

**Women in State Government:
Historical Overview and Current Trends**

By Susan J. Carroll

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Women have significantly increased their numbers among state government officials over the past several decades. However, despite a recent increase in the number of women governors, women's progress, especially at the statewide elective and state legislative levels, has slowed. The future for women in state government would seem to depend, at least in part, upon the strength of efforts to actively recruit women for elective and appointive positions.

In the history of our nation, women are relative newcomers among state elected and appointed officials. Women first entered state-level offices in the 1920s following passage and ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which granted women suffrage. However, significant growth in the number of women in office occurred only after the emergence of the contemporary women's movement during the late-1960s and early-1970s. Since the mid-1970s, as data collected by the Center for American Women and Politics show,¹ women have greatly increased their number among elected and appointed officials in state government. In recent years, however, progress seems to have slowed, and nationwide statistics show a leveling off in the number of women serving in certain state-level offices.

Governors

Since the founding of our country, only 26 women (17 Democrats, 9 Republicans) have served as state governors (See Appendix I), and only one woman has served as governor of a U.S. territory (Puerto Rico). A majority of the states, 29, have never had a woman chief executive. Arizona is the only state to have had three women governors as well as the only state where a woman succeeded another as governor. Texas, Kansas and New Hampshire have each had two women governors although one of the governors of New Hampshire, Vesta Roy, served for only seven days following the death of an incumbent.

The first woman governor, Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming, was selected in a special election to succeed her deceased husband in 1925. Fifteen days later a second woman, Miriam "Ma" Ferguson, was inaugurated as governor of Texas, having been elected as a surrogate for her husband, a former governor who had been impeached and consequently was barred constitutionally from running again. Ferguson's campaign slogan was "Two governors for the price of one."² The third woman to serve as a governor, Lurleen Wallace of Alabama, who campaigned on the slogan, "Let George do it," was similarly elected to replace a husband who was constitutionally prohibited from seeking another term.³

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

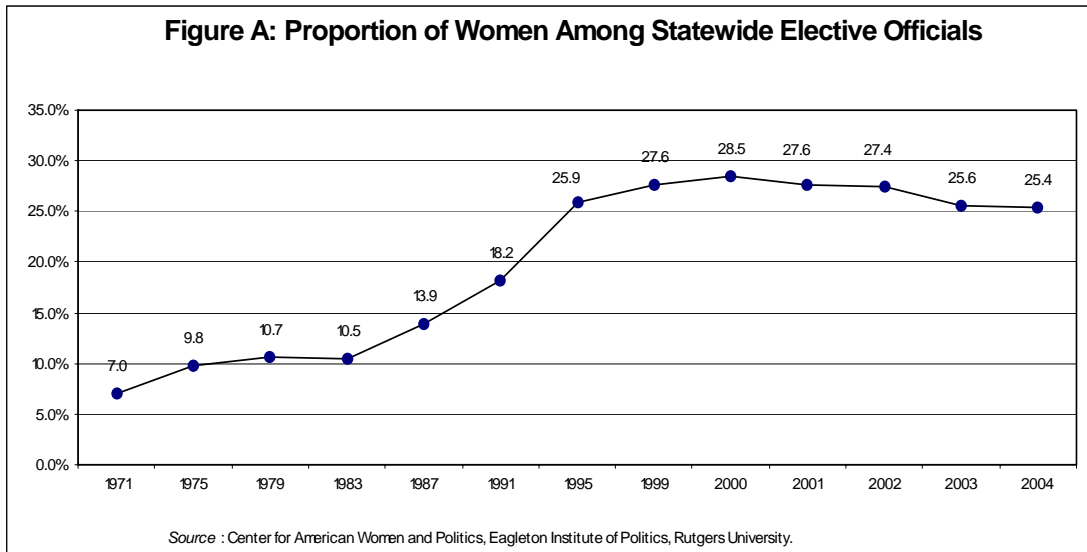
More women currently hold governorships simultaneously than ever before. In early 2004 a record eight women (5D, 3R) serve as chief executives of their states—Judy Martz (R-Montana), Ruth Ann Minner (D-Delaware), Jennifer M. Granholm (D-Michigan), Linda Lingle (R-Hawaii), Janet Napolitano (D-Arizona), Kathleen Sebelius (D-Kansas), Olene Walker (R-Utah) and Kathleen Blanco (D-Louisiana). In addition, Sila Calderon (Popular Democratic Party), the only woman of color to ever serve as a chief executive, is governor of Puerto Rico.

Other Statewide Elected and Appointed Officials in the Executive Branch

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

The first woman to ever hold a major statewide office was Soledad C. Chacon (D-New Mexico) who was secretary of state in New Mexico from 1923-26;⁴ Delaware, Kentucky, New York, South Dakota and Texas also had women secretaries of state in the 1920s. The first woman treasurer, Grace B. Urbahns (R-Indiana), served during this same time period, from 1926-32.

Several more years passed before a woman became lieutenant governor. Matilda R. Wilson (R-Michigan) served briefly as lieutenant governor of Michigan in 1940 when she was appointed to fill an expiring term. However, the first woman elected as a lieutenant governor was Consuelo N. Bailey (R-Vermont) who served from 1955-56. An additional three decades passed before a woman became attorney general of a state; the first was Arlene Violet (R-Rhode Island) who served from 1985-87.



As evident from Figure A, the proportion of women among statewide elective officials has grown substantially over the past three decades. From 1971 to 1985 the increases were small and incremental. Then, between 1983 and 1995, a period of significant growth, the numbers and proportions of women serving in statewide office more than doubled. Since 1995, the numbers and proportions have leveled off. In fact, fewer women, 80, currently hold statewide offices than in 1995 when there were 84 women.

In early 2004, women hold 25.4 percent of the 315 statewide elective positions. In addition to the eight women governors, women serve as lieutenant governors in 17, or 39.5 percent, of the 43 states that elect lieutenant governors in statewide elections. Other women statewide elected officials include: 10 secretaries of state, eight state treasurers, five attorney generals, nine chief education officials, eight state auditors, four public service commissioners, three state comptroller/controllers, two chief agricultural officials, two commissioners of insurance, two commissioners of labor and two corporation commissioners. The women serving in statewide elective office include two African Americans (the lieutenant governor of Ohio and the state treasurer of Connecticut) as well as three Latinas (the secretary of state of New Mexico, the attorney general of New Mexico and the superintendent of public instruction for Oregon).

Women are slightly better represented among top appointed officials in state government. According to nationwide data collected by the Center on Women in Government and Civil Society at SUNY-Albany, in late 2003 women constitute 29.3 percent of department heads with major policy-making responsibilities (including heads of departments, agencies, offices, boards, commissions and authorities) who were appointed by governors. Similarly, women are 38.2 percent of the top appointed advisors in governors' offices. These 2003 figures represent a slight decline from 2001, the last time the Center on Women in Government and Civil Society collected these data.⁵

The Judicial Branch

The first woman to win election to a state court of last resort was Florence E. Allen, who was elected to the Ohio Supreme Court in 1922 and re-elected in 1928. Nevertheless, it was not until 1960 that a second woman, Lorna Lockwood of Arizona, was elected to a state supreme court. In

1965, Lockwood’s colleagues on the Arizona Supreme Court elected her chief justice, thereby also making her the first woman in history to preside over a state court of last resort.⁶

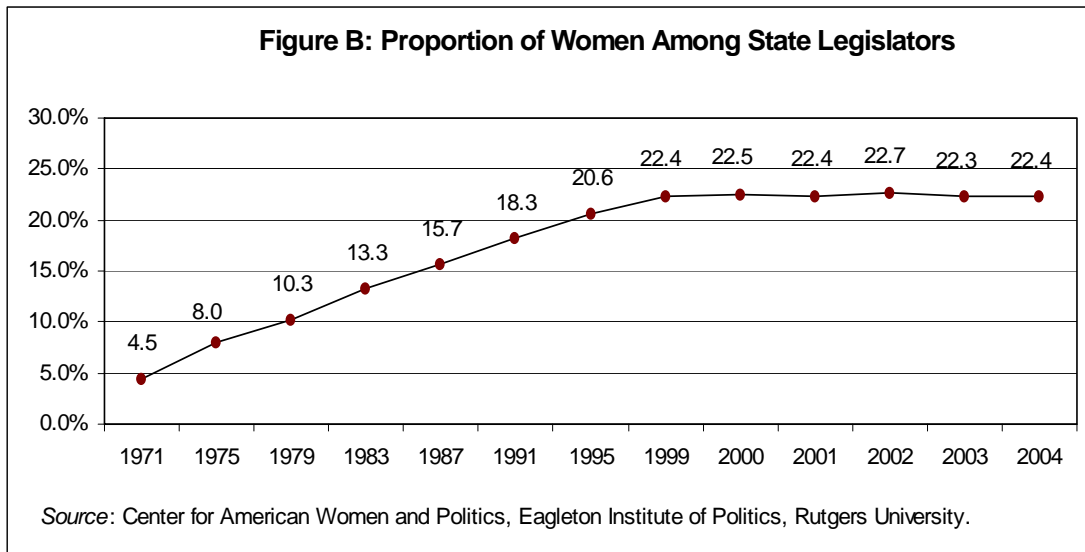
According to the National Center for State Courts (NCSC), 98, or 29.3 percent, of the 335 justices on state courts of last resort in late 2003 were women. Of the 52 chief justices of these courts, 17, or 32.7 percent, were women. The current chief justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court, Petra Jimenez Maes, is the first Latina in the country to hold this position.

Women comprise a majority of justices on the courts of last resort in four states—New York, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin. Women constitute at least 40 percent of the justices (but less than a majority) on an additional 14 courts of last resort.

Women are slightly less well represented on intermediate appellate courts. According to NCSC, in 2003 women comprised 222, or 23.1 percent, of the judges on intermediate appellate courts throughout the country.⁷ There is no state in which women constitute a majority of intermediate appellate court judges.

Legislators

Even before 1920 when women won the right to vote across the country, a few women had been elected to legislatures in states that had granted the franchise to women. By 1971 the proportion of women serving in state legislatures across the country had grown to 4.5 percent, and by 2004 this proportion has increased almost fivefold to 22.4 percent. As Figure B illustrates, the proportion of women among legislators grew throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The rate of growth slowed in the 1990s, and similar to the pattern for statewide elected officials, the numbers and proportions of women legislators nationally have leveled off since the late 1990s. In fact, fewer women, 1655,



served in state legislatures at the beginning of 2004 than in 1999 when there were 1664 women legislators.

Great variation exists across the states in the proportion of legislators who are women. (see Appendix II). Washington with 36.7 percent has the largest proportion of women in its legislature, followed by Colorado (34.0 percent), Maryland (33.5 percent), Vermont (31.1 percent), Oregon (30.0 percent) and California (30.0 percent). There seems to be no easy explanation for why these states have risen to the top, and indeed scholars who have statistically examined the variation among the states in the representation of women in their legislatures have found no simple patterns.⁸ At the other extreme, South Carolina with only 9.4 percent ranks last among the 50 states in the representation of women among its legislators. Accompanying South Carolina in the bottom five states are Alabama with 10.0 percent women, Kentucky with 10.9 percent, Mississippi with 12.6 percent and Oklahoma with 12.8 percent. All of these are southern or border states, suggesting that the south lags behind the rest of the country in the representation of women within its legislatures.

Indeed, this is generally true with no southern state among the top 20 and only Florida, with 25.0 percent women, above the national average.

In early 2004, women held 410, or 20.8 percent, of all state senate seats and 1245, or 23.0 percent, of all state house seats across the country. Although state legislators nationally have become considerably more Republican over the last decade and a half with legislators now almost evenly divided between the two parties, the same is not true for women legislators. From 1988 to 2004, the proportion of Republicans among women actually decreased slightly from 38.7 percent to 34.4 percent for state senators and from 41.4 percent to 40.2 percent for state representatives. In 2004, as in the past, Democrats substantially outnumber Republicans among women state legislators. Among women state senators nationwide, 63.2 percent are Democrats; among women state representatives, 59.6 percent are Democrats.

Almost one-fifth of women state legislators, 18.4 percent, are women of color. Of the 86 senators and 218 representatives serving in legislatures in early 2004, all but 17 are Democrats. African American women hold 57 seats in state senates and 156 seats in state houses across 37 states. Latinas are concentrated in 14 states; they hold 19 senate and 39 house seats. Asian American women count among their numbers seven senators and 16 representatives in seven states while Native American women hold one senate and eight house seats in four states.

Legislative Leaders

Women made significant inroads into leadership positions within state legislatures in the 1990s and early 2000s. The first woman to hold a major leadership position was Minnie Davenport Craig, a Republican and the only woman in her legislature, who was elected speaker of the house in North Dakota in 1933. Two decades later in 1953, Consuelo Northrop Bailey, a Republican who later became Vermont's and the nation's first lieutenant governor, became speaker of the house in her state. While another woman, Marion West Higgins, served briefly as a speaker in New Jersey in the mid-1960s, it was not until two decades later that women began to ascend to speakerships with any frequency, with Patricia "Tish" Kelly (D-North Dakota), Vera Katz (D-Oregon), Debra Anderson (D-South Dakota), and Jane Hull (R-Arizona) all becoming speakers in the 1980s.

Through the end of 2003, 20 women (six Democrats and 14 Republicans) in 14 states served as speakers. Oregon has had four women speakers, all serving since the mid-1980s. North Dakota has had three women speakers, and Arkansas has had two, both of whom served in the 1990s. Women speakers of the house in 2003 included: Catherine Hanaway (R-Missouri), Moira K. Lyons (D-CT), Karen Minnis (R-Oregon), Lola Spradley (R-Colorado) and Janet Wentz (R-North Dakota).

Fewer women – nine (three Democrats, six Republicans) in seven states – have served as senate presidents⁹ through the end of 2003 with the first, Republican Jan Faiks of Arkansas, elected in 1987. Arkansas and Florida have each had two women senate presidents. Women serving as senate presidents in 2003 were: Beverly Daggett (D-Maine), April Brimmer-Kunz (R-Wyoming) and Mary Kramer (R-Iowa).

Women fare somewhat better when all state legislative leadership positions are considered. In 2003, a total of 46, or 13.6 percent, of all top legislative leadership positions across the country were held by women.¹⁰ Women held 17.9 percent of all Democratic leadership positions but only 9.8 percent of Republican leadership positions across all the states. Women held a majority of the leadership positions (senate and house combined) in three states – Washington, Oregon and Colorado. At the other extreme, half of the states, 25, had no women serving in leadership positions in either chamber of the legislature.

There clearly is a relationship between the representation of women in the legislatures of the various states and the presence of women in legislative leadership. Not only do Washington, Oregon and Colorado rank first, second and fifth, respectively among states in the proportion of women among their legislators, but also seven of the states with the largest proportions of women legislative leaders rank among the top ten states in the proportions of women legislators.

The picture is even brighter for women when chairs of standing committees are examined. Nationally women in 2003 chaired 346, or 18.9 percent, of the standing committees in legislatures.¹¹

Women comprised 20.3 percent of Democratic and 17.7 percent of Republican committee chairs. Women served as committee chairs in 45 state senates and in all but one house (Pennsylvania). California led the way with 42.6 percent of its legislative committees chaired by women. As with leadership positions, there is a relationship between the proportion of women serving in the legislature and the proportion of women committee chairs; of the 10 states with the largest proportion of women committee chairs, seven also are among the top 10 states in terms of the proportion of women serving in their legislatures.

Looking Toward the Future

Although women have made substantial progress over time in increasing their presence in state government, the recent leveling off of women's numbers among statewide elective officials and state legislators is a puzzling development. For advocates who someday would like to see parity between women and men in government, it is a troubling development as well. At a minimum, the leveling off is evidence that increases over time are not inevitable; there is no invisible hand at work to insure that more women will seek and be elected to office with each subsequent election.

The leveling off has implications for women's representation not only among state legislators and nongubernatorial statewide officeholders, but also among governors and members of Congress. Probably the most striking positive development for women in state government in recent years has been the increase in women governors. Indeed, almost one-third of the women who have ever served their states as chief executives currently hold that office, and all but two of the eight became governor during the past two years. Of the eight sitting governors, seven held statewide elective office before running for governor; four were lieutenant governors, two served as attorney generals, and one was her state's insurance commissioner. Four of the current women governors also served in their state legislatures. Similarly, many of the women who run for Congress have gained experience and visibility in state government before seeking federal office. Of the 59 women members of the U.S. House, 25 served in their state houses, 13 in their state senates, and two in statewide elective offices; of the 14 women U.S. senators, seven served in their state legislatures, two in statewide elective offices, and one in an appointed state cabinet post.

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

While several different factors may be responsible for the recent leveling off in the number of women in statewide elective and state legislative office, a lack of effective recruitment certainly is one of the most important. The experience of women in states that have recently implemented term limits for legislative seats provides compelling evidence regarding the importance of recruitment efforts for determining what the future may hold regarding women's representation in state government. Although variation exists across the states, term limits by and large have not led to the election of more women to state legislatures.¹² This has been particularly true for state houses where more women have been term-limited out in recent elections than have been elected to seats that opened up as a result of term limits. Many of the seats vacated by term-limited incumbents, even women incumbents, have gone uncontested by women candidates. Clearly then, the mere existence of more political opportunities in term-limited states has not been sufficient to increase the number of women legislators in the absence of concerted efforts to recruit women to run for seats that have opened up.

Research has found that women who run for office are less likely than their male counterparts to be "self-starters." Women more often than men seek office only after receiving encouragement from others. For example, one recent study of major party candidates in state legislative races found

that only 11 percent of women, compared with 37 percent of men, said that it was entirely their own idea to run for the legislature; in contrast, 37 percent of women, compared with 18 percent of men, reported that they had not seriously thought about running until someone else suggested it.¹³ Another recent study of people in the professions from which political candidates are most likely to emerge (i.e., law, business, education and politics) found that notably fewer women (43 percent) than men (59 percent) had ever considered running for office.¹⁴

Findings such as these suggest that the future for women in state government will depend, at least in part, upon the strength of efforts to actively recruit women for both elected and appointed positions. Legislative leaders, political parties and advocacy organizations can help by renewing their commitment and augmenting their efforts to identify and offer support to potential women candidates, especially in winnable races with open seats or vulnerable incumbents. Political action committees can target much needed financial support and technical assistance to women candidates. Incumbent women officials can help by intensifying their efforts to identify and groom women successors for their own positions as well as potential women candidates for other elective and appointive offices. Efforts such as these may well be critical to insuring that the achievements of the past are not lost and that the numbers and proportions of women in state-level office continue upward over the next several years.

Appendix I: Women Governors Throughout History

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

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

Appendix II: Women in State Legislatures

<i>State</i>	<i>Senate</i>			<i>House</i>			<i>Legislature (Both houses)</i>	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>% Women</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>% Women</i>	<i>% Women</i>	<i>State rank (a)</i>
Alabama	2	1	8.6	9	2	10.5	10.0	49
Alaska	3	1	20.0	3	5	20.0	20.0	32
Arizona	3	5	26.7	8	9	28.3	27.8	12
Arkansas	5	2	20.0	9	6	15.0	16.3	41
California	11	0	27.5	20	5	31.3	30.0	5
Colorado	9	1	28.6	14	10	36.9	34.0	2
Connecticut	6	2	22.2	29	18	31.1	29.4	8
Delaware	4	3	33.3	4	7	26.8	29.0	9
Florida	5	5	25.0	15	15	25.0	25.0	21
Georgia	11	2	23.2	29	9	21.1	21.6	26
Hawaii	7	0	28.0	8	6	27.5	27.6	14
Idaho	1	3	11.4	9	15	34.3	26.7	19
Illinois	8	4	20.3	24	13	31.4	27.7	13
Indiana	7	6	26.0	7	7	14.0	18.0	36
Iowa	1	5	12.0	16	9	25.0	20.7	28
Kansas	3	7	25.0	17	19	28.8	27.9	11
Kentucky	0	4	10.5	9	2	11.0	10.9	48
Louisiana	5	1	15.4	13	5	17.1	16.7	39
Maine (b)	9	4	37.1	26	11	24.5	26.9	18
Maryland	12	3	31.9	37	11	34.0	33.5	3
Massachusetts	10	1	27.5	34	6	25.0	25.5	20
Michigan	5	6	28.9	15	9	21.8	23.6	23
Minnesota	11	11	34.3 ^(c)	16	16	23.9	27.4	15
Mississippi	4	0	7.7	13	5	14.8	12.6	47
Missouri	4	3	20.6	24	11	21.5	21.3	27
Montana	7	1	16.0	19	10	29.0	24.7	22
Nebraska (d)	- Nonpartisan -		18.4	- Unicameral -			18.4	35
Nevada	4	3	33.3	8	3	26.2	28.6	10
New Hampshire	2	2	16.7	60	52	28.0	27.4	16
New Jersey	4	2	15.0	10	3	16.3	15.8	43
New Mexico	7	5	28.6	11	10	30.0	29.5	7
New York	6	5	17.7	28	8	24.0	21.2	24
North Carolina	5	2	14.0	17	11	23.3	20.6	29
North Dakota	3	2	10.6	6	12	19.1	16.3	40
Ohio	3	1	12.1	12	11	23.2	20.5	30

<i>State</i>	<i>---- Senate ----</i>			<i>---- House ----</i>			<i>Legislature (Both houses)</i>	
	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>% Women</i>	<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>% Women</i>	<i>% Women</i>	<i>State rank (a)</i>
Oregon	6	1	23.3	11	9	33.3	30.0	5
Pennsylvania	5	3	16.0	10	17	13.3	13.8	45
Rhode Island	7	2	23.7	11	3	18.7	20.4	31
South Carolina	2	0	4.3	7	7	11.3	9.4	50
South Dakota	0	4	11.4	4	9	18.6	16.2	42
Tennessee	4	1	15.2	12	6	18.2	17.4	38
Texas	2	2	12.9	11	20	20.7	19.3	33
Utah	3	2	17.2	7	11	24.0	22.1	25
Vermont	8	1	30.0	26	19	30.7 ^(e)	30.6	4
Virginia	7	1	20.0	6	6	12.0	14.3	44
Washington	16	7	46.9	20	11	31.6	36.7	1
West Virginia	1	4	14.7	14	6	20.0	18.7	34
Wisconsin	3	6	27.3	12	15	27.3	27.3	17
Wyoming	3	2	16.7	6	5	18.3	17.8	37

Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. Figures are as of January 2004.

Key:

- (a) States where percentages of women are exactly the same (California and Oregon) are ranked the same; states where percentages round out to the same (Iowa and Missouri; Minnesota and New Hampshire), but are not exactly the same, are ranked differently.
- (b) In addition, one woman in Maine was elected in November 1997 as a non-voting member representing the Penobscot Nation.
- (c) Includes one member of the Independence Party.
- (d) Nebraska has a unicameral legislature with nonpartisan elections.
- (e) Includes one member of the Progressive Party.

Notes

1. All statistical information in this essay, unless otherwise noted, has been provided by the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. Additional information is available at www.cawp.rutgers.edu. I would especially like to thank Gilda Morales and Linda Phillips, my colleagues at CAWP, for their assistance with the data for this essay.
2. Martin Gruberg, *Women in American Politics* (Oshkosh, WI: Academia Press, 1968), 189.
3. Gruberg, 190.
4. Women did serve as superintendents of public instruction in a few states earlier than this.
5. "Appointed Policy Makers in State Government A Demographic Analysis: Gender, Race and Ethnicity Data," A Report of the Center for Women in Government and Civil Society, Fall 2001. <http://www.cwig.alabany.edu/ApptPolicyMakers2001Report.htm>.
6. Gruberg, 190, 192.
7. These are the most recent figures available but are not as up-to-date as the figures for courts of last resort. The National Center for State Courts last comprehensively updated these figures for intermediate appellate court judges in May 2003.
8. See, for example, Barbara Norrander and Clyde Wilcox, "The Geography of Gender Power: Women in State Legislatures," in Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, ed., *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
9. Excluded from consideration here are women who have served as senate presidents by virtue of holding the office of lieutenant governor.
10. Top legislative leadership positions include: senate presidents and presidents pro tempore, house speakers and speakers pro tempore, and majority and minority leaders of the senate and the house as listed in *State Legislative Leadership, Committees & Staff 2003* (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2003). The position of senate president has been excluded from these figures in states where the position is filled by the lieutenant governor.
11. These numbers represent chairs and co-chairs of all senate, house, and joint standing committees as well as chairs of joint statutory committees and joint commissions as listed in *State Legislative Leadership, Committees & Staff 2003*.
12. See Susan J. Carroll, "The Impact of Term Limits on Women," *Spectrum: The Journal of State Government* 74 (Fall 2001): 19-21.
13. Gary Moncrief, Peverill Squire, and Malcolm Jewell, *Who Runs for the Legislature?* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 2001), Table 5.5, 102; see also Susan J. Carroll and Wendy S. Strimling, *Women's Routes to Elective Office: A Comparison With Men's* (New Brunswick, NJ: Center for the American Woman and Politics, 1983).
14. Richard L. Fox and Jennifer Lawless, "Entering the Arena: Gender and the Initial Decision to Run for Office," *American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming 2004.

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