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Holly M. Cox

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FROM SUFFRAGETTES TO GRANDMOTHERS: A QUALITATIVE  
TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF FIVE  
FEMALE POLITICIANS IN UTAH'S *DESERET NEWS*  
AND *SALT LAKE TRIBUNE*

by

Holly Melissa Cox

A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
Brigham Young University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Mass Communications

Department of Communications  
Brigham Young University

December 2008

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

Holly Melissa Cox

This thesis has been read by each member of the following graduate committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

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As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the thesis of Holly Melissa Cox in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

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ABSTRACT

FROM SUFFRAGETTES TO GRANDMOTHERS: A QUALITATIVE  
TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF FIVE  
FEMALE POLITICIANS IN UTAH'S *DESERET NEWS*  
AND *SALT LAKE TRIBUNE*

Holly Melissa Cox

Department of Communications

Master of Mass Communications

This thesis examines press coverage in the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* of five female politicians in Utah history: Martha Hughes Cannon (1896), Reva Beck Bosone (1948), Karen Shepherd (1992), Enid Greene Waldholtz (1994), and Olene S. Walker (2003). A total of 438 articles were reviewed using qualitative textual analysis. Coverage by candidate varied, though it was not in general overtly biased concerning candidate gender. However, the press did call attention to the gender of candidate and gendered commentary was present. The press also called attention to the rarity of women running for high political office and addressed the ability of candidates to balance the roles of wife/mother/homemaker with a political career. This thesis contributes to the overall understanding of newspaper coverage of female politicians and provides a window into the cultural as well as political history of Utah. Suggestions for further research about media coverage of female politicians are made.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### ***Background***

Long before the passage in 1920 of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Utah already had granted provincial suffrage to the women of its territory. In 1870, just two months after Wyoming became the first state to grant suffrage to women, Utah enfranchised its women. Later that year, Utah women were the first to vote legally (Gates 1922, 53). When that right to vote was subsequently nullified by the passage of the federal anti-polygamy Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, Utah women became deeply involved in the cause of suffrage (MacKay 2005, 374). Early Mormon pioneers boasted close ties to national suffragettes, and despite widespread alarmist attitudes towards the practice of polygamy, suffragettes like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony visited Utah to rally women—and men—to their cause (Iversen 1990, 152).

On January 4, 1896, President Grover Cleveland signed the proclamation admitting Utah as the forty-fifth state in the union (Woodward 1999, 53). Later that year, a groundbreaking election sent three women to the Utah congress: one senator, Martha Hughes Cannon, and two representatives to the house, Eurithe K. LaBarthe and Sarah Elizabeth Nelson Anderson (MacKay 2005, 377). From that time forward, Utah women were consistently involved in state political life; “in all subsequent elections, except those of 1900 and 1910, women have run for political offices in Utah” (MacKay 2005, 377). In the ensuing years, women have served in both state and federal Congress, as representatives to the Democratic and Republican National Conventions, as mayors throughout various Utah towns, and in other high-ranking positions (MacKay 2005, 384; Center for American Women and Politics 2007).

## *Contribution*

To date, there has been relatively little research done on the newspaper coverage of successful (i.e. winning) female politicians, and even less research devoted to successful female politicians in Utah. This thesis fills that gap by adding to the academic literature about newspaper coverage of successful female politicians and providing understanding of the ways in which the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News* discussed five major female political figures in Utah history—state senator Martha Hughes Cannon (1896–1901), Senator Reva Beck Bosone (1948–1952), Representative Karen Shepherd (1992–1994), Representative Enid Greene Waldholtz (1994–1996), and Governor Olene S. Walker (2003–2005)—in campaign coverage surrounding their winning elections.

While Cannon is joined by a total of twenty-six other women who served in the Utah State Senate, she holds the position of being both the first woman in Utah to do so, as well as the first female state senator ever in the United States. This distinction sets her apart and emphasizes her importance in the history of Utah female politicians.

More than one hundred years later, in 2003, Olene Walker broke another barrier in Utah politics by becoming the state’s first and only female governor. While Walker ascended to the governorship when Michael O. Leavitt was tapped for a federal position, and thus never technically ran a “winning” campaign for that office or was forced to battle for the position in the public arena, her groundbreaking position in Utah politics is such that she must be included in any study of media coverage of the state’s successful female candidates.

Both of these women—by virtue of their unique place in politics—made a significant impact on the state of Utah and are therefore justifiably important in a study of media coverage of female politicians in Utah. The remaining three women chosen for this study—

Reva Beck Bosone, Karen Shepherd, and Enid Greene Waldholtz—all served in the U.S. Congress. Indeed, they comprise all the women ever elected to represent Utah at this national level. The researcher’s justification in choosing these five women for the study relies both on their important position in Utah political history and their prominence in Utah news media coverage. In addition—and quite fortuitously—the political service of these women spans virtually the entire history of the state of Utah, beginning with Cannon’s election in 1896 and ending with Walker’s governorship from 2003 through 2005.

The literature has shown that very few academic studies have been conducted on news media coverage of winning female politicians throughout the U.S. and the researcher has been unable to find any studies specific to news coverage of female politicians—successful or not—who campaigned in Utah. Furthermore, it has shown that female candidates are often stereotyped in news coverage, with reporters focusing more physical characteristics or personality traits instead of on political stance or issues. Women are forced to battle ageism and looksism when running political campaigns, and are presumed to be better at dealing with the “softer” social issues.

By seeking to understand the treatment of successful female politicians in Utah through news coverage in the state’s two largest and longest-lived newspapers, a greater understanding of the political and cultural environments of Utah may be perceived. Using qualitative textual analysis, this thesis reviews the newspaper coverage of these five women, then analyzes that coverage through a gendered lens. A total of 438 articles, paid political advertisements and letters to the editor were reviewed. These comprise a census of all articles mentioning the five female candidates by name in both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* for three weeks prior and one week following each election day.

Chapter two of this thesis provides context by reviewing the literature, as well as clarifying the political context of Utah and the role of newspapers in elections. The methodology and research design of this thesis are detailed in chapter three. Each of the five women discussed in this thesis are then reviewed in chapters four through eight, in which copious quotations from both newspapers appear and trends in coverage are detailed. All analysis is delayed to the final chapter, which provides insight on the newspaper coverage for each of the five women individually, as well as a whole. This chapter also proffers suggestions for future research and limitations.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

In order to properly understand news coverage of each of the female candidates, the historical and political environment surrounding each election must be touched upon. The literature review for this study includes a brief foundational discussion of the general political context of Utah, which will be briefly expanded upon in each chapter to offer historical context for the elections. Furthermore, an understanding of the role of newspapers as a source of information is important, as is the history of Utah's two competing dailies—the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News*. A review of studies touching on past and current coverage of female politicians in the news helps place this study in context.

### *Political Context of Utah*

While the United States Congress debated the question of women's suffrage in the territories "as an experiment," both Wyoming and Utah took a bold step by enfranchising their women—Wyoming in 1869 and Utah in 1870 (Pearson and Madsen 2005, 38). In the August 1870, women voted for the first time since New Jersey disfranchised women in 1807 with the rewriting of its state constitution (MacKay 2005, 363). This monumental move towards suffrage by Utah was followed by other progressive events—for instance, just two years later, in 1872, Utah admitted two women to the bar, a then unheard-of measure (Pearson and Madsen 2005, 59).

Part of this atmosphere of acceptance may have stemmed from powerful religious influence in the Utah Territory. Founded by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS Church or Mormons), the majority of people living in Utah regarded the church president and territorial governor, Brigham Young, as their spiritual as well as secular leader. In 1869, he issued a call to church members:

We have sisters here who, if they had the privilege of studying, would make just as good mathematicians or accountants as any man; and we think they ought to have the privilege to study these branches of knowledge that they may develop the powers with which they are endowed. We believe that women are useful, not only to sweep houses, wash dishes, make beds, and raise babies, but that they should stand behind the counter, study law or physic, or become good bookkeepers and be able to do the business in any counting house, and all this to enlarge their sphere of usefulness for the benefit of society at large (Pearson and Madsen 2005, 58).

Another high-ranking official in the LDS Church, Orson F. Whitney, wrote in 1906 that part of the fundamental belief and “witness of the truthfulness” of the LDS Church was that it made provision for “the uplifting and advancement of woman” (Beecher et al. 1979, 91). Women in the LDS Church were encouraged at every turn to develop themselves and exert their rights—spiritual, mental, and political. So it should come as no surprise that Utah women fought for political position in a time when women were not a part of the so-called public life. This enterprising spirit is reflected in Mary Cook’s 1874 campaign to become the Salt Lake County Superintendent of Common Schools, as well as her sister Ida’s 1877 campaign to be elected Superintendent of Schools in Cache County. Both women were ruled ineligible to hold office in 1877. The following year, three women were elected delegates to the county convention of the Mormon People’s Party, and Emmeline B. Wells was nominated for county treasurer. Again, it was ruled that women could not hold office, a ruling that marked the beginning of a two-year campaign by Utah women to amend the law. The first attempt failed, but the second attempt, in 1880, passed, only to be blocked when the federally-appointed territorial governor, Eli Houston Murray, refused to sign off. With that

blow, women made no more effort to hold elective office until statehood (Pearson and Madsen 2005, 63).

Sixteen years later, in 1896—the same year it became a state—Utah elected the first-ever female state senator during a landmark election that also seated two women as state representatives. It would be another twenty years before Montana sent the first female federal official—single and wealthy Jeanette Rankin—to the United States Congress, and yet another eight years before the first female governors—Nellie Taylor Ross of Wyoming and Miriam A. Ferguson of Texas—came to office in 1925, each succeeding her deceased husband in office (Braden 1996, 32).

Despite such progressive measures early on—including bragging rights as one of the first states to offer woman suffrage (MacKay 2005, 377)—Utah has consistently ranked lowest in the West for percentage of women in elective office (ibid., 360). In 2005, Utah ranked twenty-eighth among all the states in number of female state legislators in office (Hovey and Hovey 2005, 107). In 2007, Utah’s legislature perfectly reflected the national average of women in the U.S. Congress, with only seventeen percent female—fifteen representatives and three state senators. It is in this less-than-encouraging atmosphere that Utah women have nonetheless fought for, and achieved, high-ranking political office.

### ***The Role of Newspapers in Elections***

Newspapers have a long tradition of providing information to the community and serve the political functions of expressing opinion and circulating political and economic information (McQuail 2002, 30). A recent study found that “people are generally skeptical of news . . . but do rate newspapers with the highest credibility,” more than Internet and TV news (Kiouisis 2001, 381). Such findings suggest that even in a culture flooded with multiple



news sources, newspapers maintain a powerful position as reliable media outlets.

Furthermore, Druckman found that not only do newspapers play a significant role in informing the electorate, but they also fill a unique niche by providing locally relevant information (2005, 477).

Newspapers have historically served the public as purveyors of information about the political system. Research has shown that voters rely on newspaper coverage of politics when making voting decisions (Devitt 2002, 445; Druckman 2005, 476). It is precisely this power the news media wields that drives the need to understand the source. Varvur postulated that the way voters come to know about political events or candidates is through “mediated constructions,” and, therefore, it is imperative to understand the relationship between these constructions and the cultural environment in which they were created (1998, 215).

The mainstream news media shape the informational environment in which citizens make partisan choices, form opinions about policy and governance, and develop (or reinforce) ideological frameworks for interpreting information (Fletcher and Everett 1991, 182). This becomes more of an issue in light of Kahn’s findings that voters see the political landscape through the eyes of the news media. In statewide races, voters gather most of their news about campaigns and candidates from state newspapers. This, in turn, may be problematic for women running for office, as the media differentiates coverage for male versus female candidates (1994, 171). For instance, in Senate races, Kahn found women receive less coverage than males, and the coverage they do receive is more negative. Both the lack of press attention and the negative cast to what attention is given hamper the campaigns of female candidates and reduce the likelihood that voters will endorse them at the polls (ibid., 172). Together with McDermott’s findings that a decline in partisan identification has

led voters to choose the “candidate as a person” rather than as a member of a political party, this gives the news media an alarming amount of power over voter perceptions of candidates (1998, 896).

Pascale suggested that because newspapers cannot convey everything about a given event or person in print, readers must fill in the blanks in the narrative gap with assumptions drawn from social contexts and common sense (2005, 252). These assumptions are informed by both gender and race, as McDermott postulates, with gender acting as an “informational cue” for voters in low-information elections (1998, 912). Voters then use these social and political stereotypes to help make decisions between candidates (*ibid.*, 914). This effect is alleviated for voters living in larger states, where—not surprisingly—there is more opportunity to become informed in political races. Political communications are heightened during electoral campaigns, as news organizations and political parties regard elections as media events or battles fought on the media stage (Trimble and Sampert 2004, 51). During presidential election years, access to information further increases (Kahn 1991, 370).

In the frontier atmosphere of early Utah, newspapers filled a slightly different role than the one they hold today. As McQuail noted, “early newspaper was marked by its regular appearance, commercial basis ... public character and its multiple purpose ... it was used for information, record, advertising, diversion and gossip” (2000, 20). These early frontier papers contained “relatively stale” foreign news, national and state political news, advertisements, “and miscellaneous offerings which could be loosely termed literary” (Nelsen and Nelson 1969, 645). The early papers of Utah were no different, containing loose bits of information, essays, political statements, national and regional news (generally outdated), and delivering it all in short—often random—paragraphs. These historical

differences in journalistic standards and style are vital to keep in mind when reviewing coverage from the 1800s with present-minded expectations.

Nonetheless, newspapers have long filled a particularly vital role in American society—especially before the invention of more current media, such as radio, television, and the Internet. As the only wholesale source of information for a community, newspapers were relied upon and served as a rich source for both local and national information. When additional sources developed in later years, information became more readily accessible, somewhat diluting the informational monopoly of newspapers. McQuail noted that an excess of media channels has “undermined once-stable social definitions” of newspapers, which “may now be as much an entertainment medium, or consumers’ guide, as it is a source of information about political and social events” (2000, 32).

### *Newspapers in Utah—the Deseret News & Salt Lake Tribune*

The history behind the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News* is a long and colorful one. After the Utah Territory was settled by Mormon pioneers in 1847, Brigham Young—President of the LDS Church and political leader of the pioneers—established the *Deseret News* in 1850 to serve as the voice of the LDS Church. As more “gentiles,” or those not of the LDS faith, moved into the state, the *Deseret News* developed over time to represent the community more and the LDS Church less (McLaws 1971, 116).

However, not to be outdone by the “Mormon newspaper,” the *Mormon Tribune*—self-proclaimed “Organ of the Liberal Cause in Utah” (Ashton 1950, 170)—initially published in January of 1870. Within a year, the *Mormon Tribune*, which originally aimed at “reforming” the LDS Church, developed into the *Salt Lake Tribune*, a bitterly anti-Mormon publication that was “trying to tear it down” (ibid., 173), and vowed to “oppose all

ecclesiastical interference in civil or legislative matters” (Scherer 2003, 43). Within three years, *Tribune* reporters were banned from Mormon City Council meetings and “responded by accusing the church-state leadership of ‘bigotry, fraud, rancor, and delusion,’ . . . later label[ing] the *Deseret News* ‘the lying Church organ.’ *The News* . . . decried the *Tribune*’s editors as ‘dirty-minded scandal mongers,’ ‘pen-stabbers,’ and ‘defamers of the dead’” (ibid.).

Not surprisingly, the two dailies championed very different political views from the beginning. The *Deseret News* campaigned hard for statehood and advocated suffrage, often espousing the views of Eastern suffragettes on their pages (Ashton 1950, 169). Simultaneously, the *Tribune*, after being sold to outsiders in 1873, shifted its editorial stance away from suffrage, fearing that it would provide polygamous women, and hence the LDS Church, a way to gain power (MacKay 2005, 370).

Throughout the history of Utah, outbursts of rancor and conflict have marked the relationship of the two major dailies in the Salt Lake area (Scherer 2003, 46). Still owned by the LDS Church, the *Deseret News* is as comfortable in its self-proclaimed position of staunch conservatism as the *Salt Lake Tribune* is in its liberalism (Wilson 2003, B4). Salt Lake City is one of only thirteen American cities operating two major dailies in tandem (Fidel 2000, D14). Indeed, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News* currently operate under a JOA (joint operating agreement), sharing some of the facilities and resources involved in production. While that long-time competitive—now interdependent—relationship serves to exacerbate the feisty relationship between the papers, it also provides a rich source of information stemming back to the very founding of the state.

### *Female Politicians in the News*

Some of the original opposition faced by suffragettes in the United States sprang from fears that women would abandon their traditional roles as wives and mothers, thereby damaging society. As Dolan noted,

Men . . . are characterized as reasoned and rational, possessing intellect that makes them best suited for the public realm of business, political, and economic life.

Women, on the other hand, are driven by intuition, emotion, and a need to nurture, placing them most appropriately in the private world, the center of home and family.

For women, this dichotomy stresses the roles of wife, mother, homemaker, and caregiver (2004, 30).

Hence, the public life was generally reserved for men, and women stayed at home in the “private” life. This societal construct made the jump for women into the public realm an alarming one, as illustrated by the election coverage of Montana native Jeanette Rankin, who made a landmark bid for U.S. Congress in 1916. There was a distinct lack of press coverage during her campaign, and it wasn’t until she won the race that she became a novelty in which journalists showed great interest (Braden 1996, 20).

This quirk in media coverage of female politicians has continued down to the present. Today, although more than half of the U.S. population and labor force is female, women are often underrepresented in studies of news content, something that Len-Rios, et al. suggest is a result of reporters’ attempts to preserve hegemonic cultural norms (2005, 152). In her review of American women in politics, Larson noted that relatively little research has been conducted on media coverage of female politicians, as “it seems as though scholars lose interest in female candidates if they win their elections” (2001, 228). The few studies that

have examined news coverage of female politicians have discovered stereotypes and expectations surrounding their activity (Kahn 1996, 8). The majority of researchers seeking to understand the topic of gender and politics emphasize the differences between men and women in media coverage. Miller analyzed the 1994 gubernatorial election between Ann Richards and George W. Bush, comparing their gender identity (1997, 222). His study found that women—even those incorporating masculine identities—tend to have a weaker political identity. The existence of this weaker identity may be related to Braden’s finding that reporters talk about women politicians within the bounds of traditional gender roles and license themselves to ask women questions they would not ask their male counterparts (1996, 2), such as “What’s it like to be a woman governor?”

The majority of studies reviewing media coverage of female politicians during campaigns focused on gender differences in the character traits of politicians. Dolan noted that women candidates have stood out because of their rarity and are often met with hostility from voters (2005, 36). Amundsen determined that women have been denied access to political power because of their gender and have been shut out of political realms (1971, 16). Not surprisingly, more recent studies have found that female politicians are perceived as more compassionate, nurturing, honest, moral, passive, dependent, emotional, and gentle than men (Thomas 1997, 28; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991, 110; Kahn 1996, 66; Len-Rios et al. 2005, 153). Women also run into the “double bind” of being negatively perceived when forced to choose to either “act like a woman,” and hence be perceived as “weak,” or to communicate or “act like a man,” and hence be perceived as aggressive (Sullivan and Turner 1996, 11).

In a study conducted on women in the television news industry, Lake found that obstacles for women in the public eye include ageism, balancing career and work, and looksism, or a focus on physical appearance (2006). Lake further found that print coverage of the “fight” between two widely-known news anchorwomen in 2005 did little to bring attention to their qualifications or contributions, instead focusing on the “trivial aspects” of their lives. Lake suggested this perpetuation of female stereotypes extends to women in similar, highly-visible professional positions, such as politics.

In addition to discussing the personality traits of successful female politicians, media coverage often mentions physical appearance and feminine virtues (Kahn 1996, 13). This tendency to accentuate personal traits and behaviors of female politicians surfaced with the election of Jeanette Rankin, the first woman to serve in the U.S. Congress. That coverage emphasized Rankin’s appearance, as well as the fact that “she was skilled in the womanly arts” (Braden 1996, 3). Ann Richards, former governor of Texas, referred to this attention in a more current setting when she discussed the stigma attached to female politicians who change their hairstyle after entering the public arena—if they do, public perception and media coverage can lead people to believe they are unable to make up their mind (ibid., 6).

This focus on the physical and social traits of high-profile women carries over into the political realm where Banwart, et al. found that news coverage across both primary and general races defines female candidates in terms of gender, children, and marital status, which in turn affects how voters view a female candidate’s ability to hold office (2003, 673). This focus on the coverage of traits is further exacerbated by Kahn’s finding that female candidates for governor are actually more likely to talk about their own personality traits than are their male counterparts (1994, 155).

Women are also perceived to be most capable of handling the “softer” social issues, such as education, environment, health care, minority rights, and drug issues. In contrast, men are perceived as being more competent in dealing with the economy, agriculture, and security (Bullock and Maggiotto 2003, 2; Kahn 1994, 156; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991, 110; Kahn 1996, 66). McDermott found that voters have a tendency to stereotype women as being “more ideologically liberal and more competent on social welfare and ethics issues than men candidates are” (1998, 912). Because of this, female candidates receive less support among traditional and older voters (*ibid.*, 913). Kahn determined that it is wiser for female incumbents to emphasize leadership ability and competency in “male” issues (1992, 512), and Huddy and Terkildsen found that female candidates succeed when they communicate their “atypicality” to voters, though this is complicated by the media’s perpetuation of gender stereotypes (1993, 520).

In addition, while working to overcome issue stereotypes and convince constituents they are capable of handling all matters, female politicians run into a further challenge with media representation. Kahn found that the media is more likely to devote horse race coverage to men as they are perceived as the “stronger” candidates and are more likely to wage a successful campaign (1996, 16). Scholars have found that female politicians receive less coverage on political issues than their male counterparts (Devitt 2002, 453; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991, 110; Kahn 1996, 132), and when they are covered, quotes are less likely to provide support for their stand on any given issue (Kahn 1996, 132).

In an early study, Kahn found that overall, sex stereotypes favor female candidates, emphasizing integrity and honesty and giving them a slight advantage. However, the difference in style of media coverage, which emphasizes appearance and personality over



issues for women, removes this advantage, putting female candidates at a disadvantage in the press (1992, 510). Koch's research agreed, postulating that ideological gender stereotypes lead to misrepresentation of candidates and their positions in the media (2000, 426). Further, Koch found that this gender-induced misrepresentation of political orientations, personal qualities, and issue competencies may work to the advantage of one gender and not the other, leading to serious political consequences and suggesting that "being female, at least with regard to its effects on perceptions of candidates' ideological orientations, hurts some women candidates but helps others" (2000, 427). Herson, et al. found that when female candidates capitalize on stereotypes by focusing on "female" issues and targeting women, they actually turn voters' dispositions toward gender into an asset (2003, 251). This powerful stereotyping likely factored into the success of female candidates in the 1992 elections—known as "The Year of the Woman" for the powerful showing of female candidates across the nation— as voters were seeking "caring and compassionate" candidates and therefore turned to women (Huddy and Terkildsen 1992, 521).

Kahn found that issues stressed in senatorial campaigns versus gubernatorial campaigns differ dramatically, with foreign policy and economic issues prominent in the former and social issues dominating the latter (1995, 33). This is interesting to note in combination with Huddy and Terkildsen's findings that women candidates running for higher office go out of their way to portray themselves as not conforming to typical gender stereotypes. Indeed, female candidates seek to convince voters that they possess masculine political strengths (1993, 504). And though Dabelko found that women running for the House of Representatives were significantly likelier than men to inject social issues into the election (1997, 133), this disassociation with gender stereotypes is even more pronounced in

paces for executive or national office, suggesting that “female” political strengths are neither a “liability for higher office nor a special asset for lower office” (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993, 518).

The study of media coverage of female political candidates—indeed, the advent of widespread successful female political candidates—is a fairly recent one, and no research was discovered dating back into earlier time periods addressed by this thesis. It is important to note that coverage of earlier candidates in this thesis will be viewed through the more recent lens provided by current research, though without any specific research questions.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### *Qualitative Research Design and Textual Analysis*

According to Lindlof, qualitative research is “well known for being inductive, emergent, unstructured, and, well, unruly” (1995, 66). Because of this less rigid and more fluid nature, qualitative research allows the researcher to enter the project and view information in its natural setting, leading to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Wimmer and Dominick 2003, 47). In short, qualitative research allows the researcher to “immerse oneself . . . and document the process of the immersion” (Lindlof 1995, 21). A qualitative approach allows for immersion in the topic—a topic that would be difficult to quantify or understand in a positivist paradigm.

Originally born of the literary technique of rhetorical analysis, textual analysis developed into a major Cultural Studies qualitative methodology during the 1940s and 1950s, providing an approach for the interpretation of media “texts” (Stern 1996, 62). A text may consist of “any intentional symbolic expression—verbal or nonverbal” (Griffin 1991, 15), and for the purpose of this paper was embodied in newspaper coverage—printed word only, including paid political advertisements, letters to the editor, and regular coverage, and excluding political cartoons. Because of its holistic nature and humanistic approach, textual analysis has the power to “convey specific ideologies of gender, race, class, sexuality, nation, and other ideological dimensions” (Kellner 2003, 14).

The ultimate goal of textual analysis is to come, as a society, to an understanding of how “we make and share sense about the world we live in” (McKee 2002, 144). This becomes even more vital when reviewing the power of the news media. Pascale noted that, in newspapers particularly, “much must go unsaid—sometimes because the information is deemed irrelevant or less important, sometimes because readers are expected to understand

social contexts well enough to either fill in or disregard narrative gaps” (2005, 252). In a historical piece, this becomes even more important. As Startt and Sloan (1989) point out,

Just as the media today help the public to gain understanding of current issues, so the media of the past enlighten historians about past public problems. Today’s media influence the public’s perception of the present world. So it was with the media in the past. Media are a part of the past that cannot be removed from it. To some degree, they have always reflected public whim, taste, and opinion, and to some degree they have shaped public and individual perceptions and opinions about aspects of society too numerous to mention. Have they been a mirror to society, a source of entertainment, a branch of commerce, or a forum for news, opinion, and business? . . . Mass media are essential elements in modern political life . . . The record of the mass media, consequently, is one of the richest of historical source, and it deserves the serious attention of historians (16).

In his basic introduction to textual analysis, McKee suggested that as members of society, we must understand the media and role of media in culturally constructing the world (2002, 144). By analyzing newspaper stories, “we get a better sense of how members of that community are interpreting the world around them” (ibid., 2). Because readers interpret their world as conveyed to them via the media, the power of newspaper coverage in national and local politics is significant. While some “posit that newspaper coverage influences voters” (Bystrom et al. 2001, 2003), Clark and Fredin noted that “people receive more information about statewide races from newspapers than from television” (Kahn 1994, 158). Furthermore, because newspaper coverage is influential, it should be studied to see how campaigns are covered in the press (ibid., 161). Historically speaking, Startt and Sloan suggested that

journalism and the press “cannot be separated from the broader society without becoming at best narrow and at worst trivial. Indeed, communication history engages the larger history of the past at so many points that it would appear artificial to classify it as anything other than history” (1989, 7).

Because textual analysis is concerned with unpacking “the political, social and cultural implications of the texts that we encounter (and produce) . . . uncover[ing] . . . implications and . . . challeng[ing] the status quo” (Hoey 2001, 3), it is an ideal methodology when approaching newspaper coverage. However, this “unpacking of implications” calls for a purely unbiased approach when wallowing in data. McKee warned the researcher to avoid claiming a text is either an “accurate” or an “inaccurate” representation, as there is no “simple, single representation of reality” against which a newspaper story can be measured (McKee 2002, 140). Indeed, there will always be another representation or text to measure against (Hoey 2001, 9). Startt and Sloan concurred, emphasizing that “. . . interpenetration should not be predetermined. The good historian does not set out with a theory and marshal facts to fit the theory. The best history is always a search for truth” (1989, 20). Furthermore, they noted that there is “no single cause . . . and understanding too that the causes of important events and institutional changes can never be known in full, we can appreciate that there is no room in historical causal explanation for dogmatic thinking” (ibid., 150).

This need to approach a text with no one interpretation or standard of “reality” makes the formation of specific and detailed research questions impossible. Stage and Manning pointed out that “although the researcher may have a general idea of the question to be pursued through the project, the nuances and details of that research question are most often revealed over time . . . Rarely is a question as clear in the beginning of the study as it is at the

end” (2003, 8). According to Startt and Sloan, historical research “requires a . . . mind that must be able to evaluate a wide range of material, subject it to intense scrutiny without the aid of formulae, and arrive at thoughtful conclusions” (1989, 11). A textual analysis calls for the researcher to immerse herself in data, seek trends, and then form questions and inferences at the conclusion of the study.

The researcher gained a greater understanding of the treatment of female politicians in the press by studying the treatment of female politicians in the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News*. By further placing the news coverage in proper historical context, the researcher drew “from publicly available knowledge to make sense of text . . . to make guesses about likely interpretations” (McKee 2002, 140). Startt and Sloan suggested a number of reasons for historical research, with some seeking to “close gaps in some important segment” of the record, while others “aspire to advance a new idea.” However, there are “no final answers, for none exist in historical study. The object of the historian’s quest is to provide an honest understanding of something in the past based on the best evidence available” (1989, 14).

Once newspaper coverage was thoroughly reviewed, the researcher characterized the nature of that coverage and compared and contrasted the findings for each of the women. However, as Startt and Sloan pointed out, much of what appears in newspapers—most especially in the past—is news mingled with opinion, and hence has already been filtered through the biases of the reporter, editor, and publisher of the paper (1989, 135). In addition, because any interpretation of coverage has filtered through the lens of the researcher’s own experiences and opinions, readers must remember that “each reading of a text is only one possible reading from one critic’s subject position, no matter how multiperspectival, and may

or may not be the reading preferred by audiences” (Kellner 2003, 15). Indeed, there “is, then, a definite personal element in history related to the historian’s stance between past and present and to his or her limited knowledge of both spheres ... Like journalists, historians are products of their own social environments; they can never completely escape the conditions that shaped and continue to shape them” (Startt and Sloan 1989, 47).

### ***Research Design***

Each of the five women selected for this study had a major impact and were of great importance in the history of Utah politics. Although nearly 150 women have served in the Utah House of Representatives (see Appendix A), there have been a mere twenty-seven female Utah state senators, of which Martha Hughes Cannon was the first (see Appendix B).

Nearly 50 years later, in 1948, Reva Beck Bosone was the first woman elected by Utah to serve in the United States Senate. Another 40 years passed before Representatives Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene Waldholtz faced off in the 1992 and 1994 back-to-back elections for a federal position—the first time that occurred in Utah history. Furthermore, the second time they faced each other—the 1994 election—marks the first time in Utah a woman unseated another woman for a federal position.

After serving eleven years as lieutenant governor, Olene Walker ascended to serve as Utah state governor from 2003 through 2005 when Governor Michael Leavitt was appointed to a federal position. Governor Walker has the distinction of serving as the only female governor of the state of Utah (see Appendix C).

Reflecting the news values of timeliness and unusualness (Scharrer and Bissell 2000, 60), it is assumed that news coverage of each candidate would be most frequent and representative immediately surrounding the actual election. Hence, to capture the most

relevant coverage, a census of all articles, paid political advertisements, and letters to the editor appearing in both the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Deseret News* within a four-week period of each election of these women—and, in the case of Governor Walker, her ascension to the governorship after Michael Leavitt’s removal to Washington, D.C.—were studied. For example, as Martha Hughes Cannon was elected on November 5, 1896, a census of all relevant articles in both the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune* in which Cannon is mentioned by name in the three weeks preceding her election and for one week following her election are tapped. This process of pulling articles for three weeks preceding and one week following election—and for Governor Walker, ascension to office—is adhered to for each of the five women. For the double head-to-head campaigns of Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene Waldholtz in 1992 and 1994, all articles in the four-week window mentioning either candidate were pulled for each election.

The articles were found by two methods. For the election coverage prior to 1990—i.e. Martha Hughes Cannon and Reva Beck Bosone—articles were found by manually reviewing the complete microfiche records of both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* during the specified time periods. Any articles, editorials, and paid political advertisements mentioning the candidates by name were identified and copied. For elections held after 1990, both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* offered online electronic archives and indexes of their news coverage. The researcher performed online searches of the archives using candidate names as keywords. For the 1992 and 1994 coverage in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the electronic search results were then used as a guide to go back into microfiche and locate each article listed. For the 2003 *Tribune* coverage, electronic archives of the complete articles were available, and the articles were simply printed out. The *Deseret News* archives allowed the



printing of electronic versions of the 1992, 1994, and 2003 election coverage directly, without the need to reference microfiche.

For the 1896 election coverage of Martha Hughes Cannon, nine articles were found in the *Deseret News* and sixty-six—thirty-five of which were simply vote tallies by precinct—were found in the *Salt Lake Tribune* during the specified four-week period, for a total of seventy-five articles. The 1948 Bosone election coverage was comprised of thirty-three articles in the *Deseret News* and thirty-one in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, or sixty-four articles overall. The first election where Shepherd and Greene faced off turned up thirty-seven articles in the *Deseret News* and forty-five in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, for a total of eighty-two. The second time Shepherd and Greene Waldholtz faced off, a total of 137 articles were found, with sixty-two in the *Deseret News* and seventy-five in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Finally, in 2003, coverage of Walker included twenty-nine articles in the *Deseret News* and fifty-one in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, for a total of eighty articles. Together, the 438 articles, paid political advertisements, and letters to the editor pulled from the two newspapers constitute the research text of this thesis. A list of these articles can be found in Appendix D.

By drawing news coverage out of two parallel sources—the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune*—it is assumed that a broader picture concerning media coverage of these candidates has been achieved. Together, these two major papers provide a complete view of media coverage and opinions via both articles and editorials concerning the five women during these particular history-making moments. Because the news coverage dates back more than one hundred years, it is impossible for the researcher to fully understand the cultural atmosphere or time period in which each article was written, nor is it possible to have a complete feel for historic journalistic standards. Indeed, Schiffer’s research illustrates “the

danger of assuming balance as a baseline without accounting for environmental or candidate-specific contingencies of the time horizon under examination” (2006, 34). The natural personal bias of the researcher, therefore, may be aggravated by a lack of understanding, or by viewing news coverage through a twenty-first-century lens. As Startt and Sloan pointed out, “in effect, the way in which historians explain history reflects, to some degree the culture of their own times” (1989, 21).

Additionally, because this represents an isolated study of female politicians as covered in two Utah newspapers, any results drawn cannot safely be generalized to newspaper coverage of female candidates on the whole. Nevertheless, in the case of female politicians in Utah, the use of this four-week window should provide a rich, descriptive snapshot of the type of media coverage that was afforded each woman.

### **Procedure**

After all the articles were accumulated and summarized, the researcher “wallowed” in the data, searching for trends and tone. This method of full immersion in the text lends itself to the discovery of themes, which were then discussed in depth for each woman. The coverage was organized according to subheads derived by analyzing the data, and the researcher has characterized the nature of press coverage by citing copious quotes and examples.

### **Analysis**

After the coverage of each politician was analyzed, the researcher then compared and contrasted these individual characterizations of the female politicians as an aggregate. This allowed for a review of trends in the coverage of female politicians over the one-hundred year span covered in this study. Finally, the researcher summarized and concluded by

considering the findings in a theoretical context—how does theory inform the findings, and how do the findings, in turn, inform theory.

#### **Chapter 4: Senator Martha Hughes Cannon (1896)**

In 1896, the women of Utah regained the right to vote and exercised that right for the first time in a presidential election. Democrat William Jennings Bryan opposed Republican William McKinley on the platform of “free silver”—an issue that divided the nation but found great popularity amongst Utah’s mining population. The 1896 election garnered as much media coverage as a presidential election, but the governor of Utah had been elected one year previous, perhaps lessening the local impact of the election. However, there were still a number of offices to fill in the infant state and Democrats swept the election. After the election, the legislature consisted of three Republicans, three Populists, and thirty-nine Democrats in the house and one Populist and seventeen Democrats—of which Cannon was one—in the senate (*ibid.*, 158).

Martha Hughes “Mattie” Cannon was born July 1, 1857, in Wales, and immigrated to Utah as a three-year-old child with her parents in 1860. She married Angus Cannon—a prominent member of the upper echelons of Utah society—in 1884, becoming the fourth of his six polygamous wives. Mattie, too, was prominent in Salt Lake, as a practicing doctor who had spent two years in England, both to practice medicine and to avoid the legal consequences of polygamy (Sillito and Lieber).

Cannon was in a unique situation living in the Utah Territory. Founded by the Mormon pioneers in 1847, Utah lent a surprising amount of credence to its women on the frontier. Women wielded influence as members of the Relief Society—the Mormon Church’s arm for adult women—where they assumed economic, professional, and community responsibilities both individually and as members of the society. When the passage of the federal Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887 removed women’s right to vote in the territory, the would-be state was plunged deep into the cause of suffrage, drawing the women of Utah—

including Mattie Hughes Cannon—close to national suffragettes like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

In conjunction with receiving the right to vote in 1896, women also were granted the right to run for political positions. Three women campaigned for a seat in the state senate, and four women ran for seats in the house—two of whom won. In addition to the landmark candidacy of Martha Hughes Cannon—who faced off against her husband, Republican Angus Cannon—another landmark was reached with the first-ever African-American candidate for Utah state legislature, W.W. Taylor, making a bid as a Republican. Although he lost, he still garnered more than 6,500 votes (Powell 1994, 158).

The only real medium for carrying election information to Utahns in 1896 was the newspaper. Papers at that time were substantially different in format from the newspapers of today. Lacking headlines and bylines, each page of the paper was painstakingly created in small paragraphs and columns of text, with very little attention paid to general layout. Instead, as information was gathered, it was typeset and added to the broadsheets. It was not unusual to see one piece of information printed in a column and then contradicted by another, more recent piece of related information, laid on consecutive pages—occasionally, even on the same page.

### ***Voter Registration***

This cobbling together of information is obvious in a few instances of the 1896 *Salt Lake Tribune* election coverage. On October 13, the “Business Review” column of the *Tribune* contained three separate reminders to local residents to register for the upcoming election. The first blurb reminded readers that “today is the first of the two set apart by law” for registering. There follows a paragraph about the marriage of an English girl to a

“Cinghalese merchant,” with the next paragraph pleading with residents to check their name and residence on the list of registered voters. An intervening paragraph mentioned the use of a spectroscope in dating museum material, and is then followed by another plea to citizens to register.

“Every man and woman who knows that their names are not on the list should see to it today. Every man or woman who knows a neighbor who has not registered should go to that neighbor this morning and make life a burden to him or her until the duty has been performed.”

It appears that the newest citizens of the United States highly valued the hard-won vote. In the October 13 edition of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, we learned that a house-to-house canvass was conducted in Salt Lake in order to register all eligible voters. Returns from the majority of registration agents showed that 6,369 men and 7,198 women had registered in the city, with 2,254 additional men and 2,064 additional women registered in the county. However, in comparison to records from the previous year—when only men were allowed to vote—there was a serious shortfall of eligible voters, estimated at roughly 3,000 in the county. Two weeks later, the October 25 edition of the *Tribune* reported new registration numbers of 24,464 voters in the city and county—12,804 men and 11,660 women. These numbers are interesting to compare against the *Deseret News* totals, which ran just one day later on October 26. The numbers there—in city and county combined—totaled 12,972 men and 11,792 women, a difference of 168 men and 132 women.

From the amount of coverage, presumably the canvassing efforts and regular encouragement to get out and vote in the pages of both the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News*, the political landscape was in the forefront of public attention. What appears to be an

editorial piece ran on October 20 in the *Deseret News*. Though not marked as an editorial, the writer pled with readers to exercise their duty as citizens by voting and expressing their will in local and national matters. The unnamed author of the editorial noted that, “party promises often are broken as freely as they have been made, and with injurious results. The old maxim, put not your trust in princes, might well be paraphrased today to read, put not your trust in politicians.” The author continued by asking citizens to vote according to issues and not according to which candidate seemed “good.”

In neither paper during this time frame does much coverage specific to Martha Hughes Cannon appear. The *Salt Lake Tribune* makes more mention of Cannon than the *Deseret News* by about three times, but both papers are relatively quiet about this first official legislative candidacy of a woman.

#### ***Coverage Specific to Martha Hughes Cannon***

Only two instances of coverage specific to Cannon appear in the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune*. An October 21 article in the *Tribune* mentioned speeches made by both Martha Hughes Cannon and Fisher Harris, another Democratic candidate. The article stated that Martha Hughes Cannon, candidate for the state senate on the Democratic ticket in Salt Lake County, spoke to a “large and enthusiastic audience” at the opera house in Brigham City (a small farming community roughly 60 miles north of Salt Lake) on “the financial” issue—meaning, most likely, the issue of free silver. On October 27, the *Tribune* reported that “Mrs. Cannon” made a firm speech, emphasizing the importance of “local voters marking a straight ticket.” According to the article, she claimed that some were trying to confuse female voters, urging them to vote a straight ticket but also place an “x” by the name of Mrs. (Emmeline) Wells—a “personal friend” of Cannon’s. Voting in this manner would

invalidate the ticket, and the article suggests that Cannon was concerned about unscrupulous people misleading novice female voters.

### ***Newspaper Bias***

There also appears to be no media or political commentary specific to Cannon in either of the papers during the time period reviewed. The coverage in both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* was presumably written by a variety of authors, though without any bylines it is difficult to tell. It is impossible to understand whether the authors or newspapers themselves had an agenda, but unlike newspapers of today which generally—at least in appearance—strive to provide a somewhat balanced view, there seemed to be no compunction in attempting to sway readers one way or the other in the pages of the early Utah newspapers. For example, the following blurb ran in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on October 30 in conjunction with a listing of Republican candidates:

Angus M. Cannon has been a resident here almost from boyhood. He has filled many important stations and with perfect satisfaction. He knows almost every inch of the soil of Utah from personal observation: he knows the wants of the State as well as any man within its borders. He is a gentleman of superior abilities, and is an all-around clear-cut man of affairs. We know of no one who has the slightest doubt of his election.

In a November 2 *Salt Lake Tribune* article, the Republican ticket was presented in a broad spread with each candidate—including female candidates—appearing in a sketched portrait with a short biography. There is no consistent style to the artwork, which suggests that each candidate may have been allowed to submit their own sketch in conjunction with article, with the overall spread expounding on the qualifications of the Republican ticket



members. Nothing of this kind appeared for the Democratic nominees in general, nor for Martha Hughes Cannon specifically, suggesting a possible bias towards the Republican Party on the part of the *Tribune*.

### ***Women in the Elections***

Despite the media's lack of coverage or reaction to the rarity of a female candidate, there are a few instances in which we glimpse the attitude of voting citizens to the candidacy of women. An October 25 article in the *Tribune* mentioned a Democratic meeting held in the LDS Church's 11th Ward meeting house (in early Utah, a "ward" was both a religious division of area and a division of political voting district), where Mrs. Margaret A. Caine "made an earnest plea for fair treatment of women candidates. She insisted that it would be most unjust for the voters of either party to discriminate against the women on their ticket simply because they were women." In addition to Mrs. Caine's speech, two other speeches and a "campaign recitation" were made. After the elections, in a November 4 *Tribune* article which covered election returns, the author made a cryptic comment about the "anxiety" of female candidates: "some of the woman candidates displayed the customary anxiety of the novice, and overdid the matter of vote solicitation."

### ***Candidate Information***

Information of a general nature concerning all the candidates appeared regularly in the pages of both newspapers. On October 25, the names and addresses—both residential and business—of those running on the ballot appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Republican Angus M. Cannon Sr. appeared directly above his wife, Democrat Martha H. Cannon, in the article. However, the reported residential address for each of the Cannons is different, suggesting that Martha and her husband maintained separate homes, a custom which was not

unusual in polygamous marriages. The candidate name and address listing ran again on October 26 and November 1. On October 26, the *Tribune* also ran a list of all the legislative nominees, both those running for state senate and house. District number 6 (Salt Lake) listed all ten candidates running for the five “at large” seats open: Angus M. Cannon Sr., A.V. Taylor, J.S. Daveler, E.G. Rognon, Emmeline B. Wells, B.A. Harbour, Martha H. Cannon, David O. Rideout Jr., George A. Whitaker, and John T. Caine.

In addition, blown-up versions of a sample ballot, along with voting instructions for straight party ticket voting, were regularly printed in both the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News*. The ballot appeared in the *Tribune* on October 25, October 26, and November 1; it appeared in the *Deseret News* on October 17, October 24, October 31, and November 4.

### ***Election Results***

Elections took place on November 3 and voting results by precinct began to trickle in on November 4 in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. The paper reported on November 4 that a “Heavy Vote Was Cast,” but the election was “extremely quiet.” In the introductory paragraph at the top of the story, we learn that “Many Women Enjoyed the Novelty of Voting” and receive a report of “Some Amusing Incidents.” Thereafter follows an acknowledgement by the author of the strength of the “heavy woman vote,” as well as commentary on the new voters making “many amusing mistakes.” Most of those incidents related to women voting a “full” ticket by marking an “x” next to every name on the ticket.

The author further pointed out the furor surrounding the entire voting event, reporting that thousands of people spent most of the night downtown, “until midnight the principal streets of the city were crowded with throngs of excited, questioning people ... all vied with

one another in noise-making, the result was pandemonium. After midnight the crowds thinned, and the noise grew less, but still the uproar continued until the last doubt vanished.”

The *Deseret News*, too, began running election returns reports on November 4. On page two of that edition, a reprint of the ballot appears with a column to the side noting that “it is safe to approximate that not less than ninety per cent of the men and women who had their names on the registration rolls expressed their wishes at the polls yesterday. The women’s vote was fully as large in proportion to that of the men if in fact was no larger.”

The following day, November 5, the *Tribune* reported that Martha Hughes Cannon had been elected in the Sixth District. Two pages later, in the same edition, we learn that Angus received 8,054 votes, while Martha topped her husband at 10,288 votes. On the same day in the *Deseret News*, we find Mattie Cannon listed as a winner in the Sixth District, along with David O. Rideout Jr., George A. Whitaker, and John T. Caine. The *Salt Lake Tribune* listed vote totals—albeit different ones from the *Deseret News*—with Angus M. Cannon coming in with 8,054 and Martha coming in with 10,338.

Martha Hughes Cannon served two terms in the legislature and was particularly involved with issues of public health. The birth of her third child came at the end of her second term in office (Women of the West Museum). After leaving the legislature, she served on the Utah Board of Health and as a board member of the Utah State School for the Deaf and Dumb. In later years, Mattie divided her time between Los Angeles and Salt Lake, and within a few years of her husband’s death in 1915, she settled permanently in California where she worked for the Graves Clinic. She died in Los Angeles in 1932 (Sillito and Lieber).

## **Chapter 5: Senator Reva Beck Bosone (1948)**

The “Democratic domination of Utah” continued in 1948 with the presidential win of Harry S. Truman over Republican Thomas Dewey. In Utah, history was made when Reva Beck Bosone became the first woman from Utah elected to the U.S. Congress, with 92,770 votes to incumbent William A. Dawson’s 68,693 votes. In other Utah elections, two-term Democratic incumbent governor Herbert B. Maw was defeated by Republican J. Bracken Lee, though the legislature remained Democratic, with twelve Democrats and eleven Republicans in the senate and forty-one Democrats to nineteen Republicans in the house. Two major issues were at stake during the election: liquor law enforcement and permitting liquor sale by the drink. Other issues included opposition to the Clegg-Vest labor statue and public welfare. (Powell 2008).

### ***Election Ballots and Race Information***

On October 24, the *Deseret News* listed all 261 districts and their registration agents in the city/county of Salt Lake, encouraging all eligible voters to take part in the upcoming vote. In addition, sample ballots appeared multiple times in both papers. However, unlike the ballots printed during the 1896 race, the majority of ballots reprinted in the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News* were specifically either Democratic or Republican, sponsored by a political party, and appeared together with political messaging as advertisements. For instance, while the *Tribune* ran a regular sample ballot on October 25 and the *Deseret News* ran ballot reprints on October 25 and October 31, the ballots appearing thereafter were sponsored by and listed only candidates for one party: November 1 by the Republican Committee for Law Enforcement (*Salt Lake Tribune*); November 1 by the Democratic Party (“Vote It Straight”) (*Deseret News*); and November 2 by Salt Lake County Democratic Campaign Committee (“Vote It Straight”) (*Salt Lake Tribune*). On each of the full ballots,

Reva Beck Bosone appears under the title “For Congressman (Second District),” with no gender modification of the title or office accorded (*Deseret News*).

In a presidential election year with much going on in the political world, the *Salt Lake Tribune* nonetheless made special note of the gubernatorial campaigns of incumbent Herbert J. Maw and J. Bracken Lee. An October 31 article referred to the political battle as holding the “campaign spotlight.” However, the *Tribune* continued, “running close seconds to the gubernatorial headliner [is] the congressional contest between . . . Incumbent William A. Dawson (R) and City Judge Reva Beck Bosone (D) in Second District.” Political analysts for both the *Tribune* and the *Deseret News* seemed to favor Bosone’s chances to win, and in an October 23 *Deseret News* article, we read that “Politicos” were predicting a heavy scratch vote in Toole county in favor of Judge Bosone. A week later, again in the *Deseret News*, Reporter James O. McKinney noted that Judge Bosone is “favored slightly,” but that the strength of the respective Republican or Democratic national ticket “is expected to be the determining factor.”

In discussing her own chances of becoming the first woman to represent Utah in the U.S. Congress, Bosone declared herself “more optimistic about winning election to congress, since the opposition found it necessary to subject me to a vicious smear campaign.” She invited a laugh over opposition attempts to pin the Communist label to “anyone whose family has been enjoying its American heritage since 1620” (*Salt Lake Tribune*). Apparently both she and gubernatorial candidate Maw were striking back against some smear tactics used by the Republican Party.

Those campaigning for Judge Bosone sometimes played off her gender, as in an October 20 editorial in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Grant MacFarlane, Democratic State

Chairman, wrote a long piece for the regular column, “The Battle Corner,” noting that it was time “for a change that will give . . . positive action on high prices, health, education and public housing,” and stating that the voice of Judge Bosone needed be heard in Congress, where it “will be respected, as it is here in Utah.” MacFarlane goes on to say that “while Governor Maw, Rep. Granger and Congresswoman-to-be Bosome [sic] daily are bringing vital issues to the minds of the voters, the Republican candidates talk about beautiful scenery, either the lack of it or the need for same.” While the gist of MacFarlane’s editorial focused on the campaign issues, he closed his plea to voters with a reference to gender.

And it’s time to change the address of Judge Reva Beck Bosone from Salt Lake City to Washington, D.C. She already has a national reputation as a crusader for the public good. And that reputation will certainly stand her in good stead in our national legislative body. Never underestimate the power of a woman, and particularly when that woman is Judge Reva Beck Bosone.

As elections drew nigh, much of the coverage in the paper turned to encouraging voters to get out and do their duty, including coverage of rallies by both parties. On the front page of the *Tribune* on November 2, the final attempts made by candidates were noted as the races wound up. After first touching on final speeches by presidential hopefuls Truman and Dewey, *Tribune* Political Editor O.N. Malmquist then noted that much of the political excitement in the election had been generated by the close gubernatorial contest between Maw (D) and Lee (R). He continued by noting that “Democrats appear to be more confident of the two congressional seats (of which Bosone was vying for one), at stake than of other major offices.”

Both newspapers were careful to disclose information about campaign costs. On November 2, the *Salt Lake Tribune* ran an article revealing campaign expenses for the candidates. According to the *Tribune*, the Republican state committee “led in total disbursements, reporting an output of \$25,684 on behalf of GOP hopefuls.” The Democratic state committee listed disbursements of \$14,383. In the second congressional district, Representative Dawson, opposing Judge Bosone, was reported to have received \$3,000 in donations and to have spent \$1,812. Judge Bosone reported donations of \$584 and expenditures of \$873.

### ***Non-Campaign Newspaper Mentions***

One peculiarity in campaign coverage appeared in both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune*. Though Bosone was running for a congressional seat and by October was heavy into the elections, both newspapers ran articles about her activities as a judge without mentioning her congressional race. On October 18, an AP article in the *Deseret News* recapped a speech given by Judge Bosone to the National Safety Congress in Chicago. Bosone suggested that judges were being too lenient in dealing with traffic violations, saying “a lot of masculine judges have applied the powder puff most delicately to the injured feelings of traffic violators who think the laws were made for everyone but them.” Though the article is six paragraphs long and devoted entirely to Judge Bosone, it mentioned nothing about her current campaign for U.S. Congress. The *Tribune* also mentioned the Chicago conference on October 19, noting that Judge Bosone spoke at a “Safety Confab,” where she related her own experiences as a traffic judge in Salt Lake City. The article, again, talked only about her efforts to reduce speeding and other dangerous traffic behavior, with no mention of her run for political office in the seven-paragraph story.

While perhaps understandable at a national level, this trend continued in a more local report. An October 28 *Salt Lake Tribune* article reported on Judge Bosone's comments concerning her involvement in legislation providing "water for industrialization" in Provo. Again, at no point—either in her own comments as reported or in the article in general—is there any tie-in to her current run for office.

However, just two days later, the *Tribune* ran the headline "Bosone Lauded As Sponsor Of Water Act" and then failed to mention the water act in the text of the article. Instead it focused on Judge Bosone's campaign speech in American Fork (a city located about 30 miles south of Salt Lake) and her plea for legislation in "peace, inflation, housing and reclamation." Included in the article are portions of Salt Lake State Democratic Chairman Grant MacFarlane's comments. MacFarlane, clearly involved as a political campaigner, pointed to "Mrs. Bosone's" involvement in legislation that brought water to Utah Valley, as well as having "led the fight for the first Utah teachers' retirement act." He concluded "we Utah citizens need her kind of leadership and viewpoint in Washington."

### ***Rallies***

The *Salt Lake Tribune* mentioned a number of rallies at which Judge Bosone was slated to speak, usually in conjunction with other candidates (i.e. incumbent Governor Herbert B. Maw and Walter K. Granger, candidate for congress) and where she was occasionally represented in proxy (October 12, October 13, and October 20). At one of those rallies, Judge Bosone is reported to have emphasized the need for good law to be enacted despite party lines, calling strongly for legislation which "prevents war, improves housing, and ameliorates inflation."



In addition to rallies, clubs and organizations in the Salt Lake area often sponsored events with the candidates. On October 14, the *Deseret News* reported that the Exchange Club had invited a number of Democratic candidates to speak. This notice was repeated on October 15. Two days later, the *Deseret News* recapped a speech given at a Democratic rally in Salt Lake City. On October 19, the *Deseret News* reported that the Unitarian Laymen's League was sponsoring a forum titled "Moral Issues of the Campaign," at which Judge Bosone and two other unnamed representatives from the Republican and Progressive parties were slated to speak. The following day, the *Deseret News* reported that the labor legislative council of the local chapter of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America "indorsed" four Democratic candidates, including Judge Reva Beck Bosone.

The campaign trail was clearly busy. As elections drew nearer, the *Deseret News* reported that Judge Bosone would address a rally at Springville High on October 25, then later that night address the Provo Junior Chamber of Commerce; both cities are located roughly an hour south of Salt Lake and about 15 minutes apart by today's travel standards . Two days later, she was slated to address a rally at Alpine, and then later in the evening, to appear at a rally in American Fork—again, both Utah County locations, approximately 30 miles south of Salt Lake and roughly 30 minutes apart by today's standards. On October 28, the *Deseret News* reported that during a series of rallies held in Northern Utah, Judge Bosone reminded voters that she was a sponsor of legislation making the Provo River project possible. Finally, an October 30 *Deseret News* article touched on a speech Judge Bosone delivered in American Fork, where she stated that "frustration from insecurity of peace and insecurity as to economic stability of the future must be dealt with fearlessly and unselfishly." According to Bosone, the solution lay in "certain basic legislation, and that only

by voting for the welfare of children to come can the Congress bring stability out of confusion.”

### ***Political Advertisements***

Aside from articles covering Bosone’s campaign, a number of political advertisements ran in both newspapers during the campaign. On October 26, a large political advertisement appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* with a picture of Judge Bosone—looking off to the side and not directly at the camera—and a headline that read “Who is Reva Beck Bosone?” The advertisement then listed the following text:

- Nationally known welfare authority.
- Official United Nations conference observer.
- One of 4 Utah legislators who sponsored Metropolitan water act which made Salt Lake aqueduct [sic] and Provo river project possible.
- Served two terms in Utah house of representatives.
- A judge that has made nation-wide reputation for rehabilitation of alcoholics and aiding delinquent juveniles.
- Was high school teacher seven years.

Why her popularity?

- Her constant and friendly service has endeared her to all Utah.
- Her record for progressive legislation means she will continue that course in Washington.
- People have confidence she will ably and unselfishly represent them in Congress and will continue her fight for world peace.
- Her woman’s viewpoint lends added dignity and prestige in Washington.

Who are her sponsors?

- Labor, management, Republicans, Democrats, civic organizations, women's groups, men's clubs, farmers, ranchers and thousands of others who know she'll fight for the interest of Utah.

Paid political advertisement by Calvin W. Rawlings, 1345 Emerson Ave.

In addition to advertisements taken out in favor of Judge Bosone, some advertisements were more critical of Judge Bosone. A full-page ad, taken out on October 31 and placed on page B5 of the *Deseret News*, was addressed "To the Women of Utah" and accused Judge Bosone of accepting payment for work assumed to be "strictly philanthropic and humanitarian." The advertisement reported that Bosone's salary of \$3,000 was in addition to the \$8,000 salary paid for her service as judge, and the tone of the advertisement is clearly accusatory. The ad—which is labeled a "Paid political advertisement" and lists the names and addresses of nine women as sponsors—seems to have been the only negative campaigning against Bosone that appeared in this newspaper. However, it appeared again on October 28, on page A15, in slightly modified quarter-page format.

In response to those advertisements, an open letter addressed "To the Voters of Utah" appeared in the October 31 *Salt Lake Tribune*. In part, that letter read:

There has been no secrecy about the appointment and salary ... Any group professing 'surprise' at learning these facts is either seeking to mislead the people of Utah or has failed to keep up with the published news ... This is not a political advertisement, but is published at this time to prevent any misapprehensions that might arise from other sources and to clear the record for the voters.

The ad was a “paid non-political advertisement” by the chairman and members of the Utah State Board on Alcoholism.

On the same day, the *Salt Lake Tribune* ran the regular column “The Battle Corner” on B5—the adjoining page—where Grant MacFarlane, State Democratic Chairman, addressed the negative advertisement. His article began:

A slogan for the *Ladies Home Journal* always gives me an opportunity to sit back and reflect on the truth of their words: never underestimate the power of a woman. With that thought in mind, let’s continue it in our own amateurish manner: Never underestimate the power of a woman . . . Never underestimate Judge Reva Beck Bosone. If ever there was a champion of the people and for the people in Utah, it is Judge Reva Beck Bosone. It is no accident that Mrs. Bosone has not been subject to mudslinging in this campaign.

MacFarlane’s response then expanded to challenge those who may have doubted Bosone’s ability to serve because of her gender. He continued:, “Oh, there might be a few wives of prominent Republicans who . . . admit that they never read newspapers and thus profess no knowledge . . . But other than a few women whose obvious aim is pure politics, Mrs. Bosone’s campaign record has been excellent. Everyone knows Judge Reva Beck Bosone. And to know her is to respect her. And that respect and admiration will show itself Tuesday when Utah will send, for the first time, a woman to congress as representative from the Second Utah congressional district.”

Other political advertisements included a November 1 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, sponsored by a group of men and women urging voters to choose Reva Beck Bosone for Congress. To the left of her picture was the headline “Nationally Known Welfare

Authority,” with four listed points. To the right was the headline “Legislative Record Proves Leadership,” again with five points listed in her favor. And underneath was the headline “Famous Woman Jurist,” with four points. A similar ad ran on October 27 on page A11 of the *Deseret News*, again with her picture and bullet points noting her strengths (“nationally known welfare authority,” “UN conference observer,” “former legislator,” “judge,” and “was high school teacher seven years”). An October 31 ad in the *Deseret News* encouraged readers to “Vote the Victory Ticket,” listing all the Democratic candidates. A final ad appeared in the November 1 edition of the *Deseret News*, framing Judge Bosone as “The Candidate with the People’s Viewpoint.” All of those advertisements included pictures of Judge Bosone, and in each picture she appears in feminine clothing with carefully coiffed hair, dark lips, and a large corsage on her left shoulder.

### ***Political Environment***

On November 1, just one day before the election, both newspapers were suggesting various influences on the outcome of the election, from the strength of national political tickets to the forecasted weather (increasing cloudiness with rain in the afternoon). Judge Bosone was described as being “favored over her opponent,” despite the Republicans having the “upper-hand.” *Deseret News* reporter James O. McKinney also pointed out that a large vote was expected because of the interest whipped up by the contest for both the governorship and the presidency. Noted also are other seats up for grabs—five statewide offices (aside from governorship and two congressional seats), judicial candidates in seven districts, twelve state senators, and sixty new members to the Utah House of Representatives.

The local Utah papers captured some of this apparent political excitement, including public reaction to the relatively novel idea of women holding high-ranking political office.

An October 19 *Salt Lake Tribune* article out of the United Press in Chicago carried the headline “League Leader Says Woman President ‘Out.’” The article continued,

If the nation’s women could ever get together they could easily elect a woman president, an official of the League of Women Voters and Monday [sic]. But alas, said Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, “that will never happen.” She said that “if you’ve ever tried to get a bunch of women together on anything you’ll know what I mean.”

Fisher, president of the Illinois women voters’ league, continued by saying “a woman will have to stand on her ability and her political experience as an individual, and not as a woman, before men and women alike will feel enough confidence in her to elect her president.” . . . She ended by saying “After a woman senator, or mayor, or congressman has ceased to be a curiosity, women will have a chance to establish themselves as individuals and not mere women, she said.”

One day before the election, a *Deseret News* article written by a stringer out of Washington, D.C. described both the candidates and the likely results in the upcoming election, “Election day will be a very melancholy occasion indeed for the majority of the 30 women running for the House of Representatives. Most of the girls, Washington concedes, are in for a shellacking. . . Judge Reva Beck Bosone, among the new contenders for congressional seats, is also given a very good chance of election by political handicappers.”

The press seemed willing to admit a certain bias, and at times even seemed anxious to point it out. Reporter Katherine Johnson, a *Deseret News* Washington Correspondent, wrote a November 4 article on the front page, titled “Election Has Big Effect Upon Utahans [sic].” She wrote:

In addition to Thomas, another member of the Utah congressional delegation is due to become a national figure: Reva Beck Bosone. This is not because of what she has accomplished, or what she might accomplish. It is only because she is a woman. In the new congress there will be only eight women among some 550 men. The national spotlight will always be on them. When a woman comes to Congress . . . her every act makes news: how she dresses, whether she smokes or drinks, whether she gets on with the men in Congress, how she acts toward her husband if she has one, or if she hasn't one, why not (is she opposed to marriage?), whether she cooks or sews, etc. In fact . . . even going hatless could create violent political repercussions.

### ***General Election Results***

The November 3 issue of the *Salt Lake Tribune* covered the results of the election. A front-page article reported that “in the Second congressional district, City Judge Reva Beck Bosone reclaimed for the Democrats the congressional seat that they lost to the Republicans in the off-year election two years ago. She was running ahead of Republican Incumbent William A. Dawson by a decisive five to four ratio.” The numbers listed in the “Summary” section, though incomplete at the time, were Bosone (D) with 73,397 and Dawson (R) with 56,488. The *Deseret News* reported the results of the election as well, noting that Judge Bosone ran strongly ahead of her opposition all night and at no point did it appear she “would not prevail.” The *Deseret News* reported counts—though not quite final—that put her at 92,126 votes to Republican incumbent Dawson’s 67,988.

The front page of the November 3 edition of the *Deseret News* informed readers of the “powerful sweep” by Democrats into office—a sweep so strong it established a new voting record. The puzzled Republicans, when queried by reporters on the loss, responded

that “the Democrats got out a never before equaled labor vote as well as obtained wide support of the state’s housewives who constantly complain of high prices.”

Judge Bosone’s triumph was trumpeted both in and outside of Utah. A November 4 *Deseret News* article off the AP wires noted the wins of two more women—one Democrat and one Republican—who were elected to U.S. Congress, and mentions Bosone by name, “Judge Reva Beck Bosone, the first woman police judge in Salt Lake City, won on the Democratic ticket in Utah.” Locally, Judge Bosone’s win was newsworthy as well, and Bosone’s picture appears on page 4 of the *Tribune* on November 3, along with a statement from her in a column headlined “Utah Winners, Losers Give Vote Comment.” Appearing at the top, Judge Bosone stated, “I am extremely happy to be the first Utah woman to be elected to congress and I hope I am not the last. I am glad the campaign has closed. Emotion, bias and prejudice have been peculiarly absent from my campaign...”

### ***Election Results Specific to Bosone***

On the day election results appeared in both newspapers, the *Salt Lake Tribune* ran a substantial article on page 14 titled “Orchids On Her Shoulder: Utah’s First Congresswoman Is Overwhelmed by Honors.” The article opens, “and just what was the first woman ever elected to U.S. congress from the state of Utah doing on election night? Peacefully cooking spinach and squash for dinner. . . The cookery skill of Judge Reva Beck Bosone is one of her many accomplishments. She puts in pinches of rosemary or basil and everything tastes heavenly.”

The author of the article (no byline) noted that friends were rushing in and out, but Bosone sat down and played gentle, resigned music on the piano . . . Later on when the good news came over and folks began telephoning again they found her with the “weeps”



like any woman who has been under tension. But the judge hasn't red hair for nothing. With orchids on her shoulder and trailed by a crowd of excited and congratulatory admirers she entered downtown headquarters beaming. "Proud to be the first woman from Utah to represent a United States congress and hope I'm not the last one," said Judge Reva Beck Bosone . . .

After emphasizing the need to work steadily for two years, Bosone stated, "Secondly, I will have to watch everything I say or do because I not only will be representing the women of Utah, but also my sex throughout the nation. I'll have to be exceedingly careful and cautious in all ways."

The reporter listed some of Judge Bosone's accomplishments for the state and then wrote "it was for no small reason that she was elected to Utah's Hall of Fame, eulogizing women of Utah who have accomplished extraordinary things for the state."

Among her friends she is likely to be heard saying that the most important thing on earth today is the American home. She does not believe in neglecting that home for a career. Whatever job has been put up to her she has carried through with brilliance. Women of Utah say she will do the same in Washington.

A similar article appeared in the *Deseret News* Society Pages, where a broad spread appeared about "Mrs. Bosone" becoming Utah's first congresswoman. It featured a picture of Judge Bosone at the piano with her daughter, Zilpha, on the left, and a picture of a stoic Judge Bosone gazing at a portrait of her mother on the right. The newspaper reported that Judge Bosone's "first thoughts when this honor came to me were of my mother—because she has always been my inspiration." The reporter noted that Judge Bosone showed "delight" at being a trailblazer for other women, and relayed Judge Bosone's comment "that prejudice

against women in Utah is nil. Twelve years ago this was an item. Now it is no hurdle at all.”

“Mrs. Bosone” also stated that she had been careful on the bench in order to avoid jeopardizing “women’s position in public office, or reflect[ing] on their status.”

The article went on to note that Judge Bosone’s most enthusiastic supporter was her 18-year-old daughter, Zilpha. While the article mentioned the living situations of both Reva Beck and Zilpha Bosone, there is no mention made of Mr. Bosone—deceased, present, divorced, or otherwise. The article ended with a commentary on balancing public life with private life,

When asked how she finds time to carry on a career and keep up a home too, energetic Mrs. Bosone replied, ‘Anyone can do it who has enough ambition.’ It’s chiefly a problem of budgeting time, according to this efficient woman who does her own housework, cooking, and grocery shopping. This is the only year she has failed to can a bounteous supply of fruits, a fact she sincerely regrets.

Although she considered running for Senate in 1952, Reva Beck Bosone chose to run again for the House, but was smeared with “false charges of receiving kickbacks and being a communist sympathizer” (MacKay 2008). This negative reaction was likely due, in part, to being one of only four in the House who voted against funding for the CIA during a time of Cold War paranoia. She lost the election to William Dawson—the incumbent she had previously conquered (Utah Women’s Forum). The battle “left Bosone emotionally and financially drained.” After the loss, she pursued her law practice and worked as an office assistant. When the Democrats returned to power with the election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency in 1960, Bosone became judicial officer of the Post Office—the highest ranking

woman in that department. Bosone retired in 1968 and spent the next 15 years until her death in 1983 spending time with her family and speaking in the community (MacKay).

## **Chapter 6: “Round I” Rep. Karen Shepherd vs. Rep. Enid Greene (1992)**

The election of 1992—later to be known as “The Year of the Woman”—showed a marked decline in support for incumbent U.S. President George Bush and increased participation of women as candidates. Democrat Bill Clinton defeated George Bush nationally, Michael O. Leavitt was re-elected governor of Utah, and voters elected their first female attorney general, Democrat Jan Graham, and first female lieutenant governor, Republican Olene Walker. Indeed, for the first time in Utah history, all three candidates for governor had female running mates. In the state legislature, Republicans continued to control both houses with forty-nine to twenty-six in the house, and eighteen to eleven in the senate. The major issue facing Utah voters was an initiative to legalize pari-mutual betting on horse races, which failed by a vote of 449,052 to 296,529. (Powell 2008). In 1992, Democrat Karen Shepherd faced off against Republican Enid Greene for the 2nd Congressional District seat being vacated by Wayne Owens. After the election, a total of six women were serving in the U.S. Senate. This year also saw twenty-four women newly elected to the House with twenty-three incumbents returning, bringing the total to forty-seven women serving in the U.S. House (National Women’s Political Caucus).

### ***Campaign Funding: Money Spent and Earned***

The issue of campaign funding and expenditures is an integral part of the media coverage in elections. In an October 16 article in the *Deseret News* titled “Personal, donated funds fuel costly campaigns,” the expenditures of both Greene and Shepherd were outlined, with Greene being “outspent 2-to-1” by Shepherd. Shepherd by that point had spent \$328,569, with Greene spending a more modest \$168,919. In both this article and another appearing on November 7, the *Deseret News* pointed out that Wayne Owens, former

Congressman in this district, spent roughly \$1.1 million to win re-election in 1990, making Shepherd and Greene's expenditures "reasonable."

The *Salt Lake Tribune* also noted the "2-to-1" discrepancy in spending between candidates in an October 15 article titled "Shepherd Spending Twice as Much Money as Greene." The *Tribune* enumerated the sources of her funding, noting that Shepherd "is paying for her 2nd Congressional District campaign with hefty sums from unions, women's groups and with hundreds of small donations from abortion-rights supporters," while Greene "has backers in the tobacco and oil industries . . . [and] also enjoys the patronage of the wealthy Jon M. Huntsman family." The article also quoted Vince Shepherd—husband and campaign manager to Karen Shepherd— "defending his wife" by claiming the necessity to "play by the rules" and noting that women's PACs (political-action committees) are about more than just abortion and also "support Ms. Shepherd's . . . focus on health care, education and pay-equity issues."

The issue of financial support was vital in 1992. In an October 29 *Deseret News* article, Greene commented on the \$56,055 in donations from pro-choice groups to Shepherd's campaign—more than the totals raised by Democrats in the other two Salt Lake districts, "Pro-abortion forces are funding Karen expecting her to be one of their leaders," Greene said. "That's because she has been one of the most outspoken pro-life opponents in the state." Greene continued by defending a personal donation of \$57,257 to her own campaign as necessary to "keep up with the pro-choice money that Shepherd is receiving." Shepherd responded by reiterating what her husband had stated a few weeks earlier, pointing out that "many pro-choice groups consider abortion as only one of a broader range of issues affecting women. 'Choice may be the engine that drives them, but they are equally if not

more concerned with women's health, education, poverty, wage equity and the environment.”

While much of the coverage of finances touched on Shepherd's relationship with EMILY's List—a group which donates to the campaigns of pro-choice women—relatively little coverage touched on the sources of Greene's income. In an October 18 *Salt Lake Tribune* article, the founder of EMILY's List, who came to Utah to “give Congressional hopeful Karen Shepherd a green transfusion and bolster spirits,” commented that “political supporters are no longer perceived as angry, fist-waving women. Checkbook power can make Congress work better. The changes come little by little, piece by piece, \$100 check by \$100 check.” One of the only articles touching on national financial support for Greene appeared on October 4 in the *Deseret News*, noting that the National Republican Congressional Committee added Greene to its “national target list,” providing a check for \$1000 and a letter of endorsement. Committee Chairman Guy Vander Jagt remarked that “the NRCC only invests in races with victory potential . . . We've been watching this campaign closely and we like what we see. This campaign looks viable and competitive, and it holds great promise for November. We are very optimistic of its success.”

### ***Voting Makeup and Turnout***

In a presidential election year dubbed the “Year of the Woman,” there seemed to be increased interest and enthusiasm surrounding the 1992 elections. Shari Swenson, Salt Lake County recorder, suggested high voter turnout in a November 2 *Deseret News* article. “We figure we'll have about 80 percent of the eligible voters registered and 85 percent of those actually voting.” The article also notes some peculiarities to the election, including the fact that all three candidates in the governor's race chose female lieutenant governor running

mates, hence assuring Utah of its first-ever female lieutenant governor. Also noted in the article was the likely election of the first female statewide officeholder—Jan Graham, candidate for attorney general—and the assurance that Utah “will have its first congresswoman in 40 years after Tuesday’s election” as Shepherd and Greene faced off.

After the election, the *Deseret News* commented on the relative stability of the political makeup of Utah, suggesting that “anyone looking for significant shifts or major new lessons in the outcome of Tuesday’s voting in Utah had better be prepared to develop a serious case of eye strain.” The article continued by noting that more than eighty percent of registered voters in Utah turned out, voting powerfully but changing little. In a November 6 article, the *Deseret News* again pointed out that “more Utahns voted Tuesday than ever before. But the general makeup of the Utah electorate didn’t change a whole lot.”

### ***Polls and Poll Results***

Early on in the race for the 2nd Congressional District seat, a *Deseret News* poll found that Greene held a nine percentage point lead over Shepherd. In an October 8 article, the breakdown of support for Greene and Shepherd amongst the entire voting population—Democrats, Republicans, and Independents—was laid out. Greene had the support of a solid forty-three percent of Utah voters and Shepherd trailed at thirty-four percent. The article also noted that the race between Greene and Shepherd “got tougher this week when Shepherd starting running a radio advertisement saying Greene was running a negative campaign . . . Greene countered that Shepherd, not she, is the one running the negative campaign.” However, as the election drew closer, the *Deseret News* reported a shift in polling results, with an October 31 article announcing that Shepherd had pulled into the lead with forty-six percent of the vote, and Greene had fallen behind with forty percent. The *Deseret News* noted

that “Democrat Karen Shepherd and Republican Enid Greene are in a dogfight in the 2nd Congressional District, with Shepherd barely ahead.”

The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported a poll with slightly different numbers just one day later, with Shepherd boasting a strong forty-eight percent of the vote, and Greene only holding thirty-two percent. The *Tribune* emphasized in a related article that it was a “historic race between two women” and that “the winner of this eight-week campaign, in which Ms. Greene and Ms. Shepherd faced each other more than 30 times in head-on debates, becomes Utah’s second female member of Congress.”

### ***Election Results***

In the November 4 issue of the *Desert News*, full tallies for the 2nd Congressional District race between Shepherd and Greene appear twice, with Shepherd receiving 127,543 votes, or fifty-one percent of the vote, and Greene receiving 118,013, or forty-seven percent of the vote. Incomplete numbers appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on the same day. With only 362 of the 460 districts tallied, the *Tribune* put Shepherd at fifty-two percent of the vote with 96,959 votes and Greene at forty-six percent of the votes with 86,873 votes. It wasn’t until the following day, November 5, that the full tally appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. This may be the reason the *Salt Lake Tribune*’s November 4 front page edition reported that Enid Greene refused to comment on her loss. In an article titled “Utah’s GOP Keeps 3/2 Edge in D.C.,” the reporter noted that “Ms. Greene declined to concede because results were coming in slowly from the conservative southern part of the county. ‘It’s not over until the fat lady sings, and I haven’t sung yet’, said Greene.”

While the final tallies do make mention of the other two candidates running in the 2nd Congressional District, little mention is made of them by name in the majority of



political coverage, both leading up to the race and after the results were in. The final counts allotted 6,263 votes to A. Peter Crane (two percent), and 646 votes to Eileen Koschak (zero percent).

### ***Endorsements, Support, and Campaign Funding Sources***

As was the case in election coverage of Martha Hughes Cannon and Reva Beck Bosone, endorsements of local and national organizations were deemed newsworthy and important to the local constituency and were reported in both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune*. In the October 11 *Tribune*, readers learned that Greene “won a lucrative endorsement Saturday . . . [when] the National Republican Congressional Committee pledged \$50,000 to her campaign.” A week later, on October 19, the *Tribune* reported that Greene announced the endorsement of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The same article also noted that the National Council of Senior Citizens endorsed Karen Shepherd.

In a series of articles appearing in both papers during the week leading up to the election, further endorsements were announced, with the League of Conservative Voters, the Salt Lake Police Association, the Salt Lake County Firefighters Association, the Sierra Club, and the wives of two Democratic ex-Utah governors all supporting Shepherd. Greene boasted fewer announced endorsements, albeit some high-powered ones, with lame-duck governor Norm Bangerter and Senator Jake Garn speaking out in her support.

Both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on this “plug” by Bangerter on behalf of Greene. On October 20, the *Deseret News* noted that “Bangerter jumped into the increasingly nasty 2nd Congressional District fray, endorsing Greene—his former deputy chief of staff—and calling Shepherd’s financial plan ‘unrealistic’ and ‘a fairy tale.’” The *Tribune* reported the same details from the news conference Governor Bangerter held at the

Capitol, but added a response from Shepherd. “Ms. Shepherd said Monday she was shocked by Mr. Bangerter’s attack. ‘How can Enid Greene expect to go to Washington if she has to have Gov. Bangerter stand up and speak for her here?’” Accusing Greene of plagiarizing a fiscal plan from an Eastern think-tank, Shepherd noted that ““if she were in my class, I would give her an F.””

### ***Campaign Issues: Abortion and Tax Plans***

Relatively little coverage touching directly on the issues and political stance of Shepherd and Greene appeared during the four-week period covered in this thesis, though there was coverage of the “nasty mudslinging” efforts of each candidate. Of those few issues touched upon in the coverage, two main topics emerge: fiscal plans and stance on abortion. In an October 12 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Greene challenged Shepherd in a handwritten letter to specify budget cuts to make up the \$1.8 trillion promised over ten years. The following week, on October 16, Shepherd responded by again accusing Greene of copying her financial plan from an Eastern think-tank and calling it her own, referring to it as “a republican calculator” and eventually accusing Greene of plagiarism.

In addition, the question of abortion was raised multiple times. This topic arose most frequently in conjunction with the source of campaign funding on Shepherd’s part, with Greene accusing her of being “pro-life,” accepting money from inappropriate sources, and being “out of touch” with Utah voters.

In a two-page spread in the October 28 *Salt Lake Tribune*, each of the Congressional candidates in Utah were asked a series of five questions, for which they each had a paragraph of space to reply. For everyone running—amongst who only Shepherd and Greene were women—the five questions were identical, excepting the final one. The fifth question for the

male candidates referred to the future economic status of rural Utah. However, for the two women running in the 2nd Congressional District, the question was “What is your position on abortion?”

Shepherd: We must support and respect life. All children deserve a safe, nurturing environment in which to grow, and women deserve the right to decide whether they can live up to the economic, psychological, and physical requirements of fulfilling this responsibility. I trust women to make thoughtful decisions in this matter. In doing so they need to consult their health-care providers and families, rather than be bound by the decrees of career politicians who don’t understand their individual circumstances. One of the most conservative U.S. Supreme Courts in our history recently upheld the appropriate extent of state intervention in this decision.

Greene: As an adopted child, I believe it is our responsibility as members of a compassionate, civilized community to protect the lives of unborn children. In certain cases, such as rape, incest, grave fetal deformity, or to save the mother’s life or health, parents should make a decision as their conscience requires. But the discussion and concern for life must not end at birth. By supporting life, I believe I assume additional responsibility for ensuring that we have sufficient adoption services, pre-natal and well-child care, educational and job training opportunities for parents, and a head start for every child.

### ***Letters to the Editor***

Beginning in October, the “Reader’s Forum” in each newspaper reflected reader concern over a rash of vandalism regarding election signs of both candidates in the Salt Lake City area. An October 6 *Deseret News* letter read:

Could it possibly be a coincidence, or how is it that Karen Shepherd's political signs are untouched while Enid Greene's are sliced in half, pulled out and/or stolen? It seems to me it shows something significant about the integrity of the two campaigns. A friend who has never voted before noticed too, and she says that's enough reason for her to vote for Enid.

J.C.N. Jardine.

A *Salt Lake Tribune* letter from October 10 noted:

I've had a number of yard signs on my lawn for congressional candidate Enid Greene. When I say a number, I don't mean all at the same time, I mean over a period of weeks I have had to replace the ones that have been stolen. Let me just say this: If you want one of your own, get one from Greene headquarters. If you are a Karen Shepherd supporter, well then you are rude and you play dirty.

Liz Crofts

Another *Tribune* letter, published on October 12, stated:

They methodically, and deftly, removed each Stuart Hanson, Karen Shepherd and Jan Graham campaign sign from my block . . . I, along with many disappointed neighbors, would urge these individuals to contribute to the campaigns of candidates they support, rather than undermine those they do not.

Jackie M. Erbin

As the campaign progressed, media coverage of voter concerns shifted. A brief letter from "average American woman" Wanda Gayle appeared in the letters to the editor sections of both newspapers with an identical plea—in the *Deseret News* on October 25, and four days later in the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

As an average American woman, I work full time, worry about paying my health-care bills, have been sexually harassed, believe I have a right to make my own decisions concerning contraception and pregnancy, and fear for the homeless, the hungry and others less fortunate than myself. Who am I voting for in the Enid Greene/Karen Shepherd race for Congress? I believe only Karen Shepherd has the foresight, the experience and the compassion to represent me and my family.

On October 16, in a sharp rebuttal to an Enid Greene comment on the Canadian socialist-style health system, one *Salt Lake Tribune* reader suggested that “Ms. Green [sic] should spend less time uttering platitudes and pandering to the multi-million-dollar insurance lobby, and more time studying the facts.”

On October 25, a *Deseret News* reader expressed concern over Shepherd’s source of political campaigning income, fearing that she would “feel beholden” to financial sources outside of Utah if elected, and asking “how can Shepherd continue to claim she is ‘for Utah?’” This reader continued by encouraging others to vote for Greene, as a way to “help women advance their cause.”

Similar sentiments were expressed just five days later, as another *Deseret News* reader accused Karen Shepherd of being pro-choice, funded by abortion interests, and therefore out of touch with the majority of pro-life Utahns. He pled, “the choice is clear. When you vote, choose those who will protect innocent human life.”

In addition to the issues raised by the campaign, readers expressed concern over the behavior of candidates. A letter appealing for better behavior appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on October 23, in which reader Agatha Flogeras expressed disappointment with Enid Greene’s “negative campaigning:”

I received a two-page letter from Republican Enid Greene attacking Democrat Karen Shepherd on a variety of things. I want to register a complaint against this kind of negative campaigning. Women running for office in Utah have a unique opportunity to change the “old boy network” and negative campaign models which are no longer appropriate and need to be replaced. I expect more from the women running in this race, an opportunity to set a different model for Utah politics that has more integrity and focuses on issues instead of attacking people. I am disappointed in Ms. Greene and her campaign for succumbing to old patterns that are nonproductive, no longer appropriate and do nothing more than perpetuate outdated modes.

### ***Media Coverage Specific and Personal to Shepherd and Greene***

The battle between Shepherd and Greene—two of several actual candidates—for the 2nd Congressional District was characterized by both newspapers as “nasty mudslinging.” In an October 6 *Deseret News* article discussing the general campaign outlook, political writer Bob Bernick Jr. summed up the increasingly contentious race, “The Senate race has been quiet compared to the Utah governor’s contest and the 2nd District race—where two women seeking to succeed Owens, Republican Enid Greene and Democrat Karen Shepherd, have been working each other over.”

In addition to “working each other over,” Shepherd and Greene were not immune to the occasionally personal commentary by the news outlets themselves—notably the *Salt Lake Tribune*. An October 14 short titled “Blushing Candidate?” commented on the status of single, 34-year-old Greene.

Republican 2nd Congressional District candidate Enid Greene wears a Chinese Panda bear ring on her left-hand ring finger. Greene, 34, says it’s not for political reasons.

“I’m just tired of saving the finger.” But she hasn’t given up hope. And we wish to squelch the rumor she and 3rd congressional District incumbent Bill Orton, single, but a Democrat, are a bipartisan item.

Two weeks later, the *Tribune* commented on Greene’s living situation. In both instances, relying on the cultural background of the predominantly LDS state and the understanding that Greene was a practicing member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and therefore held to rigid moral standards, “three out-of-state male consultants to Republican Enid Greene, a single woman, are residing at her Salt Lake City’s Federal Heights home during the campaign for Utah’s 2nd Congressional District. So Greene’s mother, Gerda, also stays at daughter dear’s house each night.”

Just a few days before the election, the *Tribune* took another swipe at Greene, and an unfortunate slip of her tongue.

The current edition of *The Economist* says the brightest spot in Utah politics is the 2nd Congressional race between Republican Enid Greene and Democrat Karen Shepherd. It croons: “Miss Greene, who may yet become a Mormon Margaret Thatcher, sparkles with fiscal correctness...” This about a woman who recently referred to Socialist Workers Party candidate Eileen Koschak as a member of the “Social Workers Party.”

The only comment about Shepherd came after the race was over and a local television station committed a faux pas. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that “on KTVX’s 5:30 p.m. newscast that very day, a story ran about Utah State Prison escapee Keith Shepherd. A picture flashed on the screen of Congresswoman-elect Karen Shepherd.”

An October 20 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* quoted Jennifer Johnson, director for industry relations at Dahlin Smith White Advertising in Salt Lake City, characterizing each of the candidates. “Karen is personal, progressive—the women and human-issues candidate ... Enid comes off as professional, ideological, effective and action-oriented.” Both the *Tribune* and the *Deseret News* appeared in general to seek this unbiased balance. In side-by-side articles in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on October 25, Shepherd and Greene were profiled as candidates and as people. The articles, which were written by the same reporter, clearly strove for equality in coverage and for an unbiased look at each woman.

The piece on Shepherd began with an explanation of her passion for affordable health-care coverage, citing her experience as a magazine publisher and as caretaker to her aged and sickly mother-in-law, Martha. The article continued by relating her experience as an ex-teacher with a desire to strengthen public education, and as a 52-year-old mother of two who doesn’t believe that life can “be divided in compartments.” The article noted that “Ms. Shepherd admits being stung by Ms. Greene’s aggressive style,” and that despite her “liberal” stance, “from the TV ads to the children’s drawings on the walls of her Salt Lake City headquarters, there is a homespun feel to the Shepherd campaign.” This “homespun feel,” together with “her support of abortion rights have won her national support.” Shepherd is described as a mentor to “scores of female legislative candidates and volunteers” who “sees herself as part of a national movement of women seeking office.” The article closed with Shepherd commenting on the challenges of being a congresswoman. ““As a woman, I am not going to be in the majority. I’m just not going to be one of the old guys, because they don’t operate the way I operate.””



The column introducing Greene began with a slightly different tone, “Enid Greene wants to join a gang.” The article continued, quickly noting Greene’s age (thirty-four), and describing her personality as “sharp, organized and detail-oriented . . . [with a] poised and effective speaking style, honed in seven years as a commercial litigator . . . Ms. Greene seems to relish an adversarial role.” The article also pointed out personal reasons behind her “vigorously” anti-abortion stance—Greene was adopted—and made mention of the somewhat “infamous” commercial her camp created in which Shepherd is portrayed as Pinocchio, complete with growing nose. Also mentioned in the spread were her former work association with Governor Norm Bangerter, along with political and financial consequences reaped from that association. Greene’s personal debt of more than \$100,000—incurred to run her campaign—was also noted. In contrast with Shepherd’s comments about being a female politician, Greene remarked that she is “uncomfortable with being seen as part of the ‘Year of The Woman.’” She continued,

That will arrive when we no longer congratulate ourselves about having two women from Utah running for Congress. When we talk about ‘women’s issues,’ we’re forcing other people out of the discussion. We’re not going to solve the problems if we practice the politics of separationism.

The next sentence noted that “her campaign manager, press secretary and finance director are men.” The spread concluded by noting that “Ms. Greene’s advertising strategy is offbeat. Her commercials are simple to the point of being jarring, as are her bold-lettered billboards and bus placards.”

The *Deseret News*, on November 4, noted the strife between Shepherd and Greene, even in the face of election results when Greene refused to concede the election, claiming

that she owed “it to my volunteers to wait until all the votes are counted. There are absentee ballots to be counted, and it’s too close to concede at this point .”

It wasn’t until the following day in a *Salt Lake Tribune* article that Shepherd was hailed as the “first woman sent to Congress from Utah in 44 years, and only the second in state history... one of 19 new women elected to the House of Representatives.” In the same article, Greene conceded defeat, though her reported comments were somewhat terse concerning Congresswoman-elect Shepherd, “I hope the community will now come together and let Karen Shepherd know what they want from their representative.” Greene continued by saying she planned to “get my kitchen back in order, catch up on sleep and start looking for work.” The article noted that charges of plagiarism in the race likely cost Greene up to ten percentage points, to which Greene responded with negative TV ads portraying Shepherd as Pinocchio.

Greene sent a letter of thanks to voters, which appeared in the “Reader’s Forum” of the *Deseret News* on November 12, just over a week after the election concluded.

I want to thank the people of the 2nd Congressional District for your consideration and support of my candidacy for Congress. Karen Shepherd is now the representative of all of the residents of this district, and I urge my supporters to join with their neighbors in working to better our community and nation. My experiences over the past year have only strengthened my love and respect for the people of our community, and I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to come to know so many of you.

### ***“Year of the Woman”***

An October 2 article in the *Deseret News* titled “2 Bright, Tough Women Vie for Post” addressed the unique situation of Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene facing off in the 2nd Congressional District election: “Utah will have its first U.S. congresswoman in 40 years after November’s election.” The article continued by noting that “with the issue of gender neutralized, Greene and Shepherd are staking out their ground.” Shepherd is “leaning rather heavily on Greene’s youth—she is 33—and her lack of “worldly” experience.” Shepherd stressed her experience as wife and mother, and the reporter noted that “Greene has never been married and has no children.” Shepherd further commented that Greene has “merely been an attorney and worked ‘in partisan politics.’”

Shepherd further criticized Greene for “her conservative stands.” Greene, as reported in the article, “feels that victory is within her reach” and “only lightly touches on these criticisms. (After all, she can’t get ten years older, marry, and have a child before the November election.)” The *Deseret News* noted that Greene “appears to be a bit sensitive to the toughness issue.” According to the article, “a woman candidate has a fine line to walk these days. On the one hand, she has to appear tough enough to take on the old-boy political network—be as tough as the guys, if you will. On the other hand, no female candidate wants to appear witchy, difficult or overbearing.”

The article cited the 2nd Congressional District election two years previous, when Democrat Wayne Owens faced off against rival Genevieve Atwood, “a bright, hard-nosed candidate.” According to the article, “Owens dealt with her very well,” though “some speculate that there was a gender vote there—moderate and liberal women sticking with

Owens because of politics while some voters went for him because they didn't want to vote for a woman.”

The article continued, “having two women finalists for a House race is a new experience for Utahns and takes any gender advantage away . . . with gender no issue, Shepherd is clearly trying to play the ‘experience’ card.” The article then pointed out that “Greene would be one of the youngest, if not the youngest, representative ever sent to the U.S. House from Utah . . . but youth alone is no reason to reject someone.” The coverage concluded by reminding readers that “Utah is going to get its first congresswoman in a long time. And the 2nd District may go Republican again.”

A *Salt Lake Tribune* article on October 26 suggested that the 1992 election “should dispel Utah as the worst place for women candidates” as the state boasted the highest percentage of women running for seats in the House and senate in America. According to Bruce Hough, chairman of the Utah Republican Party, “Women are coming into their own in politics, just like in business . . . it’s just part of the trend. It’s part of the process of moving ahead. It didn’t happen overnight.” Hough also stated that

Statistically when women have run for office in Utah they have had a much better chance of winning than the national average . . . It goes to the issue if they are competent, capable, if they have the qualities that are necessary to serve, they certainly are not discriminated against because they are women candidates. If anything, it has been a plus for them.

The article went on to quote Eleanor Smeal, president of the Fund for the Feminist Majority, who was “insisting 1992 will be recorded as the year U.S. women made a major crack in the political glass ceiling . . . [and] encouraging political memorabilia collectors to

save their 5 percent buttons, representing the current percentage of women in Congress.”

Locally, the article noted that sixteen Democratic women were running for the state house, and in several districts women were running against each other, including the race between Shepherd and Greene.

An article appearing in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on October 13 touched on the “unprecedented year” of women in politics by quoting Ellen Malcolm, director of EMILY’s List. She remarked, ““We’re closing a credibility gap out there for women as candidates . . . The perception is that women are winners, and that’s going to make us win more and keep winning.”” The article noted the roots of EMILY’s List (Early Money Is Like Yeast)—an abortion-rights group founded in 1985 to support female Democrats—and made specific mention of the meeting location chosen for this occasion, “beneath the exclusive (Alta) club’s ornate paneling and chandeliers.”. Ms. Malcolm’s speech addressed “topics long neglected by the male-dominated Congress . . . parental leave, health care, pay equity, children in poverty and domestic violence.”

In a post-election review on November 4, the *Deseret News* noted that “Utahns followed national trends on Tuesday,” in part “electing more women.” The article mentioned Shepherd’s election and new status as the “first woman sent to Congress by Utah since 1950 (and only the second one ever) by defeating Enid Greene by a 51–47 percent margin.” Further, the article mentioned Shepherd’s stand on abortion: “the first House member from Utah who is openly pro-choice on abortion.” The article made mention of other “historic” firsts nationally:

- Democrat Carol Moseley Braun in Illinois became only the second black since Reconstruction elected to the Senate . . .

- The number of women in the Senate doubled to six, a record. Besides Braun, other newly elected women elected included Democrats Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer of California and Patty Murray of Washington.
- Feinstein and Boxer became the first all-woman Senate delegation from a state.

The *Deseret News* also addressed the post-election results on November 4, remarking that Utahns kept the status quo at the polls. The reporter suggested that “Utah did its part in the ‘Year of the Woman’” and will have its “first female representative in the U.S. House in 40 years” with Karen Shepherd. The article also made specific mention of Graham, the state’s first woman to win statewide office “on her own,” and Utah’s first female lieutenant governor in Walker.

The article continued by remarking that “negative campaigning has never worked as well in Utah as it has elsewhere” with Utahns “turning on the candidate they perceive as crossing the imaginary line of bad manners” and suggesting that “Owens and Greene can be accused of that sin, whether it was really deserved or not.” According to the article, in the 2nd District where Shepherd won in a “close contest,” “a strident female Republican apparently doesn’t play well.”

The following day, the *Salt Lake Tribune* suggested Shepherd’s victory was “a saving grace in a drab evening for Utah’s Democrats” and “Utah’s contribution to . . . the surge made by female candidates around the country.” A front page *Tribune* article additionally touched on the “record number of Utah women” entering public service, noting the wins of Jan Graham as attorney general and Olene Walker as lieutenant governor. The *Tribune* then

noted that “a victory in the 2nd Congressional District makes Democrat Karen Shepherd the first woman Utah will send to Congress since Reva Beck Bosone in 1948.” The article then quoted Salt Lake City Mayor DeeDee Corradini, “running for office is a major commitment. It isn’t an easy thing to do. There are many sacrifices involve. But the time has come when women are realizing that it is worth that risk.” In the week following the election, the *Tribune* suggested that both Graham and Shepherd now represented “potential Democratic starts for higher office” with the “national political tide sweeping women into office.”

### ***Dirty Politicking, Mudslinging, and Other Negative Advertising***

An October 7 article in the *Deseret News* remarked on the campaign between Shepherd and Greene, noting that it was “becoming heated” with Shepherd claiming Greene “has run a nasty, name-calling campaign against her behind the scenes and Greene saying Shepherd’s new radio advertisement is negative campaigning at its worst.” According to the article, the race had been “rather quiet” until October, when Greene began to make personal accusations against Shepherd. ““We have a list of things that she’s said about me personally since July. I finally got sick of it.”” Shepherd continues, in the article, by pointing out flaws she saw in Greene’s plans for the state, suggesting that ““Enid either doesn’t understand what her plan would do or doesn’t understand Utah’s needs.””

As the friction between candidates increased, the media took note. In an October 22 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* subtitled in part “Greene Portrays Shepherd as Liar in Television Ads,” readers learned that Greene had created an ad depicting Shepherd as Pinocchio, “whose nose grows with every lie.” Shepherd responded by remarking, “this feels like a personal attack . . . she’s calling me a liar” and challenged Greene to submit her plans

for the state for “scrutiny.” Greene responded in kind, accusing Shepherd of using “scare tactics” and commenting that “her nose must be a mile long by now.”

The *Deseret News*, in an article on October 24, began by asking “So, are this year’s political campaigns any more “negative” than before?” and then pointed out that negative campaigning has long been around, referencing the attack of Andrew Jackson’s 1828 opponents and their accusation of adultery. According to the *Deseret News*, two candidates were considering suing their opponents for slander or libel, one of whom was Greene.

Second Congressional District GOP candidate Enid Greene, an attorney herself, is so mad at Democrat Karen Shepherd that Greene says, “Karen’s dang lucky there’s an exemption in the law for public figures or I would have filed suit.” Shepherd wonders who Greene is to talk. Greene is running a TV ad that shows Shepherd’s nose growing bigger after each statement—clearly insinuating Shepherd is lying like Pinocchio.

The contention, according to the article, had continued to increase to the point that citizen questioners at debates were asking candidates about negative campaigning and their inability to stay on topic instead of campaign issues. Bud Scruggs, a political analyst and university instructor, was quoted as remarking, “There’s no doubt, this year there’s more campaign-sponsored negative campaigning than in anyone’s memory. It all adds up.” The article suggested that perhaps it was the weight of the election causing the friction, with an open governor’s seat, U.S. Senate seat, 2nd Congressional District seat, attorney general’s seat and Salt Lake County Commission seat, which was causing a public “deluge.” The reporter suggested that if a candidate wanted his or her radio or TV commercial to “stand out from everyone else’s,” they must do something different and “calling a name, making a nose



grow or bringing up an old scandal may be a good way to do it.” Scruggs agreed, noting that “most Utah politicians follow this principle: They won’t use negative advertising unless they think they need it to win.”

The *Salt Lake Tribune* tackled this same question of negative advertising the same day in an article titled “Mudslinging Nothing New, Even in Utah: Early-1900s Mormons Were Targets of Vicious Attacks.” According to the *Tribune*, “Karen Shepherd’s growing nose, Wayne Owens’ two faces, Enid Greene’s alleged plagiarism and Bob Bennett’s much-touted Watergate connections are mild mudslinging efforts—especially compared to past elections.” The article continued by mentioning “anti-Mormon” politicking around the turn of the century, with political historian John Silito remarking that mudslinging now is “more sophisticated” with television and media consultants learning how to “be more subtle while still making a stinging point.”

The *Tribune*, in an October 29 article, suggested that this year of “voter revolt, the year of a new politics, the year when the old boys and their ways would no longer be tolerated” has ended up “smell[ing] like the old ones” and expressed relief at reaching the final week of a “messy” election. The article accused Shepherd and Greene of negative campaigning, bemoaning that “Utahns have not been immune from this sort of thing in their local races . . . A once-promising congressional campaign between two suitable candidates, Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene, has somehow degenerated to the point where voters are obliged to watch Pinocchio’s nose grow.”

After the election, a November 4 *Deseret News* article revisited the issue of negative campaigning, noting that “the race for the 2nd District was anything but amiable. Instead, it was marred by a barrage of negative campaigning—something that left a bad taste in the

mouths of all involved. It was also something Shepherd said was unavoidable.” Shepherd remarked that “from the very beginning” Greene was name-calling, suggesting that ““I would have lost this race if I had let her get away with that . . . If I allowed myself to be bullied in Utah, I would be bullied in Washington. I won’t be bullied. Period.””

Political analyst Bud Scruggs noted that “negative campaigning works to a point in Utah” and Shepherd went far enough without going too far. The article suggested that some of Shepherd’s last-minute success in the polls and election can be attributed to the “polished but insensitive and dogmatic” performance of Greene at debates. Commented Shepherd, ““Enid came across tough, maybe too tough . . . She was unnecessarily hostile.””

Shepherd received assignments including seats on the Public Works and Transportation Committee and on the Natural Resources Committee (Powell 2008). She ran for re-election in 1994, but was defeated by Republican Enid Greene Waldholtz. After her defeat in 1992, Greene married Joseph Waldholtz, a Republican consultant and party director who had moved to Utah to help Greene’s campaign—a union that would have significant political impact on Greene’s future career.

## **Chapter 7: “Round II” Rep. Karen Shepherd vs. Rep. Enid Greene Waldholtz (1994)**

Democrat Karen Shepherd and Republican Enid Greene Waldholtz faced off for the second time in 1994, a midterm election that got “nasty.” Independent candidate Merrill Cook also ran for the same office.

### ***Money Earned and Expended in the Campaign***

The midterm election of 1994 saw a stronger emphasis on media coverage of money spent by candidates. An October 9 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* noted that “Republican 2nd Congressional District candidate Enid Greene has purchased more than a half million dollars worth of TV advertising through November 8,” while Democrat Karen Shepherd had only “reserved \$300,000 for TV.”

Just more than one week later, the *Tribune* again focused on campaign spending, reporting that “Republican Enid Greene Waldholtz has pumped \$781,709 of her own money into her campaign” in an effort to unseat incumbent Karen Shepherd. The article continued by noting that Waldholtz had spent more than \$1 million, compared with \$600,243 by Shepherd and \$417,849 by Cook. It suggested that Waldholtz was investing in order “to keep up with Shepherd’s advantages as an incumbent and millionaire” and Cook’s “proven willingness to dig deep into his own pockets.” The article also refers back two years to Waldholtz’s unsuccessful bid for the seat in 1992, when she “lost that year by 7,700 votes to Shepherd, who outspent her by a 2–1 margin.” Cook, when asked, remarked that his money was “earned” while Waldholtz’s “has come through a merger of marriage.” Shepherd also commented on Waldholtz’s expenditures, suggesting that “if you can’t raise money from individuals, then you have no business running for Congress . . . It shows you have a lot of money, but not a lot of support.”

A similar article in the *Deseret News* on November 4 had Shepherd admitting some distress at the funds being spent. “I’m being run over by a Mack truck. I only hope it won’t cost me the election.” The same article reported that Waldholtz felt “forced to spend her own money to counter” Cook and Shepherd.

Ten days later, the *Salt Lake Tribune* addressed the issue again in two subsequent articles on October 28 and October 29. On October 28, the *Tribune* noted that Waldholtz had “poured another \$650,000 of personal cash into her campaign . . . bringing [her] out-of-pocket spending to more than \$1.53 million. The following day, the *Tribune* noted that Democrats were questioning where the \$1.53 million had come from, while Waldholtz refused to be specific.

“I’m not accusing anybody of anything,” Democratic Party Chairman Dave Jones said Friday. “But with that much money coming into the race, the Utah public deserves to have some questions answered. If it’s Enid’s money, what was the original source? Have they paid taxes on it? Is there some industry or special interest they are trying to hide? And if they have all this money, why are they bouncing checks?”

The article continued by citing a written statement from Waldholtz, in which she accused Jones of an “increasingly desperate barrage of unfounded, negative attacks.” However, in the same article, readers learned that credit card company American Express had recently sued Joe Waldholtz, Enid’s husband, to “recover \$47,488 the company said he had failed to pay on his credit card bill. The suit was settled October 18, though no details were available Friday on the financial arrangements.”

The *Deseret News* addressed the question of campaign spending the same day, quoting Democratic Party Chair Dave Jones.

This makes Enid No. 1 in all the United States for a challenger putting their own money into a House race. Is there some business, some industry where Joe got his money; some special interest Enid will be beholden to? ...Are Enid and Joe playing fair, obeying the rules? ...The really big question is to what lengths will Enid go to buy a U.S. House seat?

As the election drew closer, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on Waldholtz's spending, suggesting that her "several-hundred-thousand-dollar television and radio blitz began to pay off" as Shepherd's lead in the polls began to drop. In November, days before the election, the *Tribune* printed a short side note, commenting that "Waldholtz's \$1.5 million personal investment thus far in her campaign now exceeds the \$1.25 million in personal funds Ted Kennedy has spent on his Massachusetts race against challenger Mitt Romney."

In addition to discussing the expenditure of cash by hopefuls, the *Tribune* also noted the influx of cash for candidates. On November 4, readers learned that Waldholtz raised more money in her second attempt to win the second congressional seat than "all but four of the 831 U.S. House candidates nationwide." Cook responded in the article by saying "Waldholtz is hurting her chances by going 'way beyond the boundaries,'" to which Waldholtz's camp replied that she is "only doing what it takes to compete" and that she is "blessed with [personal financial] resources as are others around the country."

The final tally for Waldholtz's spending was reported by the *Tribune* on November 9 as \$1.5 million, much of which was "poured" into "last-minute TV and radio ads." The same article noted that Waldholtz felt that campaigns "are spending too much money, especially

too much special-interest money from political action committees.” The *Deseret News*, just a few days prior, noted that Shepherd was critical of Waldholtz’s spending more than \$1.5 million “of her own money on the race,” and suggested that with high expenditures, Shepherd “is fighting for her political life in this Salt Lake County district.”

On November 4, the *Deseret News* identified the average expenditure by the 2nd Congressional District candidates per voter, noting that combined, Cook, Shepherd, and Waldholtz raised about \$22 per expected voter through October 19—a collective \$3.28 million. The article also stated that Waldholtz donated \$1.53 million of her own money, placing her fourth in the nation for raising money, while Shepherd ranked at forty-five and Cook at 153. The article finished by noting that “Shepherd is a millionaire like Waldholtz and Cook but has put none of her own money into her race this year. About two-thirds of the \$891,287 she raised has come from individuals, and the other third from special-interest political action committees.”

When it came to candidate spending during elections, the *Deseret News* pointed out that Enid Greene Waldholtz had outdone Merrill Cook, donating nearly \$900,000 of her own funds. The article also made mention of Shepherd’s “entertaining list of contributors,” “Jane Fonda, \$500; Barbara Streisand, \$500; director Rob Reiner, \$500; producer Norman Lear, \$500; director Sydney Pollack, \$500; Disney vice president Janet Johnson, \$500; and super agent Michael Ovitz, \$500. Former Democratic vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro and hubby John Zaccaro also kicked in \$500.”

In a November 6 article, the *Deseret News* published the final sums spent by candidates, with Waldholtz, “Pump[ing] more than \$1.5 million of her own money into the race. Cook has dumped in \$567,000 of his cash. Shepherd, advocating campaign finance

reform but saying she's playing by the old rules for now, has raised and spent nearly \$900,000. Shepherd has put none of her own money into the race." Three days later, Waldholtz remarked "we won because we were right on the issues and ran a positive campaign."

### ***Endorsements, Candidate Support, and Sources of Funding***

On November 1, the *Salt Lake Tribune* noted that labor unions—which had “vowed to punish Demos who voted for the NAFTA”—decided instead to “swallow their pride and open their wallets” by donating to Utah Representative Karen Shepherd. Shepherd, who was “in a ferocious battle against a millionaire Republican,” received additional donations and support from Steelworkers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. She was also endorsed by the National Council of Senior Citizens and the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare, The National Association of Police Organizations, the Professional Firefighters of Utah, and the Salt Lake County Association of Firefighters. The *Deseret News* reported on November 4 that Shepherd received about fifteen percent of her donated funds—or \$131,000—from labor unions, with about nine percent (about \$81,100) coming from abortion rights groups.

In contrast, the *Tribune* reported that Waldholtz received endorsements from the Salt Lake affiliate of the International Union of Police Associations and the Salt Lake County Sheriff's Association Fraternal Order of Police. Waldholtz also received the endorsement of The Utah Shooting Sports Council (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 21). United States House Minority Whip—“feisty” Newt Gingrich, “star of conservative Republicans and foe of nervous Democrats,”—also made a brief campaign stopover in Salt Lake City to campaign

for Waldholtz (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 26). A *Deseret News* article reported just days before the election that Utah Governor Mike Leavitt taped television and radio spots for a number of Republicans, including Waldholtz, despite “getting along very well with Democrat . . . Karen Shepherd.”

Other endorsements were somewhat less appropriate, and the *Tribune* reported on these unusual campaign tactics in a November 9 article titled “Help From Friends.” Using a private emergency truck in the emergency lane of major freeways Interstate 15 and 5300 South during rush hour to slow traffic, a group supporting Waldholtz posted a banner reading “Karen Shepherd Is a Traitor to the Bill of Rights” from the overpass. The same article also mentioned a letter sent by former “LDS Relief Society president Barbara Smith and former LDS young Women’s President Elaine Cannon” which “accused” Shepherd of being pro-abortion. The article noted that, though the letter was “signed by the two former Mormon leaders,” the LDS Church “of course, is neutral in politics.”

Another unusual tactic was mentioned in the October 7 *Salt Lake Tribune*. The article suggested that “anyone wondering what to give Enid Greene Waldholtz for her 36<sup>th</sup> birthday this week need only ask her husband,” and continued by informing readers that Waldholtz’s husband, Joe, “sent out a letter urging friends and supporters to ‘show their love and support for her and their commitment to Utah’ by contributing to Enid’s . . . campaign.”

### ***Poll Results***

With elections drawing close, Waldholtz and Shepherd both ran last-minute spots pointing out their good points and the others’ warts, hoping to swing the opinion of voters. A November 4 *Deseret News* article reported that “tracking polls . . . show Waldholtz has slid



past Shepherd” in the fight. An October 18 *Deseret News* article stated that because of the 1992 election in which Shepherd won out over Waldholtz by a narrow four percentage points, much attention was given to Waldholtz in the 1994 campaign. One week later, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that Shepherd was “slightly ahead in a tight three-way race that is drawing national publicity.”

Just two days before the election, the *Deseret News* reported on an informal survey conducted by a Westminster College public relations class, which found that the images of both Shepherd and Waldholtz suffered from the last-minute media blitz of negative campaigning. An October 27 article in *the Deseret News* warned that “in their big media buys, Waldholtz and Shepherd are going after each other in increasingly critical spots.” Days before the election, pollster Dan Jones commented on the closeness of the race between Shepherd and Waldholtz, putting them both at thirty-seven percent of the vote, “a statistical dead heat.”

Mock elections were held in local schools directly before the true election, and a November 4 *Salt Lake Tribune* article announced that “Enid Greene Waldholtz handily defeated Congresswoman Karen Shepherd” and quoted Waldholtz, “I always said to my husband, if children and animals could vote, I would win in a landslide.” By November 6, polls reported in the *Tribune* placed Waldholtz and Shepherd in “a political death grip” at thirty-two percent of the vote apiece.

A November 15 article in *the Deseret News* followed up on the elections by citing the results of an exit poll conducted by students from BYU, Weber State University, Utah State University, Snow College, Dixie, Utah State University, and the College of Eastern Utah—the majority of colleges and universities in the state of Utah. Those results found that:

- Sixty-four percent of Utah voters said Hillary Clinton should not have a major role in policymaking. A higher percentage of women than men (thirty-four percent to twenty-four percent) said it was OK for the first lady to be so involved.
- For the first time in Utah history, female candidates ran in every House race. The gender gap, which shows that female voters are more likely to vote Democratic and to vote for a female candidate, held true in Utah. In the 2nd district race, which included two women, Democratic Rep. Karen Shepherd received fifty-four percent of her votes from women, while Enid Greene Waldholtz received equal support from both men and women. Independent challenger Merrill Cook received sixty percent of his votes from men.
- Fifty-three percent of the voters overall were male and forty-seven percent were female.

### ***Voter Makeup, Turnout, and Election Results***

According to a November 6 *Deseret News* article, “voter interest started very low this election season,” but picked up significantly in November, with pollsters expecting a turnout of fifty to fifty-five percent on election day. The *News* noted that Utah’s closest race “remains the 2nd Congressional District, where freshman Rep. Karen Shepherd is fighting off challenges by Republican Enid Greene Waldholtz and Independent Merrill Cook.” And in a sharp call to action, a November 4 editorial in the *Deseret News* pled with registered voters: “Go vote. That’s what matters, and that’s what Utahns and Americans are supposed to do—pick their own leaders.” In a November 7 *Deseret News* article, long-time Utah pollster Dan Jones suggested that the 1994 midterm elections would have lower turnout than the midterm elections of 1990 and 1986.

Post-election, the *Deseret News* quoted Salt Lake County Clerk Sherrie Swensen, reporting that only fifty-eight percent of those registered in Salt Lake County voted—a slightly lower turnout than other recent mid-term elections. The article continued by noting that “Shepherd lost her base ... Waldholtz won the male vote, 57–28 percent ... [and] Shepherd lost the women’s vote, critical for her, 35–50 percent.” On the same day in another article, the *Deseret News* reported on the turnout for the 1994 midterm election, noting that roughly fifty-five percent of registered voters in Utah turned out, with the tightest race in the 2nd Congressional District. The *Deseret News* remarked that the turnout was slightly lower than expected, and substantially lower than the average seventy to eighty percent of registered voters in Utah who turn out during presidential election years.

The November 9 issue of the *Deseret News* reported the final ballot count with Waldholtz at 85,479 votes, Shepherd at 66,883, and Cook at 34,174. The following day, the *Deseret News* noted that voter turnout was “surprising,” remarking that “conservative Utahns came home ... and voted Republican,” with Democratic candidates and leaders referring to the results as “a ‘stampede,’ a ‘slaughter,’ an ‘incredible wave.’” The *News* reported that Republicans called the results “justice” for “years of Democratic mismanagement” and “liberalism,” with Shepherd losing by a “surprising” ten percentage points, thus “paying the price” for the “lack of reform” in 1992. A day after the election, the *Salt Lake Tribune* remarked that “the most stunning Utah victory in the national GOP landslide was Enid Greene Waldholtz, ouster of Democrat Karen Shepherd.”

On November 9, the *Deseret News* reported the reactions at both the Democratic and Republican headquarters as race results became clear:

Some Republicans were, well, a little rowdier than normal after their many wins.

When Enid Greene Waldholtz beat Rep. Karen Shepherd, D-Utah, a group of women climbed on a platform and began dancing and singing ‘Ding, dong, the wicked witch is dead.’ Meanwhile, Democrats had given Shepherd their most rousing cheers of the night, even though she lost.

When asked about her defeat a few hours after the polls closed, Shepherd responded that “we just got swamped by people who did not want people to face reality.” The *Deseret News* noted that after losing two years prior to Shepherd, Waldholtz “returned this year with a new softer image and a huge personal bank account to fuel her high-power return bid.” Waldholtz insisted in the article that “Utahns votes are not for sale and that the money spent on the campaign was an investment in letting “people know what I believe and how I’d represent them.”

The *Salt Lake Tribune* addressed the hard-fought campaign in an article during the week following the election.

Campaign manager Paul Svendsen flops in a chair with a fly-fishing cap pulled down over his brow. He speaks in the phrases of a natural-disaster survivor, as if still in shock from the so-called Republican tide that swept the nation and Utah. “We just got carried away in the undertow and we couldn’t swim out of it,” Svendsen said. “It was two tidal waves right in a row—an unprecedented wave of money and a tide of anti-Washington sentiment.

The article continued by reporting Shepherd’s response. When “asked about her plans for the future, [Shepherd] shrugs, maybe ‘I’ll go rake some leaves.’” The *Tribune* noted that “something certainly went right for Waldholtz” as she would soon assume her place as “only

the third woman sent to Congress from Utah,” then recapped the 1992 election—in which Waldholtz lost by a four percent margin—versus the 1994 election, in which she “came back to pound Shepherd by ... a 10 percent gap.” The article then immediately noted that “Waldholtz—who married, got a new hairdo and swapped glasses for contact lenses in the interim—said there was no mystery to her stunning victory.” According to the *Tribune*, Waldholtz used “encyclopedic voter lists from Senator Orrin Hatch’s campaign and \$1.5 million of Waldholtz’s family wealth” to win back “wayward” Republicans.

A November 10 *Deseret News* article reported that “Enid Greene Waldholtz says she was stunned when she called her office Wednesday and instead of hearing the usual ‘Enid for Congress’ was greeted by the words, ‘Office of Representative-elect Enid Greene Waldholtz.’” A few days later, Waldholtz was quoted in the *Deseret News* as remarking that this is “not a time for vengeance. It’s a time to do the work of the country.” The article continues, “after the election, Shepherd warned Waldholtz about getting comfortable,” suggesting that it’s a swing district and “hard to win, hard to hold.”

***Issues: Abortion, Gun Control, Gender, Enid’s Finances***

The final push in the 2nd Congressional District campaign included “7,500 religion-tinged” letters sent by Waldholtz’s camp, suggesting that she was the only “pro-life candidate” in the race. This same letter was mentioned in a November 7 article in the *Deseret News*, which “said Waldholtz was the only pro-life candidate in the race and criticized Cook and Democratic Rep. Karen Shepherd’s stands on abortion.” The letter was signed by two high-ranking leaders in the LDS Church. The article also included a response from Camille Cook, candidate Merrill Cook’s wife, “I’m hurt and saddened that women with such high profile and positive name recognition in the community would not even take the time to call

Merrill or me about his position before putting their signature on such a terrible lie. Merrill's parents are just devastated." The article continued, saying that Enid Greene Waldholtz "played [the pro-abortion] card . . . and did it unfairly, according to . . . Merrill Cook."

The *Deseret News* reported that, in addition to the letter sent by Waldholtz's campaign to Utah voters suggesting that Cook was pro-abortion, a similarly-messaged full-page ad in both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* was purchased by the conservative group Utah Eagle Forum, "causing damage" to Cook's campaign. President Elaine Cannon, a high-ranking official in the LDS Church who put her name to the letter, "said Cook has been especially hard on her because she knows the Cook family personally . . . 'but I reaffirm that I stand by the statements . . . Cook has publicly stated his belief.'"

Two days later, in another *Deseret News* article, Cook refuted the "lies," which he and his family "took personally." He further remarked that "the Republican (Party) leaders are a bunch of arrogant elitists. Leaders like Joe Waldholtz (Enid's husband and former party executive director) would be better off running the Nazi Party."

A November 1 *Deseret News* article also reported on issues facing both candidates, remarking that "Shepherd's latest complaint about Waldholtz has to do with a seven-part newspaper ad that ran Sunday in the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune*," in which "Waldholtz purposely misrepresents her voting record . . . and tries to drag up the memory of the Pinocchio ad at the same time." In the article, Shepherd accused Waldholtz of misrepresenting her stance on bearing arms and tax increases, but the *News* reported that "Waldholtz's campaign says it stands by the ads' fairness and accuracy."

On October 26, the *Deseret News* reported that Shepherd's campaign also created a "new anti-Enid Greene Waldholtz (Shepherd sometimes forgets Enid's new married name)

ad on Wednesday,” featuring former Reagan press secretary Jim Brady and wife, “criticizing Waldholtz, by name, for her stands on gun control.” The article continued by noting that Shepherd admitted the race is “‘getting pretty mean’ . . . because . . . Waldholtz ‘and her henchmen’ have been ‘torturing’ Shepherd since the 1992 race with personal attacks.”

Though the 1994 race pitted two women against each other for the second time in two years, there was little media commentary directly related to gender. The *Salt Lake Tribune* did, however, address the question of gender in one passing reference on October 24.

During a debate sponsored by women’s groups last week, 2nd Congressional District candidates were asked what support they would provide for gender equity? “If I weren’t here, there would be no gender equity in this race,” quipped Independent Party candidate Merrill Cook, passing the mike to opponents Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene Waldholtz.

A short in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on October 17 reported that Twede Evans Advertising claimed Waldholtz owed a two-year-old \$8,000 debt. In a *Tribune* article the following day, Shepherd criticized Waldholtz, who “obtained most of her assets after she married millionaire Joe Waldholtz last year” and asked how Waldholtz could claim to be a fiscal conservative while carrying debt. Waldholtz responded that “owing money to oneself seems rather foolish,” and that she and her husband “decided to make a considerable personal investment in her campaign this year to compete with Shepherd’s advantages as an incumbent” and Cook’s personal funds. The article continued with Waldholtz refuting Shepherd’s accusations of campaign debt and poor money management, stating, “there is no campaign debt. (The \$170,000) was a loan to my own campaign. I have cancelled (paid off) that debt. This was simply owing myself money. My (1994) campaign is debt free.”

Waldholtz said she decided to pay off the 1992 loan, stating that “even though this was a meaningless ‘debt,’ since it was owed only to me, it seemed to be causing a lot of comment and confusion.”

An October 21 article in the *Deseret News* noted the differences between the three main candidates running in the 2nd Congressional District, remarking that “Waldholtz and Cook don’t agree with many votes Shepherd has made; . . . Shepherd and Cook think Waldholtz . . . is bereft of original ideas; . . . [and] Shepherd and Waldholtz see Cook . . . as a perennial candidate, a spoiler who can’t win an election himself.”

### ***Letters to the Editor***

1994 election coverage in the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* included a fair number of letters to the editor, as readers expressed opinions about the 2nd Congressional District race. On October 25, a reader expressed his frustration with Shepherd in the *Salt Lake Tribune*’s “Public Forum,” noting that Shepherd was “funded by the likes of Jane Fonda, Handgun Control, Inc. and EMILY’s List” who “do not represent Utah interests” but seem to have Shepherd’s ear. The letter stated that “after two years of breaking promises, including a promise not to raise taxes, and voting for whatever Bill Clinton asks for, I’ve had enough Shepherd. Utah deserves better.” Other readers pointed out close ties to groups like EMILY’s List, remarking that their goal is “helping prochoice candidates like Karen Shepherd . . . get elected” and noting which local groups withheld endorsements. “Shepherd has neither the endorsement of the Salt Lake Police Association nor the endorsement of the Salt Lake County Sheriffs Association.”

An extensive letter to the editor on October 7 in the *Salt Lake Tribune* reviewed Shepherd’s voting record, citing specific votes on the issues of abortion, gays in the military,



tax credits, and First Amendment rights, and suggesting she “is a Clinton lackey.” One reader pled in an October 3 letter, to “send Democrat Rep. Karen Shepherd home,” suggesting that electing either Waldholtz or Cook “doesn’t really matter, just don’t return Shepherd to Washington.” Another reader stated on November 6 that “the most important reason to vote . . . is to ensure the defeat of Congresswoman Karen Shepherd.”

In an October 8 letter in the *Salt Lake Tribune*’s “Public Forum,” a reader suggested that Shepherd was “proud” of “laying off 250,000 federal workers,” including 2,000 “friends losing their jobs at Toole Army Depot,” and sends his “thanks.” The same day, another letter clearly rebutting a published statement made previously appeared in the *Tribune*.

Elmont offers praise to Enid Greene Waldholtz for being “superb,” and adds that he has never seen a male politician “so well-informed and on top of things.” That’s great, but it is his opinion and not what this election is about . . . Elmont asks, “Why don’t we vote the best woman in?” I think that we have.

Another reader concurred, suggesting in an October 18 letter to the editor that Waldholtz was wrong to accuse Shepherd of failing to represent her constituency. The writer noted that “Shepherd represents me, one of the many thousands of voters in the 2nd Congressional District.”

A few days later, a reader responded by claiming that Waldholtz was banging an “incessant drumbeat of fraudulent election-year hype” and Waldholtz’s “attempt to bribe large families with peanuts should not go rewarded by the voters who witnessed her meaningless mudslinging the last time around.” On October 7, a reader addressed Waldholtz’s suggested policy by remarking that her tax policy was “insulting” and suggesting that her “method of persuasion by using an unrealistic and tempting bribe, such as

money, to obtain votes [is] dishonest.” A concerned reader on October 17 pled with Waldholtz to “be fair to everyone,” suggesting that “what she plans to do is not fair to the elderly or those families with no children or few children.”

An October 19 letter in the *Salt Lake Tribune*’s “Public Forum” pointed to the much-discussed finances of the campaign, suggesting that “quite the opposite” of managing finances well, “Waldholtz has trouble keeping her money.” The letter suggested that “as [Waldholtz’s] campaign debt of \$100,000 continues to soar, \$60,000 in bounced checks puts her at odds with O.C. Tanner, and \$47,000 worth of unpaid credit charges pits her against American Express.” In the “Reader’s Forum,” another reader asked how Waldholtz, if elected to Congress, “will control government spending . . . when she cannot seem to control spending in her political campaign?”

One puzzled reader questioned city policy in the pages of the “Public Forum” on November 2, noting that “a city truck came by my house and removed three signs from my yard—one for Pat Shea and two for Rep. Karen Shepherd. The truck drove past the Orrin Hatch poster in the next yard. Why is the city doing this?”

A sharp letter published in the *Salt Lake Tribune*’s “Public Forum” on October 19 came from 2nd Congressional District candidate Merrill Cook, who asked the “*Tribune* to get off its high horse and allow the people of Utah to make up their own minds on term limitations and election by majority vote.” On the same day, a reader expressed her frustration with the confrontational race, stating that “extremism has no place in the political arena. I don’t know who opened the flood gates of Forum attacks, but I’ve had enough. I am supporting Shepherd!”

After the election had concluded, one reader vented frustration over “political bashing” in the *Deseret News*, asking

How many times have you heard “Karen Shepherd is a traitor to the state of Utah?”

For me, once was one too many times. Political bashing is so popular in modern American politics that any political race becomes a war of who can insult their opponent the most. Politics is no longer a question of who is the better man (or woman) but of who has the most money to pay for their commercials that crudely insult their opponent.

### ***Newspaper Profiles of Shepherd and Greene Waldholtz***

In an October 30 article, the *Salt Lake Tribune* profiled both Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene Waldholtz. “Waldholtz is the first to admit it—she had bad hair in 1992 when she last ran for congress. ‘A really bad haircut,’ she says, smiling.” The article noted that hair had “become a hot issue” for the 36-year-old Republican; “in the modern politics of image and television, hair can be a bigger deal than one’s position on health-care reform or the budget deficit.” The article then remarked that “glasses also can be a weighty matter,” noting that “Waldholtz wore them two years ago, but not now.”

According to this article, the second election bid for Waldholtz found her “the same—but certainly a softer—Enid this time out.” Referring to her as “kinder and gentler on the second go-round,” the newspaper also stated that Enid was “somewhat tightly wrapped,” “during debate preparation ... one recent morning, Waldholtz sprawled in her swivel desk chair, her head thrown back—brainstorming her way through practice questions. But all the while, the jacket to her suit remained buttoned and her shoes never left her feet. Tightly wound, yes.” The *Tribune* touched on Waldholtz’s marriage since her previous bid for office,

noting that her “husband, Joe, is from Pennsylvania . . . He was long active in Republican politics before coming to Utah to help campaign for the then-Enid Greene in 1992. He later moved here and took a job as Utah Republican director. The couple married in August 1992.”

The article remarked that Waldholtz “is not the mean-spirited GOP robot opponents attempt to paint,” and suggested that “Democratic Representative Karen Shepherd has used “before” and “after” pictures of Waldholtz in ads, claiming she is attempting to hide behind a new, but illusory image.” Waldholtz, who “with her husband lists in public records assets of between \$1.3 million and \$4.2 million,” claimed the need to “put in more money than anticipated to stay competitive” and “deal with so many negative attacks and ads” in what the *Tribune* referred to as “yet another political brushfire.” Waldholtz remarked “Karen’s been attacking me, Merrill’s been attacking me. So we’ve got to be on the air.”

The article profiled Karen Shepherd as well, beginning with the suggestion that “if federal politics were a steep mountain, Congresswoman Karen Shepherd would be standing on a narrow ledge,” and reminding readers of the “paper-thin victory margin” of her win over Waldholtz in 1992. Shepherd was described in the article as “the 54-year-old former teacher, writer, state senator and mother of two,” “an avid bird-watcher who hikes or gardens to relax” who “does not fit the stereotype of a stay-at-home Utah woman,” and a “cheerful, easygoing, down-to-earth person.” When asked by the *Tribune* why she would want to return to Washington, Shepherd responded, “the thing that gets me up and out of bed every day . . . is being in a place where what you did actually mattered . . . This is one of the few times in history where being a member of Congress and approaching that with a lot of diligence actually matters.”

Shepherd remarked that, as the “first woman sent to Congress from Utah in 44 years and only the second in state history,” she is a “marked woman,” noting that she may only be in office two years and had best “not be ashamed at the end of the term.”

### ***The Voter Tracking Project***

The *Salt Lake Tribune* ran a “Voter Tracking Project,” during which nine voters in the 2nd Congressional District answered questions about the candidates each week. On October 23, the voters—who remained anonymous until after the election—were asked “Whose political ads do you remember seeing, hearing or reading most recently? How did those ads affect your image of the candidate?”

Four of the voters noted Waldholtz’s ad discussing gang violence. Jenny commented that “it affected me a little negatively. The part I didn’t like was her talking about gang-related stuff with a police officer standing behind her like she was some sort of hero.” Susan also noted that this ad affected her negatively, remarking that “the one I remember is the police force endorsing her. It looked as if she rounded up a bunch of beefy guys and was trying to push sex appeal rather than legitimate issues.” Becky suggested that in discussing gang problems, “Enid didn’t support the things that would help stop the violence.” Ruth, however, commented that the issue of “fighting crime . . . is the most important issue for me” and felt positive about Enid’s advertisement.

Both Jenny and Becky noted Shepherd’s ad on gun control, though Jenny commented that “gun control won’t help.” Robert disliked Waldholtz’s ads, commenting that they “seem to be beating old ground” and “are too much.” He expressed a preference for Shepherd, saying that her “ads lay out her platform and pretty well say what she intends to do.”

Rick expressed dislike for Shepherd's ads, in which "she called herself Utah's independent voice" without specifying she was a Democrat. Rick noted that "people ought to be proud of who they represent." Steven responded that he preferred Waldholtz, though he didn't "remember much of the details" and "she isn't quite saying what I want to hear even though she seems to be on the right track." John responded with some distaste for Waldholtz.

What I noticed about Enid's ad was the conflict on how to handle a hyphenated last name given Utah's culture. Throughout the ad, the commentator used "Enid Greene." At the end, the writing on the screen said: "Enid Greene Waldholtz." That indecision turned me off.

Ruth remarked that "all the political ads seem so much alike." Cindy responded that she liked neither Waldholtz's or Shepherd's ads, "ads for Enid Waldholtz and Karen Shepherd are about the only ones I've noticed. I didn't like them because they are bad-mouthing each other. They confuse the issues; nothing is ever said."

### ***Dirty Politicking, Mudslinging, and Other Negative Advertising***

In an October 11 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Waldholtz chastised incumbent Karen Shepherd for "being the first candidate in the 2nd Congressional District to run negative advertisements on TV." A week later, an October 19 *Tribune* article stated that the "1994 political debate season blew into Utah this week, starting Tuesday with the first public free-for-all between all three candidates in Utah's 2nd Congressional District."

As the election progressed, the accusations of negative campaigning only increased. An October 22 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* characterized the race in the 2nd Congressional District as "volatile," warning readers that it was going to get "loud, angry and unpredictable before the November 8 election." The article continued by noting that

Shepherd “stepped up the pace of the race with negative television ads aimed squarely at Republican challenger Enid Greene Waldholtz,” while Waldholtz called a news conference to “denounce” the advertisements. A few days later, Shepherd commented in a *Deseret News* article, “I won’t be bullied any more,” and admitted she was “furious with Enid Greene. I’m as mad as I can be with her. She’s run a negative campaign against me for three years. I won’t have it any more.”

The *Deseret News* addressed the advertising tactics of Shepherd and Waldholtz in an October 21 article, noting that Shepherd had “a new TV ad running, a tough one criticizing Republican Enid Greene Waldholtz” and remarking that “it looks like ‘comparison’—what some call ‘attack’—advertising has come to the 1994 campaign.”

Shepherd’s ad is tough because it compares the “old” 1992 Enid—complete with an unflattering picture of her wearing glasses—with the “new” 1994 Enid, now with contact lens and married, using her married name of Waldholtz. The ad says in 1992, Enid proposed a “disaster” economic plan for America and that she’s doing it again in 1994. “Whether it’s the old or new, Enid Greene Waldholtz still doesn’t put Utah first,” the ad says.

The article continues by quoting Waldholtz, who stated that “this is a false, negative attack on me . . . It’s a pathetic attempt . . . and Karen should pull the ad and apologize.” Waldholtz consistently suggested that she walked the high ground in the elections of 1994. The article continues:

If Shepherd and Waldholtz go after each other, that could just drive turned-off voters to Cook. Waldholtz says she hasn’t decided if she will go after Shepherd in TV ads. “I’ve tried to talk about what I would do for America. Merrill and Karen have

conducted mean-spirited, negative attacks on me. How do I respond? We're considering that response now."

A *Salt Lake Tribune* article on October 29 "welcomes" readers to the "mean-spirited world of 2nd congressional District campaign ads." The article described negative television ads run during race, one of which showed "unflattering" pictures of Waldholtz with an "ominous voice" talking about cuts in benefits. Another ended with a "huge poster of Karen Shepherd slamming to the ground" with a narrator urging Utahns to "keep this congresswoman from returning to Washington." According to the article, "political strategists ... have decided to exploit those emotions dear to American politics: fear and loathing," and suggested that "in this race, there is a lot of material to work with." The *Tribune* stated that candidates Shepherd and Waldholtz have "what is known in political circles as 'high negatives,'" meaning that "many voters do not like them."

The article continued by stating that Shepherd is "leading the pack in the race to exploit negative perceptions," and Waldholtz followed suit by issuing a news release in which she called Shepherd "shameless," "mean-spirited," and a "Clinton-clone." The third candidate, Merrill Cook, responded that "the politics of against don't really work ... it makes me look all that much better."

An October 30 article in the *Deseret News* referred to the intensifying election, noting that Shepherd and Cook had aligned their "gun sights" on Waldholtz, with Waldholtz and Shepherd "glaring at each other." The article suggested that with "just over a week to go and Utah's closest political race this year is a nail-biter. Or should one say a nail-scratcher. For the 2nd Congressional District race is drawing blood and getting ugly. Or getting interesting, depending on your perspective." Shepherd was quoted calling Waldholtz's proposed



commitment to cut spending “a lie” with a “teenager mentality,” while Waldholtz said Shepherd “lied to Utahns when she promised . . . not to raise taxes.”

In an October 27 *Salt Lake Tribune* article, Shepherd “denounced” Waldholtz’s proposed economic plans as a “teen-ager’s dream” and a “fantasy.” And the previous day, the *Deseret News* reported Shepherd had suggested that Waldholtz “is crazy” to push the GOP budget plan, and “isn’t telling Utahns the truth . . . and I won’t let her get away with it.” Shortly thereafter, in a November 2 article in the *Tribune*, Shepherd accused Waldholtz of “distorting her voting record” and asked her to retract ads. Waldholtz responded by “shrugging off the complaints as standard political finger pointing.”

A *Deseret News* article on November 1 addressed the negative advertising in both campaigns. The *News* asked “Who is one to believe? The Enid Greene Waldholtz one sees in the TV ads (warm and caring)? Or the Enid Greene Waldholtz of Karen Shepherd’s mind (mean, negative, manipulative, spending \$1 million to buy the election)?” The article continued by noting that

The extremes of perception were well seen Monday when Waldholtz started running a new TV ad and Shepherd bitterly complained about old Waldholtz spots and a full-page newspaper ad that “compared” Waldholtz’s stands with Shepherd votes in Congress the past two years. While Waldholtz’s TV and radio ads were tough on Shepherd the past two weeks, she has now gone “soft”—as it is called in the political campaign business. Her new ads shows a caring Waldholtz, reassuring seniors that she would never vote to take away or cut back their Social Security and Medicare benefits. She talks about keeping the contract Congress has made to them so they won’t lose their homes.

The article stated that “if you haven’t seen these new Waldholtz ads, you’re not watching much TV.” It continued by noting that Waldholtz staffers “say they won’t counterattack Shepherd,” and suggested that “Waldholtz was too harsh in her 1992 campaign against Shepherd, especially wrong-headed in running a ‘Pinocchio’ TV ad that showed Shepherd’s nose growing when she supposedly lied.” A new advertisement by the Waldholtz campaign “shows Waldholtz talking softly about the misstatements others are making about her. She looks into the camera and says she won’t respond in kind, even though some encourage her to.” Despite the “softness” of those ads, in an October 12 *Salt Lake Tribune* article, the president of the Salt Lake branch of the NAACP, Jeanetta Williams, claimed that anti-crime TV ads by Waldholtz were “racist.”

On November 1, the *Tribune* reported that Utah Representative Karen Shepherd “is in a ferocious battle against a millionaire Republican, Enid Greene Waldholtz.” In a November 5 *Deseret News* article titled “Issues? Hopefuls batter each other,” the candidates were accused of “losing their collective composure” as “last-minute charges are flying back and forth.” The *News* suggested that push polls were being employed to sway voters, an accusation that Waldholtz “vehemently denies.”

In the editorial section of the *Salt Lake Tribune* on November 6, reporter and humorist Tom Barberi referred to the Shepherd/Waldholtz campaign battle as a “catfight.” A *Tribune* editorial on November 10 remarked that “not only would a nasty campaign be extended beyond the public’s tolerance, but the dynamics of it would change.”

Yet, a *Salt Lake Tribune* article published on November 13 claimed that “Waldholtz’s television ads were soft as a stack of featherbeds,” including one featuring Waldholtz on a “tree-lined street” speaking in a “calm, earnest voice” and pledging to avoid any campaign

attacks. Her campaign manager remarked that “we needed to present a different kind of Enid than voters thought they know.” This change in approach may be due to what the *Tribune* called “the notorious Pinocchio ads of the 1992 campaign . . . a mistake Waldholtz was determined she would not repeat.”

The article continued by noting that “while the Waldholtz media blitz was hammering one Enid image, Shepherd’s campaign was spinning out television ads portraying a different Enid . . . [using] unflattering pictures . . . and freeze-framed shots of her newest ads, with narration suggesting Waldholtz was hiding some sinister secret.” According to polls, voters “believe both campaigns got down in the dirt.” Beth Naley, founder of Utah Republicans for Choice, remarked that “both women should have stayed above that kind of approach. It made them look unsavory as candidates and as women.”

After the election, on November 9, a nationally-syndicated article appeared in the *Deseret News*, beginning sharply, “now that the ugly, foul-mouthed campaign of 1994 is over, is there anybody here who knows how to govern?” According to the article,

Voters have signaled—no, shouted—that they are desperately unhappy with the status quo . . . so much time and money was spent by candidates tearing each other apart that the bloodied survivors who will assume power in January will find themselves operating in a kind of political vacuum. It’s clear what the voters didn’t want. It’s less clear what they do want—beyond giving the Republicans a chance to do something different.

On November 11, the *Deseret News* noted that Shepherd was “outspent by Enid Greene Waldholtz . . . and, in the end . . . starting running some negative ads.” The article continued by suggesting that “while it may not seem fair, it appears that GOP candidates can

run some negative ads and get away with it. But when Democrats do it, it doesn't seem to work.”

According to a November 9 article in the *Deseret News*, “Shepherd knew she was in trouble going into the election” and “Waldholtz was confident,” though neither would have predicted the margin of Waldholtz’s victory. Pollster Dan Jones suggested that the Republicans were successful in getting voters out while Democrats were not, and “in the 2nd District, people were very unhappy with the negative ads.”

### ***Enid’s Private Investigator***

One of the issues in the “increasingly bitter” 1994 2nd Congressional District race was the hiring of a private investigator by Waldholtz after she and husband Joe feared attempted break-ins at campaign headquarters. An October 28 *Deseret News* article reported that Waldholtz expressed concerns about “death threats,” observed “evidence of attempted break-ins,” and feared that “someone [was] trying to listen to her telephone calls.” The *News* continued, stating that “the public will have to decide if her fears—some may say paranoia—have a bearing on this election.” Rival candidates Shepherd and Cook were reported as suggesting Waldholtz “could be using her problems to help her campaign and cast shadows on theirs,” and the *News* stated that “Waldholtz’s private detective is just another twist in an increasingly bitter race.”

On the same day, the *Salt Lake Tribune* quoted a joint statement released by candidates Karen Shepherd and Merrill Cook in which they denounced the hiring of a private investigator by Enid Greene Waldholtz.

“By hiring a private investigator during a congressional campaign and allowing him to scrutinize our political supports, Enid Waldholtz has set a sad and disappointing

precedent,” the two said. “This is Utah, not Chicago or Philadelphia . . . Cloak and dagger techniques have no place in Utah politics.”

The article continued by referencing Waldholtz, who said her opponents were “engaging in political dirty tricks—turning her personal life into a campaign controversy” and defended her actions by explaining her concern about “rumors of phone bugging of her campaign office.” Cook responded by agreeing it was “unusual” to team up with Shepherd, but “what’s more unusual is having two candidates spied on by another opponent.”

On November 2, Waldholtz responded in a *Deseret News* article, stating that “the investigator did no political research but merely looked at lists of donors to help begin his investigation of who may have been harassing and making death threats against her.” A November 5 article in the *Deseret News* mentioned criticism by Democratic leaders of Waldholtz’s use of a California private detective earlier in the year, stating that “Waldholtz and her husband . . . hired a California private detective after attempts were made last year to burglarize their home, their 1992 campaign headquarters and they heard funny noises on their telephones, leading them to believe the phones were tapped.”

The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on the same issue on October 27, further noting Waldholtz’s justification for hiring a private investigator, “we felt strongly—my husband felt very strongly—that we wanted to have someone we could call in an emergency to tell us what to do,” says Waldholtz, a 35-year-old attorney.” According to the article, the investigator gave “limited scrutiny” to those “who gave money to Waldholtz’s opponents,” a fact that concerned both Shepherd and Cook. Shepherd remarked, “I don’t think this woman [Waldholtz] has any limits. I can’t understand what kind of thinking she does,” suggesting

that Waldholtz was “paranoid and nuts.” Waldholtz responded in the article by citing the calls she and new husband were receiving:

“We’re talking dozens and dozens of calls,” she says. “My personal favorite was one on my wedding day at the new home, insinuating that they were having an affair with my husband. That one’s funny. But where they’ve been obscene and threatening, it has not been funny at all.”

In a tongue-in-cheek reaction to the situation, the humor column of the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported November 2 on Halloween hijinks by candidate Merrill Cook, who Strolled SLC streets, etc. with a suspicious looking character trailing behind. The person in the trench coat, dark glasses and fedora was Cook campaign manager—Shari Holweg. A takeoff on the recent controversy over GOP opponent Enid Greene Waldholtz’s hiring a private detective, Cook kept repeating, “I have the feeling I’m being followed.”

After losing her bid for reelection in 1994, Karen Shepherd went on to a career in the public eye as a political analyst and local activist. Enid Greene Waldholtz took office and was "showcased" on the Committee on Rules—the first freshman so favored in 70 years—and became the second woman in congressional history to give birth while in office (Weatherford 2002).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In May of 1996, Joe Waldholtz was indicted on twenty-seven counts of bank fraud and arrested. Prosecutors determined that Joe Waldholtz had, at one point, deposited a total of thirty-four worthless checks amounting to \$2.9 million. However, Enid Greene Waldholtz was accused of no wrongdoing. Under heavy pressure to resign, Waldholtz chose to remain in Congress but did not run again. Enid filed for divorce in November 1995 and was granted custody of the couple’s daughter, Elizabeth (Johnston 1996).

## **Chapter 8: Governor Olene Walker (2003)**

Governor Walker stepped into office on November 5, 2003, after Governor Michael O. Leavitt stepped down to accept an appointment by President George W. Bush as Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. Walker had previously served as lieutenant governor of Utah for eleven years, before which she served eight years in the Utah House of Representatives, including one year as majority whip. She also chaired the National Conference of Lieutenant Governors and was past president of the National Association of Secretaries of State. When sworn in, Walker became the first female governor of Utah, one of ten women governors in the country, and the oldest working governor in the United States at age seventy-two (Bruce, 2008). In this thesis, Olene Walker is a special case, as there was no “winning” election in which she was chosen to be governor of Utah. However, this examination of press coverage of successful female politicians in Utah would be incomplete without her.

### ***An Historic Moment***

According to a November 6 *Deseret News* article, “history was written Wednesday morning when Olene Smith Walker took the oath of office as Utah’s 15th governor—the first woman governor in the state’s 107-year history and the first to be sworn in by the first woman chief justice of the Utah Supreme Court.” While the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on November 2 that some had—wrongly—“predicted Walker would be the first woman speaker of the House” during her political career, few expected her to ever become governor, though Senator John Valentine, R-Orem, remarked that Walker “has all the tools to be governor of Utah.” In a November 6 *Salt Lake Tribune* article reporting on her inauguration as governor, Walker herself is quoted making reference to the historic inauguration and “the pioneer of women politicians in Utah,” saying “Martha Hughes Cannon, we will make you proud.

### *Lieutenant Governors*

As Walker transitioned from her eleven years as lieutenant governor to her new position as governor, the media took note. An October 29 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* referred to this transition as a “psychological change,” suggesting that it would be more difficult than the literal change. During the transition from Governor Leavitt to Walker, she regularly “slipped back into her office when the cameras were gone.” The *Tribune* reported that Leavitt spokeswoman Natalie Gochnour said Walker was “saving herself . . . preparing for inauguration.”

State Democratic Party Chairman Donald Dunn commented on the shift from Leavitt to Walker in a November 1 *Salt Lake Tribune* article, “He’s busy connecting all the dots and taking credit for his legacy while empowering Olene. It will be interesting to see what, if any changes she makes . . . She has been a very obedient lieutenant governor.” The same article, however, noted that “the lieutenant governor is not an adjunct on the side of the administration. She has been an integral part of the team.”

This question of the public role of lieutenant governor was similarly addressed with the ascension of Walker and her choice of Gayle McKeachnie to fill the empty office. The role of lieutenant governor, described in an October 27 *Salt Lake Tribune* article, is one “elected on the governor’s ticket” and, as such, “deliberately low-profile, filled with ribbon-cuttings and speeches.” In an October 30 *Tribune* article, McKeachnie was referred to as “treading lightly during the change of power” just as Lieutenant Governor Olene Walker had done.



### *Walker as a Woman*

A fair amount of coverage about Walker during the four-week period reviewed in this thesis focused both on her personality and traits traditionally associated with gender. In a November 2 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, readers learned that

Olene Walker is a security nightmare. Her grandmotherly image encourages people—from pigtailed little girls to mayors—to drop the normal distance they might reserve for Utah’s governor-to-be and grab her hand, tugging her away from two Highway Patrol troopers in dark suits and glasses. Walker’s own transparent warmth, uncanny knack with names and urge to please pull her along. And the guards assigned to Walkers’ new security detail simply try to keep up.

The article continued by suggesting that the “casual, huggable quality the public finds so nonthreatening is Walker’s greatest political strength and her biggest liability.” Furthermore, the reporter noted that Walker “conjures fondness” but “fearful deference is another matter.”

According to the article, “some on Capitol Hill call [Walker] ‘Aunt Bea,’” while “reporters condescendingly ask whether she is underestimated.” The reporter noted that Walker earned a doctorate in education administration, but then continued by citing Walker’s daughter, who remarked that the new governor wrote her “dissertation from 11 p.m. to 3 a.m. so she could sew Halloween costumes and make dinner and go to her children’s basketball games and tennis games and swim meets.” Walker managed to “catch her granddaughter’s state basketball tournament in Minnesota and another granddaughter’s first ear-piercing,” and she “doesn’t let the grandkids win at board games.” The article further indicates that despite a hectic schedule, come Thanksgiving, Walker will “slip the turkey into the oven early before heading out to play 18 holes of golf.” Despite being “chronically overbooked and always

rushing” Walker always manages to get everything done, even if that means “dry[ing] her hair out the car window and slip[ing] into outfits in the back seat to save time.”

In a similar tone, the *Salt Lake Tribune* wrote on November 6 that “Utah’s new governor shows a lot of spunk for a 72-year-old great-grandmother.” Walker’s own granddaughter “got a bit defensive” when asked by a reporter whether the “new governor was tough enough for the job,” to which she replied that “just because she is a girl doesn’t mean she couldn’t handle it.” Walker confirmed this by saying she grew up with “mainly boys,” playing football with them and being “tough.” Myron Walker, her husband, concurred. “She’s still pretty tough, so don’t try to push her around.”

Walker’s contemporaries were also verbal in the coverage of the inauguration, commenting on her new position and personality. Former lawmaker Glen Brown, who served with Walker for fifteen years, dubbed himself her “official purse carrier” because of her tendency to leave it places and his habit of carrying it for her (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 2, 2003). Cal Rampton, former governor of Utah, remarked upon hearing Walker’s inauguration speech, “She’s a good woman . . . I was pleased to hear Olene” (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 3, 2003). The former president of Amalgamated Sugar Company, Allan Lipman, commented at the inauguration itself, “she’s just schmaltzy enough that it works,” while lobbyist and former legislator Brian Allen said “the important thing about Walker is not her gender ‘It’s the kind of woman she is. I don’t think I’d be excited about [just] any woman. But I’m excited about this woman’” (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 6, 2003). During the opening prayer of the inauguration ceremony, James E. Faust, counselor in the LDS Church’s governing First Presidency, referred to Walker as “an example of noble

womanhood” and Nolan Karras, chairman of the State Board of Regents simply commented, “she was an absolute joy to watch” (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 6, 2003).

A November 6 *Deseret News* article referenced the historicity of the inaugural moment, reminding readers that Walker is the seventh sitting female governor in the country, the “first woman governor in Utah’s history and only the 25th female governor in the history of the United States.” The article referenced Walker’s childhood, where she grew up in “a rough-and-tumble family of boys,” as well as the challenges of her career as she “ignored gender roadblocks during a lifetime of advanced education, a business career, community leadership and political involvement.” The article also commented, in a one-line paragraph, “But Walker is no bra-burner.”

Walker indicated the influence of the past by gesturing to a statue of Martha Hughes Cannon in the Capitol and “saying she hoped to model the woman who was a wife, mother, doctor and became the first woman to serve in the Utah State Senate in 1896 . . . [whose] ‘career, energy and compassion I hope to emulate’” (*Deseret News*, November 6, 2003). Walker remarked that she wanted to leave a “steppingstone for other young women” (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 6, 2003).

In a November 5 editorial in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the author listed the qualifications and achievements that justified Walker filling her new office, but nonetheless topped off the article with a statement on her role as a mother. “. . . To say nothing of raising seven children with her husband Myron and being grandmother to 25 and great grandmother to two . . . So get ready. The first Lady is the governor.”

In another *Tribune* editorial, on November 9, the author offered congratulations to Walker by noting that “Utah’s first woman governor was given the oath of office by its first

woman chief justice. And then she got a 19-gun salute! I bet old Brigham [Young] never thought he'd see the day.” In a response to that editorial on the same day, another *Tribune* reporter suggested that, despite his regard for “years of service and dedication” by Walker, “I am afraid that Gov. Walker will not get much cooperation from this herd unless she shows a hard-nosed toughness with the ‘good old boys’ early and often . . . OK, Olene, you go girl.”

A November 9 *Deseret News* article focusing on the new role of Mr. Walker closed with a question to Myron:

So, how did the first day go, being the husband of the new governor? Fine, he said. Olene didn't throw her political weight around and get full of herself. And what would happen should there come a time when she says she won't do the dishes because she is the governor, after all? ‘In that case, he would have been sensitive to her needs and would have already done the dishes,’ he [Myron] says. End of story.

### ***The Office of Governor / Olene Walker as the First Female Governor of Utah***

A November 6 article in the *Deseret News* touched on the larger question of female governors, noting that “Walker becomes the seventh female governor in the country, joining women governors in Arizona, Delaware, Hawaii, Kansas, Michigan and Montana.” The article quoted Sarah Brewer, associate director of the Women and Politics Institute at American University, “It's outrageous really, isn't it? It's so appallingly low . . . gubernatorial offices have been a steppingstone for male candidates for years now, so women whose eyes are on the big prize, so to speak, have really turned their attention to these offices.” The article continued by citing research by The White House Project, a nonpartisan group based in New York. It listed their key findings:

- Women seeking executive office often do not get a “benefit of the doubt” from voters to the same degree as men. Notably, this is especially true among older women voters, according to the research.
- Voters, especially male voters, are more likely to question a female candidate’s use of personal biography in their campaign.
- Women candidates must avoid appearing too casual or too glamorous, as those images undermine their credibility in voters’ minds.

As Utah’s first female governor, Walker received a fair amount of media coverage addressing her gender specifically. A November 5 editorial in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, titled “Our lady guv,” noted Walker’s inauguration by acknowledging that Walker is an “astute politician, legislative consensus-builder, [and] compassionate leader.” It followed that observation quickly with the counterpoint, “For Utah it’s the first opportunity to get comfortable with a woman behind the wheel.” The article also noted that “Walker has thrived in Utah’s patriarchal political environment.”

Walker’s inauguration day marked a number of firsts, as pointed out in a November 6 *Salt Lake Tribune* article.

It was a precedent setting day: the first time in state history a governor has stepped down and handed the keys of power to a lieutenant governor; the first time a woman has held the state’s top post; the first time a female chief justice of the Utah Supreme Court has sworn in a governor. Additionally, Walker is the oldest incoming Utah governor.

A day earlier, the *Tribune* noted the historicity of the occasion as well, informing readers that “Utah Supreme court Chief Justice Christine Durham will swear in Walker—the

first time two women have had such roles in a Utah inauguration.” The article quoted Walker suggesting it is “a celebration for the first woman governor” and “a great moment of history.” The *Deseret News* was just as quick to note the moment, “History was written Wednesday morning when Olene Smith Walker took the oath of office as Utah’s 15th governor—the first woman governor in the state’s 107-year history.”

In addition to general expectations placed on a new governor, there seemed to be some additional hopes tied to Walker’s new role as reported in the media. In a *Salt Lake Tribune* editorial on November 9, the writer hoped “a woman with a heart will be able to do what no other governor has done: get Utah public education back on track and appropriately funded.” A November 6 article in *The Deseret News* quoted Sarah Brewer, associate director of the Women and Politics Institute at American University, remarking that “the real test of significance will be how Olene governs, how she navigates budget mine fields, and how effectively she deals with the Legislature . . . I hope she can excel and leave a mark that surpasses the fact that she is female.”

Other articles about Walker in the *Salt Lake Tribune* referenced her qualifications to be Utah’s fifteenth governor. In a November 2 article, Meghan Holbrook, former Democratic Party chairwoman and a neighbor to Walker, remarked, “she’s shrewd as can be. She’s nonconfrontational, a negotiator. But those who underestimate her do so at their peril.” Three days later, a *Tribune* editorial noted that “Walker, 72, may be Utah’s first female governor, but that isn’t all that makes her unique. She is the first to decorate the office with a Ph.D. certificate.”

Another editorial in the *Tribune*, published November 9, noted that Walker spent her eleven years as lieutenant governor quietly staying “behind the scenes and out of the

limelight,” but that all reports suggest she is “a class act.” The author reported that her “sources tell me she has a heart as big as all outdoors and the energy to match it. She is a constant and active supporter of social and human service efforts whether public or nonprofit.”

A *Tribune* article on November 6 reported on Walker’s inauguration, noting that Walker’s “speech and demeanor were enough to convince almost anyone that this 5-foot-7 dynamo is up to the job.” In noting the general excitement over the inauguration, Walker herself summed it up, “Quite frankly, I am very excited about it.” (*Deseret News*, October 30).

### ***Myron Walker — “First Lover”***

Both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* devoted coverage to the novelty of Myron Walker, the first husband of a sitting governor in Utah. In a November 6 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Myron Walker and his new and unique position as “first husband” were the focus of attention.

Like his wife, Governor Olene Walker, Myron Walker is on the cusp of Utah history. Through 14 previous generations of Utah government, the governor’s spouse has been first lady. There has never before been a “first man” or a “first gentleman” or a “first husband.” When reporters asked him two months ago what he would be called, Walker offered: “first lover.” Now, he has settled on: “Olene’s husband.” Seriously. He doesn’t want another title.

The article continued by noting that Myron was “more quiet and reserved than his wife,” and quoted Mr. Walker’s support of his wife’s political career. “She needed to get involved . . . Olene is a very competent caring person. She has a phenomenal amount of

energy. She is qualified. She'll do a good job.'" The writer then mused on Myron's unique position in history and politics.

His somewhat arcane job as first spouse is more problematic. He is looking forward to the cook that comes with being governor. He has tired of cooking goulash—his own concoction of macaroni, onions, tomatoes and ground beef on the frequent nights when Olene is working late or out of town. He will have an office and staff in the Capitol. But the traditional duties of a first lady—entertaining and taking on conventional projects such as children's programs—are somewhat confounding to him.

The article ended with former First Lady Jaclyn Leavitt stressing the power wielded by the governor's spouse. "It's important that every spouse chooses those issues that speak to their heart. I did. Hopefully, Myron will do that."

In a November 9 article, the *Deseret News* also addressed the unique position of Myron Walker in Utah history, "across the country, you'll find a "first dude" in Kansas, a plain old "Harry" in Montana and the "first gentleman" in Michigan, who loves the title he says conveys courtesy, graciousness and a man of great honor. Closer to home in Utah, Gov. Olene Walker's husband, Myron, is deciding on his title." When speculation first hit that he would be flung into the role of the husband of a governor—a first in Utah history—he was asked what people should call him. With his wry humor of 75 years, he told the media and the world to call him "husband and lover."

The article continued by noting that Walker is a retired businessman, one of four "first men" despite the seven sitting female governors. Mr. Walker, according to the article, saw his role as "not staying completely out of things, but certainly willing to take up a



leadership role if an issue sparks his interest,” meaning he may embrace a cause in the next fourteen months, “but for now, he is content to be the No. 1 supporter of his wife, who spent “umpteens” years of their nearly 50-year-marriage supporting him.”

### ***Walker as “Caretaker” of the Office***

Several times in the course of media coverage of Walker’s ascension to office, the concept of “caretaking” appears. The media seemed to be aware of its own propensity to employ this term, and in a November 2 article in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the author wrote,

Reporters condescendingly ask whether she is underestimated. Walker is getting tired of the question. She bristles at the idea that she will be little more than a librarian of Leavitt’s legacy for a year. She has only 14 months to dispute that notion. And she feels the weight on her shoulders as Utah’s first woman governor. “I’m very aware of the responsibility,” she says, “I feel a real sense of obligation to women who will follow to not just be a caretaker. I want my 14 months in office to be a stepping stone for other women.”

This concept of “caretaking” was echoed in other coverage. An October 31 *Tribune* article asserted, “Walker betrays no signs of wishing to be a simple caretaker for the next year and two months.” Three days later, a *Tribune* editorial noted that “it would be a mistake as Walker assumes the governorship to view her as some sort of kindly caretaker.” On November 6—the day of the inauguration—Representative Sheryl Allen, R-Bountiful, was quoted in the *Salt Lake Tribune* as expecting Walker to be “bold.” She further commented that “I don’t think we’re going to have a caretaker governor.” Leo Memmott, a former legislative fiscal analyst agreed in a November 1 *Deseret News* article, noting that the “state’s first female governor does not want a mere caretaker administration.” That article

described Walker as “brimming with excitement and cheer . . . clearly anxious to take on the job” and quoted her saying she was “humbled, amazed, delighted and excited.” Said Walker, “I am ready.”

The same day, an article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* quoted Utah State University political scientist Michael Lyons surmising that Walker “probably doesn’t want to be perceived as a caretaker. But if she tries to diverge on some reckless course of action, she would find little support. One year is not enough time to leave your mark.” Donald Dunn, State Democratic Party Chairman, remarked that he hoped Walker “is given the respect she’s due” but acknowledged her “challenges are tall.” In responding to this, Walker “shrugged” and insisted she “will make her mark,” describing the tone of her administration as “competent, caring and open and willing to listen” and insisting “I can make an impact in a year.”

### ***The Question of Reelection***

An October 31 editorial piece in the *Salt Lake Tribune* suggested that Walker should seek reelection in another year when the office is once more open, noting it was “a possibility that is dampened, but by no means quashed, by the fact that she is 73 years old.” It then referenced President Reagan’s 73 years when beginning his second term. The following day, another *Tribune* article suggested that if Walker “does emerge as a strong peacemaker and leader, not seeking election might add to her credibility.” The *Deseret News* also made mention of this question of age and reelection on October 29, noting that Walker had not committed one way or other, though “several years ago she told the *Deseret Morning News* that, if not for her age, she would seriously consider running in 2004 should Leavitt retire.”

Walker had only one year to serve before the election and many doubted she would enter the race. Boasting a seventy percent approval rate in the state, she opted to seek reelection. However, at the Utah Republican Convention in 2004, the party chose not to place Walker on the ballot for the party primary. Some postulated that the decision was because Walker's announcement came on short notice, while others speculated that Walker's gender in a "mostly patriarchal state" may have caused issues. Nolan Karras and Jon M. Huntsman Jr. won the nomination and Huntsman went on to win the election and continues to serve today (Utah History to Go 2008). Walker and her husband retired from public life and served a two-year Public Affairs mission for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in which they moved to New York and represented the interests of the Church there. Walker now resides in St. George.

## Chapter 9: Analysis

As Startt and Sloan suggest, there are “no final answers” in a historical study. Instead, the object of a historical piece, and of this thesis, is “to provide an honest understanding of something in the past based on the best evidence available” (1989, 14). As Stage and Manning pointed out, “although the researcher may have a general idea of the question to be pursued through the project, the nuances and details of that research question are most often revealed over time . . . Rarely is a question as clear in the beginning of the study as it is at the end” (2003, 8).

The researcher entered this project with the general idea that a one-hundred-year span study of newspaper coverage of female candidates in both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* would reveal a certain amount of gender bias, which either increased or decreased during the time period reviewed. The researcher has concluded, however, that while there were, of course, numerous references and commentaries on gender concerning each of the five women, there was very little overt bias against female candidates, and no evidence to suggest that the media unfairly commented on gender.

While a variety of topics could be addressed as a result of the study of the research text for this thesis, this analysis focuses on understanding the coverage through the general lens of gender studies. This final chapter briefly reviews twentieth-century gender theory as it relates to this thesis, then discusses the coverage of each of the five female candidates individually in light of the issue of gender. The chapter finishes with the researcher’s overall analysis of coverage of all the female candidates taken together over the one-hundred-year span, offering conclusions as well as suggestions for future research.

### *Gender Studies and Women in the Political Arena*

Len-Rios asserted that because the news is “indelibly linked to gender and power,” appearing in the newspaper confers power and reinforces status. When news organizations overlook women or marginalize them, they “assign them lower status and bar them from debate” (Len-Rios et al. 2005, 154).

Historically, many women in the early 1800s participated in reform movements in an effort to make their voices heard, but without the power of media or political position those “early reformers discovered that their efforts to instigate changes were hampered by their lack of a legitimate public voice.” They found that a prerequisite “for effective political action about any issue was securing their own rights, most particularly the right to speak and to be counted in public and civic arenas” (Wood 2003, 61).

More recently, Koch found that gender stereotypes introduce “systematic misperception” of candidate ideology and policy. This misperception due to gender stereotyping “may work to the advantage of candidates of one gender and to the disadvantage of others, precluding members of some demographic groups from serving in office and denying descriptive representation to that group” (Koch 2000, 426).

One of the primary goals of feminism is to alter the process of gender role socialization so that individuals can develop their unique potentials (Howard and Kavenik 2000, 218). Throughout the entire history of the United States, legally-imposed inequalities between the sexes have prevented women from achieving economic and political parity with men, and hence, have prevented women from fulfilling their own unique potential (ibid., 217). Kimmel notes that,

Gender is not simply a system of classification, by which biological males and biological females are sorted, separated, and socialized into equivalent sex roles.

Gender also expresses the universal inequality between women and men. When we speak about gender we also speak about hierarchy, power, and inequality, not simply difference” (2004, 1).

Even today, when female politicians “buck the system” by entering a traditionally male world and go head to head with men on “their” ground, they find it difficult to receive fair treatment. Past studies have indicated that newspapers generally cover the issues in a man’s campaign for office, but focus on the “human side” of a female candidate—commenting on her hair, her clothing, her traits, her personality, her family—in short, commenting on everything but the issues and stance she espouses. It is, as Kimmel put it, “a no-win proposition for women when they enter the workplace, the military, politics, or sports—arenas that are already established to reproduce and sustain masculinity” (2004, 16).

### ***Martha Hughes Cannon***

While there was almost no coverage in the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News* specific to Martha Hughes Cannon, what did appear in the newspapers did not readily express surprise, alarm, or incredulity about a woman’s campaign for political office in 1896. At first glance, this is somewhat surprising considering the year and environment—frontier America—in which Cannon campaigned. However, considering the nature of early frontier journalism and the radically different journalistic standards and approach, it is difficult to evaluate why such little coverage of Cannon appeared. On second look, any number of factors may have played into this absence—for instance, the possible eclipse of Cannon’s political run in the face of Utah’s recent and hard-won statehood; the, likely, somewhat

distracting, novelty of Utah's first-time participation in a presidential election; the fact that women were already deeply involved in other political efforts in the state, i.e. suffrage; the acceptance of women as fully-participating and contributing members of society by the LDS Church; a lack of interest/coverage on the part of newspapers and/or reporters, or disinterest in discussing female candidates; or simply a general lack of organized coverage of any of the candidates per se.

It is not clear without a comparative study of other candidates if the rarity of coverage of Cannon was specific to her, and if so, the result of her gender, or if it was simply the modus operandi of newspapers during this time period. With extreme differences in the size, purpose, and execution of newspapers in the 1800s, it is difficult to identify reasons. However, with a history of being disfranchised by their own country and refused the right to run for public office by their federally-appointed territorial governor, the women of Utah—including Cannon—no doubt chose to fight for suffrage and then, upon regaining the right, run for office in the hopes of making their voices heard.

While there is no commentary of a biased nature concerning Cannon in the reviewed coverage, there were a few pointed mentions about women and the election in general. Without bylines or identification of reporters or authors, it's hard to estimate how much bias, if any, affected their writing in the paper. However, passing references to women enjoying the "novelty" of voting and the voting mishaps made by women as related somewhat patronizingly in the pages of the paper may be indicative of a general attitude.

In an article covering election returns, the reporter remarked that "some of the women candidates displayed the customary anxiety of the novice, and overdid the matter of vote solicitation" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 4, 1896), and in another article, we learn that

women voters made “many amusing mistakes” including voting a “full” ticket by marking an “x” by every name (ibid.). In addition, there was one clear reference to the issue of gender discrimination reported by the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Mrs. Margaret A. Caine, a woman speaking at a political rally in a “ward,” “insisted that it would be most unjust for the voters of either party to discriminate against the women on their ticket simply because they were women” (October 25, 1896).

Whatever, the reason for the lack of discussion in the newspapers concerning Cannon’s campaign, it is clear that the election at large was of great importance to the community. Both papers ran multiple reminders for potential voters to register, and included reports of local neighborhood canvassing to register citizens. After the election, the newspapers reported that “not less than ninety per cent of the men and women who had their names on the registration rolls expressed their wishes at the polls yesterday” (*Deseret News*, November 4, 1896). Women were also reported to have voted “fully as large in proportion to that of the men” (ibid.). This astoundingly high percentage of voter participation is an interesting counterpoint to later elections studied in this thesis, in which voter involvement hovered around fifty to sixty percent.

The personal nature of the 1896 election newspaper coverage is foreign to readers today. Candidates were referred to in the press by nickname—i.e. “Mattie” instead of Martha Cannon, Dr. Cannon, or Mrs. Cannon. It seemed that the assumption in writing was that members of the community were already well-acquainted with the candidates, as witnessed by the coverage of Angus Cannon, Martha’s husband and competitor in an October 30 *Salt Lake Tribune* article, “Angus M. Cannon . . . has filled many important stations . . . knows



almost every inch of the soil of Utah . . . knows the wants of the State . . . [and] we know of no one who has the slightest doubt of his election.”

In addition, information that—by today’s standards—would be considered very private was freely listed in the papers, including home and work address. These casual references and personal treatment were likely the result of living in a small, frontier society, and probably intensified by the somewhat isolationist sense of community fostered by the predominant religion of Utah. However, the press coverage of Martha Hughes Cannon does not reference her husband—particularly interesting in this situation, as her husband was one of the candidates against whom Cannon ran.

While it seems somewhat dangerous to apply theory from modernity to election coverage of the past, no studies of newspaper coverage of women were found in a literature search which could shed light on media coverage of politicians in the late 1800s. Recent studies have determined that female politicians are presumed to be “better” at the “softer” or more social issues, such as education and healthcare. This leaves the modern-day reader with an interesting dichotomy. Was Martha Hughes Cannon presumed to be a potentially effective politician because of her experience with social issues, her involvement in public life as a suffragette, and her proficiency as a doctor? Or did her career—instead of assuring skill and ability—merely lend the veneer of being “one of the boys,” and therefore capable of serving politically? Either way, it may safely be assumed that her previous work as a doctor influenced both the election and her role after winning.

### ***Reva Beck Bosone***

The issue of gender seemed to be much more prevalent in the campaign of Reva Beck Bosone, though not necessarily in a negative way. After the election had been won, Bosone

commented that “prejudice against women in Utah is nil. Twelve years ago this was an item. Now it is no hurdle at all” (*Deseret News* November 3, 1948). While Bosone may have been right in her assertion, the very fact that gender was a constant topic in the discourse surrounding her campaign and subsequent win suggests that gender was, in fact, an issue. Indeed, the coverage of Bosone’s campaign is full of references to her femininity, her “woman’s viewpoint” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 26, 1948) and the need to “never underestimate a good woman” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 20, 1948)—all relatively positive references to her gender. Nonetheless, the very act of calling attention to her gender, even in a positive light, placed the issue of gender in the forefront of the election—for better or worse.

There were likely some stereotypes in the press during this election that may have complicated any race run by a woman. For instance, a November 2, 1948, article out of Philadelphia that appeared in the *Deseret News* noted the end of the campaign of “American’s only woman candidate for president.” Agnes Waters, 55, advertised herself as “the pistol packin’ mama—Agnes Waters, only woman candidate for the president of the United States,” and made her plea for a write-in vote while traveling across the country. It is likely that Waters’ campaign and the press attention she received did little to strengthen the overall validity of female candidates in the country.

While Bosone asserted that there was no prejudice against women in Utah, there were still some hurdles to overcome, as illustrated by an October 19, 1948, *Salt Lake Tribune* article out of Chicago on the wire. The leader of the League of Women Voters remarked that

If the nation’s women could ever get together they could easily elect a woman president . . . but alas . . . that will never happen . . . If you’ve ever tried to get a

bunch of women together on anything you'll know what I mean . . . A woman will have to stand on her ability and her political experience as an individual, and not as a woman, before men and women alike will feel enough confidence in her to elect her president . . . After a woman senator, or mayor, or congressman has ceased to be a curiosity, women will have a chance to establish themselves as individuals and not mere women.

A statement such as this from the female president of the League of Women Voters suggested that the prevailing attitude in the country was still not terribly conducive to putting female politicians in high office.

It may not be a surprise, then, to note that the newspapers, in covering Bosone's campaign, seemed to be ever-aware and ready to discuss gender. References to gender abounded in the coverage—for instance, after the election, the Republicans remarked that “the Democrats got . . . wide support of the state's housewives who constantly complain of high prices (*Deseret News* November 3, 1948),” apparently suggesting that the Democratic sweep had much to do with frustrated housewives. Grant MacFarlane, a Democrat and campaigner for Bosone, frequently used a slogan he pulled from the *Ladies Home Journal*, remarking that one should “never underestimate the power of a woman, and particularly when that woman is Judge Reva Beck Bosone,” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 20, 1948). He added that “Her woman's viewpoint lends added dignity and prestige in Washington” (*ibid.*).

Bosone herself, during a speech at a national conference in Chicago, remarked that “a lot of masculine judges have applied the powder puff most delicately to the injured feelings of traffic violators...” (*Deseret News* October 18, 1948), suggesting that male judges, by invoking feminine characteristics, became too soft. One article, a day before the

election, suggested that the day would be a “very melancholy occasion indeed for the majority of the 30 women running for the House of Representatives. Most of the girls . . . are in for a shellacking” (*Deseret News* November 1, 1948). This sharp divide between the masculine and feminine seemed prevalent in everyday life and popular discourse and was therefore reflected in news coverage.

Much of the coverage directly addressing Bosone’s ability to serve dealt with the question of balancing roles as both a woman and a career politician. What would likely be considered patronizing, gendered commentary today, appeared regularly in the newspaper concerning Bosone. Directly after the election, on November 3, 1948, she was profiled by the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

And just what was the first woman ever elected to U.S. congress from the state of Utah doing on election night? Peacefully cooking spinach and squash for dinner . . . The cookery skill of Judge Reva Beck Bosone is one of her many accomplishments . . . everything tastes heavenly . . . [Bosone] sat down and played gentle, resigned music on the piano . . . Later on when the good news came . . . [friends] found her with the “weeps” like any woman who has been under tension. But the judge hasn’t red hair for nothing. With orchids on her shoulder and trailed by a crowd of excited and congratulatory admirers she entered downtown headquarters beaming.

In addition, a *Deseret News* article on the same day asked Bosone “how she finds time to carry on a career and keep up a home too.” An “energetic” Mrs. Bosone answered, “anyone can do it who has enough ambition.” It’s chiefly a problem of budgeting time, according to this efficient woman who does her own housework, cooking, and grocery

shopping.” The article finishes by noting that “this is the only year she has failed to can a bounteous supply of fruits, a fact she sincerely regrets.”

One notable absence in the coverage of Bosone was any discussion concerning her marital status. Married at age 25 and divorced one year later, Bosone lived alone for eight years before remarrying. A year later, she gave birth to the couple’s one child, Zilpha, and after a ten-year marriage—which included the founding of a joint law-firm—she and Joseph P. Bosone were divorced (MacKay 2008). While this may seem normal in today’s society, being a twice-divorced single mother and public figure in Utah during the 1940s may have been somewhat anomalous. Nevertheless, it was never addressed in the coverage reviewed.

The press seemed willing to admit a certain bias in covering Bosone. After her election, Katherine Johnson, *Deseret News* Washington Correspondent, wrote on November 4, 1948, about Bosone’s upcoming status as a national figure, remarking that

This is not because of what she has accomplished, or what she might accomplish. It is only because she is a woman. In the new congress there will be only eight women among some 550 men. The national spotlight will always be on them. When a woman comes to Congress . . . her every act makes news: how she dresses, whether she smokes or drinks, whether she gets on with the men in Congress, how she acts toward her husband if she has one, or if she hasn’t one, why not (is she opposed to marriage?), whether she cooks or sews, etc. In fact . . . even going hatless could create violent political repercussions.

Despite the promise of intense media scrutiny, Bosone claimed to be ready and acknowledged her new-found responsibility, remarking that she would be not only “representing the women of Utah, but also my sex throughout the nation.” She commented

that this responsibility would encourage her to "... be exceedingly careful and cautious in all ways" (*Deseret News* November 3, 1948). This need to be both homemaker and politician hearkens back to Dolan's findings that women are "most appropriately in the private world, the center of home and family" where women must fulfill the dichotomous roles of wife, mother, homemaker, and caregiver (2004, 30).

In the coverage reviewed, Bosone made a plea for legislation in "peace, inflation, housing and reclamation" (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 30, 1948), as well as a plea for "positive action on high prices, health, education and public housing" (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 20, 1948). While studies show that women are more likely to be perceived as dealing well with the "softer" social issues, while men deal better with things like war and the economy (Bullock and Maggiotto 2003, 2; Kahn 1994, 166; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991, 110; Kahn 1996, 66), Bosone focused here on issues on both sides. However, she did tie all the issues back to the need to protect children—she expressed frustration over "insecurity of peace and insecurity as to economic stability of the future," insisting that "only by voting for the welfare of children to come can the Congress bring stability out of confusion" (*Deseret News* October 30, 1948).

### ***Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene Waldholtz (1992 & 1994)***

By far the greatest amount of media coverage included in this thesis fell to the back-to-back campaigns of Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene Waldholtz in 1992 and 1994. The 1992 election—or the "Year of the Woman"—was noted in local papers as the election that "should dispel Utah as the worst place for women candidates," as Utah boasted the "highest percentage of women running for seats in the House and senate" (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 26, 1992). One analyst commented in the *Tribune* that "statistically when women have run

for office in Utah they have had a much better chance of winning than the national average” (ibid.). However, the *Deseret News* was quick to suggest that—“Year of the Woman” or not—having “two women finalists for a House race is a new experience for Utahns and takes any gender advantage away” (October 2, 1992). According to the news, the question of gender was neutralized by the head-to-head campaigns of two women—this despite the involvement of Independent candidate Merrill Cook. Indeed, in a rather tongue-in-cheek comment during the 1994 campaign, Cook remarked at a public debate concerning the question of gender equity in politics, “If I weren’t here, there would be no gender equity in this race” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 24 1994).

On October 31, 1992, as the election drew near, the *Deseret News* reported that “Democrat Karen Shepherd and Republican Enid Greene are in a dogfight in the 2nd Congressional District.” A fascinating array of words appear in both newspapers to describe the campaign: a “nasty name-calling campaign” (*Deseret News* October 7, 1992) in the “increasingly nasty 2nd Congressional District fray” (*Deseret News* October 20, 1992); the “nasty mudslinging” (*Deseret News* October 6, 1992) efforts of each candidate make for a “messy” election (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 29, 1992), “marred by a barrage of negative campaigning” (*Deseret News* November 4, 1992) as the two have “been working each other over” (*Deseret News* October 6, 1992) in a “catfight” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 6, 1992).

Political commentary expressed frustration with the negative cast of the campaign, noting that “a once-promising congressional campaign between two suitable candidates, Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene, has somehow degenerated to the point where voters are obliged to watch Pinocchio’s nose grow” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 29, 1992). This negativity took a toll on voter reaction, as constituents began to “turn on the candidate they

perceive[d] as crossing the imaginary line of bad manners” (*Deseret News* November 4, 1992).

Reaction in the “Public Forum” and “Letters to the Editor” sections of the papers reflected the frustration of readers. One woman wrote

I received a two-page letter from Republican Enid Greene attacking Democrat Karen Shepherd ... I want to register a complaint against this kind of negative campaigning. Women running for office in Utah have a unique opportunity to change the “old boy network” and ... I expect more from the women running in this race ... I am disappointed in Ms. Greene and her campaign for succumbing to old patterns that are nonproductive, no longer appropriate and do nothing more than perpetuate outdated modes (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 23, 1992).

According to the *Deseret News*, a “woman candidate has a fine line to walk these days. On the one hand, she has to appear tough enough to take on the old-boy political network—be as tough as the guys, if you will. On the other hand, no female candidate wants to appear witchy, difficult or overbearing” (October 2, 1992). This despite the admission that name-calling is a good way to make a campaign advertisement stand out.

The words chosen to describe the candidates specifically in the paper may be indicative of an underlying acceptance of a bias towards the “softer” or less masculine of the two female candidates. Shepherd is described as “personal, progressive—the woman and human-issues candidate.” She was a “mentor” to other women in politics, and proud to be part of a “national movement of women.” Shepherd’s campaign headquarters boasted children’s drawings on the walls, and a “homespun feel” that appealed broadly (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 20, 1992).



In contrast, the same article described Greene as “professional, ideological, effective and action-oriented,” “sharp,” “organized,” and “detail-oriented,” demonstrating a relish for an “adversarial role” and “uncomfortable with being seen as part of the Year of the Woman” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 25, 1992). In addition, she was noted as “a strident female” (*Deseret News* November 4, 1992) with “commercials . . . simple to the point of being jarring, as are her billboards and bus placards” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 25, 1992). After winning the election, Shepherd described Greene as coming across as “tough, maybe too tough . . . unnecessarily hostile” (*Deseret News* November 4, 1992). The *Deseret News* agreed, calling her campaign performance “polished but insensitive and dogmatic” (ibid.).

Two years later, Shepherd was described in the newspapers much as she had been in 1992—in a positive light. She was profiled as a “former teacher,” “writer,” “state senator,” “mother of two,” “avid bird-watcher” who hikes and gardens to relax, someone who “does not fit the stereotype of a stay-at-home Utah woman,” “cheerful,” “easygoing,” and “down-to-earth” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 30, 1994).

However, there was a major change in the way Waldholtz was referred to in the media. Both newspapers noted that Enid returned with a “new, softer image” and “huge” personal bank account. She “married, got a new hairdo and swapped glasses for contact lenses” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 13, 1994), returning as a “softer,” “kinder” and “gentler” Enid—not the “mean-spirited GOP robot” the Democrats had painted her as (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 30, 1994). Perhaps most interesting was the reference to the importance of her looks. “Hair has ‘become a hot issue’ . . . hair can be a bigger deal than one’s position on health-care reform or the budget deficit . . . glasses also can be a weighty matter” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 30, 1994). This would suggest that by modifying her

image to capitalize on feminine stereotypes and present a “softer” image, Waldholtz improved her campaign against Shepherd and appealed to a wider base of voters who may have been uncomfortable with her first campaign, in which she appeared more “masculine”—i.e. aggressive, “hard,” and less physically attractive.

The *Tribune* seemed to take slight pleasure in reporting on some of the somewhat gender-charged comments made by the candidates themselves during the campaign. In 1992, Greene refused to concede the race as results rolled in, announcing that “it’s not over until the fat lady sings, and I haven’t sung yet” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 4, 1992). Two years later, after a mock election in an elementary school proclaimed Waldholtz the winner, Enid remarked “I always said to my husband, if children and animals could vote, I would win in a landslide” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 4, 1994). Waldholtz’s own references to herself seem to negate the “softer” image she may have been seeking to project.

Again, the letters to the editors reflected some frustration amongst readers concerning the campaign. One letter remarked that the entire race was bothersome, with both Shepherd and Waldholtz “bad-mouthing each other” and confusing the issue (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 23, 1994). Other readers expressed concern over the “meaningless mudslinging” of the campaign, Waldholtz’s “insulting” and “unfair” fiscal plans, and the “extremism . . . in the political arena” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 7, 1994). Another reader questioned,

How many times have you heard “Karen Shepherd is a traitor to the state of Utah?”

For me, once was one too many times. Political bashing is so popular in modern American politics that any political race becomes a war of who can insult their opponent the most. Politics is no longer a question of who is the better man (or

woman) but of who has the most money to pay for their commercials that crudely insult their opponent (*Deseret News* November 16, 1994).

As in the 1992 election, the 1994 face-off saw a fascinating array of negative words described the ongoing battle—the “public free-for-all” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 19, 1994)—in which “both suffered from the last-minute media blitz of negative campaigning” and the “increasingly critical spots” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 27, 1994). The *Tribune* warned readers that the race was about to get “volatile,” “loud,” “angry and unpredictable” (October 22, 1994). The communication between Shepherd and Waldholtz was referred to as “shameless” and “mean-spirited,” with the two “glaring at each other” in a “ferocious battle” (*Deseret News* October 30, 1994) where each was “losing their collective composure” (*Deseret News* November 5, 1994).

Beth Naley, founder of Utah Republicans for Choice, remarked that the campaigns got “down in the dirt,” and “both women should have stayed above that kind of approach. It made them look unsavory as candidates and as women” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 13, 1994). One reporter remarked that “the campaign is a nail-scratcher, drawing blood and getting ugly. Or getting interesting, depending on your perspective” (*Deseret News* October 30, 1994). Another referred to the battle as a “catfight” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 6, 1994). Both candidates admitted the race was getting “pretty mean,” with Waldholtz claiming that Cook and Shepherd were attacking her relentlessly, and Shepherd claiming that “Waldholtz and her henchmen” had been “torturing” her with personal attacks since the 1992 race (*Deseret News* October 26, 1994).

After the election was over, a national article appeared in the *Deseret News*, asking if, after the “ugly, foul-mouthed campaign” was over, were there any “bloodied survivors” who

could lead in the “political vacuum,” suggesting that the election year—on the whole—was ugly throughout the nation (November 9, 1994). That rather vicious ending to the campaign was demonstrated locally, as the news reported that upon receiving election results at the Republican headquarters and learning that Shepherd had been defeated, a “group of women climbed on a platform and began dancing and singing “Ding, dong, the wicked witch is dead” (*Deseret News* November 9, 1994).

In addition, the head-to-head campaigns of Shepherd and Waldholtz were also marked by sharp attention in the press and dissension amongst candidates concerning campaign funding. All three candidates—Shepherd, Waldholtz, and Independent Merrill Cook—were millionaires, and all spent great sums of cash on their respective campaigns. After losing in a close race in 1992, Waldholtz poured in more than a million dollars of her own money in 1994, while Shepherd raised the bulk of her funding from PACs—much of that from abortion-rights and feminist groups—putting none of her own funds toward the race. This became a point of contention, with Shepherd remarking that “if you can’t raise money from individuals, then you have no business running for Congress” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 18, 1994). Shepherd also bemoaned the expenditures, remarking that “I only hope it won’t cost me the election” (*Deseret News* November 4, 1994), as the media remarked that she was “fighting for her political life” (*Deseret News* November 6, 1994) in a “ferocious battle against a millionaire Republican” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 1, 1994).

Democratic Party Chair Dave Jones expressed concern that Waldholtz would be “beholden” to “some industry or special interest,” asking “to what lengths will Enid go to buy a U.S. house seat?” (*Deseret News* October 28, 1994). This expenditure on campaigns was particularly interesting considering Waldholtz’s stand that “campaigns are spending too

much money, especially too much special-interest money from PACs” and Shepherd’s advocating of campaign finance reform (she admitted to “”playing by the old rules for now”) (*Deseret News* November 9, 1994). After the election, Waldholtz remarked “we won because we were right on the issues and ran a positive campaign” (ibid.).

While at first glance the question of campaign funding may have little to do with the issue of gender, it is noteworthy that in a race where gender had been “neutralized,” alternate battle grounds seemed to be staked out (*Deseret News* October 2, 1994). The race was marked by sharp criticism between the two women, including a great deal of criticism regarding sources of funding. For Shepherd, it was the question of accepting money from feminist and abortion-rights groups. For Waldholtz, it was a question of using the cash provided by her new husband to campaign. Looking back, the excessive amount spent by Waldholtz to campaign against Shepherd—who bemoaned being run over by a Mack truck (*Deseret News* November 4, 1994)—becomes even more telling after her husband was indicted for check kiting.

It is conceivable that the race was “nasty” because it was woman against woman, and the question of funding was just another battleground for the question of gender. Or perhaps the down and dirty approach of both women was perceived as inappropriate; as the founder of Utah Republicans for Choice remarked, “both women should have stayed above that kind of approach. It made them look unsavory as candidates and as women” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 13, 1994). It is possible that the voting public was seeking some sort of higher standard from the two women in the campaign, as expressed in a letter to the editor, “women running for office in Utah have a unique opportunity to change . . . negative campaign

models . . . I expect more from the women running in this race, an opportunity to set a different model for Utah politics that has more integrity and focuses on issues instead of attacking people” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 23, 1994).

***Olene S. Walker***

Press coverage of Walker was focused particularly on the personal. This may have been a result of eleven years in the public eye as an “obedient” and well-liked lieutenant governor (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 1, 2003), or because newspapers devoted space and time to simply profiling Walker without the contention of a regular election, or because Walker’s “grandmotherly” image, enhanced by her “warm” personality and age (seventy-two), affected the tone in which reporters were willing to cover her (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 2, 2003). Whatever the reason for the highly personal coverage, Walker seemed to embrace the intimate coverage afforded her.

The media referred to Walker’s shift from the ribbon-cutting role of lieutenant governor to her new role as governor as “psychological” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 29, 2003), and as Walker was sworn in, the media seemed to undergo this change as well. After inauguration, Olene became approachable, “warm” and “huggable,” while simultaneously a “tough” “5-foot-7 dynamo” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 6, 2003), never to be underestimated. This fascinating combination of the warm and welcoming, yet shrewd and capable grandmother was spun out in the press. Both papers seemed to delight in emphasizing Walker’s “grandmotherly image,” remarking that the “casual huggable quality the public finds so nonthreatening is Walker’s greatest political strength and her biggest liability” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 2, 2003). At inauguration, Walker was the oldest

sitting governor in the country, and—according to the press—“showed a lot of spunk for a 72-year-old grandmother” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 6, 2003).

The words used to describe her are consistently feminine and often gentle—with “transparent warmth” and an “urge to please,” she “conjures fondness” but not “fearful deference” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 2, 2003). She was also described as an “absolute joy to watch,” an “example of noble womanhood” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 6, 2003), “competent,” “caring,” and “willing to listen” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 2, 2003), and a regular “Aunt Bea” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 2, 2003). All of this terminology suggests a grandmotherly, loving figure instead of a politically hard-hitting, capable leader. While it certainly played off her gender and age, and Walker herself seemed complicit in fostering the stereotype presented by the newspapers, it is possible that the impression of Walker—though generally positive—as given by the media may have ultimately hurt her chances for re-election, presenting too soft an image amongst voters or Republican party leaders.

Walker’s history and qualifications to be governor are intermingled in media coverage with commentary on her personal life and traditional female roles. For example, while she was the first to “decorate the governor’s office” with a Ph.D. degree, it was a degree earned at night after she made dinner every evening, sewed Halloween costumes, and attended her children’s sports games. She served for years in the legislature, including as minority and majority whip, “to say nothing of raising seven children” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 5, 2003). And while discussing her independence and life achievement, the *Deseret News* was also quick to comment, “but Walker is no bra-burner” (November 6, 2003). Somehow Walker was able to walk the fine line between being seen as aggressive or perceived to be a hard-core feminist—which would likely not play well in a state like Utah—

and being too soft or ineffective. At her inauguration, a supporter remarked “she’s just schmaltzy enough that it works,” while another commented “the important thing about Walker is not her gender, it’s the kind of woman she is. I don’t think I’d be excited about just any woman. But I’m excited about this woman” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 6, 2003). The *Tribune* also remarked that “Walker has thrived in Utah’s patriarchal political environment (November 5, 2003).” Again, the positive though powerfully stereotypical image of Walker in the media may have simultaneously helped her serve out Leavitt’s term successfully, but prevented her bid for reelection from being successful.

Some coverage spoke particularly to Walker’s gender. One columnist remarked that she hoped “a woman with a heart will be able to do what no other governor has done; get Utah public education back on track and appropriately funded” (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 9, 2003). Perhaps most telling was a comment by Sarah Brewer, associate director of the Women and Politics Institute at American University, as reported by the *Deseret News*, “the real test of significance will be how Olene governs, how she navigates budget mine fields, and how effectively she deals with the legislature . . . I hope she can excel and leave a mark that surpasses the fact that she is female” (November 6, 2003).

In a previous study of media coverage of Walker’s ascension to office, Fairbanks and Cox found that Walker had the “double-duty of defending her role as a wife/grandmother and dealing with media reports on her physical appearance and “feminine traits” (2004, 24). Furthermore, it was determined that both papers presented Walker in a “positive, productive, and approachable manner” (*ibid.*, 25). Perhaps one columnist in the *Tribune* summed up the tone of media coverage of Walker on November 9, as he called out, “Ok, Olene, you go girl!”



## *Conclusions*

McDermott pointed out that bias is “merely emotive,” while stereotypes are “are content-based” (1998, 896). With this in mind, the researcher assumed that there would be a definite gender bias displayed in the coverage of Cannon, Bosone, Shepherd, Waldholtz, and Walker in the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune*. However, after reviewing the research text, there appears to be a great deal of commentary and some stereotyping, but relatively little overt bias. Nevertheless, tacit attitudes concerning gender appeared throughout the coverage, revealing a particular mindset among the media concerning the female candidates. In addition to consistently addressing the ability of a female candidate to balance her personal life as wife and mother and career as public figure and politician, the coverage also revealed a tendency among the press to focus on the question of gender, suggesting that female candidates were anomalous, and perhaps giving a clue as to why female politicians—at least in Utah—have been few and far between.

Somewhat surprisingly, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Deseret News* provided comparable coverage in terms gender issues and content for each of the five women discussed in this thesis. There was some expectation on the part of the researcher that the two newspapers, with such disparate histories and audiences, would cover the candidates in strikingly different ways. This assumption proved to be false, although the *Tribune*—overall—provided more coverage specific to each woman.

This section discusses some of the themes that arose in the analysis of the newspaper articles studied.

### **Both a Woman and a Candidate**

One of the main themes that emerged from the study of coverage was the question of maintaining the roles of woman/mother/homemaker and of career politician. Martha Hughes Cannon was already a successful doctor and community figure fighting for suffrage in a new state when elected to office. Although she was a mother, she was also a polygamist wife and, as such, in an unusually independent position. She had fled the country years earlier to escape prosecution as the fourth of six wives to Angus, and had practiced medicine and studied abroad. This unique background may have served Cannon well in her fight for political office by giving her the “best” of both worlds—a role as both wife and mother, and the freedom to be an independent career-focused woman. However, nowhere in the coverage reviewed for this thesis is there a mention of Cannon’s spouse. Angus ran against Martha for the open seat but the two were never connected in press coverage, suggesting that the role of husband in Cannon’s campaign was either not important to the press and constituency, or the assumption was that everyone in the community was well aware of Martha’s marital status.

Bosone also was a successful career women when she ran for office, having served as a municipal judge in both traffic and criminal courts for twelve years (Utah Commission for Women & Families 2008). She directly addressed questions about maintaining both a career and a home in a *Deseret News* article on November 3, 1948. In a profile after the election, Bosone noted that, “when asked how she finds time to carry on a career and keep up a home . . . Anyone can do it who has enough ambition. It’s chiefly a problem of budgeting time, according to this efficient woman who does her own housework, cooking, and grocery shopping.” The article concluded by noting Bosone’s regret about not having canned fruit the year she ran for election. However, it is notable that in the coverage of Bosone regular

mention is made of her daughter and mother, but there is no mention of her marital history, her two ex-husbands, or any current personal relationships.

Shepherd and Waldholtz also were professional and accomplished women operating in the public sphere before they ran for political office. They also both addressed the question of maintaining a balanced life as wife/mother/homemaker and politician. In the 1992 race, Shepherd made much of Greene's status as a single woman, suggesting that Greene lacked the age, wisdom, and experience to serve well. The *Deseret News* noted that Greene ignored this attack, because "after all, she can't get 10 years older, marry and have a child before the November election" (*Deseret News* October 2, 1992). Profiles of Shepherd in the papers regularly referenced her role as mother of two, wife, and daughter-in-law. In addition, Shepherd's husband managed her campaign—a de facto method of assuring constituents that her quest for office was endorsed by her husband. Greene, on the other hand, took some jabs during the 1992 election for being single. Both papers remarked on her marital status, referencing the ring she wore on her ring finger, rumors about her engagement to a local Democrat, and her mother's role as chaperone when men involved in the campaign stayed in Greene's home.

By 1994, however, her marital status had changed, and her husband—like Shepherd's—became her campaign manager. Again, it seemed to lend credence to the campaign to have spouses deeply involved, and Joe Waldholtz appeared frequently in the news. Indeed, Enid made history when she joined a small group of women who gave birth while serving in the United States Congress. It is somewhat ironic to note that while Enid Greene Waldholtz's campaign in 1994 received a major boost from her marriage, it was her

husband, Joe Waldholtz, who brought about the ultimate downfall of her career by his arrest and indictment for check kiting during Enid's term in office.

The coverage of Olene Walker as she ascended to fill the office of governor was peculiarly focused on her ability to be both wife/mother/homemaker (and grandmother) and career politician. She, too, had her husband by her side—profiled in the unique position as “first lad” of Utah—and his clear support. The coverage of Walker referenced her devotion to her family as well as her devotion to her state, suggesting in its tone that she had successfully struck balance between the two.

### **Female Candidates and the “Softer” Issues**

The findings of this thesis support the general theme found in the literature review, which states that women are perceived as being most capable of handling as politicians—i.e. the “softer” social issues, including education, environment, health care, minority rights, and drug issues. In contrast, men are perceived as being more competent in dealing with the economy, agriculture, and security (Bullock and Maggiotto 2003, 2; Kahn 1994, 156 ; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991, 110; Kahn 1996, 66). Not surprisingly then, voters stereotype women as being “more ideologically liberal and more competent on social welfare and ethics issues than men candidates are” (McDermott 1998, 912). In addition, media coverage of female candidates often mentions physical appearance and “feminine virtues” (Kahn 1996, 13), defining candidates in terms of gender, children, and marital status (Banwart et al. 2003, 673). These findings seemed to hold true for the women reviewed in this thesis. The majority of them emphasized social issues when campaigning, and each of them suffered slightly at the hands of reporters who chose to define the candidates in terms of children, marital status,

and physical appearance. This was especially difficult for Greene, who was single during the 1992 campaign—a fact highlighted in the press.

Nonetheless, Hernson et al. found that when female candidates capitalize on stereotypes by focusing on “female” issues and targeting women, they actually turn voters’ dispositions toward gender into an asset (2003, 251). This powerful stereotyping likely factored into the success of female candidates in the 1992 elections, as voters were seeking “caring and compassionate” candidates, and therefore turned to women (Huddy and Terkildsen 1992, 521). Overall, in reviewing the newspaper coverage of these five women, it’s clear that those candidates who successfully embraced their femininity fared better in the media. This is most prevalent in the back-to-back campaign coverage of Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene Waldholtz. During this campaign, the newspapers suggested that the issue of gender was “neutralized” because both major candidates were women (*Deseret News* October 2, 1992). However, gender would still have played a powerful role in the election, affecting the way in which the candidates communicated with the public and giving the women a chance to capitalize on stereotypes.

For example, in 1992, Shepherd was presented as warm and down-to-earth—feminine terms—while Greene was presented as “professional, ideological, effective,” “action-oriented,” “sharp,” “organized,” “adversarial” “tough,” “hostile,” “polished but insensitive and dogmatic,” and “strident”—masculine terms (*Deseret News* November 4, 1992). It was the following election, when Enid presented herself with a new, softer image—including a change in physical appearance and the presence of a husband in her life—that she not only won the election, but did so by stealing the vital women’s vote away from incumbent Shepherd.

Overall, it may be impossible to know how biased the races between Shepherd and Waldholtz may have been, and whether or not the issue of gender was neutralized without a comparable study of the news coverage of winning men. However, there are some tell-tale signs that gender still played a part. Words like “catfight,” “nail-scratcher,” and a race that was “disappointing for women” suggest stereotyping, if not gender bias.

### **Getting Personal**

Again, one of the main themes that arose from this study of newspaper coverage of female candidates was the nearly uniform tendency to cover their personal or human side. With relatively rare coverage of Cannon during her campaign, there is no real mention of her “personal” side in the press. However, personal commentary concerning Bosone and her campaign abounded. The press noted her “peaceful” and “resigned” demeanor the night of the election; her culinary skills; her red hair and the strength it lent her; Bosone’s fit of “the weeps” after winning; and her devotion as a housekeeper (*Salt Lake Tribune* November 3, 1948).

In the double elections of 1992 and 1994, a great deal of personal commentary about both Shepherd and Waldholtz appears in the paper. Hair had “become a hot issue ... a bigger deal than one’s position on health-care reform or the budget deficit.” Reference was made to Enid’s contact lenses, as “glasses also can be a weighty matter.” Waldholtz appears as “a softer—Enid this time out,” “kinder and gentler,” but still “tightly wrapped.” Shepherd is described as one who “does not fit the stereotype of a stay-at-home Utah woman,” “cheerful,” “easygoing,” and “down-to-earth” (*Salt Lake Tribune* October 30, 1994). Of note is the newspapers’ regular discussion of Waldholtz’s personal characteristics, including her marital status and physical appearance, and the corresponding lack of discussion concerning

Shepherd's physical appearance and marriage. In addition, during the 1994 campaign, Waldholtz worked to change her image to that of a softer, more attractive candidate—a move that likely profited her campaign—while Shepherd tried to capitalize on Waldholtz's image from 1992, repeatedly referencing back with “unflattering” photos and discussion of Enid Greene, leaving off her married name.

Walker, too, receives a personal touch in coverage, described by the press as “rough and tumble,” “schmaltzy,” but “no bra-burner.” She is presented, at every turn, as a grandmotherly, warm and energetic woman. This, again, may have been a positive image for Walker as she ascended to the governorship, but ultimately may have hurt her chances to continue in the office by seeking reelection.

### **Female Politicians as an Anomaly**

While it is noteworthy that Utah woman—even as far back as the 1800s—have been able to win high political office in the state of Utah, the fact remains that relatively few women have served in the state. Each of the women reviewed in this thesis served a brief time, then was eventually conquered in subsequent races, almost without exception by a man. In a state that the *Salt Lake Tribune* referred to as “politically patriarchal,” none of the women were reelected and each returned to their previous lives after losing their campaign bids. For the majority of them, a certain involvement in the public sphere remained; Cannon served on the Board of Health, Bosone took a federal Post Office position, Shepherd was involved in local politics and commentary, and Walker served a somewhat visible religious mission for her church. Nonetheless, it's fascinating to note that while there are male politicians from and in Utah who have served upwards of thirty years in high political office, woman in high political office have served briefly and rarely.

Whatever the reason for the relatively low number of women occupying political office—whether in Utah or in the rest of the nation—there is clearly a need for more women to step up and become involved in politics. Sineau summed up the situation darkly in her essay “Law & Democracy,”

The number of political offices occupied by women today, and the nature of those offices, give reason for pessimism about the influence that women can hope to exert in a democracy. The only way for women to make their voices heard, to influence decisions, to cease being held hostage is to make their presence felt in a major way in the political arena. Important obstacles remain to be overcome before our political institutions are truly integrated. The relatively minor role that women play in politics reflects their still subordinate status in society (1994, 523).

#### ***Limitations & Suggestions for Future Research***

As mentioned previously, because this study focuses only on newspaper coverage during a 110-year span, it does not account for the influence of other media such as the radio, television, and the Internet. While newspapers were the main source of information for citizens during the election of 1896, during the ensuing years, news coverage in other media (radio and television) would have played a significant role in the formulation of opinions by voters. Further sources of information would have provided a broader range, more immediate reference, and additional information such as images and audio of candidates.

Furthermore, this study focuses on the two daily newspapers of Salt Lake City, Utah, and their coverage of Utah candidates. Because of this specific focus, any conclusions drawn cannot safely be generalized to successful female politicians on a wider scale, nor can it be applied to media coverage in general.



Finally, by the very nature of qualitative research, this study is affected by the natural bias and personal viewpoint of the researcher. It is out of the scope of this study to fully understand the cultural atmosphere or time period in which each article was written, nor is it possible to have a complete feel for historic journalistic standards.

Further studies could develop this preliminary look at media coverage of winning female candidates in a variety of ways. A review of media coverage of female candidates who ran for “high” political positions, but did not win election—either specific to Utah, to another state, or nationwide could be conducted. It would also be interesting to review the media coverage of winning female politicians in other states during a comparable time period to better understand if Utah does, in fact, labor under a political “patriarchy.” A review of coverage over a broader window of time, expanding out the four-week window used in this study, would perhaps reveal more delineated trends, while studying the coverage of winning female candidates versus losing female candidates could also reveal much. Was the coverage of winning campaigns more positive? Less biased? Was the coverage reflective of the constituency’s attitude, or did the positive coverage change the attitude of voters?

Research on the coverage of political races in which a man and woman ran head-to-head may give more depth and understanding to the differences and/or similarities of treatment in the press for each gender. The issue of press treatment of candidates’ spouses or personal relationships would also be worth comparing. A study of media coverage for openly homosexual or lesbian candidates may reveal trends in coverage due to sexual orientation. For instance, is a homosexual candidate covered in the press like a female candidate or a male candidate? Is there bias one way or the other?

Additionally, what is the role of the spouse in a woman's campaign for office? Does the inclusion of a spouse in newspapers lend strength to a campaign, or detract from more issue-oriented coverage? A comparative study of the way in which spouses of male candidates were discussed in newspapers during the same time periods could shed light about the treatment of male spouses of female candidates, and their significance in press coverage.

Studies covering the entire "life-span" of a long-time female politician may also be revealing, giving a glimpse into how media coverage from multiple elections over several years may change or evolve. For instance, Utah politician Nellie Jack served four times in the legislature beginning in 1939 and ending in 1975—studying the way in which she was covered in the media over this long time-span may reveal telling trends.

Other questions, specific to the coverage reviewed in this thesis, are also in need of further exploration, including the issue of visual images used in the campaigns. Bosone's campaign coverage boasted a number of photos of her, every one of them displaying her in ruffled, feminine blouses, perfectly coiffed hair, dark lips, and with a large corsage on her left shoulder. Do the pictures and images of candidates that appear in newspaper coverage have an influence on voters? Or are the photographs merely a reflection of the culturally accepted way of presenting a politician? Is there any bias in what images appear or how particular candidates are portrayed? What are the differences in imagery between male and female candidates?

This study also raises questions that are not specific to press coverage of female politicians in Utah, but that do relate to the issues of the presence of female candidates on the political landscape in Utah. For instance, do women choose not to put themselves forward for office in Utah? Is the rarity of female candidates in major elections due to their being

eliminated from the slates at the caucus or primary election levels? If women are not choosing to run for office in Utah, what are the underlying causes? Are female candidates discouraged by the alleged atmosphere of patriarchal politics in Utah? Is there, in fact, an atmosphere of patriarchy? Does the view of the role of women promulgated by the predominant religion—the LDS Church—affect the choice of Mormon women to run for office, and does this influence affect the electorate in making voting decisions about Mormon or non-Mormon female candidates?

Another issue to be explored is how campaign funding and gender are interrelated. Do female candidates receive more or less funding than their male counterparts, and what is the source of their funding?

Finally, an approach to the question of female candidacy with a specific hypothesis in mind may reveal much—i.e. the application of critical theory to the articles appearing in election coverage, or a specific review of how age/ageism was treated in a campaign.

This is a first look at the important issue of newspaper coverage of female candidates in Utah. The summaries of that coverage provided here, as well as the appendices listing successful female politicians in the state and references specific to coverage of these five women in the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News*, should provide helpful groundwork for other scholars interested in exploring this topic from other aspects.

## II. Appendices

### *APPENDIX A: Women in the Utah State House of Representatives*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Years Served</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Position</b>
Eurithe K. La Barthe	1897–1899	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Sarah Elizabeth Nelson Anderson	1897–1899	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Alice Merrill Horne	1899–1901	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Mary Anna Clara Geigus Coulter	1903–1905	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Edyth Ellerbeck Read	1913	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Anna Holden King	1913–1915	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Annie Wells Cannon	1913–1915	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Dr. Jane Wilkin Manning Skolfield	1913–1915	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Lily Clayton Wolstenholme	1915–1917	Democrat Progressive	Utah House of Representatives
Elizabeth Ann Pugsley Hayward *	1915–1919	Democrat Progressive	Utah House of Representatives
Daisy C. Allen	1917–1919	Progressive	Utah House of Representatives
Dr. Grace Stratton Airey	1917–1921	Progressive	Utah House of Representatives
Anna Thomas Piercey †	1919–1921	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Delora Edith Wilkins Blakely	1919–1921	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
M. Shirley Winder *	1921–1922	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Cloa Pearl Huffaker Clegg	1921–1923	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
May Belle Thurman Davis	1921–1923	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Amy Brown Lyman	1923–1925	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Lillian Ferguson Dunyon	1923–1927	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Mary Mackintosh Bryson Graham	1923–1927	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Achsa Eggertsen Paxman	1925–1929	?	Utah House of Representatives
Julia Smart	1925–1929	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Laura Lauretta Woodland Tanner †	1927–1929	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Mildred Pinney Lowe †	1927–1929	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Anna Thomas Piercey †	1929–1931	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Emily Stevenson McDonald Carlisle	1929–1931	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Grace Avery Cooper	1929–1931	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Lucinda P. Jensen	1929–1931	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Martha Paul Purser	1929–1931	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Otellia Ellis Stewart *	1929–1931	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Laura Lauretta Woodland Tanner †	1931–1933	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Matilda W. Cahoon	1931–1933	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Mildred Pinney Lowe †	1931–1933	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Cornelia Sorenson Lund *	1933–1935	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Edna C. Erickson *	1933–1935	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Mildred Forgeon Rich	1933–1935	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Minnie V. Harris Headman	1933–1935	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
S. Grover Rich	1933–1935	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
<b>Reva Beck Bosone £</b>	1933–1937	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Rhoda Gibson	1935–1937	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Zeila M. Maeser	1935–1937	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Emily D. Aird	1935–1939	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives

Mrs. Albert Jensen	1935–1942	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Josephine Scott Jensen	1935–1943	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Henrietta B. Johnson	1937–1939	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Grace Thelma Garff	1937–1941	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Maude B. Jacob	1937–1943	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Nellie Jack *	1939–1949	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Elisha Warner *	1941–1942	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Elizabeth Miller Bodell Skanchy	1941–1943	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Madge S. McGean	1941–1943	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Jean Z. Rogers Murdock	1943–1944	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Della Lisonbee Loveridge †	1943–1945	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Susan A. Smith Young	1943–1945	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Clara Christine Latimer Jarvis Roberts †	1944	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Emma May Cooper Burns	1944–1945	not mentioned	Utah House of Representatives
Clara Christine Latimer Jarvis Roberts †	1945–1947	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Frances B. Smith Hay	1945–1947	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Margaret Sherrod Bearnson	1945–1947	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Ethel Pyne	1947–1949	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Faye Eliza Williams	1947–1949	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Ivie Vawdrey Mitchell †	1947–1949	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Lois Bowen Christensen	1947–1949	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Sophronia Nielson Cottrell Forsberg	1947–1949	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Ivie Vawdrey Mitchell †	1949–1951	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Odessa A. Cullimore	1949–1951	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Edna Jensen Cazier	1949–1959	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Sunday C. Anderson	1951–1953	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Elizabeth Vance †	1951–1959	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Nellie Jack *	1953–1955	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Rozella Lowe	1953–1955	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Delila M. Richards Abbott	1957–1959	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Nethella King Griffin Woolsey †	1957–1959	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Algie Eggertsen Ballif	1959–1963	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Della Lisonbee Loveridge †	1959–1971	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Dr. Faye B. Fanning	1961–1963	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Nethella King Griffin Woolsey †	1961–1963	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Elizabeth Vance †	1961–1967	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Eva Westover Conover	1963–1967	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Alla Nelson Mulhall	1965–1967	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Nellie Jack *	1966–1975	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Milly O. Bernard †	1967–1977	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Beatrice P. Marchant	1969–1973	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Georgia B. Peterson †	1970	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Beverly J. White †	1971	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Sandra Peterson	1971	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Rebecca Adams Nalder †	1971–1973	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Vervene (Vee) Carlisle †	1971–1973	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Georgia B. Peterson †	1971–1977	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Margot Cannon Kimball	1972	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives

Milly O. Bernard †	1973–1076	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
S. Olani Durrant	1973–1974	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Rita Marie (Urie) Acker	1973–1975	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Beverly J. White †	1973–1977	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Mary Lorraine Haynes Johnson	1973–1977	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Beth S. Jarman	1975–1977	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
M. Genevieve Atwood	1975–1977	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Rebecca Adams Nalder †	1975–1977	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Vervene (Vee) Carlisle †	1975–1977	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Wyllis Dorman-Ligh	1976–1978	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Joan R. Turner	1979–1980	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Lucille G. Taylor	1979–1980	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Bobby V. Florez	1980–1986	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Dorothea E. Masur	1981–1982	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Jo Brandt	1981–1982	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Donna M. Dahl	1981–1986	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
<b>Olene S. Walker</b>	1981–1988	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Ched C. Pastore	1982	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Lavinia L. Kanig	1983–1984	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Naomi M. Shumway	1983–1984	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Vivian N. Jensen	1983–1984	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Frances Hatch Merrill	1983–1986	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Afton B. Bradshaw	1985–2002	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Pat P. Nix	1987–1990	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Janet Rose	1987–1992	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Joanne R. Milner	1987–1992	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Beverly Ann. C. Evans *	1987–1997	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Christine R. Fox-Finlinson	1987–1998	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Janette C. Hales	1988–1990	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Dionne P. Halverson	1989–1991	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Paula F. Julander *	1989–1992	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Nancy S. Lyon	1989–1994	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Ann T. Smedley	1991–1992	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Patricia B. Larson	1991–1999	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Sara O. Eubank	1993–1994	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Karen B. Smith	1993–1995	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Shirley V. Jensen	1993–1997	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Mary C. Carlson	1993–2001	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Nora B. Stephens	1993–2001	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Judy Ann. B. Buffmire	1993–2004	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Marda A. Dillree	1993–2004	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Sheryl L. Allen	1994–2008	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Susan J. Koehn †	1995–1996	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Darlene S. Gubler	1995–1997	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Loretta Baca	1995–2001	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Sue Lockman	1997	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Tammy J. Rowan	1997–2000	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Margaret Dayton *	1997–2002	Republican	Utah House of Representatives

Patrice M. Arent *	1997–2002	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Trisha S. Beck	1997–2002	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Katherine M. Bryson	1997–2004	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Susan J. Koehn †	1998–2000	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Loraine T. Pace	1998–2004	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Karen Morgan	1999–2008	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
LuWanna Lou Shurtliff	1999–2008	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Rebecca Lockhart	1999–2008	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Jackie Biskupski	1999–2009	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Cindy Beshear	2001–2002	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Patricia W. Jones *	2001–2006	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Peggy Wallace	2001–2006	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Carol Spackman Moss	2001–2008	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Dana C. Love	2003–2004	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Ann W. Hardy	2003–2006	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
M. Susan Lawrence	2003–2006	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Rosalind "Roz" J. McGee	2003–2008	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Janice M. Fisher	2005–2008	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Julie Fisher	2005–2008	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Lorie D. Fowlke	2005–2008	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Ronda Rudd Menlove	2005–2008	Republican	Utah House of Representatives
Jennifer M. Seelig	2006–2008	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Christine A. Johnson	2007–2008	Democrat	Utah House of Representatives
Sylvia S. Andersen	2007–2008	Republican	Utah House of Representatives

† Denotes multiple terms served non-sequentially in the Utah House

\* Denotes service in both the Senate and House

£ Reva Beck Bosone served both in the Utah Congress and National Congress

***APPENDIX B: Women in the Utah State Senate***

<b>Name</b>	<b>Years Served</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Position</b>
<b>Martha Hughes Cannon</b>	1897–1901	Democrat	Utah Senate
Elizabeth Ann Pugsley Hayward *	1919–1923	Democrat Progressive	Utah Senate
Antoinette B. Kinney	1921–1925	Republican	Utah Senate
M. Shirley Winder *	1923–1926	Republican	Utah Senate
Elise Furer Musser	1933–1937	Democrat	Utah Senate
Otellia Ellis Stewart *	1935–1939	Democrat	Utah Senate
Cornelia Sorenson Lund *	1937–1939	Democrat	Utah Senate
Cleo Lund Jensen †	1939–1941	Democrat	Utah Senate
Edna C. Erickson *	1941–1943	Democrat	Utah Senate
June Kendall	1943–1944	Democrat	Utah Senate
Elisha Warner *	1943–1946	Democrat	Utah Senate
Edna C. Erickson *	1943–1947	Democrat	Utah Senate
Cleo Lund Jensen †	1949–1951	Democrat	Utah Senate
A.C. Jensen	1951–1952	Democrat	Utah Senate
Nellie Jack *	1957–1959	Democrat	Utah Senate
Frances Farley	1976–1990	Democrat	Utah Senate
Dona M. Wayment	1981–1986	Republican	Utah Senate
<b>Karen F. Shepherd</b> £	1991–1992	Democrat	Utah Senate
Delpha A. Baird	1991–1994	Republican	Utah Senate
Millie M. Peterson	1991–2002	Democrat	Utah Senate
Paula F. Julander *	1999–2005	Democrat	Utah Senate
Beverly Ann C. Evans *	1999–2006	Republican	Utah Senate
Karen Hale	1999–2006	Democrat	Utah Senate
Carlene M. Walker	2001–2008	Republican	Utah Senate
Alicia L. Suazo	2002	Democrat	Utah Senate
Patrice M. Arent *	2003–2006	Democrat	Utah Senate
Margaret Dayton *	2004–2008	Republican	Utah Senate
Patricia W. Jones *	2007–2008	Democrat	Utah Senate

† Denotes multiple terms served non-sequentially in the Utah Senate

\* Denotes service in both the Utah Senate and Utah House

£ Karen Shepherd served in both the Utah Congress and National Congress



*APPENDIX C: Women in Federal Offices & Statewide Elective Offices*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Years Served</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Position</b>
<b>United States Congress</b>			
<b>Reva Beck Bosone</b> £	1948–1952	Democrat	Senator
<b>Karen F. Shepherd</b> †	1992–1994	Democrat	Representative
<b>Enid Greene Waldholtz</b>	1994–1996	Republican	Representative
<b>Utah State Lieutenant Governor</b>			
<b>Olene S. Walker</b> *	1992–2003	Republican	Lieutenant Governor
<b>Utah State Governor</b>			
<b>Olene S. Walker</b>	2003–2005	Republican	Governor

\* Before being elected Lieutenant Governor, Walker served in the Utah House from 1981–1988.

£ Reva Beck Bosone served both in the Utah Congress and U.S. Congress.

† Karen Shepherd served in both the Utah Congress and U.S. Congress.

**APPENDIX D: Research Text**

The research text of this thesis consists of 438 articles, paid political advertisements, and letters to the editor collected from the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune*. These articles were collected during five different time periods of four weeks each, with each period set around the election date of one of five successful female politicians in Utah. For the election coverage of the five women studied in this thesis, a census of articles, political ads, and letters to the editor were collected from both newspapers for three weeks preceding the election date and one week following, as charted below:

<b><i>Election Year</i></b>	<b><i>Candidate(s)</i></b>	<b><i>Coverage Start Date</i></b>	<b><i>Coverage End Date</i></b>
1896	Martha Hughes Cannon	October 13	November 12
1948	Reva Beck Bosone	October 12	November 9
1992	Karen Shepherd & Enid Greene	October 13	November 10
1994	Karen Shepherd & Enid Greene Waldholtz	October 18	November 15
2003	Olene Walker	October 14	November 11

The articles were found by two methods. For the election coverage prior to 1990—i.e. Martha Hughes Cannon and Reva Beck Bosone—articles were found by reviewing the complete microfiche records of both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* during the specified time period by hand. Any articles and advertisements mentioning the candidate by name were identified and copied. For elections held after 1990, both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* offered electronic archives and indexes of news coverage. The researcher performed searches of the archives using candidate names as keywords. For the 1992 and 1994 coverage in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the electronic search results were used as a guide to go back into microfiche and locate each listed article. For the 2003 *Tribune* coverage, electronic archives of the complete articles were available, and each article was simply printed out. The *Deseret News* electronic archives included the full text of all coverage in 1992, 1994, and 2003, and the researcher printed these articles out directly with no need to reference microfiche.

<b><i>Candidate</i></b>	<b><i>Deseret News</i></b>	<b><i>Salt Lake Tribune</i></b>	<b><i>Total</i></b>
Martha Hughes Cannon	9	66	75
Reva Beck Bosone	33	31	64
Karen Shepherd & Enid Greene (1992)	37	45	82
Karen Shepherd & Enid Greene Waldholtz (1994)	62	75	137
Olene Walker	29	51	80

*Coverage in the Deseret News and Salt Lake Tribune in 1896 discussed the election bid of Martha Hughes Cannon and provided the material for Chapter 2 of this thesis.*

### **Deseret News 1896**

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- “Sample Ballot,” October 17, 7.
- “Duty of Citizens,” October 20, 4.
- “Sample Ballot,” October 24, 11.
- “County Precincts,” October 26, 5.
- “Sample Ballot,” October 31, 11.
- “Sample Ballot,” November 4, 2.
- “Election Returns,” November 4, 2.
- “The Next Legislature,” November 5, 2.
- “Election Returns,” November 5, 2.

### **Salt Lake Tribune 1896**

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- “Business Review (shorts),” October 13, 4.
- “Agents Will Keep Open House Today,” October 13, 8.
- “An Enormous Shortage,” October 13, 8.
- “Precinct Listings,” October 13, 8.
- “Editorial Pith,” October 17, 4.
- “Democrats n Straits: County Campaign in a Bad Way. About Out of Funds.” October 17, 8.
- “Republicans Women’s Club,” October 17, 8.
- “Notes About Women,” October 18, 12.
- “Brigham City Democrats. Speeches by Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon and Fisher Harris,” October 21, 8.
- “Campaign Brevities,” October 21, 8.
- Short (no title), October 24, 7.
- “Democratic Meetings,” October 25, 5.
- “Registration is Heavy: Nearly Twenty-five Thousand Voters. More Men Than Women,” October 25, 8.
- “Precinct Listings,” October 25, 8.
- “Sample Ballot,” October 25, 18.
- “Legislative Ticket,” October 25, 19.

“The Legislative Nominations, Complete List of the Nominees for State Senate and House of Representatives,” October 26, 1.

“Legislative Ticket,” October 26, 6.

“Legislative Ticket,” October 26, 7.

“In the Fifteenth Ward,” October 27, 8.

Short (no title), October 27, 4.

Short (no title), October 30, 4.

“Legislative Ticket,” November 1, 18.

“List of Nominations: Legislative Ticket,” November 1, 19.

“Heavy Vote Was Cast: No Excitement at All at the Polls. Election Extremely Quiet,” November 4, 3.

“Precinct No. 6,” November 4, 1.

“Precinct No. 13,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 15,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 16,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 18,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 19,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 21,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 23,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 24,” November 4, 1.

“Precinct No. 26,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 27,” November 4, 1.

“Precinct No. 27,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 28,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 36,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 40,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 41,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 42,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 43,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 45,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 46,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 47,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 47,” November 4, 2.

“Precinct No. 49,” November 4, 2.  
“Precinct No. 50,” November 4, 2.  
“Precinct No. 51,” November 4, 2.  
“Precinct No. 56,” November 4, 2.  
“Precinct No. 59,” November 4, 2.  
“Precinct No. 64,” November 4, 2.  
“Precinct No. 71,” November 4, 2.  
“Precinct No. 78,” November 4, 2.  
“Precinct No. 84,” November 4, 2.  
“Fourth Municipal Ward,” November 4, 2.  
“Fifth Municipal Ward,” November 4, 2.  
“Second Municipal Ward,” November 4, 2.  
“The Tribune Almanac,” November 4, 2.  
“The Senate,” November 5, 1.  
“Candidates and Votes,” November 5, 3.  
“Democrats Will Average Nearly Four Thousand,” November 5, 3.  
“Vote for State Senate,” November 5, 3.

*Coverage in the Deseret News and Salt Lake Tribune in 1948 discusses the election bid of Reva Beck Bosone, and provided the material for Chapter 3 of this thesis.*

### **Deseret News 1948**

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- “Democratic Candidates To Visit Exchange Club,” October 14, A-11.
- “Demo Leaders Speak to Exchange Club,” October 15, B-1.
- “Trying ‘Wreck’ West,” October 17, A-1.
- “Do Away With ‘Powder Puff Justice,’ Says Judge Bosone,” by AP, October 18, A7.
- “Demo, GOP Official To Address Unitarians,” October 19, A7.
- “Demo Candidates Endorsed By Labor Local,” October 20, A8.
- “Politicos Foresee Heavy Scratch Vote in Toole,” by James O. McKinney, October 23, F5.
- “Register Tuesday or Wednesday—Your Last Chances—Be Sure You Vote,” October 24, A9.
- “Official Ballot,” October 25, A12.
- “GOP, Democrats Bid for Votes In Utah County,” October 25, B8.
- “Who Is Reva Beck Bosone” advertisement, October 27, A11.
- “Both Parties Speed Battle,” October 28, A15.
- “To The Women of Utah” advertisement, October 28, A15.
- “No New Issues Arise In Final Stump Speeches,” October 30, A6.
- “Vote the Victory Ticket,” October 31, A13.
- “Lee Favored to Win Over Maw As Campaign Draws Near Close,” by James O. McKinney, October 31, A17.
- “Maw and Lee Exchange Final Campaign Blows,” October 31, A17.
- “To the Voters of Utah,” October 31, B6.
- “Democratic Ticket ,” November 1, A3.
- “Vote for Reva Beck Bosone” advertisement, November 1, A5.
- “Women Await Election Day,” by Martha Kearney, November 1, F6.
- “Record Vote Predicted In Utah Tuesday Unless Rain Intervenes: Lee, Dewey Appear to Hold Utah Edge, But Congress Race Favors Democrats,” by James O. McKinney, November 1, B1.
- “Woman Ends Her Campaign,” by AP, November 2, A2.
- “Truman Wins Election As President,” by AP, November 3, A1.
- “Lee Rides Into Office Despite Democrat Wave,” by John R. Talmage, November 3, A6.
- “Election Results,” November 3, A8.

“Lee, Truman Victors; Bosone, Granger Win,” by James O. McKinney, November 3, A1.  
“Lee Pledges To Work For People’s Welfare,” November 3, A1.  
“Utah Election Summary,” November 3, A8.  
“Mrs. Bosone is Utah’s First Congresswoman,” November 3, F7.  
“Election Has Big Effect Upon Utahns,” by Katherine Johnsen, November 4, A1.  
“Two More Women, One Democrat, One Republican Named to Congress,” by Ruth Cowan,  
November 4, A2.

### **Salt Lake Tribune, 1948**

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“Maw to Head Huge Davis County Rally,” October 12, 12.  
“Club Will Hear Democratic ‘48 Aspirants,” October 13, 20.  
“Bosone Indorses Needed Laws Sponsored by Either Party,” October 14, 38.  
“‘Smear Tactics’ Stir Maw, Bosone Blasts,” October 16, 17.  
“League Leader Says Woman President ‘Out’,” by UP, October 19, 2.  
“Bosone Speaks At Chicago Safety Confab,” October 19, 18.  
“The Battle Corner—Democrats,” by Grant MacFarlane, October 20, 9.  
“Women’s Club at Bountiful Sets Maw Fete,” October 20, 16.  
“Carmen Union Backs Four Of Democrats,” October 20, 21.  
“Democratic Ballet (example),” October 25, 10.  
“Who Is Reva Beck Bosone?” advertisement, October 26, 30.  
“Committee Formed To Back Bosone,” October 27, 36.  
“Bosone Notes Project Aid In Provo Talk,” October 28, 9.  
“Bosone Lauded As Sponsor Of Water Act,” October 30, 20.  
“Students to Aid Bosone Bid,” October 30, 26.  
“Make Vote Intent Clear or Ballot Is Invalid,” October 31, A18.  
“Trends Indicate Record Turnout at Utah Polls,” October 31, A18.  
“To The Women of Utah” advertisement, October 31, 1.  
“Vote for a Democrat” advertisement, October 31, 2.  
“The Battle Corner—Democrats,” by Grant MacFarlane, October 31, B5.  
“Sample Ballot” advertisement (Republican Committee for Law Enforcement), November 1,  
2.  
“Vote for Reva Beck Bosone” advertisement, November 1, 26.  
“Parties Vision Close Vote In Utah Today,” by O.N. Malmquist, November 2, 1 and 4.

“Sample Ballot” advertisement, November 2, 16.  
“Hopeful Pay \$52,960 in Campaign,” by Richard A. Squires, November 2, 17.  
“Democrats Win All Other Posts,” by O.N. Malmquist, November 3, 1.  
“Here’s Way Utah Counties Voted in U,” November 3, 4.  
“Utah Winners, Losers Give Vote Comment,” November 3, P5.  
“Utah’s First Congresswoman Is Overwhelmed by Honors,” November 3, 14.  
“Tribune Poll Sets Mark In Accuracy,” November 4, 1.  
“Democrats, GOP Survey Results,” November 4, 1.



*Coverage in the Deseret News and Salt Lake Tribune in 1992 discusses the election faceoff between Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene, and provided the material for Chapter 4 of this thesis.*

### **Deseret News 1992**

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- “2 Bright, Tough Women Vie for Post” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 2, A10.
- “GOP Committee Gives \$1,000 to Greene,” by Lee Davidson, October 4, A26.
- “Vandalism Afflicts Greene Signs,” by J.C.N. Jardine (Ed), October 6, A11.
- “Bennett Holds a 20% Lead Over Owens,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 6, A1.
- “Mud Begins to Fly in 2nd District House Race,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 7, B3.
- “Greene, Shepherd to Debate Friday,” October 8, A16.
- “Greene Leads Shepherd by 9 Points in 2nd District,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 8, A1.
- “Deficit Group Prods 2nd District Hopefuls,” October 11, B8.
- “Bush is in Quagmire, Tsongas Tells Y,” by Dennis Romboy and Amy Donaldson, October 13, PB1.
- “Personal, Donated Funds Fuel Costly Campaigns,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 16, B2.
- “Third-Party Hopefuls United in Their Desire to Change the System,” by Jerry Spangler and Paul Parkinson, October 18, B3.
- “Greene Will Help Change House,” by Michael Mower (Ed), October 19, A7.
- “Bangerter Jumps into Fray to Laud Greene,” by Jerry Spangler, October 20, D8.
- “Putting Owens in Senate is Top Priority, Sierra Club Says,” by Lee Davidson, October 24, B2.
- “Campaigns Keep Mudslingers Busy, by Bob Bernick Jr., October 24, A1.
- “Will Shepherd Feel Beholden?” by Earl V. Elmont (Ed), October 25, A22.
- “Shepherd Has Best Qualifications,” by Wanda Gayle (Ed), October 25, A22.
- “Pro-Choice Groups Give Shepherd \$56,055,” by Lee Davidson, October 29, B3.
- “Demos Get Top Grades on Perot-Based Quiz,” by Jerry Spangler, October 30, A2.
- “Cast Ballot for Pro-Life Candidates,” by Carlos Adams (Ed), October 30, A17.
- “Hansen, Orton Hold Large Leads Over Rivals,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 31, A1.
- “Shepherd Backed by Police and Firefighters,” October 31, B3.
- “Utah Candidates Make Final Campaign Swing,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 2, A1.
- “Election ’92 Results,” November 4, A5.
- “Vote Tallies,” November 4, A1.

“Utahns Buck National Trend, Keep Change to a Minimum,” by Bob Bernick Jr, with Jay Evensen and Marianne Funk, November 4, A1.

“What Lessons in Utah Vote?” November 4, A18.

“Congressional Winners in Utah Follow U.S. Trends,” by Lee Davidson, November 4, A1.

“Shepherd Basks in Victory of State’s Tightest Federal Race,” by Jerry Spangler, November 4, A7.

“Rejoice, Limbaugh Fans—KTVX Picks Up His Show,” by Scott D. Pierce, November 6, C3.

“Election Leads to Some Musings on Owens, Turnout, Other Issues,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 6, A8.

“Utah Campaigns Cost \$19 Million,” by Bob Bernick Jr. and Lee Davidson, November 7, A1.

“Lots of Perks in D.C.—But Fewer Than Before,” by Lee Davidson, November 8, B2.

“Graham Says Time’s Up for Probe of U,” by Jan Thompson, November 8, A1.

“Party Numbers Are the Same, But the Lack of Seniority Will Hurt,” by Lee Davidson, November 8, B1.

Caption Only: The Week In Pictures, November 8, A2.

“Greene Thanks Her Supporters,” by Enid Greene (Ed), November 12, A13.

### **Salt Lake Tribune 1992**

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“Signs of Times,” by Liz Crofts (Ed), October 10, A7.

“2nd District Hopeful Greene Gets \$50,000 from National GOP Committee,” by Tony Semerad, October 11, B3.

“Clean Sweep,” by Jackie M. Erbin (Ed), October 12, A9.

“Briefs,” October 12, C3.

“Money Changes Strategies for Greene, Shepherd,” by Tony Semerad, October 13, B1.

“Women’s Gains Manifest In Alta Club Gathering,” by Tony Semerad, October 13, A1.

“Briefs,” October 14, B1.

“Bush’s Own Father Opposed Vietnam War,” by Edwin Yoder, October 14, A14.

“Shepherd Spending Twice As Much Money as Greene,” by Tony Semerad, October 15, B1.

“The Public Forum: Greene Utters Platitudes,” by John Pace (Ed), October 16, A27.

“Briefs,” October 16, B5.

“New from the Pews,” October 17, B3.

“Fund-Raiser Bolsters Pocketbooks and Confidence,” by Judy B. Rollins, October 18, F9.

“Candidates for 2nd Congressional District to Face Off,” October 18, C4.

“On the Stump,” October 19, C6.

“Bangerter Supports Greene; Says Shepherd ‘Out of Tune’,” by Tony Semerad, October 20, B1.

“Race for House A Fairy Tale? Only by a Nose,” by Tony Semerad, October 22, A1.

“Greene, Shepherd Benefit From Lobbyists’ Funds,” by Tony Semerad, October 23, B1.

“The Public Forum: Faults Greene Campaign,” by Agatha Flogeras (Ed), October 23, A21.

“On the Stump,” October 23, B6.

“Mudslinging Nothing New, Even in Utah,” by Paul Rolly, October 24, A1.

“Each 2nd District Congressional Candidate Says She Will Be the Agent of Change,” by Tony Semerad, October 25, C1.

“Briefs,” October 26, B1.

“Women Candidates Coming In Their Own in Utah,” by JoAnn Jacobson-Wells, October 26, B1.

“Campaign ’92,” October 28, B4.

“Making It Through the Final Week,” October 29, A10.

“The Public Forum: Shepherd’s Flock,” by Wanda Gayle (Ed), October 29, A11.

“Garn Endorses Greene; Shepherd Has Backing Of Ex-Utah First Ladies,” by Tony Semerad, October 29, B2.

“Briefs,” October 30, B1.

“On the Stump,” October 30, B3.

“Perot Camp Gives Utah Democrats High Marks, But Orton Gets an ‘F’,” by Michael Phillips, October 31, A1.

“The Public Forum: Shepherd Savvy,” by James D. Cooper (Ed), October 31, A9.

“The Salt Lake Tribune/KUTV Poll,” November 1, A1.

“Poll: Bush, Bennett, Leavitt Leads Sizeable,” by James E. Shelledy, November 1, PIA1.

“Candidates See Arts as State Treasures, Drains on State Treasury,” by Catherine Reese, November 1, E1.

“Utah’s GOP Keeps 3–2 Edge in D.C.,” by Dawn House, Tony Semerad, Sheila McCann, and Mike Gorell, November 4, A1.

“‘Tweezer Brigade’ Keeps Election Running Smoothly,” by Lali Wright, November 4, B1.

“Final Tally on Key Utah Races,” November 5, B3.

“Key Wins Won’t Offset 5-Seat Loss for Utah Democrats in Legislature,” by JoAnn Jacobsen-Wells, November 5, B4.

“Typical Utah Politics” (Editorials), November 5, A14.

“In Utah, Women Have Banner Election Year,” by JoAnne Jacobsen-Wells, November 5, A1.

“Utah GOP Keeps Statehouse, Demos Hold U.S. House Seats,” by Judy Rollins and Dan Harrie, November 5, B1.

“U.S. House: Shepherd Rides Independent Voters to Slim Victory,” by Tony Semerad, November 5, B1.

“Utah Democrats Held Own Amid Redistricting,” by Paul Rolly, November 9, B1.

“Briefs,” November 11, B1.

*Coverage in the Deseret News and Salt Lake Tribune in 1994 discusses the election faceoff between Karen Shepherd and Enid Greene Waldholtz, and provided the material for Chapter 5 of this thesis.*

### **Deseret News 1994**

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- “Waldholtz Wrong About Shepherd,” by Robert C. Carter (Ed), October 18, A9.
- “Waldholtz Outspends Deep-Pockets Cook,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 18, A1.
- “2nd District Hopefuls Swap Views,” by AP, October 19, B3.
- “Waldholtz Blasts Negative Ad,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 21, B3.
- “Are Candidates Running on the Same Platform?” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 21, B1.
- “Is There Any Difference in Hopefuls’ Platforms?” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 21, B4.
- “U.S. Congress = 2nd District,” October 21, B4.
- “Half-Hearted Campaign Reform, Death of Lobbyist Bill Unfortunate,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 21, A14.
- “Hatch, Bennett and Leavitt are Backing Waldholtz,” October 22, A12.
- “Waldholtz Truly Represents Utah,” by Gorm Klungervik (Ed), October 22, A15.
- “Cook Says It’s Probably Now or Never,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 22, A1.
- “Magazine Says Hansen is Off ‘Threatened’ List,” by Lee Davidson, October 25, B3.
- “Shepherd Fires New Shot Against 2nd District Foe,” October 26, B1.
- “Group Criticizes Hansen as Hostile Toward Gays,” October 27, B7.
- “United We Stand Grades Utah Candidates,” October 27, B7.
- “3-Way Race Creating Mostly Grief,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 27, A1.
- “Gingrich Hails Waldholtz, Republicans,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 27, B1.
- “Gingrich Applauds GOP, Waldholtz,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 27, B5.
- “Waldholtz Adds \$650,000 of Her Own Money to Race,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 28, B1.
- “Shea Keeps the Heat on Hatch; Hansen is Off ‘Vulnerable’ List,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 28, A14.
- “Waldholtz Defends Hiring of Private Eye,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 29, A9.
- “Incumbents Find Cash by Running With PACs,” by Lee Davidson, October 29, A9.
- “Free-For-All Fires Up in 2nd District,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 30, B1.
- “Don’t Send More Liberals to D.C.,” by Rod and Norma Sorensen (Ed), October 31, A7.
- “Ads Raising Lot of Static on Waldholtz,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 1, B1.
- “GOP National Committee Calls Utah Race ‘Essential’,” by Lee Davidson, November 2, B3.

“All 3 Expect To Win 2nd District Seat,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 4, A1.

“Mock Election Lets Students Have ‘A Voice’,” by Linda Thomson, November 4, B1.

“Election Day Likely to Bring Smiles to Utah Republicans,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 4, A12.

“2nd District Hopefuls Spend Enough to Pay Over \$22 for Each Vote,” by Lee Davidson, November 4, A6.

“Utah ‘Green Voter Campaign’ Seeks Environmental Stances,” by Brent Israelsen, November 5, A9.

“Issues? Hopefuls Batter Each Other,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 5, A1.

“Enid Greene Waldholtz®,” November 6, B5.

“Class Says Image has Fallen for Waldholtz, Shepherd,” November 6, B15.

“Shepherd Says Waldholtz Errs on Social Security Ideas,” November 6, B15.

“Karen Shepherd (D),” November 6, B5.

“Why Opposition to Initiative A?” by Robert Banta (Ed), November 6, V3.

“Shepherd and Waldholtz in Closest Race Statewide,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 6, A1.

“Term Limitations: All Bets Are off as to Whether Initiative A Will Make the Grade,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 6, V1.

“Electoral Finale,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 6, B1.

“Candidates Rush to Pin Down Votes,” November 7, B1.

“Candidates Urge Their Supporters to Get Out and Vote,” November 7, B1.

“Cook Slams Waldholtz for Ads That label Him as ‘Pro-Abortion,’” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 7, B4.

“Leavitt Stumps State for GOP Candidates,” by Jerry Spangler and Bob Bernick Jr., November 7, A1.

“Light Snow Fails to Deter Utah Voters,” by Bob Bernick Jr. and Lee Davidson, November 8, A1.

“U.S. Senate,” November 9, A1.

“Vote Tallies,” November 9, A1.

“Signs of Mirth, Gloom Abound,” November 9, A12.

“’94 Election Could Bring Big Changes,” by Bob Bernick Jr. and Lee Davidson, November 9, A1.

“Only Demos Horiuchi and Swensen Survive GOP Rout as Bradley Falls,” by Joe Costanzo and Brian West, November 9, A7.

“Only Demos Horiuchi, Swenson Survive Rout,” November 9, A7.

“Gunnarson Becomes 1st District Attorney,” by Brian West and Joe Costanzo, November 9, A7.

“GOP Freight Train Runs Down Shepherd,” by Bob Bernick Jr., November 9, A1.  
“Key Chairmanships on the Way for Hatch, Bennett and Hansen,” by Lee Davidson,  
November 9, A5.  
“Voters Shout Discontent but Give Few Mandates,” by Michael Shanahan and Miles Benson,  
November 9, A2.  
“Waldholtz Jumps Into New Job, Plans Strategy With Leaders,” by Lee Davidson, November  
10, B4.  
“Elections Help Utah Leaders Gain Added Influence, Especially Hatch,” by Bob Bernick Jr.,  
November 11, A14.  
“Graphic Utah: Winners by Plurality,” November 13, A1.  
“Utahns Favor Dole, Powell in '96 Race,” November 15, B3.  
“Political Shift could Derail Light-Rail Plan,” by Karl Cates, November 15, A1.  
“Shepherd-Bashing Was Out of Line,” November 16, A7.  
“Waldholtz Sure GOP Will Fulfill Its ‘Contract,’” November 16, B8.

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“Emily’s Candidate,” by Elwain Allred (Ed), October 3, A6.  
“Call Karen Home,” by Scott L. Gibson (Ed), October 3, A6.  
“Waldholtz Calls for Term Limits, Congressional Pay Cuts,” by Rebecca Walsh, October 4,  
D1.  
“The Public Forum: Will Elect Shepherd,” by Dave Harper (Ed), October 4, A10.  
“On the Stump: Police for Waldholtz,” October 4, D2.  
“On the Stump: Officers Back Shepherd,” October 4, D2.  
“On the Stump: Group Bashes Shepherd,” October 4, D2.  
“Shepherd, Waldholtz, Cook Come Out Firing on Gun Control,” by Dan Harrie, October 6,  
B1.  
“The Public Forum: Enid’s Election Hype,” by Michael A. Thomas (Ed), October 7, A28.  
“The Public Forum: Bribing Voters,” by Judy Miller (Ed), October 7, A28.  
“On the Stump,” October 7, B7.  
“Rolly and Wells,” October 7, B1.  
“News from the Pews,” October 8, E3.  
“The Public Forum: Thanks for Nothing,” by Marvin Dohner (Ed), October 8, A8.  
“The Public Forum: Shepherd’s the Best,” by Adrienne Chang (Ed), October 8, A8.  
“The Rolly Report,” October 9, A2.

“On the Stump,” October 11, C3.

“The Public Forum: Not Cook,” October 12, A12.

“Rolly and Wells,” October 12, B1.

“New from the Pews,” October 15, B3.

“The Rolly Report,” October 16, A2.

“The Public Forum: False Economy,” by Debra Ann Moss (Ed), October 16, D2.

“The Public Forum: Enid’s Child Deduction,” by Kathleen Peirce (Ed), October 17, A6.

“On the Stump,” October 18, C3.

“Morning Briefing: Utah,” October 18, A2.

“Waldholtz is Digging Deep to Win Race,” by Tony Semerad, October 18, A1.

“On the Stump,” October 18, C3.

“The NRA’s Top Gun Speaks Out,” by Dan Harrie, October 18, A1.

“Candidates Debate in 3-Way Clash,” by Tony Semerad, October 19, B2.

“The Public Forum: For Runoff Elections,” by Merrill Cook (Ed), October 19, A12.

“The Public Forum: Corruption Overlooked,” by Ryan Gordon Thomas (Ed), October 19, A12.

“Corrections & Clarifications,” October 20, B1.

“On the Stump,” October 21, B2.

“Bare-Knuckle Battle May Be Cook’s Last Stand,” by Dan Harrie, October 22, B1.

“The Salt Lake Tribune Campaign ’94 Voter Tracking Project,” October 23, B2.

“‘Armed Militia’ Isn’t Everyone,” by Edward McDonough, October 23, D3.

“Campus Calendar,” October 24, C3.

“Briefs,” October 24, D1.

“The Public Forum: Shepherds Real Constituents,” by David L. Sagers (Ed), October 25, A10.

“On the Stump,” October 26, B2.

“Morning Briefing: Utah,” October 27, A2.

“GOP’s Georgia Bulldog Visits S.L. to Hound Demos, Hype the Election,” by Dan Harrie, October 27, A1.

“Waldholtz Acknowledges Hiring a Private Eye,” by Tony Semerad, October 27, C1.

“‘Family Money’ Fuels Waldholtz Campaign,” by Tony Semerad, October 28, B1.

“TV, Radio, Ads Turn Mean-Spirited in 2nd District Race,” by Dan Harrie, October 29, C1.

“Democrats Ask for Source of Waldholtz Funds,” by Tony Semerad, October 29, C2.



“Three for the Road to Washington,” by Dan Harrie and Tony Semerad, October 31, A1.  
 “The Rolly Report,” October 31, A2.  
 “Even Rhetoric’s an Issue in Hansen-Coray Race,” by Paul Rolly, October 31, B2.  
 “On the Stump,” October 31, B3.  
 “Labor Grudgingly Helps Demos, Shepherd,” by AP, November 1, A9.  
 “Morning Briefing: Utah,” November 2, A2.  
 “The Public Forum: Shepherd Sold Out,” by H. Mackay Jones (Ed), November 2, A12.  
 “The Public Forum: Sign Removal,” by James Spencer (Ed), November 2, A12.  
 “The Public Forum: Got it Backwards,” by Tonia Snow (Ed), November 2, A12.  
 “Rolly and Wells,” November 2, B1.  
 “Democrats Seek Probe of Waldholtz,” by Tony Semerad and Dan Harrie, November 2, B2.  
 “On the Stump,” November 2, B2.  
 “GOP Is Expected to Dominate Congress,” by Dan Harrie, November 3, A5.  
 “The Public Forum: Big Spender,” by Allison A. Richeson (Ed), November 4, A38.  
 “Briefs,” November 4, B1.  
 “Waldholtz Ranks 5th Nationally in Funds,” by Matthew Brown, November 4, B2.  
 “Utah Student Voters Speak: Waldholtz, Hatch, Hansen Prevail in Mock Elections,” by Samuel A. Autman, November 4, B2.  
 “The Public Forum: Waldholtz Socialism,” by Bill Revenue (Ed), November 5, A10.  
 “The Public Forum: Bounced Check,” by Stephen Hucko (Ed), November 5, A10.  
 “The Public Forum: True Tax Cut,” by Ron Hauniker (Ed), November 5, A10.  
 “Waldholtz, Shepherd Neck and Neck as Cook Fades in the Homestretch,” by James E. Shelledy, November 6, A1.  
 “The Rolly Report,” November 6, A2.  
 “The Salt Lake Tribune Campaign ’94 Voter Tracking Project,” November 6, B2.  
 “Tom Barberi! ,” November 6, B3.  
 “Waldholtz Leads Tuesday Night Massacre; Democrats No Longer King of Capitol Hill,” by Dan Harrie, November 9, A1.  
 “Briefs,” November 9, B1.  
 “Giddy Republicans Sober Up on New Responsibility of Power,” by Dan Harrie, Tony Semerad, and Christopher Smith, November 10, A8.  
 “A Discerning Vote in Utah,” November 10, A16.  
 3 Strikes—Cash; GOP, Hardball Tactics—and Shepherd’s Out,” by Dan Harrie, November 13, A1.

*Coverage in the Deseret News and Salt Lake Tribune in 2003 discusses the ascension of Olene Walker to the governorship of Utah, and provided the material for Chapter 6 of this thesis.*

### **Deseret News 2003**

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- “Qwest Adding 155 New Jobs in S.L.,” by Brice Wallace, October 15, E01.
- “Expect Long Lines at Utah Polls,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 16, B06.
- “‘New Hope’ From Big Brothers, Sisters,” October 25, Z06.
- “State Picks Education Deputy,” by Jennifer Toomer-Cook, October 28, B04.
- “Senate Confirms Utah Governor as EPA Chief,” by Lee Davidson, October 28, WEB.
- “Fight Over Leavitt Fizzles in the Senate,” by Lee Davidson, October 28, A01.
- “Outdoor Retailers Renew Threat to Move Trade Shows,” by Donna Kemp Spangler and Amy Joi Bryson, October 28, B02.
- “Lawmaker Tops List for No. 2 Post,” by Jerry D. Spangler and Bob Bernick Jr., October 29, A01.
- “Walker Names Gayle McKeachnie as Lt. Gov.,” by AP, October 29, WEB.
- “Utah to Claim 20 Roads Crossing Federal Land,” by Donna Kemp Spangler, October 30, B04.
- “Utah to Claim 20 Roads,” by Donna Kemp Spangler, October 30, B01.
- “Walker’s Lieutenant,” by Jerry D. Spangler and Amy Joi Bryson, October 30, A01.
- “Farewell to Gov. Leavitt; Hello to Rocky II?,” by Bob Bernick Jr., October 31, A17.
- “Inaugurated Sederburg Optimistic About UVSC Future,” by Tad Walch, October 31, B01.
- “Utah Workers Comp Fight is Far from Over,” by Amy Joi Bryson, October 31, B06.
- “Sederburg Inaugurated at UVSC,” by Tad Walch, October 31, B02.
- “Officials to Continue Workers Comp Fight,” October 31, B02.
- “7 Candidates Back on Ballot,” by Sharon Haddock, November 1, A01.
- “Walker Names Key Advisers,” by Amy Joi Bryson, November 1, A01.
- “State Revenue Beats Projections,” by AP, November 3, B03.
- “Gov. Olene S. Walker Biography,” November 6, A01.
- “New Leader Ignored Gender Roadblocks,” by Lucinda Dillon Kinkead, November 6, A01.
- “New Utah Leader Ignored Gender Roadblocks,” by Lucinda Dillon Kinkead, November 6, A01.
- “Walker Takes Oath,” by Jerry Spangler, November 6, A01.
- “Rampton Celebrates 90<sup>th</sup> Birthday,” by Donna Kemp Spangler, November 8, B02.

“Walker Creates Public Safety Network,” by Jennifer Dobner, November 8, B02.  
“Walker Creates Public Safety Network,” by Jennifer Dobner, November 8, B02.  
“Leavitt and Education,” by Jennifer Toomer-Cook, November 9, B01.  
“‘Mr. Walker’ is Olene’s No. 1 Fan,” by Amy Joi Bryson, November 9, A01.

### **Salt Lake Tribune 2003**

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“Qwest Adds Call Center in Utah,” October 14, E1.  
“Pioneer Tribute,” October 19, D15.  
“DWS Director Cleared of Allegations,” by Rebecca Walsh, October 22, B2.  
“Recess Appointment May Not Be Part of Leavitt’s Strategy,” by Christopher Smith, October 23, A1.  
“Homeless Mothers Find Hope at LifeStart,” by Jacob Santini, October 23, B1.  
“Leavitt Staff Plans Details of Transition,” by Rebecca Walsh, October 23, A12.  
“Web Site Connects Volunteers,” October 23, B5.  
“Overstock.com Leads State,” October 24, D1.  
“The Goals: No More Homeless Pets, A Cure for Breast Cancer,” by Judy Magid, October 26, D11.  
“Yes On Leavitt is Likely Today,” by Christopher Smith, October 28, A1.  
“More Battles Ahead,” by Christopher Smith, October 29, A1.  
“UVSC’s New Boss to be Installed,” by Shanika A. Sykes, October 29, B5.  
“Leavitt, Staff Make Ready for Bittersweet Transition,” by Rebecca Walsh, October 29, A7.  
“Leavitt’s Challenge,” October 29, C1.  
“Walker’s Pick: Gayle McKeachnie is Expected to be Named the New Second-in-Command,” by Christopher Smith, October 29, A1.  
“Designee Keeping a Low Profile,” by Rebecca Walsh, October 30, C1.  
“News Outlets Drop Lawsuit Over Leavitt’s E-mail,” by Dan Harrie, October 30, C5.  
“Leavitt Tackles WCF One Last Time,” by Kristen Stewart, October 31, C2.  
“Top-Quality No.2,” October 31, A16.  
“Insiders Say the New Administration Reflects Much of the Present Version,” by Kristin Stewart, November 1, B1.  
“Walker Arranges Her Cabinet,” November 1, B4.  
“‘Big’ Community Leaders Honored,” by Judy Magid, November 2, D15.

“Leavitt Reverses, Creates Task Force to Protect Wild Lands,” by Dan Harrie, November 2, B5.

“Stepping Up to the Task,” by Rebecca Walsh, November 2, A1.

“Weekly Planner,” November 3, C5.

“Rampton Finds Modern Politics Mean,” by Dan Harrie, November 3, A1.

“Moving On: Leavitt Bids Farewell to Utah After 11 Years,” by Rebecca Walsh, November 4, A1.

“Donor Disclosures Demanded,” November 5, B5.

“Leavitt Makes the Rounds, Bids Farewell,” by Kristen Stewart, November 5, B2.

“Leavitt Resigns to Head EPA; Walker Becomes Utah’s First Female Governor,” November 5, UOL.

“Our Lady Guv,” November 5, A16.

“A Historic Day at the Capitol,” by Rebecca Walsh, November 5, B1.

“Leavitt Leaves Post of Online University,” by Shanika A. Sykes, November 5, B5.

“Bagley Cartoon,” November 5, A16.

“Going Wild,” November 6, A16.

“Change of Guard,” by Dan Harrie, November 6, A1.

“Olene’s Husband’ Ponders His New Role,” by Rebecca Walsh, November 6, A12.

“Leavitt Opposes Plan for 15 Wells in Book Cliffs,” by Brent Israelsen, November 6, B1.

“Schools, Budget Emerge as Top Priorities,” by Rebecca Walsh, November 6, A12.

“Rocky Pledges to Heal SLC Rifts,” November 6, A1.

“Leavitt’s Departure Puts a Quiet End to His 11 Years as Utah’s Chief Executive,” by Kristen Stewart, November 6, A1.

“Walker Gets Down to the Nitty-Gritty,” by Kirsten Stewart, November 7, B1.

“A Raw Deal,” November 7, A16.

“Walker Shifts Her Work Plan Into Gear,” by Rebecca Walsh, November 8, B4.

“N-Waste Fate May Be Sealed by Utah,” by Dan Harrie, November 8, A1.

“Second Generation Ski Instructors Are Honored,” November 9, D13.

“Four More Years,” November 9, AA1.

“Walker May Be the One to Help Education,” by Laurie Wilson and Tom Barberi, November 9, B4.

“Rampton Celebration a Real Bash,” by Rolly and Wells, November 10, C1.

“Issue Haunts Leavitt,” November 11, A18.

“Examiners Review Court Spending,” by Dan Harrie, November 11, C9.



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