Congress. The state level, in contrast, focuses on state initiatives and other problems pertinent to the region. Local Leagues work closely with the City Council's agenda and that

of other local organizations. Each League also pursues the agenda of that above it when called upon to do so, such that the state and local Leagues also pursue the national agenda when necessary and the local League is significant in raising the grassroots support necessary for success at the state level as well.

The League of Women Voters is structured as a democratic, bottom up organization. The local chapter determines which issues it will cover by achieving a consensus with its members. A state convention unites representatives of local chapters to determine which issues are most pertinent and of interest to League members. The same decision-making process occurs at the national level where delegates from the state Leagues gather to discuss the issues they would like to see on the League's agenda in the upcoming year.

Once members have expressed an interest in an issue at the national, state, or local level, the League establishes a study committee to investigate the topic. Study group members then report their conclusions to members at regularly scheduled meetings. At this time, the members recommend positions for League action. This is often a time-consuming and lengthy process occupying up to two years. Positions are usually designed as broad-based and are intended to last five or more years; they are applicable to any variations that might appear. Lisa Schmidt's writing on the League notes that, "its methods provide continuity and cohesiveness and a solid base from which to influence change" (Schmidt, 1985). League positions at all levels are very thoroughly and comprehensively thought through with a great deal of feedback from members. Many, both inside and outside of the League, feel that this provides solidarity and satisfaction within the organization, as well as reinforces its well-regarded and established reputation.

Once the League establishes a position on an issue, it is time to take action. This action aspect of the League is extremely comprehensive. League action can take the form of anything from lobbying legislators, testifying before committees, writing letters, bringing legal action, interviewing public officials, to holding public forums in an effort to educate voters. The League's unique tripartite structure gives it a special advantage in that action taken on national issues is often assisted by local and state Leagues lobbying their own representatives or state officials. For example, the League's efforts in regards to H.R. 3, the Motor Voter legislation, were abetted by state Leagues providing information about the technical aspects of past voter registration efforts and lobbying legislators in their home states (Stone interview, May 6, 1993).

The League itself has approximately 96,000 dues paying members and close to 100,000 more people who financially contribute and/or subscribe to its publications (Kent Correspondence). The League's members have traditionally been stereotyped as older, white women who are highly educated and economically affluent. Most are married with children and work inside of the home. According to Kate Kent, the National Grassroots Lobbying Coordinator, this stereotype is generally true (Kent Interview, April 30, 1993). A 1986 internal study of 1000 **National Voter** readers (a League publication) similarly supports this claim. This survey found that 86% of League members are female and 58% fall into the age category of 35-64. Supporting the claim that League members are extremely well-educated in comparison to the rest of the population, 93% of League members graduated or attended college and 61% completed some post-graduate work. Moreover, only 40% of the members were employed outside the home for 30 hours or more per week. League members also tend to be politically active in general. According to the above survey, 88% of respondents were involved in some form of social/political activity within a prior three year period. This category includes everything from donating money or time to a charity, cause, or candidate, fundraising, to demonstrating and marching (Kent Correspondence). While the survey did not request ethnicity or race, all those members with whom I spoke acknowledged that the League previously and presently attracts mainly white middle and upper income women. The fact that the composition of the League has largely remained the same, despite changing demographics in American society, is an issue with profound implications on its future which will be discussed later in this paper.

**PROFILE OF A LEAGUE MEMBER**

Sex: Female	86%
Age: 35-64	58%
Married:	66%
Education: Graduated/ attended college:	93%
Post-graduate work:	61%
Employed outside the home for 30 or more hours per week:	40%

Table I

Source: Kent Correspondence

The League of Women Voters is one of the highest-regarded public interest groups in the nation. One Capitol Hill staff member explained their reputation by saying, they are "like the church. It's hard to criticize them" (Stone Interview, May 6, 1993). This sterling image gives the League a unique advantage in the political process in that politicians can be confident of dealing with the League with "clean hands". They have no fear of public or media retribution through contact and consultation with the League. This opens many doors to the League that would be closed to many other interest groups. What are the factors that create this reputation?

First, the League is one of the oldest public interest groups in the nation with a history that includes decades of public activism in the name of better government. The League was created as a means to enfranchise women into the political process. Its original objective was merely to compensate for the "inherited political disinterest" of women which caused them to either not utilize their newfound right to vote or to do so under the direction of their husbands or fathers. According to Louise Young, author of In the Public Interest: The League of Women Voters, 1920-1970, these efforts soon gave way to "more subtle techniques of conveying learning by actual experience with the political system" (Young, 1989, 2). This soon led to the expansion of the League's role from voter education to more active participation in the political process. The most significant aspect of this evolution, however, is the fact that the League, from its inception, had what were perceived as pure motives and intentions. They were out to reform government for the good of the country not for any special interest.

The League's emphasis has always been on creating a better and more efficient government. In its germinal stage of the 1920's, the League was very active in promoting this goal. Its voter service included publicizing the positions of candidates for the population as a whole, so that voters would be better informed in making their election choices. The League also took a strong stand on permanent registration and the initiative and referendum process. During this decade, the organization grew to have a noticeably more active presence in the political process through public information campaigns, interviews with legislators, as well as observers at public meetings and the initiation of the use of lobbyists for those issues about which it decided to take a stand. (Young, 1989) Through the succeeding decades the League continued this emphasis on good government and was very involved in a number of important issues. According to one publication on file at the

Berkeley office, Legislation in 1938 and 1940 that removed thousands of federal jobs from the spoils system and placed them under the Civil Service was due in part to the efforts of the League of Women Voters. In the 1940's, the League supported the Executive Reorganization Act which empowered the President with reorganization plans for federal departments and agencies, subject to a congressional veto. During this time, the League also sought to facilitate voting by men in the armed forces and workers in war industries who might be far from the polls. (The League of Women Voters - "A Great Idea Through the Years.")

It is clear that by the 1950's, the League had become a noticeable force on the American political scene. The 1954 "Freedom Agenda Project" illustrates the League's capacity for grassroots action and its ability to shape public attitudes. This project began in response to concern over the rapidly emerging threat to civil liberties posed by McCarthyism. The "Freedom Agenda Project" was intended to be a nationwide discussion program to disseminate information about the Bill of Rights, the evolution of the freedom of speech, congressional investigations and their relation to the Constitution, and the various loyalty-security programs of the federal government. Close to 800 Leagues in 48 states participated in the distribution of close to 800,000 pamphlets. Despite these efforts, the League came under attack from an American Legion Committee in New York for trying to "further the delusion that the danger of communism was nonexistent". Then League President, Percy Maxim Lee, confronted the Legion allegations in a speech at Indianapolis in October 1955. She firmly declared the League's support for free and open discussion of constitutional liberties. (Young, 1989, 169) This speech commanded national attention for the League and according to Nye, the League's efforts made it "legitimate to think about things like the Bill of Rights and freedom of speech" (Nye, 1990). This event is significant for three reasons. First, it demonstrates the League's ability to mobilize grass-roots support and reach a wide audience throughout the United States. Second, it illustrates the presence of the League on the national scene and its capacity to effect public opinion. Third, it shows how the League, despite intense criticism, was still able to maintain its strong reputation.

Later decades saw extensive involvement by the League on behalf of issues such as reapportionment and the Voting Rights Act. It worked extensively to pass amendments to this Act and to monitor the implementation of the law. The League also was involved in the original Tennessee reapportionment case of *Baker vs. Carr*. More recently, the League has

been extensively involved with reapportionment, and election law and campaign finance reform.

The League has a long and active history of participation in the political reform process, all in the name of good government. This tradition perpetuates and strengthens the image of the League as a good government organization with "clean hands". The organization's history is a primary factor in its advantageous reputation not shared by many other special interest groups who must deal with accusations of narrow-sighted motives that are not necessarily good for the rest of the country.

While its history is an important facet to this reputation, it is not the only factor. The League of Women Voters is esteemed as a result of what it calls, "multi-issue activism". The League takes positions and acts on such a wide range of issues, from the MX missile to abortion, that they cannot be accused of representing a single faction of the population. In spite of its name, the League is not a woman's organization, nor is it solely a good government organization as has been discussed thus far. The League's structure requires that its choice of issues and positions on them be developed through membership consensus, all of whom have diverse interests. Thus, the League is not viewed as a tool of a minority interest group.

The League also benefits from its non-ideological, non-partisan approach to issues. Issues are extensively researched and positions developed based upon what its members view as most congruent with its objectives of better and more efficient government. It does not seek to follow a liberal or conservative platform on its issues. While this asset was often cited to me as a main reason why the League was able to work effectively with both Republican and Democratic representatives, it is also one of the most contentious aspects of the organization. Increasingly, the League has come under attack for being a special interest group committed to the liberal principals of the Democratic party. In a recent Wall Street Journal editorial, Robert V. Pambianco accused the League of being just "another liberal special interest group". He concludes that, "every position taken by the League is identical to that of the most liberal elements of the Democratic Party. Despite its image as a sentry standing guard over our political institutions, the League of Women Voters is yet another special interest group" (Pambianco, 1992). This criticism purports that the League has another agenda than that which it proposes. Therefore, its reputation is ill-founded and its organizational purpose is questionable. League members rapidly respond to such charges by asserting that they do not support any candidates or political parties and that

they do not view issues as either Democratic or Republican. League members are also quick to cite the success of and respect for their sponsorship of nonpartisan, issue-oriented candidate debates. Due to the fact that League positions are developed through consensus, the League is subject to the biases and ideologies of its members. If its members are liberal, its positions will be parallel to this ideology. Seemingly, it is interesting to note that despite several national positions on issues that tend to be more comparative with the Democratic stance, demographically, the average League member is a moderate Republican. (Kent Interview, April 30, 1993).

In 1990, the California League of Women Voters received intense criticism for its support of Proposition 119, a reapportionment ballot initiative. Critics charged that the League was aligning itself with the Republicans, and thus playing into the "political game." One assemblyman even accused the League of "selling out" to the GOP (Scott, 1990). According to Bruce Cain, UC Berkeley Political Science Professor, the initiative was significantly flawed in a number of ways, but most importantly in that it would have "constitutionalized partisan and racial advantage" (Cain, "No on Proposition 119..."). Despite the initiative's many flaws and the political backlash that accompanied it, the League staunchly defends its position stating that it reached its stance after a great deal of study and consensus. According to Trudy Schafer, Legislative Advocate for the California League, in drafting Proposition 119, the League consulted closely with the original drafters and sought a great deal of outside council in developing the initiative. At least in the short term, the League suffered greatly for its role in Proposition 119. The League found that members' staff cancelled meetings and that some members were even blatantly hostile towards the organization. At the end of testimony on a campaign finance bill, Senator Herschel Rosenthal (D-Los Angeles) told League witnesses: "I don't want you to talk to me again, I'm not interested." Senator Bill Lockyer chimed in with: "You are either fools or dupes as an organization". Senator Bill Greene stated that "from the standpoint of my constituency, I have no responsibility or compulsion to pay any attention to you" (Ingram, 1989). Trudy Schafer, however, believes that this hostility was short-lived and that the League's support of the proposition actually abetted it by showing Republicans that the organization was truly non-partisan, thus improving access to many Republicans. Schafer points to Proposition 119 and then to the League's opposition to Proposition 165 as evidence that the League does not pay attention to partisan politics but rather to the issue at hand. Proposition 165, otherwise called the "Government Accountability and Taxpayer

Protection Act of 1992," would have granted the governor power to make cuts if the budget was not passed on time. Opposition to this issue, unlike Proposition 119, was clearly a Democratic issue, and thus demonstrated the League's loyalty to the issues rather than the parties.

The League is also sometimes accused of being partisan for taking stands and endorsing action on contentious, partisan issues. The League of Women Voters follows the motto of "Partisan? No! Political? Yes!," and has always recognized that the balance between the two is tenuous and difficult to achieve. The first president of the League of Women Voters, Maude Wood Parks, once explained that "to be political without being partisan in a country where the two words are nearly synonymous has always been a delicate undertaking" (Fein, 1985). Criticism against the League mainly stems from the fact that by advocating a stand on a partisan issue, many feel that that is equivalent to endorsing whichever party or ideology is related to that issue. For example, in 1992, a column in a Maryland weekly accused the League of Women Voters "of going against its principles in urging citizens to vote *for* choice by voting *for* Ballot Question 6" (Schneider, 1992). Nancy K. Schneider, President of the League in that area, responded by explaining that "the League of Women Voters has always stood for informed and active participation in government, and that includes action on issues" (Schneider 1992). The League understands the criticism that focuses on its action, but feels that its democratic and conscientious process of achieving a position, member study and consensus, insulates it from these charges and even illegitimizes them.

A third explanation for the League's reputation is its whole structure and process for developing often contentious positions. Through its intensive and thorough study process, League positions are incredibly well researched and well-prepared. Their positions are acknowledged as being very carefully thought through, thus saving them from reactionary mistakes. They are consequently accorded a great deal of respect.

This structure and process transfers down to the League members themselves. As a result of researching the issues and the various educational benefits of being a member, League members are extremely knowledgeable about the issues with which they deal. Hence, when they testify at a hearing, in litigation, or through speeches or their publications, their voice is well-respected and taken very seriously. The League's extensive knowledge and preparation of the issues with which they deal is a fundamental aspect of the League's good standing with public officials and the public.

The League's reputation is also enhanced by an aspect that makes it particularly unique among interest groups - money. The League, unlike other organizations, does not get involved in the "money game," as it does not give money to candidates or parties. Money is generally used by interest groups, not necessarily to buy influence, but to buy access and time with lawmakers. Some argue that the League's repudiation of money politics hinders its influence. Others, however, feel that it actually helps the League. Lawmakers feel that they can deal with the League with "clean hands" (Stone Interview, May 6, 1993). They can deal with the League without fear of reprisal by their constituency and often with reward. Whereas many interest groups find doors closed in their face because legislators fear that they will be accused of "selling out" to a special interest, the League finds that many doors remain open for them since legislators do not fear recriminations from the press, constituents, or other interested parties.

As a result of these factors the League has gained a well-founded and strong reputation for integrity and good government. This reputation, as previously argued, gives the League a number of distinct advantages in the political process. The League has doors open for them that might otherwise be closed to others and politicians are more willing to deal with them. The organization also gains a great deal of credibility as a result of its reputation. A significant example occurred in a debate over H.R. 2190, the Motor Voter bill in the 102nd Congress. The bill was criticized as perpetuating fraud. In order to combat this criticism, Congresswoman Barbara Kennelly stood up on the House floor and stated that the League of Women Voters supported this bill and they wouldn't support a fraud bill. Therefore, the bill would not perpetuate fraud (Leonard Interview, May 12, 1993). The support of the League on numerous issues is seen as granting that issue instantaneous credibility. This is a powerful tool in a political arena where the public is consistently skeptical of the purity of politicians motives.

So how do these advantages translate into a role in political reform? The League of Women Voters appears to have a very unique and special role as a result of its reputation and its image. Since the League is a moderate organization, in lobbying for a bill, it is much more instrumental in working with moderate Republicans than other more extreme groups who cannot garner the requisite trust necessary for a constructive working relationship. Most interest groups form a coalition to more effectively support bills. The League of Women Voters' reputation for integrity and its moderateness put it into a position where it

can usefully serve as a mediator between the more extreme organizations involved in a coalition often smoothing over potentially hazardous difficulties.

A concrete example more properly illustrates this role. Motor Voter legislation first originated about five years ago and was only sent to the president in early May of 1993. This law would "simplify the voter registration process by allowing eligible voters to register by mail or at welfare agencies, disability offices, military recruitment centers and motor vehicle bureau." Supporters lauded this bill as a "milestone for voting rights" and as "a long overdue reform that will encourage minorities and other groups with traditionally low voter registration rates to go to the polls" (Ross, 1992). This bill was a major political reform with far-reaching implications. Numerous groups, including the NAACP and many falling under the umbrella organization of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, as well as the League of Women Voters, participated in a coalition attempting to pass this bill.

The League's history with H.R. 3 is both extensive and involved. According to Lloyd Leonard, a League lobbyist in Washington, D.C., the League of Women Voters was the first organization to support the bill. Other interested organizations at that time were instead pursuing same day registration. The NAACP entered into support for the bill after discussion as to the bill's form revealed that it would encompass an area of great concern to civil rights groups - that of facilitating the participation of disenfranchised minorities into the political process. Leonard believes that the NAACP's role was essential and that it was these two groups who were the convening organizations which formed the coalition. (Leonard Interview, May 12, 1993).

The League's reputation proved very useful in the passage of this bill. According to a subcommittee staffer who worked on the bill at its inception, the League provided credibility for Motor Voter as a genuine and needed reform. A League of Women Voters stamp of approval signifies a "good government" proposal (Patashnik Interview, May 9, 1993). This was especially helpful in appealing to the media. The President of the League made various media appearances in support of the bill, including an appearance on the MacNeil/Lehrer newshour. Not surprisingly, the bill gained widespread acceptance and was passed.

The League's moderation and reputation for integrity also proved very useful. The League was "somebody that everybody could talk to" (Patashnik Interview, May 9, 1993), thus playing an instrumental role in smoothing out differences and divisions within a coalition consisting of 140 organizations, while simultaneously reaching political compromises with the lawmakers involved. The League was able to effectively carry on a

political discourse with those moderate Republicans whose votes were essential to break a filibuster. For example, the League worked extensively with Senator Jeffords of Vermont to address his desire to exempt Vermont from the legislation due to state constitutional difficulties. This problem was finally resolved by an amendment that would give states with such problems more time to implement the law. Another example, cited by Lloyd Leonard and Herb Stone of the Subcommittee on Elections, was the amendment that finally satisfied Republican Senator Durenberger and three others, convincing them to vote for cloture on the bill. This amendment exempted unemployment benefit offices from being required to offer voter registration. In a coalition with well-known liberal groups like the NAACP, the League was one of the few grassroots organizations that was able to engage in talks and work constructively with the moderate Republicans so necessary for passage of the bill.

The League's role, however, extended far beyond mere lobbying and coalition building. The League also served an important information-gathering and liaison function. The different Houses of Congress are often criticized as acting as though, "the other House does not exist" (Leonard Interview, May 12, 1993). The League, therefore, worked closely with those people involved on both sides of Congress to insure an exchange of information and a close working relationship between the key players. The League's grassroots organization also facilitated the information flow as the various state Leagues successfully gathered information on those states who had already implemented Motor Voter type registration requirements and the problems, successes, and failures that they had encountered. The League was also successful in its grassroots and lobbying efforts. Not only did the League succeed in pouring mail into Washington, but placed more pressure on legislators by having state League members lobby them in their home state.

The League of Women Voters played an instrumental role in the passage of the Motor Voter legislation. Herb Stone, staff director at the Subcommittee on Elections, ranks them in the top two of the organizations responsible for the success of Motor Voter. This success came from a combination of efforts, but can mostly be found most in its unique role of moderator and the respectability and credibility that it granted to the bill. The League could successfully work with moderate Republicans to form compromises and with other coalition members to bridge over disagreements, whereas other special interests were more extreme. This is, however, but one bill. Its success, and the reports on the League's part in that success are significant in pointing to a role that can be generalized to other bills and to other governmental levels or, at the very least, to a role that can be manifested when it is

needed for other legislation. How would it be possible to determine if this is a role that can be generalized for the entire League of Women Voters for more than just one piece of legislation?

There are several different ways to help determine definitively the role of the League of Women Voters in political reform. At all three levels of involvement, the local, state, and national, one should consider the League's positions on legislation and initiatives for a significant period of time, for example, the last twenty years, and determine their pass/fail rate. Congruently, one should analyze the behavior of different groups in coopting the League. For example, did the League initiate the initiative or the legislation? Did the League convene a coalition of groups to help support it? If not, was the League actively sought by other groups to join the coalition? Or did the League actively seek out those coalitions? It is also pertinent to analyze lawmakers' attitudes toward the League. Did lawmakers actively seek out League support for their legislation? If possible, it would be interesting to note if League positions effected legislation proposed by lawmakers. Was the League actively consulted in drafting initiatives and legislation? I would hypothesize that the League's positive reputation makes it an important political ally as far as legitimizing political efforts to the public at large, but that there will likely be a great deal of variance between states and local Leagues regarding the above questions. I think that this variation will arise as a result of two things. First, those areas that have a larger number of initiatives will tend to see greater interest group activity, thus possibly necessitating a larger role for the League. Second, the League's reputation will mean that it will generally be highly beneficial to have the League as a supporter of a proposal, but I believe that the League will be more actively sought out in those areas, both state and local, where the League's positions have had a higher success rate with the voting population. Anne Hendersen of the Berkeley League feels that the closer the League is perceived to mirror the voting population, the more it will be consulted by lawmakers who will give League opinion more credence (Hendersen Interview, May 7, 1993). The organization's signature on a ballot measure is highly sought and highly respected.

Litigation is another area in which an interest group can have significant impact. Interest groups consistently bring litigation against initiatives or legislation in the hopes of altering their course. With litigation, as with initiatives and legislation, the above questions need to be asked. How often does the League participate in litigation and in what capacity? Do they enter as *amicis curiae* or as plaintiffs? Is there significant variation in states with a

larger number of initiatives? It would also be interesting to note the pass/fail rate of litigation in which the League participates and to determine if there is any correlation regarding the behavior of actors in coopting the League for litigation and the pass/fail rate of League-supported initiatives and legislation.

The League's role can also be ferreted out in a number of other ways. I think it would be extremely significant to note what the League has not done. This could effectively be accomplished by identifying a group of the most significant and important pieces of legislation or state initiatives that have arisen in the last one or two decades and determining on which of these issues the League took a stand. Second, it would also be noteworthy to analyze which groups did take a stand on those issues not addressed by the League and attempt to determine why the League did not address them. It would be interesting to discover what, if any, patterns develop and to see how the League compares with other groups in the political reform process.

Based on the League's history and original purpose, it is clear that voter education has a significant place in the League's role. This is where the League shows its most concerted activity. Many often think of the League in relation to its role in candidate debates or the public forums that it holds. Voter education continues with significant League activity in literature that discusses the pros and cons of ballot proposals or in publications such as the *Berkeley Voter*. In any effort to determine the League's role in political reform, it would be important to determine how significant a factor of the League voter education really is. How much time and resources are dedicated to voter education? It's also important to note how these activities compare to those of other organizations. How many resources do other organizations, such as Citizens for a Better Environment or Common Cause, invest in voter education? Such comparison raises a number of issues of importance. First, since many of these organizations are single interest groups, it might be interesting to note not just how much the League expends entirely on voter education, by breaking it down into component parts. Can its voter education be deduced to different issue areas? Then, it is necessary to determine how effective this voter education is. How many people are reached by the League's efforts? How responsive are public officials to the League's requests for debates, forums, or general information? If possible, it would be interesting to try to do a study on whether or not the League's efforts change voting behavior of the population or the extent to which voters rely on League information to make their decisions. In this way, one would gain a clear understanding of what role voter

education plays in the League's overall structure, how that ratio compares to that of other organizations, and to what extent that voter education effects voting behavior and, hence political reform from the grassroots level.

Fourth, interest groups have the ability to influence lawmakers and public policy indirectly - through serving as public officials themselves or in other government capacities. This is very complex to measure. Attaining the number of League members who serve in other policy-making capacities and determining what those positions are should not be extremely difficult. To accurately analyze the extent to which this is significant, however, requires extensive analysis into whether or not these public officials advance and follow League positions in their official duties. Targeting specific cities would produce an interesting case study, but on a much larger level, this task would require more time and money than would necessarily justify the results.

While the role of the League of Women Voters in political reform is far from being clearly defined, it is salient that they have proved to be an important political force in a number of different areas. Whether lobbying for Motor Voter or other proposals at the city, state, or national level, registering voters, holding public debates and forums, or educating citizens through their publications, the League's presence is felt in the political process. Through its many activities, the League obviously participates extensively in political reform. The League has an extremely long history of political activism that has weathered many societal "revolutions," such as World War II and the political upheaval in the 1960's. Yet, today, it is facing a challenge with more salient ramifications on its internal organization. The League of Women Voters is an all-volunteer organization dependent on the often full-time commitment primarily of women. Today, these same women who used to join the League in droves are entering the paid workforce in increasing numbers. Is this effecting the League, and if so, in what way?

The League of Women Voters has definitely experienced significant changes in its internal structure as a result of the changing composition of society's paid labor force. This is best obviated by looking at the trends in their membership over the League's lifetime. As table II illustrates, the League experienced extensive positive growth through the 1960's and finally peaked at a high of 157,000 dues-paying members in 1969. Paralleling women's increasing entrance into the workforce, though, the League's membership has steadily declined to its present day level of 96,000 dues-paying members. Why has this occurred,

P. 100

The League of Women Voters is a non-partisan, non-sectarian organization that is dedicated to the promotion of the rights of women and the improvement of the conditions of life for all people. It is a national organization that has been in existence since 1911, and it has a membership of over 1,000,000 women in the United States. The League is organized into local leagues in every state, and it is active in every part of the country. Its work is done through its various departments, which are devoted to the study and promotion of public affairs, the improvement of the conditions of life for all people, and the promotion of the rights of women. The League is a national organization that has been in existence since 1911, and it has a membership of over 1,000,000 women in the United States. The League is organized into local leagues in every state, and it is active in every part of the country. Its work is done through its various departments, which are devoted to the study and promotion of public affairs, the improvement of the conditions of life for all people, and the promotion of the rights of women.

considering that membership in other special interest organizations such as NOW and Emily's List is rising?

One of the biggest reasons for the decline in membership is attributed to lack of time. League members were traditionally drawn from the available pool of highly educated homemakers. According to Schmidt, the League provided an intellectual outlet for housewives (Schmidt, 1985). It was a place where women could find other women who shared their same intelligence and feelings towards issues. As Phyllis Clement, President of the Berkeley League asserted, "It was the only place to go to talk about things other than diapers" (Clement Interview, May 6, 1993). In fact, a 1957 survey conducted by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center found that one of the most prevalent reasons explaining member activity was being able to work with other women (Michigan SRC, 1957). Today, members simply do not have the time. These same housewives are now in the paid labor force. Schmidt expresses that they do not have time to work that hard without pay (Schmidt, 1985). Tamar Lewin, in a New York Times article on the effect of the career woman on volunteer groups, explained that, "since most young women today plan on paid careers, few are willing to make volunteer work the focus of their lives and schedules" (Lewin, 1985). Contemporary working women face more time constraints today than ever before and simply do not have the free time to devote to an organization such as the League of Women Voters.

Another reason put forth for the decline of women in this volunteer organization is the pejorative opinion of voluntarism that developed as women increasingly entered the workforce. Lewin explains that there was a widespread feeling that the income disparity between working men and women was partly attributable to the volunteer tradition (Lewin, 1985). Volunteering symbolized women's devaluation in the workforce. Lewin, however, argues that this argument, while possibly correct at one point, is not particularly relevant today since most women in college are completely unaware of the argument (Lewin, 1985). Yet, this assertion is salient as it offers a potential explanation for the initial decline of League membership.

Another argument proffers the explanation that the opportunities presented by the League have advanced women to the point where they no longer have time for the League, i.e. the "victim of their own success syndrome". According to Nancy Neuman, a former president of the League, membership declined in the 1970's and 1980's, "largely because we helped open so many doors and opportunities for women...that many of our members went

off to other pursuits and didn't renew their membership" (Van Tuyl, 1989). This argument suggests that the League provided a training ground for these women in pursuing higher goals. As a result of its own success and abilities, the League is losing members.

It has been proffered as well that the image of the League hinders its ability to attract new members. Kate Kent, the League's grassroots lobbying coordinator, suggests that many young women view the organization as "my mother's group" (Kent Interview, April 30, 1993). Schmidt concurs in her assertion that it is possible that "young people view the League as "stodgy, unimaginative, even politically soft" (Schmidt, 1985). The League is plagued by stereotypes that characterize members as older and white. This turns off many potential members who do not fit that description, and even some who do.

The League's membership numbers obviate the fact that its membership is not keeping pace with a changing society. Schmidt asserts that "League demographics don't reflect the radical changes in women's lives over the last twenty years" (Schmidt, 1985). Dorothy S. Ridings, a former League president, concurs saying that, "the League's membership has not diversified over the years. Men...constitute only two percent of the membership. And there is still very little minority group representation" (Fein, 1985). A comparison of the 1957 University of Michigan Survey Research Center survey, one completed by Constance Cook in 1982, and current League demographics conclusively reveal that there has been very little change over the last 35 years. While the 1957 survey does not discuss age, both Cook's 1982 findings and current League demographics place the majority of members in the 35-65 age group. The 1982 survey found that over three quarters (77.1%) of members were over forty and that close to one-third (29.8%) were over sixty. All three sources of information expressed that League members, while not necessarily the wealthiest members of the community, were definitely derived from the "better" neighborhoods of middle and upper income stratas. All three identified League members as being among the most educated members of the community. The Michigan survey identified that in 1957, 28% of League members had completed college and that 18% had completed graduate work, as opposed to 6% and .5% respectively of all women in the community. In 1982, these numbers jumped dramatically, even considering the increase in women's education. The number of women who completed college, however, remained constant at 28%. The most significant increase occurred in the number of members who completed graduate school. According to Cook's survey in 1982, over half (50.4%) of members polled had completed some graduate school. The figures for today represent a 1985 survey polling readers of **the National Voter** (Kent

correspondence). This publication found that 93% of its readers had graduated or attended college, while 61% had a post-graduate education. While an incomplete portrait of League members, these numbers offer conclusive evidence that League membership has in fact remained relatively unchanged over the past 35 years, despite intense societal changes.

What is the League doing to try to change this trend? The League's organization has initiated several major structural changes to accommodate the changing needs of women in the paid labor force. Some of these changes have resulted in rescheduling meetings from mid-afternoon to lunchtime or the evening. Anne Hendersen of the Berkeley League, however, asserts that this has a double impact in that it also drives away those "day-time members". She also notes that for a place like San Francisco, where most people do not have to commute, this strategy is much more successful than a place like Berkeley where commuting women are so tired and get home so much later that they still do not have time for League activities (Hendersen, 1993). The League has also followed the lead of other organizations in the same predicament. In an effort to insure that all volunteers will be able to participate in interesting work, the League over the years has increased its professional staff to complete routine, low-level chores. League tasks and studies are being broken down into more manageable parts where a member can see her task through to its fruition. This also entails the movement away from "direct one-to-one services such as tutoring or counseling and focuses instead on projects that a woman can do on her own, wherever and whenever she has the time" (Lewin, 1985). In this manner, the League is trying to adapt to the schedules of working women who no longer see volunteer work as a necessary or high priority.

What is the League doing to try and redress this decline in membership? In order to ameliorate this problem, the League has implemented strategies ranging from media campaigns to direct appeals to its membership. For example, in 1988, the state League in New York initiated an extensive membership campaign through the use of media. TV spots, radio and print ads were all aired in an effort to reach masses of people unfamiliar with the organization. In the last few years, the League has appealed directly to its membership to motivate them to recruit their own friends. The appeal requests that every member enlist one friend every year to join the League (Schwartz, 1986).

Since the mid-1980's the League appears to have made a conscious effort to become more progressive, believing that this will appeal to a more modern working population. For the first time in 1974, the League welcomed men into its ranks. Despite a male executive director for a number of years in the 1980's, the League has still been slow in drawing men into the organization. In 1986, men accounted for only 4% of membership and that number

has remained constant in the succeeding years (New York Times, Jan. 9, 1986). Coupled with this, in the mid-1980's the League made a conscious effort to change its image. In 1986, Nancy Neuman became president and declared that it was time for a change in image, "Being nonpartisan does not mean being non-political. We will risk being controversial as we become more vocal about public policy issues" (Schwartz, 1986). Some disagree as to whether the League is truly addressing more controversial issues and doing so in a confrontational manner. Yet, Anne Hendersen explains that this new strategy is in response to concern for how the League was getting its message out. The League had always had the image of women walking into congressional offices wearing white gloves, drinking tea, and politely suggesting policy changes. This image is far out-dated, considering that the League has had professional lobbyists for a number of years and that its issues have always reflected many of the most controversial issues of the day, such as the SDI and abortion. Phyllis Clement, however, definitely feels that the League has become more active since her first days (Clement Interview, May 6, 1993). Whether or not the League has become more progressive or confrontational is a difficult deduction. To fully answer this question, it would be necessary to make a historical analysis of a number of different aspects of the League. For example, the attention the organization has received in the press. Has this changed since Nancy Neuman tried to initiate a change in League image? Has there been a change in the types of issues with which the League is dealing? Are these issues considered controversial? Is the League truly more active? This could most likely be measured by looking at the number of lobbyists it employs, and its action budget over time?

It would also be interesting to attempt to make an in depth analysis into the recruitment practices of the League, the types of members the League is attracting and their principle motivation for joining. Currently, in order to attract new members, the League advertises the benefits of joining. The primary benefits on which the League focuses are: personal and professional skills acquired through League activity, the experience, the potential for networking, and the means (provided by the League) to implement meaningful social and political reform - to change the world (LWV, Join Us Now!). But are these the reasons that women are joining the League? Who do these recruitment tactics attract? Conversations with Berkeley and national League members points to some interesting, yet still highly speculative, possibilities. Kate Kent stated that the League is attempting to ameliorate the dearth of young women members. Yet, she notes that in reality what the League ideally wants to recruit women with time, and most young women today do not have the time that the League requires (Kent Interview, April 30, 1993). Phyllis Clement explained that "we really devour people" (Clement Interview, May 6, 1993). Thus, many of the women who enter the organization who have the time are those who are recently retired. These

conversations obviate the fact that the League is recruiting women with time. Kent also positively notes that the League does not suffer from the turnover problem of most other groups. She stated that "no one ever quits" (Kent Interview, April 30, 1993). This may partially explain the age of many of its members. According to Clement, when she first joined over twenty years ago, the vital members in the League were in their 30's and 40's and these same people are still involved (Clement Interview, May 6, 1993). In the Berkeley League, new members are often recently retired men and women who are "not geared towards gardening". As was the case in 1957, many new members are recruited by their friends (Hendersen, 1993). My research is unclear as to whether this is a trend only in Berkeley or if it is widespread throughout the nation. Is it possible that there is a difference between rural, suburban, and urban Leagues in their recruitment efforts and the types of members that they recruit? What ramifications will an inability or hesitation to attract young members have on the League's future? Does it matter? Will the League be able to successfully continue by only recruiting older members?

At this point, the League's future is uncertain. While its role in the political reform process is undetermined, its efforts on behalf of voter education and such legislation as Motor Voter obviate the fact that it is a potent political force. However, society is changing and as can be seen by the above discussion of the League's membership, the League is not keeping pace with many of these transformations. The League's membership has continuously declined for a number of years and as of yet, the League has done little to effectively redress this situation. What is the future of the League? Will it change with our progressive society? Will its role change as well?

Recent publications indicate that the League is working and planning with an eye towards the future. Becky Cain, the LWVUS president, asserts that "we want to purposefully and enthusiastically position the League by the year 2000 as the outstanding force for grassroots activism in communities worldwide" (In Touch, 1993). In 1996, the League of Women Voters will celebrate its 75th anniversary. In preparation for this celebration, it has adopted Statements of Vision, Beliefs, and Intentions. From these Statements, the national board selected five strategies on which to focus planning and fundraising. Task forces were established to assess the feasibility of each strategy and to agree on the major strategies and priorities on which to focus the 75th campaign. Cain explains that, "it is our hope that with a clear vision of the future, we will be better able to serve our members and better able to serve our communities" (In Touch, 1993). These Vision strategies are as follows: first, to establish an institute to enable people to seek positive solutions to public policy issues for the common good; second, to be credited for encouraging more women and minorities to hold public office; third, to ensure that a strong,

vibrant League exists in every congressional district, with most linked electronically; fourth, to receive universal recognition for having the United States achieve and maintain voter registration and turnout above 85 percent in all elections; and fifth, to be the leading membership organization to embrace, implement and maintain total diversity in both membership and programs (The National Voter, 1993, 24). With these five strategies, the League appears to be consciously addressing some of the challenges which it faces. It recognizes the need to diversify its membership and to become a more accurate cross-sectional representation of the population. It has established very vibrant and ambitious goals for the future and appears to be clearly focused on the course this future should take. Unfortunately, the feasibility results of these strategies are still being determined. The action that the League chooses to take will help to determine its future.

Yet, these strategies fail to account for a major portion of League activities - that of its lobbying branch. As illustrated through the League's involvement in Motor Voter legislation, the League is capable of playing a unique and essential role in the policy-making process. The League acted as mediator within the coalition and, through its well-established reputation, was able to gain access to and work effectively with more moderate Republicans. Their reputation brings a respectability and credibility sought after by many a lawmaker. Graham Wilson explains that public interest groups like the League, "start with the inestimable advantage of advocating policies designed to achieve goals which in theory society in general favors" (Wilson, 1981, 93). Legislators who are always conscious of public opinion, recognize the credibility that a League backing can bring to their efforts. Despite the dearth of attention paid to this aspect in the League's outline of their vision for the year 2000, these facets of the League's role are ineradicable. The factors that created this function for the League were developed over a long period of time and are deeply entrenched in the League's structure and tradition, as well as into the minds of the public at large. I do not see this functional ability of the League changing dramatically in the coming future. The League is, however, under the more immediate threat of dwindling membership. Many of the recruitment programs cited in this paper were initiated in the mid-1980's, and as the membership numbers illustrate, show little results in terms of attracting more members. While the League is nowhere near close to extinction, if this trend continues it will dramatically effect their ability to influence policy. Currently, the organization's numbers allow them to make comprehensive studies into issues, and organize numerous voter education efforts. These grassroots efforts are fundamental to the ability of the League to establish reform. The League has shown a comprehensive ability to serve as mediator and the basic "good guy" with other organizations and legislators. It is possible that as the numbers dwindle, the League will be forced to rely more heavily on this ability in

a more compact setting such as the state and national legislatures. As an organization that draws its strength from the enormous time and energy donated by its members, the League's atrophied membership has serious political ramifications. The League's present numbers do not appear to be cause for emergency, but, some action must be taken to reverse the trend in membership that has occurred over the years. Without this effort, the League's desire to *change the world* will fall to the way-side as it finds that its unique role in the policy process no longer has the resources to support itself.

## REFERENCES

### Interviews

- Clement, Phyllis. President, League of Women Voters, Berkeley. Personal Interview. May 6, 1993.
- Hendersen, Anne. Action Vice-President, League of Women Voters, Berkeley. Personal Interview. May 7, 1993.
- Kent, Kate. National Grassroots Lobbying Coordinator, League of Women Voters, U.S. Phone Interview and Correspondence. April 30, 1993.
- Lee, Eugene C. Professor, UC Berkeley. Personal Interview. April 30, 1993.
- Leonard, Lloyd. Lobbyist, League of Women Voters, United States. Phone Interview. May 12, 1993.
- Patashnik, Eric. Former Staff Member, Subcommittee on Elections, US House of Representatives. Phone Interview. May 9, 1993.
- Schafer, Trudy. Legislative Advocate, League of Women Voters, California. Phone Interview. May 10, 1993.
- Severance, Sally. Board Member, League of Women Voters, Berkeley. Personal Interview. April 14, 1993.
- Stone, Herb. Staff Director, Subcommittee on Elections, US House of Representatives. Phone Interview. May 6, 1993.
- Wolfinger, Raymond. Professor, UC Berkeley. Phone Interview. April 28, 1993.

### Newspaper Articles

- Broder, Linda. (1986, June 2). "Put Meaning Into Campaigns." Los Angeles Times, Vol. 105, Section II, pg. 4.
- Cain, Becky. (1992, October 5). "League is Nonpartisan, Our Debates Impartial." Wall Street Journal. pg. A13.
- Dougherty, Philip H. (1988, June 29). "Campaign by Women's Voter Group." New

York Times. Vol. 137, pg. D21.

Fein, Esther B. (1985, March 12). "Partisan? No! Political? You Bet." New York Times. Vol. 134, pg. A26.

Ingram, Carl. (1989, July 20). "Panel Democrats Lash Voting Measure Backers." Los Angeles Times. Vol. 108, Part I, pg. 25.

Lederman, Susan S. (1992, June 20). "League of Women Voters" Letter to the Editor. Los Angeles Times. Vol. 111, pg. B7.

Lewin, Tamar. (1985, January 10). "Volunteer Groups Tailoring Programs for Career Women." New York Times. Vol. 134, pg. 15.

McGrory, Mary. (1988, October 6). "The League Puts Its Foot Down." Washington Post. Vol. 111, pg. A2.

Pambianco, Robert V. (1992, October 1). "Women Voters in Liberal League of Their Own." Wall Street Journal. pg. A14.

Ross, Elizabeth. (1992, June 18). "Women Flex Political Muscle in Election, '92." Christian Science Monitor. Vol. 84, N. 143, pg. 7.

Ross, Elizabeth. (1992, August 11). "Helping Unscramble Campaign Rhetoric." Christian Science Monitor. Vol. 84, N. 181, pg. 7.

Ross, Michael. (1993, May 12). "Motor Voter Bill Ok'd by Senate, Sent to Clinton." San Francisco Chronicle. pg. A1 & A9.

Satinsky, Carla. (1985, April 12). "Education and Advocacy." Letter to the Editor. Washington Post. Vol. 108, pg. A18.

Schneider, Nancy K. (1992, September 21). "Partisan? No! Political? Yes!" Letter to the Editor. Washington Post. Vol. 115, pg. A20.

Schwartz, Maralee. (1986, July 20). "New Image for League." Washington Post. Vol. 109, pg. A9.

Schwartz, Maralee. (1988, June 29). "Debating the League's Role." Washington Post. Vol. 111, pg. A9.

Schwartz, Maralee and Dan Balz. (1991, June 11). "Take Back the System Plans." Washington Post. Vol. 114, pg. A9.

Scott, Joe. (1990, April 1). "Old Allies Go to War Over Remap." Los Angeles Times. Vol. 109, pg. M5.

Van Tuyl, Laura. (1989, May 30). "League Has More Issues, Less Time." Christian Science Monitor. Vol. 81, N. 128, pg. 14.

"Gerrymandered to the Kitchen." Editorial. (1990, April 30). Wall Street Journal. pg. A14.

"Women's League Hires Man." (1986, January 9). New York Times. Vol. 135, pg. C7.

"A Tool for the Grass Roots." Editorial. (1985, August 13). Los Angeles Times. Vol. 104, Section II, pg. 4.

"Women Voters RKO Plan Registration Drive." (1983, October 6). Los Angeles Times. Vol. 102, pg. 7.

### Books and Periodicals

Alonso, Harriet Hyman. Rev. of In the Public Interest, the League of Women Voters, 1920-1970, by Louise M. Young. American Historical Review. Vol. 96, N. 3, June 1991: 986-987.

Cook, Constance Ewing. "Participation in Public Interest Groups: Membership Motivations." American Politics Quarterly. Vol. 12 No. 4, October 1984: 409-430.

Hrebenar, Ronald J. and Ruth K. Scott. Interest Group Politics in America, 2nd Edition. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1990.

Kimmel, Michael S. Rev. of In the Public Interest, the League of Women Voters, 1920-1970, by Louise M. Young. Journal of American History. Vol. 77, N. 4, March 1991: 1395-1396.

McCann, Michael W. Taking Reform Seriously: Perspectives on Public Interest Liberalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Nye, Peter. "League of Women Voters Started as Mighty Experiment Turns 70." The National Voter. Vol. 39, No. 3 (December 1989/January 1990): 5-11.

Schmidt, Lisa. "Steady as They Go: The League of Women Voters in a Changed

Berkeley." Express. Vol 7, No. 24, March 29, 1985.

Sheppard, Burton D. Rethinking Congressional Reform: The Reform Roots of the Special Interest Congress. Cambridge MA: Schenkman Books, Inc., 1985.

Wilson, Graham K. Interest Groups in the United States. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Young, Louise M. In the Public Interest: The League of Women Voters, 1920-1970. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

A Study of the League of Women Voters of the United States. Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. Volumes 1-5, 1957.

### Publications

Cain, Bruce E. "No on Proposition 199: Don't Constitutionalize Partisan and Racial Advantage." Paper from the files of Professor Eugene Lee.

Cook, CE. "Survey of Public Interest Group Members, 1982." Computer Database. Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research 8284. First ICPSR Edition, 1984. Ann Arbor, MI.

League of Women Voters. The Berkeley Voter. Berkeley, CA: April, 1993.

League of Women Voters. The Berkeley Voter. Berkeley, CA: May-June, 1993.

League of Women Voters. Join the League of Women Voters of Berkeley. Recruitment Pamphlet.

League of Women Voters, Berkeley. "Member Handbook, 1992-1993." Berkeley, CA: 1992.

League of Women Voters, United States. "The League of Women Voters, A Great Idea Through the Years, 1920-Present." On file at the Berkeley office of the League of Women Voters. 1980.

League of Women Voters. The Piedmont Voter. Berkeley, CA: Jan.-Feb. 1990.

League of Women Voters, California. "California Redistricting in the 1990's: the Process and the Public Interest." LWV Publications: Sacramento. 1989.

League of Women Voters. Citizen Education - A Voters Service Handbook. LWV Publications: Sacramento, 1993.

League of Women Voters, California. Study and Action, 1973-1975. San Francisco, January 1974.

League of Women Voters. Join US Now! Recruitment Pamphlet. Washington, D.C.

League of Women Voters, United States. "Report From the Hill." Feb./March 1993. Vol. 103, No. 1.

League of Women Voters, United States. "In Touch: The League in Action." Vol. 2, #3 Winter 1993. LWWUS: Washington, D.C.

League of Women Voters. "Gaining Momentum: League Planning Looks Ahead to 75th Anniversary and Beyond." The National Voter. Vol. 42, No. 3, March/April 1993.

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C113906611

4  
3  
0

6/1/00