

1848

The Seneca Falls Convention

1866

Elizabeth Cady Stanton is the first woman to run for the U.S. House of Representatives

1872

Victoria Woodhull is the first woman to run for the presidency

1887

Susanna Salter is the first woman elected to be mayor (Argonia, Kansas)

1894

Clara Cressingham, Frances Klock and Carrie C. Holly are the first women elected to a state legislature (Colorado)

1896

Martha Hughes Cannon is the first woman elected to a state senate (Utah)

1916

Jeannette Rankin is the first woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives

1920

Women win the right to vote with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment

1922

Rebecca Latimer Felton is the first woman appointed to the U.S. Senate

1924

Nellie Tayloe Ross is the first woman to be elected governor (Wyoming)

1932

Hattie Wyatt Caraway is the first woman to serve in the U.S. Senate for a term in office

1933

Francis Perkins is the first woman member of the U.S. Cabinet

1948

Margaret Chase Smith is the first woman to serve in both the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate

1964

Patsy Mink is the first woman of color and the first Asian American woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives

1968

Shirley Chisholm is the first black woman elected to Congress and later becomes the first African American to run for the presidency

1981

Sandra Day O'Connor is the first woman justice appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court

1984

Geraldine Ferraro is the first woman to be a Democratic vice presidential nominee

1988

Leana Ros-Lehtinen is the first Latina and first Cuban American elected to Congress

1992

Women win more than 10 percent of congressional seats

1992

Carol Moseley-Braun is the first black woman elected to the U.S. Senate

1997

Madeleine K. Albright is appointed to be the U.S. Secretary of State, the highest Cabinet position reached by a woman

2007

Nancy Pelosi is elected to be Speaker of the House of Representatives

2008

Hillary Clinton is nearly nominated for the presidency by the Democratic Party, winning more state primary delegates than any woman before her

2008

Sarah Palin is the first woman to be a Republican vice presidential nominee

2010

Susana Martinez is the first Latina to be elected governor

2010

Nikki Haley is first Asian American and Indian American woman to be elected governor

2012

Tammy Baldwin is the first openly gay person of any gender to be elected to the U.S. Senate

2020

One hundred years of women's suffrage and a new national commitment to parity

## State of Women's Representation

2013

## American Women in Elected Office & Prospects for Change

## About Representation 2020

To honor the centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women suffrage, Representation 2020 strengthens all-partisan coalitions of organizations and individuals in support of measures that will allow women to achieve parity in elected office. We advance our 2020 Pledge for groups and individuals willing to commit to changes in rules and practices that will increase women's representation in elected office at the local, state and national level. Representation 2020 is a project of FairVote, a non-profit, non-partisan electoral reform organization. All donations to FairVote are tax-deductible, including gifts earmarked to support Representation 2020.

## About *State of Women's Representation 2013*

*State of Women's Representation 2013* is the first in what will be an annual report heading toward 2020, the centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment. Each report will be released on August 26<sup>th</sup>, designated by Congress as Women's Equality Day. They will build on the remarkable work of many scholars and organizations to summarize and analyze women's representation in all fifty states. They will also monitor indicators of change for each area of the 2020 Pledge and, starting in 2014, highlight goals for concrete achievements in the coming year.

*State of Women's Representation 2013* was edited by Andrea Levien and made possible by the work of Project Director Patricia Hart and Program Chair Cynthia Terrell in building the Representation 2020 project. Additional contributors to the report include FairVote Executive Director Rob Richie, staff members Elizabeth Hudler, Devin McCarthy, Mollie Haley, Andrew Douglas and Drew Spencer, and interns Amel Yagoub, Savanna Richie, Sara Helmi, and Danielle Moise. Special thanks goes to Maryland State Senator Jamie Raskin for the foreword to this report, Marie Wilson for her work on the videos being released in conjunction with this report, and the rest of the Representation 2020 Leadership Circle.

For additional information or to share your comments on this report, please contact:

Representation 2020  
6930 Carroll Avenue, Suite 610  
Takoma Park, MD 20912  
<http://www.Representation2020.com>  
info@representation2020.com and (301) 270-4616.

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## *State of Women's Representation 2013 Highlights*

*State of Women's Representation 2013* is the first in what will be an annual report. Representation 2020 will closely track developments that relate to the key planks in our 2020 Pledge, detailed in this year's *Parity Perspectives*. Among the notable findings in this year's report and notable developments relating to women's representation in 2013 are the following:

- **Representation 2020's Parity Ranking scores shows need for change:** Representation 2020 supports gender parity, which we define as men and women being equally likely to hold a given elected office and control a given legislature. Our Parity Ranking measures representation of women in elections for governor, U.S. Senate, U.S. House, state legislatures and mayors. By this measure, women in every state fall short of parity in representation in elected office. A state that has achieved parity would typically have about 70 points in our analysis, but only six states currently have greater than 34 points, the same number of states that had a Parity Ranking score above 34 points in 1993.
- **Washington State a consistent national leader:** Our 2013 Parity Ranking is led by Washington State. Both U.S. Senate seats are held by women, the previous governor was a woman, three in ten state legislative and U.S. House seats are held by women, and one of the five largest cities has a woman mayor. Washington State ranked second in the Parity Rankings in both 1993 and 2003.
- **Southern states not alone in low Parity Rankings:** In 1993, the five lowest states in our Parity Ranking were all Southern states, with South Carolina in 46<sup>th</sup> place followed by Oklahoma, Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama. In 2003, the four lowest states also were Southern: Oklahoma, Mississippi, Alabama, and, in 50<sup>th</sup> place, South Carolina. In 2013, the Southern states of Virginia and Mississippi occupy the last two places, but seven of the next nine lowest-ranked states are outside the South: Idaho, Iowa, Montana, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Utah.
- **New Hampshire has an all-female congressional delegation:** New Hampshire is the first and only state to send an all-female delegation to Congress, with its two House seats and two Senate seats held by women. It also was the first state in the nation to have a majority female state legislative chamber (in the state senate in 2009-2010). For years, it has ranked highly in the percentage of its state legislators who are female, many of whom are elected in multi-member districts. Our report reviews the 2012 elections to show how such districts enhance opportunities for women candidates.
- **High to low in state legislatures:** The state that currently ranks highest for its percentage of state legislators who are women is Colorado, at 42%. Ranked lowest is Louisiana, with 11.8%. In 1993, the range was from 39.5% (Washington) to 5.1% (Kentucky).
- **Electoral rules matter:** In state legislative chambers that elect at least some members in multi-member districts, women held an average of 31% of seats after the 2012 elections. In state legislative chambers that used only single-member districts, women held only 22% of seats. Furthermore, in the states that elect most of the legislators in one chamber with multi-seat districts, more than half of residents now have at least one female state representative. As detailed in our report, this finding is consistent with longstanding patterns of the relationship between district magnitude and women's representation.

- **Number of female executive officials stalled, especially governors and mayors:** There are only five women governors serving in our 50 states, and 24 states have never had a female governor. The percentage of state executives who are women has barely increased since 1993, increasing incrementally from 22% to just 23% today. Locally, only twelve of our nation's 100 largest cities have women mayors.
- **Partisan differences in women's representation at the state level:** In 1981, there were 503 Democratic women and 399 Republican women serving in state legislatures, a difference of 104 legislators, or 11.5%. Today, there are 1,136 Democratic women serving in state legislatures, but only 632 Republican women – a difference of 504 and a gap of 28.1%. In June 2013, the Republican State Leadership Committee announced its new program "Right Women, Right Now," which aims to recruit 300 new Republican women to run for state-level office. One area in which Republicans have an edge is in governorships: of the five female governors currently in office, four are Republicans and only one is a Democrat.
- **Partisan differences in women's representation at the federal level:** Only four of the 20 women in the U.S. Senate and 19 of the 78 women in the House are Republicans. To address this deficit, the National Republican Congressional Committee has launched a new initiative called Project GROW, which aims to recruit and support more Republican women candidates for Congress.
- **Leader in women candidate training closes doors:** While many organizations continue to train, fund, and recruit women candidates, one of the most influential training organizations of the past decade, the White House Project, closed its doors in January 2013.
- **Women reach record high in Senate:** In 2013, the number of women in the U.S. Senate rose to 20 after 11 women were elected in 2012, representing a third of all Senate seats elected last year. That is ten times more female Senators than were elected in 1992.
- **Breakthroughs in elected officials combining service and motherhood:** Congresswomen Cathy McMorris Rodgers and Jaime Herrera Beutler are rising Republican Party stars from Washington State. Rep. McMorris Rodgers was elected Chair of the House Republican Conference (fourth in the House leadership) in 2012, while Rep. Herrera Beutler is the only woman Vice-Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee. This year they demonstrated that neither men nor women need to choose between politics and family. McMorris Rodgers, already the first Member of Congress to give birth to two children while in office, recently announced that she was expecting her third child. Rep. Herrera Beutler's first child was born this year, and has been diagnosed with a serious condition known as Potter's Syndrome. Both women have received widespread public support, showing that constituents and fellow legislators are more accepting of the idea that mothers can balance political office and family commitments.
- **The United States' relative ranking is plunging:** The United States ranks 92<sup>nd</sup> in the world in the share of female representatives in its national legislature, down from 58<sup>th</sup> in 1998.

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# Representation2020

A Century from Suffrage to Parity



# Foreword

By Jamie Raskin

One of the first political aphorisms I learned in the Maryland Senate came from a colleague who sat on the Budget and Tax Committee: “If you don’t have a seat at the table, you’re going to end up on the menu.” This gem of folk wisdom crystallizes the logic of more than two centuries of American political development. People afraid of the consequences of being excluded from official politics have demanded an equal place at the table. Citizens without wealth or property, African-Americans, women, and young people have all demanded and won the right to vote and to participate in the election of their political representatives. Outsiders have also made important progress in achieving the right to run for office and to be seated upon election.

A visceral rejection of having to rely on other people to vote for you and to speak for you goes to the heart of American politics. The very idea of our republic was conceived when the American revolutionaries attacked the maddening claim of “virtual representation,” the idea that the colonists had no need for their own representatives in government because they were already “virtually” represented by existing British Members of Parliament, who allegedly resembled the colonists in all essential ways. The cry of “no taxation without representation” meant that people directly taxed should be directly represented. We all have the right to be a “constituent” part of the political leadership that governs us.

As a central voice in rebellious American democratic politics in the last century, the suffragettes argued passionately against the affront of virtual representation by the other sex. To win passage of the Nineteenth Amendment (1920), they had to protest the glaring injustices of the vicarious representation they putatively enjoyed by virtue of their husbands, fathers, and brothers exercising the right to vote for the whole family. It took decades after the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, but women demanded and won the right to vote and, ultimately, to run and serve in government themselves.

Yet, like every other newly enfranchised constituency, women have never gained a proportional share of legislative seats in Congress or any of the states. Nor has any demographic or political group ever won an entitlement to be represented in our political institutions on a basis proportionate to its share of the population. The slender exception to this rule has been that, for decades, our major political parties have required a 50-50 allocation between men and women in the election of delegates and alternates to the quadrennial national presidential nominating conventions. But in the election of senators and representatives at the federal and state level, there have been no group quotas – and certainly nothing like a proportional allocation of seats.

Even after the strengthening amendments added in 1982, the Voting Rights Act, the nation’s major voting rights statute, contained this clear statement: “The fact that members of a minority group have not been elected in numbers equal to the group’s proportion of the population shall not, in and of itself, constitute a violation . . .” The only “set-asides” of legislative seats we have institutionalized is the pervasive allocation of seats based on political geography, the most striking example being the Constitutional design of the U.S. Senate, which not only guarantees representation to all states, big and small, but guarantees the smaller ones *disproportionate* representation.

The absence of political set-aside seats for women and minority groups follows from a powerful democratic impulse: that the people should be able to choose whomever we want to represent us as political leaders. When it comes down to the choice of this or that senator or congressperson, it would be thwarting the popular will, and an act of untenable governmental discrimination, to compel election of a person because of his or her gender, race, or ethnicity. The democratizing movements that have torn down barriers to participation have rejected the idea that people's political values and possibilities must be governed by their racial, gender, or ethnic identities.

At the same time, the vast majority of Americans would like to see legislatures and presidential cabinets that "look like America," in President Bill Clinton's formulation. Anyone with a democratic bone in his or her body would recoil at the sight of an all-white male state legislature debating birth control policies, health care, immigration, war, education, or anything else in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Anyone who has served in public office knows that it makes a huge difference who is seated at the table when the benefits and burdens of public policy are being distributed. And women, all too often, are still only "virtually represented" in the sanctums of power.

The question for American politics today is how to reconcile our commitment to the wide-open freedom of the people to choose our own leaders, and the corresponding right of every citizen to run for every office of which he or she is a constituent, with our sense that our legislative bodies should also be broadly and richly representative of the gender, racial, ethnic, economic, political, and intellectual diversity of America.

Our best hope for answering this question is FairVote, our leading election reform group, which has been innovating for two decades a series of excellent proposals to make American democracy more accountable, responsive, representative, positive, and effective. FairVote has focused public attention on the subtle political dynamics built into particular electoral system designs. In this fine report produced by its promising new spinoff project, Representation 2020, it demonstrates, for example, that the use of multi-member districts tends to produce greater numbers of women being elected to office than the use of single-member districts.

This correlation stands to reason in a diverse democratic electorate: if you are voting for a group of four representatives to the legislature rather than a single representative, you are far more likely to insist on being able to vote for women as well as for men. The politicians will, in turn, form mixed-gender slates that appeal to people's preferences for diversity. Thus, without ever placing any constraint on for whom people can actually vote, a state using multi-member districts will advance the goal of more women in the legislature. Their ability to participate at that level will lead to more women running for Governor, Attorney General, and so on. This is just one example of the robust package of ideas and proposals contained in this report that will nudge America towards 50-50 parity in the year 2020.

My mother wore a shirt during the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment that read "women hold up half of the sky." But, women still hold less than one-fifth of the seats in the U.S. Congress. It will take nimble and thoughtful action for us to close the gap.

*Jamie Raskin is a professor of constitutional law at American University's Washington College of Law and author of Overruling Democracy and We the Students: Supreme Court Cases for and About Students. Elected in 2006, Sen. Raskin represents District 20 in the Maryland state senate, where he is Majority Whip. He is a former Board Member of FairVote and a winner of its Champion of Democracy award.*



## Introduction

Nearly 100 years ago, American women gained the right to vote with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. This victory came after a decades-long struggle to amend the U.S. Constitution so that women could never be barred from the polls on the basis of gender. Finally, American women were able to participate in the political process their forbearers had fought so bravely to protect.

In many ways, the vision of the suffrage movement has been realized. For more than two decades, more women have registered to vote than men, and women's voter turnout has exceeded that of men in every presidential and midterm election. Most recently, 7.8 million more women than men voted in the 2012 presidential election.<sup>1</sup>

But despite women's robust participation in the electoral process, women's representation at all levels of American government remains startlingly low. What was once a slow but steady advance at the state and national level has almost completely stalled. There are currently only five female governors in office, and only 12 of our nation's 100 largest cities have female mayors (women make up 17.4% of mayors in cities with populations exceeding 30,000).<sup>2</sup> Women comprise only 18.3% of Congress and 24.2% of state legislators. The United States lags behind 91 other nations for its share of women in the national legislature – a steep decline from its ranking of 58<sup>th</sup> in 1998.<sup>3</sup> We must do better.

Representation 2020, an all-partisan project of the voting rights and electoral reform group FairVote, is working to raise awareness of the underrepresentation of women in elected office, to strengthen coalitions that are supportive of measures that will allow women to achieve parity in elected office, and to highlight the often-overlooked structural barriers to the representation of women. While there have been impressive efforts to increase the number of women running for and winning elected office, many of which we highlight in this report, we hope to broaden the discussion by including new and innovative methods that seek to address under-representation of women through new rules that are less widely known than efforts to recruit, train, and fund women candidates.

We ground our research and advocacy in our 2020 Pledge,<sup>4</sup> which individuals and organizations can sign to demonstrate their support for various reforms that would increase women's representation in the United States. The measures we most support to achieve gender parity in elected office are those to:

1. Combat gender stereotypes and sexism in politics, which can both affect voters' views of women candidates and discourage women from running for office;
2. Support organizations that train, recruit, and fund women candidates, especially for open seat elections;
3. Challenge political actors to encourage more women to run for high-profile offices, especially executive offices like president, governor, and mayor;
4. Encourage political parties to enact measures to promote the more active recruitment of female candidates, especially at the local and state level;

5. Enact electoral laws that will increase the number of women running for and winning elected office, including multi-seat legislative districts with proportional voting systems;
6. Ensure that rules and internal procedures within legislatures are not biased against women serving in office.

The first three points in our pledge are frequently mentioned in discussions on how to increase women's representation. We support these measures, and believe they should be continued. This report highlights efforts by groups to combat gender stereotypes and increase the recruitment of female candidates, especially for the executive offices where male dominance is particularly pronounced.

The second three points of our pledge set Representation 2020 apart from other groups that work to increase women's participation in politics. We seek to raise awareness of how political actors can implement changes in rules and structures in order to increase the number of women running for office and getting elected. We show how political parties can enact measures to increase the active recruitment of female candidates, as is often done in other nations. We propose adoption of fair representation voting methods to promote more women running, as well as provide for fairer representation of our political and racial diversity. We show why legislatures should make changes to their practices and procedures that might affect the ability of female elected officials to stay in office and rise to positions of leadership.

When we call for gender parity in representation, we don't mean to suggest that men and women should be rigidly confined to holding half of our elected offices in each state and in Congress. Rather, gender parity will be achieved when any given election is just as likely to be won by a woman as by a man and, at any given time, any given legislature is as likely to have a majority of women as of men. We believe that day of gender parity is coming - but that it will come decades or even centuries sooner if the country embraces the goal of gender parity and supports the steps outlined in our 2020 Pledge.

*State of Women's Representation 2013* is the first in what will be an annual report heading toward 2020, the centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment. Grounded in the remarkable work of scholars and groups like the Center for American Women and Politics, our reports will summarize and analyze women's representation in all fifty states and monitor indicators of change in the six areas of the 2020 Pledge.

*State of Women's Representation 2013* features the following:

- *Representation's Parity Ranking:* We introduce Representation 2020's unique method of measuring the state of women's representation in each state: a "Parity Ranking," which allows us to quantify and compare how each state is doing in achieving gender parity in elected office.
- *Comparison of 1993 to 2013:* Given that it is two decades since the much-ballyhooed "Year of the Woman" in 1992, we highlight a particularly troubling trend: the sluggish pace at which women's representation has increased over the past two decades in state elections.
- *Parity Perspectives:* In our six Parity Perspectives, we demonstrate the importance of each provision in our 2020 Pledge by summarizing and building on cutting-edge research in the field and then explain how each of these changes can be achieved.

- *State profiles:* We present profiles on all 50 states and the territories detailing the status of women's representation in each state and highlighting rules and organizing efforts that have been particularly successful at increasing women's representation.

As this report is the first in the series, it will be updated every year in order to highlight changes in the state of women's representation around the nation, news relating to the six points of our 2020 Pledge, and calls for action. We encourage anyone with suggestions or information on efforts to increase women's representation to contact us at [info@representation2020.com](mailto:info@representation2020.com) or (301) 270-4616.

## Acknowledgments

The list of people who have helped make this report possible is a long one. We first want to thank all the researchers, past and present, whose work has contributed to our understanding and analysis. They include: Pippa Norris, whose report *Gender Equality in Elected Office: A Six Step Plan* is a masterwork and model for all those working in this field; the Center for American Women and Politics, the undisputed leader in data collection and research on the representation of women in politics in the United States; FairVote's former board member Wilma Rule, whose passion for representation of women led to her bold thinking about why the United States needs structural reforms; and the Inter-Parliamentary Union, which reports on representation of women around the world. Among the many scholars who generously shared their time and insight with us are Jennifer Lawless, Richard Matland, Bob Darcy, Sarah Fulton, and Barbara Burrell. Organizations like the League of Women Voters, Feminist Majority, National Organization for Women, Barbara Lee Family Foundation, more partisan groups like EMILY's List, and countless state groups and women's caucuses have done critically important work.

Those who contributed directly to researching and writing our 2013 report include the following staff members and interns with FairVote: Cynthia Terrell, our project chair who first envisioned Representation 2020; Patricia Hart, who launched Representation 2020; Andrea Levien, the report's supervisor, editor and lead writer; executive director Rob Richie, who backed the project and contributed insights, analysis and editorial help; Elizabeth Hudler, Devin McCarthy, Mollie Haley, Drew Spencer, and Andrew Douglas provided key editorial assistance and, in the case of Andrew, lead authorship of the analysis comparing representation in 1993 to 2013; and interns Amel Yagoub, Savanna Richie, Sara Helmi, and Danielle Moise who took on substantive roles in research and writing.

We wanted to give a special thanks to members of Representation 2020's Leadership Circle, who are listed in the report's appendix. Marie Wilson, a long-time champion of women's representation at the Ms. Foundation and White House Project, has been a stalwart supporter of this project, including taping our video being released in conjunction with the report that is posted at Representation2020.com. Wilson joined pollster Celinda Lake and fellow Leadership Circle member Laura Liswood for an insightful forum on a preliminary edition of this report at one of FairVote's Democracy Next forums organized with NYUDialogues. Law professor and Maryland state senator Jamie Raskin brought his usual energy and passion to writing the report's foreword. The Mary Wohlford Foundation played an essential role in funding a FairVote fellow to devote most of her time to Representation 2020 for the past two years.

Finally, we want to thank the many people, past and present, who have done so much to advance equality in American politics; first in suffrage and now in representation. We stand on their legacy and current achievement, and it is to them we dedicate this first *State of Women's Representation*.

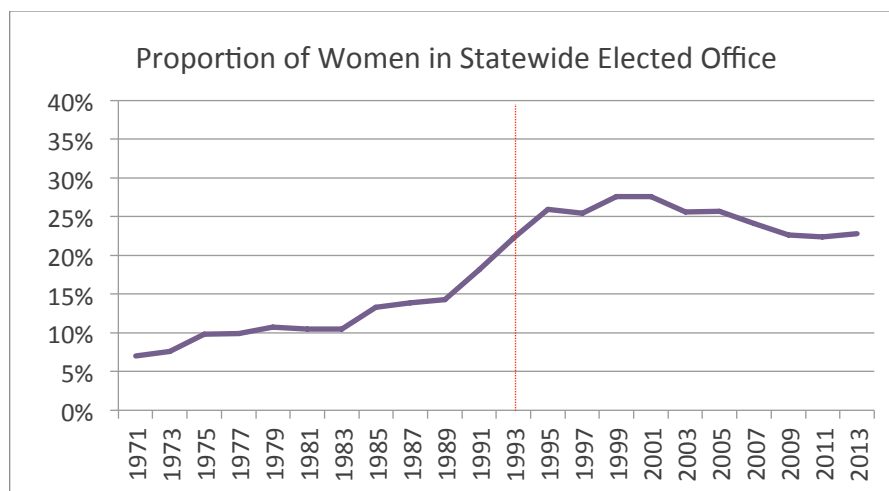
## Stalled Progress: State Elections since “Year of the Woman”

The election of 1992 was dubbed the “Year of the Woman.” That year, a record number of women turned out to the polls and helped elect five new women U.S. Senators and 19 new women Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, the largest ever increase in the number of female federal legislators in our nation’s history. Women made big gains at the state level as well, increasing their presence in state legislatures by 11.4% in their relative share of seats over the previous year.<sup>5</sup>

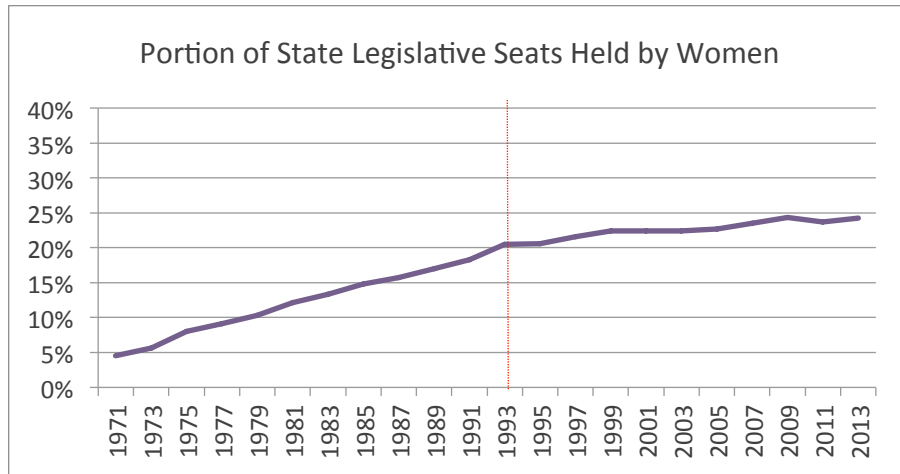
This dramatic increase in the representation of women was brought on in part by the controversy surrounding the testimony of University of Oklahoma law professor Anita Hill, who accused Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment before the Senate Judiciary Committee that was conspicuously devoid of women – with men holding 98 of 100 U.S. Senate seats. At the time, many expected the election to be a turning point for women’s representation in the United States, with the new class of congresswomen and state legislators inspiring other women to follow in their footsteps.

While progress has indeed continued in the intervening decades – we now have 20 women serving in the Senate and 78 in the House – the advancement toward gender parity in elected office has been slower than expected, especially at the state level. This stalled growth of representation has not spurred much attention, as if journalists, civic groups, and foundations felt that one relatively strong year for women candidates ended the issue as a story and a concern.

As the charts below illustrate, the Year of the Woman did not in fact mark the beginning of a revolution in women’s representation at the state level, but rather the start of a period in which growth in number of female officeholders slowed appreciably. Women have made negligible gains in statewide executive positions in the past two decades, rising only from 22.2% in 1993 to 22.8% in 2013.



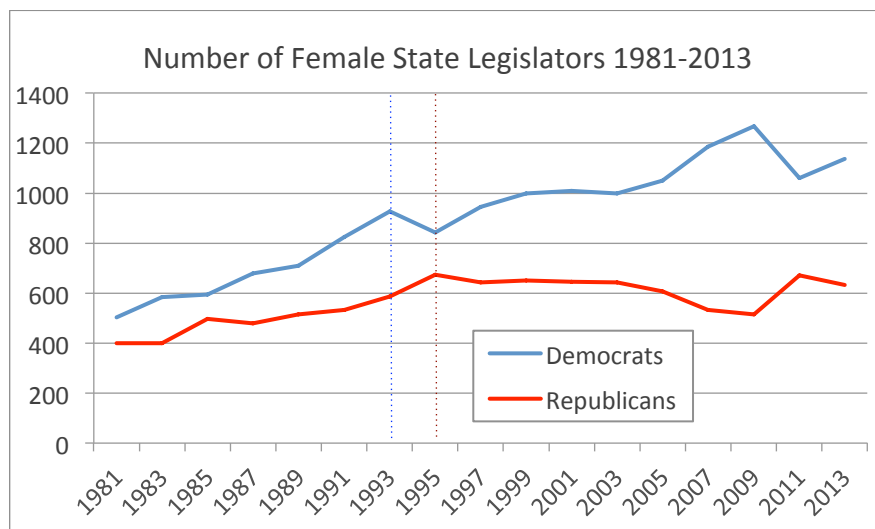
Women’s representation in state legislatures has also advanced at a disappointing pace. In the twenty years before the Year of the Woman, the proportion of female state legislators grew steadily, from 5.6% in 1973 to 20.5% in 1993. In the twenty years since, this figure has risen only slightly, to 24.2% in 2013.



This stagnation in the number of women serving as state legislators is especially significant because of the effect it can have on women’s representation at the federal level and in statewide office. State legislatures have been an important stepping stone in the political careers of nearly half of all members of Congress<sup>6</sup>. Increasing the number of women with state legislative experience will enlarge the pool of potential female candidates for congressional seats and other higher offices. To get women more involved in national politics, we need to get them more involved in state politics first.

### *The Relative Progress of Women in the Two Major Parties*

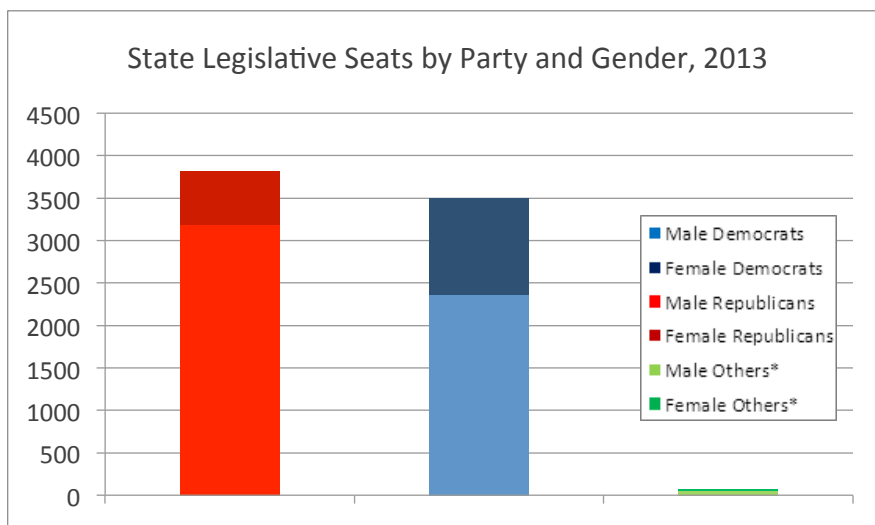
The slowed pace of advancement for women in state legislatures is due in part to the diverging fortunes women have faced in the two major political parties. The chart below shows the number of Democratic and Republican women in state legislatures since 1981. The number of female state legislators from both parties rose steadily from 1981 through the Year of the Woman (the blue dotted line).



But with the “Republican Revolution” midterm elections in 1994 (the red dotted line), in which Republicans picked up 472 additional legislative seats and won control of 20 new state legislatures, the two parties began to diverge. Democratic women were able to recover from their party’s broader losses in 1994 and continue to consistently increase their numbers, from 843 in 1995, to 1,267 in 2009. The

number of Republican female state legislators actually declined over the same period, falling from 673 in 1995, to just 516 in 2009, and then back up to 632 in 2013.

This pattern of gains for Democratic women and stagnation or losses for Republican women has held steady for most of the last twenty years despite numerous swings between the two parties in elections nationally. Even now, after Republicans' sweeping victories in 2010, Democratic women outnumber Republican women in state legislatures by a margin of 1,136 to 632, despite Republicans' overall advantage in state legislative seats (3,185 to 2,356).



\*"Other" category includes the entirety of Nebraska's non-partisan legislature.

Today, Democratic state legislators are nearly twice as likely as Republican state legislators to be female (32.5% to 16.6%). Therefore, while it is crucial to increase women's representation in state legislatures overall, it is especially important to increase the number of Republican women in these bodies.

In statewide elected executive positions the parties are balanced: 37 Democratic women and 37 Republican women currently hold such offices. In fact, Republican female governors now outnumber Democratic female governors four to one. Still, a majority of statewide elected executive positions are held by Republicans, meaning that Democrats in these offices are more likely to be female than their Republican counterparts.

### ***State-by-State: The Effects of Partisanship and Electoral Structure***

States vary widely in the percentage of women serving in their legislatures, from 42% in Colorado to 11.8% in Louisiana. As the table below illustrates, most of the legislatures with the lowest levels of women's representation are heavily Republican, while many of those with the highest levels are heavily Democratic. Among the five states with the lowest levels of women's representation and the five states with the highest levels, only Arizona, with the third highest percentage of women legislators in the country – 35.6% – is inconsistent with this trend, as the Republican caucus controls both of its legislative chambers. This is likely due in part to Arizona's use of a form of multi-member districts, an electoral structure that has been shown to have a positive impact on the representation of women, to elect its state representatives<sup>7</sup>.

Rank	State	Total State House Members	Female State House Members	Total State Senators	Female State Senators	Percentage
1	Colorado	65	28	35	14	42.00%
2	Vermont	150	64	30	11	41.67%
3	Arizona	60	19	30	13	35.56%
4	Minnesota	134	45	67	23	33.83%
5	New Hampshire	400	131	24	9	33.02%
6	Illinois	118	42	59	15	32.20%
7	Hawaii	51	16	25	8	31.58%
8	Washington	98	28	49	17	30.61%
9	Maryland	141	46	47	11	30.32%
10	Connecticut	151	46	36	9	29.41%
11	New Jersey	80	24	40	11	29.17%
12	Maine	151	47	35	7	29.03%
13	Oregon	60	18	30	8	28.89%
14	Nevada	42	14	21	4	28.57%
15	Alaska	40	13	20	4	28.33%
16	Montana	100	32	50	10	28.00%
17	New Mexico	70	25	42	6	27.68%
18	Rhode Island	75	22	38	9	27.43%
19	California	80	21	40	11	26.67%
20	Delaware	41	10	21	6	25.81%
21	Idaho	70	22	35	5	25.71%
22	Massachusetts	160	38	40	13	25.50%
23	Florida	120	28	40	12	25.00%
24	Wisconsin	99	24	33	9	25.00%
25	Kansas	125	27	40	12	23.64%
26	Ohio	99	23	33	8	23.48%
27	Iowa	100	25	50	10	23.33%
28	Georgia	180	46	56	8	22.88%
29	South Dakota	70	17	35	6	21.90%
30	Missouri	163	38	34	5	21.83%
31	North Carolina	120	29	50	8	21.76%
32	New York	150	36	63	10	21.60%
33	Texas	150	31	31	7	20.99%
34	Indiana	100	23	50	8	20.67%
35	Nebraska	-	-	49	10	20.41%
36	Michigan	110	24	38	4	18.92%
37	Kentucky	100	18	38	7	18.12%
38	Virginia	100	19	40	6	17.86%
39	Mississippi	122	23	52	8	17.82%
40	Pennsylvania	203	37	50	8	17.79%
41	Arkansas	100	17	35	6	17.04%
42	North Dakota	94	16	47	8	17.02%
43	Tennessee	99	15	33	7	16.67%
44	Wyoming	60	13	30	2	16.67%
45	West Virginia	100	21	34	1	16.42%
46	Utah	75	12	29	5	16.35%

Rank	State	Total State House Seats	Female House Members	Total State Senators	Female State Senators	Percentage
47	Alabama	105	14	35	5	13.57%
48	Oklahoma	101	16	48	4	13.42%
49	South Carolina	124	21	46	1	12.94%
50	Louisiana	105	13	39	4	11.81%

\*Red cells indicate a body controlled by Republicans, blue cells indicate a body controlled by Democrats, purple cells indicate a legislature in which the Democrats and Republicans have an equal number of seats, and yellow cells indicate Nebraska's non-partisan, unicameral legislature.

Other indications of how partisan differences contribute to the slowing pace of advancement in women's representation in state legislatures can be found in the states where it has declined since the middle of the 1990s, when overall progress began to slow. Eight states fit this description, but the decline has been significant (5% or greater) in only four of them. Of these, three (Kansas, Wyoming, and Idaho) are western states with legislatures that have become increasingly dominated by Republicans over the last two decades.

Despite declining significantly, levels of women's representation in Idaho are still well above those in similar states that have become increasingly Republican. This is due in part to Idaho's use of multi-member districts to elect its state representatives. Meanwhile, the repeal of a multi-member district system in Wyoming has likely contributed to its greater decline of women state legislators. Kansas and Wyoming now rank among the worst states in the nation in terms of women's representation.

Like these western states, many southern states have also experienced a sharp rise in the number of Republicans in their state legislature, but without a corresponding significant drop in the representation of women. In most cases, this can be explained by the small numbers of women in these legislatures to begin with. Most Southern states have made modest gains in women's representation but remain near the bottom of the list nationally.

Washington's inclusion on the list of states with the greatest decline in women's representation is mostly due to the high bar it set at the beginning of the examined period: in 1993, 39.5% of Washington's state legislators were women, the highest figure in the country at the time. Despite its decline, Washington still ranks eighth in the country in women's representation in 2013. Like Arizona and Idaho, representation of women in Washington's state legislature is also bolstered by the use of multi-member districts. Nationally, women hold 5.6% more seats on average in state legislative chambers that use some form of multi-member districts, and six of the 11 states with the highest levels of women's representation are multi-member district states.

### **Gender Parity in the States: 1993-2013**

A broader look at the evolution of women's representation in elected office in the states can be made by applying the "Parity Ranking" metric used elsewhere in this report to historical data on women's representation. As explained in detail in the appendix, Parity Rankings are calculated with data on the number of women elected to local, state legislative, statewide, and congressional offices from the states. Each level of office and each house of Congress is worth up to 20 points, for a maximum possible score of 100. A state that has achieved parity will typically have about 70 points. All 50 states fall short.



Calculating Parity Ranking scores using data from 1993, 2003, and 2013 provides insights into the evolution of women’s representation in states. The results of those calculations are presented in the table below. Overall, the scores reflect the evolution of women’s representation in state legislatures and statewide elected executive offices, showing only gradual progress, most of which occurred in the first decade of the examined period. Between 1993 and 2003 the median parity score rose modestly from 14 to 20, but from 2003 to 2013 the median score rose just a single point, to 21.

Eighteen states made double-digit improvements to their parity scores between 1993 and 2013. The greatest improvement came in New Hampshire, where a total absence of women in Congress or the Governor’s office in the years leading up to 1993 led to a score of 18 and a ranking of 17<sup>th</sup>. All four congressional offices and the governorship are held by women as of 2013, pushing New Hampshire’s score up 35 points to a total of 53, second only to the 57 points of Washington State. Both Washington and New Hampshire are among the ten states that use multi-member districts to elect some members of their legislatures.

While many states have made strong advances towards gender parity in government in the last two decades, this progress has been offset by declines elsewhere. Between 1993 and 2013, gender parity scores declined in 13 of the 50 states. Since 2003, parity scores have declined in 18 states. One of the worst performers since 1993 has been Kansas. In 1993, Kansas had a female governor, U.S. Senator and U.S. House Representative, and its Parity Score was 53, the highest in the nation. By 2013 Kansas’ score had declined to 30. Though this figure is still good enough for 13<sup>th</sup> place in the 2013 parity rankings, it represents the largest decline in women’s representation in any state over the last 20 years.

State	1993		2003		2013	
	Ranking	Points	Ranking	Points	Ranking	Points
Alabama	49	3	49	5	34	17
Alaska	29	11	41	10	13	30
Arizona	10	26	8	33	5	44
Arkansas	18	16	30	16	42	11
California	7	33	1	57	3	49
Colorado	11	25	11	31	19	27
Connecticut	3	38	6	33	11	32
Delaware	42	8	14	28	27	20
Florida	16	20	26	20	28	20
Georgia	27	13	33	15	29	20
Hawaii	8	33	7	33	4	47
Idaho	21	15	38	11	40	13
Illinois	14	21	21	23	25	21
Indiana	22	15	31	16	35	17
Iowa	43	8	43	10	47	9
Kansas	1	53	15	26	14	30
Kentucky	39	9	36	14	43	11
Louisiana	50	3	28	19	30	20
Maine	6	35	3	40	7	34
Maryland	4	36	12	29	8	34
Massachusetts	30	11	35	14	21	25
Michigan	31	11	4	39	16	29
Minnesota	25	14	23	21	9	34
Mississippi	46	5	48	6	49	7

State	Ranking, 1993	Points, 1993	Ranking, 2003	Points, 2003	Ranking, 2013	Points, 2013
Missouri	32	11	22	22	17	28
Montana	35	10	19	24	46	10
Nebraska	19	16	44	9	38	14
Nevada	9	31	10	31	22	24
New Hampshire	17	18	20	24	2	53
New Jersey	40	9	25	20	37	16
New Mexico	36	10	9	31	10	33
New York	23	15	13	28	12	32
North Carolina	28	13	24	21	6	37
North Dakota	41	9	46	7	41	13
Ohio	24	15	29	16	36	17
Oklahoma	47	5	47	6	32	19
Oregon	5	36	18	24	20	27
Pennsylvania	44	8	42	10	48	9
Rhode Island	20	16	39	11	44	11
South Carolina	48	5	50	4	39	14
South Dakota	37	10	45	8	18	28
Tennessee	38	10	34	14	23	24
Texas	15	21	16	26	24	24
Utah	13	23	40	10	45	11
Vermont	12	24	32	15	31	20
Virginia	33	11	37	13	50	7
Washington	2	44	2	45	1	59
West Virginia	45	8	17	25	33	18
Wisconsin	26	14	27	20	26	21
Wyoming	34	11	5	34	15	30

## Conclusion

Progress in women’s representation has been slower than many hoped during the Year of the Woman, as the pace of change has slowed considerably in the following decades relative to the steady progress made leading up to that year. Although Democratic elected officials remain short of gender parity, especially in executive offices, this stagnation can be explained by the declining share of female officeholders in the Republican Party coupled with the recent increase in the proportion of state legislative seats that are held by Republicans.

There are several reforms that can address this stagnation in women’s representation in state legislatures. For one, states should elect their legislatures from multi-seat districts with proportional voting systems, the use of which has been shown to increase women’s representation both in the U.S. and abroad. Fair representation voting would likely result in parties and associated interest groups recruiting more women to run, in order to put forward more balanced tickets. States should also adopt practices that make it easier for both men and women to balance family and service in office. Finally, political parties and other organizations should adopt initiatives to increase the recruitment of women, ideally grounded in party rules that systematically result in more female candidates. Such rules would be particularly helpful in the Republican Party, which continues to fall on the wrong side of an ever-widening women’s representation gap between the major parties at both the state and federal level.

## Rejecting Gender Stereotypes

While women have made great strides in entering public life in the last several decades, progress has been hard-fought and set against the backdrop of patriarchal social and cultural norms. Today, women are still underrepresented in all public offices, and they face mounting barriers as they seek to assert their authority, partly because the ascent of women into political leadership conflicts with traditional gender roles. For example, gender stereotypes that suggest women are passive and nurturing are at odds with perceptions of executive leaders being strong and assertive.

Meanwhile, the role of gender stereotypes in electoral politics is a topic mired in controversy. Scholars and activists disagree about how gender stereotyping affects women candidates. One school of thought maintains that gender stereotypes held by the electorate and perpetuated by the media are insignificant to the success of female candidacies.<sup>8</sup> Another finds these attitudes and their reflection in the media to be detrimental to the chances of women winning their elections, as gender stereotyping may bias the electorate against women candidates and undermine their perceived professionalism.<sup>9</sup>

Those who believe the electorate is not biased against women tend to stress the importance of changing women's perceptions about the electoral environment and encouraging them to run, while those who believe the electorate remains biased against women hope to change the environment itself. We support efforts to increase women's confidence in running, while also actively combating stereotypes that may influence voters' perceptions of women candidates.

### *Gender Bias in the Electorate*

In 1937, Gallup completed its first poll of the American public that asked whether it would support a female candidate for president. Its question read, "Would you vote for a woman for president if she were qualified in every other respect." Seventeen years after passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, only 33% of the population said it was ready to vote for a female commander-in-chief. As the years passed, Gallup periodically reexamined this question. It began asking the public, "If your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?" The number rose fairly consistently. By 2005, 93% of the population expressed a willingness to vote for a female presidential candidate.<sup>10</sup> Although no major party has yet nominated a woman for president, the fact that Hillary Clinton garnered almost 18 million votes in the 2008 Democratic primaries and the fact that both major parties have put women on their presidential tickets (Geraldine Ferraro in 1984 and Sarah Palin in 2008) show that many Americans are indeed ready for a woman Commander-in-Chief.

However, whether an actual 93% of Americans are ready for a woman president remains uncertain. Researchers hypothesized a hidden bias against female presidential candidacies in a study titled, "Social Desirability Effects and Support for a Female American President."<sup>11</sup> According to the premise of this study, respondents are less likely to answer questions truthfully if they were on controversial topics, such as race and gender, for fear of seeming racist or sexist, even if the survey was anonymous.

In order to weed out false responses, researchers conducted a list experiment, which uses a control group to test for the isolated effect of a candidate's sex on participants' preferences. While most

nationwide polls found approximately 5-15% of respondents would not vote for a female candidate, this study suggested that the number is much higher. Approximately 26% of respondents felt a negative emotional response to the idea of a female president, implying that 10-20% of respondents in traditional polling gave false answers about their willingness to support a female presidential candidate. While many studies have identified a specific demographic of the population that will not vote for a female president, this study was unique in the fact that its findings were consistent across demographics.<sup>12</sup>

This trend holds true for congressional offices as well. A study titled “When Sex Matters,” analyzed data from a recent general election and identified a gender bias in voting that favors male candidacies. This study defines “valence” as non-policy characteristics that voters are naturally drawn to in their elected officials, such as competence, integrity, collaboration, etc. On average, women candidates hold a higher level of valence than male candidates, but men are just as likely to win elected office, which points to an imbalance: when women hold equal or less valence than their male opponents, they are penalized. When the valence levels of male and female candidates are equal, women candidates suffer a 3% vote disadvantage.<sup>13</sup> Much of this imbalance can be attributed to male independent voters, who often swing elections. These voters are significantly less likely (24.7%) to endorse a female candidate if she does not have a valence advantage.<sup>14</sup> Independent female voters do not discriminate in the same way.

### *Gender Stereotypes and Partisanship*

Making up a mere 4% of Congress and 8% of state legislatures, Republican women are particularly underrepresented in government across the country.<sup>15</sup> While several variables have contributed to this dynamic, gender stereotypes may have exacerbated the disparity. Women are often perceived as more liberal than men, a perception that may stem in part from the gender voting gap (in 2012, women voted for Obama by 18% more than men) and in part from the fact that female politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, are more likely than their male colleagues to focus on so-called “women’s issues” like healthcare, education, and welfare policy, which are often seen as liberal causes.<sup>16, 17, 18</sup> The belief that women are more liberal can be especially harmful to Republican women, who can suffer at the polls from the perception that they are not conservative enough, regardless of their campaign platforms. This has had a particularly stark effect on Republican women in primary elections for open Congressional seats, who tend to be less electorally successful than Democratic women in such elections.<sup>19</sup>

### *Women’s Perceptions of Gender Bias: A Self-fulfilling Prophecy*

Mounting evidence suggests that the perception of gender bias in electoral politics remains a barrier to achieving gender parity in elected office. Research has shown an inverse correlation between political ambition among women and the perception of an electoral environment that is highly competitive and biased against female candidates. Scholars have argued that women are less likely to seek and therefore achieve elected office because they believe voters are sexist, regardless of whether this is actually true or significant enough to affect the results of a race.

The high profile presidential and vice-presidential campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin exposed many to the gendered realities women face on the campaign trail. Both women were often characterized by their relation to their families and the media sometimes focused on the “historic” quality of their campaigns rather than their policy views. In a study conducted in 2011, two-thirds of potential female candidates (identified by their level of professional experience and involvement within

their respective communities) believed that Clinton and Palin were subjected to sexist media coverage. Furthermore, these women felt that Clinton and Palin faced gender bias from voters at the polls.<sup>20</sup> If potential women candidates believe that they will face a severe disadvantage on account of their gender, it is little surprise that they are less likely than men to seriously consider running for office. (This topic is also addressed in *Political Ambition: Training, Recruiting and Funding Women Candidacies*.)

### **Gender Stereotypes on the Campaign Trail**

The potential women candidates who perceived media and voter sexism towards Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton may have simply noticed a very real bias against these women candidates. Coverage of women candidates on the campaign trail centers disproportionately on their appearance and personalities compared to coverage of men. One study found that the election coverage was almost twice as likely to focus on candidates' character traits in races with at least one female candidate as it was in races with only male candidates.<sup>21</sup> While many individuals and organizations work to combat sexism in the media, female politicians themselves are wary of speaking out for fear of seeming "whiny" or playing the gender card, even though studies have shown that when women do speak out about the sexism they have faced, they actually experience an approval bump.<sup>22</sup>

Gender bias may be especially detrimental to women achieving gender parity in executive offices like governor and mayor of big cities, positions often associated with strong leadership, strategic thinking, and readiness to be "tough on crime." Gender expectations often force women candidates to navigate the fine line between traditional masculinity and femininity. A woman's campaign is often helped if she makes explicit references to stereotypical male-associated leadership qualities and is harmed if she emphasizes her "feminine qualities" of compassion and warmth. Conversely, a man can be seen as a strong candidate whether he chooses to emphasize stereotypically male or female qualities, since he is already considered to possess male-associated leadership qualities by default because of his gender.<sup>23</sup>

### **Current Efforts to Combat Sexism**

In order to move forward, we must actively work to decrease the number of stereotypical representations of women in the media, especially of female politicians. We must foster a political environment that allows all qualified candidates of all genders to feel that they can succeed, and that can allow voters to evaluate them on their merits rather than their gender. Fortunately, several organizations are taking on this challenge.

One campaign that is looking to change the way media reports on female politicians and has received a lot of coverage is Women Media Center's "Name It. Change It." campaign. Launched in 2010, Name It. Change It. has dedicated itself to identifying and calling out sexist coverage in the media and providing the media with guidelines on how to make their political coverage more gender-neutral. Key to the campaign's approach is the reversibility test:



*"Don't mention her young children unless you would also mention his, or describe her clothes unless you would describe his, or say she's shrill or attractive unless the same adjectives would be applied to a man."*

*Don't say she's had facial surgery unless you say he dyes his hair or has hair plugs. Don't say she's just out of graduate school but he's a rising star. Don't say she has no professional training but he worked his way up. Don't ask her if she's running as a women's candidate unless you ask him if he's running as a men's candidate."*

It is important for the media to understand the effects their coverage can have on female candidates. In the same study mentioned above, potential female candidates were 50% more likely to mention dealing with members of the press as a deterrent to running for office than their male counterparts.<sup>24</sup> The sentiment is understandable, especially when considering how the press has treated women and their campaigns in the past. For example, in the only debate between Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) and her Republican challenger Wendy Long in 2012, the women were asked whether or not they had read the popular erotic novel *50 Shades of Grey*.<sup>25</sup> It is hard to imagine an instance where a debate between men would have included such an off-color and irrelevant question amidst discussions of the economy and social issues.

Sexist media coverage also hurts women's campaigns once they decide to run for elected office. The tendency of the media to cover women with more focus on personality than policy makes it harder for female politicians to get their ideas out and to run effective campaigns. In interviews, women are often asked questions focusing on their family or appearance. Sarah Palin was famously asked (repeatedly) whether she would be able to take on the vice presidency with young children, something that is frequently asked of women but almost never of men. Barbara Buono, the Democratic nominee in New Jersey's gubernatorial race this year, was asked at the beginning of an appearance whether the host could refer to her as attractive. In comparison, men are much more likely to be asked questions about policies and their issues on positions and therefore more able to portray those strengths to voters.



Another campaign that has been instrumental in outlining the stereotypes faced by women in power is Jennifer Siebel Newsom's documentary "Miss Representation." The documentary portrays the way the media consistently undermines women in politics in both the type and amount of coverage dedicated to them. By shedding light on the additional scrutiny that women in leadership positions face, Miss Representation questions the media's focus on issues that are irrelevant to the campaign, such as women's fashion choices and family, in a way that simply doesn't occur with their male counterparts.

The effort has been expanded to include MissRepresentation.org, a social action group associated with the documentary and based in California, which seeks to raise widespread awareness of these harmful stereotypes. The film and a corresponding curriculum have been made available to public school systems and for purchase. By introducing the concept of sexist media coverage in schools, students can be made conscious of the issues associated with gender stereotyping from a young age and be given the tools to correct it.

Campaigns like Name It. Change It. and Miss Representation are essential in bringing to light the oft-ignored instances of gendered media coverage. By being plain and bold about their accusations while offering remedies and suggesting new standards, these types of efforts will eventually lead to a media environment more receptive to female candidates and politicians and that covers them in a manner focused more on their profession than their gender.

## *Overview to Parity Perspectives on Women Candidacies*

# Closing the Political Ambition Gap and Recruiting Women Candidates: Prospects for Change

Central to any conversation about increasing the percentage of women officeholders is the gender gap in political ambition and how political actors can negate this gap by implementing systematic methods of increasing the recruitment and support of women candidates.

A study by Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox quantified the gender gap in political ambition, or the gender gap in willingness to run for elected office. In their “Citizen Political Ambition Panel Study,” which they performed in both 2001 and 2011, with a national sample of 1,969 men and 1,796 women in occupations that most commonly lead to candidacy – business, law, education, and political activism – Lawless and Fox found that women are less likely than men to think they are qualified to run for office, to consider running, or to seek higher-level state and national positions if they do decide to run.<sup>26</sup>

While early research hypothesized that gender equality in the pool of eligible candidates (those with requisite professional experience) would lead to gender parity in elected office, Lawless and Fox’s 2001 and 2011 studies explain why this has not happened. According to their research, which controlled for eligibility, prospective women candidates were 16 percentage points less likely than their male counterparts to even consider running (59%-43% in 2001 and 62%-46% in 2011).

Also disconcerting is the fact that while the gender gap between men and women who have at one point considered running for office has remained steady over the last decade, the gender gap among those who are still interested in running for office in the future has grown from five percentage points to eight (23% of men and 18% of women in 2001 to 22% of men and 14% of women in 2011). While men are still just as likely to want to run for office in the future, women are now less likely than they were a decade ago to do so.

Luckily, there is a way to combat this gender gap in political ambition: increasing the recruitment of women candidates by political actors (elected officials, political organizations, and political parties). These actors already play a crucial role in the recruitment of qualified, politically-viable candidates. If they were to focus their efforts on recruiting a larger number of politically-viable women candidates, there could be a dramatic increase in the number of women candidacies, and therefore the number of women serving in elected office.

Currently, however, there is not just a gender gap in political ambition, but also a gender gap in political recruitment. In Fox and Lawless’ study, women were 10 percentage points less likely than men to be encouraged to run for office by a political actor (39%-49%). But when encouraged, both men and women responded favorably. Lawless and Fox found that 67% of their participants who had considered running for office had been encouraged to run by a political actor, while 33% of respondents considered running for office with no such encouragement.<sup>27</sup>

Even though encouragement increases the chances that both men and women will run for office, it has been shown to be more central to a woman’s decision to run than to a man’s. The Center for American Women in Politics (CAWP) has found that while men are more likely than women to be encouraged to



seek elected office, men are also more likely to run for office without such encouragement.<sup>28</sup> In a 2008 survey of 1,268 state legislators, 43% of male respondents stated that it was entirely their own idea to run for office, whereas only 26% of female respondents said the same. On the other hand, 53% of women admitted that they had not considered running before someone else suggested it. Just 28% of male respondents had not already considered running. For this reason, it is particularly important that women are recruited, as they are half as likely as men to seek elected office without encouragement.

There are currently many efforts underway to increase the recruitment and support of women candidates, and without these efforts, the number of women officeholders today would be even lower. Women's organizations and women's PACs like EMILY's List, the National Women's Political Caucus, and Susan B. Anthony's List, have continued to recruit, train, and fund women candidates with great success. Political icons like Sarah Palin have utilized their celebrity to support women candidates in primary elections. And most recently, the National Republican Congressional Committee launched a new effort called Project GROW to increase the recruitment of Republican women candidates.

These efforts are crucial to increasing the number of women in elected office, but there is more that can be done:

1. Organizations should continue to train, recruit, and fund women candidates, especially for open seat elections.
2. Officeholders and political activists should encourage and support female candidacies, especially for higher-level offices.
3. Political parties should institutionalize policies that foster increased recruitment of women for their party primaries.



## Recruiting, Training and Funding: How Political and Women's Organizations Help Women Candidates

In the last decade, political groups and political action committees (PACs) focused on electing women have become major players in American electoral politics. Their missions and core constituencies may vary, with some organizations focusing on women candidates that support a particular issue, belong to a particular political party, or come from a particular region, but collectively these organizations do the same general work: they recruit, train, and/or fund female candidates. Their work is essential to leveling the playing field for women candidates.

### *The Role of Political and Women's Groups in Recruiting Women Candidates*

While the most common sources of encouragement to run for office for both men and women are officeholders and political party officials, political and women's organizations also play an important role in increasing gender parity in elected office. For one, women legislators, more so than male legislators, report that political and women's organizations play a large role in their decisions to run. In 2008, a survey of state representatives found that 12% of female state representatives reported an organization playing a significant role in their decision to run for office for the first time, compared to only 8% of men.<sup>29</sup>



Two factors could contribute to this disparate result. The first is that men are more likely than women to claim internal motivation for running for office, as opposed to external encouragement.<sup>30</sup> The second factor is that organizations may be more likely to recruit female candidates than male candidates. This follows directly from the fact that female state representatives are 20% more likely to belong to an organization or association than male state representatives.

Studies show that certain types of organizations are more likely to recruit women. According to a study on candidate emergence by Brian Fredericks and Barbara Burrell,<sup>31</sup> women are more likely to receive encouragement from interest groups than men. Unsurprisingly, of the state representatives who noted organizational encouragement as an important factor in their decision to run for office, 29% of women compared to 4% of men reported encouragement from a women's group. Likewise, 22% of female respondents in the Citizen Political Ambition Panel Study reported being contacted by a women's group with the mission of advancing women candidacies.<sup>32</sup>

### *Training Programs Give Women the Confidence They Need to Succeed in Politics*

Although office-holders and parties tend to be the most effective at recruiting women to run for office, women's organizations provide unique opportunities for potential female candidates through their programming. According to the Sue Shear Institute, which conducted a study on CAWP's NEW Leadership program, "the most effective role that organizations seeking to involve more women in running for elected office can play is in providing mentoring, training services, advice and models for young women to follow."<sup>33</sup> Researchers concluded that these resources stimulate political interest and efficacy, which are precursors to political ambition.

Enhanced political efficacy is particularly important for potential female candidates because women are less likely than men to think they are qualified to run for office, leading to a lack of political ambition. Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox describe self-perception at the “biggest barrier keeping women from emerging as candidates.” Their study found that men are 60% more likely than women to consider themselves “very qualified” to run for office, while women are twice as likely to describe themselves as “not at all qualified.”<sup>34</sup>



The Sue Shear Institute study illuminates organizational programming as a potential bridge between an efficacy deficit and political ambition. The research examined the NEW Leadership program, which seeks to advance young women into the political pipeline through an annual six-day residential training. Its program teaches college women the value of civic engagement and provides opportunities to network with current and future women leaders. The study found that after participating in NEW Leadership, college women reported positive changes in both political efficacy and political ambition.

Unfortunately, not all women’s leadership organizations have been having as good a year as NEW Leadership. Citing fundraising issues, The White House Project, a prominent voice for women’s leadership, closed its doors this January. The organization was founded in 1998, and aimed to advance women’s leadership in all sectors and communities – up to The White House. Primarily focused on leadership and campaign training for women, the White House Project trained thousands of women to run for office through its Vote Run Lead initiative. On the cultural front, the program worked to enhance the portrayal of female leadership in the media. While The White House Project’s closing was a significant blow to the women’s leadership movement, other organizations are working to fill the vacuum, including those focused on funding women candidates.

### ***Funding: How Women’s PACs Level the Playing Field***

There is longstanding debate as to whether women have a more difficult time raising campaign funds than men. Those who believe women face a larger hurdle point to the fact that women tend to have fewer personal resources than men, and their personal and professional networks include fewer people likely to give to a campaign.<sup>35</sup> Those who believe women and men are on equal footing when it comes to fundraising point to studies like that of Barbara Burrell, who found that women from the major parties have had campaign receipts on par with their male counterparts when controlling for incumbency. Further, she found that male and female candidates were able to garner the same amount of money from PACs.

However, there is little doubt that women’s PACs have been a great boon to many women candidates. Examples of national PACs that have helped hundreds of women mount successful campaigns include the Women’s Campaign Fund (founded in 1974 with a mission to achieve gender parity in elected office by increasing the number of pro-choice women of all parties serving), EMILY’s List (founded in 1985 with a mission to increase the representation of pro-choice Democratic women in elected office), Susan B. Anthony’s List (founded in 1993 with a mission to train pro-life activists and to fund and support pro-life women candidates), and SHE-PAC (founded in 2012 with a mission to recruit and fund conservative

women candidates). There are also numerous examples of state PACs, the great majority of which are progressive rather than conservative.<sup>36</sup>

Particularly helpful is the emphasis these PACs place on early financial support, which is key to running a viable campaign. However, most women's donor networks provide funds exclusively to Democratic candidates. The challenge of raising early funds is more difficult for Republican women. This disparity in donor networks may contribute to the disproportionate number of Democratic to Republican women in Congress.<sup>37</sup>

While women's PACs first emerged in the late 1980's and early 1990's, their growth really took off after 1992, with the momentum created by the election of five women to the U.S. Senate. Another surge of women's PACs occurred after Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign and Sarah Palin's vice presidential campaign in 2008, which brought an increase in PACs supporting conservative women.

In 2012, CAWP reported that there are 58 women's PACs and donor networks.<sup>38</sup> Of these organizations, 17 are national and 41 are state and locally based.<sup>39</sup> Several states have more than one such organization. California, for example, has 9 women's PACs and donor networks.<sup>40</sup> The growth of these groups is particularly important because women as a group are disadvantaged by incumbency. Incumbents have an intrinsic advantage over challengers due to factors like greater name-recognition, better fundraising, and constituent services. As most incumbents are male, women as a group start out with a competitive disadvantage.

Another factor that makes these PACs so important is perception. Women believe they have a more difficult time raising campaign funds. A majority of female state representatives (56%) compared to a minority of male state representatives (9%) believe that it is harder for women to raise campaign funds.<sup>41</sup> Female state legislators identify the three primary reasons for why it is more difficult for women to raise money as follows: 1) women have different networks than men; 2) women feel less comfortable asking for money; and 3) women raise money from smaller donations.<sup>42</sup> Women of color are more likely than white women to cite different networks as the main reason women have more difficulty raising funds.<sup>43</sup> Women's groups and PACs play a huge role in changing these perceptions. For some women, the prospect of early support is instrumental in their decision to run.<sup>44</sup>

While organizations are doing excellent work training, recruiting, and funding women candidacies, they can only do so much. Other major players in electoral politics must also step forward to lead the movement for gender parity in elected office.

## *Parity Perspective*

# Major Political Actors Must Support More Women Seeking High-Level Office, Especially in Primaries

Political heavyweights make a big splash when they endorse their favorite candidates. High-profile endorsements have been known to lead to increased publicity, funding, and an influx of campaign talent, which are all crucial to winning any competitive political campaign.

Endorsements in primaries can be particularly important. In 2008, for example, Senator Ted Kennedy's endorsement of Barack Obama was a pivotal event for the future president, who was still trailing Hillary Clinton in Super Tuesday states. Indeed, the seal of approval from a well-known figure can make all the difference for a political hopeful, especially in a primary election.<sup>45</sup> For women, perhaps the best example of a big-name endorser is former Alaska Governor and Republican vice presidential nominee Sarah Palin, who has endorsed a slew of women candidates in Republican primaries, many of whom went on to win their general elections.

The importance of endorsing women candidates in contested primaries for winnable races has grown as the number of women running for and winning elected office has stagnated. This type of encouragement is especially important for high-profile office, which women are less likely to aspire to than men. In their 2011 Citizen Political Ambition Study, Richard Fox and Jennifer Lawless found that men were twice as likely to consider running for the offices of Governor, Senator, and President, and over 50% more likely to consider running for Mayor. The only two offices that women were more likely to consider were School Board Member and District Attorney.<sup>46</sup>

With this difference in political ambition, it is little wonder that only five of our states' 50 governors are women, that only 20 of our 100 Senators are women, and that only 12 of our nation's 100 most populous cities have women mayors.

While many considerations go into a public figure's decision to back a candidate (party identification, personal political ambition, etc.), we believe that, with all else equal, those who have the ability to make a difference should use their influence to further female candidacies. Therefore, we commend the efforts of Bill and Hillary Clinton, who recently endorsed Kentucky senatorial candidate Alison Lundergan Grimes; Cory Booker, who recently endorsed New Jersey gubernatorial candidate Barbara Buono; and Sarah Palin to encourage and support women candidates for high-level elected office, and hope that more iconic politicians will follow in their footsteps in the coming years.

## ***Spotlight: Sarah Palin Boosts Several Women for Governor and Senator***

Although aggressive recruitment and promotion of women candidates is often associated with Democratic groups like EMILY's List, Republican Sarah Palin, both personally and through her recently founded SarahPAC, has also done considerable work in supporting women candidates in nominating contests. The former Alaska Governor and vice-presidential nominee put her political celebrity to work in the 2010 midterm elections by endorsing 61 candidates for House, Senate, and Governor, 24 of whom

were women.<sup>47</sup> One of Palin’s crowning achievements during this time was the success of her “Mama Grizzly” conservative female gubernatorial candidates during the 2010 election.

In 2010, Palin backed three future women Governors in hotly contested primary races: Nikki Haley of South Carolina, Susana Martinez of New Mexico, and Mary Fallin of Oklahoma. Not only did these “Mama Grizzlies” win their primary and general election races, but they also made history as the first female governors of their states. Palin also endorsed incumbent Arizona governor Jan Brewer when it appeared that she would face a strong primary challenge and two successful women candidates for U.S. Senate in their closely-fought elections: Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire in 2010, and Deb Fischer of Nebraska in 2012.

Of all of her 2010 endorsements, Palin’s backing of Nikki Haley was particularly instructive for the impact an endorsement can have in a nomination contest.<sup>48</sup> Initially considered the underdog in a race against three well-known male candidates in the Republican primary, Nikki Haley was able to align herself with the Tea Party movement and Sarah Palin, ultimately garnering 48.9% of the vote in a four-way race.

Although Haley had been gaining momentum prior to Palin’s endorsement, Palin’s decision to include Haley among “Palin’s Picks” certainly aided the aspiring governor in her race. Palin staged a rally with Haley on the stairs of the State Capitol, which drew a big crowd and large headlines.<sup>49</sup> In front of an audience of more than 1000 people, Palin said she found a kindred spirit in Haley, and therefore urged



Nikki Haley and Sarah Palin

voters to support her for governor. Calling Haley a “Mama Grizzly,” Palin said they had shared concerns and needed to clean up “good ol’ boy” government.<sup>50</sup> The former first lady of South Carolina, Jenny Sanford, also joined Palin at the rally to throw her weight behind Haley. The results were staggering. Three days after the rally, polls showed that Haley had jumped 11 points in to first place, ahead of her three competitors.

Because Haley did not win the majority of votes, she had to compete in a runoff election against Representative Gresham Barrett, who only received 22% of the vote. She won the runoff with 65% of the vote and went on to win the general election with a 51-47% margin.<sup>51</sup> South Carolina, a state in which women hold only 12.9% of state legislative seats, now has its first woman Governor.

## *Parity Perspective*

### **The Power of Political Parties to Increase the Recruitment of Women Candidates with New Party Rules**

While women's groups, PACs, and political figures all play important roles in recruiting qualified women to run for office, there is another very important type of political actor whose powers have largely been untapped in meeting the goal of increasing the number of women running for and winning elected office: political parties. Both major parties already have rigid requirements for choosing women to hold positions of leadership within the party. Now it is time for them to be more pro-active in ensuring they have viable women candidates in position to win office at all levels of government.

In many parts of the country, political parties are instrumental in the recruitment and funding of both men and women candidates. One study by the Center for American Women in Politics (CAWP) found that not only are women state legislators twice as likely as men state legislators to have never considered running for office before being encouraged, but that the primary sources of encouragement for those women were party officials or legislative leaders.<sup>52</sup> Because most legislative elections are effectively decided by who wins the nominating contest of a district's majority party, parties have the potential to play an even more influential role if they strategically recruit women to run for winnable seats.

There is currently great room for improvement in this area. The CAWP study of party recruitment of candidates showed that male legislators were 16% more likely than women legislators to have been encouraged to run by a member of their political party. Because women are much more likely than men to require encouragement in order to consider running, this gap in recruitment by parties is troubling.

Additionally, the study found that women state representatives were about 28% more likely to be discouraged from running for office than men state representatives. Since men and women were equally likely to be discouraged by a party official if they were discouraged at all, party officials must have been disproportionately discouraging women from running.

In order to increase the number of women running for elected office, political parties need to consciously recruit and support more women candidates. Both major parties have already embraced gender parity in the selection of internal leaders – for instance, every state and territory picks one man and one woman to serve in the Republican National Committee. But when it comes to selecting candidates for public office, American political parties have not taken the steps that many political parties abroad have to increase gender parity.

One method that parties could use is implementing internal rules and procedures that would encourage and incentivize the increase in recruitment and support of female candidates. Parties at the local, state, or national level would choose to adopt these rules, would incentivize and enforce them themselves, and by doing so, would prove to their female constituents that they take seriously the need to increase women's representation in American government.

There are many types of gender-conscious electoral laws and party rules that can help to increase women's representation. Several of the most aggressive measures, such as reserving a number of

legislative seats for women or mandating through legislation that political parties run a certain number of women each election, could be vulnerable to a constitutional challenge in the United States - especially when primaries are used to select nominees rather than conventions. But other measures, on a voluntary party basis, would prove both legal and effective.

Political parties have a myriad of options that can help to increase women's representation. We have divided them into two categories: soft rules, meant to increase awareness of women's underrepresentation in government among party leadership and members and allow for brainstorming on ways to recruit and train more female candidates; and hard rules, which will work as benchmarks of success directly tied to the number of women in the party running for and winning political office.

### ***Rules to Raise Awareness of the Underrepresentation of Women in Government***

*Dialogue:* The simplest of the reform proposals is for state political parties to commit to organize meetings between party leadership and statewide organizations that train and recruit women to run for elected office at least twice a year, and preferably more in the year leading up to a major election. This will allow for greater cooperation between the party establishment and the groups working on the ground to increase the number of women running for elected office. It will also allow for recruitment and training groups to alert party leadership to any promising women that they have come across during their programs.

*Gender Parity Task Forces:* In conjunction with their meetings with statewide organizations that train and recruit women candidates, state parties could establish Gender Parity Task Forces to develop and execute plans for the party to recruit and train women candidates. These task forces may do their own recruiting or training, or contract with existing groups already providing this service, including those with whom they have their bi-annual dialogues.

*Internal Reflection:* Statewide party leadership would prepare a report prior to each new election cycle on the state of gender parity in the party's own leadership, in its elected representatives, and in political appointments made by those elected representatives; the number of its women candidates, nominees, and general election winners in the most recent election; and its plans to recruit women for upcoming elections. If the numbers are lower than was projected before the previous election cycle, the party should propose new ways to increase the number of women it runs for political office.

### ***Rules to Incentivize the Increased Recruitment of Women***

The fastest way for political parties to increase women's representation is to adopt measures that would incentivize the recruitment of more women candidates. State and local parties would set goals, based on the current state of women's representation in their area, of how many women they would hope to recruit each election cycle, and national political parties would award "Gender Parity Grants," financed by donations from party members who care about increasing the number of women in elected office, to the state and local parties that met their goals.

This reform is inspired by the use of party gender quotas abroad. Currently, about 110 countries use some form of gender quota, be they constitutional, legislated, or voluntarily implemented by political parties.<sup>53</sup> More specifically, over 100 political parties in 50 countries have instituted party gender quotas, which set goals for how many women the party should aim to nominate. Although the successes



of these party quotas have varied by country, and can vary by how strictly the party enforces them, in some countries, such as those in Northern and Central Europe, they have been wildly successful.<sup>54</sup>

A significant roadblock to implementing this particular type of party gender quota in the United States is the use of popular primaries. In most jurisdictions in the United States, the Democratic and Republican parties hold popular primaries in which voters themselves determine their party's nominees. This means that political parties in America have much less control over who will represent their party in the general election than political parties do in countries in which party officials select who will be on the general ballot. Therefore, without a change in nominating procedures, American political parties will be unable to establish strict goals for how many women will be nominated by the party. However, this does not mean that they won't be able to encourage more women to run in their primaries.

Under the system we propose, local and state parties would set goals for how many women they would recruit to run in their primary elections, and especially in primary elections for positions in which a nominee from the party would have a good chance of winning. That way, women who are recruited and win their parties' nominations will also be likely to enter office.

State parties should also adjust their expectations of how many women they hope to recruit based on the current number of women from the party who are in office. For example, in states with low levels of women's representation, state parties could set goals to recruit women to run in half of their primaries for state legislative seats, and in at least 35% of winnable seats. A state party with a higher level of women from their party running and winning each election could up that percentage.

One benefit of this system is that unlike strict gender quotas, it does not preclude any qualified men from running in a particular district if they are so inclined: as long as they are able to defeat the recruited woman candidate, they will be on their way to political office. Additionally, national and local parties will be able to negotiate expectations for how many women will be recruited to run, and especially how many will be recruited to run in winnable districts based on the current electoral realities the local parties are facing. Therefore, the Democratic Party in a Republican-leaning state like South Carolina will not be held to the same standard as the Democratic Party in a Democratic-leaning state like Massachusetts. Instead, as long as the South Carolina Democratic Party recruited the agreed-upon number of women to run for winnable seats, the National Democratic Party would award them the "Gender Parity Grant," thereby rewarding them for their effort to increase the representation of women in their state government.

### *Profile of a Party's Effort: "Growing Republican Opportunities for Women"*

The National Republican Congressional Committee has recently established Project GROW (Growing Republican Opportunities for Women),<sup>55</sup> a new effort to increase the recruitment of Republican women candidates. Project GROW is inspired by two factors: the current partisan gender gap in voting – in 2012, women, who made up 53% of the electorate, voted for Democratic President Barack Obama at a rate of 55% - and the current dearth of Republican women serving in office.



Republicans hope that by adding more female faces to their party, they will be able to attract more women voters. Missouri Representative Ann Wagner, one of just three Republican freshmen Members of Congress



in 2012 (compared to 17 Democratic women), explained, “We have a message I think that reaches women and we need to make sure that we’re actively and aggressively telling that story. And there’s no better way to do it than being a woman who talks about it.”<sup>56</sup>

Since its June 2013 launch, Project GROW has already recruited four women to challenge male Democratic incumbents. “They are the women that we want to be a part of our team. So we’re actively going and talking to them about why it’s important for them to step up and run for Congress,”<sup>57</sup> said Wagner of the women she and other Republican Congresswoman are encouraging to run.

We wish these Republican congresswomen luck in their efforts to recruit more Republican women to run for Congress, and hope that statewide parties, both Democratic and Republican, soon implement similar efforts to increase the number of women running for and winning state legislative seats.

### **Conclusion**

In order to address the gender gap in political ambition, we must do everything we can to ensure that more qualified women decide to run for office. Otherwise, we will continue to suffer from a dearth of women’s voices in lawmaking and leadership, to the detriment of women and our nation as a whole. Although there are already many effective organizations and individuals who are working to increase women’s representation in elected office, there is much more to be done. We need to continue to support women’s training programs and PACs, and encourage the formation of programs for Republican women, who are especially underrepresented in elected office. We must also encourage prominent political figures to recruit and support qualified women candidates.

But is time for the political parties to step up and embrace the goal of electing more women. They should institutionalize rules and reforms to increase the recruitment and support of women candidates. International comparisons suggest that no other single change, absent government-imposed quotas, has greater potential to increase representation of women rapidly as much as gender-conscious party rules.

## Fair Elections: Single-Member Districts Hold Women Back

Although it is widely discussed in reviews of the representation of women in other nations, far too little attention is devoted to the role of single-member districts in limiting representation of women in the United States. Currently, the U.S. House of Representatives and the great majority of state legislatures use single-member districts, a type of winner-take-all electoral system. In single-member district systems, candidates run to become the only legislator representing a district, and whichever candidate receives the most votes in the district wins the election.

Single-member districts are not established in the United States Constitution. Until Congress in 1842 mandated use of single-member districts for U.S House elections, close to a third of all House Members to that date had been elected in multi-member districts – meaning districts with more than one representative. More than half of state legislators were once elected from multi-member districts, and many state legislators still are today.

Single-member district elections can have highly unrepresentative results. One type of unrepresentative result is political, in that the composition of the legislature rarely accurately reflects the political views of the people it represents. For example, when single-member districts are used, the party whose candidates received the most votes combined may not win the most seats in the legislature. We saw this in the 2012 elections for the U.S. House of Representatives, when one party won a comfortable majority of seats despite receiving only 47% of the vote and a million and a half fewer votes than the other major party.<sup>58</sup>

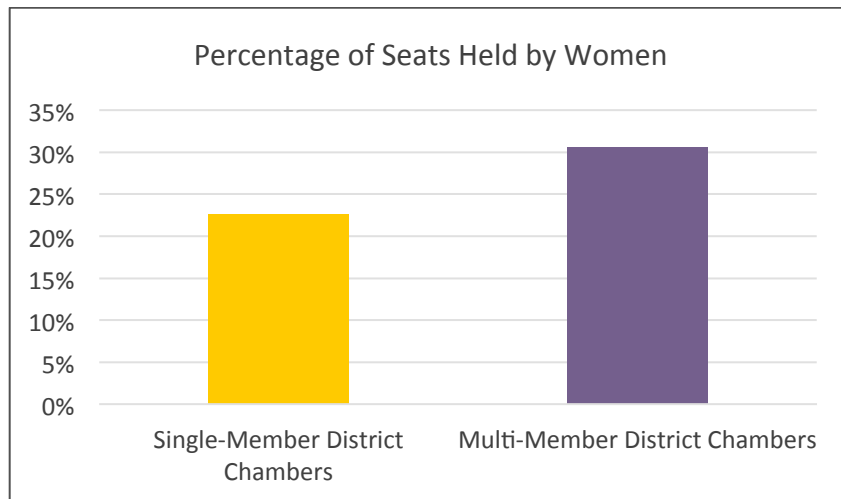
A second type of unrepresentative consequence of single-member districts is demographic. In the case of women, single-member districts can prove to be a significant barrier to receiving fair and descriptive representation in legislatures. For over forty years, academics have noted that women tend to be better represented in multi-member districts than in single-member districts, both in the United States and abroad.

Therefore, Representation 2020 advocates for the use of multi-member districts to elect legislative bodies. More specifically, however, we advocate for the use of multi-member districts with fair representation voting systems – forms of proportional representation in which voters select candidates, not parties, and which are already used at the local level in the United States. While multi-member districts can boost women’s representation, winner-take-all elections in multi-seat districts can exacerbate distortions in representation by party and race. By combining multi-member districts with fair representation voting and robust efforts by political parties, women’s groups, and PACs to increase the recruitment of women candidates, this electoral reform has the potential to greatly increase the number of women serving in elected offices in the United States.

Currently, ten states use multi-member districts to elect at least one house in their state legislature.<sup>59</sup> These ten states tend to rank among the highest in their percentage of legislators who are women. After the 2012 elections, six of the 11 states with the highest percentages of women in their state legislatures used multi-member districts in at least one of their state legislative chambers. Overall, state legislative

chambers – both House and Senate – that use multi-member districts are currently 30.5% women, compared to chambers that use only single-member districts, which are 22.6% women.<sup>60</sup>

Ranking	State	% Legislature Women	Uses Multi-Member Districts
1	Colorado	41.0%	
2	Vermont	40.6%	Yes
3	Arizona	35.6%	Yes
4	Minnesota	33.3%	
5	New Hampshire	32.5%	Yes
6	Illinois	32.2%	
7	Hawaii	31.6%	
8	Washington	30.6%	Yes
9	Maryland	30.3%	Yes
10	Connecticut	29.4%	
11	New Jersey	29.2%	Yes



Multi-member districts also provide voters with the opportunity to vote for women candidates, even if their preferred political party fails to nominate them. For example, in New Hampshire’s 2012 state legislative elections, Republicans consistently failed to run a sufficient number of women in multi-member districts to satisfy their voters’ preference for parity. Therefore, in Republican-leaning districts with five or more representatives, voters were often willing to vote against their party for at least one seat. In six different cases, a Democratic woman won a seat in a heavily-Republican district, beating out a Republican man for the spot.<sup>61</sup> When confronted with a list of nine Republican men in one district, for instance, New Hampshire’s Republican voters opted to elect two Democratic women instead of two of

those Republican men. Clearly, these districts’ voters were interested in electing more women, and were therefore willing to forego their partisan preferences in order to ensure that more women were being elected from their districts.

Furthermore, multi-seat districts greatly increase the percentage of a state’s voters who are represented by a woman. In other words, more people experience having a woman represent them, which can break down stereotypes about women’s abilities to succeed in politics, and more people can approach female representatives on issues that are often classified as “women’s issues,” such as health care and education. Studies have shown that both Democratic and Republican women legislators are more likely to be attentive to such issues than male representatives of the same party.<sup>62</sup>

Consider these examples of states that currently use multi-seat districts in the chart below. Note that in most of these cases, more than half the population has a state representative who is a woman. In addition, the number of representatives in multi-seat districts can vary from relatively few (as in West Virginia) to the great majority (as in Maryland).

State	Percent of Seats Held by Women	Percentage of a State’s Population with a Woman Representative in the State House or Senate	District Magnitude
Arizona House	31.7%	56.6%	2
Idaho House	31.4%	51.4%	2
Maryland House	33.8%	60.3%	From 1 to 3
New Hampshire House	32.8%	63.7%	From 1 to 11
New Jersey House	30.0%	57.5%	2
North Dakota House	19.1%	36.2%	2
South Dakota House	27.1%	54.3%	2
Vermont House	43.0%	59.1%	From 1 to 2
Vermont Senate	30.0%	70.0%	From 1 to 6
Washington House	27.6%	55.1%	2
West Virginia House	19.0%	39.0%	From 1 to 5

### Historical Trends

The use of multi-member districts in state legislatures has decreased over the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, from a high of 40 states in the 1950s to a low of 10 in 2013. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the historical effects of multi-member districts on women’s representation. Several studies have done just that. Here are their key findings:

***Women Candidates in Single- and Multi-Member Districts: American State Legislative Races***, by Susan Welch, Janet Clark, and Robert Darcy, compared election results in 37 states and found two strains of evidence that multi-member districts increased women’s representation in state legislative chambers.<sup>63</sup>

- In all 14 states that used a combination of single and multi-member districts in the two decades leading up to the study, a greater portion of the candidates in multi-member districts were women than in single-member districts.
- In 12 of the 14 states, women comprised a larger percentage of the winners in multi-member districts than they did in single-member districts.
- In five of the 14 states, no women were elected in single-member districts, but they were elected in multi-member districts.
- In each of the seven states that switched from using some or all multi-member districts to using only single member districts during the 1960's, the percentage of female state legislators decreased more than the national decline in women's representation during the same period.
- Between 1970 and 1982, Idaho and Montana switched from using both single and multi-member districts to using only multi-member districts, and both states saw a greater increase in the number of women elected than the average national increase.

**“Single-Member Districts and the Representation of Women in American State Legislatures: The Effects of Electoral System Change”:** This paper by James King compared election results in four states that switched from using multi-member districts to using single-member districts during the 1990's with eight states of similar geography, economy, and culture that did not alter their electoral system (four of which used multi-member districts and four of which used single-member districts).<sup>64</sup>

- Prior to the switch, 88% of Wyoming's House of Representatives was elected in multi-member districts, as was 69% of Alaska's, 39% of Indiana's, and 21% of Georgia's. King found a significant decrease in women's representation in Wyoming, Alaska, and Indiana, the three states that originally had the largest portion of members elected with multi-member districts:
- In Wyoming, which had been ranked 11th for its share of women in its legislature in 1992, the drop in women's representation was estimated to be about 30.9% greater than it would have been had the state maintained multi-member districts. Wyoming now ranks 44th for the share of women in its legislature.

Additionally, **“District Magnitude's Effect on Female Representation in U.S. State Legislatures”**, a study by Richard Matland and Deborah Brown, found a relationship between district magnitude (the number of legislators representing a district) and women's representation in North Carolina and New Hampshire, even when controlling for the urban or rural nature of a district. These findings led the authors to hypothesize that, “From a policy perspective, maintaining multi-member districts at the state legislative level should help achieve the goal of more equitable representation.”<sup>65</sup>

These conclusions are consistent with international studies showing that women do better with multi-seat districts. Consider, for example, that all of the 20 nations with the highest percentages of women in their national legislative bodies use multi-member districts to elect their legislators, including 19 with forms of proportional representation.<sup>66</sup> While there are numerous factors that lead to an increase in women's representation, the use of multi-member districts is undeniably among them.

### ***How Multi-Member Districts Help Women***

There are several hypotheses as to why multi-member districts might have a positive effect on women's representation in legislatures. One is that political parties may be more likely to try to balance a slate of political candidates when multiple candidates can run and win at the same time, in order to make their party seem more inclusive and representative of the voting population.<sup>67</sup> This is especially pertinent in states like New Hampshire, where voters are willing to vote for women candidates of the opposing party if their own party fails to nominate enough women. Additionally, voters might be more willing to vote for a female legislator when they know that they will also have a man representing them.

Another likely reason is that multi-member districts dilute incumbency advantage, one of the greatest obstacles to increasing women's representation.<sup>68</sup> Incumbents wield a great electoral advantage, and since most incumbents are men, more men than women are currently receiving this advantage, impeding the increase of women's representation. Multi-member districts, especially with fair representation voting systems, will increase competition and allow voters to vote out unpopular incumbents, thereby creating more spaces for women to enter politics.

Because multi-member districts allow for multiple winners, they may cause candidates to opt for more positive campaigning, which highlights candidates' own qualifications and successes, over negative campaigning, which focuses on the negative qualities of their opponent.<sup>69</sup> This is significant for women's representation, as studies have shown that potential female candidates are more wary of negative campaigning than their male counterparts.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, Richard Fox and Jennifer Lawless found in their 2011 study that women are as much as 75% more likely to be wary of negative campaigning than men.

As Matland and Brown explained, "An increase in district magnitude can lower...barriers by changing elections from a zero-sum game to a positive-sum game. Contests in single-member districts are by definition a zero-sum game. The change from a zero-sum to a positive-sum game can affect candidates, party officials, and voters."<sup>71</sup>

The transformation of elections from a zero-sum game to a positive-sum game means that multi-member districts, especially larger districts, may allow for more teamwork among candidates – especially candidates of the same political party. Candidates want to get elected and would understand that the best way to do so is to highlight why they would be right for the job, and not why their opponents would be wrong for it.

A study by Fox and Lawless, conducted in 2011, helps explain why women in particular may be more preferably disposed to the political environment fostered by multi-member districts. Fox and Lawless interviewed almost 4,000 business leaders, lawyers, and activists – the people who might be considered most likely to run for political office – and found that women were more likely to see their local electoral environment as highly competitive and biased against female candidates. It also found that women were generally more risk-averse, meaning that they were less likely to engage in an activity which could lead to great personal loss but also great personal gain.

While Lawless and Fox do not address electoral structure in their paper, if it is true that multi-member districts do ameliorate some of prospective female candidates' greatest trepidations about running for office, then it is reasonable to conclude that the use of multi-member districts would lead to an increase in women running for and winning legislative office, especially when used in conjunction with better recruitment practices.

## *Our Solution: Multi-Member Districts with Fair Representation Voting*

Readers may wonder why the use of multi-member districts is currently limited to only ten states when they have been shown to increase women's representation in legislative bodies. Multi-member districts in fact were considerably more common in the 1950s, when a total of 40 states used them to elect members of at least one of their legislative houses.<sup>72</sup> Elections for these legislatures were conducted with an at-large, winner-take-all voting system, which means that voters would have as many votes as there were seats up for election, and whichever candidates received the most votes won those seats.

Both politically and racially, at-large, winner-take-all elections can lead to highly unrepresentative results. For example, consider a district with five seats where voters support Party A at a rate of 60% and Party B at a rate of 40%. In an at-large, winner-take-all system, the supporters of Party A would be able to elect all five legislators, as each candidate from Party A would likely receive about 60% of the vote. Even though supporters of Party B comprised 40% of the population, they received no representation.

The same can apply to areas with racially polarized voting. If white voters tend to support Party A and racial minority voters tend to support Party B, then in at-large, winner-take-all elections, racial minorities would find themselves unrepresented in their legislature.

Following passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and a 1967 law re-establishing the requirement to use single-member districts in U.S. House elections, the remedy of choice for the negative effect of winner-take-all, multi-member districts on the power of racial minorities to elect a preferred candidate has primarily been the use of single-member districts with lines designed to allow for the election of preferred candidates of racial minority voters. Since racial minorities often live in geographically distinct areas, it has been possible to draw districts that turn racial minorities into a local majority.

Furthermore, the Supreme Court in the early 1960s stopped the common practice in states of using the same districts for longer than a ten-year-period.<sup>73</sup> By requiring equally populous districts, the Supreme Court essentially mandated redrawing of districts every 10 years, as some partisans were concerned that the continued use of winner-take-all, multi-seat districts would create even more opportunities for one party to win more seats than its share of the vote warranted.

Fortunately, there is a constitutional and proven way to combat the unrepresentative effects of winner-take-all elections in both single-seat and multi-seat elections: fair representation voting. Fair representation voting systems (or "fair voting") are American forms of proportional representation using multi-seat districts. With fair voting, like-minded voters are able to elect candidates in proportion to their share of their district's electorate. In our previous example with the five-seat district, in which Party A garners 60% support and Party B garners 40% support, under a fair voting plan, the supporters of Party B would be able to elect two legislators to represent them, while supporters of Party A would be able to elect three.

There are many types of fair voting systems. The best of these systems, which has been used in many cities across the United States, is called "ranked choice voting." In a ranked choice system, voters rank their candidates in order of preference. Those rankings help ensure that like-minded voters of varying political preferences will win a fair share of seats without concerns about "vote-splitting" among candidates. Although ranked choice voting is a sensible system when electing one candidate like mayor, its power to provide fair representation comes when applied in elections for more than one seat.

Fair representation voting systems lead to more representative results for both racial and political minorities than our current single-member district, winner-take-all system. They allow both major parties to contest and win seats in every part of every state, and, because they can lead to the election of more moderate legislators, they encourage more cooperation across party lines in policymaking.

As they rely on multi-seat districts, fair voting will also be nearly certain to increase the number of women seeking and winning elected office. That impact will be all the greater with proactive party rules to ensure that enough women are being encouraged to run for office. The combination of fair voting and party rules to promote the recruitment of women candidates has the potential to greatly increase the number of women entering the political arena - and improve elections and representation for all.



## *Parity Perspective*

# Action inside Capitols: How Legislatures and Women's Caucuses Can Affect Representation of Women

In order to increase the number of women in elected office, we need to make elected office a more feasible option for women of all ages. This is particularly important for younger women in local and state level offices, which are typically considered stepping stones to higher office. If more women can pursue politics as a viable, family-friendly career path, more women will run for office, win, and be able to pursue higher offices like Senator and Governor later in their careers.

Election to the state legislature is a particularly important stepping stone to seeking statewide or Congressional offices. For example, about half of all current Congresswomen have previously served in their state legislatures, as have four of the five current women governors.<sup>74</sup> But women currently make up just under a quarter of state legislators nationwide, barely more than they did two decades ago and not nearly enough for such a critical pipeline to higher office.

Furthermore, women state legislators tend to be older than their male counterparts: in 2001, only 24% of the women in state legislatures were under 50 years old, compared to 39% of men. While 28% of male state senators and 30% of male state representatives were under 40, only 11% and 14% of women legislators, respectively, were under that age. Entering politics at a later age can also undercut the ability of women to rise to positions of leadership in legislatures, and lessens the chance that they will run for higher office later.<sup>75</sup>

Also contributing to women's underrepresentation in elected office are rules and practices that do not factor in the familial obligations of legislators. Unfortunately, women still shoulder the majority of household tasks, even when they also work outside the home. In their study of potential male and female candidates in 2011, Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox found that 43% of the professional women surveyed performed the majority of household tasks, compared to 7% of professional men, and 60% of women performed the majority of childcare, compared to 6% of men.<sup>76</sup>

This imbalance can lead women to feel less free to commit to a job that would require more time away from their families. Indeed, while 36% of the male legislators surveyed in 2001 had children under 18 years old, only 17% of the women legislators did. Even more startlingly, 13% of male legislators had children under six years old at home, compared to just 2% of women legislators.<sup>77</sup> Additionally, a 1985 study by Carol Nechemias of Pennsylvania State University found that the mean distance between women legislators' homes and their state capitals was 85 miles, while for men it was 115 miles.<sup>78</sup> While she did not account for the marital or parental status of the legislators in the 16 states she studied, she hypothesizes that one reason this difference might occur is that women are constrained by "traditional cultural norms regarding familial responsibilities" and are therefore less likely to aspire to legislative office if it would require a time-consuming commute.<sup>79</sup>

Though the ideal resolution to this gender imbalance would be for men to embrace their fair share of household responsibilities so that women would feel more comfortable aspiring to political office while

they still had children at home, in the interim, there are steps legislatures can take to ensure that parents, both men and women, are better able to balance their family and professional responsibilities.



*Senator Kirsten Gillibrand (NY) being sworn in by Vice President Biden as her family looks on.*

For example, legislatures should review whether the scheduling and procedures of committee meetings and floor votes makes it harder for parents with young children to serve in office. Are the majority of votes scheduled for times when children are at school, or are they scheduled for the evenings? Are votes scheduled early Monday morning or late Friday evening, making it more difficult for parents to travel back to their districts and their children on the weekends? Can legislators, especially those who live in far-away districts,

telecommute for committee meetings, or even assign a proxy to vote for them in committees and on the floor if they are unable to be at the Capitol on a certain day? And if legislators are expected to work late nights, are there affordable childcare services available to them?

Sweden sets a good example for how legislatures might review their procedures and practices to ensure that they are not biased against parents. In 1999, the Swedish parliament opened a subsidized daycare facility for the children of parliamentarians. Parliamentarians of both sexes are also entitled to take parental leave and to take time off to care for sick children, just like the rest of the Swedish workforce. After a 2004 survey of women parliamentarians found that they felt they were discriminated against both by other members and institutionally, a gender equality plan, called “15 proposals for gender equality in Parliament” was enacted, overseen by the Secretary General of Parliament.<sup>80</sup> While this plan will not do away with gender discrimination in the Swedish Parliament entirely, it is a positive step in institutionalizing ways to make the Parliament more family-friendly and hospitable for all.

### ***Women’s Caucuses and Gender Equality in State Legislatures***

Legislative women’s caucuses are in a prime position to advance reforms like those seen in the Swedish Parliament. After all, many members of women’s caucuses – i.e., women legislators – have a history of promoting family-friendly and pro-women legislation.<sup>81</sup> The next logical step is for them to promote policies that further gender equality within legislatures. The New York State Legislative Women’s Caucus did just that last year, when it successfully advocated for the installation of state-of-the-art nursing and baby-changing facilities throughout the Legislative Office Building. The caucus argued that these facilities would be beneficial both to those who work in the legislature and those who come to visit.

In addition, women’s caucuses can also be a valuable resource to increase the recruitment of women candidates, and to ensure that women rise to positions of leadership within legislatures. While there are many organizations dedicated to increasing the number of women in elected office, a supplementary way to effect lasting change in political culture is to consult the women who have already been elected. After all, these legislators have shown that they value their identities as female officeholders, and that they hope to harness the political capital of women by participating in women’s caucuses.

Traditionally, women’s caucuses have served as “safe spaces” for women to integrate themselves within legislative institutions that are still male-dominated.<sup>82</sup> As the number of women in state legislatures has increased, women’s caucuses have adopted a number of causes, from family-friendly legislation to volunteerism to developing speakers bureaus. Although the focuses of women’s caucuses vary widely, a majority of them are bicameral (with members from both the upper and lower house of a legislature) and all-partisan (party affiliation does not affect membership). All states should create such caucuses as a step toward identifying changes that could help more women serve in elected office.

Congress first formed the bipartisan Congresswoman’s Caucus in 1978, and it remains active and bipartisan today. According to the Women’s Legislative Network of the National Conference of State Legislatures, 34 states currently have women’s caucuses, commissions, or committees. Women’s commissions, although often separate from the legislature, perform similar functions by conducting research on the status of women in their states and by advising the legislature on issues pertaining to women. Some women’s commissions also include members of the state legislature and report to the state legislature, which is why we also extend our recommendations to these commissions and committees, although we would prefer that every state legislature institutionalize a women’s caucus.



*Wyoming Women’s Legislative Caucus*

As explained in previous sections of this report, encouraging more women to run for office is the most essential step in increasing the number of women in office, and female legislators are in an optimal position to provide this encouragement. For example, one of the main goals of the Wyoming Women’s Legislative Caucus is encouraging women to run for office. Working with the Wyoming Women’s Foundation, the caucus sponsors annual “Leap into Leadership” workshops that explain the nuts and bolts of campaigning to potential female

candidates while also encouraging these women to take the next step and mount their campaigns. According to the caucus’s website, six of the program’s alumnae were elected to state or local office in the 2012 election. In addition to the workshop, the caucus maintains a speakers bureau of their own members to talk at events about the importance of female leadership.

Women’s caucuses and committees in a dozen other states also include advancing women in leadership among their top goals. By having members of the legislature conduct talks, workshops, and scholarship programs to encourage women who have already displayed leadership qualities, women’s caucuses can play an important role in cultivating a class of politically motivated young women who have both the resources and, most importantly, the mentors to continue their involvement in politics.

Collaborating with other organizations is another way women’s caucuses can promote female leadership and involvement in politics. Many women’s caucuses sponsor events with local universities or organizations that encourage women to run for office. Connecticut’s Permanent Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) embodies the ideal of integrating itself across the community by having its members participate in and serve on boards of organizations like the Girl Scouts, Yale’s Women’s Campaign School, and the Political Parity Leadership Team. By building a broad coalition, PCSW actively encourages women to run for office while creating a network of organizations with like-minded goals.

In transforming the way women are represented in government through the work of both outside organizations and those within the legislatures themselves, a political culture can develop that encourages more women to run for office and shows them that they can succeed once elected.

## Women’s Representation around the World

The United States ranks 92nd worldwide for the percentage of women in its national legislature, down from 58<sup>th</sup> in 1998. Although a record percentage of women serve in the U.S. House and Senate, women’s involvement in American politics lags behind the international average of 20.3%, and far behind the average of established and robust democracies. We can do better.

The most important reason that almost half the world’s nations are outpacing the U.S. in women’s representation is that those countries use different electoral systems than ours – systems that have been proven to increase the percentage of women running for and winning elected office. This effect is especially prevalent when the electoral system is supplemented by electoral laws and party rules that set a bar for the number of women that are nominated by a party or hold elected office (quotas). The U.S. can take steps to increase women’s representation at home by incorporating the best aspects of our current electoral system with some of the best practices used abroad.

Rank	Country	Lower House % of Women	Electoral System
1	Rwanda	56.3	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
2	Andorra	50.0	Single-Member and Multi-Member Districts
3	Cuba	45.2	Multi-Member Districts/Winner-Take-All
4	Sweden	44.7	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
5	Seychelles	43.8	Single-Member and Multi-Member Districts
6	Senegal	42.7	Single-Member and Multi-Member Districts
7	Finland	42.5	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
8	South Africa	42.3	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
9	Nicaragua	40.2	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
10	Iceland	39.7	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
11	Norway	39.6	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
12	Mozambique	39.2	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
13	Denmark	39.1	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
14	Netherlands	38.7	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
15	Costa Rica	38.6	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
16	Timor-Leste	38.5	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
17	Belgium	38.0	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
18	Argentina	37.4	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
19	Mexico	36.8	Single-Member and Multi-Member Districts
20	Spain	36.0	Multi-Member Districts/Proportional Representation
...			
<b>92</b>	<b>United States</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>Single-Member Districts/Winner-Take-All</b>

# Introduction to the 2013 State-by-State Review: Women's Representation and Parity Rankings

In the following section of the report, we provide an in-depth look at the state of women's representation in elected office in each of the 50 states and the territories. For each state, we highlight the current number of women in all levels of government in relation to the state's overall ranking and history of electing women. We also include information on where each state is exhibiting progress as well as information on current efforts to increase the number of women in office.

## *Parity Rankings: How Scores Are Tabulated*

There are many possible methodologies for ranking gender parity. In our tabulation, we provide equal weight to five levels of election: the offices of Governor, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative, State Legislator, and Mayor. Each office is worth a total of 20 points, meaning that the highest score a state can receive is 100. For single or two seat elections (Governor, Senator, and Representative in states with only one or two congressional districts), we considered recent history in addition to current officeholders to provide a more accurate depiction of the likelihood of a woman being elected to one of these offices.

A state with true gender parity - that is, key executive offices evenly divided between men and women over time and gender balance in legislatures and congressional delegations – would likely have a point total of around 70 points. Notably, not a single state in the country has gender parity within even 10 points of that level.

### **Governor**

10 points for electing a woman in the last gubernatorial election, and 5 points each for electing a woman in the two preceding gubernatorial elections.

### **U.S. Senators**

6 points for each sitting woman U.S. Senator and 4 points for each election of a woman Senator from the previous three-election cycle of 2002-2006.

### **U.S. Representatives**

In states with three or more Representatives, states can receive up to 20 points based on the current percentage of their House delegation that is female. If a state's delegation is 50% women (parity), they receive all 20 points. If it is 25% female, they receive ten points. For states with only one or two House Members, ten points multiplied by the ratio of female members in its current House delegation plus ten points multiplied by the ratio of female delegates in its last two House delegations are awarded.

### **State Legislature**

10 points are allocated based on the percentages of women in both the State House and Senate. To receive the full 10 points for a chamber, it would need to be 50% women (parity). A state with a chamber composed of 25% women would receive 5 points for that chamber, as 25% is half of 50%.

### **Mayor**

4 points for each woman mayor in one of the state's five most populous cities.

### ***Focus Facts***

We include a unique fact about women's representation in the state ranging from current trends to firsts. Examples of highlights include New Hampshire's all-female Congressional delegation and Arizona's leadership on electing female governors.

### ***Trending***

Trends relating to the status of women in state legislatures will be discussed. Increasing the number of women in state legislatures is key to increasing the number of women in elected office in general, as state legislative office is often considered a pipeline position for higher office.

### ***Levels of Government***

#### **Statewide Executive**

A little over half of states have had a female governor (some were appointed, but most were elected). We take account of whether or not a state has ever appointed or elected a female governor. We also include current numbers of women serving in statewide elected executive positions as well as the total number of women to have held a statewide elected executive office.

#### **Congress**

We take account of current female members of the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives as well as how many women the state has elected to Congress in its history.

#### **State Legislature**

In addition to the current proportion and overall ranking of the number of women in state legislatures, we look at the number of women in each house of the state legislature and the method of election used.

#### **Local**

We highlight the number of women serving as mayors of cities with a population over 30,000 and whether or not women serve as mayors of any of the state's five largest cities.

### ***Profile of Progress***

In certain states, we note the efforts made in one of our six progress areas. An explanation of how the state is making progress in that area in addition to what organizations, individuals, or entities are contributing to that effort are detailed.

### ***Elections to Watch / Notable Elections***

We highlight certain races with women candidates in the most recent election cycle as well as important elections in the upcoming election cycles in the fall of 2013 and mid-term elections in 2014.



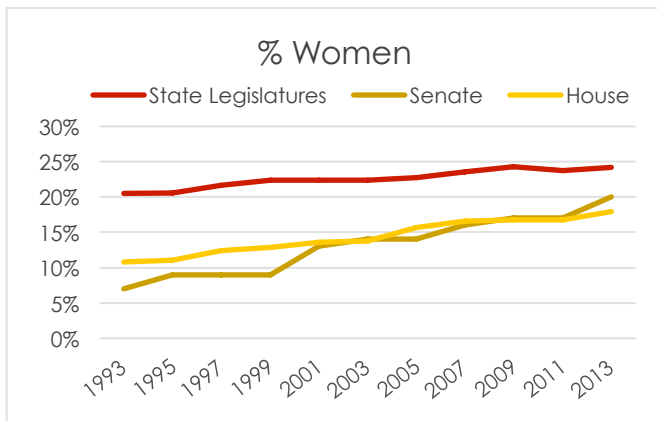
# Women's Representation Nationwide

## Worldwide Ranking: 92<sup>nd</sup>

The United States currently ranks 92<sup>nd</sup> worldwide for its percentage of women in its national legislature. Fifteen years ago, we were 55<sup>th</sup>. Although a record percentage of women currently serve in the U.S. House and Senate, women's involvement in American politics lags behind the 35 countries with national legislatures composed of 30% or more women.

## Trending

Since the "Year of the Woman" in 1992, we have seen a greater percentage increase in women's representation at the national level than we have at the state level. The number of women in the Senate has grown from 7 to 20 and from 47 to 78 women in the House. The percentage of women serving in executive statewide elective office has increased 0.9 percentage points and the percentage of women in state legislatures has grown from 20.5% to 24.2%.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: 5 states (AZ, OK, NH, NM, SC)

Current female statewide elected executives: 74 out of 320 (23.1%)

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 20 of 100 seats are held by women (20%)

U.S. House: 78 of 435 seats are held by women (17.9%)

Historically, a total of 293 women have served in the U.S. Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 24.2%

Senate: 411 of 1,972 (20.8%) are women

House: 1,372 of 5,411 (25.4%) are women

### Local

Female mayors in 100 largest cities: 12

Of 1,248 cities with populations over 30,000, 217 (17.4%) have a female mayor.

### Words of Wisdom

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"It's time to think outside the box. All the work being done is incredibly important, but if we are to reach parity, we also need to look at the voting systems and party rules. Just getting women into the pipeline isn't enough -- we need to make sure they have a fair chance at being elected and moving into positions of leadership"- Kim Gandy, former president of National Organization for Women

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# Women's Representation in the District of Columbia and the U.S. Territories

## District of Columbia

### Mayor

Sharon Pratt Kelly served as the first and only woman mayor of Washington, D.C. from 1991-1995. She was also the first African American woman to serve as mayor of a major American city.

### City Council

Four of the District's 13 city councilmembers are women.

### Delegate to the U.S. House

Eleanor Holmes Norton has served as the District's one non-voting representative in Congress since 1991. She is the second person to hold this position.

## Puerto Rico

### Governor

Sila Calderón of the Popular Democratic Party served as the first and only woman governor of Puerto Rico from 2001 to 2005. Prior to her election as governor, she had served as Secretary of State and as the Mayor of San Juan.

### Legislative Assembly

Senate: 6 of 27 (22.2%) seats held by woman

House: 6 of 51 (11.8%) seats held by women

The 16 senators are elected by two-member district, and 11 senators are elected at-large by a fair representation voting method. The house is elected primarily from single-member districts, with some add-on seats to provide representation to smaller parties.

### Mayors

The current mayor of San Juan, the largest city in Puerto Rico, is Carmen Yulín Cruz, who was elected in 2012. The current mayor of Ponce, the fourth largest city, is María Meléndez.

### Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico

A woman has never served as Puerto Rico's single non-voting member of the U.S. House.

## Guam

### Governor

A woman has never served as governor of Guam.

### Legislature

Three of the 15 seats in the Legislature of Guam are filled by women.

### Mayors

Dededo, Tamuning, and Barrigada, Guam's first, third, and fifth largest villages respectively, all have female mayors.

### Delegate to the U.S. House

Since 2003, Madeleine Bordallo has been serving as the first woman delegate from Guam.

## Northern Mariana Islands

### Governor

A woman has never served as governor of the Northern Mariana Islands.

### Commonwealth Legislature

House: Three of 20 seats held by women.

Senate: One of 9 seats held by women

### Delegate to the U.S. House

The post of delegate to the U.S. House has been filled by men since its creation in 2008.

## U.S. Virgin Islands

### Governor

A woman has never served as governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands.

### Legislature

Five of 15 seats are held by women

### Delegate to the U.S. House

Since 1997, Donna Christian-Christensen has served as the first woman delegate from the U.S. Virgin Islands.

# Women's Representation in Alabama

## Parity Ranking: 35<sup>th</sup> of 50

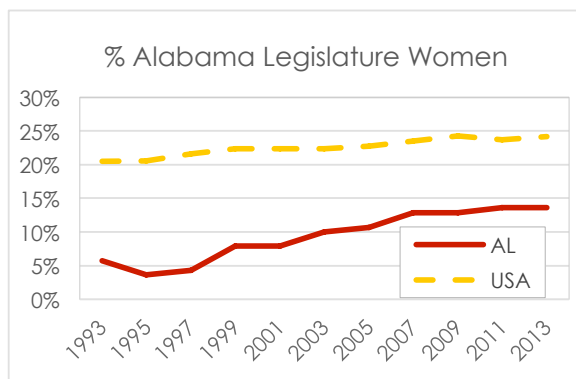
Score of 17: Eleven points for the percentage of its U.S. House Members who are women and 6 for the percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

Representatives Terri Sewell (D) and Martha Roby (R) were the first women elected to Congress from Alabama through regular elections. Both women were initially elected in 2010 and are still in office.

## Trending

From 1994 to 2002, Alabama ranked last in the nation for its percentage of state legislators who were women. Today it ranks 47<sup>th</sup>, above Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Louisiana.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Both Alabama women in U.S. House are favored in 2014, as none of the state's U.S. House seats are competitive in general elections. Male candidates are heavily favored in a 2013 U.S. House special election.

Four Alabama women won statewide in 2010, but the Secretary of State has resigned and the State Auditor seat will be open. Men are favored in the gubernatorial election.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Lurleen Wallace (1967-1968). Wallace served after her husband, George Wallace, was term-limited out of office. She died a year after her election.

Current female statewide elected executives: lieutenant governor, public service commissioner, and state auditor. The Secretary of state resigned in August.

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office in Alabama: 19

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 2 of 7 seats are held by women

In its history, Alabama has elected three total women to the U.S. House and zero women to the U.S. Senate, although Maryon Pittman Allen (1978) was appointed to the Senate after the death of her husband, and Dixie Bibb Graves (1937-38) was appointed to fill a Senate vacancy caused by a resignation.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 14.3%

Rankings: 47<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 5 of 35 (14.3%) are women

House: 14 of 105 (13.3%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

None of the 16 cities in Alabama with more than 30,000 has a female mayor.

### Words of Wisdom

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"Women understand money...Suddenly we have a lot more money in Alabama with a woman treasurer!" – *Lucy Baxley, former state treasurer of Alabama*

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# Women's Representation in Alaska

## Parity Ranking: 15<sup>th</sup> of 50

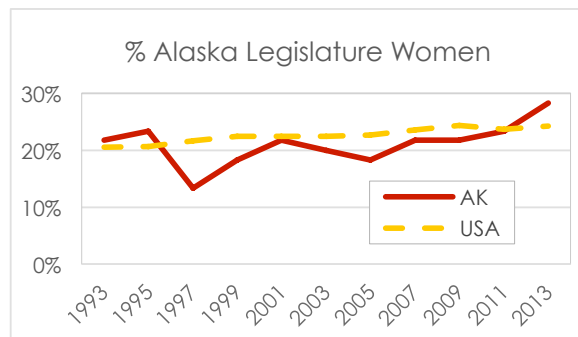
Score of 30: Five points for Governor Sarah Palin's first term, 10 for Senator Lisa Murkowski's two most recent terms, 11 for the percentage of state legislative seats held by women, and 4 for Mayor McConnell of Sitka.

## Focus Facts

Sarah Palin (R) was elected Alaska's first female governor in 2006. She became the first governor to conceive and give birth while in office. In 2008, she was selected as John McCain's vice presidential nominee – the first Republican woman and first Alaskan to appear on a major party's presidential ticket. She resigned her governorship in 2009.

## Trending

The proportion of women in Alaska's state legislature has increased by 10 percentage points since 2006.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Former governor Sarah Palin (R) is considering a challenge to Sen. Mark Begich (D). Male Republican incumbents are expected to seek re-election for governor and U.S. House.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Sarah Palin (2006-2009)

Current female statewide elected executives: None

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 2

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats are held by women. Lisa Murkowski (2002-present) was appointed by her father to fill a vacancy created by his election as governor in 2002.

U.S. House: 0 of 1 seats are held by women.

Alaska has only elected one woman to the U.S. Senate and has never elected a woman to the U.S. House of Representatives.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 28.3%

Rankings: 15<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 4 of 20 (20%) are women

House: 13 of 40 (32.5%) are women

Method of Election: Single-member districts

### Local

Alaska's fourth largest city, Sitka, elected Mayor Mim McConnell in 2012.

### Words of Wisdom

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"Hillary [Clinton] left 18 million cracks in the highest, hardest glass ceiling in America. But it turns out the women of America aren't finished yet, and we can shatter that glass ceiling once and for all." – Sarah Palin, former governor of Alaska and 2008 Republican vice-presidential nominee

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# Women's Representation in Arizona

## Parity Ranking: 5<sup>th</sup> of 50

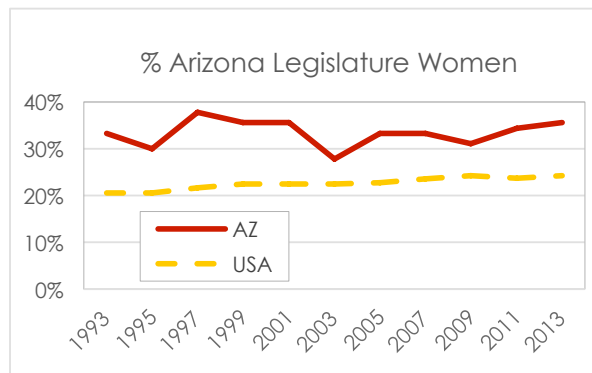
Score of 44: Twenty for Gov. Jan Brewer's first elected term and Governor Janet Napolitano's two elections, 9 for the percentage of U.S. House members who are women and 15 for the percentage of women state legislators

## Focus Facts

Arizona has had four female governors, more than any other state. Four of Arizona's last five governors have been women.

## Trending

Apart from a two year decrease in 2003 and 2004, the percentage of women in Arizona's legislature has been 30% or more since 1989.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Rose Mofford (1988-1991), Jane Dee Hull (1997-2003), Janet Napolitano (2003-2009), and Jan Brewer (2009-present). Mofford and Brewer first became governor after sitting governors left office early.

Current female statewide elected executives: both corporation commissioners

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 21, five of whom were initially appointed to the highest post at which they served.

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 2 of 9 seats are held by women

In its history, Arizona has elected six women to the U.S. House and none to the U.S. Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 35.6%

Rankings: 3<sup>rd</sup> of 50

Senate: 13 of 30 (43.3%)

House: 19 of 60 (31.7%)

Method of election: two-member districts in the house, single member districts in the senate

### Local

None of Arizona's five largest cities has a female mayor.

### Words of Wisdom

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"We women had to strive a little bit harder and be a little bit smarter and work at it on a daily basis."— Jan Brewer, governor of Arizona

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## Profile of Progress: The use of multi-member legislative districts

Arizona currently ranks third for its percentage of state legislative seats held by women (35.6%), and is one of ten states that uses multi-member districts (MMD), an electoral structure shown to improve women's chances of running for and winning elected office. In multi-member districts, constituents elect multiple legislators from a single district to represent them, whereas in single-member districts, which are more commonly used in the U.S., constituents elect only one representative. Arizona elects its House of Representatives through the use of 30 two-member districts and constituents have the option of casting either one or two votes. The use of multi-seat districts often contributes to more women being recruited to run for office.

Of the 60 members of the Arizona House, 19 are female. 17 of the female House members were elected in districts that also elected a male representative. Research suggests that the use of MMDs encourages the election of female candidates because it provides constituents with the option of voting for both male and female candidates instead of having to choose one. In 2012, at least one woman candidate ran in 23 of Arizona's 30 multi-member districts, 32 women contenders in total. Of those 23 districts, 18 elected at least one woman to office.

### 2014 Elections to Watch

Arizona's two women in the U.S. House, Democrats Kyrsten Sinema and Ann Kirkpatrick, both will likely face competitive re-election bids. Democrat Ron Barber also represents a swing district.

Gov. Jan Brewer likely cannot run for re-election due to Arizona's term limits law and is expected to be replaced by a man.

### Notable 2012 Elections

In 2012, Kyrsten Sinema was elected to represent Arizona's 9<sup>th</sup> district; Rep. Sinema is

the first openly bisexual representative to Congress. Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick also regained her U.S. House seat lost in 2010, giving Arizona more than one female House Member for the first time in the state's history.



Rep. Kyrsten Sinema

# Women's Representation in Arkansas

## Parity Ranking: 43<sup>rd</sup> of 50

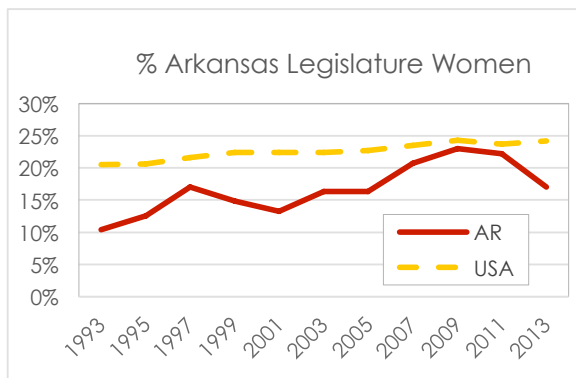
Score of 11: Four points for former U.S. Senator Blanche Lincoln's final term and 7 points for women's percentage of state legislative seats.

## Focus Facts

Hattie Caraway became the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate in January 1932, when she won a special election after first being appointed to fill a vacancy caused by the death of her husband in 1931. She won a full term in November 1932 and was re-elected in 1938. She lost in the Democratic primary in her bid for re-election in 1944.

## Trending

The proportion of women in Arkansas' state legislature peaked in 2009, and it is now the same as it was 16 years ago.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Arkansas will have an open seat election for governor in which Republicans are favored, and state representative Debra Hobbs plans to run in the Republican primary. All four U.S. House seats are held by Republican men in GOP-leaning districts, but Tim Cotton is leaving his seat to run for U.S. Senate.

## Words of Wisdom

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"Sometimes I'm really afraid that tourists are going to poke me with their umbrellas! And yet there's no sound reason why women, if they have the time and ability, shouldn't sit with men on city councils, in state legislatures, or in the House and Senate... Women are essentially practical because they've always had to be."— *Hattie Wyatt Caraway, former U.S. senator from Arkansas*

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## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: None

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 5, one of whom was appointed to fill a vacancy and then ran for and won another elected executive position. An additional woman was appointed to fill the position of attorney general.

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 4 seats are held by women

In its history, Arkansas has elected five women to the U.S. Congress, three through special elections to fill vacancies caused by the deaths of their husbands.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 17%

Rankings: 41<sup>st</sup> of 50

Senate: 6 of 35 (17.1%)

House: 17 of 100 (17%)

Method of election: single-member districts

### Local

Of the twelve cities in Arkansas with populations over 30,000, only two are led by women mayors: Pine Bluff, the ninth largest city in the state, and Hot Springs.

# Women's Representation in California

## Parity Ranking: 3<sup>rd</sup> of 50

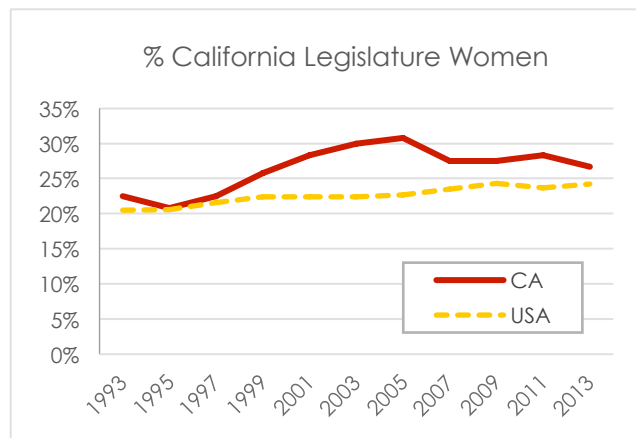
Score of 48: Twenty points for U.S. Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, 13.5 points for the percentage of the state's House delegation that is female, 10.5 points for the percentage its state legislature that is female, and the remaining 4 points for having one woman mayor among its five largest cities.

## Focus Facts

In 1993, California became the first state to be represented simultaneously by two women in the U.S. Senate. All of California's 20 female Senators and House Members are Democrats.

## Trending

The percentage of women in California's state legislature peaked in 2005 and is only 3 percentage points higher today than it was 20 years ago.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: secretary of state and attorney general.

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 9

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 2 of 2 seats are held by women: Dianne Feinstein (1993-present) and Barbara Boxer (1992-present)

U.S. House: 18 of 53 seats are held by women

In its history, California has elected 37 women to Congress, including 2 senators.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 26.7%

Rankings: 19<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 11 of 40 (45%) are women

House: 21 of 80 (26%) are women

Method of election: All single-member districts

### Local

Ashley Swearengin was first elected mayor of Fresno (California's fifth largest city) in 2008 and was re-elected in 2012. Oakland (California's 8<sup>th</sup> largest city) elected Jean Quan as its first female mayor in a ranked choice voting election in 2010. Of California's 232 cities with a population of at least 30,000, 45 have women mayors.

## Words of Wisdom

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"Never losing faith, we worked to redeem the promise of America, that all men and women are created equal. For our daughters and our granddaughters today we have broken the marble ceiling. For our daughters and our granddaughters now the sky is the limit."— Nancy Pelosi, U.S. representative from California, and first female Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

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## Profile of Progress: Combating Gender Stereotypes

In 2011, California-based Jennifer Siebel Newsom released a documentary called *Miss Representation*, which exposed how sexist portrayals of women in mainstream media contribute to underrepresentation of women in positions of power. The film shows that in movies, television, advertisements, and music, women are often objectified or portrayed as being of lesser intelligence than their male counterparts. Additionally, women in high-profile positions are scrutinized by the news media in ways that men usually are not—for their appearance, fashion choices, and family life.



MissRepresentation.org, a social action group associated with documentary and based in California, seeks to raise widespread awareness of these harmful stereotypes. To that end, it has recently launched the California Public School Campaign, which aims to give every public middle school and high school in the state access to *Miss Representation* and its corresponding curriculum. This way, both girls and boys will be conscious of the issues associated with gender stereotyping from a young age, and will be given the tools to correct it.

This work may ultimately result in more women running for and winning elected office. As Newsom said: "We have an opportunity, by using this film, its education modules and curriculum, to help girls and young women think differently about themselves and their value in the world."

## 2014 Elections to Watch

All 18 California women serving in the U.S. House are favored, although Reps. Lois Capps and Julia Brownley may face potentially competitive general elections in the 24<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> districts. In statewide races, term-limited Secretary of State Debra Bowen will likely be replaced by a man, and all other incumbents are favored in expected bids for re-election.

Oakland mayor Jean Quan will face a competitive race in her expected re-election bid in 2014.

## Notable 2012-2013 Elections

In 2012, Sen. Dianne Feinstein was re-elected with 7.75 million votes, the most popular votes a U.S. Senate candidate has ever received.

In May 2013, former Los Angeles comptroller and city councilor Wendy Greuel lost with 46% of the vote in a runoff election against Eric Garcetti for mayor. If elected, she would have been Los Angeles' first female mayor. Elected by single-member districts, the Los Angeles city council currently has 14 men and only a single woman.



# Women's Representation in Colorado

## Parity Ranking: 20<sup>th</sup> of 50

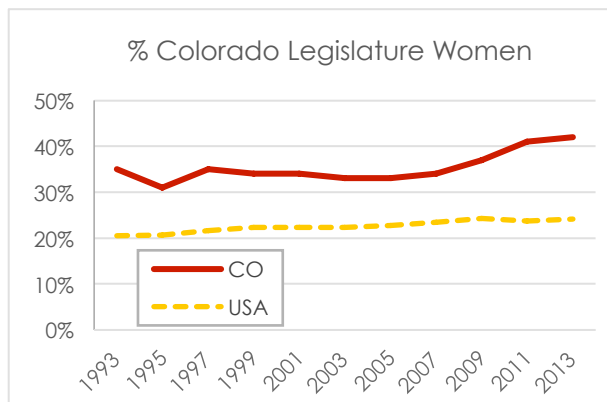
Score of 26: Six points for current U.S. House Member Diana DeGette, 16 points for its high percentage of female state legislators who are women, and 4 points for Mayor Weitkunat of Fort Collins.

## Focus Facts

Even though Colorado has been ranked in the top ten states for its proportion of state legislative seats held by women since 1975 and has been ranked first in the nation for the last four years, it has yet to elect a woman governor or U.S. Senator, helping to explain its relatively low ranking

## Trending

The percentage of women in Colorado's state legislature has been far higher than the national average for 20 years. It has increased 7 percentage points in the last 20 years, more than double the national increase of 3.2 percentage points.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female Governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: None

Number of women holding statewide elected executive office: 18, including one appointed to fill vacancy before an election

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 7 seats is held by a woman

In its history, Colorado has elected 4 women to U.S. House and none to the Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 42%

Rankings: 1<sup>st</sup> of 50

Senate: 14 of 35 (40%) are women

House: 28 of 65 (43.1%) are women

Election Method: single-member districts

### Local

Of Colorado's 24 cities with populations over 30,000, six have female mayors: Centennial, Fort Collins, Littleton, Northglenn, Thornton and Westminster. Fort Collins, the fourth largest city in the state, elected Mayor Karen Weitkunat in 2011.

### Words of Wisdom

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"I don't think it's a coincidence that our legislature, where 42 of the 100 members are women, has become a leading voice driving debate in our state, and even in our nation, on important economic and social issues."— Joann Ginal, U.S. representative from Colorado

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## Profile of Progress: Colorado Legislative Women's Caucus

In the late 1970s, the few female representatives in the Colorado General Assembly had to fight for the installation of a women's restroom near the House floor. Former Representative Betty Neale recalls having to leave the floor and walk far past the men's restroom, sometimes in the middle of a vote.

Colorado women succeeded in their struggle, and now are flourishing in state legislative elections: for the fourth year running, Colorado has the nation's highest percentage of female state legislators.



Colorado Legislative Women's Caucus

The current incarnation of the Colorado Legislative Women's Caucus was formed in 2009 in recognition of the significance of the growing number of women in the legislature. The caucus is bicameral and bipartisan, and is comprised of all 42 women in the General Assembly. The members firmly believe that bipartisan cooperation is important for accomplishing their goals. "It is important for us to build those relationships and to make connections across the aisle in order to see where we want to go with this," said Rep. Karen Middleton (D-Aurora) in 2009, "I think if we let this caucus unfold and kind of let it determine for itself which

direction we want to go, we will make more progress than we think is possible."

## 2014 Elections to Watch

Sen. Michael Bennett and Governor John Hickenlooper, both Democrats, are expected to run for re-election in 2014. No prominent women candidates are seeking the Republican nomination in these contests, but Deputy Attorney General Cynthia Coffman is expected to run for an open seat for Attorney General. Former Congresswoman Betsy Markey (D) has plans to run for the office of State Treasurer in 2014, while state senate majority leader Morgan Carroll may run for Attorney General.

Two women state senators Angela Giron and Gail Schwartz may seek the Democratic nomination to challenge Republican incumbent U.S. Rep. Scott Tipton in his Republican-leaning U.S. House district.

## Notable 2012 Election

In 2012, Colorado's only current female U.S. House Member, Diana DeGette, won her ninth term in office by defeating Republican Danny Stroud by a comfortable margin of 44% in her heavily Democratic district.

# Women's Representation in Connecticut

## Parity Ranking: 12<sup>th</sup> of 50

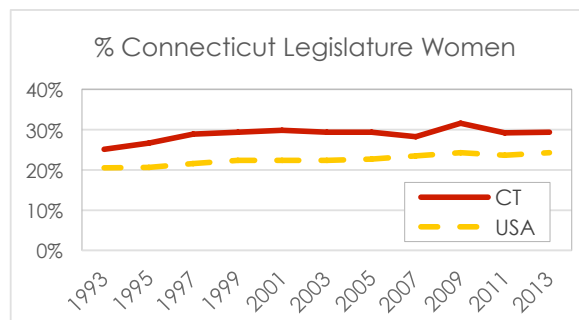
Score of 32: Five points for former Governor Jodi Rell's one elected term, 16 for percentage of U.S. House delegation who are women, and 11 for percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

Connecticut has sent at least one woman to the U.S. House for 31 consecutive years.

## Trending

Connecticut women have held a higher percentage of state legislative seats than the national average for the last four decades.



## Notable 2012 Elections

In an open seat race for the 5<sup>th</sup> congressional district, Elizabeth Esty (D) defeated Andrew Rorback (R) by less than 3%, even after NYC Mayor Michael Bloomberg's Independence USA PAC spent millions backing Rorback. GOP nominee Linda McMahon lost an open seat race for U.S. Senate, as she also had in 2010, despite spending tens of millions of dollars.

## 2013 -2014 Elections to Watch

New Haven, the state's second largest city, will hold a mayoral election this year. State senator Toni Harp is running against several men. In 2014, first-term U.S. Rep. Elizabeth Esty (D) is likely to face a strong challenge.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female Governors: Ella Grasso (1975-1980 and first woman in nation to be elected governor in her own right) and Jodi Rell (2004-2011).

Current female statewide elected executives: lieutenant governor, secretary of state, and state treasurer

Number of women to have held statewide elective office: 19, 3 of whom were originally appointed to fill a vacancy

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 2 of 5 seats are held by women

In its history, Connecticut has elected 7 women to U.S. House, one through a special election. The state has not elected a female U.S. Senator.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 29.4%

Rankings: 10<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 9 of 36 (25%)

House: 46 of 151 (30.5%)

Method of election: All single-member districts

### Local

Of the 32 cities in Connecticut with populations over 30,000, only two have women mayors: East Hartford, the 19<sup>th</sup> largest city in the state, and Groton, the 25<sup>th</sup> largest city.

### Words of Wisdom

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"Clearly we have made great strides. Women make up about half of the workforce and we see more women in leadership roles in both the public and private sector – though still far too few."—*Rosa DeLauro, U.S. representative from Connecticut*

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# Women's Representation in Delaware

## Parity Ranking: 29<sup>th</sup> of 50

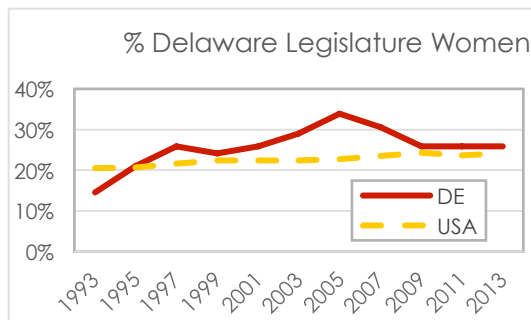
Score of 20: Five points for former Gov. Ruth Ann Minner's final term, 11 points for percentage of state legislators who are women, and 4 points for Mayor Masten of Smyrna.

## Focus Facts

Although Delaware women since 1995 have held a larger percentage of state legislative seats than the national average, the state has never elected a woman to the U.S. House or U.S. Senate.

## Trending

The percentage Delaware's state legislators that are women peaked in 2005 at 33.9%, placing Delaware second nationwide for women in the state legislature. Today, Delaware's percentage has fallen to close to the national average.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Conservative activist Christine O'Donnell announced that she is considering a 2014 re-match against Senator Chris Coons, who defeated O'Donnell in 2010. If elected, she would be Delaware's first female U.S. Senator.

Delaware's at-large congressional seat is likely to remain held by a man if incumbent John Carney seeks re-election. Three statewide elected offices currently held by men are up for election in 2014.

## Notable 2012 Election

In 2012, Sher Valenzuela (R) challenged incumbent Lieutenant Governor Matthew Denn (D). Denn won re-election with 61.6% of the vote, but Valenzuela made a splash as a newcomer to statewide politics and spoke at

the Republican National Convention in Tampa.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female Governors: Ruth Ann Minner (2001-2009)

Current female elected executives:  
commissioner of insurance

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 11

### Congress

Delaware is one of four states that have never elected a woman to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 25.8%

Rankings: 20<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 6 of 21 (28.6%) are women

House: 10 of 41 (24.4%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Smyrna, the fifth largest city in the state with a population of 10,023, elected Mayor Joanne Masten in 2013.

### Words of Wisdom

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"I'm from the land of steel magnolias. [A steel magnolia is] somebody who has the ability - with grace and dignity - to hold the lines that she considers important."

– Ruth Ann Minner, former governor of Delaware

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# Women's Representation in Florida

## Parity Ranking: 29<sup>th</sup> of 50

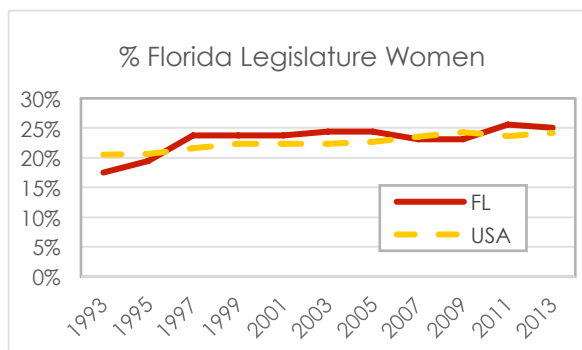
Score of 20: Nine points for its six U.S House Members and 11 points for its percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

As reported in the *Miami Herald*, the 13 women in Florida's state senate, joined by several of their male colleagues, formed a bipartisan coalition in the 2012 legislative session to defeat bills they believed were too extreme, including an expansion of private prisons, an omnibus anti-abortion bill, and changes to state-sponsored homeowners insurance.

## Trending

The percentage of state legislative seats held by women in Florida has mirrored the national average for 20 years.



## 2014 Election to Watch

Gov. Rick Scott (R) is seeking re-election, but is vulnerable. Among potential Democratic nominees are state senate minority leader Nan Rich, who has announced her candidacy, and 2010 nominee Alex Sink. Absent retirements, the six female U.S. House Members are favored to retain their seats, although two (Democrat Lois Frankl and Republican Ileana Ros-Lehtinen) could face challenges.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Florida has not elected a female governor.

Current female statewide elected executives: attorney general

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: nine, one of whom was appointed and then elected

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats held by women

U.S. House: 6 of 27 seats held by women

Florida has elected 15 women to the U.S. Congress, one through a special election.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 25%

Rankings: 23<sup>rd</sup> of 50

Senate: 12 of the 40 (30%) are women

House: 28 of 120 (23.3%) are women

Election method: Single-member districts

### Local

None of Florida's five largest cities has a female mayor, but of its 72 cities with populations greater than 30,000, 20 have women mayors.

## Words of Wisdom

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*"I became the first Hispanic woman elected to Congress, in 1989. When I got elected, I didn't know I would be the first Hispanic woman. Then I did the 'Today' show, and they said that, and I was stunned. I said, 'Well, I may be the first, but I'm not going to be the only one. I'm sure there are going to be a lot coming behind me.'" –Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, U.S. representative from Florida*

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# Women's Representation in Georgia

Parity Ranking: 27<sup>th</sup> of 50

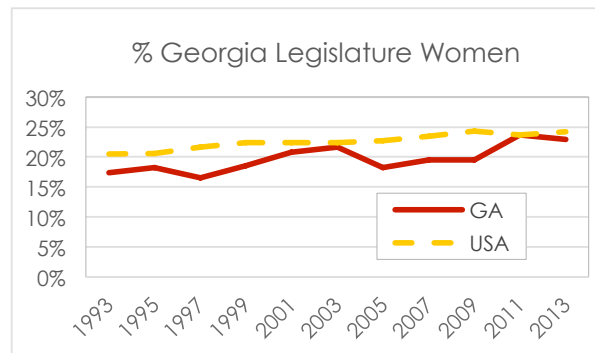
Score of 20: Eight points for the percentage of state legislators that are women and 12 points for female mayors in the major cities of Columbus, Savannah, and Athens.

## Focus Facts

None of Georgia's 13 statewide elected positions are filled by women, and none of the 16 members of Georgia's congressional delegation are women.

## Trending

In 1989 Georgia ranked 40<sup>th</sup> for its percentage of state legislators who were women. Today it ranks 28<sup>th</sup>, close to the national average.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Michelle Nunn, daughter of former Sen. Sam Nunn, is the likely Democratic nominee for the open U.S. Senate seat. Gov. Nathan Deal defeated Karen Handel by 0.4% in the GOP primary runoff in 2010 and is not considered vulnerable in 2014. Absent retirements, little change is expected in the U.S. House.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Female statewide elected executives: None

Number of women to have held statewide elective office in the past: 5

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 14 seats are held by women

In its history, Georgia has elected five women to the House, two through vacancy elections. Rebecca Latimer Felton served as the first female U.S. Senator in the nation and the only female Senator from Georgia when she was sworn in for 24 hours in 1922 to fill a vacancy as a placeholder before a special election.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 22.9%

Rankings: 28<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 56 (14.3%) are women

House: 46 of 180 (25.6%) are women

Method of election: All single-member districts

### Local

Three of Georgia's five largest cities currently have female mayors: Columbus (Teresa Tomlinson), Savannah (Edna Jackson), and Athens (Nancy Denson).

### Words of Wisdom

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"A Senator of the U.S., a woman, is still a sort of political joke with our masculine leaders in party politics...But the trail has been blazed! The road is apparently rough – maybe rocky – but the trail has been located. It is an established fact – never to be erased."–  
*Rebecca Latimer Felton, former U.S. senator from Georgia*

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# Women's Representation in Hawaii

## Parity Ranking: 4<sup>th</sup> of 50

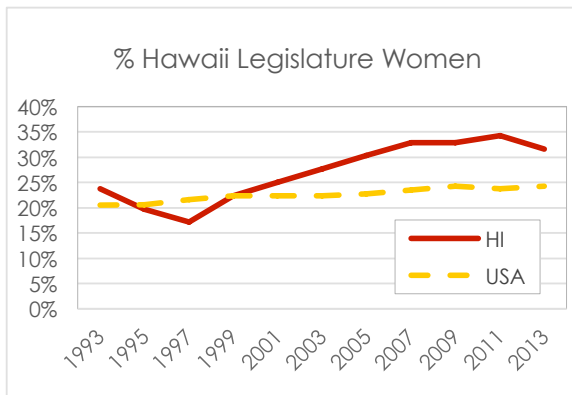
Score of 46: Ten points for former Governor Linda Lingle. 6 points for Sen. Mazie Hirono, 17.5 points for women winning five of the six House elections held in the last three cycles, and 12.5 for women's percentage of state legislative seats.

## Focus Facts

Hawaii has had the highest rate of electing female U.S. Representatives in the nation. Of the 54 House elections held in Hawaii since it gained statehood in 1959, 39%, or 21 of 54, were won by women. In 2012, Hawaii elected its first woman Senator, Mazie Hirono.

## Trending

From 1997 to 2011, the percentage of women in Hawaii's state legislature consistently increased.



## 2014 Election to Watch

Rep. Colleen Hanabusa (D) will leave her seat to challenge appointed U.S. Senator Brian Schatz in the Democratic primary.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Linda Lingle (2003-2011)

Number of women to have held statewide elected executives office: three (governor and lieutenant governor are the only two positions)

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats are held by women, Mazie Hirono (2013-present)

U.S. House: 2 of 2 seats are held by women

Hawaii has elected six women to Congress, one through a special election to fill a vacancy caused by the death of her husband.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 31.6%

Rankings: 7<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 25 (32%) are women

House: 16 of 51 (31.4%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the top five largest cities in Hawaii, none have women mayors.

### Words of Wisdom

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*"Well, there needs to be many more of us in here."* – Mazie Hirono, U.S. Senator from Hawaii

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# Women's Representation in Idaho

## Parity Ranking: 40<sup>th</sup> of 50

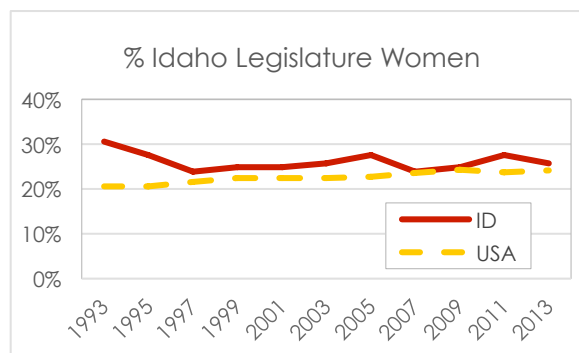
Score of 13: Nine points for the percentage of state legislators who are women and 4 points for Mayor Tammy de Weerd of Meridian.

## Focus Facts

Idaho has elected two women to the U.S. House but has never elected a woman to the U.S. Senate.

## Trending

20 years ago, Idaho's state legislature was 30.5% women and ranked 7<sup>th</sup> nationwide. Today, women hold only 25.7% of seats, putting Idaho in 21<sup>st</sup> place.



## 2014 Election to Watch

No women have declared candidacies for major seats in 2014. State senator Cherie Buckner-Webb (D) is a potential candidate for governor, but would face an uphill challenge in this heavily Republican state.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female elected executives: None

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 18

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

In its history, Idaho has elected two women to the U.S. House, and none to the Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 25.7%

Rankings: 21<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 5 of 35 (14.3%) are women

House: 22 of 70 (31.4%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts from senate, multi-member districts (by position) for house.

### Local

Idaho's third largest city, Meridian, is led by Mayor Tammy de Weerd. Of Idaho's nine cities with populations over 30,000, two have women mayors.

## Words of Wisdom

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"The right to vote was hard fought, especially for women, so I want you to hold on to it, I want you to guard it, and I want you to use it and protect what is important to you."

– Cherie Buckner-Webb, Idaho state senator

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# Women's Representation in Illinois

## Parity Ranking: 26<sup>th</sup> of 50

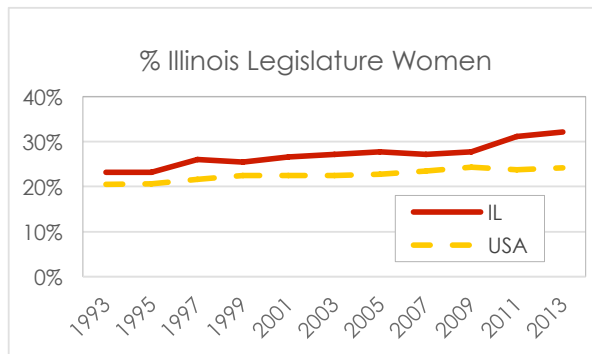
Score of 21: Nine points for the percentage of female U.S. House Members and 12 points for the percentage of state legislators that are women.

## Focus Facts

A woman has not run on a major party ticket for U.S. Senate in Illinois since Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun was defeated in 1998.

## Trending

Always above the national average, the percentage of Illinois' state legislators who are women has risen steadily since 1993. In 2008, Illinois ranked 18<sup>th</sup> among states in its percentage of women state legislators. Today, it ranks 6<sup>th</sup>.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: lieutenant governor, state comptroller, and attorney general

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 6

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 4 of 18 seats are held by women

In its history, Illinois has elected one female U.S. Senator, Carol Moseley-Braun (1993-1999), who also is the only African American woman to ever be elected to the Senate. Illinois has elected 17 female U.S. House Members, three through special elections.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 32.2%

Rankings: 6<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 15 of 59 (25.42%) are women

House: 42 of 118 (35.6%) are women

Method of election: All single-member districts since 1980, when Illinois ended its use of cumulative voting in three-seat districts.

### Local

None of the five largest cities has a woman mayor. Of the 63 cities with populations over 30,000, 11 have women mayors.

### Words of Wisdom

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"We will no longer wait for political power to be shared with us, we will take it."

– Cardiss Collins, former U.S. Representative from Illinois

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## Profile of Progress: Combatting Sexism

When Erika Harold ran in the Republican primary for Illinois' 13<sup>th</sup> Congressional District in 2012, the last thing she expected was a sexist and racist attack from Montgomery County GOP Chairman Jim Allen. Harold, a Harvard-educated attorney and former Miss America, hoped to become the first female African-American Republican in Congress.

Allen's remarks ranged from calling Harold a "streetwalker" and the "lovechild of the DNC" to saying that she would likely lose the race and join a Chicago law firm "that needs to meet their quota for minority hires."

The Republican establishment was quick to condemn Allen. The editor of *Republican News Watch*, a Chicago-based conservative website to which Allen sent the offending e-mail, responded, "If officials in my party fail to understand how destructive it is to attack an impressive person like Erika Harold merely because she dares to challenge the good old boys, the GOP will remain a losing party for decades." Even RNC Chair Reince Priebus called on Allen to resign from his position, which he did, and issue an apology to Harold, which he did via text message.

Combating sexism is an important step towards advancing women in the political arena, since studies have found that women are often less likely to run for office because they are wary of incidences similar to this one. But in this case, the strong pushback from Republicans demonstrated a commitment to disallow if not condemn sexist statements about a woman candidate.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Lisa Madigan, who has served three terms as Attorney General, was widely expected to challenge Patrick Quinn in the Democratic primary for governor. But in July she announced that her father's decision to remain Speaker of the House, a position he has held for 28 of the past 30 years, led her to decide to seek re-election to avoid the problem of family members serving in those two key positions at the same time. Gov. Quinn is vulnerable, but his most serious challengers in the primary and prospective general election are likely to be men.

First-term U.S. Rep. Rodney Davis (R) represents the competitive 13<sup>th</sup> district. He may face both a primary challenge from Erika Harold and a general election challenge from county judge Ann Callis. Republican state representative Darlene Senger faces an uphill challenge to a Democrat in the 11<sup>th</sup> district.

## Notable 2012-13 Elections

In April 2013, Robin Kelly won a U.S. House seat in a special election in Illinois' 2<sup>nd</sup> congressional district. Women hold three other U.S. House seats, including two first-term Members who won in 2012: Democrats Tammy Duckworth and Cheri Bustos, who both defeated Republican incumbents in districts redrawn by the legislature in 2011 to favor Democrats.

# Women's Representation in Indiana

## Parity Ranking: 36<sup>th</sup> of 50

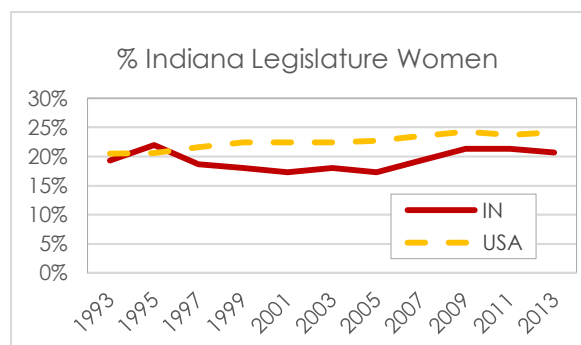
Score of 17: Nine points for Indiana's two female House Members and 8 for the percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

Indiana ended a five-election cycle of electing only men to the U.S. House when it elected two women in 2012.

## Trending

The percentage of women in Indiana's state legislature has remained relatively level over the past 20 years, with a long dip between 1994 and 2006. While briefly ahead of the national average, it has lagged behind it for nearly two decades.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Given her narrow win in 2012, Rep. Jackie Walorski (R) may face another competitive race in her heavily Republican district. Absent open seats, no other House races is projected to be competitive.

In state executive races, Secretary of State Connie Lawson (R) is seeking re-election. The offices of auditor and treasurer (held by Richard Mourdock) may also provide opportunities for women candidates.

## Words of Wisdom

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"I think it's a great opportunity to continue to raise the bar for women in politics and open the door for women leaders at every level, from a corporate CEO's office to the Governor's office. We have that opportunity to prove that women are effective leaders and great problem solvers."— Sue Ellspermann, Indiana Lieutenant Governor, on being the fourth consecutive woman to hold that position

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## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female Governors: None

Female statewide elected executives: Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and Superintendent of Public Instruction

Number of women to have held statewide elective office: 17

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 2 of 9 seats are held by women

In its history, Indiana has never elected a woman to the Senate, but has elected seven women to the U.S. House.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 20.7%

Rankings: 34<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 50 (16%) are women

House: 23 of 100 (23%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the 27 cities in Indiana with populations over 30,000, only three are led by women mayors: Gary, Richmond and Columbus.

## Notable 2012 Election

Two Republican women won House seats in 2012. Jackie Walorski narrowly won the 2<sup>nd</sup> congressional district with just 49%, while Susan Brooks won easily in the 5<sup>th</sup> congressional district.

# Women's Representation in Iowa

## Parity Ranking: 48<sup>th</sup> of 50

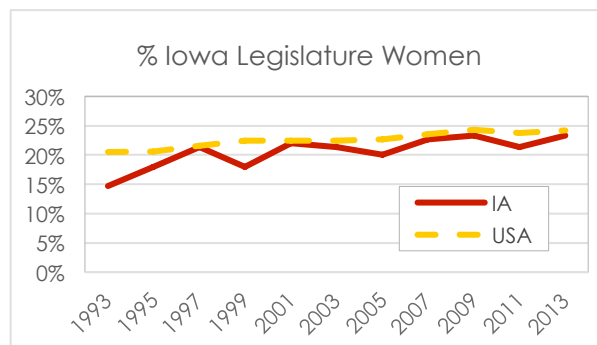
Score of 9: Nine points for the percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

In accordance with a gender balance law passed in 2009 and that took effect in 2012, local governments are being pressured to increase gender parity on local boards and commissions. A recent study completed by the Carrie Chapman Catt Center on Women and Politics at Iowa State University and the Friends of Iowa Commission on the Status of Women shows that nearly half of the selected boards and commissions have achieved gender balance.

## Trending

The percentage of women in Iowa's state legislature peaked at 23.3% in 2009, and has generally tracked the national average over the last two decades.



## Words of Wisdom

"The vote is the emblem of your equality, women of America, the guarantee of your liberty."

– Iowa, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and founder of the League of Women Voters Carrie Chapman Catt (1859-1947)

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Female statewide elected executives: Lieutenant Governor and State Auditor

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 13

### Congress

Iowa is one of four states that have never elected a woman to the U.S. Senate or U.S. House.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 23.3%

Rankings: 27<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 10 of 50 (20%) are women

House: 35 of 150 (23.3%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the fifteen cities in Iowa with populations over 30,000, only Ames, the eighth largest city in the state, has a woman mayor: Ann Campbell, elected 2005.

## Notable 2012 Elections

In 2012, Christie Vilsack, wife of former governor Tom Vilsack, took on incumbent Steve King in the 4<sup>th</sup> congressional district. She lost her bid to be Iowa's first female Member of Congress by eight percentage points.

Anesa Kajtazovic, who is now running for Congress, was reelected to Iowa's state House. When she was initially elected, she was the youngest woman representative to be elected to the Iowa state legislature.

## Profile in Progress: Training, Recruiting and Funding of Women Candidates

50-50 in 2020 has a simple goal. By the year 2020, the organization seeks to have gender parity at all levels of Iowa government and to see a woman as governor. What is unique about their effort is that Iowa is one of two states to have never elected a woman to either Congress or the Governor's mansion. "Most people are shocked and amazed at this fact," said Jean Lloyd-Jones, one of the founders of 50-50 in 2020 who served in the Iowa State Legislature for 15 years.



The bipartisan organization seeks to recruit, train, and mentor Iowa women to seek political office by inviting them to a two-day campaign school that gets into the nuts and bolts of a campaign, covering everything from immediate feedback on stump speeches to practicing requests for donations. Lloyd-Jones highlights the bipartisan nature of the Blueprint for Winning Academy and hopes that while the candidates acquire the skills necessary to run for office, they also get to know and work with each other, an essential skill in an increasingly polarized legislature.

50-50 in 2020 also actively encourages women to run for open seats and looks to create a pipeline of qualified women who will be able to run at the state level. The encouragement is often necessary for women who either don't consider themselves candidates or think that they can't run for office, citing family or other obligations. While acknowledging the immense task ahead of them, Lloyd-Jones points to successes including having 35 women in the Iowa State Legislature by 2013 and having women in top leadership positions in both the House and Senate.

## 2014 Elections to Watch

Republican state senator Joni Ernst is a leading candidate for Iowa's open U.S. Senate seat, while Democrats rally around Rep. Bruce Braley.

Mary Mosiman (R), who was appointed State Auditor in 2013, will run for the same position in 2014. Lieutenant Governor Kim Reynolds (R) is expected to run for re-election in 2014. Both races could be competitive.

Monica Vernon, Anesa Kajtazovic and Swati Dandekar are three Democratic women who are running for the 1<sup>st</sup> congressional district seat being vacated by Bruce Braley. Another Democrat, Staci Appel, has declared her intention to run in the 3<sup>rd</sup> district against incumbent Tom Latham (R).

# Women's Representation in Kansas

## Parity Ranking: 13<sup>th</sup> of 50

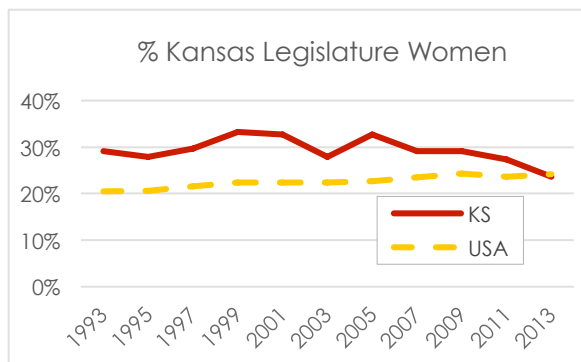
Score of 30: Ten points for the two terms of Governor Kathleen Sebelius, 10 points for the percentage of the state's House Members who are women, and 10 points for the percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Fact

The first American woman to be elected mayor was Susanna M. Salter of Argonia, Kansas. Salter was elected in 1887, 33 years before the passage of the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment, and served for one year.

## Trending

The percentage of women in the state legislature has declined over the last twenty years, falling from a high of nearly 35% to below the national average in 2013.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Joan Finney (1991-1995), Kathleen Sebelius (2003-2009)

Current female statewide elected executives: insurance commissioner

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 10

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 4 seats is held by a woman

In its history, Kansas has elected 5 women to the U.S. House, and 1 to the U.S. Senate

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 23.6%

Rankings: 25<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 12 of 40 (30%) are women

House: 27 of 125 (21.6%) are women

Method of election: single member districts

### Local

Of Kansas' thirteen cities with populations over 30,000, only Salina (population 47,707) has a female mayor.

## Words of Wisdom

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"Women bring a different background that is important to the different discussions that take place." – Nancy Kassebaum Baker, former U.S. senator from Kansas

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## Area of Progress: Training, Recruiting, and Funding Female Candidates

Kansans Advancing Women (KAW) is a PAC formed in November 2012 with the goal of electing progressive women at all levels of Kansas politics. In the 2014 election cycle, KAW hopes to raise \$50,000 to support four female candidates for the Kansas House of Representatives and a female gubernatorial candidate if one should emerge.



In outlining their mission, KAW co-founder Laurel Maslowski points to a lack of young women pursuing elected office and the decline in recent years of women's participation in politics. She is passionate about the possibilities for KAW and the need to identify and fund potential female candidates through grassroots networks across the state. "Interest signifies people are ready for gender equity," she said of a recent rise in interest in the organization.

Helping potential candidates financially is one of the most important steps the organization takes, as many women view campaigning and especially fundraising with some trepidation. The presence of PACs and other organizations dedicated to electing women helps women identify a network of support while running for office.

## Notable 2012 Election

The only woman in Kansas' congressional delegation, Rep. Lynn Jenkins, first won her seat in 2008 after six years as State Treasurer. She narrowly defeated former Congressman Jim Ryun in the Republican primary, and then edged Democratic incumbent Nancy Boyda in the general election that year. She was re-elected in 2010 and in 2012 won by 19 percentage points against Democrat Tobias Schlingensiepen.

## 2014 Elections to Watch

Kansas has become one of the most firmly Republican states in the nation. Its four U.S. House seats are all held by recently elected Republicans, including Congresswoman Lynn Jenkins, in safely Republican seats. As a result, any changes in the congressional delegation in 2014 are unlikely.

Sen. Pat Roberts (R) is widely expected to win re-election, as is Gov. Sam Brownback (R). At least one Democratic woman, former Senate candidate Jill Dockett, may run for Governor.



# Women's Representation in Kentucky

## Parity Ranking: 42<sup>nd</sup> of 50

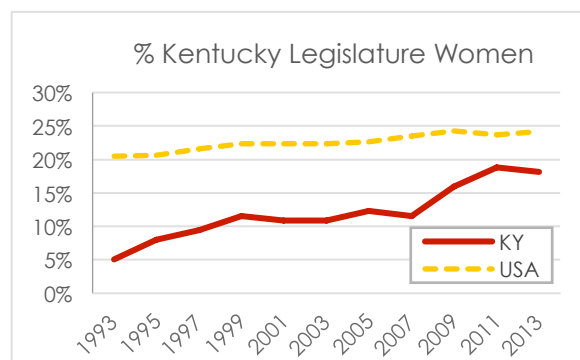
Score of 11: Seven points for the percentage of women in Kentucky's state legislature and four points for Mayor Sherry Carran of Covington.

## Focus Facts

Gov. Steve Beshear (D) increased the number of women on the Kentucky Supreme Court to three for the first time in the state's history in 2013, part of his broader effort to appoint more women.

## Trending

Kentucky has trended upward over the last twenty years in the representation of women in its state legislature, after having had only 5% women in the legislature in 1993. There are now almost four times as many women in the legislature today, but the state still lags behind the national average.



## Words of Wisdom

"As women especially we have to be ready. When that window of opportunity opens, that door of opportunity opens, you have to be ready to go through it, and so do everything you can to prepare yourself ... and one thing about women: we're not afraid of a little hard work."

—Martha Layne Collins, former governor of Kentucky

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Martha Layne Collins (1984-1987)

Current female statewide elected executives: Secretary of State

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 8

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 6 seats are held by women

In its history, Kentucky has elected 2 women to the U.S. House: Katherine Gudger Langley (1927-1931) and Anne Northup (1997-2007)

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 18.1%

Rankings: 37<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 7 of 38 (18.4%) are women

House: 18 of 100 (18.0%) are women

Method of election: single-member districts

### Local

In 2012, Sherry Carran was elected mayor of Covington, Kentucky's fifth largest city. Covington is the only one of the state's seven cities with populations over 30,000 with a woman mayor.



## Area of Progress: Organizations Train, Recruiting and Funding Female Candidates

Women officeholders are more likely than their male counterparts to say that encouragement played a large role in their decision to run. One program that gives women an extra push to pursue elected office is Emerge America, a national organization active in thirteen states that trains and recruits women to run for office.



Emerge Kentucky is a seven-month training program that helps Democratic women become "ready to run." It offers preparatory sessions on a range of campaign activities, including public speaking and communication, fundraising, media and messaging, networking, campaign strategy, field operations, technology and new media, diversity and cultural competency, and ethical leadership.

The Emerge Kentucky program has some 100 graduates. Of the program's alumnae, 43% have run for office, and 60% of those candidates have won their races. "I think it's a huge boost to have that many trained candidates," said Elizabeth Sawyer, the executive director of Emerge Kentucky. "Women are being sought after as candidates for both parties as they look to increase their numbers in the legislative bodies."

## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

By far the most high profile race in Kentucky in 2014 will be the expected matchup between Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell and Kentucky Secretary of State Alison Lundergan Grimes. Grimes would be the state's first female U.S. Senator. While Kentucky tends to be heavily Republican, McConnell is relatively unpopular in the state, giving Grimes a realistic chance at victory. The *Cook Political Report* has called this race a "toss up."



Kentucky's 6<sup>th</sup> U.S. House district is likely to be the only other race in the state that may draw interest. First-term Republican Andy Barr narrowly won this Bluegrass district in 2012. Among potential Democratic challengers is Elisabeth Jensen, an Emerge Kentucky graduate.

Kentucky will not elect its governor and state senate again until 2015, but in 2013 is electing its State House of Representatives.

# Women's Representation in Louisiana

## Parity Ranking: 31<sup>st</sup> of 50

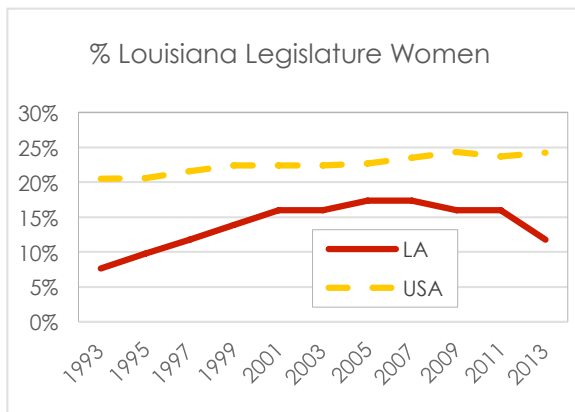
Score of 20: Five points for former governor Kathleen Blanco, 10 points for Senator Mary Landrieu's two most recent terms, and only 5 points for its low percentage of female state legislators.

## Focus Fact

Rose McConnell Long, the wife of Huey Long, became the third female U.S. Senator in 1936 when she was appointed four months after Long was assassinated. She won a special election in 1936, but chose not to run for a full term that fall.

## Trending

The level of representation of women in Louisiana's state legislature is the lowest in the nation, and is less than half of the national average. After a recent sharp decline, women's representation in Louisiana is now back to the same level that it was in 1997 – only 11.8%.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Sen. Mary Landrieu (D) is up for re-election in her increasingly Republican state. She is likely to face a Republican male candidate in what is expected to be a very close election.

In U.S House races in 2014, any change in parity in current districts is nearly impossible, but there may be one or two open Republican seats or a competitive intra-party contest in Louisiana's unique version of the Top Two

election system. At the state level, Louisiana will not hold elections until 2015.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Kathleen Blanco (2004-2008)

Current female statewide elected executives: None

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: Nine, two of whom were appointed to fill vacancies

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman: Mary Landrieu (1997-present)

U.S. House: 0 of 6 seats is held by a woman

In its history, Louisiana has elected 2 women to the U.S. House, and 2 to the U.S. Senate. An additional woman was appointed to the Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 11.8%

Rankings: 50<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 4 of 39 (10.3%) are women

House: 13 of 105 (12.4%) are women

Method of election: single member districts

### Local

Of the eleven cities with a population greater than 30,000, only New Iberia (population 30,617) has a female mayor.

## Words of Wisdom

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"I most certainly know that governments at every level operate better when men and women are at the table. The issues discussed are more broad and inclusive. The solutions found are better for everyone. There's absolutely no question that women lift up the debate." – *Mary Landrieu, U.S. senator from Louisiana*

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# Women's Representation in Maine

## Parity Ranking: 7<sup>th</sup> of 50

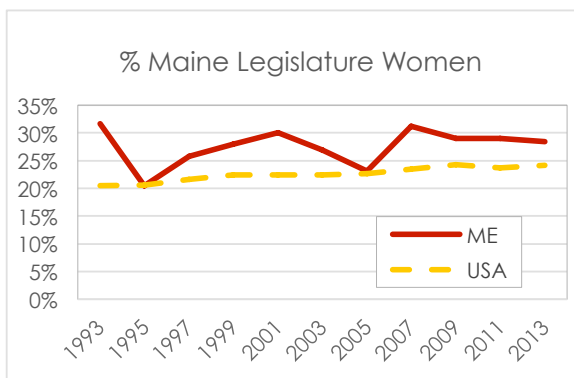
Score of 34: Fourteen points for the elections of Sen. Susan Collins and former Sen. Olympia Snowe and 10 points for having parity in its delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives. The remaining 10 points are for its state legislature, which is 28.5% women.

## Focus Facts

Starting with the 2000 election, Maine has provided public funding for candidates who opt into the program, which has been utilized more often by women than men. The system seems to have allowed more women to seek office: 42% of women seeking state office in 2004 said they would not have run without the public funding system. On the other hand, the percentage of female legislators has declined from its high after the 1992 election.

## Trending

The percentage of women in Maine's state legislature has oscillated frequently. It routinely exceeds the national average, but its share of women today is lower now than it was in 1993.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Maine is the only state to have never elected a woman to a state executive office. It has no statewide elected executive positions other than governor.

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman, Susan Collins (1997-present)

U.S. House: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman

In its history, Maine has elected four women to Congress, two of whom served in both the U.S. House and the U.S. Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 29%

Rankings: 12<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 7 of 35 (20%) are women

House: 47 of 151 (31.1%) are women

Method of election: Single member districts.

### Local

Of the three cities in Maine with populations over 30,000, none has a woman mayor.

## Words of Wisdom

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"There are times you might find yourself standing alone. But if you believe so strongly in what you are doing and what you're fighting for – that will surpass the loneliness of taking that position." – Olympia Snowe, former U.S. senator from Maine

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## Maine Elects Women Leaders to Congress

From 1997 until 2013, both of Maine's U.S. Senators were Republican women: Susan Collins, elected in 1996, and Olympia Snowe, elected in 1994. Snowe declared her intent not to seek re-election in early 2012, citing the rise in political polarization as her principal motivation.



Sen. Snowe started her legislative career early, running for the Maine House of Representatives to fill the vacancy caused by her husband's death in a car accident in 1973. She won a U.S. House seat in 1978 and a U.S. Senate seat in 1994.

Throughout her three terms in the Senate, Sen. Snowe was known as a consensus builder with a strong sense of bipartisanship. She consistently won elections with over 60% of the vote; in 2010 she won with nearly 75%.

In the 2012 election, Maine's voters chose independent Angus King to take the seat Snowe vacated, ending the nearly decade-long streak of Maine being represented by two women in the U.S. Senate.

Susan Collins still represents Maine in the U.S. Senate. She is expected to seek reelection in 2014, as is Maine's female U.S. Representative, Chellie Pingree.

## 2014 Election to Watch

Incumbent U.S. Senator Susan Collins (R) will be running for her fourth term in 2014. In 2008 she won re-election with just over 60% of the vote. Maine's one female U.S. House Member, Chellie Pingree (D) of the state's second district, will also seek re-election in 2014.

Gov. Paul LePage (R) is highly vulnerable in 2014, but his two most likely opponents are men: Congressman Mike Michaud (D) and independent Elliot Cutler, who narrowly lost to LePage in a three-way race in 2010 when Democratic nominee and female candidate Libby Mitchell finished third.

State senator Emily Cain has announced her intent to run for Michaud's House seat should it become vacant. If both she and Congresswoman Pingree are elected, Maine's two U.S. House seats will be occupied by women for the first time.

# Women's Representation in Maryland

## Parity Ranking: 8<sup>th</sup> of 50

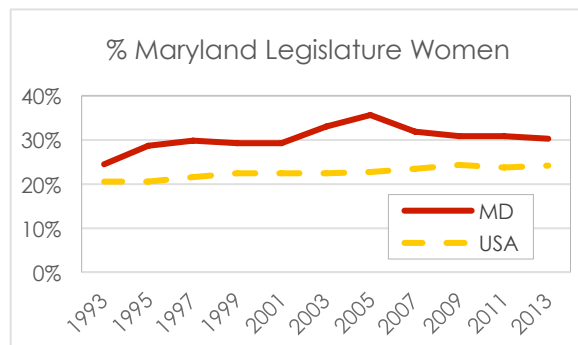
Score of 34: Ten points for Senator Barbara Mikulski's two most recent terms, 5 points for its one female U.S. House Member, 11 points for its percentage of state legislators who are women, and 8 points for Baltimore mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake and Rockville mayor Phyllis Marcuccio.

## Focus Facts

From 1979 to 1987 Maryland had at least three female Representatives in Congress, but since 1995, no more than one member of the state's House delegation has been a woman. Current Rep. Donna Edwards won by defeating incumbent Al Wynn in a primary in 2008.

## Trending

The percentage of women in Maryland's state legislature peaked in 2005 at just under 36%, and has declined gradually since then, though it remains higher than the national average. Women lost some seats when party leaders selected men to fill seats vacated by women.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: none

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 1

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman, Barbara Mikulski (1987-present)

U.S. House: 1 of 8 seats is held by a woman

In its history, Maryland has elected one woman to the U.S. Senate and eight to the House

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 30.3%

Rankings: 9<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 11 of 47 (23.4%) are women

House: 46 of 141 (32.6%) are women

Method of election: Each single-member senate district elects three seats in the House of Delegates. Nearly all delegates are elected at-large, with a handful of one-seat and two-seat districts.

### Local

Of the nine cities in Maryland with populations over 30,000, two have female mayors. Stephanie Rawlings-Blake is mayor of Baltimore, Maryland's largest city, and Phyllis Marcuccio is mayor of Rockville, the state's third largest city.

### Words of Wisdom

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"The women of the Senate are like the U.S. Olympic team: we come in different sizes, but we sure are united in our determination to do the best for our country!"— *Barbara Mikulski, U.S. senator from Maryland*

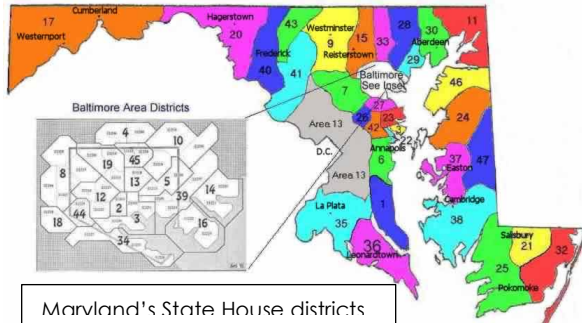
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## Area of Progress: Multi-Seat Districts as Electoral Structures that Encourage Election of Women

Maryland currently ranks ninth for its percentage of state legislators who are women (30.3%), and is also one of ten states that elects members of at least one of its state legislative chambers in multi-member districts, an electoral structure that has been shown to improve the likelihood of women running for and winning elected office. In multi-member districts, constituents elect multiple legislators to represent them, while in single-member districts, which are more common in the United States, constituents elect only one legislator to represent them.

Maryland has 47 senate districts. Each district elects three House of Delegates seats. Almost all are elected at-large, while others use a combination of districts with one or two seats. Of the 141 members of its House of Delegates, 46 are women – down from the mid-2000s.



The percentage of women delegates in two- and three-member districts is more than double the percentage of women delegates elected in single-member districts (38% vs. 14%). Research suggests that the use of multi-member districts encourages the election of female candidates because it provides constituents with the option to vote for both male and female candidates instead of having to choose one.

In addition, women have been shown to be more likely to run in multi-member districts for a variety of reasons, one of which is that multi-

member districts incentivize cooperation between candidates, diminishing the need for negative campaigning.

## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Six cities with populations greater than 30,000 will elect their mayors in 2013, among them Rockville. Incumbent Rockville mayor Phyllis Marcuccio has not announced whether she will seek re-election. One slate of candidates running for both mayor and city council includes a male mayoral candidate but three of its four city council candidates are women.

Governor Martin O'Malley will not seek re-election in 2014 due to term limits, providing an opening for Maryland to elect its first female governor. State Delegate Heather Mizeur is one of three major candidates seeking the Democratic nomination, but is not favored to win. Frontrunner Anthony Brown has already selected a man as his running mate.

On the Republican side, Anne Arundel County Executive Laura Neuman was a prospective candidate, but instead will run for re-election. Hartford County Executive David Craig is seeking the Republican nomination and has chosen Jeannie Haddaway-Riccio as his running mate.

The others statewide elected offices, Attorney General and Comptroller, are expected to be won by men.

Absent unforeseen primary challenges or open seats, the U.S. House delegation is expected to remain the same.

## Notable 2012 Elections

Rep. Donna Edwards won re-election in the 4<sup>th</sup> congressional district with over 77% of the vote. Only one other woman ran for the U.S. House from Maryland in 2012: Nancy Jacobs, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> congressional district. Jacobs, a Republican, received 31.1% of the vote in a district that is heavily Democratic.

# Women's Representation in Massachusetts

## Parity Ranking: 21<sup>st</sup> of 50

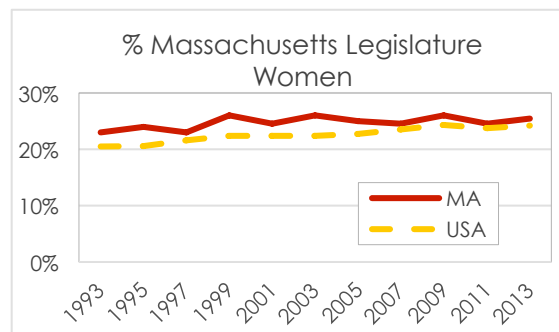
Score of 26: Six points for the recent election of Senator Elizabeth Warren, 5 points for the percentage of the state's U.S. House Members that are women, 11 points for the percentage of state legislators who are women, and 4 points for Mayor Henrietta Davis of Cambridge.

## Focus Facts

Building on the efforts of former governor Mitt Romney to appoint more women to state government, Gov. Deval Patrick has filled 45% of the state's appointed positions with women. 42% of Governor Romney's appointees had been women.

## Trending

The percentage of women in the state legislature has not significantly changed in the last 20 years, mirroring the slow pace of advancement for women's representation nationally.



## Notable 2012 Election

In 2012, Elizabeth Warren unseated incumbent Senator Scott Brown, becoming Massachusetts' first female U.S. Senator.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Jane Swift (2001-2003)

Current female statewide elected executives: attorney general and state auditor

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 6

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman, Elizabeth Warren (2013-present)

U.S. House: 1 of 9 seats is held by a woman

In its history, Massachusetts has elected four women to the U.S. House, and one to the U.S. Senate

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 25.5%

Rankings: 22<sup>nd</sup> of 50

Senate: 13 of 40 (32.5%) are women

House: 38 of 160 (23.8%) are women

Method of election: Single member districts

### Local

Of the 52 cities in Massachusetts with populations over 30,000, twelve have women mayors, including Cambridge, the state's fifth largest city. Cambridge elects councilors at-large with ranked choice voting, and the council selects the mayor from within its ranks.

### Words of Wisdom

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"Let's get serious here. This is 2012, and we're talking about 20 percent of the United States Senate is female. That's not an overwhelming number yet."— Elizabeth Warren, U.S. senator from Massachusetts

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## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Many of Massachusetts' larger cities will hold elections for mayor in 2013, including Boston. Boston's incumbent mayor, Thomas Menino, will not seek re-election. So far, 12 candidates have entered the race, one of whom is a woman: former State Representative and Senior Vice President of YouthBuild USA, Charlotte Golar Richie, who would also be Boston's first African American mayor if elected.

Governor Deval Patrick has announced that he will also not seek re-election in 2014. Several candidates have already declared their intent to replace him, including Martha Coakley, who became the state's first female attorney general in 2006.

The state's U.S. House seats are all held by Democrats in strongly Democratic districts, meaning that the delegation's one woman (Niki Tsongas) and eight men are likely to be re-elected, absent retirements or primary challenges. Controversial incumbent John Tierney has already drawn a primary challenge from Melissa DeFranco.

## Profile of Progress: Combating Gender Stereotypes

Women cannot become leaders if they do not see themselves as leaders, which is why early mentorship programs are so important. Strong Women, Strong Girls is a multi-generational mentorship program that started in Boston, but has expanded to Philadelphia and Miami. SWSG provides mentoring to girls in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> grades by college-aged women who are themselves mentored by professional women. The cycle of mentoring helps all the women involved develop leadership skills and encourages the younger girls to develop positive female relationships along with higher self-esteem.



Amy Kingman, the Boston Executive Director, identified the changing of gender stereotypes as one of the largest impacts of SWSG. The mentorship program, which meets once a week after school in 55 elementary schools in the greater Boston area and caters largely to lower-income girls who are on free and reduced lunch programs, encourages the girls to be "loud and proud." She describes the impact of the program at the elementary school of not only changing the girls' perceptions of themselves, but also changing the attitudes of school administrators, parents, and male students.

SWSG is a skills-based mentoring program, and every week it focuses on an example of a strong woman and her life story. The girls are surveyed at the beginning and end of the year to assess the overall impact of the program. The changes are evident in their evaluations of their self-esteem, leadership qualities, and future aspirations. Developing leadership skills early on, along with developing a network of female mentorship, is essential to changing and encouraging more women to see politics as an option and elected office as a goal.

# Women's Representation in Michigan

## Parity Ranking: 16<sup>th</sup> of 50

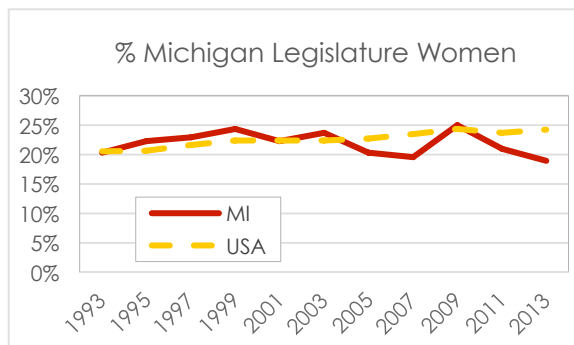
Score of 29: Ten points for former governor Jennifer Granholm, 10 points for U.S. Sen. Debbie Stabenow, three points for its single woman House Member, and six points for its percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

In 2002, Michigan elected its third foreign-born governor and its first woman governor, Jennifer Granholm (D). Originally from Canada, Granholm became a naturalized American citizen at the age of 21. She served two terms.

## Trending

In recent years, the Michigan state legislature has experienced large fluctuations in the percentage of seats held by women. It has declined sharply in 2010 and 2012 to 18%.



## Words of Wisdom

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"I think it's important for women to serve, whether it's leadership in their community or political office – women have to be at the table. It's [an] important call, but it's not easy. Because it's hard, because times are ugly. My perspective as former Governor is that the most impactful people in the Legislature, and the people who really got stuff done, were women. Women are workhorses, not show horses and our nation needs really good public service at this time." – Jennifer Granholm, former governor of Michigan

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## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female Governor: Jennifer Granholm (2003-2011)

Current female statewide elected executives: secretary of state

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 7 (one appointed)

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats held by women  
Debbie Stabenow (2001-present)

U.S. House: 1 of 14 seats held by women

In its history, Michigan has elected 7 women to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 18.9%

Rankings: 36<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 4 of 38 (10.5%) are women

House: 24 of 110 (21.8%) are women

Method of election: Single member districts

### Local

Of the 38 cities with populations over 30,000, 14 have women mayors, none of which are among the five largest cities in the state.

## 2014 Election to Watch

U.S. Senator Carl Levin announced that he will not seek re-election from Michigan in 2014. A victory for a woman in the race would make Michigan one of just a handful of states with two female U.S. Senators. Democrats seem to be really around a man, Rep. Gary Peters. The Republican race is wide open, with former Michigan Secretary of State Terry Lynn Land among women who are likely candidates.

Gov. Dick Snyder (R) is vulnerable, but Democrats seem to be really around a male candidate. Other statewide executive offices may create opportunities for women candidates.

Only one woman, Republican Candice Miller, represents Michigan in the U.S. House. She is likely safe in 2014. Nearly all her male colleagues are all. But Peters' seat will be open, as will potentially more than one Republican seat.

## Area of Progress: Training, Recruiting, and Funding Women Candidates

Michigan is home to at least two non-partisan organizations dedicated to promoting women's leadership in politics.



Ready to Run Michigan is an organization promoting education about women and gender. Its training program curriculum includes such topics as fundraising, media training, and developing a campaign plan.



The Women Officials Network offers two workshops biennially encouraging women to run for public office. In addition, they partner with organizations like the League of Women Voters and the Michigan Women's Commission to provide additional workshops and networking opportunities.

# Women's Representation in Minnesota

## Parity Ranking: 9<sup>th</sup> of 50

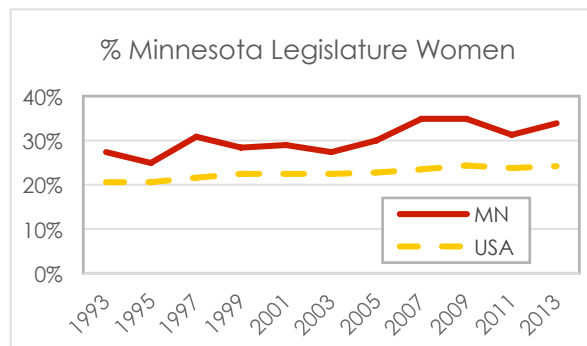
Score of 34: Ten points for Senator Amy Klobuchar's two terms, 10 points for the percentage of U.S. House seats held by women, and 14 points for its percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

In the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, the gender gap in politics has been overcome; 57% of the tribe's top elected officials are women.

## Trending

Minnesota has consistently outpaced the national average for its proportion of state legislators who are women. Women are equally well represented in the statehouse and in state senate.



## Words of Wisdom

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"A lot of young women get afraid to get into politics because ... they think they don't know enough. And yet you look at a lot of guys – they've hardly done anything in politics and they think they can be an expert on the federal tax system after looking at it for one day."  
– Senator Amy Klobuchar, U.S. senator from Minnesota

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## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: none

Current female statewide elected executives: lieutenant governor, state auditor, and attorney general

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 14, one of whom was appointed and then elected in a special election

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman, Amy Klobuchar (2007-present)

U.S. House: 2 of 8 seats are held by women

In its history, Minnesota has elected four women to Congress. In addition, Muriel Humphrey Brown was appointed to the Senate in 1978 after a vacancy caused by the death of her husband.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 33.8%

Rankings: 4<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 23 of 67 (34.3%) are women

House: 45 of 134 (33.6%) are women

Method of election: Single member districts

### Local

Of the 28 cities in Minnesota with populations over 30,000, seven have female mayors.

## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Six cities in Minnesota will be electing mayors in 2013, including Minneapolis, which has an open seat. Women who are currently campaigning for the office include Jackie Cherryhomes, Stephanie Woodruff, and City Councilmember Betsy Hodges, one of the two frontrunners. Minneapolis elects its mayor using ranked choice voting, in which voters rank three candidates in order of preference.

Michele Bachmann has announced that she will not to seek re-election to her seat in 6<sup>th</sup> congressional district in 2014. Women candidates now seeking the seat include Democrat Judy Adams and Republican County Commissioner from Anoka, Rhonda Sivarajah (who will face male opponents in the Republican primary). Sona Mehring, founder and CEO of CaringBridge, has announced her intent to challenge incumbent John Kline for Minnesota's 2<sup>nd</sup> congressional district seat. Three Democrats hold House seats that could be competitive in a Republican-leaning year.

In statewide elections, Gov. Mark Dayton is favored for re-election, but women will have opportunities in other seats, including an open seat race for Secretary of State.

## Area of Progress: Training, Recruiting, and Funding Women Candidates

Minnesota is home to a number of organizations dedicated to promoting women's involvement in politics.

Women Winning, a nonpartisan group dedicated to electing pro-choice women candidates, endorses and fundraises for women seeking office in Minnesota.

Frontrunners: Women with Political Ambition is a network of women who meet for networking and support.

VOICES of Conservative Women helps to train, endorse, and support conservative women looking to run for office or otherwise become more involved in state and local politics.

The Women Candidate Development Coalition (WCDC) is a coalition of women's organizations providing education and assistance to progressive women interested in greater involvement in politics.



# Women's Representation in Mississippi

## Parity Ranking: 49<sup>th</sup> of 50

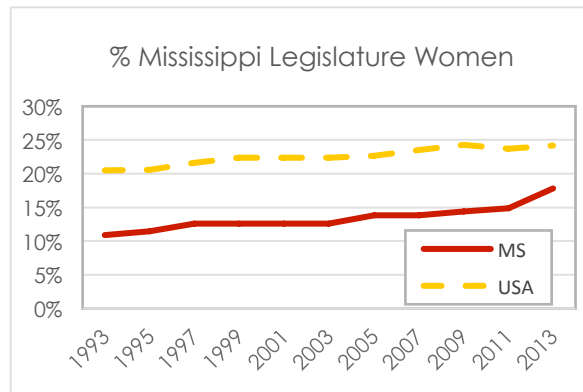
Score of 7: The state's seven points all come from the percentage of state legislative seats held by women.

## Focus Fact

Mississippi has never elected a woman to serve as governor or to Congress. Iowa is the only other states to hold this dubious distinction.

## Trending

Mississippi has consistently ranked near the bottom in its share of state legislative seats held by women, although three special election victories for women in 2013 have moved the state closer to the national average.



## 2013- 2014 Elections to Watch

Thad Cochran has not declared whether he will seek a seventh U.S. Senate term. If not, there may be a wide open Republican primary, with several prominent female politicians reportedly interested. All four U.S. House districts in 2014 will likely be safe for their male incumbents. In 2013, seats in the state house of representatives are up for election, providing new opportunities for women candidates.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Mississippi has never had a female governor.

Current female statewide elected executives: state treasurer and the agriculture and commerce commissioner

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 4 (led by Evelyn Gandy, who was the first woman to win statewide when elected as state treasurer in 1959 and later was elected lieutenant governor and commissioner of insurance).

### Congress

Mississippi is among four states that have never elected a woman to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 17.8%

Rankings: 39<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 52 (15.4%) are women

House: 23 of 122 (18.9%) are women

Method of election: Single member districts

### Local

None of the nine cities with populations over 30,000 have women mayors.

## Words of Wisdom

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"If we had more women [in office], I think our state and our nation would be a much better place." – *Alyce Clarke, state representative for the 69<sup>th</sup> district of Mississippi*

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# Women's Representation in Missouri

## Parity Ranking: 18<sup>th</sup> of 50

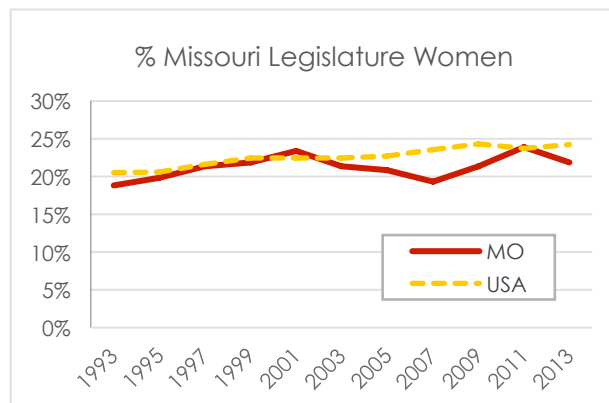
Score of 28: Ten points for Sen. McCaskill's two terms, 10 for the percentage of the state's U.S. House Members who are women, and 8 for its percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Fact

Since the appointment of Jean Carnahan as the state first female U.S. Senator in 2000 (when her husband was elected posthumously), a woman has run as a major party nominee in every U.S. Senate race in Missouri.

## Trending

The percentage of women in Missouri's legislature has closely mirrored the national average over the last 20 years.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

In 2014, Missouri is unlikely to see an election with a woman that garners as much national attention as did Sen. Claire McCaskill's election against challenger Todd Akin in 2012. All of the state's House districts are uncompetitive, so the status quo of two congresswomen is likely to continue. There are no obvious opportunities for women to gain representation in statewide elected office; the governor and most other executive offices are elected in presidential election years.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Missouri has never had a female governor.

Current female statewide elected executives: None

Nine women have served in elective executive positions in Missouri's history, two of whom were appointed to fill vacancies.

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats held by a woman, Claire McCaskill (2007-present)

U.S. House: 2 of 8 seats held by women (A third, Jo Ann Emerson, resigned this year.)

In its history, Missouri has elected eight women to the U.S. Congress, one through a special election.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 21.8%

Rankings: 30<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 5 of 34 (14.7%) are women

House: 38 of 163 (23.3%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the 19 cities in Missouri with populations over 30,000, only two have women mayors. St. Charles, the ninth largest in the state with a population of 65,794, is led by Mayor Sally Faith. University City, with a population of 35,371, is led by Mayor Shelley Welsch.

## Words of Wisdom

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"I think this is why I am so attracted to her [Chicago activist Joanna Alter] legacy. She considered tough a compliment. And what a great thing for a woman, to consider tough a compliment."— *Claire McCaskill, U.S. senator from Missouri*

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# Women's Representation in Montana

## Parity Ranking: 46<sup>th</sup> of 50

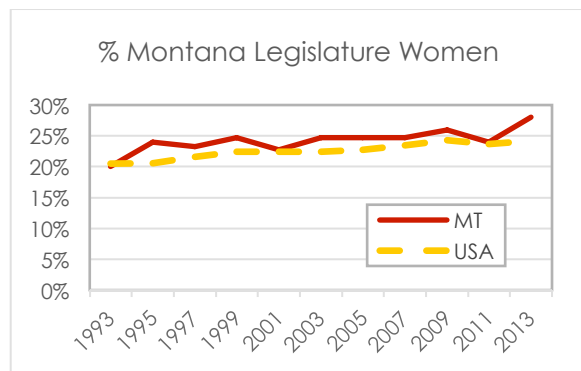
Score of 10: All ten points come from the percentage of state legislative seats held by women.

## Focus Fact

Montana has not elected a woman to Congress since electing the nation's first in 1916, when Jeannette Rankin won one of two at-large U.S. House seats.

## Trending

2012 resulted in six new female state legislators, the biggest increase in 20 years. The legislature now ranks above the national average.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

In 2014, Montana will fill its first open U.S. Senate seat since the 1970s, presenting an opportunity for women from either major party, though several prominent Montana women have already chosen not to run. The state's U.S. House race will likely be competitive only if incumbent Steve Daines (R) runs for U.S. Senate. Other statewide offices are only elected in presidential election years. In 2013, the state's largest city, Billings, is holding a mayoral election, but only men are running. Only men ran for the open mayoral seat in 2009.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Judy Martz (2001-2005)

Current female statewide elected executives: Secretary of State, State Auditor, Superintendent of Public Instruction

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 16

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 1 seats held by women

In its history, Montana has elected one woman to the U.S. House and none to the Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 28%

Rankings: 16<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 10 of 50 (20%) are women

House: 32 of 100 (32%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts.

### Local

None of the five largest cities in Montana (the only cities with populations over 30,000) has a woman mayor.

### Words of Wisdom

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"How shall we answer the challenge, gentlemen? How shall we explain to them the meaning of democracy if the same Congress that voted to make the world safe for democracy refuses to give this small measure of democracy to the women of our country?"

– Jeannette Rankin, former U.S. representative from Montana

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# Women's Representation in Nebraska

## Parity Ranking: 38<sup>th</sup> of 50

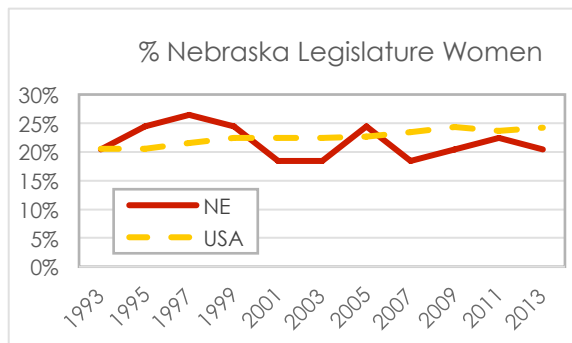
Score of 14: Six points for Sen. Deb Fischer, 4 points for the percentage of state legislative seats held by women, and 4 points for Mayor Rita Sanders of Bellevue.

## Focus Fact

When Deb Fischer defeated former Senator Bob Kerrey in 2012, she became the first woman elected to the Senate in Nebraska's history.

## Trending

In the last 20 years, Nebraska has had between 9 and 13 women in its state legislature out of 49 available seats. The state currently has the same percentage of women it had in 1993.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

There will be an open U.S. Senate seat race in 2014, presenting an opportunity for a second woman to join Deb Fischer in Nebraska's Senate delegation. However, Republicans are very likely to win the seat and a credible Republican female candidate has yet to present herself. The same goes for the 2014 governor's race.

Nebraska has one vulnerable congressional incumbent, Lee Terry, who only won re-election by 1.6% in 2012. Terry could be susceptible to a challenge from a strong Democratic woman candidate.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Kay A. Orr (1987-1991)

Current female statewide elected executives: public service commissioner

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: eight (two of whom were appointed to fill vacancies)

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman: Deb Fischer, (2013-present)

U.S. House: 0 of 3 seats held by women

Nebraska has elected only three women to the U.S. Congress, one in a special election.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 20.4%

Rankings: 35<sup>th</sup> of 50

Legislature: 10 of 49 (20.4%) are women. (Nebraska's legislature is unicameral.)

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Bellevue, the third largest in the state with a population of 50,137, elected Mayor Rita Sanders in 2010.

## Words of Wisdom

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"We want everyone to know that real women run. And real women need to run."  
– Kathie Uhrmacher, president of the Women's Foundation of Lincoln and Lancaster County

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# Women's Representation in Nevada

## Parity Ranking: 22<sup>nd</sup> of 50

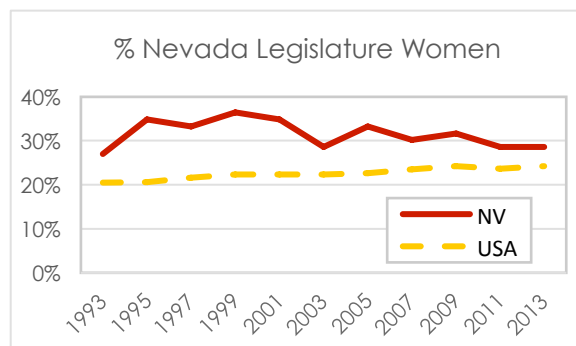
Score of 24: Ten points for the percentage of U.S. House seats held by women, 10 for the percentage of state legislators who are women, and four for Mayor Carolyn Goodman of Las Vegas.

## Focus Facts

Except for a brief stint from 1997-1999, Nevada has been represented by at least one woman in Congress since 1983.

## Trending

Women's representation in Nevada's state legislature has been in gradual decline since its peak in the period between 1995 and 2002, but remains above the national average.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Incumbent Governor Brian Sandoval (R) is favored in his likely bid for re-election in 2014. No other candidates have declared their intention to run, but Barbara Buckley (D), former assembly speaker, is considered a serious contender. The Lieutenant Governorship is an open seat; former GOP party chair Sue Lowden is among likely candidates.

## Notable 2012 Elections

In 2012, then-Representative Shelley Berkley (D) was defeated 46% to 45% by appointed incumbent Senator Dean Heller. Congresswoman Dina Titus (D) reclaimed a U.S. House seat after losing it in 2010.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: state treasurer, state comptroller, and attorney general

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 11, one of which was appointed to fill a vacancy

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 4 seats held by a woman

In its history, Nevada has elected 3 women to the U.S. House, and none to the Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 28.6%

Rankings: 14<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 4 of 21 (19%) are women

House: 14 of 42 (33%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the six cities in Nevada with populations over 30,000, only the largest, Las Vegas, has a female mayor: Mayor Carolyn Goodman

## Words of Wisdom

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*"We are not the good old boys."*  
– Dina Titus, U.S. Representative from Nevada

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# Women's Representation in New Hampshire

## Parity Ranking: 2<sup>nd</sup> of 50

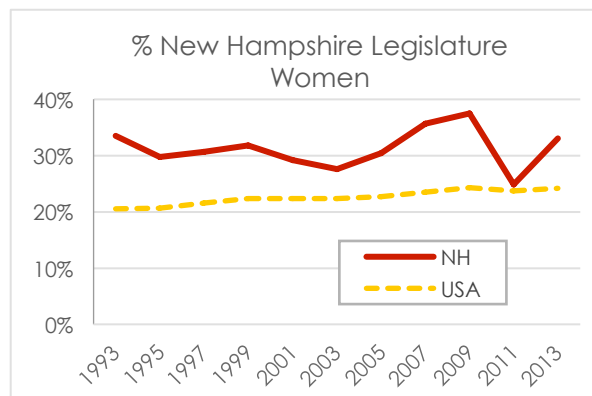
Score of 53: Ten points for Gov. Maggie Hassan's first term, 12 for first terms of Senators Jeanne Shaheen (D) and Kelly Ayotte (R), 12.5 for Rep. Shea-Porter's (D) two terms and for Rep. McLane Kuster's one term (D). 14 for the percentage of state legislators who are women, and 4 for Mayor Lozeau of Nashua.

## Focus Facts

New Hampshire is the first and only state to send an all-female delegation to Congress, with two House seats and two Senate seats held by women. New Hampshire also was the first state in the nation to have a majority female state legislative chamber (in the State Senate in 2009-2010).

## Trending

New Hampshire experienced a drop in the percentage of legislative seats held by women after the 2010 election, when Republicans took control of both the State House and Senate. The number of women dropped from 13 to 6 in the Senate and 143 to 99 in the House. In 2012, women were able to recoup their numbers; there are now 140 women serving in the state legislature.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female Governors: Vesta Roy (1982-83, appointed), Jeanne Shaheen (1997-2003), Maggie Hassan (2013-present)

The position of governor is New Hampshire's only statewide elected executive position.

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 2 of 2 seats are held by women, Kelly Ayotte (2011-present), Jeanne Shaheen (2009-present)

U.S. House: 2 of 2 seats are held by women

In its history, New Hampshire has elected four women to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 33%

Rankings: 5<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 9 of 24 (37.5%) are women

House: 131 of 400 (32.8%) are women

Method of election: State senators are elected from single-member districts and state representatives are elected from districts ranging from 1 to 11 seats

### Local

Of the four cities in New Hampshire with populations over 30,000, one is led by a woman mayor. Donnalee Lozeau is the mayor of Nashua, the second largest city in the state.

## Words of Wisdom

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"We have a history of electing women, and that's partly because we have such a wonderful tradition and culture of citizen participation in all aspects of life." – Maggie Hassan, governor of New Hampshire

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## Profile of Progress: Hard Evidence of Impact of Multi-Member Districts

New Hampshire currently ranks fifth for its percentage of state legislators who are women (33%). It also is one of ten states that uses multi-member districts, an electoral structure that has been shown to improve women's chances of running for and winning elected office. In multi-member districts, constituents elect multiple legislators from a single district to represent them, whereas in single-member districts, which are more commonly used in the U.S., constituents elect only one.

New Hampshire elects its 400 House members from 204 districts, which range in size from one to eleven representatives. It uses winner-take-all voting rules; voters have as many votes as there are seats in their district, are limited to one vote per candidate, and the candidates with the most votes are elected.

Of the 400 members of the state House of Representatives, 131 are women. Research suggests that the use of multi-member districts encourages more women to be recruited and run and provides constituents with the option to vote for both male and female candidates instead of having to choose one. In New Hampshire's larger multi-member districts, voters have even been known to vote for women who are not of their preferred political party if they believe that too few were women were nominated on their preferred party's ticket.

The New Hampshire House of Representatives is has more seats than any other state legislative chamber in the country, and the average house member represents only 3,300 people, allowing for more localized campaigns. Members are also paid only \$200 a term, likely contributing to more turnover. Greater access for female candidates in the House has given more women a chance to climb the rungs of the political ladder.

## 2014 Elections to Watch

In the 2014 midterm elections, Congresswomen Carol Shea-Porter and Anne McLane Kuster will run for re-election in the highly competitive 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional Districts. Sen. Jeanne Shaheen will face a competitive re-election as well. Gov. Maggie Hassan is favored in her bid for re-election.

## 2012 Notable Elections

In 2012, New Hampshire elected the nation's first all-female congressional delegation. This delegation includes Senior Senator Jeanne Shaheen, Junior Senator Kelly Ayotte, Representative Anne McLane Kuster, and Representative Carol Shea-Porter. Pictured below is New Hampshire's congressional delegation and New Hampshire's current governor, Maggie Hassan.



New Hampshire's all-female Congressional delegation

# Women's Representation in New Jersey

## Parity Ranking: 37<sup>th</sup> of 50

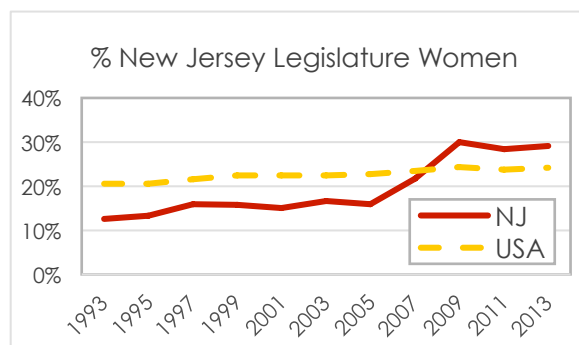
Score of 16: Twelve points for the percentage of state legislators who are women and 4 points for Edison mayor Toni Ricigliano.

## Focus Facts

In the November 2013 legislative elections in New Jersey, 67 women will be on the ballot, the most in state history.

## Trending

New Jersey for years lagged behind the national average in the percentage of its state legislative seats held by women. After elections in 2007 and 2009, however, the number of female legislators nearly doubled, from 19 in 2005 to 36 in 2009.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Christine Todd Whitman (1994-2001)

Current female statewide elected executives: lieutenant governor

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 2

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 12 seats held by women

In its history, New Jersey has elected 5 women to the House and 0 to the Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 29.9%

Rankings: 11<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 11 of 40 (27.5%) are women

House: 24 of 80 (30%) are women

Method of election: Each district elects one state senator and two assembly members

### Local

Of the 72 cities in New Jersey with populations over 30,000, only eight have women mayors. The largest of these is Edison, the fifth largest city in the state with a population of 99,967. Edison elected Mayor Antonia "Toni" Ricigliano in 2009.

### Words of Wisdom

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"I don't say the world will be perfect if it's run by women but we can't do much worse than the guys have."— *Christine Todd Whitman, former governor of New Jersey*

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## Profile of Progress: The use of multi-member districts

New Jersey currently ranks eleventh in the percentage of its state legislators who are women (29.2%). It also one of ten states that uses multi-member districts, an electoral structure that has been shown to improve women's chances of running for and winning elected office. In multi-member districts, constituents elect multiple legislators from a single district to represent them, whereas in single-member districts, which are more commonly used in the U.S., constituents elect only one.

New Jersey has 40 state legislative districts. Each district elects one state senator and two members of the General Assembly.

Voters cast one vote for senate and two votes for assembly members.

Of the 80 members in the assembly, 24 are female. Of these 24 female members, 22 were elected in districts that also elected a male assembly member. Research suggests that one reason the use of multi-member districts encourages the election of female candidates is that they provide constituents with the option to vote for both male and female candidates instead of having to choose one.

Mayor Corey Booker (D) heavily favored; both major party nominees are men.

In 2014, New Jersey's all-male U.S. House delegation will start off as favorites, but two Republicans (LoBiondo and Runyan) represent potentially competitive districts.

## 2013 – 2014 Elections to Watch



Democratic gubernatorial candidate Barbara Buono

State senator Barbara Buono (D) is mounting a longshot bid to oust popular incumbent governor Chris Christie (R) in the November 2013 election. Sen. Buono has chosen another woman, labor leader Milly Silva, to join her as a running mate. Gov. Christie is again running with Lt. Governor Kim Guadagno; she is a former county sheriff who also currently serves as Secretary of State.

In October 2013, New Jersey will also hold a special election for U.S. Senate, with Newark



# Women's Representation in New Mexico

## Parity Ranking: 10<sup>th</sup> of 50

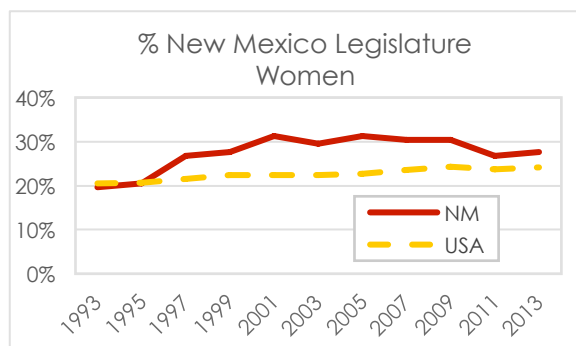
Score of 33: Ten points for current Governor Susana Martinez, 13 for the percentage of U.S. House seats held by women, and 10 for the percentage of women in the state's legislature.

## Focus Facts

Susana Martinez (R) became New Mexico's first female governor in 2010 when she won the third woman v. woman gubernatorial race in U.S. history, and the first in New Mexico history.

## Trending

The proportion of women in New Mexico's state legislature rose steadily between 1993 and 2001, but has declined gradually since 2005.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Governor Susana Martinez is favored to run and win re-election in 2014. Potential challengers include state senator Linda Lopez (D). All congressional representatives are expected to keep their seats in 2014, including first-term Representative Michelle Lujan Grisham.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Susana Martinez (2011-present)

Current female statewide elected executives: governor, secretary of state and three public regulation commissioners

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 31

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 3 seats is held by a woman

New Mexico has elected 3 women to the U.S. House and none of the U.S. Senate

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 28%

Ranking: 17<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 6 of 42 (14%) are women

House: 25 of 70 (36%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of New Mexico's eight cities with populations over 30,000, only Alamogordo has a female mayor, Susie Galea, who was selected by her city council colleagues.

## Words of Wisdom

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"As the first Hispanic female governor in history, little girls often come up to me in the grocery store or the mall. They look and point, and when they get the courage, they ask "Are you Susana?" and they run up and give me a hug. And I wonder. How do you know who I am? But they do. And these are little girls. It's in moments like these when I'm reminded that we each pave a path. And for me, it's about paving a path for those little girls to follow."  
-Susana Martinez, governor of New Mexico

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# Women's Representation in New York

## Parity Ranking: 11<sup>th</sup> of 50

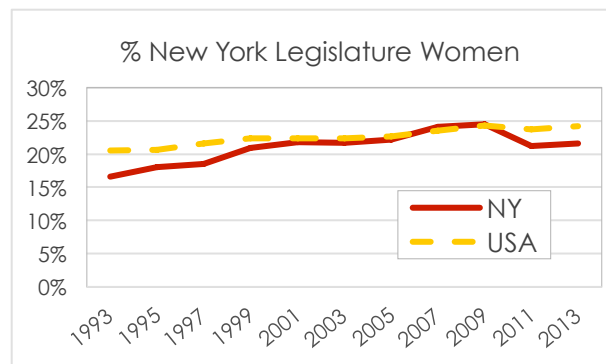
Score of 32: Ten points for Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand and former Sen. Hillary Clinton, ten points for the proportion of U.S. House Members who are women, 8 points for the percentage of state legislators who are women, and 4 points for Syracuse mayor Stephanie Miner.

## Focus Facts

Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand started "Off the Sidelines" to support women of all parties to run for office (although some Republicans have criticized it as partisan). She also has created a network of donors to back women candidates. In a 2011 special election, she campaigned for Kathy Hochul (D), who won in a GOP-leaning district, but then lost her re-election bid in 2012.

## Trending

The representation of women in the state legislature has largely tracked the national average for the last two decades. It increased slowly until the 2010 election. New York is once again below the national average for the percentage of women in its legislature.



## 2013 – 2014 Elections to Watch

In 2013, City Council Speaker Christine Quinn (D) is a frontrunner to become New York City's first female mayor. In 2014, the four statewide executive positions have not drawn female candidates. In U.S. House races, all seven

women represent safe seats, but nine men are potentially vulnerable.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: None

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 4

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman, Kirsten Gillibrand, (2009-present)

U.S. House: 7 of 27 seats are held by women

In its history, New York has elected 25 women to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 21.6%

Rankings: 32<sup>nd</sup> of 50

Senate: 10 of 63 (16%) are women

House: 36 of 150 (24%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the twenty cities in New York with populations over 30,000, ten are led by women mayors, including Syracuse, the fifth largest city in the state.

### Words of Wisdom

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"I have always believed that women are not victims. We are agents of change. We are drivers of progress. We are makers of peace. All we need is a fighting chance." – Hillary Clinton, former U.S. secretary of state and U.S. senator from New York

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# Women's Representation in North Carolina

## Parity Ranking: 6<sup>th</sup> of 50

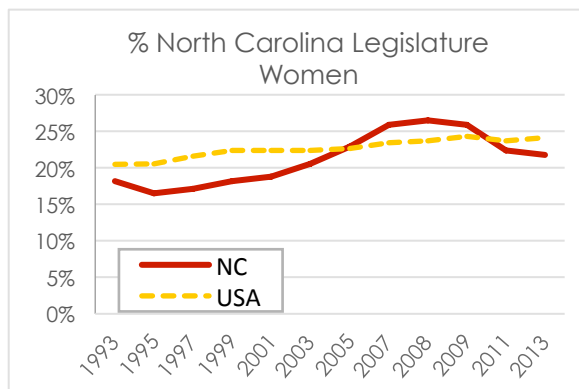
Score of 37: Five points for former governor Beverly Purdue's one term, 10 points for the elections of Kay Hagan (D) and Elizabeth Dole (R) before her to the U.S. Senate, 6 points for the percentage of women in its House delegation, 8 points for the percentage of women in its state legislature, and 8 points for having two female mayors among its five largest cities.

## Focus Facts

North Carolina receives the highest parity ranking of any southern state and the second-highest (after Arizona) of any Republican-majority state. The state has had parity in its Senate delegation for over ten years, since Elizabeth Dole was elected in 2002. In addition, half of the state's elected executive offices are held by women.

## Trending

North Carolina had a generally steady increase of women in its state legislature until peaking after the 2008 election at 26.5%. The percentage sharply declined in the 2010 election, when Republicans took control of both chambers of the legislature, and is now below the national average.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Beverly Purdue (2009-2013)

Current female statewide elected executives: state treasurer, state auditor, state superintendent of public instruction, commissioner of labor, and secretary of state

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 8

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by a woman, Kay Hagan (2009-present)

U.S. House: 2 of 13 seats are held by women

In its history, North Carolina has elected 7 women to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 21.8%

Rankings: 31<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 50 (16%) are women

House: 29 of 120 (24.2%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts (Before 2003, North Carolina used multi-member districts for its House races.)

### Local

Of North Carolina's five largest cities, two (the two largest) have female mayors: Charlotte and Raleigh.

Five of North Carolina's 29 cities with populations greater than 30,000 have women mayors.

### Words of Wisdom

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"Decisions just look different with women at the table." – Beverly Purdue, former governor of North Carolina

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# Women's Representation in North Dakota

## Parity Ranking: 41<sup>st</sup> of 50

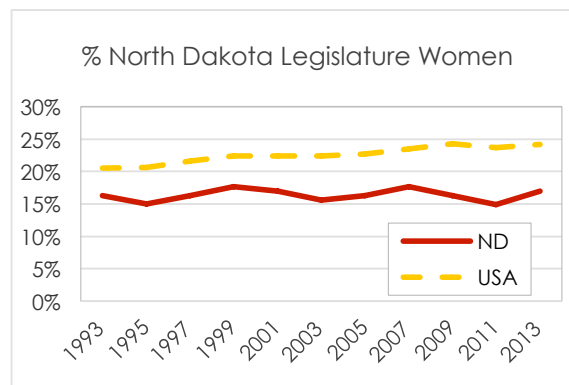
Score of 13: Six points for Senator Heitkamp and 7 points for its percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

Although North Dakota ranks among the bottom ten states for the percentage of state legislative seats held by women, it is one of only 17 states to be represented by a woman in the U.S. Senate.

## Trending

The percentage of women in the state legislature has increased by less than one percentage point since 1993 despite the state's use of multi-member house districts.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

The positions of Secretary of State, Attorney General, Commissioner of Agriculture and Tax Commissioner are all being contested in 2014; however, no women have declared their intention to run for these positions.

## 2012 Notable Election

Heidi Heitkamp became North Dakota's first elected female U.S. Senator in 2012. Fellow Democrat Pam Guleson lost her bid to become the state's first female U.S. Representative, falling short of Republican Kevin Cramer by 13% of the vote.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Statewide elected executives: state treasurer, superintendent of public instruction, and public service commissioner

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 16

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats are held by women, Heidi Heitkamp (2013-present)

U.S. House: 0 of 1 seats is held by a woman

In its history, North Dakota has elected one woman to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 17%

Rankings: 41<sup>st</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 47 (17%) are women

House: 16 of 94 (17%) are women

Method of election: State house is elected by plurality from two-seat districts without numbered posts. State senators are elected from single-member districts.

### Local

Of North Dakota's four cities with populations over 30,000, none are led by female mayors.

### Words of Wisdom

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"I don't think we should be satisfied until there is parity, because I think it's so important that we draw on the talents of every person who could contribute." – Heidi Heitkamp, U.S. senator from North Dakota

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# Women's Representation in Ohio

## Parity Ranking: 34<sup>th</sup> of 50

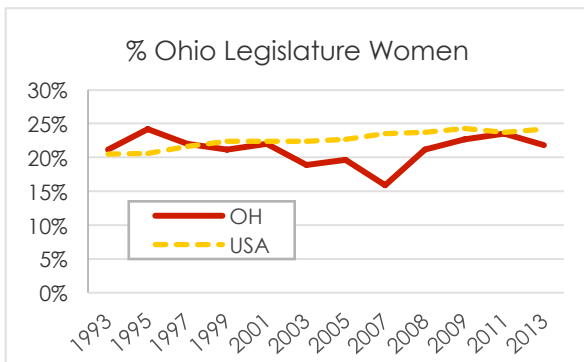
Score of 17: Eight points for the percentage of its U.S. House Members who are women and nine for the percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

Nancy Hollister, Ohio's first and only woman governor, served for 11 days after being appointed to finish George Voinovich's term after his election to the U.S. Senate in 1998. A woman has never been a major party candidate for governor in Ohio, and no woman is seeking a major party nomination for governor in 2014.

## Trending

The percentage of women in Ohio's state legislature declined sharply in 2002 and today is only two percentage points higher than it was 20 years ago.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

In 2013, Roxanne Qualls and Anita Lopez will contest mayoral elections in Cincinnati and Toledo, respectively. Ohio's three female U.S. House Members are projected to win in 2014; only one male incumbent is potentially vulnerable. No women are running in Ohio's

2014 gubernatorial election. Nina Turner has announced her intention to run against incumbent Jon Husted for Secretary of State. She would be the first African American female Democrat to win a statewide executive office.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Statewide elected executives: Lieutenant Governor Mary Taylor, who was elected as Gov. John Kasich's running mate

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 9

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 3 of 16 seats are held by women

In its history, Ohio has elected 11 women to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 23.5%

Rankings: 24<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 33 (24%) are women

House: 23 of 99 (23%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Six of the 44 cities in Ohio with populations over 30,000 have women mayors.

### Words of Wisdom

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"A few of [the party leaders] opposed my nomination, but most of them thought it would be a graceful gesture which would do them no harm since they were sure I would get tired of politics in a few months, and flit on to something else." - Frances Bolton, U.S. representative from Ohio

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# Women's Representation in Oklahoma

## Parity Ranking: 32<sup>nd</sup> of 50

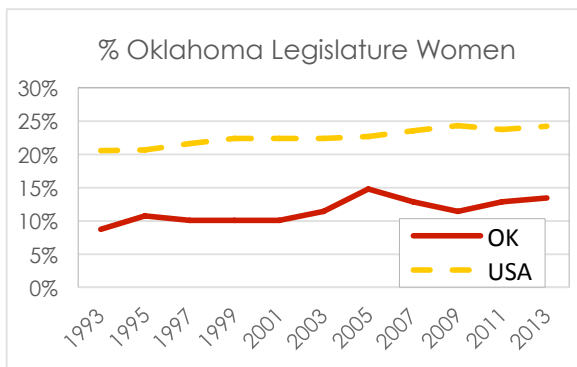
Score of 19: Ten points for Gov. Mary Fallin, 5 points for the percentage of state legislators who are women, and 4 points for Cindy Rosenthal, Norman's first popularly elected female mayor.

## Focus Facts

The second woman to ever serve in the U.S. Congress and the first-ever to defeat an incumbent came from Oklahoma: Alice Mary Robertson, who was elected in 1920. Oklahoma was not represented by another woman in Congress until the election of Mary Fallin (R) in 2006.

## Trending

The percentage of women state legislators has increased by only 3 percentage points in the past 20 years and remains far below the national average.



## 2013 - 2014 Elections to Watch

In November 2013, former Tulsa mayor Kathy Taylor will challenge the incumbent in a nonpartisan runoff to reclaim her title. In 2014, Gov. Mary Fallin (R) is favored to win re-election, while Cathy Cummings (D) is expected to run for Lt. Governor against the Republican male incumbent. First elected in 2010, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Janet Barresi (R) is up for re-election, with her challengers expected to include Joy Hofmeister (R) and Donna Anderson (D).

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Mary Fallin (2011-present)

Statewide elected executives: two corporation commissioners, and superintendent of public instruction.

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 13

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 5 seats are held by women

In its history, Oklahoma has elected 2 women to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 13.4%

Rankings: 48<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 4 of 48 (8.3%) are women

House: 16 of 101 (15.8%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the thirteen cities in Oklahoma with populations over 30,000, only one is led by a woman mayor; Cindy Rosenthal is the mayor of Norman, Oklahoma.

## Words of Wisdom

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"They need to run. It's about taking the initiative to try something that maybe no one in your family has ever tried before, to take a risk." – Mary Fallin, governor of Oklahoma

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# Women's Representation in Oregon

## Parity Ranking: 19<sup>th</sup> of 50

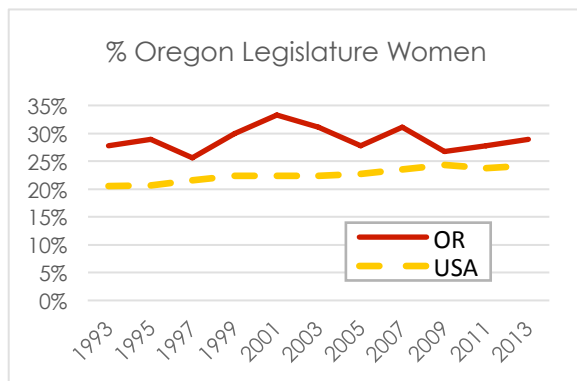
Score of 27: Eight points for the percentage of U.S. House Members who are women, 11 for the percentage of state legislators who are women, 8 points for Mayor Kitty Piercy of Eugene and Mayor Anna M. Peterson of Salem.

## Focus Fact

Oregon was an early leader in its number of female elected officials, but the state has not elected a woman to the U.S. Senate since Maurine Brown Neuberger (D) served one term after her 1960 election. No major party has nominated a woman to run for Senate for more than two decades.

## Trending

Although women's representation in the state legislature is strong relative to other states (ranking 13<sup>th</sup> of 50), it has declined since 2002, when one third of state legislators were women.



## 2014 Elections to Watch

Governor John Kitzhaber (D) is expected to run for re-election and is heavily favored; no women have declared an intention to run against him. U.S. Senator Jeff Merkley (D) is also favored to win re-election; party activist Jo Rae Perkins is among potential Republican challengers. Rep. Kurt Schrader (D) represents the one potential competitive House district; Suzanne Bonamici (D), who in 2012 became the first woman to win a House seat since 2006, is projected to win.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Barbara Roberts (1991-95)

Female statewide elected executives: secretary of state and attorney general

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 6

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 5 seats is held by a woman

In its history, Oregon has elected five women to the U.S. House and one to the U.S. Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 28.9%

Rankings: 13<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 30 (26.7%) are women

House: 18 of 60 (30%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the seventeen cities in Oregon with populations over 30,000, seven have women mayors. Eugene, the second largest city in the state, elected Mayor Kitty Piercy in 2004, and Salem, the third largest city in the state, elected Mayor Anna Peterson in 2010.

### Words of Wisdom

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"We do not want to lose women's voices in the political process. It took us a lot of years to get where we are. We don't want those numbers to slip away." – Barbara Roberts, former governor of Oregon

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# Women's Representation in Pennsylvania

## Parity Ranking: 47<sup>th</sup> of 50

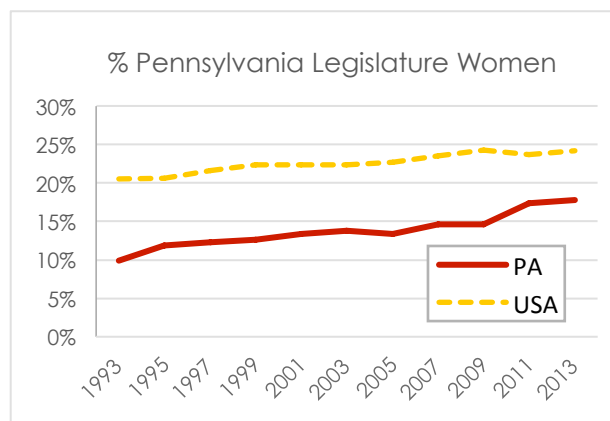
Score of 9: Two points for the percentage of the state's House representatives who are women and 7 points for the percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

The first three Pennsylvania women to serve in the U.S. House won special elections following the death of their husbands.

## Trending

The percentage of women in the state legislature has increased 7.9 percentage points in the last 20 years, a greater increase than the national increase for 3.2 percentage points. However, the state has consistently trailed the national percentage by more than 6 percentage points.



## 2014 Election to Watch

Pennsylvania has never had a woman governor, but the state's lone Congresswoman Allyson Schwartz (D), is a frontrunner for the Democratic nomination in the 2014 race against vulnerable Republican incumbent Tom Corbett. Former Congresswoman Marjorie Margolies is among candidates seeking her open former House seat. Without retirements, male incumbents are favored in all remaining House seats. The Lieutenant Governor is up for election 2014; Brenda Alton, a Harrisburg city official, is among GOP candidates.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Female statewide elected executives: attorney general Kathleen Kane, who became the first female AG after winning a close primary and general election in 2012.

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 17

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 18 seats is held by a woman

In its history, Pennsylvania has never elected a woman to the U.S. Senate and only seven to the House, three of whom were elected in special elections following their husbands' deaths.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 17.8%

Rankings: 40<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 8 of 50 (16%) are women

House: 37 of 203 (18.2%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the 13 cities in Pennsylvania with populations over 30,000, six are led by women mayors.

### Words of Wisdom

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"I'm running to be governor, not the 'first woman' governor, but the fact that I am the only woman in the congressional delegation and in a senior policymaking role, means people know I can beat the odds. I have brought a different perspective...it does change the dynamic." – Allyson Schwartz, U.S. representative from Pennsylvania

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# Women's Representation in Rhode Island

## Parity Ranking: 45<sup>th</sup> of 50

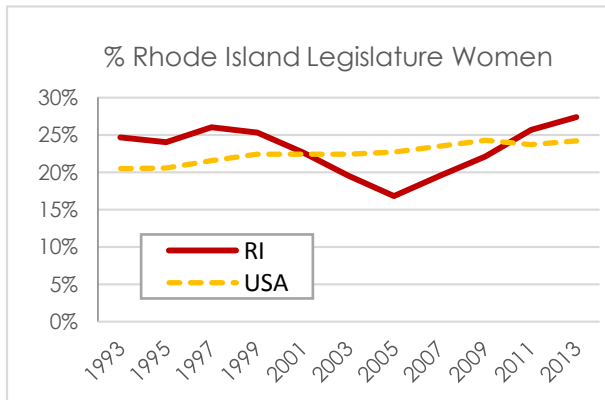
Score of 11: Eleven points for the percentage of women in Rhode Island's state legislature.

## Focus Facts

In the 2010 gubernatorial election, the Women's Fund of Rhode Island challenged the major gubernatorial candidates to sign a pledge to double the percentage of women appointed to commissions and boards. Having signed before being elected, Governor Lincoln Chafee increased the percentage of appointed women from 15% in 2010 to 33% in 2012.

## Trending

Women make up 27.4% of the state's legislature, the highest percentage in Rhode Island's history, after dipping below the national average during the 2000's.



## 2014 Election to Watch

Governor Lincoln Chafee has changed from being an independent to being a Democrat, but Treasurer Gina Raimondo is expected to seek the Democratic nomination, and has raised far more money than Chafee. Lt. Governor Elizabeth Roberts may also run if Chafee pulls out. There will be open seat races for Secretary of State and Treasurer, but male candidates are getting the most attention at this point.

Congressional races are not expected to be competitive, with men favored to retain both seats.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: state treasurer and lieutenant governor

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 7

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

In its history, Rhode Island has elected only one woman to the U.S. House of Representatives and no women to the U.S. Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 27.4%

Rankings: 18<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 9 of 38 (23.7%) are women

House: 22 of 75 (29.3%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

None of Rhode Island's cities have populations over 30,000, and none of its five largest cities have women mayors.

## Words of Wisdom

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"Women, instead of focusing only on jobs and children, should be becoming a part of the political process." – Susan Farmer, former secretary of state of Rhode Island

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# Women's Representation in South Carolina

## Parity Ranking: 39<sup>th</sup> of 50

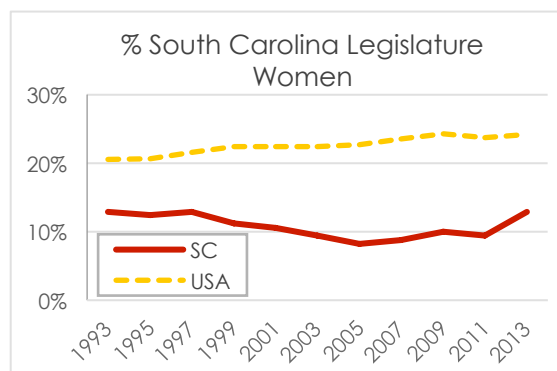
Score of 14: Ten points for Governor Nikki Haley's recent election and 4 points for the percentage of women in South Carolina's state legislature.

## Focus Facts

In 2012, South Carolina elected Katrina Shealy, the first woman state senator in five years out of 46 seats. The state senate had been the nation's only all-male state legislative chamber. South Carolina also has not elected a woman to Congress since 1990.

## Trending

South Carolina experienced a drop in the percentage of women in its state legislature in the early 2000s, but has now recovered to its 1993 level of women's representation of 12.9%. In 2013, South Carolina relinquished its place as the state with the lowest percentage of women in its legislature to Louisiana.



## 2012-2013 Notable Elections

In a 2013 special House election following Rep. Tim Scott's (R) appointment to a vacant U.S. Senate seat, Elizabeth Colbert-Busch (D), Director of Business Development at Clemson University and sister of comedian Stephen Colbert, faced Mark Sanford (R), former governor who faced scrutiny due his extramarital affair and subsequent divorce. Sanford won the general election with 54% of the vote.

## 2014 Election to Watch

Governor Nikki Haley is up for re-election in 2014. Several male candidates have declared they will run against South Carolina's first woman governor. Absent unexpected open seats, no woman are expected to win a U.S. House seat in 2014.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Nikki Haley (2010-present)

Current female statewide elected executives: governor

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 4

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 7 seats are held by women

In its history, South Carolina has elected five women to Congress, four of whom were elected in special elections to fill vacancies after their husbands died.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 12.9%

Rankings: 49<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 1 of 46 (2.2%) are women

House: 21 of 124 (16.9%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

None of the 12 cities in South Carolina with populations over 30,000 have female mayors.

## Words of Wisdom

"When I first decided to run for the statehouse against a 30-year incumbent, I walked into a boardroom [full of his supporters] and said, 'I'm Nikki Haley, and I'm running for state senate.'" A man said, "We think you're a nice young lady. And if you get out of this race, we'll make sure you get a good appointment." And I said, "I'm running, and I'm going to win. So please tell your friend that if he decides to get out of the race, I'll be more than happy to consider him for a position" - *Nikki Haley, governor of South Carolina*

# Women's Representation in South Dakota

## Parity Ranking: 17th of 50

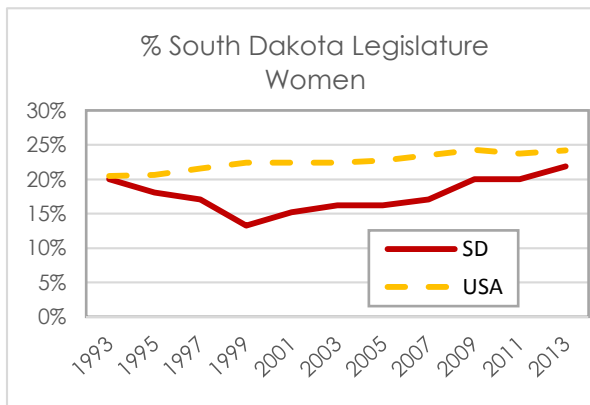
Score of 28: Twenty points for the state's single U.S. Representative being a woman, and 8 points for the percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Facts

Since 2004, when South Dakota elected its first female member to the U.S. House, a woman has won its single at-large House seat in each election.

## Trending

After reaching a nadir of just 13.3% in 1999, the proportion of women in South Dakota's state legislature is slowly on the rise again.



## 2014 Election to Watch

Annette Bosworth has declared her candidacy for the Republican nomination for the 2014 Senate election. She is a longshot to win the nomination against former Governor Mike Rounds, but if elected, she would be the state's first woman U.S. Senator since 1939.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: public utilities commissioner

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 25

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 1 seat is held by a woman

In its history, South Dakota has elected three women to Congress (two in special elections to fill vacancies). In addition, one woman was appointed to fill a Senate vacancy.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 21.9%

Rankings: 29th of 50

Senate: 6 of 35 (17.1%) are women

House: 17 of 70 (24.3%) are women

Method of election: Each district has one state senator and two house members. Most of the two-member house districts are elected by numbered posts, while some are elected at-large.

### Local

None of the five largest cities in South Dakota have a woman mayor.

### Words of Wisdom

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"We have different perspectives, and if more than 50% of the people in this country who are placing the votes are women, we've got to have some women who represent their perspective."- *Kristi Noem, U.S. representative from South Dakota*

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# Women's Representation in Tennessee

Parity Ranking: 23<sup>rd</sup> of 50

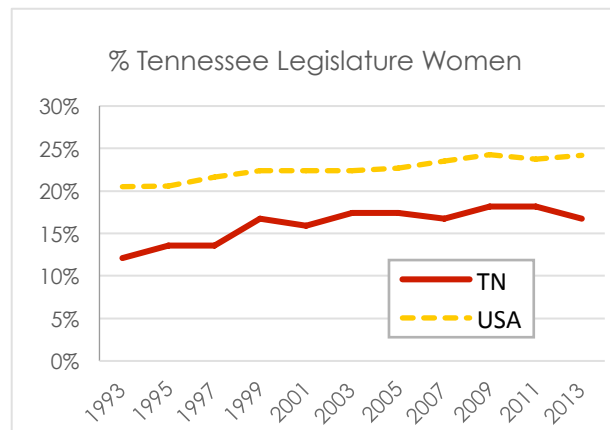
Score of 24: Nine points for the percentage of U.S. House Members who are women, 7 points for the percentage of state legislators who are women, 8 points for Mayors McMillan and Rogero.

## Focus Facts

Although two of Tennessee's five largest cities recently elected women mayors, the state has never elected a woman to the U.S. Senate or to the governorship.

## Trending

The percentage of Tennessee's legislature that is female has consistently lagged behind the national average for the last 20 years, and has never been higher than 17.4%.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Former Director of the Tennessee Regulatory Authority Sara Kyle (D) is considering an uphill run for governor. She would be Tennessee's first female governor.

Both Republicans Diane Black and Marsha Blackburn are expected to win re-election along with all other U.S. House incumbents.

All potential challengers for Senator Lamar Alexander's seat in 2014 are men.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governor: None

Female statewide elected executives: None

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 2

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 2 of 9 seats are held by women

In its history, Tennessee has never elected a woman to the U.S. Senate, but elected six women to the House, three of whom were elected in special elections following the deaths of their husbands.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 16.7%

Rankings: 43<sup>rd</sup> of 50

Senate: 7 of 33 (21.2%) are women

House: 15 of 99 (15.1%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the seventeen cities in Tennessee with populations over 30,000, four are led by women mayors: Clarksville, Gallatin, Germantown, Knoxville. Madeline Rogero was elected mayor Knoxville, the third largest city in the state with a population of 178,874, in 2011; and Kim McMillan was elected mayor of Clarksville, the fifth largest city in the state, in 2010.

### Words of Wisdom

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"When being a woman is used against you, just use it to your advantage" – Madeline Rogero, mayor of Knoxville, Tennessee

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# Women's Representation in Texas

## Parity Ranking: 24<sup>th</sup> of 50

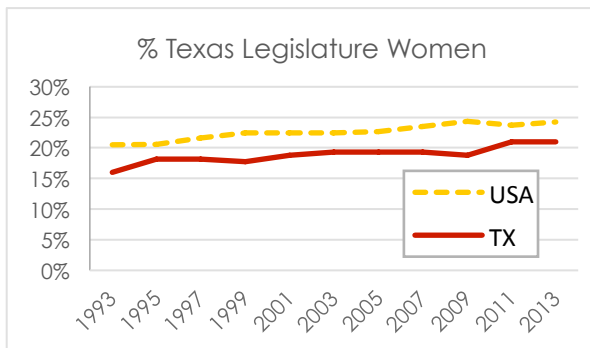
Score of 24: Four points for former U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison's most recent term, 3 points for the percentage of U.S. House Members who are women, 9 for the percentage of state legislators who are women, 8 points for Mayor Annise Parker of Houston and Mayor Betsy Price of Fort Worth.

## Focus Fact

The two largest cities in the nation to have women mayors are both in Texas: Houston and Fort Worth. In fact, Houston is the only city with a population above a million to currently have a woman mayor.

## Trending

The percentage of women in Texas' legislature has remained unchanged for the last three year and rests below the national average.



## Notable 2012 Election

In 2012, Representatives Sheila Jackson Lee, Kay Granger, and Eddie Bernice Johnson each won re-election in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, and 30<sup>th</sup> Congressional Districts respectively. Each has been serving in the U.S. House since the mid-1990s.

## Words of Wisdom

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"I did not want my tombstone to read, 'She kept a really clean house.' I think I'd like them to remember me by saying, 'She opened government to everyone.'" – Ann Richards, former governor of Texas

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## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Miriam Ferguson (1925-1927; 1933-1935) and Ann Richards (1991-1995) (Miriam Ferguson was elected twice as a surrogate for her husband who could not run for re-election.)

Current female statewide elected executives: railroad commissioner, state comptroller

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 9

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 3 of 36 seats are held by women

In its history, Texas has elected six women to the House and one to the Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 21%

Rankings: 33<sup>rd</sup> of 50

Senate: 7 of 31 (22.6%) are women

House: 31 of 150 (20.7%) are women

Method of election: Single-member districts

### Local

Of the 98 cities with populations over 30,000, ten have female mayors. Houston, ranked the 5<sup>th</sup> largest city in the United States and the largest in Texas, elected Mayor Annise Parker in 2009. In Fort Worth (ranked the 17<sup>th</sup> largest city in the United States and the fifth largest in Texas), Betsy Price was elected mayor in 2011 and re-elected in 2013.

# Women's Representation in Texas

## Profile of Progress: Encouraging Women Candidacies in Executive Elections

Annie's List, an organization dedicated to electing Democratic women in Texas, is tackling an uphill battle to put a woman in the governor's mansion in 2014.



The group created its Statewide Opportunity Fund two years ago to support a Democratic women's campaigns to statewide elective office.

When asked about possible candidates, Annie's List's Communications Director Mitra Salasel said, "We have our eye on a long list of women that would be fantastic contenders."

Women are often less likely to run for statewide elective offices, choosing to run for local school or city boards instead. The combination of a woman's hesitance to run for a high-profile office and the perception of a lack of resources or ability deters women from running in executive elections. Efforts such as this one are key to providing women with the funding and backing necessary to launch campaigns for executive positions.

## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Following a high profile filibuster in the state legislature, many have called for State Senator Wendy Davis (D-10) to run for governor. Davis has not yet declared whether she will seek re-election of her seat in the State Senate or run for governor in 2014. She would face an uphill challenge, as Democrats have not won a statewide election in Texas for nearly two decades; Republican Attorney General Greg Abbott is heavily favored.

Absent any changes in congressional district lines, which are being contested in court, all three Texas congresswomen should easily win re-election in 2014 - as should all but one male incumbent (Democrat Pete Gallego's seat is the only seat expected to be competitive). None of the potential candidates for John Cornyn's U.S. Senate seat are women. The only female statewide executive up for re-election in 2014, State Comptroller Susan Combs, is retiring.

In November 2013, Annise Parker is seeking re-election against a male Democratic challenger. She is Houston's second female mayor and the first openly gay mayor in a major American city.



# Women's Representation in Utah

## Parity Ranking: 44<sup>th</sup> of 50

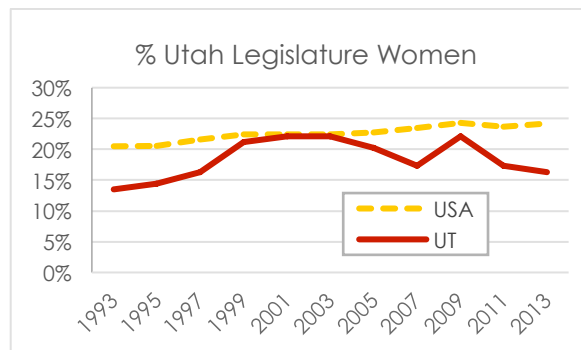
Score of 11: Seven points for the percentage of state legislators who are women. 4 points for Mayor Melissa K. Johnson of West Jordan.

## Focus Fact

Utah has not elected a woman to Congress since 1994.

## Trending

The proportion of women in the state legislature was more than 5 percentage points higher ten years ago than it is today, when the state ranked 23<sup>rd</sup> in the nation for the percentage of its state legislative seats held by women. Today, it ranks 46<sup>th</sup>.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Mia Love will make a second attempt at unseating longtime incumbent Jim Matheson in Utah's fourth Congressional district in 2014. If elected, Love would become the first black female Republican in the House of Representatives.

## 2012-2013 Notable Elections

In one of the closest congressional races in the country, former Saratoga Springs mayor Mia Love(R) lost her campaign to unseat incumbent Jim Matheson by just 768 votes in 2012. Love would have been the state's first African American House Member.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Olene Walker (2003-2005)

Current female statewide elected executives: none

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: Two

### Congress

Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

House: 0 of 4 seats are held by women

In its history, Utah has elected three women to the U.S. Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 16.3%

Rankings: 46<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 5 of 29 (17.2%) are women

House: 12 of 75 (16%) are women

Method of election: All single-member districts

### Local

Of the 23 cities in Utah with populations over 30,000, only two have women mayors. West Jordan, the fourth largest city in the state with a population of 103,712, is run by Mayor Melissa K. Johnson. Kearns, with a population of 35,731, is run by Mayor Paula Larsen.

### Words of Wisdom

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"One thing I would like women to realize is that serving in a city council, a school board or the Legislature is probably the best education a woman can get. I have college degrees but I feel I learned more in the Legislature." – Olene Walker, former governor of Utah

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## Profile of Progress: Training, Recruiting, and Funding Women Candidates

Donna McAleer was inspired to run for office by Real Women Run's inaugural event. After profiling the group for a blog and attending what she referred to as a "boot camp," she ran for Congress in Utah's first district. Although she lost in her first foray into the political arena – running as a Democrat in a heavily Republican district – McAleer valued the experience, saying "fifty-five thousand people who didn't know me eight months before believed in me enough to vote for me." Real Women Run hopes to inspire more women to become involved in all aspects of politics in Utah.



Real Women Run is a nonpartisan effort to encourage more women to become involved in politics through recruitment and training. In a state that ranks among the bottom ten in terms of women's representation and hasn't had a female member of Congress in over a decade, creating a pipeline of qualified female candidates is the an important step in increasing Utah's women's representation.

"We believe that every woman has the potential to be a leader, and that women's leadership can be a powerful force for good. We support empowering women for leadership in every area of life, and political life is no exception," said Anne Burkholder, one of the founders of Real Women Run.

# Women's Representation in Vermont

## Parity Ranking: 28<sup>th</sup> of 50

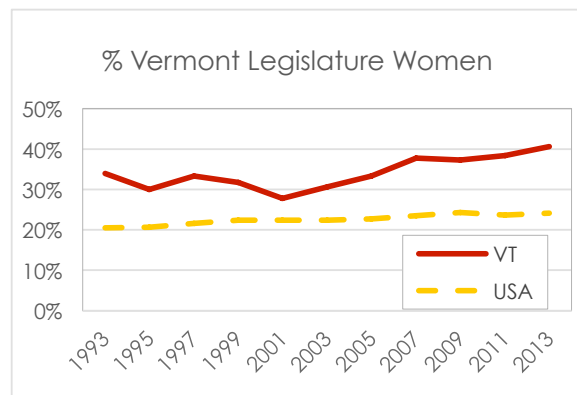
Score of 20: Sixteen points for the percentage of women in its state legislature, and 4 points for Mayor MacKenzie of South Burlington

## Focus Facts:

Vermont has a mixed record on women's representation. While it ranks second in the country in its proportion of women the state legislature, Vermont has yet to elect a woman to any of its three positions in Congress, and only a handful have ever been on a major party ticket for a House or Senate seat.

## Trending

Vermont has consistently outperformed the nation in women's representation in its state legislature, and the trend since 2001 has been positive.



## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: Madeleine M. Kunin (1985-1991). Kunin is the only woman in U.S. history to have been elected to serve three terms as governor.

Current female statewide elected executives: treasurer Beth Pierce, who was appointed in 2011 after a vacancy.

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 10.

### Congress

Vermont is one of four states that have never elected a woman to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 41.7%

Rankings: 2<sup>nd</sup> of 50

Senate: 11 of 30 (36.7%) are women

House: 64 of 150 (42.7%) are women

Method of election: The State House of Representatives has some single-member districts and some two-member districts. The Senate has districts varying in magnitude from one to six members.

### Local

Of the five largest cities in Vermont, one is led by a female mayor: Pam Mackenzie of South Burlington (though the office is referred to as "chair" of the city council).

### Words of Wisdom

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"We really have to be very broad in our building a constituency for implementing the changes I'm talking about, and I think there's a little glimmer of hope, that younger women are beginning to realize that what they took for granted may be taken away."  
-Madeleine Kunin, former governor of Vermont

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# Women's Representation in Vermont

## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

No women are likely to challenge Peter Welch for Vermont's lone congressional seat in 2014. Thus far, the only candidates who have emerged for Vermont's 2014 governor's race are men; incumbent Peter Shumlin is heavily favored, although he has not officially announced that he will run for a third two-year term.

## Notable 2012 Elections

In Vermont's largest State Senate district, Chittenden, three of the six candidates who won election in 2012 were women, illustrating the greater ability of women to achieve equal representation in multi-member districts.

## Profile of Progress: The use of multi-member districts

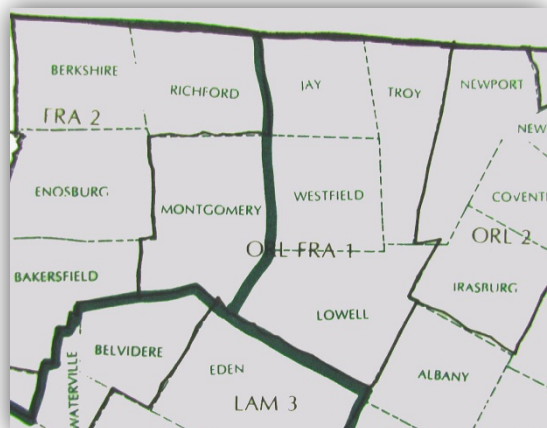
Vermont currently ranks second in the country in its percentage of state legislators who are women (40.6%), and is also one of two states that use a form of multi-member districts to elect both chambers of its legislature. Multi-member districts are an electoral structure that has been consistently shown to improve women's chances of running for and winning elected office. In multi-member districts, constituents elect multiple legislators from a single district to represent them, as opposed to the more commonly-used single-member district system, in which constituents elect only one.

Vermont elects its House of Representatives

from 66 single-member districts and 42 two-member districts and its Senate from 3 single-member districts, 6 two-member districts, 3 three-member districts, and 1 six-member district. Constituents have as many votes as there are seats in the districts, and the elections are conducted on a plurality basis.

Due to the help provided by this structural system, nine of the 30 members of the Vermont State Senate and 64 of the 150 members of the Vermont House of Representatives are female. Research suggests that the use of MMDs encourages the election of female candidates because they provide constituents with the option to vote for both male and female candidates instead of having to choose one.

Women's representation in Vermont might improve even further if the number and size of multi-member districts were increased in the State House.



# Women's Representation in Virginia

## Parity Ranking: 50<sup>th</sup> of 50

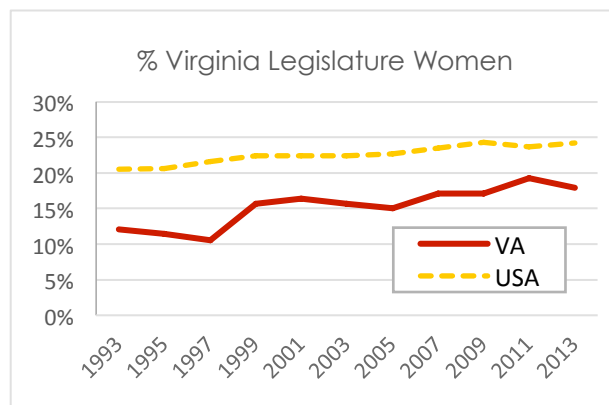
Score of 7: All seven points are earned only for the percentage of state legislative seats held by women.

## Focus Fact

It has been more than 20 years since a woman was elected to a statewide executive position in Virginia.

## Trending

The percentage of Virginia state legislative seats held by a woman has consistently trailed the national average, although it has been trending up slightly over the past two decades.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

No women have been nominated by the major parties for any of Virginia's statewide elected positions in 2013, including the race for the governor, nor have any yet declared their candidacy in any of Virginia's 2014 U.S. House and Senate races.

Even if women do enter congressional races in 2014 it is unlikely they would be elected without defeating an incumbent in a primary, as none of Virginia's congressional districts are projected to be competitive in the general election.

## 2012-2013 Notable Elections

In the 2012 Congressional elections in Virginia, only two of the twelve races featured a female candidate from one of the major parties. Democrats Ella Ward and Kristin Cabral both lost by more than 10% of the vote in their bids in Republican-leaning districts.

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female governors: None

Current female statewide elected executives: None

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 2

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 0 of 11 seats are held by a woman

In its history, Virginia has elected 3 women to Congress.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 17.9%

Rankings: 38<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 6 of 40 (15%) are women

House: 19 of 100 (19%) are women

Method of election: All single-member districts

### Local

Of the 18 cities in Virginia with more than 30,000 inhabitants, three have female mayors. The largest of these is Hampton, the seventh largest city in the state.

### Words of Wisdom

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"The barriers are not so much you have to overcome people not wanting you there, but now women have so many more options of what they can do. The problem now is balancing all the balls that we can have in the air." –Jennifer McClellan, state delegate for the 71<sup>st</sup> district of Virginia

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# Women's Representation in Virginia

## Profile of Progress: Recruitment and Training

The state of women's representation in Virginia is poor – indeed, it ranks last in the nation in our parity index.

There are currently no women representing Virginia in its thirteen seats in Congress, none in statewide elected executive positions (and none for nearly two decades) and relatively few in the state legislature. Now, as the state prepares for elections in November, there are no women in the running for statewide offices. This imbalance between the sexes is even worse in the Republican Party: only eight of Virginia's 140 state legislators are Republican women despite Republicans holding a strong majority of legislative seats.



The Jennifer Byler Institute is dedicated to narrowing this deficit. The Institute was founded in 2004 by several high-profile women in Virginia politics, including Kate Obenshain, who is the first woman to head the Republican Party of Virginia and brother of the Republican nominee for attorney general this year. The institute is committed to educating Republican women on the ins and outs of electoral politics, and encouraging them to run for office.

"We want to give women the tools they need to get involved and make their voices heard," the institute's Tina McArthur told us. "Women have almost always been underrepresented in politics, especially conservative women. The Republican Party of Virginia naturally wants to bring as many new people into elected office as possible who share our views and values. Expanding that pool to include women more than doubles our pool of potential candidates, and gives us more avenues to share what we stand for with the public."

# Women's Representation in Washington

## Parity Ranking: 1<sup>st</sup> of 50

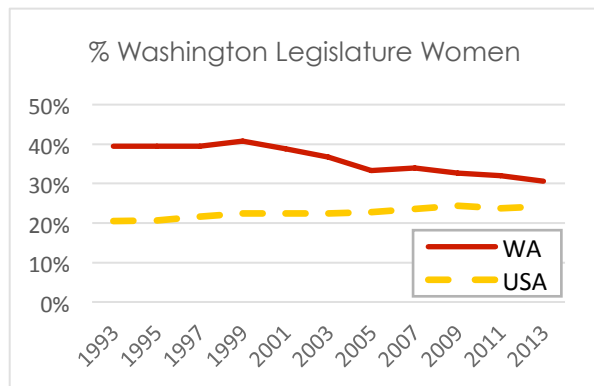
Score of 59: Ten points for former governor Gregoire's two elected terms. 20 points for Senator Murray's and Senator Cantwell's two most recent terms. 12 for the percentage of the state's U.S. House Members who are women and 13 for the percentage of state legislators who are women. 4 points for Mayor Marilyn Strickland of Tacoma.

## Focus Fact

Washington was the first state to have two women senators and a woman governor simultaneously.

## Trending

Women's representation in Washington's state legislature has fallen almost ten percentage points in the last twenty years. In 1994, the legislature was 40.1% women; today, the legislature is 30.6% women.



## Words of Wisdom

"I was looking out at what was in front of me. And it was just great. I mean, when I first came here, there were six of us. And today I was just looking out at this roomful of us." – *Patty Murray, U.S. senator from Washington*

## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female Governors: Christine Gregoire (2005-2013)

Current female statewide elected executives: secretary of state (2013-present).

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 10

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 2 of 2 seats held by women, Patty Murray (1993-present), Maria Cantwell (2001-present)

U.S. House: 3 of 10 woman

In its history, Washington has elected nine women to the House and two to the Senate.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 30.6%

Rankings: 8<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 17 of 49 (34.7%) are women

House: 28 of 98 (28.6%) are women

Method of election: The State House uses two-seat districts elected with numbered posts, while the State Senate uses single-member districts.

### Local

Of the 33 cities in Washington with populations over 30,000, seven are led by women mayors. Tacoma, the third largest city in the state with a population of 198,397, elected Marilyn Strickland for mayor in 2009. The state's

second largest county (Pierce) has a woman county executive in Pat McCarthy.

## Notable 2012 Elections

In 2012, Senator Maria Cantwell (D) cruised to re-election against Michael Baumgartner.

Rep. Suzan DelBene (D) won a competitive open seat election in Washington's first U.S. House district.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

In the 2014 midterm elections, Washington's two Republican congresswomen are expected to easily win re-election.

The state's one female Democrat in the U.S. House, Rep. Suzan DelBene is favored, but could face a tougher challenge to maintain her seat, as she is a first-term Member in a competitive district.

In a key special election for state senate this November, Rep. Jan Angel (R) is favored to defeat appointed Democratic incumbent Nathan Schlicher and strengthen the GOP's tenuous control of the senate

## Profile of Progress: The use of multi-member districts

Washington currently ranks eighth for its percentage of state legislators who are women (30.6%), and has maintained a percentage between 30% and 40% women for two decades.

Washington is also one of ten states that use multi-member districts, an electoral structure that has been shown to improve women's chances of running for and winning elected office. In multi-member districts, constituents elect multiple legislators from a single district to represent them, instead of electing just one.

Washington elects its House of Representatives through the use of 49 two-member districts with numbered post voting, meaning that the two seats in each district are elected as separate offices. The same district elects a state senator as well.



Of the 98 members of the Washington House of Representatives, 28 are women. 24 of the female state house members were elected in districts alongside a male house member. Research suggests that the use of MMDs encourages the election of female candidates because it provides constituents with the option to vote for both male and female candidates and puts pressure on parties to run one candidate of each gender in a district.

Increasing the district size from two and switching from the numbered post system to at-large elections using fair representation voting systems would likely further enhance women's representation in the state legislature.

## Profile of Progress: Balancing Service in Congress with Motherhood

Congresswoman Cathy McMorris Rodgers, 44, is currently the highest ranking Republican woman in Congress, serving as the Chair of the House Republican Conference. First elected in 2004, Rep McMorris Rodgers married Brian Rodgers in 2006. She has had two children while in office, becoming the first member of Congress in more than a decade to give birth while in office and the first in history to give birth to two children. In July 2013, she announced a third pregnancy.

The state's other Republican woman U.S. Representative, Jaime Herrera Beutler, is the second youngest woman Representative and first Latina Member from Washington. In July 2013 she gave birth to a daughter. At the same time, she is Chair of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, and is a Vice-Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

# Women's Representation in West Virginia

## Parity Ranking: 33<sup>rd</sup> of 50

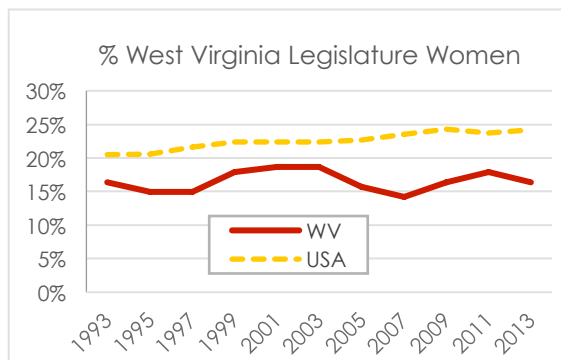
Score of 18: Thirteen points from the percentage of West Virginia's U.S. Representatives who are women and 5 points for its percentage of state legislators who are women.

## Focus Fact

Currently, there is only one woman in West Virginia's state senate, the lowest number of women serving there since 1979.

## Trending

While nationally the percentage of women serving in state legislatures has increased by 3.7 percentage points over the last two decades, the percentage of women in the West Virginia legislature is the same today as it was in 1993: 16.4%.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Republican Congressman Shelley Moore Capito is favored to win an open seat and become the first female U.S. Senator from West Virginia. Her open second congressional district has drawn potential female candidates in both the Republican and Democratic primaries.

## Words of Wisdom

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"What I find with my female members of Congress is that we tend to work very hard. While we're very focused, we can also multitask better...it would be an interesting experiment, and also probably very successful if we took over the reins of leadership at all levels and moved it forward. Because we have a tendency to cut through the B.S. a lot better than guys do. - Shelley Moore Capito, U.S. representative from Ohio

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## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

West Virginia has never elected a female governor.

Current female statewide elected executives: secretary of state

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: Three (one of which was appointed)

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 3 seats is held by a woman

In its history, West Virginia has not elected a woman to the U.S. Senate and has elected 2 women to the U.S. House.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 16.4%

Rankings: 45<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 1 of 34 (2.9%) are women

House: 21 of 100 (21%) are women

Method of election: 1 to 5 seat districts

### Local

None of the five largest cities in West Virginia has a woman mayor

## 2012 Notable Election

In 2012, Shelley Moore Capito (R) was reelected to the U.S. House of Representatives. She is only the second woman to have represented West Virginia in the U.S. House. Her father is former three-term governor Arch Moore.

# Women's Representation in Wisconsin

## Parity Ranking: 25<sup>th</sup> of 50

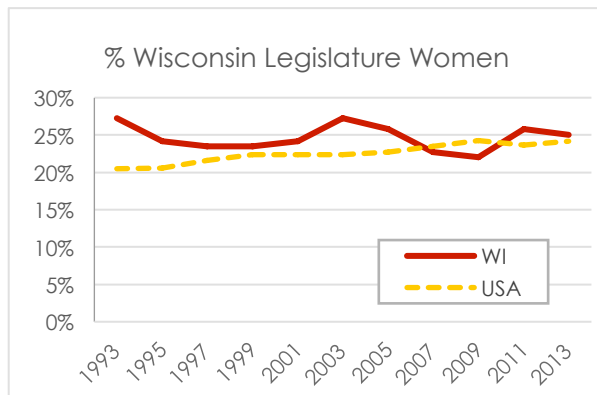
Score of 21: Six points for current Senator Tammy Baldwin, 5 points for the percentage of the state's U.S. Representatives who are women, and 10 points for the percentage of women in state legislature.

## Focus Facts

In 2012, Wisconsin elected its first female U.S. Senator Tammy Baldwin. She is also the first openly gay senator in U.S. history.

## Trending

Twenty years ago, the percentage of Wisconsin state legislators who were women was 6.8 percentage points higher than the national average. Today, it is less than 1 percent higher.



## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

None of Wisconsin's congressional districts are projected to be competitive in 2014, meaning that Gwen Moore is likely to again be the only woman elected to the House, barring an open seat.

There are several potential female Democrats who may challenge incumbent Scott Walker for the governorship in 2014. Lieutenant Governor Rebecca Kleefisch (R) has not yet declared whether she will run for re-election in 2014.

## Words of Wisdom

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"We have better governance when our legislative bodies look like America" – Tammy Baldwin, U.S. senator from Wisconsin

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## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Wisconsin has never elected a female governor.

Current female statewide elected executives: lieutenant governor

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: Nine, one of which was appointed to fill a vacancy. An additional woman was appointed to fill a vacancy and was not subsequently reelected.

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 1 of 2 seats is held by women, Tammy Baldwin (2013-present)

U.S. House: 1 of 8 seats is held by a woman

Wisconsin has elected two women to Congress, both of whom are currently in office: Senator Tammy Baldwin and Rep. Gwen Moore.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 25%

Rankings: 24<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 9 of 33 (27.3%) are women

House: 24 of 99 (24.2%) are women

Method of election: All single-member districts

### Local

Only two of the 24 cities in Wisconsin with populations over 30,000 are led by women mayors: Eau Claire (pop. 65,883) and Wauwatosa (pop. 46,396).

## 2012 Notable Election

In 2012, Wisconsin elected its first woman senator and the nation's first openly gay senator, Tammy Baldwin. Milwaukee voters also re-elected Gwen Moore; Rep. Moore is the state's first African American to serve in the U.S. House.

# Women's Representation in Wyoming

## Parity Ranking: 14<sup>th</sup> of 50

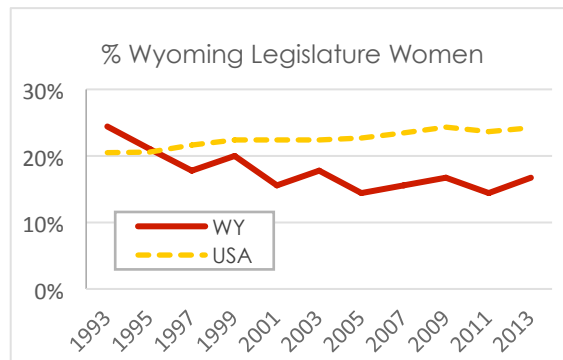
Score of 30: Twenty points for Rep. Cynthia Lummis' three terms, 6 for the percentage of state legislative seats held by women, and 4 for Mayor Kenyne Schlager of Casper.

## Focus Facts

Wyoming has been a significant locale in the history of women in American politics. Wyoming became the first territory of the United States to give franchise to women in 1869, 35 years before women's suffrage became a national political issue. Wyoming was also the first state to elect a female governor; Nellie Tayloe Ross took office in 1925.

## Trending

Since Wyoming's switch from multi-member state legislative districts to single-member legislative districts in the early 1990s, the percentage of its state legislative seats held by women has remained consistently below the national average.



## Notable 2012 Election

In 2012, Republican Cynthia Lummis won her third consecutive term as Wyoming's only representative in the U.S. House. Between Lummis and her predecessor Barbara Cubin, the seat has been held by a woman since 1995.

## Words of Wisdom

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"Our goal is to strengthen women's leadership at all levels of community and public service."  
—Rosie Berger, state representative for the 51st district of Wyoming, and speaker pro tempore of the Wyoming House of Representatives

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## Levels of Government

### Statewide Executive

Female Governors: Nellie Tayloe Ross (1925-1927).

Current female statewide elected executives: state auditor, superintendent of public instruction

Number of women to have held statewide elected executive office: 19

### Congress

U.S. Senate: 0 of 2 seats are held by women

U.S. House: 1 of 1 seat is held by a woman

In its history, Wyoming has elected 2 women to Congress, but women have represented the state in the U.S. House since 1995.

### State Legislature

Percentage women: 16.7%

Rankings: 44<sup>th</sup> of 50

Senate: 2 of 30 (6.7%) are women

House: 13 of 60 (21.7%) are women

Method of election: All single-member districts

### Local

Kenyne Schlager is currently serving as mayor of Casper, the second largest city in the state with a population of 55,316.

## 2013-2014 Elections to Watch

Liz Cheney, daughter of former Vice President Dick Cheney, has announced that she will seek the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate from Wyoming in 2014, challenging Republican incumbent Mike Enzi in the primary.

Controversial state Superintendent of Public Instruction Cindy Hill has declared her candidacy for governor in 2014, but incumbent Governor Matt Mead would be likely to defeat her in the Republican primary election if he decides to run.

## Representation 2020 Leadership Circle

Representation 2020 is a project of the electoral reform group FairVote, and is run by its staff and Board of Directors. Our Leadership Circle provides regular guidance on our programs and publications, and meets at least once a year to discuss our work and progress.

### Martha Burk

Martha Burk is a political psychologist, money editor of Ms. Magazine, and co-founder of the Center for Advancement of Public Policy, which promotes democratic management of corporations and governments and an end to discrimination. Dr. Burk is also the Director of the Corporate Accountability Project for the National Council of Women's Organizations, a non-partisan network of over 240 women's groups, and served as Chair from 2000-2005. She is highly active in the public policy debate, appearing on over a dozen national news shows and many major national newspapers, in addition to hosting her own public radio show, *Equal Time*. Dr. Burk's latest book, published in 2012, is *Your Voice, Your Vote: The Savvy Woman's Guide to Power, Politics, and the Change We Need*.

### Kathleen Drew

Kathleen Drew is a former Democratic Washington State Senator, representing the 5th District from 1993-1997. During her time in office, she authored the Ethics in Public Service law and helped improve the state's higher education system. Ms. Drew also served for six years as a state policy advisor, and ran as the Democratic nominee to be Washington's Secretary of State in 2012.

### Paul Jacobs

Paul Jacob is president of Citizens in Charge, a grassroots citizen-lobby working to protect and expand the initiative and referendum rights of every American without regard to politics or party. He is also known for leading the term limits movement during the 1990s. Throughout his work on term limits, property rights and spending caps, Jacob may have been the driving force behind more citizen initiatives—including more successful ones—than anyone in American history. He currently also serves on the board of directors of FairVote and U.S. Term Limits.

### Barbara Klein

Barbara Klein is the President of the League of Women Voters of Arizona, a nonpartisan, grassroots network devoted to improving democracy and advocating for political issues in Arizona. She has worked with the League for more than 10 years, serving as the state election reform chair focusing on Clean Elections, Merit Selection Retention of Judges, redistricting and election systems as well as moderating debates, drafting Voter Guide language, and delivering many types of presentations and League services. She also serves on the board of the LWV Phoenix Metro League.

### Paula Lee

Paula Lee has been an active member and leader in the League of Women Voters since 1994 in California. As a League leader, she focuses primarily on education about electoral reforms to encourage more civic participation, represent more voters and provide more opportunities for women to get

elected. Those reforms include Proportional Representation, Instant Runoff Voting and the National Popular Vote for president. She currently serves as V.P. Board of Directors and Legislative Director for Californians for Electoral Reform. Paula is also a member of California Women's LEAD, committed to encouraging and training women to be leaders in their communities and run for elected office. Paula is a violence prevention educator and child sexual abuse prevention trainer, founder of PreventionWORKS.

## Laura Liswood

Laura Liswood is the founder and Secretary General of the Council of Women World Leaders, as well as a Senior Advisor for investment firm Goldman Sachs. Ms. Liswood founded the Council of Women World Leaders, which provides a network for connecting and advocating for women leaders, with President Vigdís Finnbogadóttir of Iceland in 1996. A nationally prominent speaker and advocate, Ms. Liswood served from 1992 to 1996 as director of the Women's Leadership project, identifying contributions by women leaders, which are recognized in her 1996 book and documentary *Women World Leaders*. Her most recent book, *The Loudest Duck* (2010) focuses on how to improve workplace diversity. Ms. Liswood has also held management positions in the airline industry, and was a consultant for the Boston Consulting Group.

## Jamie Raskin

Jamie Raskin is a Maryland Democratic State Senator, representing Takoma Park and Silver Spring. Elected in 2006, Mr. Raskin has passed nearly 50 bills on issues ranging from the environment to consumer rights, and has been named one of the most influential lawmakers in Maryland. He helped pass the nation's first National Popular Vote law, which calls for an interstate compact requiring states to cast their Electoral College votes for the winner of the national popular vote. Mr. Raskin is also a constitutional law professor at American University's Washington School of Law.

## Marie Wilson

Marie Wilson is the founder and former president of the White House Project, an organization that advocated for women's leadership positions and ultimately for the presidency, in addition to conducting significant research on women in media, politics, and business. Ms. Wilson is a co-creator of Take Our Daughters and Sons to Work Day (started 1993), and served as the head of the Ms. Foundation for Women, a national advocacy group dedicated to fighting for women's rights, which created the Marie C. Wilson Leadership Fund in honor of her achievements. In addition to being a renowned speaker, writer, and leader in the women's rights movement, Ms. Wilson has the distinction of being the first woman elected to the Des Moines City Council as a member at large, in 1983.

## Joseph Zimmerman

Joseph Zimmerman is a political science professor at the Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy of the University at Albany, SUNY. Dr. Zimmerman's work focuses on federalism, the Electoral College, and the relationship between state and local governments. He serves on the executive committee and was the former chairman of the American Political Science Association's section on Representation and Electoral Systems.

## Parity Rankings: 2013

The chart below shows the derivation of this report's state parity rankings. Each state is graded on the status of their women's representation in five categories: Governors, Senators, House of Representatives delegates, State Legislators, and Mayors. States are given points in each category out of a possible 20, and those points are added to produce a total out of a possible 100 points.

### Overall Parity Ranking

Ranking	State	Governor Points	Senator Points	House of Rep. Points	State Legislature Points	Mayor Points	Total Points
1	Washington	10	20	12	13	4	59
2	New Hampshire	10	12	13	14	4	53
3	California	0	20	14	11	4	49
4	Hawaii	10	6	18	13	0	47
5	Arizona	20	0	9	15	0	44
6	North Carolina	5	10	6	8	8	37
7	Maine	0	14	10	10	0	34
8	Maryland	0	10	5	11	8	34
9	Minnesota	0	10	10	14	0	34
10	New Mexico	10	0	13	10	0	33
11	Connecticut	5	0	16	11	0	32
12	New York	0	10	10	8	4	32
13	Alaska	5	10	0	11	4	30
14	Kansas	10	0	10	10	0	30
15	Wyoming	0	0	20	6	4	30
16	Michigan	10	10	3	6	0	29
17	Missouri	0	10	10	8	0	28
18	South Dakota	0	0	20	8	0	28
19	Colorado	0	0	6	17	4	27
20	Oregon	0	0	8	11	8	27
21	Massachusetts	0	6	4	11	4	25
22	Nevada	0	0	10	10	4	24
23	Tennessee	0	0	9	7	8	24
24	Texas	0	4	3	9	8	24
25	Illinois	0	0	9	12	0	21
26	Wisconsin	0	6	5	10	0	21
27	Delaware	5	0	0	11	4	20
28	Florida	0	0	9	11	0	20



Ranking	State	Governor Points	Senator Points	House of Rep. Points	State Legislature Points	Mayor Points	Total Points
29	Georgia	0	0	0	8	12	20
30	Louisiana	5	10	0	5	0	20
31	Vermont	0	0	0	16	4	20
32	Oklahoma	10	0	0	5	4	19
33	West Virginia	0	0	13	5	0	18
34	Alabama	0	0	11	6	0	17
35	Indiana	0	0	9	8	0	17
36	Ohio	0	0	8	9	0	17
37	New Jersey	0	0	0	12	4	16
38	Nebraska	0	6	0	4	4	14
39	South Carolina	10	0	0	4	0	14
40	Idaho	0	0	0	9	4	13
41	North Dakota	0	6	0	7	0	13
42	Arkansas	0	4	0	7	0	11
43	Kentucky	0	0	0	7	4	11
44	Rhode Island	0	0	0	11	0	11
45	Utah	0	0	0	7	4	11
46	Montana	0	0	0	10	0	10
47	Iowa	0	0	0	9	0	9
48	Pennsylvania	0	0	2	7	0	9
49	Mississippi	0	0	0	7	0	7
50	Virginia	0	0	0	7	0	7

### Governors and Parity Points

States	Woman Gov elected two elections ago? (5pts)	Woman Gov elected one election ago? (5pts)	Woman Gov elected last election? (10pts)	Points
Alabama	0	0	0	0
Alaska	0	Palin	0	5
Arizona	Napolitano	Napolitano	Brewer	20
Arkansas	0	0	0	0
California	0	0	0	0
Colorado	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	0	Rell	0	5
Delaware	Minner	0	0	5
Florida	0	0	0	0

<b>States</b>	<b>Woman Gov elected two elections ago? (5pts)</b>	<b>Woman Gov elected one election ago? (5pts)</b>	<b>Woman Gov elected last election? (10pts)</b>	<b>Points</b>
Georgia	0	0	0	0
Hawaii	Lingle	Lingle	0	10
Idaho	0	0	0	0
Illinois	0	0	0	0
Indiana	0	0	0	0
Iowa	0	0	0	0
Kansas	Sebelius	Sebelius	0	10
Kentucky	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	Blanco	0	0	5
Maine	0	0	0	0
Maryland	0	0	0	0
Massachusetts	0	0	0	0
Michigan	Granholt	Granholt	0	10
Minnesota	0	0	0	0
Mississippi	0	0	0	0
Missouri	0	0	0	0
Montana	0	0	0	0
Nebraska	0	0	0	0
Nevada	0	0	0	0
New Hampshire	0	0	Hassan	10
New Jersey	0	0	0	0
New Mexico	0	0	Martinez	10
New York	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	0	Perdue	0	5
North Dakota	0	0	0	0
Ohio	0	0	0	0
Oklahoma	0	0	Fallin	10
Oregon	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	0	0	0	0
Rhode Island	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	0	0	Haley	10
South Dakota	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	0	0	0	0
Texas	0	0	0	0
Utah	0	0	0	0
Vermont	0	0	0	0

States	Woman Gov elected two elections ago? (5pts)	Woman Gov elected one election ago? (5pts)	Woman Gov elected last election? (10pts)	Points
Virginia	0	0	0	0
Washington	Gregoire	Gregoire	0	10
West Virginia	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin	0	0	0	0
Wyoming	0	0	0	0

### U.S. Senate and Parity Points

State	Senate Classes			Election Years						Points		
	I	II	III	2002 (II)	2004 (III)	2006 (I)	2008 (II)	2010 (III)	2012 (I)	Current	Past	Points
AL				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
AK				x	Murkowski	-	x	Murkowski	-	1	1	10
AZ				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
AR				x	Lincoln	-	x	x	-	0	1	4
CA				-	Boxer	Feinstein	-	Boxer	Feinstein	2	2	20
CO				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
CT				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
DE				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
FL				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
GA				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
HI				-	x	x	-	x	Hirono	1	0	6
ID				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
IL				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
IN				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
IA				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
KS				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
KY				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
LA				Landrieu	x	-	Landrieu	x	-	1	1	10
ME				Collins	-	Snowe	Collins	-	x	1	2	14
MD				-	Mikulski	x		Mikulski	x	1	1	10
MA				x	-	x	x	-	Warren	1	0	6
MI				x	-	Stabenow	x	-	Stabenow	1	1	10
MN				x	-	Klobuchar	x	-	Klobuchar	1	1	10
MS				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
MO				-	x	McCaskill	-	x	McCaskill	1	1	10

State	Senate Classes			Election Years						Points		
	I	II	III	2002 (II)	2004 (III)	2006 (I)	2008 (II)	2010 (III)	2012 (I)	Current	Past	Points
MT				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
NE				x	-	x	x	-	Fischer	1	0	6
NV				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
NH				x	x	-	Shaheen	Ayotte	-	2	0	12
NJ				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
NM				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
NY				-	x	Clinton*	-	x	Gillibrand	1	1	10
NC				Dole	x	-	Hagan	x	-	1	1	10
ND				-	x	x		x	Heitkamp	1	0	6
OH				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
OK				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
OR				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
PA				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
RI				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
SC				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
SD				x	x	-	x	x	-	0	0	0
TN				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
TX				x	-	Hutchison	x	-	x	0	1	4
UT				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
VT				-	x	x	-	x	x	0	0	0
VA				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
WA				-	Murray	Cantwell	-	Murray	Cantwell	2	2	20
WV				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0
WI				-	x	x	-	x	Baldwin	1	0	6
WY				x	-	x	x	-	x	0	0	0

### U.S. House of Representatives and Parity Points

State	Current Female Reps	Current Total Reps	Percent Women	Percent x2	Preliminary points	Points
Alabama	2	7	28.6%	57.1%	11	11
Alaska	0	1	-	-	See other table	0
Arizona	2	9	22.2%	44.4%	9	9
Arkansas	0	4	0.0%	0.0%	0	0

State	Current Female Reps	Current Total Reps	Percent Women	Percent x2	Preliminary points	Points
California	18	53	34.0%	67.9%	14	14
Colorado	1	7	14.3%	28.6%	6	6
Connecticut	2	5	40.0%	80.0%	16	16
Delaware	0	1	-	-	See other table	0
Florida	6	27	22.2%	44.4%	9	9
Georgia	0	14	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Hawaii	2	2	-	-	See other table	17.5
Idaho	0	2	-	-	See other table	0
Illinois	4	18	22.2%	44.4%	9	9
Indiana	2	9	22.2%	44.4%	9	9
Iowa	0	4	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Kansas	1	4	25.0%	50.0%	10	10
Kentucky	0	6	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Louisiana	0	6	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Maine	1	2	-	-	See other table	10
Maryland	1	8	12.5%	25.0%	5	5
Massachusetts	1	9	11.1%	22.2%	5	5
Michigan	1	14	7.1%	14.3%	3	3
Minnesota	2	8	25.0%	50.0%	10	10
Mississippi	0	4	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Missouri	2	8	25.0%	50.0%	10	10
Montana	0	1	-	-	See other table	0
Nebraska	0	3	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Nevada	1	4	25.0%	50.0%	10	10
New Hampshire	2	2	-	-	See other table	12.5
New Jersey	0	12	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
New Mexico	1	3	33.3%	66.7%	13	13
New York	7	27	25.9%	51.9%	10	10
North Carolina	2	13	15.4%	30.8%	6	6
North Dakota	0	1	-	-	See other table	0
Ohio	3	16	18.8%	37.5%	8	8

State	Current Female Reps	Current Total Reps	Percent Women	Percent x2	Preliminary points	Points
Oklahoma	0	5	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Oregon	1	5	20.0%	40.0%	8	8
Pennsylvania	1	18	5.6%	11.1%	2	2
Rhode Island	0	2	-	-	See other table	0
South Carolina	0	7	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
South Dakota	1	1	-	-	See other table	20
Tennessee	2	9	22.2%	44.4%	9	9
Texas	3	36	8.3%	16.7%	3	3
Utah	0	4	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Vermont	0	1	-	-	See other table	0
Virginia	0	11	0.0%	0.0%	0	0
Washington	3	10	30.0%	60.0%	12	12
West Virginia	1	3	33.3%	66.7%	13	13
Wisconsin	8	1	12.5%	25.0%	5	5
Wyoming	1	1	-	-	See other table	20

***U.S. House of Representatives and Parity Points (States with One or Two Representatives)***

State	2008	2010	2012	Points
Alaska	-	-	-	0
Delaware	-	-	-	0
Hawaii	Hirono	Hanabusa, Hirono	Gabbard, Hanabusa	17.5
Idaho	-	-	-	0
Maine	Pingree	Pingree	Pingree	10
Montana	-	-	-	
New Hampshire	Shea-Porter	-	Shea-Porter, Kuster	12.5
North Dakota	-	-	-	0
Rhode Island	-	-	-	0
South Dakota	Sandlin	Noem	Noem	20
Vermont	-	-	-	
Wyoming	Lummis	Lummis	Lummis	20

## State Legislatures and Parity Points

State	Total State Senators	Female State Senators	Percent Senators Women	Percent x2	Points (out of 10)	Total State House Members	Female State House Members	Percent Women	Percent x2	Points (out of 10)	Total Points
AL	35	5	14.3%	28.57%	2.9	105	14	13.3%	26.67%	2.7	6
AK	20	4	20.0%	40.00%	4.0	40	13	32.5%	65.00%	6.5	11
AZ	30	13	43.3%	86.67%	8.7	60	19	31.7%	63.33%	6.3	15
AR	35	6	17.1%	34.29%	3.4	100	17	17.0%	34.00%	3.4	7
CA	40	11	27.5%	55.00%	5.5	80	21	26.3%	52.50%	5.3	11
CO	35	14	40.0%	80.00%	8.0	65	28	43.1%	86.15%	8.6	17
CT	36	9	25.0%	50.00%	5.0	151	46	30.5%	60.93%	6.1	11
DE	21	6	28.6%	57.14%	5.7	41	10	24.4%	48.78%	4.9	11
FL	40	12	30.0%	60.00%	6.0	120	28	23.3%	46.67%	4.7	11
GA	56	8	14.3%	28.57%	2.9	180	46	25.6%	51.11%	5.1	8
HI	25	8	32.0%	64.00%	6.4	51	16	31.4%	62.75%	6.3	13
ID	35	5	14.3%	28.57%	2.9	70	22	31.4%	62.86%	6.3	9
IL	59	15	25.4%	50.85%	5.1	118	42	35.6%	71.19%	7.1	12
IN	50	8	16.0%	32.00%	3.2	100	23	23.0%	46.00%	4.6	8
IA	50	10	20.0%	40.00%	4.0	100	25	25.0%	50.00%	5.0	9
KS	40	12	30.0%	60.00%	6.0	125	27	21.6%	43.20%	4.3	10
KY	38	7	18.4%	36.84%	3.7	100	18	18.0%	36.00%	3.6	7
LA	39	4	10.3%	20.51%	2.1	105	13	12.4%	24.76%	2.5	5
ME	35	7	20.0%	40.00%	4.0	151	47	31.1%	62.25%	6.2	10
MD	47	11	23.4%	46.81%	4.7	141	46	32.6%	65.25%	6.5	11
MA	40	13	32.5%	65.00%	6.5	160	38	23.8%	47.50%	4.8	11
MI	38	4	10.5%	21.05%	2.1	110	24	21.8%	43.64%	4.4	6
MN	67	23	34.3%	68.66%	6.9	134	45	33.6%	67.16%	6.7	14
MS	52	8	15.4%	30.77%	3.1	122	23	18.9%	37.70%	3.8	7
MO	34	5	14.7%	29.41%	2.9	163	38	23.3%	46.63%	4.7	8
MT	50	10	20.0%	40.00%	4.0	100	32	32.0%	64.00%	6.4	10
NE	49	10	20.4%	40.82%	4.1	-	-	-	-	-	4
NV	21	4	19.0%	38.10%	3.8	42	14	33.3%	66.67%	6.7	10
NH	24	9	37.5%	75.00%	7.5	400	131	32.8%	65.50%	6.6	14
NJ	40	11	27.5%	55.00%	5.5	80	24	30.0%	60.00%	6.0	12
NM	42	6	14.3%	28.57%	2.9	70	25	35.7%	71.43%	7.1	10
NY	63	10	15.9%	31.75%	3.2	150	36	24.0%	48.00%	4.8	8
NC	50	8	16.0%	32.00%	3.2	120	29	24.2%	48.33%	4.8	8
ND	47	8	17.0%	34.04%	3.4	94	16	17.0%	34.04%	3.4	7
OH	33	8	24.2%	48.48%	4.8	99	23	23.2%	46.46%	4.6	9
OK	48	4	8.3%	16.67%	1.7	101	16	15.8%	31.68%	3.2	5



State	Senate Seats	Female Senate Seats	Percent Senate Women	Percent X2	Points	House Seats	Female House Seats	Percent House Women	Percent X2	Points	Total
OR	30	8	26.7%	53.33%	5.3	60	18	30.0%	60.00%	6.0	<b>11</b>
PA	50	8	16.0%	32.00%	3.2	203	37	18.2%	36.45%	3.6	<b>7</b>
RI	38	9	23.7%	47.37%	4.7	75	22	29.3%	58.67%	5.9	<b>11</b>
SC	46	1	2.2%	4.35%	0.4	124	21	16.9%	33.87%	3.4	<b>4</b>
SD	35	6	17.1%	34.29%	3.4	70	17	24.3%	48.57%	4.9	<b>8</b>
TN	33	7	21.2%	42.42%	4.2	99	15	15.2%	30.30%	3.0	<b>7</b>
TX	31	7	22.6%	45.16%	4.5	150	31	20.7%	41.33%	4.1	<b>9</b>
UT	29	5	17.2%	34.48%	3.4	75	12	16.0%	32.00%	3.2	<b>7</b>
VT	30	11	36.7%	73.33%	7.3	150	64	42.7%	85.33%	8.5	<b>16</b>
VA	40	6	15.0%	30.00%	3.0	100	19	19.0%	38.00%	3.8	<b>7</b>
WA	49	17	34.7%	69.39%	6.9	98	28	28.6%	57.14%	5.7	<b>13</b>
WV	34	1	2.9%	5.88%	0.6	100	21	21.0%	42.00%	4.2	<b>5</b>
WI	33	9	27.3%	54.55%	5.5	99	24	24.2%	48.48%	4.8	<b>10</b>
WY	30	2	6.7%	13.33%	1.3	60	13	21.7%	43.33%	4.3	<b>6</b>

## Mayors

State	Mayors in the State's Five Most Populous Cities	Points
Alabama	-	<b>0</b>
Alaska	McConnell (Sitka)	<b>4</b>
Arizona	-	<b>0</b>
Arkansas	-	<b>0</b>
California	Swearingin (Fresno)	<b>4</b>
Colorado	Weitkumat (Fort Collins)	<b>4</b>
Connecticut	-	<b>0</b>
Delaware	Masten (Smyrna)	<b>4</b>
Florida	-	<b>0</b>
Georgia	Tomlin (Columbus) Jackson (Savannah) Denson (Athens)	<b>12</b>
Hawaii	-	<b>0</b>
Idaho	de Weerd (Meridian)	<b>4</b>
Illinois	-	<b>0</b>
Indiana	-	<b>0</b>
Iowa	-	<b>0</b>
Kansas	-	<b>0</b>

<b>State</b>	<b>Mayors in the State's Five Most Populous Cities</b>	<b>Points</b>
Kentucky	Carran (Covington)	4
Louisiana	-	0
Maine	-	0
Maryland	Rawlings-Blake (Baltimore) Maracuccio (Rockville)	8
Massachusetts	Davis (Cambridge)	4
Michigan	-	0
Minnesota	-	0
Mississippi	-	0
Missouri	-	0
Montana	-	0
Nebraska	Sanders (Bellevue)	4
Nevada	Goodman (Las Vegas)	4
New Hampshire	Lozeau (Nashua)	4
New Jersey	Ricigliano (Edison)	4
New Mexico	-	0
New York	Miner (Syracuse)	4
North Carolina	Kinsey (Charlotte) McFarleene (Raleigh)	8
North Dakota	-	0
Ohio	-	0
<b>State</b>	<b>Mayors in the State's Five Most Populous Cities</b>	<b>Points</b>
Oklahoma	Rosenthal (Norman)	4
Oregon	Piercy (Eugene) Peterson (Salem)	8
Pennsylvania	-	0
Rhode Island	-	0
South Carolina	-	0
South Dakota	-	0
Tennessee	Rogero (Knoxville) McMillan (Clarksville)	8
Texas	Parker (Houston) Price (Fort Worth)	8
Utah	Johnson (West Jordan)	4
Vermont	Mackenzie (South Burlington)	4
Virginia	-	0
Washington	Strickland (Tacoma)	4
West Virginia	-	0
Wisconsin	-	0
Wyoming	Schlager (Casper)	4

## Parity Rankings: 2003

The chart below lists state parity rankings in 2003, midway between the Year of the Woman and today.

*\*Total points out of 100. Because there are only four categories tracked for 1993, each still out of 20 points, the sum of each states' points is multiplied by 1.25 to produce their total points, for more easy comparison with the 2013 rankings.*

Ranking	State	Governor Points	Senator Points	House of Rep. Points	State Legislature Points	Total Points*
1	California	0	20	14	12	57
2	Washington	0	16	4	15	45
3	Maine	0	20	0	12	40
4	Michigan	10	6	5	10	39
5	Wyoming	0	0	20	7	34
6	Connecticut	0	0	16	11	33
7	Hawaii	10	0	5	11	33
8	Arizona	15	0	0	11	33
9	New Mexico	0	0	13	12	31
10	Nevada	0	0	13	12	31
11	Colorado	0	0	11	13	31
12	Maryland	0	10	0	13	29
13	New York	0	6	8	8	28
14	Delaware	10	0	0	12	28
15	Kansas	10	0	0	11	26
16	Texas	0	10	4	7	26
17	West Virginia	0	0	13	7	25
18	Oregon	0	0	8	11	24
19	Montana	10	0	0	9	24
20	New Hampshire	10	0	0	9	24
21	Illinois	0	4	4	11	23
22	Missouri	0	0	9	8	22
23	Minnesota	0	0	5	12	21
24	North Carolina	0	6	3	7	21
25	New Jersey	10	0	0	6	20
26	Florida	0	0	6	10	20
27	Wisconsin	0	0	5	11	20
28	Louisiana	0	10	0	5	19
29	Ohio	0	0	7	6	16
30	Arkansas	0	6	0	7	16
31	Indiana	0	0	4	8	16
32	Vermont	0	0	0	12	15

Ranking	State	Governor Points	Senator Points	House of Rep. Points	State Legislature Points	Total Points*
33	Georgia	0	0	3	9	15
34	Tennessee	0	0	4	7	14
35	Massachusetts	0	0	0	11	14
36	Kentucky	0	0	7	4	14
37	Virginia	0	0	4	7	13
38	Idaho	0	0	0	9	11
39	Rhode Island	0	0	0	8	11
40	Utah	0	0	0	8	10
41	Alaska	0	0	0	8	10
42	Pennsylvania	0	0	2	6	10
43	Iowa	0	0	0	8	10
44	Nebraska	0	0	0	7	9
45	South Dakota	0	0	0	6	8
46	North Dakota	0	0	0	6	7
47	Oklahoma	0	0	0	5	6
48	Mississippi	0	0	0	5	6
49	Alabama	0	0	0	4	5
50	South Carolina	0	0	0	3	4

## Parity Rankings: 1993

The chart below lists state parity rankings in 1993, directly after the election known as the “Year of the Woman.”

*\*Total points out of 100. Because there are only four categories tracked for 1993, each still out of 20 points, the sum of each states’ points is multiplied by 1.25 to produce their total points, for the purposes of comparison with the 2013 rankings.*

Ranking	State	Governor Points	Senator Points	House of Rep. Points	State Legislature Points	Total Points*
1	Kansas	10	10	10	12	53
2	Washington	0	6	13	16	44
3	Connecticut	0	0	20	10	38
4	Maryland	0	10	10	9	36
5	Oregon	10	0	8	11	36
6	Maine	0	0	15	13	35
7	California	0	12	5	9	33
8	Hawaii	0	0	16	10	33
9	Nevada	0	0	15	10	31
10	Arizona	0	0	7	14	26

Ranking	State	Governor Points	Senator Points	House of Rep. Points	State Legislature Points	Total Points*
11	Colorado	0	0	7	13	25
12	Vermont	5	0	0	14	24
13	Utah	0	0	13	5	23
14	Illinois	0	6	2	9	21
15	Texas	10	0	1	6	21
16	Florida	0	0	9	7	20
17	New Hampshire	0	0	0	14	18
18	Arkansas	0	0	10	3	16
19	Nebraska	5	0	0	8	16
20	Rhode Island	0	0	3	10	16
21	Idaho	0	0	0	12	15
22	Indiana	0	0	4	8	15
23	New York	0	0	6	6	15
24	Ohio	0	0	4	8	15
25	Minnesota	0	0	0	11	14
26	Wisconsin	0	0	0	11	14
27	Georgia	0	0	4	6	13
28	North Carolina	0	0	3	7	13
29	Alaska	0	0	0	9	11
30	Massachusetts	0	0	0	9	11
31	Michigan	0	0	3	6	11
32	Missouri	0	0	4	5	11
33	Virginia	0	0	4	5	11
34	Wyoming	0	0	0	9	11
35	Montana	0	0	0	8	10
36	New Mexico	0	0	0	8	10
37	South Dakota	0	0	0	8	10
38	Tennessee	0	0	4	4	10
39	Kentucky	5	0	0	2	9
40	New Jersey	0	0	3	4	9
41	North Dakota	0	0	0	7	9
42	Delaware	0	0	0	6	8
43	Iowa	0	0	0	6	8
44	Pennsylvania	0	0	2	4	8
45	West Virginia	0	0	0	6	8
46	Mississippi	0	0	0	4	5
47	Oklahoma	0	0	0	4	5
48	South Carolina	0	0	0	4	5
49	Alabama	0	0	0	2	3
50	Louisiana	0	0	0	2	3

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**“There has never been a Year of the Woman.** There has never even been a minute of the woman... Our vision is simple: we will not settle for anything less than parity.”

*Marie Wilson, founder of the White House Project*

**"Women are now the majority in the population,** in voting registration, and in turnout. It's past time for women to reach parity in political leadership. We must take action - it will not happen *naturally*."

*Martha Burk, former chair of the National Council of Women's Organizations*

**"It's time to think outside the box.** All the work being done is incredibly important, but if we are to reach parity we also need to look at the voting systems and party rules. Just getting women into the pipeline isn't enough - we need to make sure they have a fair chance at being elected and moving into positions of leadership."

*Kim Gandy, former president of National Organization for Women*

**"There is just no way we can make the kind of progress we need to make, frankly, without structural changes."**

*Celinda Lake, pollster and political strategist*

**“For democracy to work best, the voices of all must be heard** with equal weight. Women are entitled to lead just as men are entitled to lead and Representation 2020's mission is to accomplish the vision of gender parity in American politics. Many have believed that there would be a 'natural progression' of women into the political system after suffrage was earned in 1920. The next 93 years have shown that there is nothing natural about the process. Hurdles like electoral laws, party rules, gender norms and arch types still exist and FairVote's efforts through Representation 2020 are making a comprehensive effort to level the playing field. Men make great leaders - and so do women. America needs this effort.”

*Laura Liswood, secretary general of the Council of Women World Leaders*



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