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Decadal Disparities in the Election of Women to State Legislatures

Jude C. Platz

DECADAL DISPARITIES IN THE ELECTION OF WOMEN TO STATE LEGISLATURES

A THESIS

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Introduction

The elections of Clara Cressingham (R), Carrie C. Holly (R), and Frances Klock (R) to the Colorado House of Representatives in 1894 marked the first time in history that women were elected to state legislature positions, 26 years before the nineteenth amendment was ratified giving women the right to vote (CAWP 2019). 127 years later, women comprise a meager 30.6% of all state legislators nationwide, despite achieving 57 percent of all undergraduate degrees and constituting a majority of the United States population (Duffin 2021). Even more discouraging is that in recent decades, the gains have slowed down.

This lack of representation is especially troubling because of the unique skill sets that women bring to political office. Research indicates that women have greater success working across party lines, particularly when those women are in the minority party (Volden et al. 2013). Women also tend to prioritize different legislation than men, with a specific focus on policy related to quality of life issues and policy meant to address the concerns of minority groups, families, and women (Pepera 2018). In fact, a study in Brazil found that electing more female mayors led to a significant decrease in the mortality rates of children under the age of 5 (Hessel et al. 2020). This drop in mortality rates is attributed to female mayors prioritizing expanded access to primary health care, as well as conditional cash transfer programs.

Increased women in political offices restores confidence in democracy by encouraging citizen participation in elections and diversifying the backgrounds of elected officials. When citizens see legislators from similar demographics, it suggests that the system of democracy is working, and that their interests are being represented (Bowman 2011). Having a more diverse legislative body ensures that the U.S. is more equally represented, and that the unique skills and perspectives of different demographics can be represented in the legislation produced at all levels

of government. Beyond merely the political advantages, electing more women is empowering and inspiring to younger generations, leading to higher labor force participation (Mehra 1997). This increased labor force participation can have extremely positive economic impacts and is associated with greater gross domestic production and higher tax revenues (Lechman and Kaur 2015). In this way, the effects of increased representation are incredibly widespread, and go much further than just more efficient legislative bodies.

Despite the documented advantages of having more female representatives, the research on what factors might lead to increases in female elected officials is quite limited. This paper attempts to address that gap by examining the factors that lead to higher numbers of female state legislators and examining the changes over time. Since state legislatures are the grooming grounds for higher office (Camissa and Reingold 2004) having more women state legislators will ultimately lead to more women in state-wide elected positions, and in federal offices.

Using state-level data from the 50 U.S. States over four decades, we find evidence of persistence over time, as places with more female legislators in the past are more likely to have more today. We also find that certain economic, political, and demographic factors appear to drive these differences. Unfortunately, there is also evidence that, after controlling for these factors, the percentage of women in state legislatures was actually lower in the 2010s, evidence that gains in increasing female representation were stalling.

Previous Research

To understand why residents of a state might be more or less likely to vote for a female candidate, it is helpful to examine the differences in how genders are perceived in the political world. In a political psychology study from 2014, it was found that stereotypes assigned to

female politicians differ significantly from the qualities associated with women across other professions (Schneider and Bos 2014). The study found that female politicians had disadvantageous stereotypes compared to male politicians, and they also did not have the benefit of the positive stereotypes associated with typical women, such as empathy. Female politicians miss out on the positive stereotypes associated with women such as sensitive and compassionate, while also missing out on the positive traits associated with male politicians such as leadership and competence (Schneider and Bos 2014). Alternatively, the study finds that female politicians are instead defined almost entirely by their negative stereotypes, such as uptight and dictatorial. It is important to note that voters tend to stereotype a candidate more heavily if there is a lack of clear information on the actual candidate, and stereotypes in politics are largely contextual (McDermott 1997). While these negative perceptions of female politicians would certainly appear to be a barrier to successful election, women that run for office have been just as likely as their male counterparts to win an election race in recent years, especially in the Democratic party (Pepera 2018). Rather, the lack of female representation appears to be more closely linked to women not running for election than it is to women losing elections.

In the 2000s, there was a massive increase in the amount of research being published on the topic of women in politics, however, very little of it was concerned with the demographic and regional characteristics that contributed to the success of women at the state level. Much of the previously published research focuses on the effects women have after they take office, as is the case in Hessel et al. (2020) and Ladam et al. (2018). One of the only major publications focusing on the factors contributing to the election of women was Wilma Rule's "Why More Women Are State Legislators" paper published in 1990 (Rule 1990). This study found that success in the state House was a precursor to success in the state Senate, and that only "moralistic states" which are

defined as states with political cultures that are receptive to ideas and values that would be considered politically progressive, experienced significant growth in the number of state senators. Women from "traditional states", which are states with political cultures that seek to maintain the status-quo, are recruited for House positions only, while "moralistic" states are able to successfully recruit women to both the House and the Senate. This study also found that the greatest predictor of women's recruitment to state assemblies and state senates was the number of women in state assemblies 10 years prior, with 37% of the variance in female state legislators being explained by this variable (Rule 1990).

Rule's work, however, is unfortunately limited by its age, and many of the results are no longer applicable. For example, her study found that Republican-dominated states tend to elect more women state legislators than Democratic-dominated states. However, the Republican and Democratic parties have changed significantly since her study was published, and more recent studies suggest that states that vote Republican hinder female advancement in politics (Sundquist 2011). In fact, the number of female Republican state legislators has *decreased* from 1995-2007 (Elder 2012). While this study may be limited by the time in which it was published, it served as a solid reference and its methodologies helped inspire our analysis.

Another disadvantage of Rule (1990) was the incredibly low representation and low variability of women at the time of her study. In 1974, the first year of her study, only 10 states had legislatures comprised of at least 10% women. Much of the early lag in representation can be attributed to prevailing (traditional) gender roles that led women to focus largely on domestic duties such as taking care of the home, raising children, or religion (Camissa and Reingold 2004). The remnants of this are still felt by female politicians today. Women are typically much older than their male counterparts when they first run for office, and have fewer and older

children than males, largely reinforcing the prioritization of women as mothers before other careers (Dolan and Ford 1997). In the 1970s and 1980s, the typical path for a married female politician began domestically, with a focus on raising children. It was not until the children were grown and out of the house that married women began their political careers, which explains why female politicians were much older than their male counterparts on average (Camissa and Reingold 2004). Married women would typically begin in small roles such as local school boards, before working their way up the political ladder, further widening the age gap in state legislatures (Dolan and Ford 1997). Single women, on the other hand, were typically quicker to join the political sphere, not tied down by the obligations of domestic life. This rigid path to political office has changed considerably in recent decades, and by the 1990s, women in state legislature positions were "younger, more likely to be married, less likely to have held appointed positions, and more likely to have had previous experience on city councils or county boards than their predecessors" (Camissa and Reingold 2004, p. 2). This younger, more frequently married generation of female politicians indicates that prevailing gender norms may be softening considerably. However, women are still older and have fewer children than male politicians, indicating the slight perseverance of these traditional values and gender norms.

Redefined gender roles, accompanied by drastic changes in education, previous female political representation, and other factors have led to large surges in the number of females in state legislatures. The first major surge, referred to as the "Year of the Woman", occurred in 1992 and saw the number of female U.S. Senators triple (Year of the Woman 2019). Many of these women were inspired by the Senate confirmation hearings the previous year where Anita Hill, an African American woman who accused then Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment, was heavily scrutinized by a committee composed entirely of white men.

The following year, a total of 108 women campaigned for election to the U.S. House of Representatives, with 24 being elected. Additionally, California became the first state to ever be represented by two female senators, and a groundbreaking 1,401 females were elected to state legislature positions.

The second major surge occurred in 2018, when women set new highs for the total number of candidates running for governor, U.S. House of Representatives, and U.S. Senate. A record breaking 110 women were elected to serve in Congress in 2018, representing 20.6% of all Congressional seats (CAWP 2018). Additionally, a record 1,876 women were elected to state legislatures, representing 25.4% of all available seats. Many women were inspired to run for office after the 2016 presidential election, in which Hillary Clinton (D) lost to Donald Trump (R). The campaigning was filled with insults and demeaning comments from Mr. Trump, drawing many parallels to the Anita Hill testimony that was the catalyst for the 1992 surge. Although Hillary Clinton lost the election, she inspired many women to run for office in the 2018 midterm elections, which helped further reinforce the idea that seeing women run for political positions inspires other women to do the same (Ladam et al. 2018). Much like the surge in 1992, this sharp increase in the number of women running for office directly resulted from national coverage of other women involved in the political world.

Since the Reagan area, there has been a steady rise in the prioritization and adherence to political correctness, and with it, a large push for equality between genders, races, and sexualities (Fairclough 2003). This push toward equality, along with the two massive surges in female political representation and the overall steady rise in the percent of females composing state legislatures gives the appearance of women making massive strides in politics, and would suggest that each decade has been more successful than the previous in terms of electing women.

Figure 1 shows the steady progress women have been making in state legislature representation, as well as the major surges of 1982 and 2018. This paper aims to reveal if after controlling for variables known to contribute to electing women to state legislature positions (such as education or party support), there is still a decadal effect associated with women's progress in politics. The hypothesis is that even after controlling for other variables, each successive decade will have a larger, more positive impact than the previous decade. That is, the 1990s will have a more positive impact than the 1980s, the 2000s will have a more positive impact than the 1990s, and so on.

Methodology and Data

This study analyzes data from the 50 U.S. states in the years 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 in a dynamic model. Three main empirical models were used in this analysis:

Model 1. $\quad y_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 y_{i,t-10} + \beta_{2-8} X_{(1-7)i,t} + \varepsilon_{i,t}$

Model 2. $\quad y_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 y_{i,t-10} + \beta_{2-8} X_{(1-7)i,t} + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{i,t}$

Model 3. $\quad y_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 y_{i,t-10} + \beta_2 D_i + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{i,t}$

Where i= 1, 2 … 50 and t = 1, 2, 3, 4 (representing 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010). $y_{i,t}$ is the percent of female state legislators for a given state (i) in a given year (t).

$\beta_1 y_{i,t-10}$ is the 10-year lag of the percent of female state legislators. This lagged variable was included in the models to account for the effect prior success (or lack of it) in electing female state legislators has on the percent of female state legislators in the future. Several studies

(Rule 1990, Ladam et al. 2018, and CAWP 2001, to name a few) document how the success of women in politics is compounding, and that seeing women elected to government positions inspires more women to run for office.

$X_{(1-7)}$ are the other explanatory variables (explained below) which control for additional factors which are known to impact female political representation. λ_t is a set of decadal dummy variables, controlling for differences across time, where the omitted variable is t = 2010. We chose to omit t = 2010 so that we could compare the effects of previous decades to the effect of the most recent decade, 2010, which based on **Figure 1** has the highest level of female state legislators.

D_i is a set of regional dummy variables which control for non time-varying differences between regions. Finally, $\varepsilon_{i,t}$ is a standard error term and captures the effect of other variables that explain changes in the dependent variable that were not included in the model. The equations differ in that *Model 2* and *Model 3* include λ_t, the decadal specific effects, while *Model 1* only examines the explanatory variables. *Model 2* aims to discover if any disparities exist between decades after controlling for all the explanatory variables, while *Model 3* was used to analyze if any decadal disparities existed after also controlling for regions.

The dynamic model allows us to account for the compounding effect of electing women to government positions, as is mentioned in much of the background research. Additionally, it was chosen rather than a standard panel model, because the variation in the percent of women in state legislatures over time is too small at the state level, and there are only four observations for each state. With a fixed effects panel model, the fixed effect – or the unobserved time-invariant effect of each state – accounted for nearly all the variation in the dependent variable.

The number of female state legislators for 1975-2019 was obtained from the Center for American Women and Politics, and previous data was obtained using the book of states archive from the Council of State Governments website. Data prior to 1980 was used to track trends in progress, as is seen in **Figure 1**, as well as in the estimation of *Model 3,* where we control for only decades and regions. Demographic data are obtained from the U.S. Census for 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010. Personal income data was obtained from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) and adjusted to 2019 dollars using BLS CPI values. Personal income also is scaled into thousands of dollars to better ascertain the impact of this factor. The percent of a state that voted for a Republican president was obtained from MIT's Election and Science Lab. Because there were no presidential elections in 1990 and 2010, the percent of a state that voted for a Republican president in 1988 and 1992 were averaged and used for 1990, while the percent from the 2008 and 2012 elections were averaged and used for 2010. Regions were defined using the National Geographic Resource Library regional map. Descriptions and summaries of the variables are listed in **Table 1,** and a map of the states in each region can be found in **Figure 2.**

One concern with the model was the possibility for multicollinearity, especially in *Model 2* where there was expected to be some collinearity between the explanatory variables and the decadal dummy variable. With the exception of the eighties, which had a variance inflation factor of 11.48, all of the other variables had VIF's less than 10, and the model had a mean VIF of 5.16, suggesting that multicollinearity is not a problem.

In all models, standard errors were clustered at the state level. State-level clustering allowed us to account for autocorrelation in the residuals since we have multiple observations from the same states.

Results

The regression results for *Model 1* and *Model 2* are shown in **Table 2,** and the results for

Model 3 are shown in **Table 3**. All models had R-squared values above 0.8, indicating strong

predictive capabilities.

Overall, the results suggest that places which previously had high levels of female state

legislators still do, as the lagged dependent variable is both positive and statistically significant at

the $\alpha = 0.01$ significance level. In Table 2, we also see that education appears to be a positive

factor contributing to the election of women to state legislatures. The share of the population

with high school or some college and the share of the population with a bachelor's degree or

higher both had positive, statistically significant coefficients when compared to high school

dropouts (the omitted category). In *Model 2,* the coefficient on the share of the population with

bachelor's degrees or higher was 0.427, compared to 0.292 for high school or some college,

indicating that all education has a positive impact on the percentages of female state legislators

elected, and that even higher levels of education have a more positive impact.

In Table 2, there is evidence that some other factors also appear to be important. In *Model*

1, there is also evidence that political views matter, as places with higher shares of votes going to

the most recent Republican Presidential candidate have statistically significant lower shares of

female state legislators.

Turning to Table 3, the Southwest, Midwest, and Southeast all have statistically

significant negative coefficients when compared to the omitted category, the West region. This

makes sense as, in general, the West region has had more female state legislators. Additionally,

the analysis in Table 3 points toward regional characteristics being important to explaining the

percentages of female state legislators (perhaps even those we are unable to control for in

Models 1 and 2). However, we acknowledge that the results in Table 3 might not be as precise as there may be significant heterogeneity in factors within regions.

The results of the analysis also confirmed the hypothesis that, after controlling for other factors, the share of women in state legislatures differs by decade. In fact, as shown in the *Model 2* regression results found in **Table 2**, when compared to the 2010s, the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s all had statistically significant 4.33, 3.388, and 2.836 percentage point higher shares of female state legislators, respectively, after controlling for other factors. *Model 3* in **Table 3** contains relatively similar results, with the 1980s and 1990s having statistically significant 0.705 and 1.764 percentage point higher shares of female state legislators, respectively, after controlling for regional differences. Together, the results from Models 2 and 3 suggest that the share of female legislators in recent years has not kept up with other change in society. Model 3 also includes data from the 1960s and 1970s, with statistically significant -6.568 and -4.0 differences (compared to the 2010s), respectively. This indicates that disparities were worse in earlier decades. Thus, at a minimum, female political representation is doing better today than prior to the 1980s.

Conclusion

Figure 1 shows a general trend of consistently increasing female representation in state legislators. Thus, it is easy to assume that female political representation is making significant, steady progress. However, this does not consider the progress that is being achieved in other areas at the same time. For example, there have been other gains, such as higher levels of education among society at large. After controlling for this and other factors known to contribute to the success of women in politics, our results suggest that more recent decades are actually underperforming compared to previous decades in electing women to state offices. In 1980, only

about 16.1% of a state's population over the age of 25 had a bachelor's degree or higher, but by 2010 this percentage had doubled to 32.2% of the population. However, the representation of women in state legislatures has not shared this same growth trend, despite the importance of higher levels of education in electing women to public office. This suggests that female representation at the state level is increasing at a slower rate than what would be predicted, contrary to popular belief.

In fact, when we graph the decadal results in **Figure 3** we see further evidence of that progress in electing women to state legislature positions may be slowing down or leveling out completely, though there is not enough data to confidently conclude this.

Our analysis also found some support for other factors, including education, that are important to electing more female legislators, including marriage, unemployment, and political representation. As noted previously, female politicians are more likely to focus on issues related to families after being elected (Pepera 2018, Hessel et al. 2020), thus marriage may be associated with more female legislators if it makes both men and women alike more sensitive to these issues. This theory is partially supported by Becker's joint household utility theory, that states that a married couple will vote in the best economic interests of the family (Kan 2006). Although this theory is primarily concerned with economic utility, the underlying theme of the theory is that couples vote for the candidate that will maximize the household's utility. If a married couple is more sensitive to quality of life issues or policy that would affect families, then they would be much more inclined to vote for a female candidate, who could best maximize their utility.

One possible explanation for the fact that high unemployment rates are associated with lower levels of female political state legislators may be that places with higher unemployment have other characteristics not captured by our model that make them less likely to vote for

women. Another possible explanation relates back to the work by Schneider and Bos (2014) that found that male politicians are viewed as leaders, and to Pepera (2018) that women leaders tend to prioritize quality of life issues over economic issues. Thus, states with high unemployment may vote for male candidates, believing that they may best be suited to solve the issue of high unemployment.

Our results related to political leanings (the negative effect in places with a higher percentage of Republican voters) are unsurprising. Although Rule's 1990 paper found that more females were elected in Republican leaning places, the data show that from 1995-2007 the total number of female Republican state legislators decreased (Elder 2012), so there is certainly a negative correlation between support for the Republican party and electing women. Additionally, the Center for American Women and Politics found that female Republican candidates tend to be less successful in elections than their Democrat counterparts. Female Republicans won 25% of U.S. House elections in 2018, while female Democrats won 49.2% of their elections (Gothreau 2020).

One factor contributing to this may be the support of the parties. One of the Democratic Party's major recruitment tools is the liberal group Emily's List, which spent nearly $45 million on the election campaigns of Democrat women across all levels of government in 2014 and 2016. The Republican Party's equivalent of this group, Maggie's List, spent just $210,000 on these same elections (Bacon 2018). We know from Schneider & Bos (2014) that voters tend to rely on stereotypes when voting if there is a lack of information about the candidate, and that the stereotypes associated with female politicians are typically negative. Thus, the disparity in the amount of funding between the two parties could mean less information being spread about

female Republican candidates, which would in turn cause voters to stereotype (negatively) these candidates more heavily.

Another factor, related to this may be recruitment of candidates. Research suggests that a key factor inhibiting the success of women in politics is the "ambition gap" and lower levels of female recruitment to run for elected positions (Miller 2016). The issue may not be that women in Republican leaning states are less successful in election campaigns, but rather that they are less likely to consider running for office because they are less likely to be recruited to run.

Should the priorities of the Republican Party change, it could possibly mean massive increases in the representation of women across all levels of government. As of 2020, there are 1,464 female Democratic state legislators serving. If the Republicans were able to close the gap and match this number, it would mean that 40% of all state legislators would be female, as opposed to the lackluster 30.6% currently serving today.

Our analysis and the previous research suggest that the greatest predictor and strongest influence on more female political representation is having more female legislators in the past. This creates a serious challenge: if having more female legislators now leads to more female legislators in the future, how can states increase their female representation now? Unfortunately, our analysis offers little relief to this question. Some of the driving factors, such as levels of education and unemployment, are areas of concern that state governments should theoretically already be addressing. High unemployment and low education have serious economic repercussions, and so states are usually already concerned about these issues, regardless of the impacts that it has on female political representation. It is unlikely that knowing that these factors contribute to female representation in politics will change a state's level of priority for unemployment reduction or education. This is also the case with other factors identified by our

analysis. Although this model successfully identifies factors that contribute to electing more women, it is limited in that it offers no suggestions on how to actually increase the number of women in elected positions.

Despite our findings, it is important to note that the 2018 surge in political representation was not captured in our analysis, because only data for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 were used. Although our results suggest that the gains in increasing female political representation in state legislatures have slowed down or diminished in recent decades, given the recent surge, it is entirely possible that this trend will be reversed in the coming years. This research is also limited in the number of observations available. Because we were only able to gather data for four decades and because it was measured at the state level, there are only 200 observations in the regression. Despite this, we do find strong statistical evidence of differences between the decades, so it is unlikely that having more observations would change the significance of our results indicating decadal disparities in electing women to state legislatures.

This research serves as a strong cautionary tale against celebrating the increasing number of female state legislators. It is clear from our results, as shown in **Figure 3,** that as time passes, states are underperforming the past in electing women (all things equal) to state legislature positions. This is particularly alarming because it may indicate that the steady progress states have seen since the mid-1970s could be slowing down significantly, even to the point of leveling out. For now, there is not strong enough evidence to suggest that the movement to increase female political representation is flatlining, but the data certainly hints at this as a possibility.

These results are increasingly relevant in the age of the COVID-19 pandemic and the associated economic downturn, which was especially impactful for women. The pandemic created issues with childcare, female labor force participation, and female underemployment.

Previous research suggests that having more women policymakers is paramount to addressing these concerns.

However, if the goal is equal political representation for men and women, then states are certainly making progress toward this goal, albeit at a slower pace than what is to be expected. Perhaps the focus on issues of importance to women will lead to a rebound in 2022.

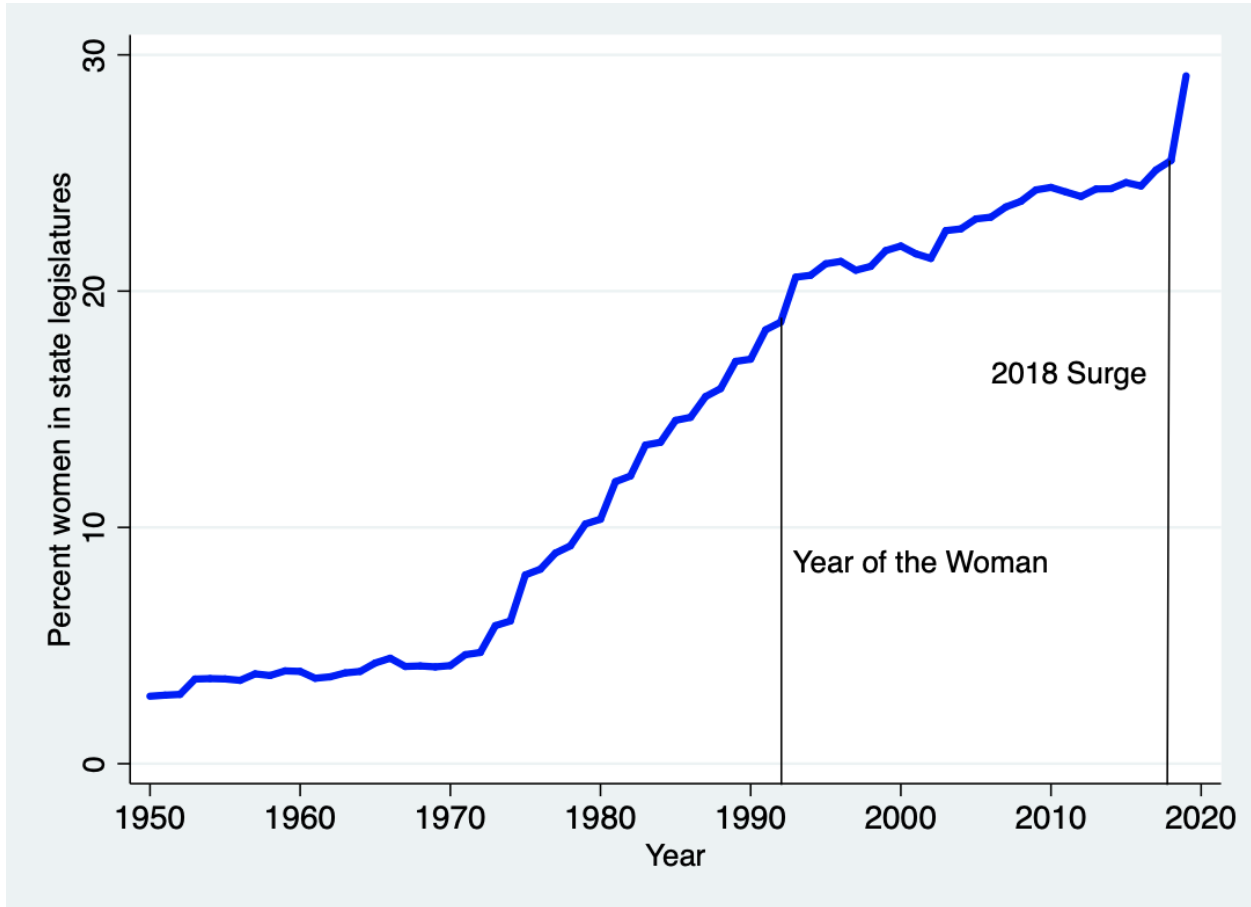**Figure 1: Average Percent of Females in State Legislatures**

Table 1: Explanatory Variable Summary

Variable	Description	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Percent female state legislators (y)	The percent of female state legislators for each state[1]	13.758	10.417	0	52.4
$y_{i, t-10}$	The ten-year lag of the percent of female state legislators[1]	11.883	9.646	0	42.2
Unemployment Rate (X_1)	Percent unemployment[2]	6.211	2.339	2.3	13.5
Minority (X_2)	Percent non-white population[3]	22.188	14.892	1.5	77.3
Republican President (X_3)	Percent of population that voted for a Republican President. For some decades, values were averaged.[4]	49.371	8.243	27.1	72.8
HS or some college (X_4)	Percent of population 25 and older that completed high school, some college, or an Associate degree[3]	55.984	5.491	40.3	66
Bachelor's degree or higher (X_5)	Percent of population 25 and older that completed a bachelor's degree or higher[3]	22.969	7.292	10.4	45
Married (X_6)	Percent of females 15 and older that are married females[3]	53.156	4.279	41.8	65
Personal Income (X_7)	Average personal income in thousands adjusted to 2019 dollars[5]	39.311	8.844	22.2	72.8
λ_t	The decadal dummy variable			1980	2010

Note. Subscripts indicate that data was obtained from the following sources:
1. Center for American Women in Politics
2. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
3. U.S. Census Bureau
4. MIT's Presidential Election Lab
5. U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) and adjusted to 2019 dollars using BEA CPI values

Figure 2: Regional composition of states
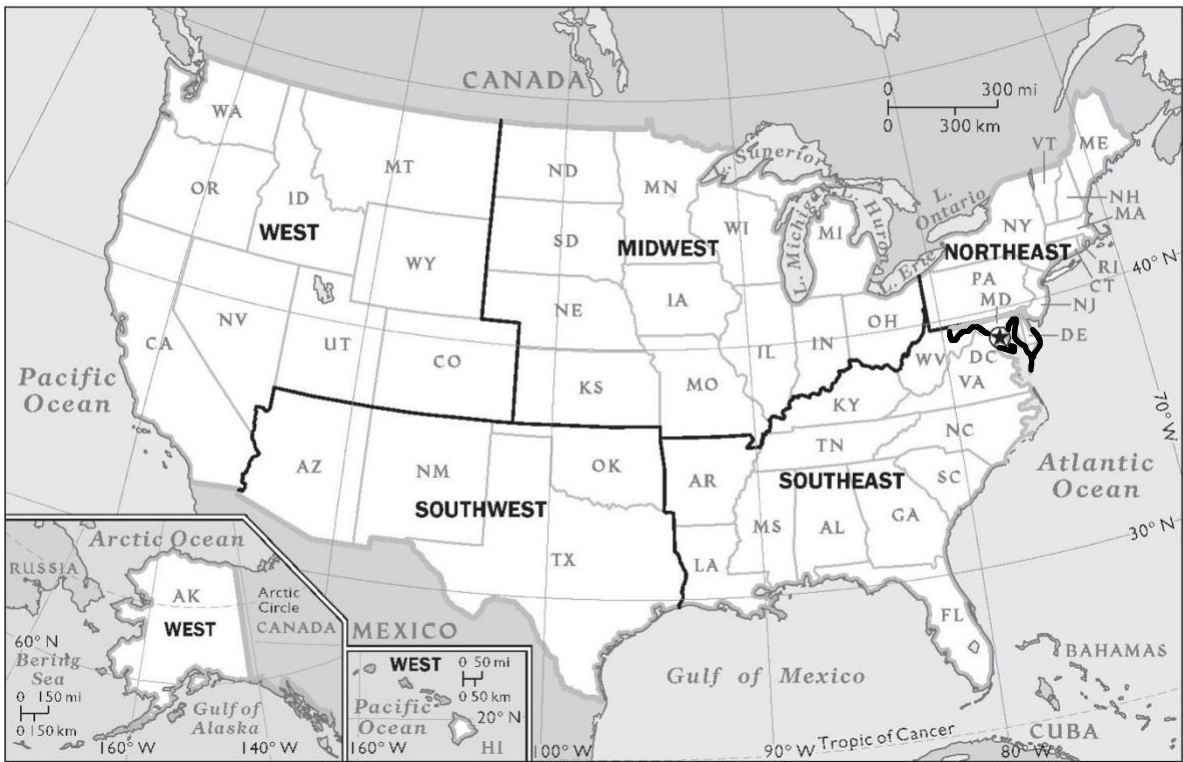
Note. Reprinted from National Geographic Resource Library. Copyright 2009 by National Geographic Society.

Table 2: Results: Percent of Female State Legislators (1980-2010)

| Explanatory Variables	(1) Model1	(2) Model2
Percent female legislators (10-yr lag)	0.652***	0.671***
	(0.0598)	(0.0656)
Unemployment Rate	-0.275**	-0.131
	(0.116)	(0.189)
Minority (% of population)	0.0203	0.0207
	(0.0268)	(0.0252)
Republican President (vote share)	-0.254***	-0.219***
	(0.0436)	(0.0480)
HS or some college (% of population over 25)	0.224***	0.292***
	(0.0739)	(0.0789)
Bachelor's degree or more (% of population over 25)	0.298**	0.427***
	(0.112)	(0.135)
Married (% of population)	0.325***	0.186
	(0.100)	(0.134)
Personal Income (average in thousands in 2019 $'s)	-0.0711	-0.0945
	(0.0708)	(0.0717)
decades = 1980s		4.330*
		(2.349)
decades = 1990s		3.388*
		(1.711)
decades = 2000s		2.836*
		(1.525)
Constant	-10.38	-14.31*
	(6.544)	(7.955)
Observations	200	200
R-squared	0.804	0.808

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3: Results: Percent of Female State Legislators (1950-2010)

Explanatory Variables	(1) Model 3
Percent female legislators (10-yr lag)	0.746***
	(0.0143)
region = Southwest	-1.119***
	(0.307)
region = Midwest	-1.039***
	(0.222)
region = Northeast	-0.256
	(0.222)
region = Southeast	-2.903***
	(0.240)
decade = 1980s	0.705**
	(0.340)
decades = 1990s	1.764***
	(0.284)
decades = 1970s	-4.000***
	(0.370)
decades = 1960s	-6.568***
	(0.376)
decades = 2000s	-0.245
	(0.258)
Constant	9.092***
	(0.428)
Observations	3,000
R-squared	0.844

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3: Decadal Disparity Coefficients
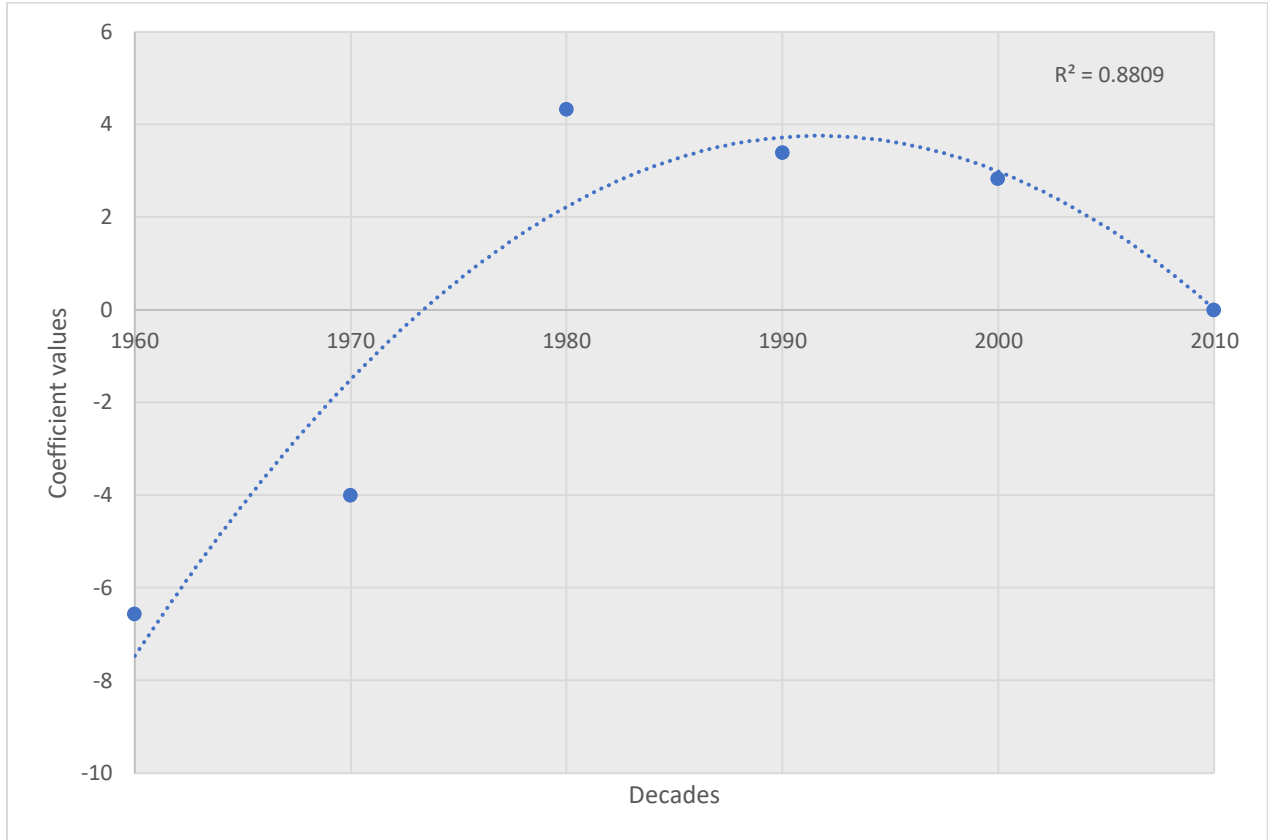
Note. Coefficients for 1960 and 1970 taken from *Model 3*. Coefficients for 1980, 1990, and 2000 taken from *Model 2*.

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