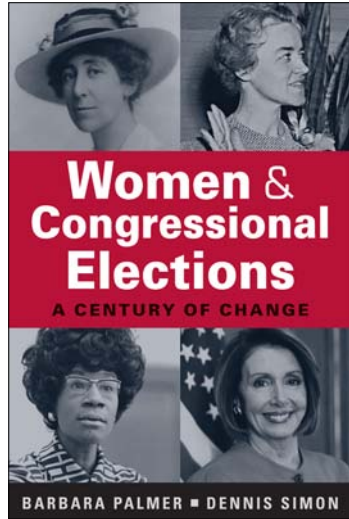


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Women and Congressional Elections: A Century of Change

Barbara Palmer
and Dennis Simon

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ONE

Women of the Early Twentieth Century

"Today, we have broken the marble ceiling," announced Representative Nancy Pelosi, after she was sworn in as the new speaker of the US House of Representatives on January 5, 2007. "It is a moment for which we have waited over 200 years. To our daughters and granddaughters, the sky is the limit."¹ After receiving the gavel and becoming the first woman to lead the House, Speaker Pelosi brought all of the children who attended the ceremony up to the speaker's chair, presenting a visual image of power rarely seen in US political history: a woman surrounded by children. Without doubt, her swearing-in was a historic moment, but Speaker Pelosi led a House that was only 16 percent female.

On January 20, 2007, Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY) ended years of speculation and formally announced her candidacy for president. In her webcast, seated on her living room couch, she stressed her Midwestern middle-class roots and that she was "in it to win."² Since the 1992 campaign, when presidential candidate Bill Clinton remarked, "Buy one, get one free," it has not been hard to imagine Hillary running in her own right.³ She had a name recognition rate of 94 percent during the 2008 election.⁴ During the first quarter of 2007, the first official fundraising period of the presidential campaign, Clinton raised a staggering \$26 million, almost three times as much as any other candidate in history. In addition, she transferred another \$10 million left over from her 2006 Senate race.⁵ On the day of her announcement, polls showed her with a 24 percent lead over Senator Barack Obama (D-IL) among Democratic respondents. By December 2007 she was the presumptive Democratic nominee, and many predicted she would be the first woman president of the United States.⁶

On August 29, 2008, Republican presidential nominee John McCain announced that he had selected Alaska governor Sarah Palin to be his run-

ning mate.⁷ Palin became, along with Geraldine Ferraro, chosen by Democrat Walter Mondale in 1984, one of two women nominated for vice president by a major party and the first woman on the Republican ticket. At the rally in Dayton, Ohio, where McCain introduced his choice to 15,000 supporters, Palin, a self-described “hockey mom,” said, “We can shatter that glass ceiling once and for all.”⁸

Without doubt, the story of women running for public office in the United States is one of transformation and change over the past century. However, Representative Pelosi lost her speakership when the Republicans gained control of the House in 2010. While the 2008 Democratic presidential contest was not decided until the very last states held their primaries, Senator Clinton was defeated by Senator Obama. Palin did not become vice president and, on October 5, 2011, announced she would not run for president in 2012.⁹ As it turns out, the history of women in the US electoral arena is more accurately described as one of fits and starts. While there clearly has been progress, it has not been steady or particularly spectacular. The central question that motivates our book is: why has the integration of women into Congress taken so long?

■ The Pioneers

Table 1.1 lists the “famous firsts” in the history of female candidates for Congress. The first woman ever to run for Congress was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who is, of course, very well known for her dedication to women’s suffrage and a wide variety of other women’s rights issues.¹⁰ Far less is known about her campaign for the House. Stanton, however, came from a political family. She was born in 1815, while her father, Daniel Cady, was serving in the House as a representative from their home state of New York. He served for one term as a member of the Federalist Party.¹¹ At the age of fifty-one and the mother of seven children, Stanton ran for the House in 1866 in New York as an Independent.¹² Her campaign was “neither extensive nor effective,”¹³ but she ran to “impress the public with the fact that constitutionally women had the right to run for office,” even if they did not have the right to vote.¹⁴ She received twenty-four votes.¹⁵ In *History of Woman Suffrage*, written in 1881 by Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Gage, the authors did note that Stanton, “in looking back on her successful defeat, regrets only that she did not . . . procure the photographs of her two dozen unknown friends.”¹⁶

The first woman to serve in Congress, Representative Jeannette Rankin (R-MT), was elected to the House in 1916 at the age of thirty-six. Like Stanton, Rankin was very active in the suffrage movement, and it

Table 1.1 The First Woman . . .

	Name	When and Where
To run for the House	Elizabeth Cady Stanton	1866 in New York
To run for the Senate	Mary Elizabeth Lease	1893 in Kansas
To win a House election	Jeannette Rankin	1916 in Montana
To serve in the Senate (appointed)	Rebecca Latimer Felton	1922 in Georgia
To win a special Senate election	Gladys Pyle	1938 in South Dakota
To win a regularly scheduled Senate election	Margaret Chase Smith	1948 in Maine
Of color to win a House election	Patsy Mink	1964 in Hawaii
African American to win a House election	Shirley Chisholm	1968 in New York
Hispanic to win a House election	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	1989 in Florida
Of color to win a Senate election	Carol Moseley-Braun	1992 in Illinois

Source: Women in Congress, 1917–2006, Office of the Clerk of the US House of Representatives (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2006).

was largely thanks to her efforts that her home state of Montana gave women the right to vote in 1914.¹⁷ Rankin became a candidate for the House two years later after her brother encouraged her. She ran because “there are hundreds of men to care for the nation’s tariff and foreign policy and irrigation projects. But there isn’t a single woman to look after the nation’s greatest asset: its children.”¹⁸ Four days after taking her oath of office, she cast a vote that would cost her reelection. With fifty-five other members, she voted against the United States entering World War I. Two years later, with her vote against the war seen as a liability and her at-large district dissolved, she did not seek reelection to the House and instead ran for the Senate. She lost the Republican primary, but ran in the general election as a National Party candidate, coming in a distant third. During her term in the House, Rankin cosponsored the constitutional amendment granting women’s suffrage, but it failed to pass the Senate in that session. Because she was not reelected in 1918, she was not a member of Congress when the amendment finally passed in 1920. She became actively involved in the peace movement and secretary for the National Consumers League, lobbying for child labor laws along with minimum-wage and maximum-hour legislation. In 1940, at the age of sixty, Rankin ran again for the House and won. But on December 8, 1941, the day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, she cast the only vote against the US declaration of war against Japan. Once again, she decided not to run for reelection and continued her work as a peace activist.¹⁹ Rankin completed her House service as the only representative to oppose US entry into World War I and World War II.



Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress

Representative Jeannette Rankin, the first woman to serve in Congress, ran in 1916 at the age of thirty-six.

The first woman to serve in the Senate was Rebecca Latimer Felton (D-GA), who was appointed in 1922 at the age of eighty-seven. In addition to being the first woman, she also holds the distinction of having the shortest Senate career in history: two days. Felton was also a strong advocate of women's rights and was especially interested in the plight of rural women, although at one point she did support lynching blacks "as a warning against suspected rapists."²⁰ After Felton's brief appearance, it would be ten years before another woman would serve in the Senate. Senator Hattie Caraway (D-AR) was first appointed in 1931 after the death of her husband and then was reelected twice. In her bid for her third term, she was defeated in the primary by J. William Fulbright, who would hold the seat for the next three decades and chair the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. During her tenure, she earned the nickname "Silent Hattie" because of her rare speeches on the Senate floor. She explained, "I haven't the heart to take a minute away from the men. The poor dears love it so."²¹ Caraway was given the same desk on the Senate floor that Felton had used and remarked, "I guess they wanted as few of them contaminated as possible."²² Caraway served almost her entire thirteen-year career as the only woman in the Senate.

By 1929, the number of women in Congress reached nine and would hover around that number until the late 1940s. Even during World War II, the number of women in Congress remained stable, with ten serving in the 77th Congress (1941–1943) and nine serving in the 78th Congress (1943–1945). Exactly five decades after Representative Rankin broke the congressional gender barrier, the election of 1956 would be a high-water mark in the number of women running for the House: fifty-three women ran in Democratic and Republican primaries, with twenty-nine winning their primaries, fifteen winning election to the House, and one, Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME), winning election to the Senate. The nation elected President Dwight Eisenhower to a second term of office with 57 percent of the popular vote. Eisenhower's electoral appeal, however, was not sufficient to capture control of Congress. The Democrats enjoyed a 234–201 majority in the House of Representatives and a smaller majority, 49–47, in the Senate.²³ The national political agenda was crowded that year. President Eisenhower would address an international crisis triggered in late 1956 by the British-French-Israeli invasion of the Suez Canal. The successful launch of *Sputnik* by the Soviets added to the anxiety about the ongoing Cold War and sparked a debate about the quality of education in the nation. The debate would ultimately lead to the National Defense Education Act in 1958. In September 1957, the effort to desegregate Central High School

would force President Eisenhower to send federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas.

The 85th Congress (1957 session) is noteworthy for additional reasons. Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first civil rights legislation passed by Congress since the Reconstruction era. Fourteen of the fifteen women in the House voted for the act, with Representative Iris Blitch (D-GA) casting the lone nay vote among them. Prior to serving in the House, Blitch had been one of the lone women in the Georgia house and senate and was known as the “Queen of the Legislature.” One of her proudest accomplishments was passing legislation giving women the right to serve on Georgia juries. In 1956, however, she signed the Southern Man-



Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress

The women of the 75th Congress, 1938, left to right: Representative Caroline O’Day (D-NY), Representative Edith Nourse Rogers (R-MA), Representative Mary Norton (D- NJ), Representative Nan Honeyman (D-OR), Representative Virginia Jenckes (D-IN), and Senator Hattie Caraway (D-AR).

ifesto, decrying the US Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.²⁴

Many of the women of the 85th Congress would distinguish themselves as policy leaders in the House. Representative Martha Griffiths (D-MI) was a key force in the eventual passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and later became known as the “mother of the Equal Rights Amendment.”²⁵ Representative Leonor Sullivan (D-MO) was a cosponsor of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and an early advocate of consumer protection.²⁶ Representative Edith Green (D-OR) “left her mark on nearly every schooling bill enacted during her twenty years on Capitol Hill” and was the author and principal advocate of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.²⁷ Representative Gracie Pfof (D-ID), who became known as “Hell’s Belle,” was an opponent of private power companies and fought for federal intervention to manage the project planned for the Hell’s Canyon branch of the Snake River.²⁸

While the gains women in Congress made in the 1950s looked promising, their numbers would stall and actually decline in the 1960s. And as Table 1.1 shows, women in Congress were celebrating “famous firsts” well into the twentieth century. The first woman of color, Representative Patsy Mink (D-HI), was not elected until 1964. The first—and only—woman of color in the Senate, Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL), was not elected until 1992.

■ The Rules of the Game

That only fifteen women were elected to the House in 1956 provides a vivid example that women had “a very small share, though a very large stake, in political power.”²⁹ For women, entry into the inner world of politics was largely blocked. Table 1.2 provides a profile of the fifty-five women who were elected to the House between 1916 and 1956. It suggests how women who were interested in politics during the first half of the twentieth century faced numerous barriers, including cultural norms and gender stereotypes that limited their choices, little access to the “pipeline” or hierarchy of political offices, and the politics of congressional redistricting.

Cultural Norms: Politics Is a “Man’s Game”

In the 1950s, women were socialized to view politics as a man’s game, a game that was inconsistent with the gender roles to which women were assigned. As Jeane Kirkpatrick explained:

Like men, women gain status for effective, responsible performance of culturally sanctioned roles. Any effort to perform roles assigned by the culture to the opposite sex is likely to result in a loss of status on the sex specific status ladder. The values on which women are expected to concentrate are those of affection, rectitude, well-being; the skills relevant to the pursuit of these values are those associated with nurturing, serving, and pleasing a family and community: homemaking, personal adornment, preparing and serving food, nursing the ill, comforting the downcast, aiding and pleasing a husband, caring for and educating the young. It is assumed furthermore that these activities will consume all a woman's time, that to perform them well is both a full time and a life time job.³⁰

Women attending college in the 1940s, for example, reported being cautioned about appearing too smart and earning top grades, because displays of intelligence endangered their social status on campus. Women were also reminded, typically by their parents and brothers, that pursuing a career would reduce their prospects for marriage and motherhood.³¹ In

Table 1.2 Profile of the Fifty-five Women Elected to the US House Between 1916 and 1956

	Number of Women	Percentage
<i>Race</i>		
Women of color	0	0.0
<i>Background</i>		
Lawyer	7	12.7
<i>Prior elective office experience</i>		
Elected to local office	6	10.9
Elected to state house of representatives	9	16.4
Elected to state senate	1	1.8
Elected to statewide office	1	1.8
<i>Other political experience</i>		
Served in appointed administrative office	10	18.2
Served in party organization	14	25.5
<i>Lateral entry</i>		
Widows	21	38.2
No prior elective office experience	6	10.9
<i>Party</i>		
Democrats	35	63.6
Republicans	20	36.4

Source: Data compiled by the authors.

1950, only 24 percent of bachelor's degrees were awarded to women.³² The average age of marriage for women was twenty.³³ Traditional sex roles were widely accepted by men and women. In 1936, a Gallup Poll asked respondents whether a married woman should work if she had a husband capable of supporting her; 82 percent of the sample said no.³⁴ A similar question appeared in an October 1938 poll, with 78 percent (81 percent of male respondents and 75 percent of female respondents) disapproving of married women entering the work force.³⁵ Prior to World War II, the proportion of married women who worked outside the home was only 15 percent. Labor shortages during the war drew married women into the work force; by 1944, the proportion increased to 22 percent, and by 1956, to 29 percent.³⁶ Working outside the home and pursuing a professional career represented a rejection of tradition, socialization, and conformity.

Also accepted was the norm that politics was the domain of men. A 1945 Gallup Poll reported that a majority of men and women disagreed with the statement that not enough "capable women are holding important jobs" in government.³⁷ In the 1950s, voter turnout among men was 10 percentage points higher than among women.³⁸ One survey found that, compared to men, women were less likely to express a sense of involvement in politics; women had a lower sense of political efficacy and personal competence than men.³⁹ The political scientists conducting the survey reported that women who were married often refused to participate in the survey and referred interviewers "to their husbands as being the person in the family who pays attention to politics."⁴⁰ Moreover, these cultural norms about women and politics were slow to change. Indeed, as late as 1975, 48 percent of respondents in a survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center agreed that "most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women."⁴¹

Against this cultural backdrop, it comes as no surprise that a "woman entering politics risks the social and psychological penalties so frequently associated with nonconformity. Disdain, internal conflicts, and failure are widely believed to be her likely rewards."⁴² Entering the electoral arena was therefore an act of political and social courage. The example of Representative Coya Knutson (D-MN) poignantly illustrates that women with political ambitions were often punished. Knutson first ran for the House as a long shot in 1954, defeating a six-term incumbent Republican. During her campaign in the large rural district, she played the accordion and sang songs, in addition to criticizing the Eisenhower administration's agricultural policy. In 1958, Knutson was running for her third term. In response to Knutson's refusal to play along with the Democratic Party in its 1956 presidential endorsements, party leaders approached her husband, Andy,

an alcoholic who physically abused her and her adopted son, to help sabotage her reelection campaign. At the prompting of party leaders, Andy wrote a letter to Coya pleading that she return to Minnesota and give up her career in politics, and complaining how their home life had deteriorated since she left for Washington, D.C. He also accused his wife of having an affair with one of her congressional staffers and threatened a \$200,000 lawsuit. This infamous “Coya, Come Home” letter gained national media attention, and her opponent ran on the slogan “A Big Man for a Man-Sized Job.” She was defeated by fewer than 1,400 votes by Republican Odin Langin.⁴³ She was the only Democratic incumbent to lose that year. Another woman would not be elected to Congress from Minnesota until Democrat Betty McCollum in 2000.

Serving in political office could also be extremely unpleasant. Women in Congress often had to fight for access and positions, such as committee assignments, that would have rightfully been given to them had they been men.⁴⁴ For example, in 1949, Representative Reva Bosone, a Democrat from Utah, requested a seat on the House Interior Committee. When she approached Representative Jere Cooper (D-TN), the chair of the Ways and Means Committee, who had the final say over assignments, he responded, “Oh, my. Oh, no. She’d be embarrassed because it would be embarrassing to be on the committee and discuss the sex of animals.”⁴⁵ She shot back and said, “It would be refreshing to hear about animals’ sex relationships compared to the perversions among human beings.”⁴⁶ Cooper laughed and put her on the committee. In 1973, Representative Pat Schroeder (D-CO) did receive an assignment on the committee of her choice, Armed Services, but the chair, F. Edward Hebert, a seventy-two-year-old Democrat from Louisiana, made it clear he did not want a woman on his committee. Hebert was also outraged during that session because a newly elected African American, Representative Ron Dellums (D-CA), was assigned to his committee. Hebert announced that “women and blacks were worth only half of one ‘regular’ member,” so Schroeder and Dellums were forced to share a chair during committee meetings.⁴⁷ Schroeder got the seat on the Armed Services Committee in the first place because of the pressure put on Hebert by Representative Wilbur Mills (D-AR), the head of the Committee on Committees. Normally, Hebert would have been able to veto Mills’s decision to put Schroeder on the committee, but Mills pushed hard for Schroeder. Earlier that year, Mills was found “frolicking” in the Tidal Basin near the Jefferson Memorial with a stripper, Fannie Fox. Mills’s support for Schroeder’s appointment to the committee was an apparent attempt to appease his wife.⁴⁸ An apt summary of the congressional ethos facing female members was provided by Representative Florence Dwyer (R-NJ), who served her first term in the 85th Congress (1957 session): “A Congress-

woman must look like a girl, act like a lady, think like a man, speak on any given subject with authority and most of all work like a dog.”⁴⁹

As Table 1.2 shows, none of the fifty-five women elected between 1916 and 1956 were women of color, who faced the “double disadvantage” of racism and sexism.⁵⁰ For example, as one historian explained, when the US Constitution was enacted in 1789, African American women, along with African American men, counted as three-fifths of a person in the infamous compromise over how to count slaves for the purposes of representation in the US House. The Fifteenth Amendment, passed in 1870, enfranchised only black men; now black women counted as zero under the Constitution. When the Nineteenth Amendment was passed in 1920, ensuring women the right to vote, Jim Crow laws and other restrictive means to disenfranchise blacks were in full force in the South. Thus, it was not until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that African American women could actually exercise their right to vote.⁵¹ However, after the passage of the Voting Rights Act, black women proved to be even more politically ambitious than their white counterparts, running for political office at the local, state, and national levels at higher rates than white women during the 1970s and 1980s.⁵²

When Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) came to Washington, D.C., in 1968 as the first African American woman elected to Congress, she asked to be assigned to the Committee on Education and Labor. She was a former teacher with extensive experience in education policy while serving in the New York state assembly. Education was extremely important to her poor, black, Brooklyn district. The Democratic Party leadership in Congress, however, assigned her to the Agriculture Committee and the Subcommittee on Forestry and Rural Development. Outraged, she refused the assignment and took her case to Speaker of the House John McCormack (D-MA). He told her she should be a “good soldier,” put her time in on the committee, and wait for a better assignment. Chisholm responded, “All my forty-three years I have been a good soldier. . . . The time is growing late, and I can’t be a good soldier any longer.”⁵³ She protested her committee assignment on the House floor, stating that “it would be hard to imagine an assignment that is less relevant to my background or to the needs of the predominantly black and Puerto Rican people who elected me.”⁵⁴ She was reassigned to the Veterans’ Affairs Committee. It was not her first choice, but Chisholm did note, “There are a lot more veterans in my district than trees.”⁵⁵

Entry Professions and the Pipeline

One of the most prevalent explanations for the slow integration of women into Congress is the “pipeline theory.” In US politics there is a hierarchy of

public office that functions as a career ladder for elected officials. A local office often serves as a springboard into the state legislature, which in turn provides the requisite experience to run for the US House of Representatives.⁵⁶ Both the state legislature and the US House serve as avenues to statewide office, the most prominent of which are governorships and the US Senate. Each successive office has a larger territorial jurisdiction, a larger constituency, and an increase in salary and prestige.⁵⁷ Before one can even enter this hierarchy, however, there are particular professions in the private sector that traditionally lead to political office, such as law and business. Although members of Congress come from a wide variety of career backgrounds, the most common by far is law. Those practicing in these professions typically form the “eligibility pool” of candidates for office. The pipeline theory maintains that once more women are in the eligibility pool, they will run for state and local office and then eventually “spill over” into Congress.

As Table 1.2 reveals, very few of the fifty-five women elected to the House between 1916 and 1956 advanced to Congress through this traditional pipeline. The primary reason for this is that for most of US history, women were barred from entering many of the professions in the eligibility pool; the pipeline was blocked.⁵⁸ In 1956, only 4 percent of law degrees were awarded to women. Prior to 1970, less than 5 percent of lawyers were women.⁵⁹ Of the fifty-five women elected to the House between 1918 and 1956, only seven were lawyers.

Very few of these women had prior experience in lower-level political office. Six women had won election to local office, and nine had served in their state house of representatives. Representative Iris Blicht (D-GA) was the only woman to serve in the state senate and the only woman elected to both the lower and upper chambers of a state legislature. Democratic representative Chase Going Woodhouse served as Connecticut’s secretary of state and is the only woman of the fifty-five who had been elected to statewide office. Prior to pursuing a political career, she was an economics professor.⁶⁰

Because the pipeline was largely off-limits, women relied on other routes to gain experience.⁶¹ As Table 1.2 shows, ten of the fifty-five women, 18 percent, held administrative appointments, mostly at the local level, and fourteen, 25 percent, worked in some capacity for their political party. But even as volunteers in party organizations, women faced barriers. They were regularly confined to “expressive roles,” while men assumed “instrumental roles”;⁶² women hosted social events and were assigned “menial tasks associated with secretarial work,” while men worked at recruiting candidates and managing campaigns.⁶³ Moon Landrieu, former

mayor of New Orleans and father of US senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA), described this division of labor as “women do the lickin’ and the stickin’ while men plan the strategy.”⁶⁴ In the late 1960s, Representative Patsy Mink (D-HI) pushed the Democratic National Committee to put more women in party leadership and policymaking positions. She was confronted by another committee member, Edgar Berman, Vice President Hubert Humphrey’s personal physician, who claimed that “if we had a menopausal woman President who had to make the decision of the Bay of Pigs,” she would be “subject to the curious mental aberrations of that age group.”⁶⁵ Mink demanded, and got, Berman’s resignation from the committee. In response, he claimed he had been “crucified on the cross of women’s liberation” and that her anger was “a typical example of an ordinarily controlled woman under the raging hormonal imbalance of the periodical lunar cycle.”⁶⁶

Because of such attitudes, the women who were elected to the House frequently gained their seats through “lateral entry” instead of climbing the public office career ladder. As Table 1.2 reports, twenty-one of the fifty-five women elected to the House between 1916 and 1956 were congressional widows; they ran for the House seats held by their deceased husbands. Six other women won their seats without the benefit of holding prior elective or party office. Occasionally, these women capitalized upon their “celebrity status” to launch a successful campaign for office. In other words, they relied on prior name recognition and acclaim they had earned outside the political arena.⁶⁷ For example, prior to running for the House, Clare Boothe Luce (R-CT) was a writer for *Vogue*. In 1932, at the age of twenty-nine, she was named managing editor of *Vanity Fair*. A collection of her articles satirizing the social life of New York City was published in *Stuffed Shirts*.⁶⁸ She left the magazine two years later to work as a playwright and had several of her plays produced on Broadway, including *The Women*, *Kiss the Boys Goodbye*, and *Margin for Error*. In 1935, she married Henry Luce, a founder and editor of *Time* magazine. Together, they developed *Life* magazine, which began publication in November 1936. In 1938, Luce’s stepfather, Albert Austin (R-CT), won a seat in the House representing the Fourth District of Connecticut. Two years later, Austin was defeated by Democrat LeRoy Downs. In 1942, having never run for political office, Luce won the Republican nomination and then defeated Downs. During her second term, she battled the emotional trauma caused by the death of her daughter in an automobile accident. In 1946, Luce announced that she would not seek a third term.⁶⁹

Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D-CA) was a contemporary of Luce. At age twenty-one, she made her Broadway debut in *Dreams for*



Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress

Representative Clare Boothe Luce was first elected to the House in 1942, having never run for office before.

Sale, a play that won its author, Owen Davis, a Pulitzer Prize. A Broadway critic called Douglas “ten of the twelve most beautiful women in the world.”⁷⁰ She also pursued a career as an opera singer. In 1931, she married the well-known and popular actor Melvyn Douglas, and the couple left New York to pursue film careers in Hollywood. Helen appeared in one film, *She*, in 1935, in which she played Queen Hash-A-Mo-Tep of Kor, a beautiful 500-year-old queen of a lost arctic city who could die only if she fell in love.⁷¹ The film lost \$180,000 at the box office. According to critics, Douglas lacked “screen presence.”⁷² In Hollywood, Douglas became active in politics and testified before Congress on “the plight of migratory farm workers.”⁷³ Her testimony attracted the attention of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. At Roosevelt’s urging, Douglas became a candidate for Congress in 1944, when the retirement of Democrat Thomas Ford created an open seat in the Fourteenth District of California. She won the election

with 52 percent of the vote and was reelected in 1946 and 1948 by more comfortable margins. As a member of the House, Douglas worked hard to emphasize her competence, in part by “consciously playing down her beauty under conservative garb and hair style.”⁷⁴ During the 79th Congress (1945 and 1946 sessions), Douglas and Luce were colleagues in the House. Both had to contend with press coverage that tended to exaggerate personal rivalry between them.⁷⁵

This attitude toward women who became involved in politics is reflected in the concluding chapter of *Political Life*, published in 1959 by Robert Lane, a political science professor at Yale. He explained:

Broadly speaking, political affairs are considered by the culture to be somewhat peripheral to the female sphere of competence and proper concern. . . . It is too seldom remembered in . . . American society that working girls and career women, and women who insistently serve the



Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress

Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas first ran for the House in 1944, after being encouraged by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt.

community in volunteer capacities, and women with extra-curricular interests of an absorbing kind are often borrowing their time and attention and capacity for relaxed play and love from their children to whom it rightfully belongs.⁷⁶

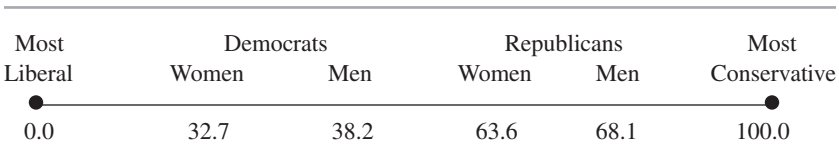
John Lindsay, the mayor of New York City from 1966 to 1973, put it more bluntly: “Whatever women do, they do best after dark.”⁷⁷ Thus, it should come as no surprise that many women who entered politics had very different career paths than their male counterparts.

Demographics and the Politics of Redistricting

Table 1.2 shows that of the fifty-five women elected to the House between 1916 and 1956, thirty-five, or 64 percent, were Democrats. This masks, however, the relative equality between the parties for most of this time period. In fact, the number of Democratic and Republican women running and winning in a given election cycle was remarkably equal. From 1916 to 1956, Democratic women outnumbered Republican women in only thirteen of the twenty-one election cycles. In the vast majority of elections, the difference between the number of Democratic and Republican women running and winning was less than two. Thus, for fifty years, with a couple of exceptions, there were approximately the same number of Democratic and Republican women serving in Congress.

Regardless of their party, the women who served in Congress during this time period were distinct from their male colleagues in one important way: they voted differently.⁷⁸ Figure 1.1 provides a measure of ideology for House members based on their House floor roll call votes. The measure provides scores from 0 to 100; scores closer to 0 indicate that representatives are more liberal, while scores closer to 100 indicate that representatives are more conservative.⁷⁹ As the figure shows, women of both parties were to the left of their male colleagues: on average, female

Figure 1.1 Ideology of Female and Male Members of the US House, 1916–1956



Source: Data compiled by Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal, <http://voteview.com/downloads.asp>.

Democratic House members were more liberal than male Democratic House members, and female Republican House members were more moderate than male Republican House members. For example, as noted earlier, fourteen of the fifteen women in the 85th Congress (1957 session) voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1957; the lone nay vote among these women came from a Southern Democrat.

One possible explanation for these differences may lie in the kinds of House districts that elected women.⁸⁰ Many of the successful female candidates who won election during this time period, regardless of party, came from large cities. For example, Representative Edith Green (D-OR) was from Portland, Frances Bolton (R-OH) was from Cleveland, Marguerite Church (R-IL) was from Chicago, Kathryn Granahan (D-PA) was from Philadelphia, Edna Kelly (D-NY) was from New York City, and Leonor Sullivan (D-MO) was from St. Louis. This suggests that women fared much better in urban districts. In 1956, the median urban population of districts electing men was 58 percent. In contrast, the median urban population in those fifteen districts that elected women was 87 percent. For the twelve women who won their party's nomination but were defeated in the general election, the median urban population in those twelve districts was only 54 percent. In addition, for the thirty-four women who were not congressional widows, only five, 15 percent, came from House districts in the South.

This "urban connection" becomes particularly important given the malapportionment across House districts that favored rural districts during this period. Prior to the early 1960s, most districts in the United States were malapportioned; in other words, districts did not have equal populations. After decades of dismissing malapportionment as a "political question," in 1962 the US Supreme Court finally ruled, in *Baker v. Carr*, that a challenge to the apportionment of seats in the Tennessee general assembly was a "justiciable issue." The standard established by this landmark case is often described as the "one person, one vote" rule and held that disparities in population across legislative districts were unconstitutional. Once implemented, the decision reduced the dominance of representatives of underpopulated rural districts in many state legislatures. In 1964 the Supreme Court announced its decision in *Wesberry v. Sanders*, a case that challenged the congressional district boundaries in Georgia. Here the Court applied the precedent from *Baker* and held that "construed in its historical context, the command of Article I, Section 2, that Representatives be chosen 'by the People of the several States' means that as nearly as is practicable one man's vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as another's."⁸¹

According to the 1950 US Census, if districts had been apportioned with equal populations, they would have had approximately 349,000 resi-

dents.⁸² The actual population of congressional districts, however, varied widely. In 1956, eighty-nine districts had fewer than 300,000 residents, and twenty-eight districts had fewer than 250,000 residents. There were also eighty-nine districts with populations exceeding 400,000, and twenty-eight with populations exceeding 450,000.⁸³

This malapportionment created widespread disparities in representation that favored rural America. In essence, votes in less populated districts were worth more than the votes in highly populated districts. For example, the most populous constituency to elect a woman in 1956 was the Third District of Oregon, Democratic representative Edith Green's district. This district, with a population of 471,537, included the city of Portland. In contrast, the rural Fourth District of Texas, represented by Democratic speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, or "Mr. Sam," had 186,043 people. The value of an individual vote in Texas's Fourth District was over two and a half times the value of an individual vote in Oregon's Third. In addition to diluting the voting power of minority groups residing in urban areas, this rural bias limited the number of urban districts, which is where the women of the 1950s were most successful.

There were other apportionment issues that affected the electoral fate of women as well. Prior to the Supreme Court's decision in *Wesberry v. Sanders* in 1964, it was not unusual for a state gaining a seat in the reapportionment process to elect the new member at-large for one or two elections until the state legislature got around to redrawing the district lines and eliminated the at-large seat. Of the fifty-five women elected to the House between 1916 and 1956, eight were elected as at-large representatives. Only two, Representatives Isabella Greenway (D-AZ) and Caroline O'Day (D-NY), served more than one term in the House. Two women, Representatives Jeannette Rankin (R-MT) and Winnifred Stanley (R-NY), left the House after redistricting dissolved their at-large seats.

After the 1960 US Census and the Supreme Court's decisions in *Baker* and *Wesberry*, states began a wave of redistricting, and several other women who were first elected between 1916 and 1956 fell victim to reapportionment. Some states lost seats and existing districts had to be dissolved, as was the case for Representative Kathryn Granahan's (D-PA) district. As "compensation," Democratic leaders in Pennsylvania persuaded President John F. Kennedy to nominate Granahan for the post of US treasurer.⁸⁴ In some cases, redistricting forced two incumbents to compete for a single seat. In 1968, to comply with *Wesberry*, Ohio enacted a redistricting plan that pitted Republican representative Frances Bolton, who was seeking her sixteenth term in the House, against Democratic in-

cumbent Charles Vanik, who defeated Bolton with 55 percent of the vote. Redistricting also forced incumbents of the same party to compete against each other. The 1968 redistricting plan in New York ended the career of Representative Edna Kelly when she had to run against fellow Democrat Emanuel Celler. In addition to the enforced sex roles that limited their choices and the denial of access to the political pipeline, this suggests that the success of some female candidates was often thwarted in the process of redistricting.

■ Women and Congressional Elections: A Century of Change

Our overview of the barriers faced by women in the first half of the twentieth century begins to suggest why so few were elected to the House and Senate. The social and political culture was not amenable to female politicians. The preparatory professions and paths to public office were blocked. The geographic composition of House districts and the manipulation of those districts were additional challenges. Much has changed in US politics and culture since then. Our analysis is designed to further examine these clues to understanding the pace of women's integration into the electoral system.

Our Data

We developed three original datasets that span over a hundred years. The first dataset includes all primary and general elections to the US House of Representatives and US Senate from 1956 through 2010. Our major source for this “master file” is the *America Votes* series. For each district in each election year, we recorded the number of female candidates running for the Democratic and Republican nominations, the total number of candidates seeking each party's nomination, whether a woman won the Democratic or Republican nomination, and the outcome of the general election.⁸⁵ For each district, we also recorded the party and sex of the incumbent, whether the incumbent was seeking reelection, and the incumbent's share of the two-party vote in the prior election.

Identifying the sex of candidates was done by examining the names listed in each district in the primary and general elections provided by *America Votes* and, for more recent elections, by CNN's online Election Center. Occasionally, the sex of the candidate was not obvious from the first name. While the most common questionable names were Pat, Lee,

Terry, Leslie, and Robin (including Robin Hood), we also encountered the exotic Simone (no last name) and Echo in California. Other puzzlers included Kish, Avone, Twain, and Mattox. To investigate these unknowns, we consulted relevant editions of the *Almanac of American Politics* and the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*. Quite often, the coverage in these sources provided information about the sex of the party nominees. For the more recent period (approximately 1974 onward), we conducted a Nexis or Google search of newspaper coverage. In almost every case, we were able to find media coverage that revealed the sex of the candidates. Finally, if these methods provided no information, the name was excluded from our count of candidates. The total number of exclusions was less than 2 percent of all candidate names. Applying these procedures to electoral data from 1956 through 2010, we coded 12,182 House elections involving over 38,200 candidate names, and 968 Senate elections involving over 4,660 candidate names.

Unfortunately, there is no reliable source of House candidates running in primaries across states prior to 1956, and thus we are limited to collecting data before this date only on those candidates who ran in general elections. For our data from 1916 to 1954, we relied on the *Candidate Name and Constituency Totals, 1788–1990* (5th edition) from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. We then used the methods described previously to confirm the sex of the candidate if it was not clear from the name. This file includes 8,604 House elections involving 15,886 candidate names.

We also created a file with biographical information on all 239 women who served in the House from 1916 to 2010, including a wide variety of variables, such as the year they were elected, information about their district, their prior political experience, the number of terms served, and their age when they were first elected. These data are from the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*; the *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*; *Congressional Women: Their Recruitment, Integration, and Behavior* (2nd edition); *Women in Congress, 1917–2006*; and various editions of the *Almanac of American Politics*.

These three original databases were supplemented with additional information made available by Professors Scott Adler and David Lublin. For each congressional session between 1943 and 1997, Adler created a file that includes, for every congressional district, thirty-seven demographic variables from the US Census.⁸⁶ The *Congressional District Demographic and Political Data*, compiled by Lublin, includes electoral results and demographic measures drawn from the US Census for all House districts from 1962 to 1994.⁸⁷

Our Analysis

Using the largest database in existence on women and congressional elections, we attempt in this book to unravel the underlying causes behind the pace of change in the integration of women into Congress.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the number of women running in primaries, winning primaries, and winning general elections for the House and Senate from 1956 to 2010. The principal finding in this chapter is that the integration of women into Congress is best described as slow, irregular, and unremarkable. In fact, from 1956 to 1970, the number of women in Congress actually declined. Consistent increases in the number of female candidates did not begin until the early 1970s, when social attitudes about appropriate roles for women began to change; between 1972 and 1990, the number of women elected to the House would increase by one or two in a given election cycle. In the Senate, the integration was even slower. In 1992, the “Year of the Woman,” a record number of women candidates ran and won, nearly doubling the number of women in the House, increasing the number of women of color, and tripling the number of women in the Senate. The conditions that produced this spike in the number of women running and winning have not, however, repeated themselves. In fact, in 2010, the “Year of the Republican Woman,” the number of women elected to the House declined. Thus, trends in the number of women running and winning elections have shown anything but a steady, methodical climb.

Chapter 3 explores one possible explanation for this uninspiring and inconsistent pace. We place the integration of women into Congress in a larger context and investigate the historical development of careerism in Congress. For most of the nineteenth century, Congress actually did very little and was a notoriously unpleasant place; members who served more than one or two terms were rare. But around 1916, when women were first beginning to run for the US House, the average length of service began to steadily increase. By the 1950s, the power of incumbency was well established. For the past fifty years, incumbents, particularly in the House, have been virtually unbeatable. Even scandal only rarely dislodges them. Our analysis suggests a rather remarkable confluence of trends: just as women were starting to enter the political arena at the beginning of the twentieth century, careerism was just beginning to develop. And six decades later, when traditional gender stereotypes and social attitudes began to change and women began running in increasing numbers, the power of incumbency was firmly entrenched. Incumbency plays a major role in the “arrested development” of the success of women candidates.

In Chapter 4 we turn from the “big picture” and explore the individual decision to run for office. While incumbency is an almost insurmountable barrier, one factor has helped many aspiring candidates find their way around it: their family name. Many of the early women who successfully ran for the House were the widows of members of Congress, winning special elections to fill their deceased husbands’ seats. Until the 1970s, given cultural expectations and traditional attitudes toward women’s roles, the presumption was that after finishing her deceased husband’s term, she would gracefully and willingly step aside, after a “real” replacement was found. This stereotype, however, did not match reality. Many congressional widows were experienced public servants and went on to long and successful House careers. As cultural expectations have changed, female candidates have transitioned from widows to mothers; as the widow route has become less frequent, the role of mother has gradually gained more acceptance. Because women are still the primary caregivers for children, they typically wait until their children are grown and thus are older than men when they run for office the first time. Voters still question whether women with young children will have enough time to devote to the demands of public office. However, there are now many examples of women who have successfully combined politics and parenthood.

We then turn, in Chapter 5, to the competitive environment faced by House incumbents seeking reelection and explore whether this environment is the same for men and women. Female House incumbents are actually re-elected at rates slightly higher than male House incumbents. Female incumbents also win by larger margins than their male counterparts. These advantages are small, but reappear in election after election over the past five decades, suggesting that women have more than reached parity in the electoral arena. However, when we look beneath the surface, it turns out that female incumbents face a more competitive environment. They are much more likely to be challenged in their own party’s primary, and candidates “come out of the woodwork” to run in the opposition-party primary. Male incumbents are more likely to run uncontested and get a “free pass,” with no competition in their own primary and the opposition party simply conceding and not bothering to run any candidates. In other words, women have to work harder to keep their seats. In addition, the presence of a female incumbent draws more women into the race: female incumbents are more likely than male incumbents to face female challengers.

Chapter 6 investigates another unexplored inequality: the development of a substantial gap between the numbers of Democratic and Republican women in the House. As mentioned earlier, for most of the twentieth century there were relatively equal numbers of Democratic and Republican

women in the House. However, in the 112th Congress (2011 session), Democratic women outnumbered Republican women in both the House (forty-eight versus twenty-four representatives) and the Senate (twelve versus five senators). In other words, Democratic women outnumbered Republican women two to one. In Chapter 6 we disaggregate the number of women running in primaries, winning primaries, and winning general elections for the House and Senate by party, to explore the development of this gap. The observed change in women seeking and winning office that is highlighted in Chapter 2 has not been uniform across both parties. Since the early 1990s, the growth of women as candidates and officeholders has occurred disproportionately within the Democratic Party. Further, this Democratic advantage in electing women is not restricted to the US House; it can also be seen in state legislatures. The development of this party gap is not particularly well explained by looking in the “pipeline.” It is also not a function of the overall electoral success of either party. But if the road to Congress is through one party only, this further slows the integration of women.

Our results in Chapter 5 show that female candidates tend to cluster in particular districts, and Chapter 6 explores how party has played a role in the success of women candidates. Chapter 7 investigates how these two trends may be related. It boils down to the old adage that “all politics is local”; the key lies in the kinds of districts where female candidates are successful. Demographics are central to understanding the outcomes of US elections. Districts that elect Democrats share a particular demographic profile that is quite different from districts that elect Republicans. As it turns out, districts that elect women share a particular demographic profile that is quite different from the districts that elect men. Successful female House candidates come from districts that are smaller, more urban, more racially and ethnically diverse, wealthier, and more educated than districts that elect men. In other words, there are districts that are “women-friendly.”

We began this book with a profile of the women who served in Congress during the first half of the twentieth century. Chapter 8 begins with a profile of the women who served in Congress during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Not only has there been a tremendous change in cultural attitudes toward women’s “proper place,” but there has also been a tremendous change in the career paths taken by the women who now serve in the House. The women of the twenty-first century are more racially and ethnically diverse, more likely to have law degrees, and more likely to have served in their state legislatures than their predecessors. The pipeline is now open to women. However, shifting demographics and redistricting also have the potential to dramatically shape opportunities for women. In

fact, just as we can predict whether a Democrat or Republican will win a district by looking at factors like urbanization, racial and ethnic diversity, and income, we can also predict whether a man or woman will win a district. Using twelve demographic measures, we calculate, for each of the 435 House districts, the probability that a woman will win. While there are still far more districts that are highly unlikely to elect a female candidate than those that are “women-friendly,” changes in the demography of the United States over the past fifty years—and those that are projected to continue into the twenty-first century—bode well for female candidates. As American society becomes more diverse, more urban, and more educated, opportunities for female candidates will expand. Demographics and political geography are critical to understanding the integration of women into Congress.

■ Notes

1. Weisman and Murray, “Democrats Take Control on Hill.”
2. Balz, “Hillary Clinton Opens Presidential Bid,” p. A1.
3. Clift and Brazaitis, *Madam President*, 2nd ed., p. 149.
4. Newport, “Update: Hillary Rodham Clinton and the 2008 Election.” See also Clift and Brazaitis, *Madam President*, 2nd ed., chap. 6.
5. Kornblut, “Clinton Shatters Record for Fundraising,” p. A1.
6. Kornblut, *Notes from the Cracked Ceiling*; Traister, *Big Girls Don’t Cry*.
7. Cooper and Bumiller, “Alaskan Is McCain’s Choice.”
8. *Ibid.*
9. Weiner, “Sarah Palin Not Running for President.”
10. See, for example, Banner, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*; Oakley, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*; Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage*; Stanton and Blatch, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton As Revealed in Her Letters*.
11. “Cady, Daniel.”
12. Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage*, p. 180.
13. Banner, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, p. 93.
14. Stanton and Blatch, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton As Revealed in Her Letters*, pp. 114–115.
15. Parsons, Beach, and Dubin, *United States Congressional Districts*, p. 126.
16. Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage*, p. 181.
17. See Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*.
18. Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*, p. 225.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 226–227. See also Kaptur, *Women of Congress*.
20. Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*, pp. 87–89.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Alaska and Hawaii were not yet states, so the total number of senators was ninety-six.
24. Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*, p. 27.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 109–111.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 263–265.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
29. Kirkpatrick, *Political Woman*, p. 3.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
31. Komarovsky, “Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles.”
32. National Center for Education Statistics, “Table 279: Degrees Conferred.”
33. “Families and Living Arrangements.”
34. “Gallup Poll,” p. 39.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
36. *Historical Statistics of the United States*, p. 133.
37. “Gallup Poll,” pp. 548–549.
38. Campbell et al., *The American Voter*, p. 485.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 489–490.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 485.
41. Mayer, *The Changing American Mind*, p. 394.
42. Kirkpatrick, *Political Woman*, p. 15.
43. Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*, pp. 152–153; Haga, “‘Come Home,’ Coya Dies,” p. 1A; Inskip, “A Revival of Sorts for Minnesota’s Knutson,” p. 11A.
44. Friedman, “House Committee Assignments of Women and Minority Newcomers.”
45. Foerstel and Foerstel, *Climbing the Hill*, p. 95.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
47. Schroeder, *Twenty-four Years of House Work and the Place Is Still a Mess*, p. 41.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
49. Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*, p. 79.
50. In 1956, three African American men and one Hispanic man won election to the House.
51. Locke, “From Three-fifths to Zero.”
52. Clayton and Stallings, “Black Women in Congress”; Cohen, “A Portrait of Continuing Marginality”; Darcy and Hadley, “Black Women in Politics”; Darling, “African-American Women in State Elective Office in the South”; Handley and Grofman, “The Impact of the Voting Rights Act on Minority Representation”; Moncrief, Thompson, and Schuhmann, “Gender, Race, and the State Legislature”; Smooth, “African American Women and Electoral Politics”; Swain, *Black Faces, Black Interests*; Williams, “The Civil Rights–Black Power Legacy.”
53. Chisholm, *Unbought and Unbossed*, pp. 82–83.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
55. Kaptur, *Women of Congress*, p. 149.
56. See, for example, Fulton et al., “The Sense of a Woman”; Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, and Walsh, *Poised to Run*.
57. See, for example, Canon, *Actors, Athletes, and Astronauts*; Francis and Kenny, *Up the Political Ladder*; Matthews, *US Senators and Their World*; Schlesinger, *Ambition and Politics*.
58. See, for example, Burrell, *A Woman’s Place Is In the House*; Carroll, *Women as Candidates in American Politics*; Conway, *Political Participation in the United States*; Conway, Steuernagel, and Ahern, *Women and Political Participation*; Diamond, *Sex Roles in the State House*.

59. Epstein, *Women in Law*, p. 4.
60. Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*, p. 281.
61. See, for example, Deber, "The Fault Dear Brutus"; Kirkpatrick, *Political Woman*; Welch, "Recruitment of Women to Public Office."
62. Constantini, "Political Women and Political Ambition"; Fowlkes, Perkins, and Rinehart, "Gender Roles and Party Roles."
63. Conway, Steuernagel, and Ahern, *Women and Political Participation*, p. 95.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Foerstel and Foerstel, *Climbing the Hill*, p. 27.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Canon, *Actors, Athletes, and Astronauts*.
68. Luce, *Stuffed Shirts*.
69. *Women in Congress*, p. 217.
70. Pitt, "Mrs. Deeds Goes to Washington," p. 477. See also Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*, pp. 73–75; Scobie, *Center Stage*.
71. Internet Movie Data Base, <http://imdb.com/title/tt0026983> (accessed June 13, 2005).
72. *Ibid.*
73. Pitt, "Mrs. Deeds Goes to Washington," p. 478.
74. Alpern, "Center Stage," pp. 967–968.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 967.
76. Lane, *Political Life*, pp. 354–355.
77. Conway, Steuernagel, and Ahern, *Women and Political Participation*, p. 95.
78. For a review of the literature on this, see Swers, "Understanding the Policy Impact of Electing Women."
79. These scores are calculated from the data of Professors Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal, available at <http://voteview.com/downloads.asp>. The original scores range from –1 to 1, but for ease of interpretation and comparison to other types of roll call indices, we transformed the scores to a scale ranging from 0 (most liberal) to 100 (most conservative).
80. See, for example, Gerrity, Osborn, and Mendez, "Women and Representation"; Simon and Palmer, "The Roll Call Behavior of the Men and Women in the US House of Representatives."
81. 376 US 1, p. 7.
82. Calculation of this target population excludes those at-large seats that have a statewide constituency and those states that are guaranteed one representative regardless of population (e.g., Vermont).
83. Simon, "Electoral and Ideological Change in the South."
84. Foerstel, *Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women*, p. 100.
85. For primary elections, this count includes those candidates who received votes in the party primary. This differs slightly from those counts based upon those who filed to run but withdrew before the actual primary balloting. In gathering these data, we found several special cases. The states of Connecticut, Utah, and Virginia employ a mixed system of conventions and primaries to nominate their congressional candidates. The nominating conventions are held first, with primaries scheduled only if there is a significant challenge to the designated convention nominee. In instances where there is no primary, we coded the gender of the nominees only because the number of candidates seeking the nomination at the convention is unknown. Louisiana is yet another special case; the state employs an

open primary system in which candidates, regardless of party, run in a single primary. If a candidate wins an absolute majority of the primary vote, the candidate is elected to the House and there is no general election. For Louisiana, we coded the number of Democrats and Republicans (women and total) running in the initial primary. In instances where there was a general election, we followed the same conventions used with other states, noting, of course, instances in which the general election involved two candidates from the same party. Finally, there are states that have a primary runoff system. In these states, a candidate must win over 50 percent of the primary vote to obtain the party nomination. If no candidate wins over 50 percent, there is a runoff primary between the top two finishers. The winner of this runoff then becomes the party nominee. Our coding records the number of candidates (women and total) in the initial primary and the gender of the ultimate nominees.

86. These files are available at <http://sobek.colorado.edu/~esadler/Data.html>.

87. This file is available at www1.american.edu/dlublin.