



University of Utah

The Political Determinants of Women's Descriptive Representation in Cities

Author(s): Adrienne R. Smith, Beth Reingold and Michael Leo Owens

Source: *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (JUNE 2012), pp. 315-329

Published by: [Sage Publications, Inc.](#) on behalf of the [University of Utah](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41635236>

Accessed: 09/04/2014 11:37

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>


JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Sage Publications, Inc. and *University of Utah* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Political Research Quarterly*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

The Political Determinants of Women's Descriptive Representation in Cities

Political Research Quarterly
65(2) 315–329
© 2012 University of Utah
Reprints and permission:
sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/1065912910395327
http://prq.sagepub.com


Adrienne R. Smith¹, Beth Reingold¹, and Michael Leo Owens¹

Abstract

Why is the descriptive (or numerical) representation of women in policy-making positions higher in some cities than in others? Despite a strong body of work on the descriptive representation of women in state government, research on the presence of women in municipal government is limited in empirical scope and theoretical development. This study is different. First, the authors employ an original data set of 239 cities with populations of 100,000 or more to update and extend the empirical reach of scholars' knowledge. Second, the authors develop and test hypotheses to explain how the urban political context affects women's descriptive representation. The analysis reveals that the election of women as council members and mayors are interdependent phenomena. The authors also find that political characteristics of local communities are consequential for predicting the presence of women as municipal policy makers—just as consequential as electoral structures and other institutional features.

Keywords

representation, women and politics, urban politics, state politics

When and where are women present in political offices? This is a long-standing question posed by political scientists, and for good reason. Women still hold far fewer elected and appointed positions than do men. The disparity calls into question the openness of American politics and political institutions to women and may have significant and widespread repercussions for policymaking and responsiveness (Mansbridge 1999; Phillips 1995). In this study, we seek to understand the geography of women's political fortunes, focusing on the presence of women as mayors and council members in medium and large American cities.

We argue for a more in-depth, theoretically informed analysis of the determinants of women's descriptive (or numerical) representation (Pitkin 1967) at the municipal level. To solve the puzzle of why women hold more policy-making positions in some cities than in others requires fuller consideration of the *political context* of cities. As the broader research on women and politics and the particular research focused on cities suggest, a mix of electoral, institutional, socioeconomic, and political factors may explain the presence (or absence) of women in local office. This mix of explanatory factors rightly involves a variety of actors throughout the electoral process—women contemplating a political career or running for a particular office, party leaders and other political activists and organizations responsible for recruiting candidates,

campaign professionals and financiers, voters, or all of the above. Cities and their governments differ along all these lines. Yet it is unclear whether or how such differences help explain the variation in women holding office at the local level.¹

Cities are a useful venue for examining women's descriptive representation in political offices, or the lack thereof. First, there is a large number of local offices, and “most women who hold public office in the United States do so at the local level” (Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994, 30). Moreover, many women who hold national or state office began their careers in municipal politics (Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, and Walsh 2009). In terms of proportions, however, women remain just as underrepresented in the councils and mayoralties of cities (population 30,000 or more) as they are at higher levels of legislative and executive office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2010; Center for American Women and Politics 2010). Second, the presence of women in policy-making positions varies greatly from one city to the next. Third, variation in local political institutions extends beyond what is found at the

¹Emory University, Atlanta, GA, USA

Corresponding Author:

Adrienne R. Smith, Emory University, Department of Political Science,
327 Tarbuton Hall, 1555 Dickey Drive, Atlanta, GA 30322
Email: adrienne.smith@emory.edu

state and national levels and can therefore teach us more about how institutional design affects elections and descriptive representation.

Nonetheless, there is a paucity of research on women in municipal policy-making positions (MacManus and Bullock 1995; Wolbrecht, Beckwith, and Baldez 2008), partly because of the challenges associated with collecting comparable city-level data and the lack of existing data sets. We employ an original data set of the 239 cities with at least 100,000 residents that allows us to gain analytical leverage and extend the empirical reach of our knowledge about women's descriptive representation. We develop and test hypotheses to explain how various aspects of the political context, particularly a city's ideological disposition and the group resources women possess, affect women's descriptive representation. We model the presence of women in both executive and legislative offices as interdependent outcomes, not simply as similar but independent processes. Drawing insight from research on the descriptive representation of women at the state level and racial and ethnic minorities at the local and state levels, we intend for our study to bring at least three fields of inquiry—urban politics, women and politics, and state politics—into conversation with each other. Too often scholars in these subfields address similar questions about descriptive representation without considering how their theories and findings cohere.²

Women's Descriptive Representation as Mayors and Council Members

Extant research focuses primarily on how electoral institutions and the desirability of public office influence women's descriptive representation in municipal government.³ In spite of this theoretical focus on institutions, the strongest and most consistent predictors of women's presence as mayors and councilors are demographics and geographic region. We argue that demographic and regional variables serve as imperfect proxies for variation in urban *political contexts*. Moreover, a city's political context is at least as important as its electoral arrangements and the desirability of its offices in predicting women's presence as councilors and mayors.

Electoral Institutions and the Desirability of Office

The potential effect of at-large versus district-based electoral institutions on the gender composition of city councils is a hallmark of extant research (Alozie and Manganaro 1993; Bullock and MacManus 1991; Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994; Karnig and Walter 1976; Karnig

and Welch 1979; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Trounstone and Valdini 2008; Welch and Herrick 1992; Welch and Karnig 1979). Many scholars researching women's descriptive representation share an interest in minority representation and may be influenced by findings that at-large elections dilute the electoral power and diminish the descriptive representation of minorities (e.g., Bullock and MacManus 1990; Davidson and Grofman 1994; Engstrom and McDonald 1981; Karnig and Welch 1980). However, since women are neither geographically concentrated nor a unified voting bloc, district-based elections should not have similar effects on women's descriptive representation. Rather, as Karnig and Walter (1976) first posited, the multimember nature of at-large council elections makes them *more* likely than district-based systems to attract and support female candidates. They and others (Bullock and MacManus 1991; Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994) reason that women may feel more comfortable running, and parties and voters may feel more comfortable supporting women, when they are not the only possible winners, or when their victories do not necessarily hinder the election of men. Yet the empirical evidence in support of this argument is mixed at best (Alozie and Manganaro 1993; Bullock and MacManus 1991; Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994; Karnig and Walter 1976; Karnig and Welch 1979; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Trounstone and Valdini 2008; Welch and Herrick 1992; Welch and Karnig 1979).

Another electoral arrangement the literature considers is the degree to which local elections are expressly partisan. Theoretically, researchers are unsure what to expect regarding the effect of partisan elections. Some, citing evidence that "the political parties fail to encourage and promote the candidacy of women" at the local and state levels (Welch and Karnig 1979, 481; Karnig and Walter 1976; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Sanbonmatsu 2006), hypothesize that nonpartisan elected offices are more open to women, as well as other, less connected political aspirants. Others, referencing studies that show parties are supportive of women candidates (Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994, 48; MacManus and Bullock 1995, 163-64; also see Burrell 1994) and that women are as likely as, if not more likely than men to be recruited for local office by parties (Merritt 1977; Miller 1986), are skeptical that nonpartisan contexts are any better. The empirical evidence from cities, however, is clear: nonpartisanship has no significant effect on women's representation on councils or as mayors (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2010; Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Trounstone and Valdini 2008; Welch and Karnig 1979).

Informed by state legislative research (Diamond 1977), most studies of women's representation in municipal government hypothesize that "the less desirable and the less important the office, the more likely that women

will hold it" (Welch and Karnig 1979, 479). Scholars posit that legislative and executive positions with higher salaries, fewer seats, greater responsibilities, longer terms, and more policy-making resources are more powerful, prestigious, and rewarding, and thus more attractive to men looking to make their mark or begin their electoral careers. As a result, the "desirability hypothesis" reasons "female office seekers may encounter stiffer male opposition in states and communities where legislative compensation is greater, tenure longer, and the prestige of office-holding higher" (Hill 1981, 159). Faced with the likelihood of more competition from men, women eyeing more desirable council seats and mayoralties may find (or anticipate) that local political leaders, activists, and voters are more reluctant than usual to support their candidacies. Similarly, women may be more likely to serve as council-selected mayors since these positions have more "limited legal authority" than do popularly elected mayors (MacManus and Bullock 1995, 158-59; Welch and Karnig 1979).

The reasoning behind the desirability hypothesis is plausible. However, empirical support for it at the local level is limited. Proportions of female council members tend to be larger in cities with more seats on their councils (Alozie and Manganaro 1993; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Trounstine and Valdinì 2008; Welch and Herrick 1992; but see Bullock and MacManus 1991; Karnig and Welch 1979). Yet higher salaries, longer terms, and other measures of institutional power have little or no effect on the gender composition of city councils (Bullock and MacManus 1991; Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994; Karnig and Welch 1979; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Trounstine and Valdinì 2008; Welch and Karnig 1979). Likewise, studies of women's representation in mayoral office provide only weak and inconsistent empirical support for the desirability hypothesis (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2010; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Welch and Karnig 1979).

The Urban Political Context

Demographics provide some of the most significant relationships and robust findings in the literature on women's descriptive representation in cities. Population size, for instance, is consistently important in explaining variation in the presence of women as mayors and city councilors. Initially, borrowing from the "desirability" logic, scholars speculated that women would be more likely to gain public office in smaller municipalities where the positions carry less prestige and invite less competition from men (Karnig and Walter 1976, 609). Yet most studies have found that *larger* municipalities are more conducive to women's representation (Alozie and Manganaro 1993; Bullock and MacManus 1991; Darcy, Welch, and Clark

1994; Karnig and Walter 1976; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Trounstine and Valdinì 2008; Welch and Karnig 1979; for contrary results, see Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2010). Furthermore, women, especially white women, occupy more council seats in cities with more affluent and highly educated residents (Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994; Karnig and Walter 1976; Trounstine and Valdinì 2008; Welch and Herrick 1992; Welch and Karnig 1979). Several studies also report significant regional variation. The South and Northeast usually appear less hospitable to women seeking local office than the Midwest and West (Alozie and Manganaro 1993; Bullock and MacManus 1991; MacManus and Bullock 1995; Trounstine and Valdinì 2008).⁴

Despite the empirical clarity of these relationships, the literature provides little theoretical insight into why or how demographic and regional characteristics affect women's descriptive representation in municipal government. Occasionally, demographics are included as control variables with little or no rationale (see, e.g., Trounstine and Valdinì 2008; Welch and Herrick 1992; Welch and Karnig 1979). More often, multiple explanations for demographic effects are offered with limited guidance for weighing their relative validity.

These somewhat ad hoc explanations point to more precise, theoretically informed concepts and hypotheses about the impact of the urban political context on women's representation at the local level. One such contextual factor is a community's political ideology. Given that states with more liberal electorates, for instance, have more gender diverse legislatures than those with more conservative electorates (Arceneaux 2001; Hogan 2001; Norrander and Wilcox 2005; Sanbonmatsu 2002; Palmer and Simon 2008), we propose that political ideology can propel or stall women's descriptive representation in city governments.

Hypothesis 1: Women's descriptive representation as mayors and council members is more likely in cities that have more liberal electorates.

Women's group resources are also likely to affect female descriptive representation. Welch and Karnig (1979, 481-82; also see Alozie and Manganaro 1993, 388; Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994, 45; Karnig and Walter 1976, 609-10) argue that "women will do better where the community is comprised of better educated, more middle class people" not only because such people are "more sympathetic to women's rights than are others" (i.e., more liberal) but also because such communities "are likely to have proportionately more women available for office holding, given that candidates are recruited from those classes." Like the middle class in black communities (Karnig 1979, 137), well-educated, professional

women should be most likely to have “the talents, the time, and the resources for electoral activity.” States with more women in the labor force and in the professions, for instance, tend to have more female legislators (Arceneaux 2001; Hill 1981; Norrander and Wilcox 2005; Rule 1990; Sanbonmatsu 2002).⁵ Most scholars see women’s employment status as a measure of the size of the “eligibility pool” from which qualified female candidates emerge (Sanbonmatsu 2002). Professional women also may be the ones most willing and able to support women’s campaigns by donating their money, time, and/or skills. For these reasons, we expect,

Hypothesis 2: Women’s descriptive representation as mayors and council members is more likely in cities where women have significantly more personal and professional resources—that is, where more women are college educated, own businesses, and have higher median incomes.

Municipal demographics may capture other features of a city’s political context, such as the scope and scale of women’s organizational resources. Larger, more populous cities may promote women’s representation because they are more likely to have groups “such as the League of Women Voters, the National Women’s Political Caucus, Business and Professional Women, and the American Association of University Women, which would give support to women candidates” (Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994, 47; also see Alozie and Manganaro 1993, 388-89; Bullock and MacManus 1991, 80-81; MacManus and Bullock 1995, 161-62). Surveys of women in state and local elected offices suggest that organizations commonly associated with women—political interest groups like the National Organization for Women, civic associations like the League of Women Voters, social and charitable organizations like the United Way, and business and professional organizations—mobilized them to run for office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2010, 8-9; Carroll and Strimling 1983, 85; Miller 1986, 88; Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, and Walsh 2009, 15). Given the historic roles women have played in building and sustaining civil society, and the gendered division of labor within the public realm, it is plausible that political women ultimately emerge in cities where civil society is stronger and the number and/or density of women’s social, charitable, and advocacy organizations is higher (Clarke, Staeheli, and Brunell 1995).

Reckhow’s (2009) study of the “organized and elected representation” of racial and ethnic groups in midsized cities suggests caution, however. Contrary to expectations, she finds that the density of local organizations claiming to represent group members and descriptive representation in local government are either *unrelated*, as is

the case for Latinos, or *inversely* related, as is the case for blacks. Reckhow suggests that Latino organizations may lack electoral efficacy not only because Latinos have lower rates of citizenship but also because Latino organizations do not operate “systematic candidate endorsement and election mobilization efforts similar to some of the African-American organizations in the South” (Reckhow 2009, 210-211). They have other strategies and objectives.

Reckhow’s conclusions regarding blacks suggest an entirely different relationship between group organizational resources and descriptive representation. In this case, electoral success may depend more on the unity or “consolidation of political capital within the minority electorate and the organizational community” than on sheer numbers—and achieving solidarity “could be trickier with a crowded field of organizations” (Reckhow 2009, 195). A large number of competing and fragmented organizations may harm more than help, while a small number of well-coordinated organizations may be quite effective. Given the likelihood that women’s local organizations are numerous and diverse, this too is a lesson well taken by scholars.

At the same time, Marshall’s (2002) study of a local chapter of the National Women’s Political Caucus (NWPC) suggests that expressly *political* organizations may be the catalyst for “growing” and supporting strong female candidates from amid existing networks of community activists. Because organizations like NWPC “both understand the electoral system and are a part of the women’s community they seek to mobilize, they can serve as intermediaries between the candidate and this constituency . . . [and enable] candidates to reach voters who might otherwise remain inaccessible” (Marshall 2002, 720-21). Accordingly, we distinguish women’s organizations that are more politically oriented from those that are more concerned with general social or welfare issues. While both may enhance women’s descriptive representation, we leave open the possibility that the former may have a stronger impact than the latter.

Hypothesis 3a: Women’s descriptive representation as mayors and council members is more likely in cities that have more women’s political advocacy organizations.

Hypothesis 3b: Women’s descriptive representation as mayors and council members is somewhat more likely in cities that have more social, health, and grant-making organizations related to women.

Finally, the election of women as mayors and council members may very well be interdependent phenomena. MacManus and Bullock (1995), for instance, find a strong association between women in the mayor’s office

and women on the council. This suggests either “a successful ‘first’ woman mayor . . . [smoothes] the path for women city council candidates (MacManus 1981) . . . [or] women mayoral candidates . . . emerge from the ranks of council members” (MacManus and Bullock 1995, 159). As the 2008 Mayoral Recruitment Study shows, among the vast majority of female mayors with previous office holding experience, 41 percent had served on a municipal council (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2010, 10). Research from the race and descriptive representation literature supports the broader proposition that group experience on the city council fosters group representation in the mayor’s office. Marschall and Ruhil (2006, 842) report that the number of blacks on the city council (lagged) “plays a key role in increasing the likelihood of black mayors.” Hence, representation on the council provides an important group resource; not only are mayoral candidates likely to emerge from the ranks of the council, but those who do “are likely to have more experience, name recognition, political networks, and financial backing to launch more visible and successful campaigns” (p. 832).

Findings from state and congressional politics research are also instructive. While women running for state legislative seats are likely to be first-time candidates (Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, and Walsh 2009, 18), those running for governor are most likely emerging from lower level offices (Windett 2009). When contemplating higher office, these veteran candidates “will not be driven primarily by their self evaluation, but rather on the political climate and environment” of the larger jurisdiction they aim to represent (Windett 2009, 4). The gender composition of the state legislature provides one of the most useful “low cost” indicators of a favorable climate. According to Windett, it is the most empirically powerful predictor of female candidate emergence in gubernatorial primaries (but see Oxley and Fox 2004). Similarly, Ondercin and Welch (2009, 609) find that “the history of women in elected office in the state [legislature] and in the district shapes the opportunities of women [congressional] candidates currently.” Previous officeholders have a positive impact on the number and success of women running for Congress, according to the authors, by expanding the eligibility pool and/or providing “an encouraging context for women thinking about running” (p. 599). Comparing the election of women to state legislatures and congressional districts to policy innovation and diffusion, Ondercin and Welch (2009, 599) suggest that women’s electoral success can “become routinized and diffused.”

We hypothesize that women contemplating a run for the mayor’s office will likely emerge from city councils and/or consider the gender composition of their councils to see how women-friendly their city electorates might be. Also, women considering a run for city council might

take into account the presence and/or history of women in the mayor’s office (MacManus and Bullock 1995), or they may have been groomed by female mayors. The presence of women in other local offices may also increase the likelihood of women winning when they do decide to run for local office (Merritt 1977, 739). Thus, we expect the election of female mayors and city council members to be interdependent phenomena.

Hypothesis 4a: Cities are more likely to elect a woman as mayor when they have had, in recent years, larger proportions of women on the city council.

Hypothesis 4b: Women’s descriptive representation on city councils will be higher in cities that have experienced a woman in the mayor’s office in recent years.

Models, Data, and Measurement

We model the election of female mayors and council members to explain why women achieve varying levels of descriptive representation in city government. We identify a range of factors that theoretically influence women’s representation in local office, including electoral institutions, the desirability of office, and the political contexts of cities. Furthermore, we propose that the presence of women in one local office is partially dependent on the presence of women in other local offices, either because one serves as a pipeline of viable candidates for the other or because one serves as a barometer against which potential candidates for the other office gauge the city’s willingness to support women’s descriptive representation. We do not deny that women’s descriptive representation in city governments may be associated with demographics such as population size, region, and the socioeconomic status of residents. Rather, we reason that our models provide a more precise view of the underlying causal mechanisms, which help explain why or how a particular demographic characteristic influences women’s representation.

We investigate our claims with a cross-sectional data set that includes measures for all 239 cities with more than 100,000 residents as of 2000. We limit our analysis to midsized and large cities for several reasons. First, limiting the sampling frame to larger cities with a more accessible and accurate presence on the Web enables us to augment existing data sets and to include a more complete sample of municipalities than those analyzed in previous studies. Second, with additional information obtained from Web searches, we are able to incorporate variables that have never before been included in models of the gender composition of city offices. Third, our focus on medium and large cities coheres with the tendency in

the urban politics literature to examine cities with greater degrees of political competition, more socioeconomic heterogeneity, and more varied pathways to electoral office (Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 2003).

We collected our data from a variety of sources, including the 2001 and 2006 Form of Government surveys of the International City/County Management Association, the 2002 Survey of Business Owners and the 2000 decennial census by the U.S. Census Bureau, the Mayoral Election Center of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the *Municipal Yellow Book* from 1999 to 2007, and municipal Web sites, among several other sources. A full description of our sources and measures is found in the online appendix at <http://prq.sagepub.com/supplemental/>.

Our dependent variables measure the proportion of women on the city council and the presence of a female mayor. The first is the *average percentage of council seats held by women in 2001 and 2006*. We average council representation across two years to correct any short-term fluctuations in the cross-sectional data. Averaging also makes the council variable more comparable to our two measures of women's descriptive representation in the mayor's office: a dichotomous indicator of whether each city had a female mayor anytime between 2002 and 2007 and the *percentage of electoral terms held by female mayors between 2002 and 2007*.⁶

The first set of independent variables is used to investigate our Hypotheses regarding the urban political context. We test hypothesis 1 using presidential vote returns at the city level for the 2004 election. The *ideology* variable measures the percentage of the city-level vote that went to the Democratic candidate and any liberal third-party candidates who received more than 0.1 percent of the votes cast in a city. A higher score indicates that the electorate is more liberal.⁷

To test Hypothesis 2, we generated a factor score of *women's socioeconomic resources* using the percentage of college-educated women, female median income, and the number of women-owned businesses.⁸ To explore Hypotheses 3a and 3b, we include the *density of women's political and advocacy organizations* (logged) in each city as well as the *density of women's general organizations*, the latter of which includes all social, health, and grant-making organizations that work on behalf of women, girls, and/or women's issues.⁹ We also include a measure of the *percentage of the population that is minority and female* as another indicator of group resources available to women in the cities. Scholars have observed in recent years that women of color have been elected to public office at significant rates—rates higher, in fact, than for white women when compared to white men (Bositis 2001; Darcy and Hadley 1988; Montoya, Hardy-Fanta, and Garcia 2000). Furthermore, black and Latina women have been elected and appointed to top municipal

positions in many cities like Baltimore, Atlanta, and Sacramento. Accordingly, all women may stand to benefit politically when more minority women are present in the population (Trounstine and Valdini 2008; also see Palmer and Simon 2008).

By design, some of our independent variables vary across models. In the model where the average percentage of council seats held by women in 2001 and 2006 is the dependent variable, we include a dichotomous indicator for the *presence of a female mayor in 1999 and/or 2000*. Similarly, in the models where the presence of women in the mayor's office from 2002 to 2007 is the dependent variable, we include the *percentage of council seats held by women in 2001* as an independent variable. Including lagged versions of these variables accounts for the hypothesized interdependence of women as mayors and councilors (i.e., Hypotheses 4a and 4b).

The next set of independent variables measure the electoral institutions in effect across our sample cities.¹⁰ *At-large elections* is a dichotomous indicator of whether the council is elected through either a completely at-large or a mixed system of elections rather than exclusively through ward-based elections.¹¹ Term limits and their potential for ousting entrenched white male incumbents once held much promise for women and minorities. Although the research on state legislative elections suggests term limits have failed in this respect (Carey et al. 2006; Carroll and Jenkins 2001a and 2001b; Moncrief, Powell, and Storey 2007), one study suggests that term limits have a significant, positive effect on the numbers of white and black women serving on city councils (Trounstine and Valdini 2008). Thus, whether term limits influence the election of female mayors and council members remains debatable. In our models, we include *mayoral term limits* and *council term limits*. Both are dichotomous measures of whether there are limits on the number of terms these officials may serve. *Partisan elections* is a dummy variable indicating whether party affiliations appear on ballots in city elections. In the models where having a female mayor is our dependent variable, we also include a dichotomous indicator of whether the *mayor is elected directly by voters*.¹²

Next, we include measures of the power and prestige (or desirability) of council seats and the mayor's office. *Strong mayor* is a scale of whether the mayor has the power to (1) develop the annual budget, (2) veto council passed ordinances, and (3) appoint department heads. The scale ranges from 0, indicating that the city has a council-manager form of government and the mayor does not have power to develop the budget, appoint department heads, or veto the council, to 3, indicating a mayor-council form of government, wherein the mayor

possesses all of the aforementioned powers.¹³ In addition, we include the *length of council terms*, the *length of mayoral terms* (both measured in years), the *number of council seats*, and *population* (logged).¹⁴

Descriptive statistics for our variables are available from the online appendix.

Results

Table 1 shows the results of our models of women's presence as councilors and mayors. Overall, our analysis demonstrates that the urban political context is at least as important as institutions in influencing the presence of female mayors and council members. Model 1 regresses the average percentage of council seats held by women in 2001 and 2006 on our set of independent variables.¹⁵ Two aspects of the urban political context are particularly important for electing female council members. First, congruent with hypothesis 1, cities that are more liberal elect a larger percentage of women to their city councils. Figure 1a illustrates the influence of city ideology on women's descriptive representation, holding all other continuous independent variables at their means and categorical and dichotomous variables at their modes.¹⁶ When the percentage of the electorate that voted for liberal presidential candidates is one standard deviation below its mean (i.e., at 42 percent), the predicted percentage of female council members is 26. In contrast, when the ideology score is one standard deviation above its mean (i.e., at 72 percent), the predicted percentage of female council members is 32. Although it is perhaps unsurprising that liberal cities elect more female council members, our results are the first to validate this relationship empirically.

Second, women's descriptive representation on councils is higher in cities where women have significantly more personal and professional resources at their disposal. The coefficient estimate on our factor score of women's socioeconomic resources is significant and positive. Figure 1b graphs the predicted percentage of female council members for three standard deviations on either side of the mean of the female socioeconomic resource variable. As the factor score increases from one standard deviation below its mean to one standard deviation above, the predicted percentage of female council members increases from 27 to 31. The socioeconomic resources generated by and supportive of women increase female descriptive representation on councils. This provides support for hypothesis 2. None of the other political context variables, including the measures of women's organizational resources, appear to influence women's descriptive representation on city councils. Also, the presence of a female mayor is unrelated to having a larger percentage of women on the council.

The only other significant independent variable in model 1 is population size. *Ceteris paribus*, the descriptive representation of women on councils is higher in cities with larger populations. This finding contradicts the expectations of the desirability of office argument. Moreover, we expected that once city ideology was accounted for, the effect of population size would be attenuated or absent. Curiously, this expectation was not borne out. According to the results of the model, neither electoral institutions (at-large elections, council term limits, and partisan ballots) nor indicators of the desirability of office (the length of council terms, number of council seats, and strength of mayor) appear to influence women's descriptive representation as council members. Perhaps in the early twenty-first century, would-be female candidates (and their potential supporters) are no more wary of single-member districts or "desirable" municipal positions than are their male counterparts.¹⁷

Models 2 and 3 assess the effects of our independent variables on the presence of female mayors. The dependent variable in model 2 is a dichotomous indicator of whether a city had a female mayor sometime between 2002 and 2007, and so we employ logistic regression analysis.¹⁸ As in model 1, the presence of women in municipal office depends in part on the extent and nature of women's group resources. In model 2, however, the density of women's political and advocacy organizations is negatively associated with the descriptive representation of women as mayors.¹⁹ Figure 1c graphs the predicted likelihood of having a female mayor for several standard deviations around the mean of the women's political and advocacy organizations variable. As the density of women's political and advocacy organizations (logged) increases from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above, the predicted likelihood of having a female mayor decreases from 0.37 to 0.16. Although the negative association between women's political groups and the presence of female mayors counters our expectation (hypothesis 3a), it is not without precedent in the urban politics literature. Similar to Reckhow's (2009) argument regarding the descriptive representation of blacks in cities, we suspect that the prevalence of women running for and winning municipal offices—especially the citywide mayor's office—may depend more on the cohesion among women's political organizations than on the absolute number or density of such organizations. Women are a large and diverse group, and the political and advocacy organizations to which they belong may not have a unified or consistent electoral strategy. As the field of women's organizations becomes more crowded in a city, the fragmentation among them may harm rather than help women's electoral chances.²⁰

The percentage of women on the city council in 2001 is a significant and positive predictor of the descriptive

Table 1. Women's Descriptive Representation as Mayors and Council Members

Concept	Explanatory variable	1. Average percentage of council seats held by women in 2001 and 2006 (ordinary least squares)		2. City had a female mayor between 2002 and 2007 (logistic regression)		3. Percentage of electoral terms held by female mayors, 2002–2007 (ordered logistic regression)	
Political context	Ideology	0.19	(0.087)**	0.01	(0.016)	0.02	(0.015)
	Women's socioeconomic resources factor score	2.34	(1.195)**	0.05	(0.228)	0.07	(0.226)
	Density of women's political and advocacy organizations (logged)	2.17	(3.026)	-1.51	(0.637)**	-1.47	(0.628)**
	Density of women's general organizations	0.35	(0.372)	0.07	(0.060)	0.07	(0.059)
	Percentage Latinas and African American women	0.05	(0.117)	-0.02	(0.022)	-0.016	(0.021)
	Female mayor lagged	-0.50	(2.655)				
	Percentage of female councilors lagged			0.03	(0.010)**	0.026	(0.010)**
Electoral arrangements	At-large elections	0.69	(2.404)				
	Council term limits	-3.19	(2.264)				
	Mayoral term limits			-0.01	(0.393)	-0.09	(0.391)
	Partisan elections	2.74	(2.763)	-1.49	(0.633)**	-1.48	(0.628)**
	Mayor elected directly by voters			-1.66	(0.784)**	-0.78	(0.724)
Desirability of office	Council term length	0.90	(1.275)				
	Mayoral term length			0.21	(0.250)	0.16	(0.241)
	Number of council seats	-0.14	(0.154)				
	Strong mayor	-1.35	(1.058)	-0.04	(0.183)	-0.13	(0.179)
	Population logged (in 100,000s)	3.51	(1.779)**	0.002	(0.303)	0.001	(0.295)
Constant		10.91	(6.601)*	-1.05	(0.936)		
Number of cities		210		217		217	
F statistic		2.43					
LR χ^2				33.98		27.21	
p value		.0046		.0007		.0072	
Adjusted/pseudo-R ²		.1420		.1383		.0667	

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

* Significant at the .1 level (two-tailed). ** Significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

representation of women as mayors in subsequent years. This finding lends support to Hypothesis 4a. Councils may provide pipelines of politically experienced women seeking mayoralties, and/or potential female candidates for mayor may gauge their prospects for success by looking at the receptivity of cities to electing women to their councils. Regardless of the precise mechanism, when the percentage of female councilors increases from one standard deviation below its mean to one above (i.e., from 11 to 46 percent), the mean predicted likelihood of having a female mayor increases from 0.17 to 0.35 (see Figure 1d). In conjunction with model 1, this suggests that while having female executives does not provide a pathway to the electoral success of female legislators, the reverse is more likely. The two processes are interdependent and should therefore be theorized about and modeled in tandem.

Two electoral institutions appear to affect the descriptive representation of women as mayors. First, partisan elections have a negative and significant impact on the presence of a female mayor. When a city holds nonpartisan elections, the predicted likelihood of electing a female mayor is 0.24. However, when a city holds partisan elections, the predicted likelihood of electing a female mayor decreases to 0.08. This finding lends some credence to the argument that nonpartisan elections may be more open to women and other less-connected political hopefuls. It is also congruent with the claim that strong party organizations at the state level do more to restrict than promote the emergence of female candidates (Sanbonmatsu 2006). Though relatively few (45 out of 239) cities use partisan ballots, this is an arena in which party leaders and organizations clearly fall short. Second, the likelihood of having

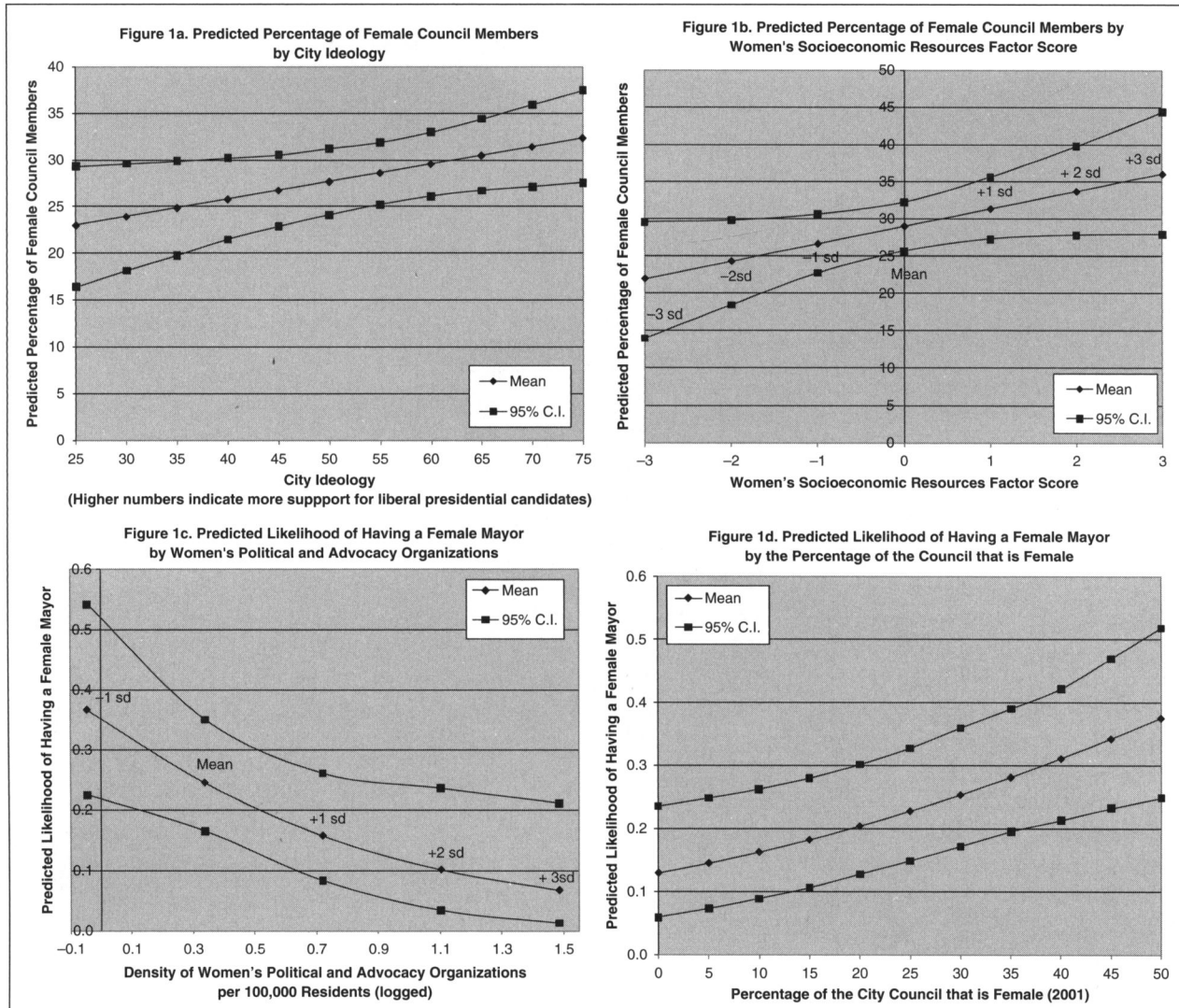


Figure 1. Predicted substantive effects

a female mayor increases when the mayor is selected by the council from among its members rather than through direct elections. When a city holds direct elections for mayor, the predicted likelihood of having a female mayor is 0.24. In contrast, when the council selects the mayor, the predicted likelihood of a female mayor increases to 0.61. It is important to note, however, that only 22 cities in our data set do not have direct elections for mayor, and the majority of those (17 cities) are in California. Nonetheless, this finding suggests that political elites may be more sensitive than the general public to the need for gender representation in local offices, especially executive ones (Welch and Karnig 1979). It may also be the case that city council members are more willing to promote women as mayors because such appointed positions are not as “desirable” or powerful as their popularly elected counterparts (MacManus and Bullock 1995).

None of the other variables measuring the desirability of the mayor’s office are significant in model 2. As noted above, it may be that today’s would-be female candidates are no more reluctant to seek more desirable mayoralities than their male counterparts. Also, unfortunately, model 2 does not lend support to our Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3b. It appears that city ideology, the extent of women’s socioeconomic resources, and the density of women’s general organizations do not influence the presence of a female mayor.²¹

Model 3 considers the effect of the same set of independent variables on an alternative measure of women’s presence as mayors, namely the percentage of electoral terms held by female mayors between 2002 and 2007. We employ ordered logistic regression since there are only seven possible outcome categories. The results of this model are largely consistent with those of model 2. First,

the percentage of electoral terms held by women is likely to be lower as the density of women's political and advocacy organizations increases, which refutes hypothesis 3a. Second, the percentage of female councilors (lagged) is positively associated with the percentage of mayoral electoral terms held by women, lending additional support to hypothesis 4a. Third, like model 2, partisan elections negatively affect the percentage of electoral terms held by female mayors. The primary difference between models 2 and 3 is that in the latter, we find no association between the presence of a female mayor and whether the mayor is elected directly by voters or selected by the council.

Conclusion

The descriptive representation of women in municipal government, especially as mayors, is a topic that political scientists generally neglect. In fact, ours is the first multivariate analysis of the presence of women as mayors in thirty years (Welch and Karnig 1979). Extending the extant literature, we argue and demonstrate that solving the puzzle of why women hold more policy-making positions in some cities than in others requires a more in-depth and theoretically informed analysis. Our work provides rigorous reasoning about the expected effects of the *urban political context* on women's descriptive representation in municipal office. More generally, our results indicate that it is critical to consider contextual factors, in addition to institutions, when seeking to explain political outcomes (Lax and Phillips 2009a, 2009b; Lupia et al. 2009).

Empirically, our analyses uncovered new dynamics of how women may achieve electoral success in American cities. First, the election of women as council members and the election of women as mayors are interdependent phenomena. Although the presence of female councilors appears more important to electing a female mayor than vice versa, it is plausible that certain female mayors recruit, train, and support potential female candidates for the council. Future studies should incorporate this interbranch interdependence when theorizing and analyzing women's descriptive representation at the local, state, and perhaps even national levels.

Second, the urban political context is consequential for the presence of women as mayors and council members. It may be at least as important as electoral arrangements and other institutional features. The ideological climate of a city and the supply of group resources available to women seem particularly important. Yet women's group resources may not always yield straightforward additive effects. More organizations may not necessarily produce more or better descriptive representation (Reckhow 2009). Our findings suggest that it is not simply the presence of women's political organizations but the cohesion and unity of purpose among them that influences the ability of women

to hold elected office. Thus, scholars should attend to explaining the conditions under which group resources are helpful and when they are hindrances to achieving and expanding descriptive representation.

Similarly, future research should investigate the causal mechanisms or processes that link contextual characteristics to electoral outcomes. Our research is only one step in the right direction. Questions remain. Are group resources important for the recruitment and emergence of women candidates? Or are they more significant in generating campaign support and votes? What is the role of local political parties in recruiting and supporting female candidates? What is the mechanism that links the presence of female council members to the election of a female mayor? Do councils serve as pipelines of eligible candidates for mayor or are potential candidates assessing their chances of success by looking at the gender composition of the council? These questions are important given the continued underrepresentation of women in local office (and elsewhere) and the paucity of female candidates. Recent research reveals that women, more than men, need encouragement before they will run or contemplate running for public office, but they are less likely than men to receive it (Lawless and Fox 2005; Sanbonmatsu 2006; Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, and Walsh 2009). Despite earlier findings (Merritt 1977; Miller 1986), political parties, elected officials, and organizations have more work to do on this front.

Our research also has implications for the empirical study of the substantive policy effects of electing female mayors and council members (Beck 2001; Boles 2001; Saltzstein 1986; Tolleson-Rinehart 2001). Many of the variables we explore may explain both women's descriptive and substantive representation. Cities with strong records of contracting with women-owned businesses, for example, could also be the cities that tend to elect more women to public office, for many of the same reasons. Isolating the independent effect of female officials on policies is perhaps impossible without simultaneously modeling descriptive and substantive representation, or at least controlling for contextual and structural factors that affect both (Marschall and Ruhil 2006, 847).

Future research also needs to explore the intersections of gender, race, and ethnicity at the municipal and other levels of government. If the female council members and mayors in our sample are predominantly white, as they most likely are, then our conclusions may not apply to women of color. The institutions and communities that foster the election of white women may not affect the election of black, Latina, and other minority women in the same ways (Trounstein and Valdini 2008). Given the continuing force of racial politics, the electoral fortunes of women of color may be more closely tied to their male counterparts than to those of white women.

A continuing challenge for urban politics scholars, in particular, is collecting data that covers multiple cities over an extended time period. We call for more concerted—and, perhaps, coordinated—efforts to identify and collect new sources of quality data. There is great empirical value in building original data sets at the city level. Surveys of local officeholders (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2010), members of local “eligibility pools” (Lawless and Fox 2005), candidates for local office (Merritt 1977; Miller 1986), and local electorates (Brown, Heighberger, and Shocket 1993) may be most fruitful, especially in untangling the roles of parties, political organizations, other elected officials, and voters in the recruitment and support of female candidates.²²

Finally, we demonstrate that there are advantages to political scientists looking beyond their subfields to develop theory, innovate empirically, and improve the accuracy of measurements. Our study, we hope, will foster more dialogue among several subfields of political science interested in descriptive representation, including urban politics, race, ethnicity and politics, state politics, and women and politics research. Most importantly, we believe that scholars in multiple subfields can draw lessons from our work. For example, those studying women’s descriptive representation at the state level might consider the potential connection between electing women as governors and as state legislators. Scholars might also explore the implications of local nonpartisanship for the vertical pipeline of women in local politics who are well prepared to run for office at the state or national level but are too often overlooked by party leaders and funders (Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, and Walsh 2009). Gauging the macro-level determinants of women’s descriptive representation at the local level, therefore, may reveal a great deal about the gendered electoral dynamics that continue to limit the numbers of women in public office at all levels.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Katy Jensen, Megan Greening, Vignesh Narayanaswamy, and Ashlee Tran for their research assistance and the undergraduate Scholarly Inquiry and Research Program at Emory University for its research support. Laura Woliver, Susan Hansen, and the anonymous reviewers provided helpful comments on earlier versions of the article.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interests with respect to the authorship and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research and/or authorship of this article.

Notes

1. As is the case at the state and national levels (Carroll and Fox 2010), female candidates for local office are as successful as their male counterparts in getting elected (Karnig and Walter 1976; MacManus and Bullock 1995). Much of the explanation for the geographic variation in women’s descriptive representation, therefore, may lie in the candidate identification and recruitment stages (Adams and Schreiber 2011).
2. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu (2010) provide a notable exception.
3. The scope of research on women in city councils is small. Even smaller is the set of studies examining the correlates of women holding mayoralities. Studies that examine women mayors rely heavily on hypotheses developed and tested in the research on the representation of women in city councils (MacManus and Bullock 1995; Welch and Karnig 1979). We therefore simultaneously review the literatures on women’s presence as council members and mayors, making note of any significant discrepancies between the two.
4. Palmer and Simon (2008) demonstrate that similar demographic factors (e.g., income, education, and population density) consistently make some congressional districts more “women-friendly,” or more likely to elect women, than others.
5. Similarly, studies of black representation in cities reveal strong, positive relationships between the socioeconomic status of blacks and the presence of black council members and/or mayors (Engstrom and McDonald 1981; Karnig 1979; Karnig and Welch 1980; Marschall and Ruhil 2006; Robinson and Dye 1978).
6. The dependent variables do not distinguish female mayors or council members by race or ethnicity. Reliable data on the race/ethnicity of individual mayors and council members, especially those who are neither white or Anglo nor African American, serving between 1999 and 2007 are unavailable.
7. Measuring ideology and partisanship on the city level is a notoriously difficult but not insurmountable task. We use secondary, time-invariant data rather than matching county-level presidential vote returns to city boundaries ourselves. The problem with the latter approach is that counties and cities are not coterminous. Using county-level data would yield considerable measurement error—some predictable (e.g., cities likely are more racially/ethnically diverse than counties and thus may be more likely to vote for the liberal candidate) and some unforeseen. The ideology variable that we employ is imperfect, especially since it covers only one point in time. We use it cautiously, assuming that (1) ideology is a relatively stable predisposition and (2) cities’ collective ideologies did not shift much from 1999 to 2007. We recognize, too, that presidential vote returns are not ideal proxies for ideology. However, evidence from the

- state level suggests that the positive relationship between partisanship and ideology has strengthened and stabilized since 1988 (Erickson, Wright, and McIver 2006). Erickson, Wright, and McIver (2006, 250) report that although “[p]artisan cleavages provide a bit of electoral stickiness . . . they appear to follow the fundamental differences between contemporary liberals and conservatives.”
8. We ran a principal components factor analysis to generate the factor score. All three components loaded onto a single factor. The loadings were 0.89 for the percentage of college-educated women, 0.86 for female median income, and 0.79 for the number of women-owned businesses. We use the factor score rather than its individual components because from a practical standpoint, the individual measures are strongly correlated with one another. Including them individually in the same model would yield multicollinearity. Also, the factor score captures the broader underlying concept of women’s socioeconomic resources. Finally, we lack a theoretical reason to expect the three measures to have different effects on our dependent variables.
 9. For both measures, we divide the number of organizations by population size (100,000s). The density of women’s political and advocacy organizations is logged to minimize distortions from cities with an unusually high number of such organizations such as Berkeley, California, and Washington, D.C.
 10. Institutional variables change very little, if at all, over time. Therefore, we expect very little measurement error to be introduced by using a single point in time (or two time points, at most) to measure electoral structures for 1999 to 2007.
 11. As robustness checks, we specified two alternative models where (1) the percentage of council members elected by district or (2) two dummy variables, one for at-large and the other for mixed systems, were substituted for the at-large dummy variable. All three models yielded very similar results.
 12. The variable is coded 1 if voters elect the mayor directly or the council member receiving the most votes in the general election becomes mayor and 0 if the council selects the mayor from among its members or council members rotate into the position. We include for theoretical reasons three cities in our sample that rotate the position of mayor. The likelihood of women being mayors should be greater in cities where mayoralties rotate among council members as well as in cities where council members select the mayor. Per the desirability hypothesis, this is because mayors appointed by rotation or council selection typically have less authority than elected mayors. Moreover, as elites, council members may be more responsive than the general public to the issue of gender equality in city hall (Welch and Karnig 1979, 485).
 13. Because there is only one city in our sample with a commission form of government, we are able to distinguish only mayor–council and council–manager forms of government.
 14. We considered but decided against including Elazar’s (1984) political culture measures in the models. Previous studies on this topic have included dichotomous regional controls. We replicated the traditional models employed in earlier studies and found that the regional variables were consistently insignificant. The political culture variables, when included in our models, were also insignificant. Furthermore, Elazar’s political culture indicators are measured at the state rather than the city level.
 15. The 210 cases included in model 1 is lower than the 239 cities discussed in the previous section because of missing data for three variables: ideology, the presence of female mayors, and the number of women-owned businesses.
 16. All point predictions and graphs in the results section follow this pattern of varying values of a certain independent variable while keeping the other dichotomous and categorical variables at their modes and other continuous variables at their means. These predictions were generated using the Clarify software in Stata (King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000).
 17. Although just three independent variables are significant in model 1, the results are instructive. The urban political context does, indeed, influence the election of women as council members. Moreover, the traditional models employed in earlier studies of women’s descriptive representation on city councils (e.g., Bullock and MacManus 1991; Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994; Welch and Karnig 1979) perform no better than our own. Replicating the more traditional model, we used the same dependent variable and the same independent variables measuring electoral institutions and the desirability of office. We also substituted regional dummy variables and general measures of the cities’ socioeconomic characteristics for our own measures of political context. The traditional model yielded a lower R^2 (.07) than our model (.14). Furthermore, only three independent variables were significant in the traditional model, namely whether the council had term limits, whether the city held partisan elections, and population size.
 18. We have 217 cases in models 2 and 3 instead of 239 cases because of missing data on the lagged percentage of female council members, city ideology, and women-owned businesses.
 19. We logged the density of women’s political and advocacy organizations because it is extremely skewed. However, even when the measure is not logged, its coefficient estimate is negative and significant in models 2 and 3. We also experimented with squared terms for the two measures of women’s organizational resources. The theoretical rationale was that women’s organizations may lead to increased female descriptive representation up to a certain point, whereupon additional organizations would produce the opposite effect. Results were inconsistent and unstable across our models.
 20. Alternatively, greater densities of women’s political and advocacy organizations may reflect greater municipal

neglect of, or even opposition to, women's interests. The density of organizations may signal the scale of women's unmet demands in a city, and if that is the case, the negative effect is not surprising. Another possibility, which we are unable to explore within the confines of this study, is that what really matters is not the number of such organizations but the number of women (or potential candidates) who belong to and are active in them. We thank Sarah Reckhow and an anonymous reviewer for these suggestions.

21. We compared model 2 to a "traditional" model of women's representation as mayors (Welch and Karnig 1979; MacManus and Bullock 1995). The traditional model excluded our political context variables but included variables measuring region, electoral institutions, the desirability of local offices, and general socioeconomic characteristics. The method of mayoral selection was the only significant variable in the results of the traditional model. After running both models, we conducted a Cox-Pesaran (maximum likelihood) test of nonnested model specification to adjudicate between the traditional model and our enhanced model. Based on the test, we reject the null hypothesis that the traditional model performs better than our model ($\chi^2 = -12.42, p < .0001$). However, we do not reject the null hypothesis that our model performs better than the traditional model ($\chi^2 = -0.88, p < .1882$). This provides evidence that our enhanced model performs better than the traditional model employed in previous studies.
22. Our own data and efforts demonstrate that identifying and surveying the entire universe of female mayors and councilors of large ($\geq 100,000$) cities is possible, given the resources now available on the Web. Surveying local eligibility pools of potential candidates may also be feasible, at least within a representative sample of big cities.

References

- Adams, Brian E., and Ronnee Schreiber. 2010. Gender, campaign finance, and electoral success in municipal elections. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 33 (2011):83-97.
- Alozie, Nicholas O., and Lynne L. Manganaro. 1993. Women's council representation: Measurement implications for public policy. *Political Research Quarterly* 46:383-98.
- Arceneaux, Kevin. 2001. The "gender gap" in state legislative representation: New data to tackle an old question. *Political Research Quarterly* 54:143-60.
- Beck, Susan Abrams. 2001. Acting as women: The effects and limitations of gender in local governance. In *The impact of women in public office*, ed. Susan J. Carroll, 49-67. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Boles, Janet K. 2001. Local elected women and policy-making: Movement delegates or feminist trustees? In *The impact of women in public office*, ed. Susan J. Carroll, 68-88. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bositis, David A. 2001. *Black elected officials: A statistical summary*. Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.
- Brown, Clyde, Neil R. Heighberger, and Peter A. Shocket. 1993. Gender-based differences in perceptions of male and female city council candidates. *Women & Politics* 13:1-17.
- Browning, Rufus, Dale Marshall, and David Tabb, eds. 2003. *Racial politics in American cities*. 3rd ed. New York: Longman.
- Bullock, Charles S., III, and Susan A. MacManus. 1990. Structural features of municipalities and the incidence of Hispanic councilmembers. *Social Science Quarterly* 71:665-81.
- Bullock, Charles S., III, and Susan A. MacManus. 1991. Municipal electoral structure and the election of councilwomen. *Journal of Politics* 53:75-89.
- Burrell, Barbara C. 1994. *A woman's place is in the house: Campaigning for Congress in the feminist era*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Carey, John M., Richard G. Niemi, Lynda W. Powell, and Gary F. Moncrief. 2006. The effects of term limits on state legislatures: A new survey of the 50 states. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31:105-34.
- Carroll, Susan J., and Richard L. Fox, eds. 2010. *Gender and elections: Shaping the future of American politics*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carroll, Susan J., and Krista Jenkins. 2001a. Do term limits help women get elected? *Social Science Quarterly* 82:197-201.
- Carroll, Susan J., and Krista Jenkins. 2001b. Increasing diversity or more of the same? Term limits and the representation of women, minorities, and minority women in state legislatures. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco.
- Carroll, Susan J., and Kira Sanbonmatsu. 2010. Entering the mayor's office: Women's decisions to run for municipal office. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.
- Carroll, Susan J., and Wendy S. Strimling. 1983. *Women's routes to elective office*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Center for American Women and Politics.
- Center for American Women and Politics. 2010. Women in elective office 2010. Fact sheet. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, National Information Bank on Women in Public Office.
- Clarke, Susan E., Lynn A. Staeheli, and Laura Brunell. 1995. Women redefining local politics. In *Theories of urban politics*, ed. David Judge, Gerry Stoker, and Harold Wolman, 205-27. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Darcy, R., and Charles D. Hadley. 1988. Black women in politics: The puzzle of success. *Social Science Quarterly* 69:629-45.
- Darcy, R., Susan Welch, and Janet C. Clark. 1994. *Women, elections, and representation*. 2nd ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Davidson, Chandler, and Bernard Grofman, eds. 1994. *Quiet revolution in the South: The impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Diamond, Irene. 1977. *Sex roles in the state house*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Elazar, Daniel J. 1984. *American federalism: A view from the states*. 3rd ed. New York: Harper & Row.
- Engstrom, Richard L., and Michael D. McDonald. 1981. The election of blacks to city councils: Clarifying the impact of electoral arrangements on the seats/population relationship. *American Political Science Review* 75:344-54.
- Erickson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 2006. Public opinion in the states: A quarter century of change and stability. In *Public opinion in state politics*, ed. Jeffrey E. Cohen, 229-53. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hill, David B. 1981. Political culture and female political representation. *Journal of Politics* 43:159-68.
- Hogan, Robert E. 2001. The influence of state and district conditions on the representation of women in U.S. state legislatures. *American Politics Research* 29:4-24.
- Karnig, Albert K. 1979. Black resources and city council representation. *Journal of Politics* 41:134-49.
- Karnig, Albert K., and B. Oliver Walter. 1976. Election of women to city councils. *Social Science Quarterly* 56:605-13.
- Karnig, Albert K., and Susan Welch. 1979. Sex and ethnic differences in municipal representation. *Social Science Quarterly* 60:465-81.
- Karnig, Albert K., and Susan Welch. 1980. *Black representation and urban policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- King, Gary, Michael Tomz, and Jason Wittenberg. 2000. Making the most of statistical analyses: Improving interpretation and presentation. *American Journal of Political Science* 44:341-55.
- Lawless, Jennifer L., and Richard L. Fox. 2005. *It takes a candidate: Why women don't run for office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2009a. Gay rights in the states: Public opinion and policy responsiveness. *American Political Science Review* 103:367-86.
- Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2009b. Institutions and representation: policy responsiveness in the U.S. states. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto.
- Lupia, Arthur, Yanna Krupnikov, Adam Seth Levine, Spencer Piston, and Alexander Von Hagen-Jamar. 2009. Why state constitutions differ in their treatment of same-sex marriage. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto.
- MacManus, Susan A. 1981. A city's first female officeholder: "Coattails" for future female officeseekers? *Western Political Quarterly* 34:88-99.
- MacManus, Susan A., and Charles S. Bullock III. 1995. Electing women to local office. In *Gender in urban research*, ed. Judith A. Garber and Robyne S. Turner, 155-77. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent yes. *Journal of Politics* 61:628-57.
- Marschall, Melissa J., and Anirudh V. S. Ruhil. 2006. The pomp of power: Black mayoralities in urban America. *Social Science Quarterly* 87:828-50.
- Marshall, Ann. 2002. Organizing across the divide: Local feminist activism, everyday life, and the election of women to public office. *Social Science Quarterly* 83:707-25.
- Merritt, Sharyne. 1977. Winners and losers: Sex differences in municipal elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 21:731-43.
- Miller, Lawrence. 1986. Political recruitment and electoral success: A look at sex differences in municipal elections. *Social Science Journal* 23:75-90.
- Moncrief, Gary, Lynda W. Powell, and Tim Storey. 2007. Composition of legislatures. In *Institutional change in American politics: The case of term limits*, ed. Karl T. Kurtz, Bruce Cain, and Richard G. Niemi, 22-37. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Montoya, Lisa J., Carol Hardy-Fanta, and Sonia Garcia. 2000. Latina politics: Gender, participation, and leadership. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 33:555-61.
- Norrander, Barbara, and Clyde Wilcox. 2005. Change and continuity in the geography of women state legislators. In *Women and elective office: Past, present, and future*, 2nd ed., ed. Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, 103-17. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ondercin, Heather L., and Susan Welch. 2009. Comparing predictors of women's congressional election success. *American Politics Research* 37:593-613.
- Oxley, Zoe M., and Richard L. Fox. 2004. Women in executive office: Variation across American states. *Political Research Quarterly* 57:113-20.
- Palmer, Barbara, and Dennis Simon. 2008. *Breaking the political glass ceiling: Women and congressional elections*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The politics of presence: The political representation of gender, ethnicity, and race*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1967. *The concept of representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Reckhow, Sarah. 2009. The distinct patterns of organized and elected representation of racial and ethnic groups. *Urban Affairs Review* 45:188-217.
- Robinson, Theodore P., and Thomas R. Dye. 1978. Reformism and black representation on city councils. *Social Science Quarterly* 59:133-42.
- Rule, Wilma. 1990. Why more women are state legislators: A research note. *Western Political Quarterly* 43:437-48.
- Saltzstein, Grace Hall. 1986. Female mayors and women in municipal jobs. *American Journal of Political Science* 30:140-64.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. Political parties and the recruitment of women to state legislatures. *Journal of Politics* 64:791-809.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2006. *Where women run: Gender and party in the American states*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Sanbonmatsu, Kira, Susan J. Carroll, and Debbie Walsh. 2009. *Poised to run: Women's pathways to the state legislatures*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Center for American Women and Politics.
- Tolleson-Rinehart, Sue. 2001. Do women leaders make a difference? Substance, style, and perceptions. In *The impact of women in public office*, ed. Susan J. Carroll, 149-65. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Trounstine, Jessica, and Melody E. Valdini. 2008. The context matters: The effects of single-member versus at-large districts on city council diversity. *American Journal of Political Science* 52:554-69.
- Welch, Susan, and Rebekah Herrick. 1992. The impact of at-large elections on the representation of minority women. In *United States electoral systems: Their impact on women and minorities*, ed. Wilma Rule and Joseph F. Zimmerman, 153-66. New York: Greenwood.
- Welch, Susan, and Albert K. Karnig. 1979. Correlates of female office holding in city politics. *Journal of Politics* 41:478-91.
- Windett, Jason. 2009. State effects and the emergence and success of female gubernatorial candidates. Paper presented at the annual conference of the North Carolina Political Science Association, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.
- Wolbrecht, Christina, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez, eds. 2008. *Political women and American democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.