

Women in State Government: Historical Overview and Current Trends

By Susan J. Carroll

In recent years the movement of women into state-level offices has slowed following several decades of gains. This pattern of stagnation did not change following the 2006 elections which produced only modest changes—most positive but some negative—in the numbers of women officials. Efforts to actively recruit women for elected and appointed positions will be critical in determining what the future holds for women in state government.

In the history of our nation, women are relative newcomers among state elected and appointed officials. Women first entered state-level offices in the 1920s following passage and ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which granted women suffrage. However, significant growth in the number of women in office occurred only after the emergence of the contemporary women's movement during the late-1960s and early-1970s. Since the mid-1970s, as data collected by the Center for American Women and Politics show,¹ women have greatly increased their numbers among elected and appointed officials in state government. Nevertheless, in recent years progress has slowed, and nationwide statistics show the numbers of women serving in state-level offices have leveled. The 2006 elections did little to alter the recent pattern of stagnation, with the numbers of women nationwide showing only small changes, most positive but some negative, following the elections.

Governors

Since the founding of our country, only 29 women (18D, 11R) have served as governors (Table A), and only one woman has served as governor of a U.S. territory (Puerto Rico).² A majority of the states, 28, have never had a woman chief executive. Arizona is the only state to have had three women governors as well as the only state where a woman succeeded another as governor. Connecticut, Texas, Kansas, Washington and New Hampshire have each had two women governors although one of the governors of New Hampshire, Vesta Roy, served for only seven days following the death of an incumbent.

The first woman governor, Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming, was selected in a special election to succeed her deceased husband in 1925. Fifteen days later a second woman, Miriam "Ma" Ferguson, was inaugurated as governor of Texas, having been elected as a surrogate for her husband, a former governor who

had been impeached and consequently was barred constitutionally from running again. Ferguson's campaign slogan was "Two governors for the price of one."³ The third woman to serve as a governor, Lurleen Wallace of Alabama, campaigned on the slogan, "Let George do it," and was similarly elected to replace a husband who was prohibited by term limits from seeking an additional term in office.⁴

The first woman elected in her own right (i.e., without following her husband) into the governorship was Ella Grasso, who presided over the state of Connecticut from 1975 to 1980. Nineteen of the women governors (including Grasso) who have served since the mid-1970s were elected in their own right. The other seven became governor through constitutional succession; only one of these seven was subsequently elected to a full term.

Nine women (6D, 3R) serve as governors in 2007, matching the record for the most women to serve simultaneously set in 2004. The number of women governors increased by one as a result of the 2006 elections as Sarah Palin (R) of Alaska was elected to her first term as governor. She joins five women—Janet Napolitano (D) of Arizona, M. Jodi Rell (R) of Connecticut, Linda Lingle (R) of Hawaii, Kathleen Sebelius (D) of Kansas, and Jennifer Granholm (D) of Michigan—who sought and won re-election, and three women—Ruth Ann Minner (D) of Delaware, Kathleen Blanco (D) of Louisiana, and Christine Gregoire (D) of Washington—whose seats were not up in 2006.

Other Statewide Elected and Appointed Officials in the Executive Branch

The states vary greatly in the number of statewide elected and appointed officials. For example, Maine, New Hampshire and New Jersey have only one statewide elected official, the governor, while North Dakota, at the other extreme, has 12.

The first woman to ever hold a major statewide office was Democrat Soledad C. Chacón, who was

Table A: Women Governors Throughout History

<i>Name (party-state)</i>	<i>Dates served</i>	<i>Special circumstances</i>
Nellie Tayloe Ross (D-WY)	1925–1927	Won special election to replace deceased husband.
Miriam “Ma” Ferguson (D-TX)	1925–1927, 1933–1935	Inaugurated 15 days after Ross; elected as surrogate for husband who could not succeed himself.
Lurleen Wallace (D-AL)	1967–1968	Elected as surrogate for husband who could not succeed himself.
Ella Grasso (D-CT)	1975–1980	First woman elected governor in her own right; resigned for health reasons.
Dixy Lee Ray (D-WA)	1977–1981	
Vesta Roy (R-NH)	1982–1983	Elected to state senate and chosen as senate president; served as governor for seven days when incumbent died.
Martha Layne Collins (D-KY)	1984–1987	
Madeleine Kunin (D-VT)	1985–1991	First woman to serve three terms as governor.
Kay Orr (R-NE)	1987–1991	First Republican woman governor and first woman to defeat another woman in a gubernatorial race.
Rose Mofford (D-AZ)	1988–1991	Elected as secretary of state, succeeded governor who was impeached and convicted.
Joan Finney (D-KS)	1991–1995	First woman to defeat an incumbent governor.
Ann Richards (D-TX)	1991–1995	
Barbara Roberts (D-OR)	1991–1995	
Christine Todd Whitman (R-NJ)	1994–2001	Resigned to take presidential appointment as commissioner of the Environmental Protection Agency.
Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH)	1997–2003	
Jane Dee Hull (R-AZ)	1997–2003	Elected as secretary of state, succeeded governor who resigned; later elected to a full term.
Nancy Hollister (R-OH)	1998–1999	Elected lieutenant governor; served as governor for 11 days when predecessor took U.S. Senate seat and successor had not yet been sworn in.
Jane Swift (R-MA)	2001–2003	Elected as lieutenant governor, succeeded governor who resigned for an ambassadorial appointment.
Judy Martz (R-MT)	2001–2005	
Olene Walker (R-UT)	2003–2005	Elected as lieutenant governor, succeeded governor who resigned to take a federal appointment.
Ruth Ann Minner (D-DE)	2001–present	
Jennifer M. Granholm (D-MI)	2003–present	
Linda Lingle (R-HI)	2003–present	
Janet Napolitano (D-AZ)	2003–present	First woman to succeed another woman as governor.
Kathleen Sebelius (D-KS)	2003–present	Father was governor of Ohio.
Kathleen Blanco (D-LA)	2004–present	
M. Jodi Rell (R-CT)	2004–present	Elected as lieutenant governor, succeeded governor who resigned.
Christine Gregoire (D-WA)	2005–present	
Sarah Palin (R-AK)	2007–present	

Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University

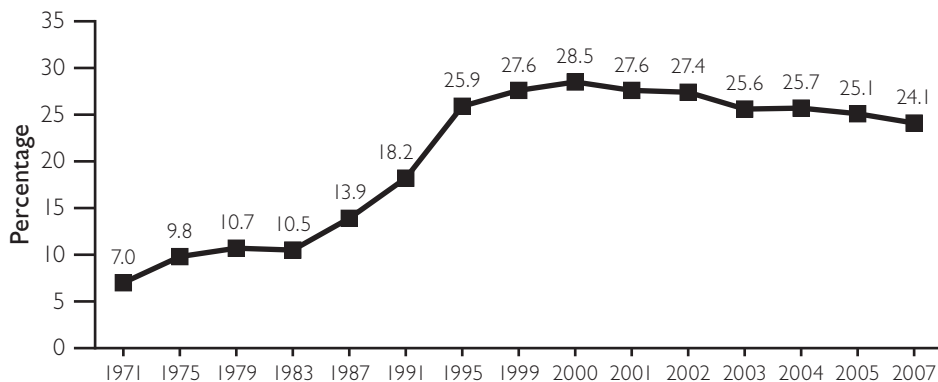
secretary of state in New Mexico from 1923–26.⁵ Delaware, Kentucky, New York, South Dakota, and Texas also had women secretaries of state in the 1920s. The first woman treasurer, Grace B. Urbahn (R-Ind.), also served during this time period, from 1926–32.

Several more years passed before a woman became lieutenant governor. Republican Matilda R. Wilson served briefly as lieutenant governor of Michigan in 1940 when she was appointed to fill an expiring term. However, the first woman elected as a lieuten-

ant governor was Consuelo N. Bailey (R-Vt.), who served from 1955–56. An additional three decades passed before a woman became attorney general of a state; the first was Arlene Violet (R-R.I.), who served from 1985–87.

As evident from Figure A, the proportion of women among statewide elective officials has grown substantially over the past three decades. From 1971 to 1985 the increases were small and incremental. Then, between 1983 and 1995, a period of significant growth, the number and proportion of women serv-

Figure A: Proportion of Women among Statewide Elective Officials



Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

ing in statewide office more than doubled. Since the mid-1990s, the number and proportion have leveled. Despite the addition of a new woman governor, the number of women serving in statewide elective offices actually decreased by two as a result of the 2006 elections, and fewer women, 76,⁶ hold statewide offices in 2007 than in 1995 when there were 84 women.

In early 2007, women hold 24.1 percent of the 315 statewide elective positions. In addition to the nine women governors, 11 women (8D, 3R) serve as lieutenant governors in the 43 states that elect lieutenant governors in statewide elections. This is a notable decrease from the record high number of 19 women who served as lieutenant governors in 1995.

Other women statewide elected officials include 12 secretaries of state (7D, 5R), 10 state treasurers (6D, 4R), four attorney generals (4D), nine chief education officials (3D, 3R, 3 nonpartisan), six state auditors (3D, 3R), five public service commissioners (3D, 2R), four state comptroller/controllers (2D, 2R), two commissioners of insurance (1D, 1R), two corporation commissioners (2R), one commissioner of labor (R), and one railroad commissioner (R). The women serving in statewide elective office include one African-American (the state treasurer of Connecticut) as well as three Latinas (the secretary of state of New Mexico, the attorney general of Nevada, and the superintendent of public instruction for Oregon).

Women may be slightly better represented among top appointed officials in state government than

among statewide elected officials although it is not possible to know for certain since the most recent data available are from 2004. According to nationwide data collected by the Center on Women in Government and Civil Society at SUNY-Albany, in 2004 women constituted 29.7 percent of department heads with major policymaking responsibilities (including heads of departments, agencies, offices, boards, commissions, and authorities) who were appointed by governors. Similarly, women were 41.1 percent of the top appointed advisers in governors' offices. These 2004 figures represented a slight increase over 2003 and a more notable increase over 1998 when women were 23.7 percent of department heads and 39.6 percent of governors' top advisers. Women of color were also slightly better represented among these appointed officials,⁷ with women of color in 2004 constituting 5.8 percent of all department heads and 7.7 percent of top advisers in governors' offices.⁸

Justices on Courts of Last Resort

The first woman to win election to a state court of last resort was Florence E. Allen, who was elected to the Ohio Supreme Court in 1922 and re-elected in 1928. Nevertheless, it was not until 1960 that a second woman, Lorna Lockwood of Arizona, was elected to a state supreme court. In 1965 Lockwood's colleagues on the Arizona Supreme Court selected her to be chief justice, thereby also making her the

first woman in history to preside over a state court of last resort.⁹ She was followed by Susie Sharp of North Carolina who in 1974 became the first woman to be elected by popular vote to be chief justice of a state court of last resort.¹⁰

In 2003, Petra Jiménez Maes of New Mexico, who currently serves as an associate justice, became the first Latina to serve as chief justice of a state supreme court. Similarly, in 2005 Leah Ward Sears of Georgia became the first African-American woman to preside over a state court of last resort.¹¹

According to the National Center for State Courts, 106, or 30.5 percent, of the 348 justices on state courts of last resort in early 2007 are women.¹² Of the 53 chief justices of these courts, 17, or 32.1 percent, are women.

Women comprise a majority of justices on the courts of last resort in New York and the District of Columbia as well as 50 percent of the justices on the Supreme Court of Tennessee, which currently has one vacancy. Women constitute at least 40 percent of the justices, but less than a majority, on an additional 18 courts of last resort.

Legislators

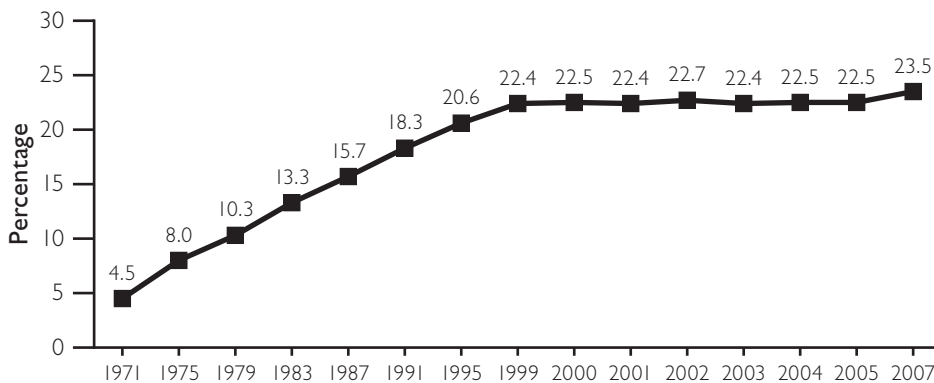
Even before 1920 when women won the right to vote across the country, a few women had been elected to legislatures in states that granted the franchise to women. By 1971 the proportion of women serving in state legislatures across the country had grown to

4.5 percent, and over the years this proportion has increased more than fivefold. As Figure B illustrates, the proportion of women among legislators grew steadily throughout the 1970s and 1980s. However, the rate of growth slowed in the 1990s, and similar to the pattern for statewide elected officials, the number and proportion of women legislators nationally largely have leveled off since the late-1990s.

The 2006 elections did produce the largest increase in women legislators since the late-1990s, with the proportion of women among legislators growing from 22.8 percent in 2006 to 23.5 percent in January 2007. Women now hold 422, or 21.4 percent, of all state senate seats and 1,312, or 24.2 percent, of all state house seats across the country. Nevertheless, the record number of women, 1,734, who serve in state legislatures at the beginning of 2007 is only slightly greater than the 1,664 women legislators who served in 1999.

Great variation exists across the states in the proportion of legislators who are women (See Table C). Vermont ranks first among the states with 37.2 percent women in its legislature. Following closely behind Vermont are New Hampshire (36.3 percent), Minnesota (34.8 percent), Arizona (34.4 percent), and Colorado (34.0 percent). With the exception of Minnesota, all of the states ranked in the top 10 in the proportion of women in their legislatures are located in the west or the northeast. However, despite this geographic concentration, no easy explanation exists

Figure B: Proportion of Women among State Legislators



Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

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for why these states have risen to the top, and indeed scholars who have statistically examined the variation among the states in the representation of women in their legislatures have found no simple patterns.¹³

At the other extreme, South Carolina, with only 8.8 percent, ranks last among the 50 states in the representation of women among its legislators. Accompanying South Carolina in the bottom five states are Kentucky with 12.3 percent, Oklahoma with 12.8 percent, Alabama with 12.9 percent, and Mississippi with 13.8 percent. Eight of the 10 states with the lowest proportion of women are southern or border states. Only two southern states—North Carolina ranked 19th among the 50 states with 24.7 percent women and Florida ranked 21st with 23.8 percent women—are above the national average. As these rankings make clear, the South as a region lags behind the rest of the country in the representation of women in its legislatures.

Following gains in the 2006 elections, Democrats outnumber Republicans among state legislators nationwide, with 54.0 percent of all legislators Democrats and 45.0 percent Republicans.¹⁴ However, the partisan gap is much larger among women legislators where Democrats outnumber Republicans by a ratio of about 2:1. Among women state senators nationwide, 69.0 percent are Democrats; among women state representatives, 68.2 percent are Democrats.

Almost one-fifth of women state legislators, 19.6 percent, are women of color. Of the 93 senators and 247 representatives serving in legislatures in early 2007, all but 22 are Democrats. African-American women hold 62 seats in state senates and 167 seats in state houses across 39 states. Latinas are concentrated in 22 states; they hold 20 senate and 50 house seats. Asian-American women count among their numbers seven senators and 22 representatives in eight states, while Native American women hold four senate and eight house seats in eight states.

Looking Toward the Future

Although women have made substantial progress over time in increasing their presence in state government, the leveling off of women's numbers among statewide elective officials and state leg-

Table B:
Women Statewide Elected Officials, 2007

State	Governor	Lieutenant governor	Attorney general	Secretary of state	Treasurer
Alabama	★	★	★	W	W
Alaska	W	★	★	...	...
Arizona	W	...	★	W	★
Arkansas.....	★	★	★	★	W
California	★	★	★	W	★
Colorado	★	W	★	★	W
Connecticut	W	★	★	W	W
Delaware.....	W	★	★	...	★
Florida	★	★	★	...	W
Georgia	★	★	★	W	...
Hawaii.....	W	★	...	...	...
Idaho.....	★	★	★	★	★
Illinois.....	★	★	W	★	★
Indiana.....	★	W	★	★	★
Iowa	★	W	★	★	★
Kansas	W	★	★	★	W
Kentucky	★	★	★	★	★
Louisiana	W	★	★	★	★
Maine.....	★	...	...	...	...
Maryland .....	★	★	...	...	...
Massachusetts.....	★	★	W	★	★
Michigan.....	W	★	★	W	...
Minnesota	★	W	W	★	...
Mississippi.....	★	W	★	★	★
Missouri.....	★	★	★	W	W
Montana	★	★	★	★	...
Nebraska.....	★	★	★	★	...
Nevada	★	★	W	★	W
New Hampshire....	★	...	...	...	...
New Jersey.....	★	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	★	W	★	W	★
New York .....	★	★	★	...	...
North Carolina....	★	W	★	W	★
North Dakota.....	★	★	★	★	W
Ohio	★	★	★	W	★
Oklahoma	★	W	★	...	★
Oregon	★	...	★	★	★
Pennsylvania	★	W	★	...	★
Rhode Island	★	W	★	★	★
South Carolina	★	★	★	★	★
South Dakota.....	★	★	★	★	★
Tennessee .....	★	...	...	...	...
Texas .....	★	★	★	...	...
Utah	★	★	★	...	★
Vermont.....	★	★	★	W	★
Virginia.....	★	★	★	...	...
Washington.....	W	★	★	★	★
West Virginia.....	★	...	★	W	★
Wisconsin.....	★	W	★	★	W
Wyoming.....	★	...	...	★	★

Source: Data for elected officials are current as of January 2007 and have been provided by the Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Key:

★ — Position is filled through a statewide election.

W — Position is filled through a statewide election and is held by a woman.

... — Position does not exist or is an appointed office.

islators in recent years is a puzzling, and for many a troubling, development. At a minimum, the leveling off is evidence that increases over time are not inevi-

Table C: Women in State Legislatures, 2007

State	Senate			House			Legislature (both houses)	
	Democrats	Republicans	% Women	Democrats	Republicans	% Women	% Women	State rank (a)
Alabama	3	1	11.4%	11	3	13.3%	12.9%	47
Alaska	1	2	15.0	6	4	25.0	21.7	27
Arizona	8	5	43.3	10	8	30.0	34.4	4
Arkansas	4	2	17.1	18	4	22.0	20.7	28
California	10	0	25.0	18	6	30.0	28.3	15
Colorado	10	1	31.4	19	4	35.4	34.0	5
Connecticut	7	1	22.2	30	15	29.8	28.3	15
Delaware	4	3	33.3	7	5	29.3	30.6	10
Florida	6	5	27.5	16	11	22.5	23.8	21
Georgia	6	2	14.3	28	10	21.1	19.5	32
Hawaii	7	0	28.0	11	7	35.3	32.9	7
Idaho	2	3	14.3	12	7	27.1	22.9	24
Illinois	10	3	22.0	24	12	30.5	27.7	17
Indiana	7	6	26.0	9	6	15.0	18.7	36
Iowa	3	3	12.0	19	9	28.0	22.7	25
Kansas	4	9	32.5	19	16	28.0	29.1	14
Kentucky	1	4	13.2	10	2	12.0	12.3	49
Louisiana	5	2	17.9	13	5	17.1	17.4	38
Maine	7	5	34.3	33	12	29.8	30.6	10
Maryland	9	2	23.4	41	10	36.2	33.0	6
Massachusetts	12	0	30.0	33	4	23.1	24.5	20
Michigan	6	3	23.7	16	4	18.2	19.6	31
Minnesota	18	9	40.3	35	8	32.1	34.8	3
Mississippi	4	1	9.6	15	4	15.6	13.8	46
Missouri	5	2	20.6	22	9	19.0	19.3	34
Montana	7	1	16.0	22	8	30.0	25.3	18
Nebraska (b)	Nonpartisan			Unicameral			20.4	29
Nevada	5	1	28.6	10	3	31.0	30.2	12
New Hampshire	9	1	41.7	104	40	36.0	36.3	2
New Jersey	5	2	17.5	11	5	20.0	19.2	35
New Mexico	7	4	26.2	10	12	31.4	29.5	13
New York	8	3	17.7	34	5	26.0	23.6	22
North Carolina	7	1	16.0	22	12	28.3	24.7	19
North Dakota	4	2	12.8	7	12	20.2	17.7	37
Ohio	5	2	21.2	11	5	16.2	17.4	38
Oklahoma	6	1	14.6	3	9	11.9	12.8	48
Oregon	8	1	30.0	12	7	31.7	31.1	9
Pennsylvania	5	5	20.0	11	16	13.3	14.6	44
Rhode Island	6	1	18.4	13	2	20.0	19.5	32
South Carolina	1	0	2.2	8	6	11.3	8.8	50
South Dakota	4	1	14.3	3	10	18.6	17.1	41
Tennessee	4	3	21.2	9	5	14.1	15.9	43
Texas	2	2	12.9	18	15	22.0	20.4	29
Utah	1	2	10.3	8	7	20.0	17.3	40
Vermont	9	1	33.3	41	14	38.0 (c)	37.2	1
Virginia	7	1	20.0	9	6	16.0 (d)	17.1	41
Washington	15	5	40.8	21	7	28.6	32.7	8
West Virginia	0	2	5.9	12	5	17.0	14.2	45
Wisconsin	4	4	24.2	13	9	22.2	22.7	26
Wyoming	3	1	13.3	8	9	28.3	23.3	23

Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. Figures are as of January 2007.

Key:

(a) States share the same rank if their proportions of women legislators are exactly equal or round off to be equal (CA, CT; DE, ME; GA, RI; LA, OH; NE, TX; SD, VA).

(b) Nebraska has a unicameral legislature with nonpartisan elections.

(c) Includes two members of the Progressive Party.

(d) Includes one Independent.

table; there is no invisible hand at work to insure that more women will seek and be elected to office with each subsequent election.

The leveling off has implications for women's representation not only among state legislators and

nongubernatorial statewide officeholders, but also among governors and members of Congress. Probably the most striking positive development for women in state government in recent years has been the increase in women governors. Of the 29 women

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in the entire history of our country who have served as governors, more than half, 15, have served all or part of their terms during the first few years of the 21st century. Of the nine sitting governors, seven held statewide elective office before running for governor; three were lieutenant governors, three served as attorney generals, and one was her state's insurance commissioner. Four of the current women governors also served in their state legislatures. Similarly, many of the women who have run for Congress gained experience and visibility in state government before seeking federal office. Of the 71 women members of the U.S. House, 32 served in their state houses, 16 in their state senates, and three in statewide elective offices; of the 16 women U.S. senators, eight served in their state legislatures, three in statewide elective offices, and one in an appointed state cabinet post.

Activists who are interested in increasing the number of women serving in office often refer to a political "pipeline" through which potential women candidates for higher level office come forward from the pool of women who have gained experience at lower levels of office. Clearly, the pipeline has worked well for current women governors and members of Congress. But what if the pool of candidates in statewide and state legislative offices continues to stagnate or even decline? Then, the number of politically experienced women with the visibility and contacts necessary to run for governor or a seat in the U.S. House or Senate is also likely to stagnate or decline.

While several different factors may be responsible for the recent leveling off in the numbers of women in statewide elective and state legislative office, a lack of effective recruitment certainly is one of the most important. Statistics on the number of women candidates over time seem clearly to point to a problem with recruitment. For example, even though a record 2,429 women were general election candidates for the 6,127 seats up for election in state legislatures in 2006, this was only 54 more women than in 1992 when there were 2,375 women candidates!¹⁵ Clearly, then, a major factor contributing to the leveling off in the number of women officeholders is a lack of greater numbers of women candidates.

Research has found that women who run for office are less likely than their male counterparts to be self-starters. Women more often than men seek office only after receiving encouragement from others. For example, one recent study of major party candidates in state legislative races found that only 11 percent of women, compared with 37 percent of men, said that it was entirely their own idea to run for the legislature; in contrast, 37 percent of women, compared

with 18 percent of men, reported that they had not seriously thought about running until someone else suggested it.¹⁶ Another recent study of people in the professions from which political candidates are most likely to emerge (i.e., law, business, education and politics) found that notably fewer women (43 percent) than men (59 percent) had ever considered running for office.¹⁷

Findings such as these suggest the future for women in state government will depend, at least in part, upon the strength of efforts to actively recruit women for both elected and appointed positions. Legislative leaders, public officials, party leaders and advocacy organizations can help by renewing their commitment and augmenting efforts to identify and offer support to potential women candidates, especially in winnable races with open seats or vulnerable incumbents. Recruitment efforts may well be key to determining whether the numbers of women officials continue to stagnate or again begin to move steadily upward as they did in earlier decades.

Notes

¹All statistical information in this essay, unless otherwise noted, has been provided by the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. Additional information is available at www.cawp.rutgers.edu. The author also thanks Judith Saidel of the Center on Women in Government and Civil Society at SUNY-Albany, Jennifer Norako and Joan Cochet from the National Center for State Courts, and especially her colleagues Gilda Morales and Linda Phillips from CAWP for their assistance with the data for this essay.

²Sila Calderón (Popular Democratic Party) served as governor of Puerto Rico from 2001 to 2004.

³Martin Gruber, *Women in American Politics* (Oshkosh, WI: Academia Press, 1968), 189.

⁴Gruber, 190.

⁵Women did serve as superintendents of public instruction in a few states earlier than this.

⁶These 76 women serving in statewide elective office include 46 Democrats, 27 Republicans and three nonpartisans.

⁷Women of color comprise 5.3 percent of all statewide elective officials.

⁸"Women's Leadership Profile 2004," A Report of the Center for Women in Government and Civil Society, University at Albany, State University of New York, Fall 2004. <http://www.cwig.albany.edu/2004leadershipprofile2004.pdf>.

⁹Gruber, 190, 192.

¹⁰"Susie Sharp (1906–1996)," North Carolina History Project. <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/40/entry>.

¹¹Information provided by the National Center for State Courts.

¹²Unlike all the other statistics in this essay, these numbers from the National Center for State Courts include the District of Columbia as well as the 50 states.

¹³See, for example, Barbara Norrander and Clyde Wilcox, “The Geography of Gender Power: Women in State Legislatures,” in Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, ed., *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹⁴These proportions are calculated from data available in a table entitled “2006 Post-Election Partisan Composition of State Legislatures” on the Web site of the National Conference of State Legislatures. http://www.ncsl.org/state_vote/partycomptable2007.htm.

¹⁵There were 2,375 women candidates for state legislative seats in 1992; 2,285 in 1994; 2,277 in 1996; 2,280 in 1998; 2,228 in 2000; 2,348 in 2002; and 2,220 in 2004.

¹⁶Gary Moncrief, Peverill Squire, and Malcolm Jewell, *Who Runs for the Legislature?* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 2001), Table 5.5, 102; see also Susan J. Carroll and Wendy S. Strimling, *Women’s Routes to Elective Office: A Comparison with Men’s* (New Brunswick, NJ: Center for the American Woman and Politics, 1983).

¹⁷Jennifer L. Lawless and Richard L. Fox, *It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don’t Run for Office* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 44.

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