A Women's Agenda? The Issue Preferences of Men and Women in the State Legislatures

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Abstract

   In this paper, I address whether women legislators have a single women's issues policy agenda by examining women legislators' support for various policy alternatives in legislative elections in 42 states on the 1998 National Political Awareness Test administered by Project Vote Smart. I examine two questions: 1) do women favor different agenda items than men during the election and 2) do women favor the same agenda items, particularly regarding women's issues, during the election? Overall, I find there are gender differences in support for many agenda items; however, there are also many differences between Republican and Democratic women in support for items that affect women. This indicates women legislators may not all share the same agenda when they are elected to the legislature, and this has important implications for how we view the representation of women by women.

Introduction

Within legislative studies, debates continue over the roles of women elected to the legislatures. Many contend that electing women will change the way that women as a constituency are represented. In one way, women will change the representation of women by being physically present in an arena traditionally dominated by men. More importantly, women will focus their legislative time and efforts on issues that are more important to women as a group, and will change the ways these issues are conceptualized, debated, and legislated, to produce substantive policy outcomes that serve women better than the outcomes designed by men. Simply put, women, particularly in increasing numbers, have the potential to provide better representation for women because their shared group identity will help them produce better policies for women as a group.

A large portion of these contentions above rests on the notion that women will change the way women are represented by altering the legislative agenda to be more favorable to women. Numerous studies of women in legislatures find women focus on issues that follow from their status as women and their socialization as part of this distinct group more than men do. These include issues that deal with women's traditional social roles as mothers and caregivers, such as policies about child protection, or are related to these traditional social roles, such as education and health care (Thomas 1994; Dolan and Ford 1997). These also include issues that more directly relate to women's status in society and their physical, social, and economic well being, such as abortion, women's rights, crimes against women, women's health issues, and family policies (Thomas 1994; Reingold 2000). Women try to change policies in these areas primarily through agenda-setting activities in the legislature, where they have the most leeway to be policy leaders in their areas of interest (Tamerius 1995). For instance, women report having policy

priorities in these areas in numerous surveys (e.g. Thomas 1994), and they introduce, sponsor, and cosponsor more legislation in these areas (e.g. Thomas 1994; Tamerius 1994; Bratton and Haynie 1999).

Increasingly, however, these studies of women's agenda setting related to women's issues note two interesting and related trends. First, though women legislators may have similar policy priorities and interests to each other, and different policy priorities from men, the specific alternatives to solving these policy problems that women favor may not be the same. Instead, the policy alternatives women favor are "filtered through their other differences (Carroll 2002; 62)." Second, though women legislators may have different policy priorities and may support these policy priorities through some of their actions in the legislative process, other actions, particularly roll call votes, do not always reflect these differences in policy priorities between men and women (e.g. Reingold 2000). In fact, even if women have different priorities when they enter the legislature and try to change the agenda to reflect these differences, the ultimate outcomes of the legislative process may not produce changes for the better for women because of women legislators' efforts (Thomas 1994). Is it the case that women legislators have different legislative priorities that follow from their gender differences, but they do not have a specific agenda as a group in the chamber that reflects these differences, and ultimately produces policies better for women as a constituency?

In this paper, I address this question by examining women legislators' support for various policy alternatives in legislative elections in 42 states on the 1998 National Political Awareness Test administered by Project Vote Smart. I examine two questions: 1) do women favor different agenda items than men during the election and 2) do women favor the same agenda items, particularly regarding women's issues, during the election? Overall, I find there are gender

differences in support for many agenda items; however, there are also many differences between Republican and Democratic women in support for items that affect women. This indicates women legislators may not all share the same agenda when they are elected to the legislature, and this has important implications for how we view the representation of women by women.

Theory and Hypotheses

The notion that women will not only physically but also substantively represent women once they are elected to the legislatures is predicated on the ideas that there are important differences between men and women, women as a group share a connection based on their gender, and that both these differences and this connection are important politically. At the mass level, there are several significant gender gaps not only in voting for specific candidates, but also in men and women's political opinions (Seltzer, Newman and Leighton 1997). For example, Shapiro and Mahajan (1986) note that women voters tend to be more supportive of government activism and regulation, more compassionate toward low-income and minority groups, less supportive of the use of force in foreign affairs, and in some cases, more socially conservative than men. At the elite level, differences in men and women's political opinions tends to focus on policy priorities, in that women are more interested in policies dealing with families, children, and women's rights, as well as policies related to these areas, such as education, health care, and welfare policy (Thomas 1994).

These differences between men and women at both the elite and mass level, however, follow from the same set of ideas. Women traditionally were involved in what Elshtain (1981) identifies as the "private sphere" of caring for children and keeping house and were not a part of the "public sphere" of creating and implementing laws (Elshtain 1981; Phillips 1990). Even

following the women's liberation movement, women are more likely to be socialized to the roles that follow from this separation of spheres, such as the roles of mother and wife, and they are still likely to be responsible for the tasks of caregiving associated with this sphere. Thus, women tend to carry this socialization to the private sphere into their work in the public sphere, making the personal political for women in that their socialization shapes their political opinions and actions (Phillips 1990; Sapiro 1983).

Additionally, this shared socialization among women as a group connects women elected to office to women as a constituency. Continually, women in office argue they see themselves as representatives of women (e.g. Carroll 2002; Reingold 2000). Mansbridge (1999) identifies this type of representation as "surrogate representation," in that women are able to act on behalf of women as a constituency beyond district or other political boundaries, particularly because of the marginalized place of their social group in the political past. Surrogate representation between women elites and women in the mass public is effective because in making policies, women elites can draw from the shared social experiences among women to interject their viewpoints into the policy making process, especially where issues are "uncrystallized" in that clear positions on the issue have not yet been articulated (Mansbridge 1999; 646; see also Carroll 2002). Also, women can appear more credible as communicators of opinions on issues of importance to women as a social group because they are a part of, and have experienced being in, that social group.

There is substantial evidence that women legislators are interested in a "women's issues" agenda related to this social connection among women, and that they pursue this agenda in office on behalf of women. In her survey of women legislators in 12 lower state houses in the 1980s, Thomas (1994) finds women report women's issues and issues regarding families and children

among their legislative priorities more than men. Numerous studies find women pursue these policy goals by trying to introduce more bills in these policy categories (Thomas 1994; Saint-Germain 1989), by cosponsoring more legislation in these policy categories (Tamerius 1995), and by sitting on committees related to these policies (Dolan and Ford 1997; Thomas 1994).

Moreover, other studies argue women legislators have similar ways of conceptualizing solutions to policy problems that stem from their gender socialization. For example, Kathleen (1995) argues that women in the Colorado state legislature were more likely to conceptualize crime as a societal, rather than individual, problem, and to propose solutions to crime problems that focus on intervention and rehabilitation rather than sentencing and punishment. Similarly, in her study of the California and Arizona Houses, Reingold (2000) finds women in both chambers are more likely to support consumer protection under the law and more government involvement in childcare.

However, more often than not, women's opinions about and efforts toward these policies are often only examined in the categorical form (i.e. supporting family issues or women's issues) or terms of general trends (i.e. more in favor of types of policy solutions) rather than in more specific analyses of legislative agendas. Consequently, we know less about women legislators' opinions about specific agenda items within these categories than we do about women legislators' general policy interests and trends. Some studies suggest that when we examine women legislators' policy opinions in more detail, women as a group do not support a single women's issues agenda in many cases. In fact, Reingold (2000) argues that besides the differences she notes above, there are few gender differences at all in other policy areas she examines, even on equal rights for women.

Many of the differences among women legislators regarding women's issues reflect party divides between women as a group, signaling a lack of theoretical consensus about what to expect from women legislators who may receive strong cues for their opinions and behavior from both their social and party identifications. In her recent study on issues related to women's rights in the last 30 years, Sanbonmatsu (2002) argues that Republicans and Democrats at the national level have established increasingly distinct positions on reproductive rights, but distinct positions on other issues directly relating to women, such as child care, remain both moderate and undifferentiated between both parties, suggesting gender and not party constraints might shape women legislators' preferences on these issues. However, Carroll (2002) notes that in her interviews with women in Congress, women with conservative district constituencies expressed reservations about supporting positions on women's issues that might hurt them electorally. Additionally, she finds some women in Congress identified other women in the chamber as ideologically distinct from them, in that they had different ideas of policies that would help women. For instance, Democratic women identified social services as important to women's economic well-being, while Republican women focused on programs designed to change one's social condition and eliminate the need for those social services. On health issues, Tolbert and Steuernagel (2001) argue Democratic party control, and not necessarily consensus among women's preferences and actions on health care issues, explains the condition of women's health policies in the states. Overall, the idea that women will represent women's issues better in legislatures suggests gender identity will trump established party positions on issues of importance to women, but evidence of this being the case is mixed at best.

In this paper, I attempt to map women legislators' preferences on issues in the election to determine whether and to what extent gender identity facilitates consensus among women on

specific policy alternatives on the potential legislative agenda. I hypothesize that on issues of direct relevance to women's physical, social, and economic well being, women will be more likely as a group to support the same policy alternatives. However, I expect that on more traditional women's issues, including education, healthcare, family issues, welfare, and children's issues, differences between Republican and Democratic women will emerge, leading to divergent issue agendas for women on these issues.

Data Collection and Methods

To examine these hypotheses, I use the National Political Awareness Test (NPAT) administered by Project Vote Smart. Project Vote Smart is an organization that gathers information on presidential, congressional, gubernatorial and state legislative candidates and provides it to the public. They administer the NPAT to all candidates in the elections mentioned above to determine candidate issue positions in a number of issue areas that are already important, or likely to become important, in the next terms of office the candidates may fill. The NPAT is designed to be nonbiased to any particular political party by experts. Candidate answers (or a note that the candidate did not complete the survey) are posted for public use on the project's website (Project Vote Smart 2000). A sample state legislative NPAT from the Wisconsin Legislature, and more details about the construction and collection of the NPAT survey are given in Appendix B of this paper.

The design and content of the NPAT are advantageous for this study for several reasons. First, candidates who choose to answer the NPAT select the statements on the survey that they support, or are asked to rank how much they support specific types of taxes and budget priorities. This is an excellent measure of legislators' preferences on issues that are likely to surface in the

subsequent legislative session, and from these preferences it is possible to gather ideas on specific agenda items a legislator will or will not support. Second, the questions in the state legislative portion are designed to be comparable across states. Some questions vary according to the name of the state (for example, "Do you think the Wisconsin government should include sexual orientation in Wisconsin's anti-discrimination laws?"), but are similar in the issue they address (changing anti-discrimination laws) across states. This creates a large sample of men and women state legislators across the states. Third, the policy areas covered on the NPAT encompass many of the items identified as "women's issues" policies, making it a satisfactory measure of women's issue preferences on items that may be important to women as a constituency.

In 1998, the response rate among all candidates for the state legislative NPAT was 38%. Challengers and third party candidates are significantly more likely to return the questionnaire than incumbents and major party candidates. Challengers returned 47% of their surveys in the 1998 election; incumbents returned 37%. Third party candidates returned 52% of their surveys; Democratic and Republican candidates returned 38% and 43% of their surveys, respectively (Project Vote Smart 2000). Because I an interested in responses from the winners of the state legislative elections for this project, in that they are the ones who will serve in the legislature, I use only those respondents in the sample who won their election. This creates a set of 1610 respondents from 42 states, almost 22% of whom are women. This is comparable to the gender breakdown of state legislatures overall in 1998, where 21.8% of legislators in the US were women. The NPAT returns for winning candidates by state are given in Table 1.

[Table 1 here]

To analyze the data, I use two sets of measures as dependent variables. First, I examine legislators' support for each of the survey items using logistic regression. Second, I examine legislators' support for sets of items traditionally classified as women's issues – education, health care, social issues, welfare, and children's issues, as well as for items specifically related to women's own physical, social and economic well-being, using negative binomial regression. I examine both definitions for two reasons. First, assessing women's support for both types of women's issues will integrate my efforts with other work on the subject, in that my use of the term women's issues will compare with the definitions other researchers use. Second, I hope to add to the debate on what a women's issue is, and whether these issues should be defined by their direct relevance to women's place in society or by their relation to women's traditional social roles, by examining which, if either, definition is supported by gender differences in policy preferences. I expect the more narrow definition of women's issues will be that in which there is a stronger gender divide in the legislature, because several recent studies in this area indicate this is the case (e.g. Reingold 2000; Swers 1998). The primary independent variable in which I am interested is gender, coded as 1 for women. I also control for Republican women (dummy variable where 1=Republican woman), to determine differences between women in different political parties.

I control for a number of characteristics that may shape the positions legislators choose to take in the election. First, I control for a legislator's party identification (a dummy variable where Democrat=1), because I expect party identification will account for most of a legislator's issue positions. I also control for a legislator's race (1=black) and whether the legislator comes from the South (1=southern), because both of these groups often have distinct political viewpoints. In her survey of state legislators' policy priorities, Barrett (1995) argues black

women are a distinctive group in the legislature in that they are more supportive of minority

issues than any other group (including black men) and more supportive of many issues specific

to women within their policy priorities in the legislature, such as housing for families with

children. Therefore I control for being a black woman legislator as well (1=black woman). I

also control for southern Republican legislators (1=southern Republican), who may have a more

socially conservative agenda. Lastly, I control for state policy liberalism, as defined by Erikson,

Wright and McIver (1993; 77), because legislators running for office in more liberal states may

support more liberal policy preferences.

Analysis

   For the first part of this analysis, I examine whether gender is a significant determinant of

women legislative candidates' preferences on 87 policy alternatives given on the NPAT

questionnaire. Table 2 presents the coefficients for the logistic regressions of the control

variables mentioned above on support for each of the 87 policy positions. I give only the

coefficients for gender, party, and for Republican women in the table due to the large amount of

results to report. For the most part, the other controls in the equations, with the exception of

state policy liberalism, explained little of the variance in support for each agenda item. State

policy liberalism was a significant predictor of supporting most liberal policy positions and not

supporting more conservative ones.

[Table 2 here]

   Overall, there are five interesting trends in women legislators' issue preferences evident in the

results given in Table 2. These trends are illustrated by the graphs of the predicted probabilities

(along the Y-axis) of men, women, Democrats, Republicans, and Republican women supporting

several of the policy alternatives across the scale of state policy liberalism (on the X-axis) in Figures 1-14.

The first trend concerns support for abortion rights. Women are significantly more likely to support the statement that abortions should always be legally available (question #1 in Table 2). The predicted probability, shown in Figure 1, of supporting this statement for women in the most liberal state is over .7; in the most conservative state it is just over .2. For men, the probability of supporting this statement in the most liberal state is only .36. The probability of women supporting this statement is slightly more than the probability of Democrats supporting the statement, but not surprisingly, it is far above the probability of Republicans supporting this statement. Republican women are more likely to support abortions always being legal than men as a group, especially in a more liberal policy state. Although they are substantially less likely to support this statement than women in general, women Republicans are .2 more likely to support the statement than Republicans in general.

[Figure 1 here]

What is interesting about this trend is that although on the statement "abortions should always be legally available" there appears to be some consensus among women across party lines, when it comes to policy alternatives to limit the availability of abortions, Republican women are the most likely to support these alternatives. For instance, in Figure 2, the probability that Republican women will support the statement "Abortions should be legal only when the life of the woman is endangered" is .5 in the most conservative state; it is .11 among women as a whole. Similarly, in Figure 3, Republican women are the group most likely to support the statement "Abortions should be limited by waiting periods and parental notification requirements." The probability Republican women will support this statement is nearly .6 in the

most conservative state, while for all women the probability of supporting this statement in the most conservative state is .23. Although the probabilities of supporting these limits to abortion rights in more liberal states are much lower for both groups, there is still a substantial difference. For instance, in the most liberal state, the probability of women overall supporting waiting periods and parental notification for abortion is .1, but for Republican women it is .3. Generally, it appears Republican women, especially in more liberal states, can justify a woman's right to choose to have an abortion overall, but they are less hesitant to restrict this right than women as a group overall.

[Figures 2 and 3 here]

This trend regarding preferences on abortion is not surprising in light of Sanbonmatsu's (2002) argument that of all issues directly relevant to women, reproductive rights are those on which the two parties have the most defined and divergent policy positions. On another issue directly affecting women, affirmative action, the parties also have distinct policy differences, and this is reflected in the probability of women legislators' support for affirmative action in college and university admissions, in Figure 4. Women overall, especially in more liberal states, are highly likely to support affirmative action; the probability women in the sample support this statement is nearly .85. Republican women, however, are not nearly as likely to support affirmative action in the admissions process. Even in the most liberal state environment the probability of Republican women supporting this agenda item is .44; this is only slightly higher than Republicans overall.

[Figure 4 here]

The second trend evident in the data is that in crime policy, women in general are significantly less likely to support harsher penalties and sentences for crimes, but Republican

women are significantly more likely to support harsher penalties. For example, women overall are the group least likely to support the alternative of "strengthening penalties and sentences for drug-related crimes." In Figure 5, the probability of women supporting this statement is about .38 in the most conservative state and .27 in the most liberal. Republican women, however, are the group most likely to support this alternative. The probability of Republican women supporting harsher penalties is .77 in the most conservative state and .67 in the most liberal. Similarly, in Figure 6, the probability of women overall supporting "the prosecution of juveniles who commit murder or other serious crimes as adults" is significantly different from men; it is .57 in a conservative state and .49 in a liberal one. However, the probability of Republican women supporting this statement is significantly higher at .86 in a more conservative state and .82 in a more liberal one. That women overall show less support for increasing penalties for criminal acts mirrors Kathleen's (1995) observation in the Colorado state legislature; however, in this case as in abortion, there is a substantial separation between the issue preferences of Democratic and Republican women.

[Figures 5-6 here]

The third trend that appears in these data is that women show more support for government regulation than men, but as with the crime alternatives, Republican women show much less support for policy alternatives that increase government regulation. For examine, in Figure 7, women as a group are the least likely to support the statement "State environmental restrictions should not be stricter than federal law. However, Republican women as a group are the most likely to agree with this statement; the probability a Republican woman would support this idea is a high .9 in the most conservative state. Similarly, in Figure 8, women have the highest probability of favoring banning smoking in public places at .7 in the most conservative state.

Republican women, however, have the lowest probability (.34 in the most conservative state) of agreeing with this policy alternative. Another example, in Figure 9, is in women's support for allowing citizens to carry concealed firearms. Women overall are least likely to support this stance; in the most liberal state the probability women will support this statement is only .14. The probability Republican women will support this idea is .45 in the most liberal state. Interestingly, women show more consensus over requiring manufacturers to provide child safety locks with firearms, as shown in Figure 10. Although there is still distance between women overall and Republican women in the probability that they will support the requirement of child safety locks, Republican women have a higher probability than Republicans as a whole of supporting this option.

[Figures 7-10 here]

The fourth trend is a significant separation between party identifiers on several health and welfare issues. Although these issues are sometimes labeled women's issues because of their relation to women's traditional roles as caregivers, women in this sample do not agree on some important alternatives in these areas. In health care, Republican women are significantly less likely to agree it is important to "ensure that citizens have access to basic health care, through managed care, insurance reforms, or state-funded care where necessary". In the most conservative states, the probability of women overall supporting this statement is .62, and for Republican women it is only .35, as shown in Figure 11. However, it is interesting to note the probabilities of agreeing with this statement converge to only .15 apart in the most liberal states. In Figure 12, Democrats and women are virtually indistinguishable in the probability they agree that able-bodied welfare recipients should participate in work activities in order to receive benefits. In the most liberal states, the probability women overall agree with this statement is .7.

The probability Republican women will agree with this statement is over .9 regardless of the state policy liberalism. Likewise, in Figure 13, women overall are least likely to agree to limit the benefits given to recipients if they have additional children while on welfare. The probability women will agree with this statement is .23 in the most liberal state. Republican women are most likely to agree to this limit, though. The probability Republican women will support such limits is .65 in the most liberal state. Though there are significant gender divides in support for each of these policy alternatives, there are divides among Democratic and Republican women on these alternatives as well.

[Figures 11-13 here]

However, the fifth trend in these data is that not all items on which there is a gender difference in support are also characterized by a lack of consensus among Republican and Democratic women. For instance, Figure 14 shows the predicted probabilities of supporting sex education programs in schools that stress safe sexual practices. Here, there is a significant divide between men and women. The probability women in a conservative state will support this alternative is .32, but the probability men will support this in a conservative state is only .15. Republican women do have a lower probability of supporting safe sex programs; in a conservative state it is almost the same as the probability men will support these programs. However, it is higher than the probability Republicans will support these programs, and not significantly different from women's overall probability of supporting them. Similar trends of smaller differences between Republican women and women overall exist on support for anti-discrimination laws for sexual orientation (question #75) and in support for increasing funds to provide childcare to children in low income working families (question #70). It is interesting these differences among women legislators' issues preferences are smaller, since these policy

alternatives could directly affect women as a group differently than they would men, either economically or physically.

[Figure 14 here]

Does this indicate women legislators may demonstrate more consensus as a group on policy alternatives for those issues that directly affect women's physical, social or economic well-being? The analysis above suggests this is not the case for abortion legislation, but is less clear on other women's issues policies. To get a clearer sense of gender differences in support for traditional and more specific women's issues policies, in Table 3, I present the results of a negative binomial regression of legislators' characteristics on the amount of support (the number of policy alternatives supported) for items related directly to women (labeled "women's issues"), education, health care, social issues (such as discrimination or child care), welfare, and children's issues. The items in the education, health care, social issues and welfare categories are the items in those categories on the NPAT survey that are ideologically consistent with increasing efforts on existing educational, health, social and welfare programs. For instance, the welfare measure includes agenda items such as providing child care for welfare recipients, but not the alternative of eliminating welfare. The items in the women's issues and children's issues categories are culled from the entire survey and include any items dealing directly with women or children. Details of each measure are listed in Appendix A.

[Table 3 here]

It is clear from the results in this table that significant gender differences exist only on women's issues and children's issues, and not on education, health care, social issues or welfare policy alternatives. Women are significantly more likely to support more agenda items related to women's issues and children's issues. Moreover, Republican women are not significantly

different from women overall in the number of policy alternatives they support in these two categories. Again, state policy liberalism and party identification are highly significant predictors of the number of policy alternatives one supports in each of the categories given here.

These results may be an effect of the measures used for the dependent variables as well as evidence of the lack of gender differences on these traditional women's issues areas. The items for education, health, social issues and welfare, for the most part, indicate support for increased government control and intervention as solutions to these policy problems. For example, the education measures all involve increasing state funds for educational programs or teacher hiring and training, and the welfare policy alternatives involve providing services such as transportation and job training for people on welfare. These items have similar themes of government control that, as mentioned above, are characterized by disagreement among Republican and Democratic women on these alternatives. Because of this, there may not be significant gender differences on these issues because Republican women and Democratic women do not support these alternatives as a cohesive group. Some of the alternatives in the women's issues and children's issues scores also involve government control and regulation in these areas, but not as much. For instance, the women's issues measure contains items about the punishment of sex offenders and about funding to prevent teen pregnancy as well as items about affirmative action. Republican women may not support these particular policy alternatives concerning welfare, education and healthcare because of their opposition to government intervention rather than their lack of interest in pursuing policy alternatives in this area.

To account for this possibility, in Table 4, I present the negative binomial regression of legislator characteristics on the overall number of policy items a legislator supports in the education, health, social issues and welfare categories. Simply, do women's interests in these

traditional women's issues items manifest in women supporting *more* policy alternatives in these areas than men, rather than *different* policy alternatives in these areas than men? This does not appear to be the case. Gender is not a significant determinant of the number of alternatives one supports in any of these four categories; again, state policy liberalism and political party identification characterize support for more policy alternatives in these four categories.

[Table 4 here]

Similarly, women do not support increasing budget expenditures on education, health care, or welfare in the states. Table 5 shows the results of the negative binomial regression of legislator characteristics on support for increasing the budget in seven issue areas. Democrats are more likely to support increasing budget expenditures on education, the environment and health care, but overall, these variables do little to explain support for budget increases among candidates (the pseudo R^2 for these regressions is extremely low). This may reflect reluctance among candidates to support any kind of budget increases during the election rather than legislator's true preferences for budget allocation.

[Table 5 here]

Discussion and Conclusion

Overall, the results of this analysis of the NPAT survey reveal some interesting distinctions in the issue preferences of women and men legislators. On issues that directly affect women, there is a gender divide between women and men's preferences, and perhaps more importantly, there is not a party divide in women's preferences on many of these issues. Substantively, this indicates that women may be more likely to let their gender identity guide their preferences on issues like child care, child support, abortion, and crimes against women, that are of distinct

importance to women as a group. In a theoretical sense, this is important evidence of the connection between the physical representation of women in office and the substantive representation of women as a constituency. When considering possible policy alternatives that affect women constituents, women legislators may favor an agenda that benefits women more than men legislators.

However, these results also indicate a need to refine theoretical expectations about what a women's issues agenda really is, and the degrees to which we should expect women to support a single women's issues agenda as representatives in legislatures. The trends in separation between women as an overall group and Republican women regarding government regulation, criminal punishment, abortion restrictions, and policy alternatives on traditional women's issues of health care, welfare, and education indicate that many of women legislators' specific solutions to policy problems affecting women may be shaped by the tenants of their political party identifications and not a shared gender identity. Certainly, Carroll's (2002) interviews with women in Congress and Sanbonmatsu's (2002) analysis of party platforms and issue agendas also suggest parties are a crucial factor in truly understanding women's agendas as representatives of women. Parties may become even more important in setting women's agendas and behavior further into the legislative process. For instance, Swers (2004) argues the change in party control in Congress between the 103rd and 104th sessions greatly affected Republican women's ability to introduce bills concerning women's policy problems. In conclusion, the next important step in the debate over women's representation is to continue to specify where women represent women, particularly in relation to party positions on policy debates. Integrating partisan policy alternatives with gendered policy alternatives will give us a better idea about

when women act as surrogate representatives of women through the support and pursuit of a

women's issues agenda.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1. 1998 NPAT Respondents By State

State	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Sample	State	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Sample
AL	44	2.73	NE	12	0.75
AK	23	1.43	NV	13	0.81
AR	4	0.25	NH	83	5.16
CA	33	2.05	NM	21	1.30
CO	36	2.24	NY	61	3.79
CT	54	3.35	NC	56	3.48
DE	13	0.81	ND	50	3.11
FL	31	1.93	OH	63	3.91
GA	63	3.91	OK	32	1.99
HI	32	1.99	OR	54	3.35
ID	34	2.11	PA	46	2.86
IN	30	1.86	RI	25	1.55
IA	45	2.80	SC	29	1.80
KS	23	1.43	SD	55	3.42
KY	32	1.99	TN	4	0.25
ME	78	4.84	TX	34	2.11
MD	39	2.42	UT	27	1.68
MA	50	3.11	VT	32	1.99
MI	72	4.47	WA	28	1.74
MO	50	3.11	WI	26	1.61
MT	40	2.48	WY	33	2.05

Note: Total is 1610 Respondents. These respondents (state legislative candidates who won their election) were taken from the original sample of NPAT respondents for 1998 (N=3943 in original sample. There were no NPAT respondents who won state legislative elections in AZ, IL, NM, or WV. LA, MS, NJ and VA are excluded from the 1998 NPAT survey because their state legislations are held in off-years.

Table 2. Logit Results for NPAT Questionnaire Items, by Gender and Party

Item	Democrat	Woman	Republican Woman
1. Abortions should always be legally available	1.95***	1.53***	0.01
2. Abortions should be legal only within the first trimester of pregnancy	0.16	-0.25	0.09
3. Abortions should be legal only when pregnancy resulted from incest, rape, or when the life of the woman is endangered	-0.93***	-1.26***	0.37
4. Abortions should be legal only when the life of the woman is endangered	-0.77***	-1.55***	0.99*
5. Abortions should always be illegal	-0.28	-0.87	1.00
6. Abortions should be limited by waiting periods and parental notification requirements	-1.20***	-1.13***	.74*
7. Prohibit the late-term abortion procedure known as partial-birth abortion	-1.49***	-1.02***	.81**
8. Support buffer zones by requiring demonstrators to stay at least 15 feet away from abortion clinic doorways and driveways	1.05***	.57**	.02
9. Support state funding for abortion procedures	1.73***	1.22***	-.58
10. Support affirmative action in college and university admissions	2.51***	1.31***	-1.04**
11. Support affirmative action in public employment	2.59***	1.47***	-.97**
12. Support affirmative action in state contracting	2.37***	1.47***	-1.08**
13. Increase state funds for construction of state prisons and for hiring of additional prison staff	-.62***	-.84***	.31
14. Support contracting with private sector firms to build and/or manage state prisons	-2.05***	-.67*	1.06**
15. Support the use of the death penalty	-.92***	-.69***	.53
16. Oppose the death penalty	1.29***	.92***	-.51
17. Implement penalties other than incarceration for certain non-violent offenders	.49***	.66*	-.25
18. Increase state funds for programs which rehabilitate and educate inmates during and after their prison sentences	1.28***	.35	-.25
19. Decriminalize the use of marijuana for medicinal purposes	1.04***	.77***	-1.02*
20. Strengthen penalties and sentences for drug-related crimes	-.65***	-1.12***	.92***
21. Strengthen penalties and sentences for sex offenders	-.62***	-.52**	.47
22. Lower the blood-alcohol content limit defining drunk driving	-.30	.75**	-.78*
23. Prosecute juveniles who commit murder or other serious violent crimes as adults	-1.13***	-1.13***	.79**

Table 2 Continued. Logit Results for NPAT Questionnaire Items, by Gender and Party

Item	Democrat	Woman	Republican Woman
24. Provide low-interest loans and tax credits for starting, expanding or relocating businesses	.95***	-.40*	.81**
25. Reduce state government regulations on the private sector in order to encourage investment and economic expansion	-2.17***	-.90***	.35
26. Support limits on cash damages in lawsuits against businesses and professionals for product liability or malpractice	-1.79***	-.98***.	.58
27. Increase state funds for professional development of public school teachers and administrators	1.89***	.14	.001
28. Encourage private or corporate investment in public school programs	-.33*	-.27	.05
29. Provide parents with state-funded vouchers to send their children to any participating school (public, private, or religious)	-2.35***	-.84*	.28
30. Favor charter schools where independent groups receive state authorization and funding to establish new schools	-1.61***	-.18	.09
31.Support sex education programs which stress Abstinence	-.61***	-.26	.07
32. Support sex education programs which stress safe sexual practices	1.71***	1.04***	-.04
33. Increase state funds for school construction and facility maintenance	1.70***	.09	-.10
34. Increase state funds for hiring of additional Teachers	2.04***	-.16	.002
35. Endorse teacher-led voluntary prayer in public Schools	-1.27***	-1.63***	.82
36. Require the use of cleaner burning fuels in order to prevent pollution	1.44***	.61**	-.75**
37. Support self-audit legislation which creates incentives for industries to audit themselves and clean up pollution	-1.31***	-.55**	.30
38. Require a cost/benefit analysis to determine the economic impact of proposed environmental regulations before they are implemented	-1.68***	-.34*	-.03
39. Require the state to fully compensate citizens when environmental regulations limit uses on privately owned land	-1.53***	-.55*	.37
40. Provide funding for recycling programs in state	1.64***	-.18	.30
41. Request added flexibility from the federal government in enforcing and funding federal environmental regulations	-.87***	-.90***	.79**

Table 2 Continued. Logit Results for NPAT Questionnaire Items, by Gender and Party

Item	Democrat	Woman	Republican Woman
42. Suspend participation in unfunded, federally mandated environmental protection legislation	-1.77***	-1.26***	.82*
43. Restructure the electric utility industry to allow consumers to choose their power company	-.72***	.08	-.10
44. State environmental restrictions should not be stricter than federal law	-.75***	-.86***	1.15***
45. Support term limits for state senators and Representatives	-1.00***	-.23	.09
46. Support term limits for the governor	-.82***	-.26	-.19
47. Support limiting individual contributions to state legislative candidates	.70***	.05	-.05
48. Support limiting PAC contributions to state legislative candidates	.78***	.12	-.19
49. Support limiting corporate contributions to state legislative candidates	1.13***	-.15	.35
50. Support requiring full and timely disclosure of campaign finance information	-.50	.39	See note
51. Support imposing spending limits on state level political campaigns	1.81***	.14	.42
52. Support partial funding from state taxes for state level political campaigns	2.20***	.14	-.10
53. Would you vote to ratify an amendment to the US Constitution requiring an annual balanced federal Budget	-2.31***	-.79***	.11
54. Ban the sale or transfer of all forms of semi-automatic weapons	2.12***	.58**	.47
55. Increase state restrictions on the purchase and possession of firearms	2.24***	1.04***	-.24
56. Maintain state restrictions on the purchase and possession of firearms	.75***	-.28	.49
57. Ease state restrictions on the purchase and possession of firearms	-1.20***	-1.11*	.72
58. Repeal state restrictions on the purchase and possession of firearms by law-abiding citizens	-1.31***	-1.15**	.88
59. Favor allowing citizens to carry concealed Firearms	-1.17***	-1.25***	.81**
60. Require manufacturers to provide child-safety locks with firearms	1.39***	.71***	-.25
61. Provide tax incentives to small businesses that provide health care to their employees	.39*	-.26	-.02
62. Ensure that citizens have access to basic health care, through managed care, insurance reforms, or state-funded care where necessary	1.76***	.58*	-.66*

Table 2 Continued. Logit Results for NPAT Questionnaire Items, by Gender and Party

Item	Democrat	Woman	Republican Woman
63. Provide health care to uninsured children	1.96***	.81*	-.36
64. Transfer more existing Medicaid recipients into managed care programs	-.44**	-.03	.11
65. Use state funds to continue some Medicaid coverage for legal immigrants	1.31***	.78***	-.22
66. Limit the amount of damages that can be awarded in medical malpractice suits	-1.68***	-.41*	.03
67. Guaranteeing medical care to all citizens is not a responsibility of state government	-1.96***	-1.08**	1.02*
68. Increase state funding for programs to prevent teen pregnancy	1.63***	.17	.03
69. Provide tax credits for businesses that provide childcare for their employees	1.10***	.04	.05
70. Increase state funds to provide childcare to children in low-income working families	1.76***	.63**	-.15
71. Deny or suspend state-issued permits and licenses to parents who are delinquent in paying court-ordered child support	.13	-.16	.05
72. Favor banning smoking in public places	.55***	.90***	-.81**
73. Increase state funding for community centers and other social agencies in areas with at-risk youth	2.16***	.12	-.19
74. Support state funding of programs for at-risk youth such as guaranteed college loans and job training and placement	1.73***	.12	-.14
75. Do you believe that the state government should include sexual orientation in the state's anti-discrimination laws	2.05***	1.23***	-.63
76. Do you believe that the state government should recognize same-sex marriages	2.57***	1.24***	-.63
77. Do you support a flat-tax structure for state income taxes	-1.91***	-.27	.19
78. Maintain the five-year limit on welfare benefits	-.55***	-.37	.54
79. Requirement that able-bodied recipients participate in work activities in order to receive Benefits	-1.23***	-.81***	1.37**
80. Increase employment and job-training programs for welfare recipients	1.32***	.46	-.17
81. Provide tax incentives to businesses that hire welfare recipients	.47**	-.35	.43
82. Increase access to public transportation for welfare recipients who work	.134***	.31	-.08

Table 2 Continued. Logit Results for NPAT Questionnaire Items, by Gender and Party

Item	Democrat Woman	Republican Woman	
83. Allow welfare recipients to remain eligible for benefits while saving money for education, starting a business, or buying a home	.77***	.17	-.58
84. Limit benefits given to recipients if they have additional children while on welfare	-1.20***	-1.16***	.92**
85. Eliminate government-funded welfare programs	-2.07***	-1.07	.28
86. Inform communities when a convicted sex offender moves into the community	-.50**	-.54**	.67
87. Provide childcare for welfare recipients who work	1.29***	.71**	-.28

Note: Entries are regression coefficients for individual logistic regressions of legislator characteristics on supporting each item in the survey. Results for control variables, including legislator race, southerner, southern Republican, black woman, and state policy liberalism, as well as Pseudo R-squared for each regression are not shown but may be obtained from the author. If a coefficient is not provided for a question, it was dropped from the analysis because it predicted success perfectly.

***$p<.001$; **$p<.01$, *$p<.05$

Table 3. Support for Women's Issues Agenda Items by Category

	Women's Issues	Education	Health	Social Issues	Welfare	Children's Issues
Party ID	.4728***	.8452***	.5969***	.6545***	.4412***	.5247***
Gender	.1412***	-.0026	.0792	.0350	.0722	.0955*
Race	.1774**	.0692	.1585	.1716*	.2181*	.1980**
Southern	.1258**	.1673*	-.0150	.1787**	.1565*	.1142*
State Liberalism	.1018***	.0893***	.1044**	.1015***	.0912***	.1183***
Republican Woman	-.0302	.0108	-.1075	.0292	.0189	.0887
Southern Republican	-.0125	.2202	-.1439	-.1702	-.1517	-.2635**
Black Woman	-.1398	.0293*	-.0796	-.1264	-.1725	-.1647
Constant	1.1503***	-.2126***	-1.010***	.4010***	.3931***	.5404***
Pseudo R^2	.09	.09	.04	.09	.05	.08

Note: Entries are coefficients from a negative binomial regression of legislator characteristics on the number of items in each policy category. Please see Appendix A for questionnaire items in each category.

Table 4. Amount of Support for Women's Issues Agenda Items by Category

	Education	Health	Social Issues	Welfare
Party ID	.0946**	.1929***	.6307***	.1309***
Gender	-.0141	.0534	.1293***	-.0731
Race	.1156	.0142	.1586*	.0423
Southern	.1227*	.1105	.0978*	.1798***
State Liberalism	.0469***	.0936***	.0956***	.0527***
Republican Woman	-.0426	-.0083	-.0490	.1001
Southern Woman	.0817	-.1237	-.0836	-.0887
Black Woman	-.0555	-.1510	-.1954	-.0362
Constant	1.3540***	.8597***	.8817***	1.3497***
Pseudo R^2	.01	.02	.10	.01

Note: Entries are coefficients from a negative binomial regression of legislator characteristics on the number of items in each policy category. Please see Appendix A for questionnaire items in each category.

Table 5. Support for Increasing Budget Expenditures by Policy Category

	Education (K-12)	Education (Higher)	Environment	Health Care	Law Enforcement	Transportation & Infrastructure	Welfare
Party ID	.1284***	.1262***	.1536***	.1512***	-.0040	.0091	.1998***
Gender	.0015	.0178	.0248	.0223	-.0429	-.0207	.0498
Race	.0350	.0257	.0689	.1166	-.1354	-.0632	.1415
Southern	.0229	.0117	.0484	.0032	.0887	.0054	-.0648
State Liberalism	.0107	.0220	.0340	.0166	.0193	-.0012	.0035
Republican Woman	.0070	-.0427	-.0367	-.0369	.0185	-.0271	.0174
Southern Woman	-.0003	-.0133	.0499	-.0063	-.0026	.0003	-.0331
Black Woman	-.00004	-.0323	-.0397	-.1010	.0741	-.0246	-.1170
Constant	1.5548***	1.4716***	1.2983***	1.4197***	1.5138***	1.5836***	1.1595***
Pseudo R^2	.01	.01	.01	.01	.001	.001	.01

Note: Entries are coefficients from a negative binomial regression of legislator characteristics on the degree of support for increasing budget expenditures in each policy category. Support varies from 1 (lowest support) to 6 (highest support).

Figure 1. Predicted probabilities for "Abortions should always be legally available"
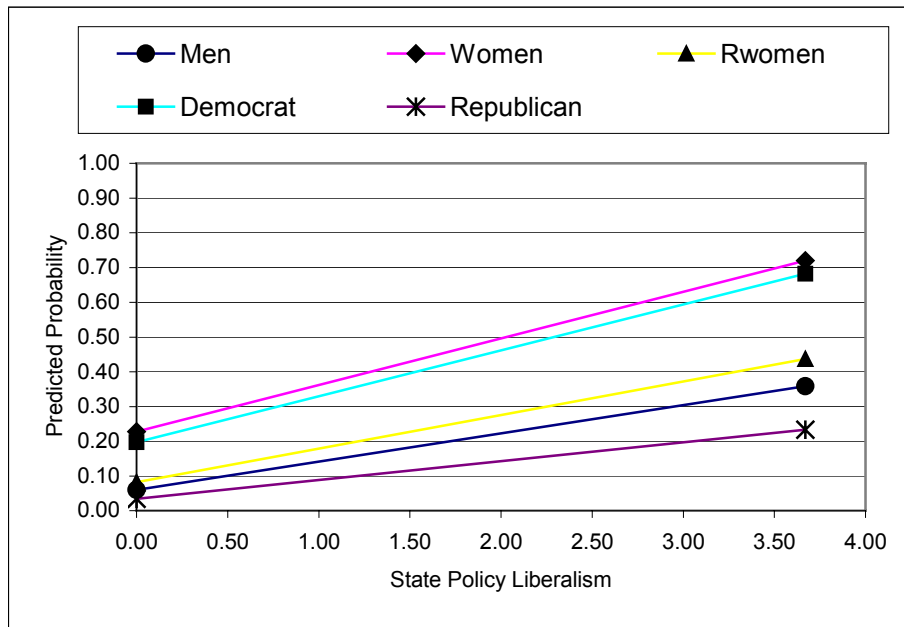
Figure 2. Predicted probabilities for "Abortions should be legal only when the life of the woman is endangered"
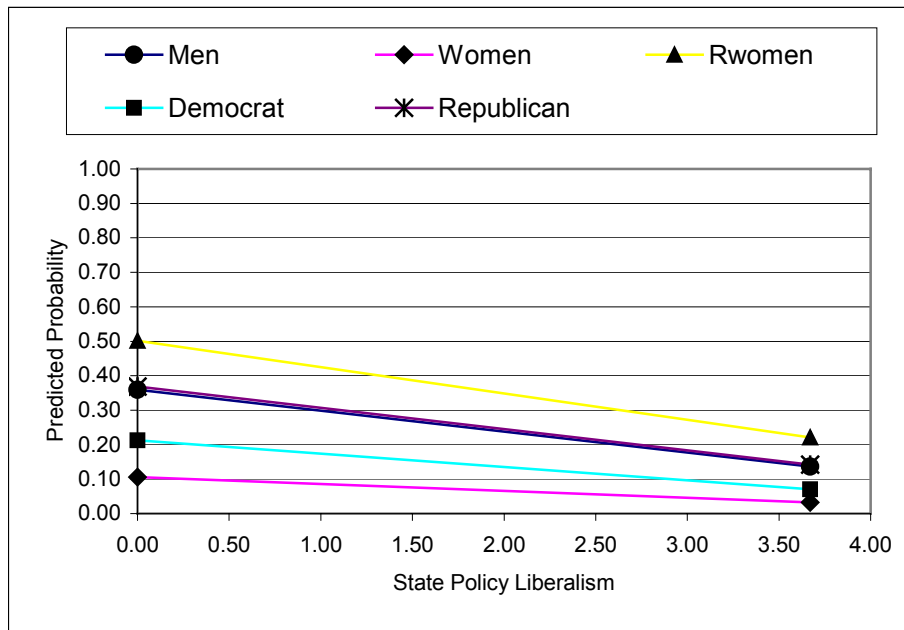
Figure 3. Predicted probabilities for "Abortions should be limited by waiting periods and parental notification requirements"
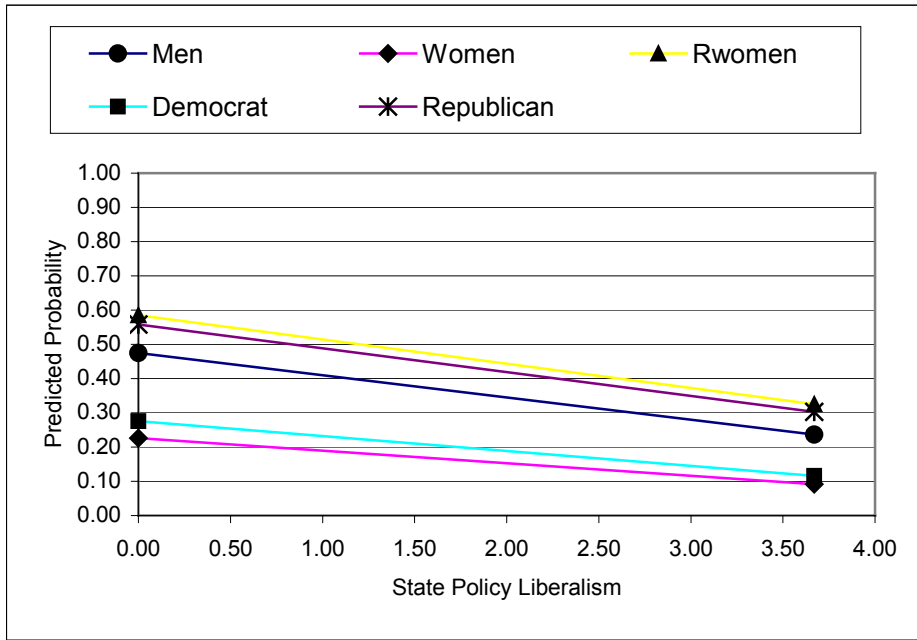
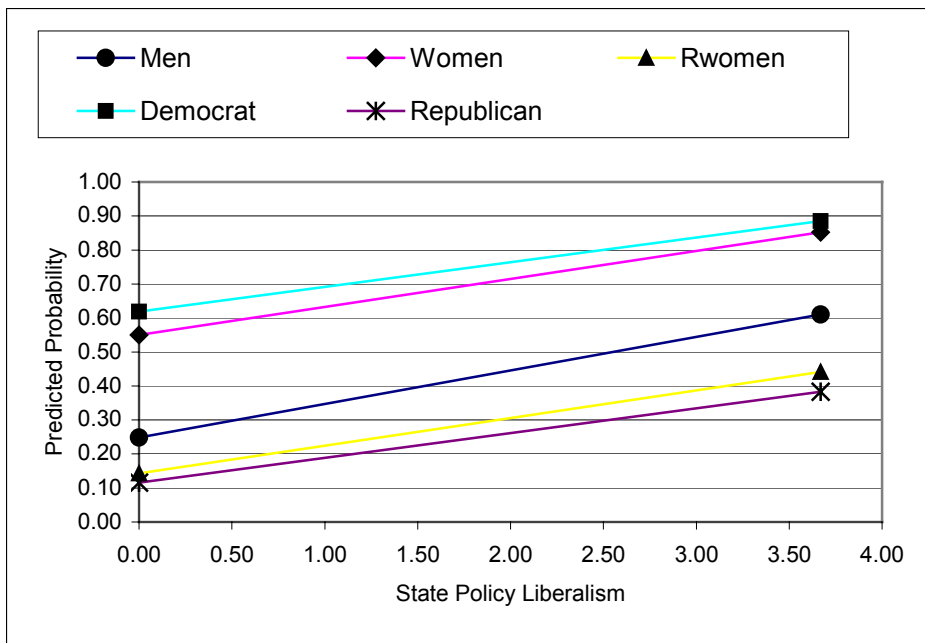**Figure 4. Predicted probabilities for "Support affirmative action in college and university admissions"**

Figure 5. Predicted probabilities for "Strengthen penalties and sentences for drug-related crimes"
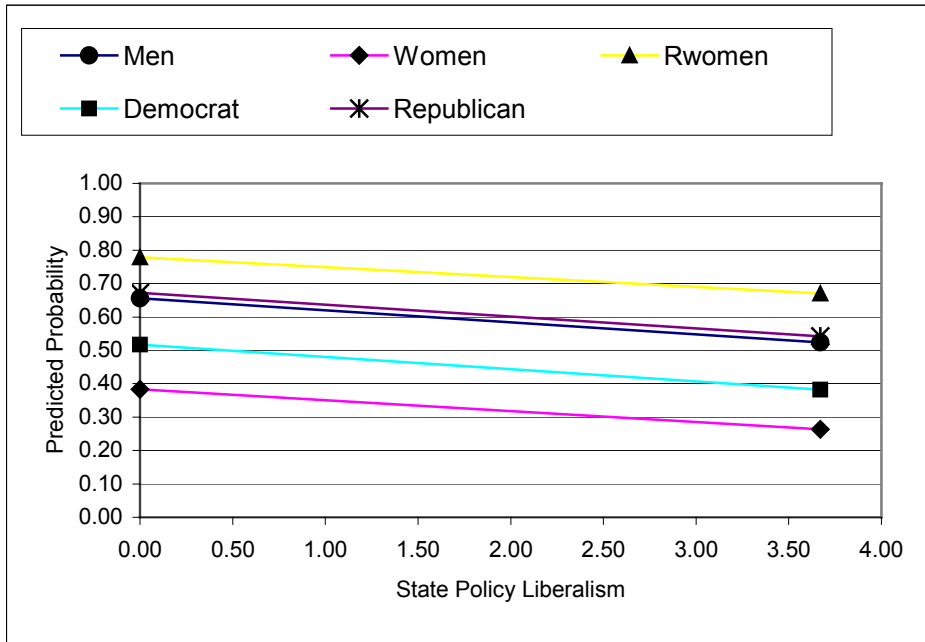
Figure 6. Predicted probabilities for "Prosecute juveniles who commit murder or other serious violent crimes as adults"
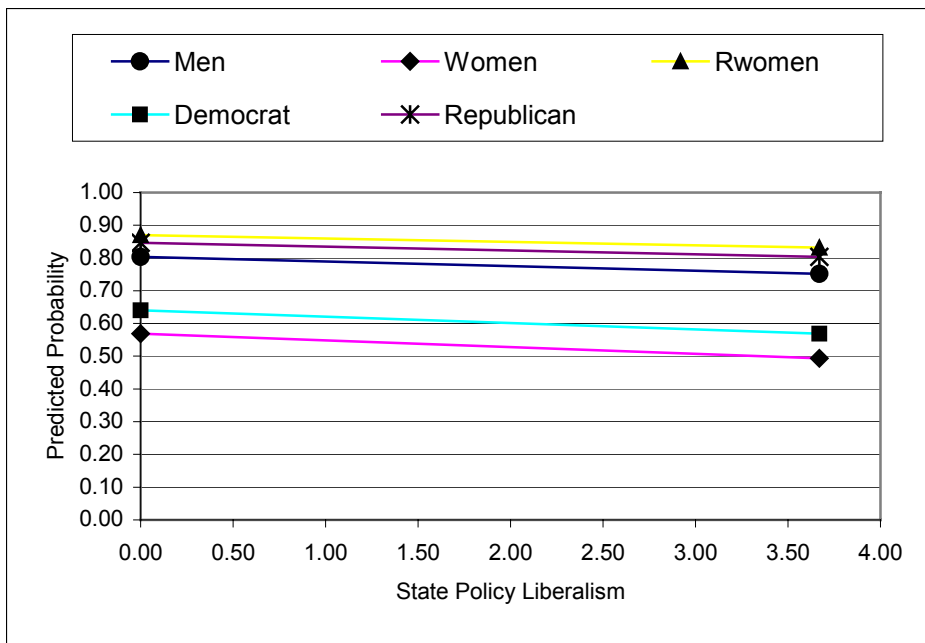
Figure 7. Predicted probabilities for "State environmental restrictions should not be stricter than federal law"
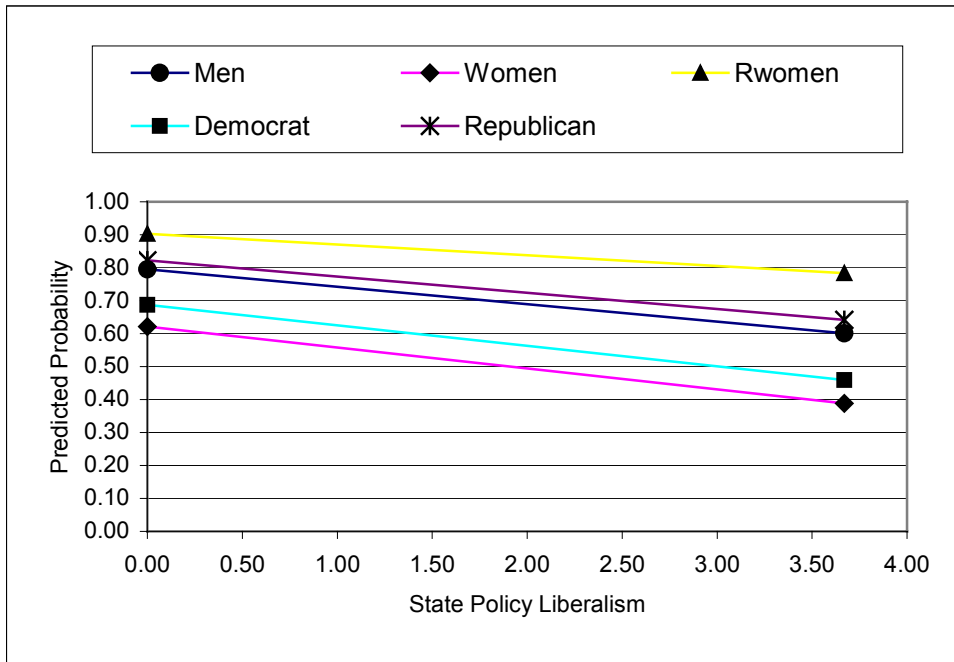
Figure 8. Predicted probabilities for "Favor banning smoking in public places"
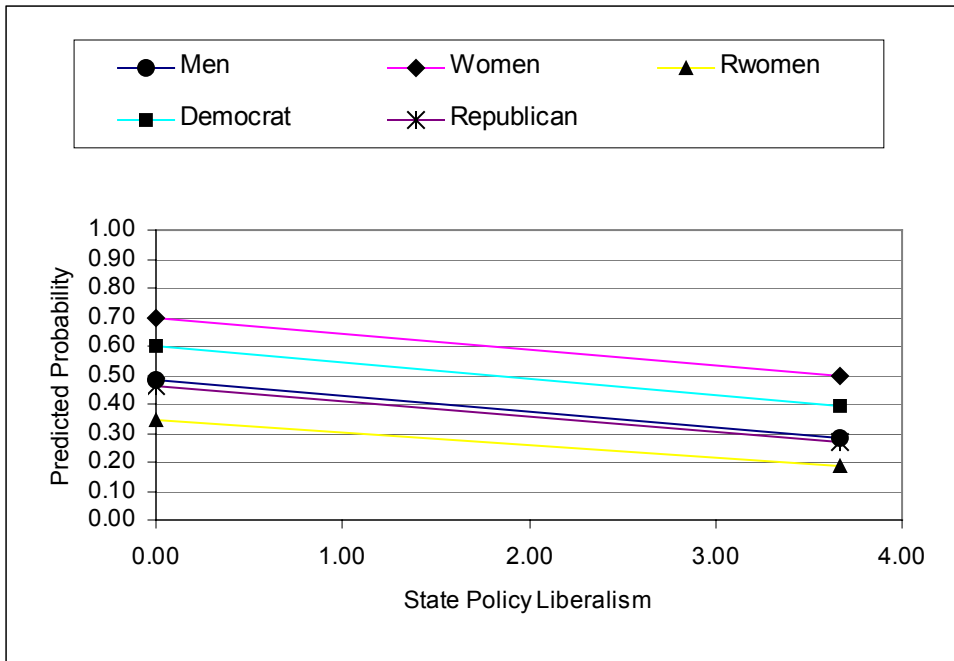
Figure 9. Predicted probabilities for "Favor allowing citizens to carry concealed firearms"
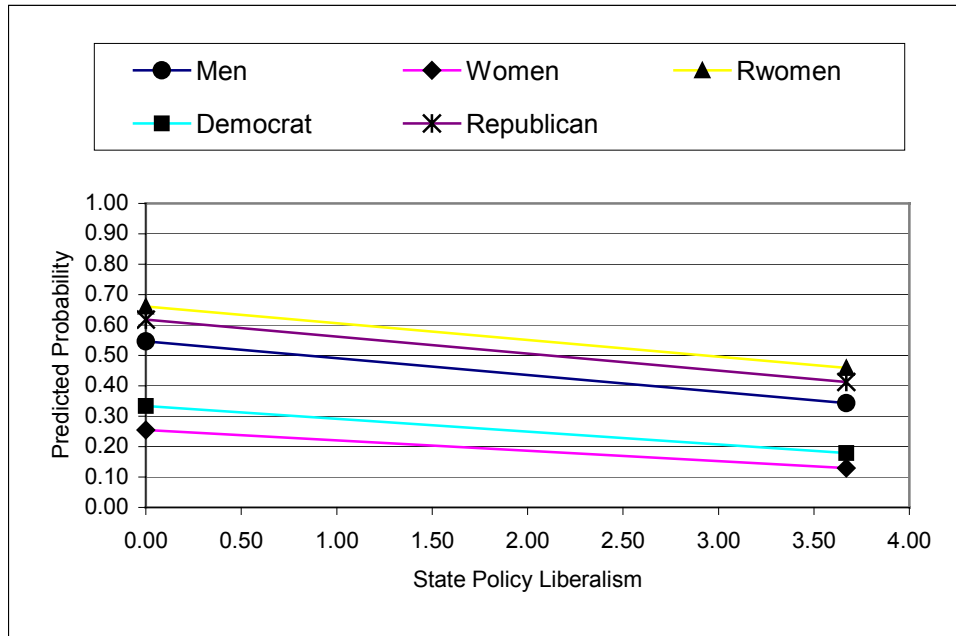
Figure 10. Predicted probabilities for "Require manufacturers to provide child-safety locks with firearms"
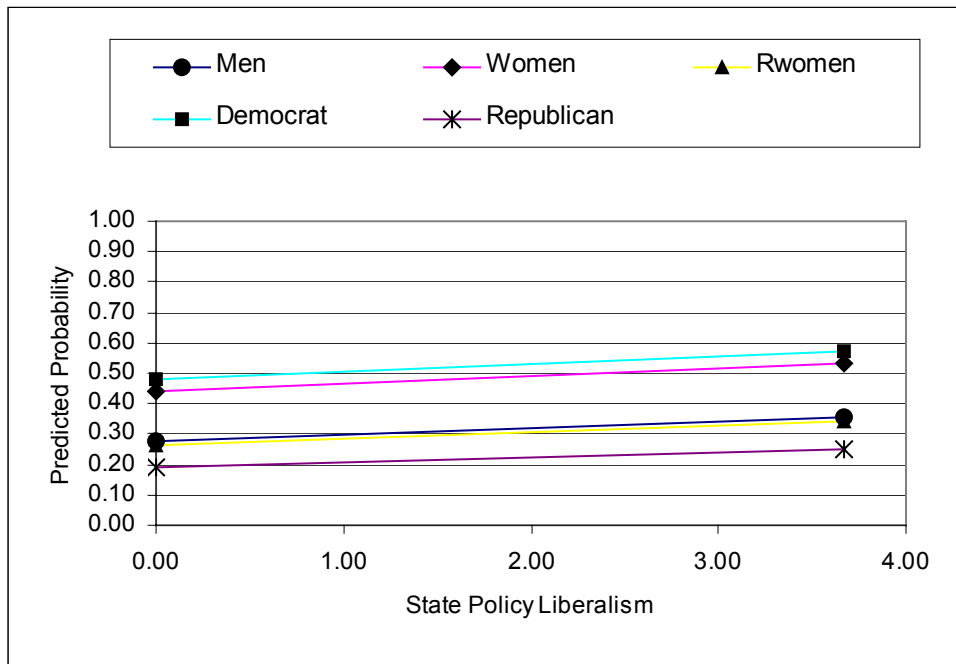
Figure 11. Predicted probabilities for "Ensure that citizens have access to basic health care, through managed care, insurance reforms, or state-funded care where necessary"
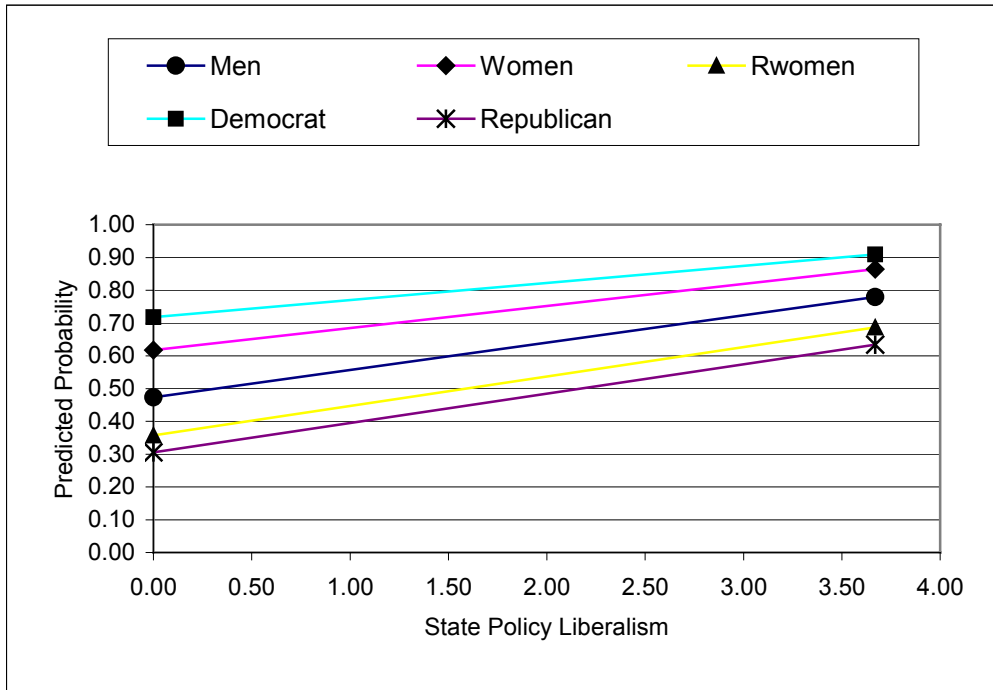

Figure 12. Predicted probabilities for "Requirement that able-bodied [welfare] recipients participate in work activities in order to receive benefits"
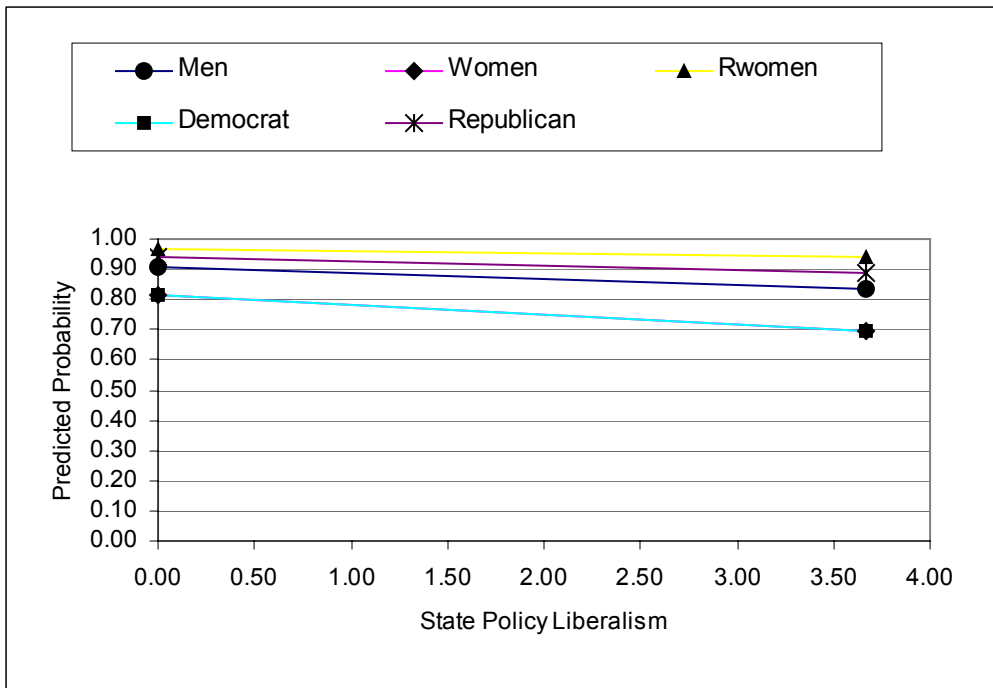
Figure 13. Predicted probabilities for "Limit benefits given to recipients if they have additional children while on welfare"
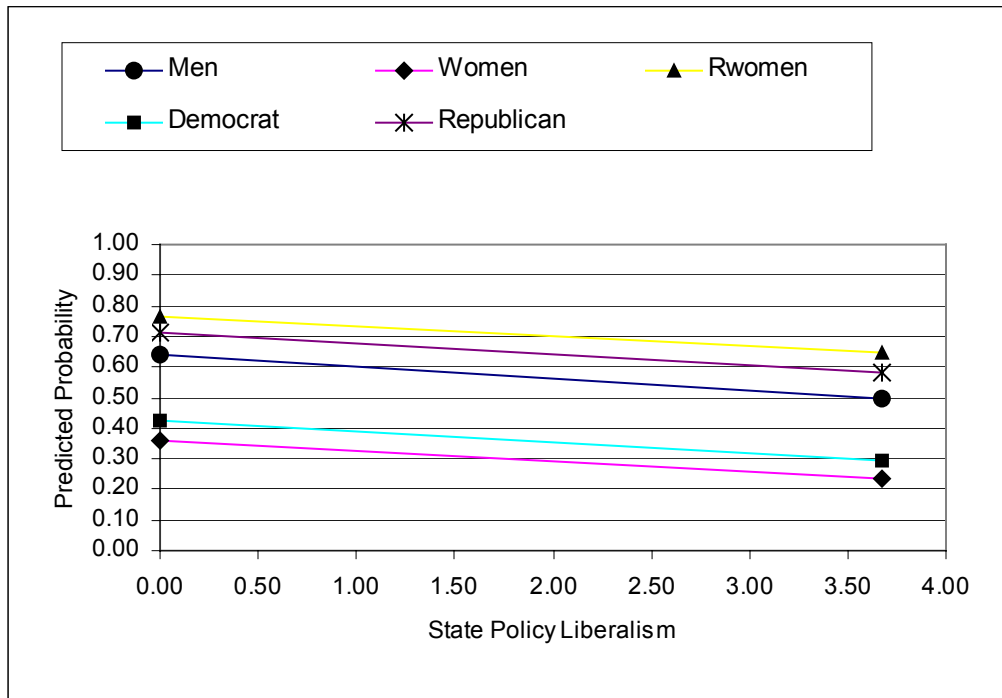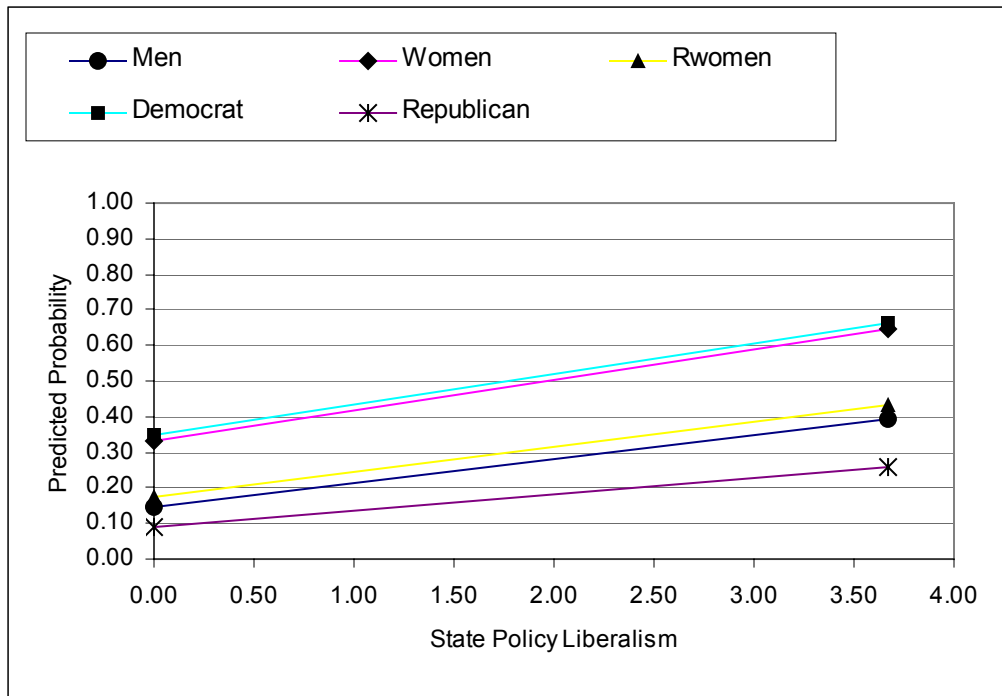

Figure 14. Predicted probabilities for "Support sex education programs which stress safe sexual practices"

Appendix A

Coding for dependent variables created from the NPAT survey:

Women's Issues (Table 3):
1. Inform communities when a convicted sex offender moves into the community.
2. Abortions should always be legally available.
3. Increase state funding for programs to prevent teen pregnancy.
4. Provide tax credits for businesses that provide childcare for their employees.
5. Increase state funds to provide childcare to children in low-income working families.
6. Deny or suspend state-issued permits and licenses to parents who are delinquent in paying court-ordered child support.
7. Strengthen penalties and sentence for sex offenders.
8. Support for affirmative action in college and university admissions.
9. Support for affirmative action in public employment.
10. Support for affirmative action in state contracting.

Education (Table 3):
1. Increase state funds for professional development of public school teachers and administrators.
2. Increase state funds for school construction and facility maintenance.
3. Increase state funds for hiring of additional teachers.

Health Care (Table 3)
1. Ensure that citizens have access to basic health care, through managed care, insurance reforms, or state funded care where necessary.
2. Provide health care to uninsured children.
3. Use state funds to continue some Medicaid coverage for legal immigrants.

Social Issues (Table 3)
1. Increase state funding for programs to prevent teen pregnancy.
2. Increase state funds to provide child care to children in low-income working families.
3. Deny or suspend state-issued permits and licenses to parents who are delinquent in paying court-ordered child support.
4. Increase state funding for community centers and other social agencies in areas with at-risk youth.
5. Support state funding of programs for at-risk youth such as guaranteed college loans and job training and placement.

Welfare Issues (Table 3)
1. Increase employment and job training programs for welfare recipients.
2. Provide childcare for welfare recipients who work.
3. Increase access to public transportation for welfare recipients who work.
4. Allow welfare recipients to remain eligible for welfare benefits while saving money for education, starting a business, or buying a home.

Children's Issues (Table 3)
1. Require manufacturers to provide child-safety locks with firearms.
2. Provide health care to uninsured children.
3. Provide tax credits for businesses that provide childcare for their employees.
4. Increase state funds to provide childcare to children in low-income working families.
5. Provide childcare to welfare recipients who work.

Dependent variables in Table 4 were all choices in the education, health care, welfare and social issues categories except 1) Guaranteeing medical care to all citizens is not a responsibility of state government; and 2) Eliminate government-funded welfare programs.

Appendix B

The following information was taken from "The National Political Awareness Test: A Study of American Political Candidates" by Project Vote Smart, November 2000, pages 3-4.

The National Political Awareness Test is designed to be an impartial evaluation of candidate positions in national and state elections. Researchers at Project Vote Smart start by using national polls, national party platforms, and the State of the Union Address and the State of the State addresses to create a set of issues. These issues and various positions on them are evaluated by political scientists and journalists and then by Project Vote Smart's Founding Board Members to make sure the NPAT is not biased.

The survey is then mailed to all candidates who have filed with the FEC. The candidates are given 4-6 weeks to complete and return the survey. During this time they are contacted a minimum of four times to remind them of the survey. Interestingly, response rate to the NPAT has declined in recent years. Candidates give three main excuses for not answering the survey: they did not receive it, they get too many questionnaires and/or only reply to ones accompanied by a campaign contribution, and the issues presented on the NPAT are too black and white and not realistic. Some candidates also express reservations about committing to these issue positions by choosing them during an election period – i.e., they would rather not let voters know their stands on the issues.

To pool the sample for my use, questions were only used if they were comparable across all states.

Sample NPAT for the Wisconsin Legislative Elections:

Base Fields

1: Candidate ID
2: State
3: Office Seeking
4: District Seeking
5: Fist Name
6: Last Name
7: Party

Abortion

8: Indicate which principles you support (if any) concerning abortion.
9: a) Abortions should always be legally available.
10: b) Abortions should be legal only within the first trimester of pregnancy.
11: c) Abortions should be legal only when pregnancy resulted from incest, rape, or when the life of the woman is endangered.
12: d) Abortions should be legal only when the life of the woman is endangered.
13: e) Abortions should always be illegal.
14: f) Abortions should be limited by waiting periods and parental notification requirements.
15: g) Prohibit the late-term abortion procedure known as "partial-birth" abortion.
16: h) Support "buffer zones" by requiring demonstrators to stay at least 15 feet away from abortion clinic doorways and driveways.
17: i) Other
18: j) Should Wisconsin government funding be provided to clinics and medical facilities that provide abortion services?
19: k) Do you support mandatory life imprisonment of any physician who performs a "partial-birth" abortion?

Affirmative Action

20: Indicate the principles you support (if any) concerning affirmative action. State government agencies should take race and sex into account in the following sectors:
21: a) College and university admissions
22: b) Public employment
23: c) State contracting
24: d) Other

Crime

25: Indicate which principles you support (if any) to address crime.
26: a) Increase state funds for construction of state prisons and for hiring of additional prison staff.
27: b) Support contracting with private sector firms to build and/or manage state prisons.
28: c) Support the use of the death penalty.
29: d) Oppose the death penalty.
30: e) Implement penalties other than incarceration for certain non-violent offenders.
31: f) Inform communities when a convicted sex offender moves into the community.
32: g) Increase state funds for programs which rehabilitate and educate inmates during and after their prison sentences.
33: h) Decriminalize the use of marijuana for medicinal purposes.
34: i) Strengthen penalties and sentences for drug-related crimes.
35: j) Strengthen penalties and sentences for sex offenders.
36: k) Lower the blood-alcohol-content limit defining drunk driving.
37: l) Prosecute juveniles who commit murder or other serious violent crimes as adults.

38: m) Other

39: n) Do you support sending Wisconsin prison inmates to out-of-state prisons?

Economy and Employment

40: Indicate which principles you support (if any) concerning the economy and employment.

41: a) Provide low interest loans and tax credits for starting, expanding, or relocating businesses.

42: b) Reduce state government regulations on the private sector in order to encourage investment and economic expansion.

43: c) Support limits on cash damages in lawsuits against businesses and professionals for product liability or malpractice.

44: d) Increase funding for state job-training programs that retrain displaced workers or teach skills needed in today's job market.

45: e) Increase state funding to promote the tourism industry in Wisconsin.

46: f) Other

47: g) Do you support expanding legalized gambling (e.g. casino gambling) in Wisconsin?

48: h) Do you support reforming the federal milk pricing system?

Education

49: Indicate which principles you support (if any) regarding education.

50: a) Increase state funds for professional development of public school teachers and administrators.

51: b) Encourage private or corporate investment in public school programs.

52: c) Provide parents with state-funded vouchers to send their children to any participating school (public, private, religious).

53: d) Favor charter schools where independent groups receive state authorization and funding to establish new schools.

54: e) Support sex education programs which stress abstinence.

55: f) Support sex education programs which stress safe sexual practices.

56: g) Increase state funds for school construction and facility maintenance.

57: h) Increase state funds for hiring of additional teachers.

58: i) Endorse teacher-led voluntary prayer in public schools.

59: j) Increase state funding to reduce class size in more school districts throughout the state.

60: k) Support a "zero tolerance" policy that requires expelling a student for carrying a gun or knife to school.

61: l) Provide education tax credits for college tuition and expenses.

62: m) Other

63: n) Do you support measures to make it more difficult for K-12 teacher associations to go to binding arbitration in their negotiations with school districts?

Environment & Energy

64: Indicate which principles you support (if any) regarding the environment and energy.

65: a) Require the use of cleaner burning fuels in order to prevent pollution.

66: b) Support "self-audit" legislation which creates incentives for industries to audit themselves and clean up pollution.

67: c) Require a cost/benefit analysis to determine the economic impact of proposed environmental regulations before they are implemented.

68: d) Require the state to fully compensate citizens when environmental regulations limit uses on privately owned land.

69: e) Provide funding for recycling programs in Wisconsin.

70: f) Request added flexibility from the federal government in enforcing and funding federal environmental regulations.

71: g) Suspend participation in unfunded, federally mandated environmental protection legislation.

72: h) Restructure the electric utility industry to allow consumers to choose their power company.

73: i) Other

74: j) State environmental regulations should not be stricter than federal law.

75: k) Do you support the state mining "moratorium" which requires companies to submit an example of a pollution-free mine before opening a similar one in Wisconsin?

76: l) Do you support allowing citizen boards to appoint the secretary of the Department of Natural Resources?

Government Reform

77: Indicate which principles you support (if any) regarding government reform.

78: a) Do you support limits on the number of terms of the following Wisconsin officials?

79: 1) State Senators and Representatives

80: 2) Governor

81: b) Do you support limiting the following types of contributions to state legislative candidates?

82: 1) Individual

83: 2) PAC

84: 3) Corporate

85: c) Do you support requiring full and timely disclosure of campaign finance information?

86: d) Do you support imposing spending limits on state level political campaigns?

87: e) Do you support partial funding from state taxes for state level political campaigns?

88: f) Would you vote to ratify an amendment to the U.S. Constitution requiring an annual balanced federal budget?

89: g) Do you support requiring organizations that sponsor issue advocacy commercials to fully disclose their receipts and expenditures?

90: h) Do you support requiring all out-of-state organizations that give money to Wisconsin candidates to obey Wisconsin campaign finance laws?

91: i) Do you support limiting transfers of money between political action committees or campaign committees to $100?

92: j) Other

Gun Issues

93: Indicate which principles you support (if any) concerning gun issues.
94: a) Ban the sale or transfer of all forms of semi-automatic weapons.
95: b) Increase state restrictions on the purchase and possession of firearms.
96: c) Maintain state restrictions on the purchase and possession of firearms.
97: d) Ease state restrictions on the purchase and possession of firearms.
98: e) Repeal state restrictions on the purchase and possession of firearms by law-abiding citizens.
99: f) Favor allowing citizens to carry concealed firearms.
100: g) Require manufacturers to provide child-safety locks with firearms.
101: h) Other

Health Issues

102: Indicate which principles you support (if any) regarding health issues.
103: a) Provide tax incentives to small businesses that provide health care to their employees.
104: b) Ensure that citizens have access to basic health care, through managed care, insurance reforms, or state funded care where necessary.
105: c) Provide health care to uninsured children through BadgerCare.
106: d) Transfer more existing Medicaid recipients into managed care programs.
107: e) Use state funds to continue some Medicaid coverage for legal immigrants.
108: f) Limit the amount of damages that can be awarded in medical malpractice lawsuits.
109: g) Guaranteeing medical care to all citizens is not a responsibility of state government.
110: h) Other

Social Issues

111: Indicate which principles you support (if any) regarding social issues.
112: a) Increase state funding for programs to prevent teen pregnancy.
113: b) Provide tax credits for businesses that provide child care for their employees.
114: c) Increase state funds to provide child care to children in low-income working families.
115: d) Provide an annual site visit for every certified child care provider, including provisional providers.
116: e) Deny or suspend state-issued permits and licenses to parents who are delinquent in paying court-ordered child support.
117: f) Favor banning smoking in public places.
118: g) Increase state funding for Head Start in order to serve additional children and/or increase services from a half to a full day.
119: h) Increase state funding for community centers and other social agencies in areas with at-risk youth.
120: i) Support state funding of programs for at-risk youth such as guaranteed college loans and job training and placement.
121: j) Other
122: k) Do you believe that the Wisconsin government should include sexual orientation in Wisconsin's anti-discrimination laws?
123: l) Do you believe that the Wisconsin government should recognize same-sex marriages?

State Budget

124: Indicate the funding levels you will support for the following general categories. Select one level only.
   125: a) Agriculture
   126: b) Education (K-12)
   127: c) Education (Higher)
   128: d) Environment
   129: e) Health care
   130: f) Law enforcement
   131: g) Transportation infrastructure (highways, roads, bridges)
   132: h) Welfare
   133: i) Other

State Taxes

134: Indicate the tax levels you will support. Select one level only.
   135: a) Alcohol taxes
   136: b) Capital gains taxes
   137: c) Cigarette taxes
   138: d) Corporate taxes
   139: e) Gas taxes
   140: f) Income taxes (incomes below $75,000)
   141: g) Income taxes (incomes above $75,000)
   142: h) Property taxes
   143: i) Sales taxes
   144: j) Other
   145: k) Do you support a flat tax structure for state income taxes?

Welfare

146: Indicate which principles you support (if any) regarding welfare.
   147: a) Maintain the five-year limit on welfare benefits.
   148: b) Maintain the requirement that able-bodied recipients participate in work activities in order to receive benefits.
   149: c) Increase employment and job training programs for welfare recipients.
   150: d) Provide tax incentives to businesses that hire welfare recipients.
   151: e) Provide child care for welfare recipients who work.
   152: f) Increase access to public transportation for welfare recipients who work.
   153: g) Allow welfare recipients to remain eligible for benefits while saving money for education, starting a business, or buying a home.
   154: h) Limit benefits given to recipients if they have additional children while on welfare.
   155: i) Eliminate government-funded welfare programs.
   156: j) Permit welfare recipients to get technical training as part of their work requirement.
   157: k) Other

Legislative Priorities

    158: Please explain what your two main legislative priorities will be if elected. Please explain how you would obtain any additional government funding needed to implement these priorities.