

Summer 2019

Women in the Governor's Mansion: Breaking the Barrier to Competition

Helen Adair King

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd>



Part of the [Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

King, H. A.(2019). *Women in the Governor's Mansion: Breaking the Barrier to Competition*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd/5478>

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you by Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact digres@mailbox.sc.edu.

WOMEN IN THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION:
BREAKING THE BARRIER TO COMPETITION

by

Helen Adair King

Bachelor of Arts
Wake Forest University, 2003

Master of Public Administration
University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 2007

Master of Arts
University of South Carolina, 2014

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Political Science

College of Arts and Sciences

University of South Carolina

2019

Accepted by:

David Darmofal, Major Professor

Todd Shaw, Committee Member

Marjorie J. Spruill, Committee Member

Laura R. Woliver, Committee Member

Cheryl L. Addy, Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

© Copyright by Helen Adair King, 2019
All Rights Reserved.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my sons, Austin and Blake.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to formally acknowledge the members of my dissertation committee: Dr. David Darmofal, Dr. Todd Shaw, Dr. Marjorie Spruill and Dr. Laura Woliver. I deeply appreciate their time and dedication to this dissertation. Their insights have been invaluable and I will be forever grateful.

Dr. Woliver was the chair of my committee until her retirement. She has been a tireless advocate for me and even opened her home to support a writing group for graduate students including Annie Boiter-Jolley and Elena Grynberg. The support and encouragement of these women has helped me to get to this very important place in my career.

Thank you also to my family and friends. I am incredibly fortunate to have such an amazing group of people supporting me. I love you.

ABSTRACT

Women are underrepresented in public office. One of the lowest percentages belongs to women serving as governor. Only nine women currently hold the office. Research has shown that when women run, they win. They are just as competitive as men. And yet, one particular question remains. Why don't more women run? That is why I have chosen to focus this dissertation on the influences on the presence of a female candidate as opposed to the influences on the presence of a female governor. I argue that it is important to begin with candidacy instead of working backward. If the salient question is why are aren't more women running for office, it is more important to focus on how women get on the ballot instead of how they win the election. A larger number of female candidates could lead to a larger number of female governors.

This dissertation focuses on gubernatorial races involving female major party candidates. First, I evaluate races involving a female incumbent. Second, I evaluate races involving a male incumbent and a female challenger. Next I focus on the smaller subset of cases involving two female major party candidates. My final chapters evaluate the difference between gubernatorial races involving female candidates before and after the 2016 presidential election. My findings provide support for both of my hypotheses. The presence of a female governor discourages female challengers and the presence of a female major party candidate in the 2016 presidential election has increased the levels of ambition for possible female gubernatorial candidates.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Theory	7
Chapter 3: Gubernatorial Races with a Female Incumbent	16
Chapter 4: Gubernatorial Races with a Male Incumbent and a Female Challenger	33
Chapter 5: Gubernatorial Races with Two Female Major Party Candidates	54
Chapter 6: The Impact of the 2016 Presidential Election	63
Chapter 7: Conclusion	66
References	69
Appendix A: Gubernatorial Election Cycles	74
Appendix B: Professionalization Levels of State Legislatures	75

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Gubernatorial Elections Involving Female Major Party Candidates	3
Table 3.1 Female Major Party Incumbent Candidates.....	17
Table 3.2 Connecticut Gubernatorial Election 1978.....	17
Table 3.3 Washington Gubernatorial Election 1980.....	18
Table 3.4 Vermont Gubernatorial Election 1986.....	19
Table 3.5 Vermont Gubernatorial Election 1988.....	19
Table 3.6 Nebraska Gubernatorial Election 1990.....	19
Table 3.7 Texas Gubernatorial Election 1994	20
Table 3.8 New Jersey Gubernatorial Election 1997	20
Table 3.9 Arizona Gubernatorial Election 1998	21
Table 3.10 New Hampshire Gubernatorial Election 1998.....	21
Table 3.11 New Hampshire Gubernatorial Election 2000.....	21
Table 3.12 Delaware Gubernatorial Election 2004.....	22
Table 3.13 Arizona Gubernatorial Election 2006	22
Table 3.14 Connecticut Gubernatorial Election 2006.....	23
Table 3.15 Hawaii Gubernatorial Election 2006	23
Table 3.16 Kansas Gubernatorial Election 2006	24
Table 3.17 Michigan Gubernatorial Election 2006.....	24
Table 3.18 Washington Gubernatorial Election 2008.....	25
Table 3.19 Arizona Gubernatorial Election 2010	25

Table 3.20 New Hampshire Gubernatorial Election 2014.....	26
Table 3.21 New Mexico Gubernatorial Election 2014	26
Table 3.22 Oklahoma Gubernatorial Election 2014	27
Table 3.23 South Carolina Gubernatorial Election 2014.....	27
Table 3.24 Oregon Gubernatorial Election 2016.....	28
Table 3.25 Alabama Gubernatorial Election 2018	28
Table 3.26 Iowa Gubernatorial Election 2018.....	29
Table 3.27 Oregon Gubernatorial Election 2018.....	30
Table 3.28 Rhode Island Gubernatorial Election 2018.....	30
Table 3.29 Elections with Female Incumbents and Female Challengers	31
Table 4.1 Male Incumbents with Female Challengers.....	34
Table 4.2 Maryland Gubernatorial Election 1974	35
Table 4.3 Nevada Gubernatorial Election 1974.....	35
Table 4.4 Vermont Gubernatorial Election 1982.....	36
Table 4.5 Connecticut Gubernatorial Election 1986.....	36
Table 4.6 Nevada Gubernatorial Election 1986.....	37
Table 4.7 Missouri Gubernatorial Election 1988.....	37
Table 4.8 Kansas Gubernatorial Election 1990	37
Table 4.9 Pennsylvania Gubernatorial Election 1990.....	38
Table 4.10 Wyoming Gubernatorial Election 1990.....	38
Table 4.11 Rhode Island Gubernatorial Election 1992.....	39
Table 4.12 New Jersey Gubernatorial Election 1993	39
Table 4.13 California Gubernatorial Election 1994.....	40

Table 4.14 Iowa Gubernatorial Election 1994.....	40
Table 4.15 Illinois Gubernatorial Election 1994.....	41
Table 4.16 Delaware Gubernatorial Election 1996.....	41
Table 4.17 Missouri Gubernatorial Election 1996.....	41
Table 4.18 Montana Gubernatorial Election 1996.....	42
Table 4.19 Connecticut Gubernatorial Election 1998.....	42
Table 4.20 Hawaii Gubernatorial Election 1998	43
Table 4.21 Maryland Gubernatorial Election 1998	44
Table 4.22 Oklahoma Gubernatorial Election 1998	44
Table 4.23 Rhode Island Gubernatorial Election 1998.....	44
Table 4.24 Vermont Gubernatorial Election 1998.....	45
Table 4.25 Kentucky Gubernatorial Election 1999	45
Table 4.26 Vermont Gubernatorial Election 2000.....	46
Table 4.27 Arkansas Gubernatorial Election 2002	46
Table 4.28 Alabama Gubernatorial Election 2006	46
Table 4.29 Illinois Gubernatorial Election 2006.....	47
Table 4.30 Indiana Gubernatorial Election 2008.....	47
Table 4.31 Vermont Gubernatorial Election 2008.....	48
Table 4.32 South Dakota Gubernatorial Election 2014.....	48
Table 4.33 Wisconsin Gubernatorial Election 2014	49
Table 4.34 Hawaii Gubernatorial Election 2018	49
Table 4.35 New Hampshire Gubernatorial Election 2018.....	50
Table 4.36 Texas Gubernatorial Election 2018	50

Table 4.37 Vermont Gubernatorial Election 2018.....	51
Table 4.38 Additional Female Challengers	52
Table 5.1 Gubernatorial Races with Two Female Major Party Candidates	54
Table 5.2 Institutional Characteristics	57
Table 5.3 Women’s Suffrage and Electoral Successes	58
Table 5.4 Outgoing Governors	59
Table 5.5 Candidate Political Experience	59
Table 5.6 Nebraska Gubernatorial Election 1986.....	60
Table 5.7 Hawaii Gubernatorial Election 2002	61
Table 5.8 New Mexico Gubernatorial Election 2010	61
Table 5.9 Oklahoma Gubernatorial Election 2010	61
Table 6.1 2016 Presidential Election Results	63

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Number of Female Major Party Candidates for Governor: 1974-2018	4
--	---

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Books about the history of the American Presidency are filled with individuals possessing one particular shared characteristic. They are all men. Every single presidential portrait is of a man. Histories of the executive branches of most states do not look much different. Women are largely, if not entirely, absent. Some states have yet to have a female run for the office at all. While the lack of female representation in the executive branch is troubling in and of itself, it also presents a barrier to the idea that a woman could serve as the executive of a state or the country. A critical visual cue simply isn't there. Sally Ride, astronaut and the first American woman in space once said, "Young girls need to see role models in whatever careers they might choose, just so they can picture themselves doing those jobs someday. You can't be what you can't see."

The Nineteenth Amendment, providing women the constitutional right to vote, was ratified in 1920, almost one hundred years ago (Wheeler, 1995). Today, although women go to the polls in larger numbers than men, they are still grossly underrepresented in political office. Currently, women hold 25% of the seats in the U.S. Senate and 23.4% of the seats in the U.S. House of Representatives.¹ The numbers for state government are slightly higher with 28.7% of state legislators being female. Women also hold 27.6% of the available statewide elected executive offices. However, one of the lowest percentages belongs to women serving as governor. Only nine women currently serve as governor out

¹ These numbers are current as of March 3, 2019.

of fifty states.² Why aren't more women being elected to office overall? Why aren't more women being elected governor specifically?

In 1974, women appeared for the first time as major party candidates running in their own right in a gubernatorial general election. Ella Grasso ran as a Democrat in Connecticut, Louise Gore ran as a Republican in Maryland and Shirley Crumpler ran as a Republican in Nevada. Only Ella Grasso was successful in winning her race. Since 1974, 128 gubernatorial elections have included a female major party candidate.³ These candidates have appeared in 44 states and the number of gubernatorial elections with female major party candidates varies widely by state.

Table 1.1 depicts this wide variation. Six states are absent because they have not had a female major party candidate for governor. Thirteen states have only had one. Vermont and New Hampshire have had the greatest number of gubernatorial elections with a female major party candidate at ten and seven respectively. However, Vermont and New Hampshire have had the largest number of opportunities for female candidates to be present because they hold a gubernatorial election every two years. Rhode Island comes in third with six gubernatorial elections. Rhode Island holds a gubernatorial election every four years.

The number of female major party candidates per year also varies. The largest number of female major party candidates in one election year is sixteen. This number was reached during the 2018 general election cycle. Previously, the highest number was ten. It was reached four times in 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2010. It is important to note that states have different election cycles in addition to frequencies. In some years 36 states have

² These numbers are current as of March 3, 2019.

³ This number is current through the 2018 election cycle.

TABLE 1.1

Gubernatorial Elections Involving Female Major Party Candidates	
State	Number of Elections
Alabama	2 (2006, 2018)
Alaska	4 (1986, 1990, 2002, 2006)
Arizona	5 (1986, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010)
Arkansas	1 (2002)
California	3 (1990, 1994, 2010)
Colorado	1 (1998)
Connecticut	5 (1974, 1978, 1986, 1998, 2006)
Delaware	3 (1996, 2000, 2004)
Florida	1 (2010)
Georgia	1 (2018)
Hawaii	5 (1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2018)
Idaho	1 (2018)
Illinois	2 (1994, 2006)
Indiana	1 (2008)
Iowa	3 (1982, 1994, 2018)
Kansas	4 (1990, 2002, 2006, 2018)
Kentucky	2 (1983, 1999)
Louisiana	1 (2003)
Maine	3 (1994, 2010, 2018)
Maryland	4 (1974, 1994, 1998, 2002)
Massachusetts	3 (2002, 2006, 2014)
Michigan	3 (2002, 2006, 2018)
Missouri	3 (1988, 1996, 2004)
Montana	3 (1992, 1996, 2000)
Nebraska	2 (1986, 1990)
Nevada	4 (1974, 1986, 1998, 2006)
New Hampshire	7 (1992, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2012, 2014, 2018)
New Jersey	2 (1993, 1997, 2017)
New Mexico	3 (2010, 2014, 2018)
North Carolina	1 (2008)
North Dakota	1 (2000)
Oklahoma	3 (1998, 2010, 2014)
Oregon	4 (1986, 1990, 2016, 2018)
Pennsylvania	1 (1990)
Rhode Island	6 (1992, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2014, 2018)
South Carolina	2 (2010, 2014)
South Dakota	2 (2014, 2018)
Texas	4 (1990, 1994, 2014, 2018)
Vermont	10 (1976, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1998, 2000, 2008, 2016, 2018)
Virginia	1 (1993)
Washington	4 (1976, 1996, 2004, 2008)
West Virginia	1 (1996)
Wisconsin	1 (2014)
Wyoming	4 (1990, 1994, 2010, 2018)
Total: 44 States	Total: 128 Elections

gubernatorial elections while in others there are only two. The election years 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2018 represent years with 36 states conducting gubernatorial elections. The fact remains, however, that there is a significant lack of female major party candidates for governor.

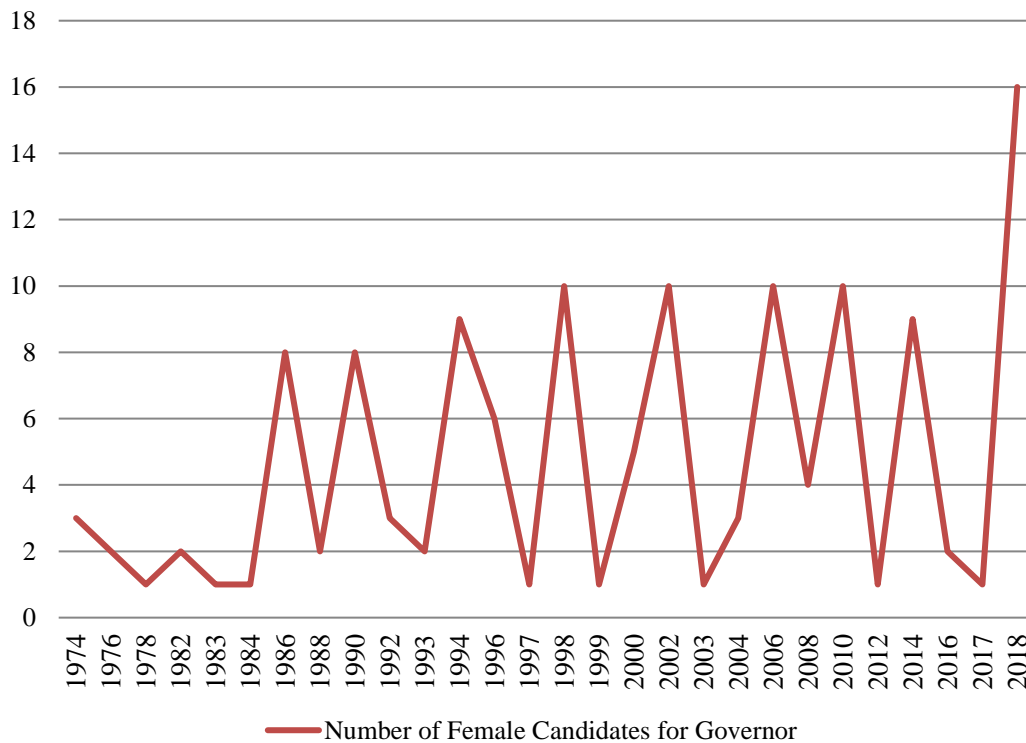


FIGURE 1.1: Number of Female Major Party Candidates for Governor: 1974-2018

Research Question

The previously described numbers and statistics lead to one basic research question: What factors influence the presence of a female candidate for governor? There must be contributing factors to the great variation of female major party candidates per state and the dearth of female major party candidates overall. The identification of these factors is crucial to the study of women in politics.

The presence of one female major party candidate in a gubernatorial election is not common. Even less common is the presence of two female major party candidates,

insuring that the next governor of the state will be a woman. Only four states have ever been placed in this situation: Hawaii, Nebraska, New Mexico and Oklahoma. Nebraska was the first state to have two female major party candidates in 1986. The next election involving two women did not occur again until 2002 in Hawaii. New Mexico and Oklahoma each had two female major party candidates in 2010. One of the most interesting observations about these four elections is the fact that they were all open elections. Although these women were running against one another, they were not running as challengers attempting to unseat a current female governor.

Additionally, every single female major party gubernatorial challenger has run against a man. While it is difficult to draw conclusions from so few cases, it is important to watch this connection. The absence of a general election pitting a female challenger against a female incumbent is interesting. Does the presence of a female governor deter other women from running for the office? Is there some type of glass ceiling effect that enters the decision making process for women seeking to run for governor if another woman already holds the office?

I argue that there is such an effect and it is at least partly connected to the previously mentioned visual cue. Because women struggle to see themselves as the leader of an executive branch, they do not seek out adversarial political situations with women already in that office. Furthermore, I argue that the glass ceiling was at least partially breached after the 2016 presidential election. While the four open elections in Hawaii, Nebraska, New Mexico and Oklahoma remain the only examples of two female majority party candidates, the primaries races look significantly different after the 2016 presidential election. While Hilary Clinton did not win the Electoral College, she did win

the popular vote. A plurality of American voters cast their ballot for a woman. They wanted a woman to lead the executive branch. This was a significant change that I argue had a trickledown effect. Not only do women no longer have to imagine what a female major party presidential candidate would like, a majority of Americans voted for a woman to be president. This indicates a significant change in the perception of female executive leadership.

To answer these important research questions, I will focus first on races involving a female incumbent. Second, I will evaluate races involving a male incumbent and a female challenger. Next I will focus on the smaller subset of cases involving two female major party candidates. My final chapters will evaluate the difference between gubernatorial races involving female candidates before and after the 2016 presidential election.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY

Why Women as Governor Matter

The presence of women in American politics has been and always will be important for a number of reasons. One of the most obvious is descriptive representation. Women compose approximately fifty percent of the population, but are far below this percentage in regard to political office. The vast majority of legislative bodies in the United States at the state and federal levels do not descriptively represent the population by large margins. Nevada is the only state to achieve a female majority within a legislative body.

The office of governor is inherently different because it is the head of a branch of government and not part a group. However, the same argument applies. As previously stated, there are currently only nine women serving as governor out of a possible fifty positions. Though an even split may not always be logistically possible given the electoral system in the United States, nine is a gross underrepresentation.

Second, many scholars argue that descriptive representation and substantive representation are related and that descriptive representation can lead to substantive representation (Mansbridge, 1999; McDonagh, 2009; Phillips, 1995; Pipkin, 1967; Sanbonmatsu, 2006). Susan J. Carroll (2001) and Michelle L. Swers (2002) studied the effects of women as elected officials and found that female officeholders are more likely to promote agendas favoring women than their male counterparts. Kira Sanbonmatsu

(2010) argues that “women are much more likely than men to feel an obligation to represent women as a group and to work on legislation designed to help women, children and families” (p. 264). Beth Reingold (2008) looked at the expanse of literature concerning women’s descriptive and substantive representation and concluded that the link is strong. Reingold (2008) notes, however, that the linkage can vary across individuals, time and space.

Because of the relationship to substantive representation, scholars also argue that descriptive representation is essential to democracy (Sanbonmatsu, 2006). The views of a population must be represented in its government. As such, a body of research has been devoted to substantiating the claim that descriptive representation is a legitimate goal. Descriptive representation leads to substantive representation and better representation of all the groups within a society. As such, the presence of women is critical to public policy.

Third, aside from the previously described benefits of having women serve in elected office in general, and as governor specifically, the drastic difference in the number of female candidates compared to male candidates is interesting on its own. Women have made great strides socially and politically over the past almost one hundred years and yet the numbers are still so low.

Female Candidates

The amount of literature devoted to women running for political office continues to grow. Researchers have evaluated the topic from a number of perspectives and from all three levels of government. Additionally, there has been a progression in the literature as

researchers have worked to determine which variables are significant to the presence of female candidates and officeholders.

It is important to note, however, that there are two distinct phases in the literature. The first is the presence of a female candidate. The second is the success of a female candidate leading the presence of a female officeholder. This includes the campaign. While the first phase leads to the second phase, the success of female candidates does not always lead to more female candidates. Studies have shown that women are generally elected at the same rate as men and that the problem is the shortage of female candidates (Sanbonmatsu, 2006). This disconnect has led researchers to seek a deeper explanation of why more women aren't running for office. Practically, it has led to the creation of groups dedicated to the recruitment of women to run for office.

Some variables have received enough attention to be excluded as contributing to the presence of a female candidate or female officeholder. However, negative results are still valuable and should be included in the discussion. They contribute to the larger understanding of why women run for office.

Institutional Characteristics

Of course each state varies in geographic size and population. The government of each state is different as well. While each state has three branches of government, the power of each branch and the relationship between each branch is not the same. Additionally, a number of institutional characteristics exist that within each state that can affect the presence of a female candidate and the subsequent election of a female officeholder (Oxley & Fox, 2004).

Candidate Recruitment

Historically, the recruitment of female candidates has been significantly lacking. This is important because the existence of recruitment matters, in addition to the specific characteristics of that recruitment (Crowder-Meyer, 2013). Recruitment also varies by political party. Stambough and O'Regan (2007) found that the parties treated women's access to the gubernatorial nomination differently. They argue that Republican women are more likely than Democratic women to be sacrificial lamb candidates (Stambough and O'Regan 2007). As such, a Republican woman would only be nominated if it was unlikely that any Republican candidate would be successful.

Given the weaker party system in the United States, some researchers argue that a stronger system would lead to more female candidates. However, Sanbonmatsu (2006) argues against the conventional wisdom that "strong political parties and greater party control over the nomination will lead to an increase in women's representation" (Sanbonmatsu, 2006 p. 183). Her findings support this theory.

Ambition

Ambition provides, perhaps, the best insight into the presence of female candidates. Research shows that political ambition is not the same for men and women. There is a clear gender gap (Bledsoe and Herring, 1990; Carroll, 1985; Constantini, 1990; Lawless and Fox, 2005).

Aside from their motivations and personal circumstances, women view them differently. More specifically, they tend to view themselves as less qualified (Lawless and Fox, 2010; Lawless and Fox, 2011). This keeps women on the sidelines in politics.

This is another reason why Hilary Clinton's candidacy is so important. It changed the perception of a woman's ability to lead the executive branch.

If More Women Ran, More Women Would be Elected

Once women reach the election phase, there is no gender bias. Women win as often as men do. "Even though gender remains relevant in the candidate emergence process, among people who make it to Election Day, men don't outperform women on and indicator of electoral success" (Lawless and Fox, 2018, p.66).

These finding are also not new. R. Darcy, Susan Welch and Janet Clark (1994) took a comprehensive look at female representation in 1987 and again in 1994. They found that women are neither discriminated against nor under financed (Darcy, Welch & Clark, 1994). A greater number of female candidates should translate into more female representation in state legislatures (Darcy, Welch & Clark, 1994).

Although the methods and findings have varied, there is a general consensus that if more women ran, more women would be elected (Sanbonmatsu, 2006). And yet, one particular question remains. Why don't more women run? That is why I have chosen to focus this dissertation on the influences on the presence of a female candidate as opposed to the influences on the presence of a female governor. I argue that it is important to begin with candidacy instead of working backward. If the salient question is why are aren't more women running for office, it is more important to focus on how women get on the ballot instead of how they win the election. A larger number of female candidates could lead to a larger number of female governors.

The Office of Governor

Although there is a large body of literature devoted to women in politics in general, there is a deficit of literature regarding female governors specifically. While a number of factors affecting female candidacy have been examined, they must be reevaluated regarding the office of governor. The literature surrounding women running for political office at the state level has generally focused on state legislatures. Running for governor is significantly different than running for state legislature and even state-wide office (Windett, 2011). As a member of a state legislature, a woman is a part of a group. As governor, a woman is the chief executive of a state. The demands of the office are different and the findings regarding candidacy for the state legislatures and even state-wide office cannot be applied without reevaluation.

It has been difficult to study the presence of female candidates at the state executive level because the numbers are low. There are simply not very many cases to study and because of this there is a deficit in the literature. Zoe M. Oxley and Richard L. Fox made one of the best efforts in this area in 2004. They explored the variation of women in executive office across the states from 1979 to 1998. However, they studied all statewide offices and did not focus on the office of governor.

Hypothesis

Research has shown that the major question surrounding the shortage of women serving in elected office is why aren't more women running? The number of women running is being explored in relation to Congress and state legislatures, but there should be more focus on the executive branch. Through in-depth qualitative analysis, I anticipate uncovering evidence to support the hypotheses below.

H1: The presence of a female governor discourages female challengers.

H2: The presence of a female major party candidate in the 2016 presidential election has increased the levels of ambition for possible female gubernatorial candidates.

Research Design

By definition, variables must vary. However, I am denied this option by the existing data set at the general election level. There are no gubernatorial races that involve a female incumbent and a female challenger. That being said, elections in the United States begin in the primary phase. That is where I will focus my research. By working back into the primary phases, I will have a variation. There are examples of women seeking to unseat sitting female incumbents. They just did not make it to the general election. The primary elections will also provide a better perspective of the scope of the competition.

The first portion of my research is quantitative as I evaluate all of the gubernatorial races involving a female incumbent. There are twenty-seven races that fall into this category. This small number of cases lends itself to qualitative research. Evaluating all of the races with female incumbents will provide further insight into my hypotheses. While it is already a known fact that all of these sitting female governors had male major party challengers, I will look into all of the primary races of both parties. Although no women were successful in becoming a major party challenger, I want to see how many women, if any, were a part of the primary process in each race.

The second portion of my research is an evaluation at all of the general election races involving a male incumbent governor and a female challenger. Thirty-six cases fall into this category and the analysis is, once again, qualitative. I will again look into all of

the primary races of both parties. I want to see the number of additional challengers in each race. This portion will provide a direct contrast to races with a female incumbent.

The third portion includes the four cases of gubernatorial elections involving two female major party candidates. This qualitative analysis will be more in-depth. Elections are inherently complicated and difficult to study. There are a large number of variables to consider, many of which cannot be easily quantified. These four races produced two female major party candidates. It is important to see if there are any common elements.

At the conclusion of the first three portions, I will have covered a majority of the gubernatorial races involving a female candidate: incumbent, challenger and open. The only remaining subset is open gubernatorial races involving a male candidate and a female candidate. However, those races are included in my general overview of gubernatorial races involving female candidates.

The fourth portion of my analysis evaluates the primary elections in gubernatorial races involving a female candidates before and after the 2016 president election. There is a significant difference in female participation in the primaries before and after the 2016 presidential election.

Data Sources

Multiple data sources were needed to conduct my research. The Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, was one of the primary sources of information for this dissertation. The CAWP gathers and publishes a great deal of information about women in politics at all levels of government. Additionally, many of the top scholars in this particular area of political science are located at the CAWP.

Each state conducts its own elections. As such, the voting procedures, requirements, etc. vary from one state to the next. Additionally, the government agency responsible for monitoring elections is not the same. Some states use the Secretary of State while others have a board or commission. Individual general and primary election return data were collected on a state by state basis through the requisite agency.

The National Conference of State Legislatures is also an excellent source of information regarding individual state legislatures, their institution structures and election processes. The NCSL regularly gathers large amounts of data about state legislatures. This information is publically available.

Additional sources of information include the National Governors Association, the U.S. Census Bureau and individual media sources. Each state is unique. While individuality can certainly be a positive, it does make states difficult to study.

CHAPTER 3

GUBERNATORIAL RACES WITH A FEMALE INCUMBENT

The power of incumbency is a well-established fact in American politics. Incumbents are reelected at high rates and the office of governor is no exception. Even with this high rate of reelection, however, there is never a shortage of candidates. As such, I argue that the existence of an incumbent is not a reasonable deterrent for a possible female candidate. However, there is a significant lack of women present in the primaries in gubernatorial races in general and specifically before the 2016 presidential race. The lowest numbers are seen when a female incumbent is present.

As previously stated, no sitting female governor has had a female major party challenger. However, this does not mean that women have not sought out the major party nomination on either side, incumbent or challenger party. Evaluating the primary races of both parties involving female incumbents provides further insight into my hypotheses. Although no female has been successful in gaining the nomination, candidates have been a part of the primary field.

Every election cycle is different. As such, I evaluate each case of a female major party incumbent separately. I include Governor Ray in the following group because she did run as an incumbent although she lost in the primary and did not appear as a major party candidate in the general election. I also focus on the Republican and Democratic Parties. Third parties, independent candidates and write-ins are excluded. As a result, some percentages do not add up to one hundred.

TABLE 3.1: Female Major Party Incumbent Candidates

Incumbent	Year	State	Party
Ella Grasso	1978	Connecticut	Democrat
Dixy Lee Ray*	1980	Washington	Democrat
Madeleine Kunin	1986	Vermont	Democrat
Madeleine Kunin	1988	Vermont	Democrat
Kay Orr	1990	Nebraska	Republican
Ann Richards	1994	Texas	Democrat
Christine Todd Whitman	1997	New Jersey	Republican
Jane Dee Hull	1998	Arizona	Republican
Jeanne Shaheen	1998	New Hampshire	Democrat
Jeanne Shaheen	2000	New Hampshire	Democrat
Ruth Ann Minner	2004	Delaware	Democrat
Janet Napolitano	2006	Arizona	Democrat
M. Jodi Rell	2006	Connecticut	Republican
Linda Lingle	2006	Hawaii	Republican
Kathleen Sebelius	2006	Kansas	Democrat
Jennifer Granholm	2006	Michigan	Democrat
Christine Gergoire	2008	Washington	Democrat
Jan Brewer	2010	Arizona	Republican
Maggie Hassan	2014	New Hampshire	Democrat
Susana Martinez	2014	New Mexico	Republican
Mary Fallin	2014	Oklahoma	Republican
Nikki Haley	2014	South Carolina	Republican
Kate Brown	2016	Oregon	Democrat
Kay Ivey	2018	Alabama	Republican
Kim Reynolds	2018	Iowa	Republican
Kate Brown	2018	Oregon	Democrat
Gina Raimondo	2018	Rhode Island	Democrat

* Defeated in the primary.

Governor Ella Grasso (Table 3.2) was the first woman to be elected governor in her own right in 1974. As such, she was also the first woman to run as an incumbent. She

TABLE 3.2: Connecticut Gubernatorial Election 1978

Election	Election Results
General Election	Ella Grasso – 59.21% Ronald Sarasin – 40.79%
Democratic Primary	Ella Grasso – 67.33% Robert Killian – 32.67%
Republican Primary	No Republican Primary

Source: Connecticut Secretary of State

drew one challenger in the Democratic Primary, but was successful in winning reelection.

There was no Republican Primary and no additional female candidates were present.

As previously stated, Governor Dixy Lee Ray (Table 3.3) was not successful in winning reelection. Seven candidates ran in the Democratic Primary and Governor Ray finished second. Six candidates ran in the Republican Primary. Although they each received less than one percent of the vote, two additional female candidates were present. Caroline (Hope) Diamond woman ran as a Democrat and Louise Saluteen ran as a Republican. Also note that Washington State used a blanket primary system in 1980.

TABLE 3.3: Washington Gubernatorial Election 1980

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jim McDermott – 43.32% John Spellman – 56.68%
Democratic Primary	Robert Baldwin Sr. – 0.37% Douglas Bestle – 0.26% Caroline (Hope) Diamond – 0.43% Lloyd Isley – 0.28% Jef Jaisun – 0.15% Jim McDermott – 33.04% Dixy Lee Ray – 24.09%
Republican Primary	Duane Berentson – 15.91% Bruce Chapman – 7.29% Patrick Sean McGowan – 0.75% Louise Saluteen – 0.27% John Spellman – 16.70% Rabbine Matthew Sutich – 0.17%

Source: Washington Secretary of State

Governor Madeleine Kunin successfully ran for reelection in Vermont in 1986 (Table 3.4) and 1988 (Table 3.5). Governor Kunin ran unopposed in both primaries, as did her challengers. As such, no additional female candidates were present in either election cycle.

TABLE 3.4: Vermont Gubernatorial Election 1986

Election	Election Results
General Election	Madeleine Kunin – 47.01% Peter Smith – 38.25%
Democratic Primary	Madeleine Kunin ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Peter Smith ran unopposed.

Source: Vermont Secretary of State

TABLE 3.5: Vermont Gubernatorial Election 1988

Election	Election Results
General Election	Madeleine Kunin – 55.34% Michael Bernhard – 43.32%
Democratic Primary	Madeleine Kunin ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Michael Bernhard ran unopposed.

Source: Vermont Secretary of State

While Governor Dixy Lee Ray was the first female incumbent governor to lose in the primary, Governor Kay Orr (Table 3.6) was the first female incumbent governor to lose in the general election. No additional female candidates were present. It is also worth noting that the Office of Governor and the Office of Lieutenant Governor appeared together on the general election ballot. While elected separately in the primary phase, the

TABLE 3.6: Nebraska Gubernatorial Election 1990

Election	Election Results
General Election	Ben Nelson – 49.91% Kay Orr – 49.23%
Democratic Primary	Mike Boyle – 24.72% Don Eret – 0.78% Bill Harris – 18.90% Bill Hoppner – 26.70% Ben Nelson – 26.72% Rob Nimic – 0.43% Robert Prokop – 1.66%
Republican Primary	Kay Orr – 68.11% Mort Sullivan – 30.92%

Source: Nebraska Secretary of State

two offices were combined in the general election. Theoretically, this could have impacted the results of the general election. I will note the presence of this circumstance in all elections.

While Governor Ann Richards (Table 3.7) defeated her primary challenger by a significant margin, she was ultimately unsuccessful in her bid for reelection against George Bush. No additional female candidates appeared in either primary.

TABLE 3.7: Texas Gubernatorial Election 1994

Election	Election Results
General Election	George Bush – 53.48% Ann Richards – 45.88%
Democratic Primary	Gary Espinoza – 22.21% Ann Richard – 77.79%
Republican Primary	George Bush – 93.32% Ray Hollis – 6.68%

Source: Texas Secretary of State

Governor Christine Todd Whitman (Table 3.8) was successful in winning reelection. She ran unopposed in the Republican Primary and there were no additional females candidates in the Democratic Primary.

TABLE 3.8: New Jersey Gubernatorial Election 1997

Election	Election Results
General Election	James McGreevey – 45.82% Christine Todd Whitman – 46.87%
Democratic Primary	Robert Andrews – 37.17% James McGreevey – 39.86% Michael Murphy – 21.30% Frank Marmo – 1.67%
Republican Primary	Christine Todd Whitman ran unopposed.

Source: New Jersey Secretary of State

Governor Jane Dee Hull (Table 3.9) was successful in winning her bid for reelection. She did, however, draw two challengers in the Republican Primary. Both of these challengers were men. Paul Johnson ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary.

TABLE 3.9: Arizona Gubernatorial Election 1998

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jane Dee Hull – 60.95% Paul Johnson – 35.53%
Democratic Primary	Paul Johnson ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Charles Brown – 10.23% Jim Howl – 13.25% Jane Dee Hull – 76.52%

Source: Arizona Secretary of State

Governor Jeanne Shaheen successfully ran for reelection in 1998 (Table 3.10) and 2000 (Table 3.11). She ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary in 1998 and had one challenger in 2000. Five candidates ran in each of the Republican Primaries. No additional female candidates were present in either election cycle.

TABLE 3.10: New Hampshire Gubernatorial Election 1998

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jay Lucas – 30.88% Jeanne Shaheen – 66.08%
Democratic Primary	Jeanne Shaheen ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Emile Beaulieu – 11.66% Fred Bramante – 19.66% Robert Kroepel – 1.51% Jay Lucas – 33.93% Jim Rubens – 30.71%

Source: New Hampshire Secretary of State

TABLE 3.11: New Hampshire Gubernatorial Election 2000

Election	Election Results
General Election	Gordon Humphrey – 43.76% Jeanne Shaheen – 48.74 %
Democratic Primary	Mark Fernald – 38.03% Jeanne Shaheen – 60.41%
Republican Primary	Fred Bramante – 2.39% Jeffrey Howard – 20.82% Gordon Humphrey – 51.86% Jim Marron – 0.56% Jim Squires – 22.59%

Source: New Hampshire Secretary of State

Governor Ruth Ann Minner (Table 3.12) ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary and was ultimately successful in her reelection bid. Three men ran in the Republican Primary.

TABLE 3.12: Delaware Gubernatorial Election 2004

Election	Election Results
General Election	William Lee – 45.79% Ruth Ann Minner – 50.87%
Democratic Primary	Ruth Ann Minner ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	David Graham – 5.96% William Swain Lee – 70.47% Michel D. Protack – 23.57%

Source: Delaware Secretary of State

Governor Janet Napolitano (Table 3.13) ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary and won her reelection campaign. Five men ran in the Republican Primary.

TABLE 3.13: Arizona Gubernatorial Election 2006

Election	Election Results
General Election	Len Munsil – 35.44% Janet Napolitano – 62.58%
Democratic Primary	Janet Napolitano ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Don Goldwater – 39.69% Mike Harris – 6.08% Steve Moore – 0.02% Len Munsil – 50.56% Gary Tupper – 3.65%

Source: Arizona Secretary of State

Governor M. Jodi Rell (Table 3.14) became governor after Governor John Rowland resigned in 2004. At the time, Rell was the Lieutenant Governor. Therefore, although technically an incumbent, 2006 was the first gubernatorial election Governor Rell ran in her own right. There was no Republican Primary and no additional female candidates were present in Democratic Primary. Additionally, the Office of Governor and the Office of Lieutenant Governor appeared together on the general election ballot.

TABLE 3.14: Connecticut Gubernatorial Election 2006

Election	Election Results
General Election	John DeStefano – 35.45% M. Jodi Rell – 63.20%
Democratic Primary	John DeStefano – 50.78% Dan Malloy – 49.22%
Republican Primary	No Republican Primary

Source: Connecticut Secretary of State

Governor Linda Lingle (Table 3.15) won reelection in Hawaii. Although she had three challengers in the Republican Primary, all three received very small voting percentages. All of these challengers were men as were all of the candidates in the Democratic Primary. Note that the Office of Governor and the Office of Lieutenant Governor appear separately in the primary election, but together on the general election ballot in Hawaii.

TABLE 3.15: Hawaii Gubernatorial Election 2006

Election	Election Results
General Election	Randy Iwase – 35.35% Linda Lingle – 62.53%
Democratic Primary	William Aila, Jr. – 24.46% Randy Iwase – 66.43% Van K. Tanabe – 9.10%
Republican Primary	George L. Berish – 0.92% Linda Lingle – 97.42% Paul Manner – 0.69% George Peabody – 1.00%

Source: State of Hawaii Office of Elections

Governor Kathleen Sebelius (Table 3.16) ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary and was easily reelected. Although there were seven male candidates, no female candidates were present in the Republican Primary. Unlike the previous states in which the Office of Governor and the Office of Lieutenant Governor appeared together on the general election ballot, there is no primary election for the Office of Lieutenant Governor

in Kansas. The governor chooses a running mate much like the Vice President of the United States.

TABLE 3.16: Kansas Gubernatorial Election 2006

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jim Barnett – 40.44% Kathleen Sebelius – 57.90%
Democratic Primary	Kathleen Sebelius ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Jim Barnett – 36.18% Ken R. Canfield – 26.44% Rex Crowell – 4.47% Dennis Hawver – 3.43% Robin Jennison – 21.97% Timothy V. Pickell – 5.39% Richard Rodewald – 2.13%

Source: Kansas Secretary of State

Governor Jennifer Granholm (Table 3.17) ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary and won reelection. Dick DeVos ran unopposed in the Republican Primary as well.

TABLE 3.17: Michigan Gubernatorial Election 2006

Election	Election Results
General Election	Dick DeVos – 42.30% Jennifer Granholm – 56.36%
Democratic Primary	Jennifer Granholm ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Dick DeVos ran unopposed.

Source: Michigan Secretary of State

Governor Christine Gergoire (Table 3.18) received the largest percentage of the vote in the primary and ultimately won reelection. It is important to note that Washington is now using a Top Two Primary System. In this particular type of primary system, candidates do not register by party. The top two candidates, regardless of party preference, move on to the general election. No additional female candidates were present.

TABLE 3.18: Washington Gubernatorial Election 2008

Election	Election Results
General Election	Christine Gergoire – 53.24% Dino Rossi – 46.76%
Top Two Primary	John Aiken, Jr. – 1.49% Duff Badgley – 0.67% Will Baker – 0.36% Christine Gregoire – 48.27% Christian Pierre Joubert – 1.15% Javier Lopez – 0.35% Dino Rossi – 46.35% Mohammad Hasan Said – 0.21% Christopher Tudor – 0.39% James White – 0.75%

Source: Washington Secretary of State

Governor Jan Brewer (Table 3.19) became governor after Governor Janet Napolitano resigned in 2009. Governor Napolitano became the Secretary of Homeland Security. At the time, Brewer was the Secretary of State. Therefore, although technically the incumbent, 2010 was the first gubernatorial election Governor Brewer ran in in her own right. Governor Brewer won reelection and no additional female candidates were present.

TABLE 3.19: Arizona Gubernatorial Election 2010

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jan Brewer – 54.33% Terry Goddard – 42.43%
Democratic Primary	Terry Goddard ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Jan Brewer – 81.80% Matthew Jette – 3.35% Dean Martin – 6.15% Buz Mills – 8.71%

Source: Arizona Secretary of State

Governor Maggie Hassan (Table 3.20) won reelection, but drew challengers from both parties. Most notably, Hassan drew a female challenger in the Democratic Primary. However, Clecia Terrio received less than 2% of the vote.

TABLE 3.20: New Hampshire Gubernatorial Election 2014

Election	Election Results
General Election	Maggie Hassan – 52.38% Walt Havenstein – 47.43%
Democratic Primary	Ian Freeman – 4.08% Maggie Hassan – 93.08% Clecia Terrio – 1.67%
Republican Primary	Daniel J. Greene – 4.72% Walt Havenstein – 55.31% Andrew Hemingway – 37.01% Jonathan Smolin – 2.31%

Source: New Hampshire Secretary of State

Governor Susana Martinez (Table 3.21) ran unopposed in the Republican Primary and was successful in her reelection bid. However, seven candidates ran in the Democratic Primary, including one woman. Although Linda Lopez received 8.21% of the vote, she was only the fifth highest voter getter. Additionally, the Office of Governor and the Office of Lieutenant Governor appeared together on the general election ballot. While elected separately in the primary phase, the two offices are combined in the general election.

TABLE 3.21: New Mexico Gubernatorial Election 2014

Election	Election Results
General Election	Gary King – 42.78% Susana Martinez – 57.22%
Democratic Primary	Phillip Chavez – 0.00% Gary King – 35.03% Linda Lopez – 8.21% Mario Martinez – 0.01% Howie Morales – 14.25% Lawrence Rael – 19.84% Alan Webber – 22.66%
Republican Primary	Susana Martinez ran unopposed.

Source: New Mexico Secretary of State

Although Governor Mary Fallin (Table 3.22) did face two challengers in the Republican Primary, she was ultimately successful in winning reelection. No additional

female candidates were present in her primary and no Democratic Primary was held for the Office of Governor.

TABLE 3.22: Oklahoma Gubernatorial Election 2014

Election	Election Results
General Election	Joe Dorman – 41.01% Mary Fallin – 55.80%
Democratic Primary	No Democratic Primary
Republican Primary	Dax Ewbank – 9.07% Mary Fallin – 75.52% Chad Moody – 15.42%

Source: Oklahoma State Election Board

Governor Nikki Haley (Table 3.23) was successful in her reelection bid. No primary was held for either party and thus no additional female candidates were present.

TABLE 3.23: South Carolina Gubernatorial Election 2014

Election	Election Results
General Election	Nikki Haley -55.90% Vincent Sheheen – 41.42%
Democratic Primary	No Democratic Primary
Republican Primary	No Republican Primary

Source: South Carolina State Election Commission

Governor Kate Brown (Table 3.24) became governor after Governor John Kitzhaber resigned. At the time, Brown was the Secretary of State. Therefore, although technically the incumbent, 2016 was the first gubernatorial election Governor Brown ran in in her own right. Additionally, the gubernatorial election was for a 2-year term. Another election would occur in 2018 for a full 4-year term.

Governor Kate Brown drew five challengers in the Democratic Primary, but was ultimately successful in her reelection bid. Five candidates appeared in the Republican Primary. No additional female candidates were present.

TABLE 3.24: Oregon Gubernatorial Election 2016

Election	Election Results
General Election	Kate Brown – 50.62% Bud Pierce – 43.45%
Democratic Primary	Julian Bell – 8.27% Kate Brown – 83.03% Chet Chance – 0.95% Kevin Forsythe – 1.70% Steve Johnson – 2.24% Dave Stauffer – 2.70%
Republican Primary	Allen Alley – 28.79% Bruce Cuff – 11.58% Bob Forthan – 1.19% Bob Niemeyer – 9.93% Bud Pierce – 47.66%

Source: Oregon Secretary of State

Governor Kay Ivey (Table 3.25) became governor after Governor Robert Bentley resigned. At the time, Brown was the Lieutenant Governor. Therefore, although technically the incumbent, 2018 was the first gubernatorial election Governor Ivey ran in her own right. She drew three challengers in the Republican Primary. Six candidates ran in the Democratic Primary. For the first time against a female incumbent, a woman was

TABLE 3.25: Alabama Gubernatorial Election 2018

Election	Election Results
General Election	Kay Ivey – 59.46% Walt Madox – 40.39%
Democratic Primary	Sue Bell Cobb – 28.99% Christopher Countryman – 1.74% James Fields – 8.00% Walt Madox – 54.58% Doug Smith – 3.27% Anthony White – 3.43%
Republican Primary	Tommy Battle – 24.92% Scott Dawson – 13.45% Bill Hightower – 4.97% Kay Ivey – 56.10% Michael McAllister – 0.56%

Source: Alabama Secretary of State

one of the top two vote getters in the primary phase. In this case, it was in the opposing party's primary. Sue Bell Cobb received 28.99% of the vote. Governor Ivey easily won reelection.

Governor Kim Reynolds (Table 3.26) ran unopposed in the Republican Primary. However, six candidates ran in the Democratic Primary, including two women. Andrea McGuire received 5.15% of the vote and Cathy Glasson one of the top two vote getters with 20.15%. Once again, this high level of competitiveness was found in the opposing party's primary. Governor Reynolds was ultimately successful in her reelection bid.

TABLE 3.26: Iowa Gubernatorial Election 2018

Election	Election Results
General Election	Kim Reynolds – 50.01% Fred Hubbell – 47.29%
Democratic Primary	Nate Boulton – 4.97% Cathy Glasson – 20.15% Fred Hubbell – 54.31% Andrea McGuire – 5.15% John Norris – 11.22% Ross Wilburn – 2.12%
Republican Primary	Kim Reynolds ran unopposed.

Source: Iowa Secretary of State

Governor Kate Brown (Table 3.27) drew two challengers, including one female, in the Democratic Primary in her second election as an incumbent. Candace Neville received 7.35% of the vote. Ten candidates ran in the Republican Primary. However, seven of the candidates did not even receive two percent of the vote. Governor Brown was ultimately successful in her reelection bid.

Governor Gina Raimondo (Table 3.28) drew two challengers in the Democratic Primary, but was ultimately successful in her reelection bid. Three candidates ran in the

Republican Primary, including another woman. Patricia L. Morgan was the second highest vote getter in that primary with 40.10% of the vote.

TABLE 3.27: Oregon Gubernatorial Election 2018

Election	Election Results
General Election	Kate Brown – 50.05% Knut Buehler – 43.65%
Democratic Primary	Kate Brown – 81.95% Ed Jones – 8.45% Candace Neville – 7.35%
Republican Primary	Keenan W. Bohach – 0.25% Knut Buehler – 45.90% Sam Carpenter – 28.85% Bruce Cuff – 1.55% Johnathan I. Edwards, III – 0.27% Brett Hyland – 0.24% Jeff Smith – 1.49% David W. Stauffer – 0.67% Jack W. Tacy – 0.16% Greg C. Wooldridge – 20.08%

Source: Oregon Secretary of State

TABLE 3.28: Rhode Island Gubernatorial Election 2018

Election	Election Results
General Election	Allan Fung – 37.18% Gina Raimondo – 52.64%
Democratic Primary	Matthew Brown – 33.53% Spencer Dickinson – 9.32% Gina Raimondo – 57.15%
Republican Primary	Giovanni Feroce – 3.50% Allan W. Fung – 56.40% Patricia L. Morgan – 40.10%

Source: State of Rhode Island Board of Elections

Before the 2016 presidential election, a total of four female challengers appeared in either the Republican or Democratic Primary to unseat an incumbent female governor. Only two appeared before 2014. In 2018, there were five female challengers. In a single year, the number of female challengers exceeded the total of all of the previous elections combined.

Not only were there more female challengers, these women were also more competitive. Before 2018, no female challengers were competitive or finished in the top two in their respective primaries. In three of the four states with female challengers in 2018, a woman finished in the top two of her respective primary. This is a significant change from the previous trend. I argue that these findings provide support for both of my hypotheses. The presence of a female governor discourages female challengers and the

TABLE 3.29: Elections with Female Incumbents and Female Challengers

Incumbent	Year	State	Female Challenger Present
Ella Grasso	1978	Connecticut	No
Dixy Lee Ray	1980	Washington	Two with 0.43% and 0.27%
Madeleine Kunin	1986	Vermont	No
Madeleine Kunin	1988	Vermont	No
Kay Orr	1990	Nebraska	No
Ann Richards	1994	Texas	No
Christine Todd Whitman	1997	New Jersey	No
Jane Dee Hull	1998	Arizona	No
Jeanne Shaheen	1998	New Hampshire	No
Jeanne Shaheen	2000	New Hampshire	No
Ruth Ann Minner	2004	Delaware	No
Janet Napolitano	2006	Arizona	No
M. Jodi Rell	2006	Connecticut	No
Linda Lingle	2006	Hawaii	No
Kathleen Sebelius	2006	Kansas	No
Jennifer Granholm	2006	Michigan	No
Christine Gergoire	2008	Washington	No
Jan Brewer	2010	Arizona	No
Maggie Hassan	2014	New Hampshire	One with 1.67%
Susana Martinez	2014	New Mexico	One with 8.21%
Mary Fallin	2014	Oklahoma	No
Nikki Haley	2014	South Carolina	No
Kate Brown	2016	Oregon	No
Kay Ivey	2018	Alabama	One with 28.99%
Kim Reynolds	2018	Iowa	Two with 20.15% and 5.15%
Kate Brown	2018	Oregon	One with 7.35%
Gina Raimondo	2018	Rhode Island	One with 40.10%

presence of a female major party candidate in the 2016 presidential election has increased the levels of ambition for possible female gubernatorial candidates.

The conclusion of the 2022 election cycle will provide the next test of my hypotheses. Only then will there be another complete data set including all fifty states. I argue that this trend will continue. The way that individuals view women in executive office as well as the way that women view themselves in executive office is evolving. Women are breaking the barrier to competition. As women become more comfortable running for executive office, they will also become more comfortable running against other women for executive office.

CHAPTER 4

GUBERNATORIAL RACES WITH A MALE INCUMBENT AND A FEMALE CHALLENGER

Thirty-six women have appeared as major party challengers against sitting incumbent governors. As previously stated, every single one of these incumbents was a man. Additionally, the number of female major party challengers has remained stagnant, even decreasing, after the higher numbers seen in the 1990s. This does not mean that women haven't attempted to win in the nomination of their party. They just have not been successful.

These races provide further insight into female gubernatorial candidates and a direct comparison to races involving a female incumbent. While there are other races with female challengers, women have been the most successful in these races. They won their party primary and went on to challenge the incumbent in the general election. Some women were even successful in taking over the Governor's Mansion.

Once again, every election cycle is different. As such, I evaluate each case of a male major party incumbent with a female challenger separately. I also focus on the Republican and Democratic Parties. Third parties, independent candidates and write-ins are excluded. As a result, some percentages do not add up to one hundred.

Governor Marvin Mandel (Table 4.2) drew three challengers, but easily won the Democratic Primary. Louise Gore defeated one opponent in the Republican Primary, but

TABLE 4.1: Male Incumbents with Female Challengers

Incumbent	Challenger	State	Year
Marvin Mandel (D)	Louise Gore (R)	Maryland	1974
Mike O' Callaghan (D)	Shirley Crumpler (R)	Nevada	1974
Richard Snelling (R)	Madeleine Kuhn (D)	Vermont	1982
William O'Neill (D)	Julie Belaga (R)	Connecticut	1986
Richard Bryan (D)	Patty Cafferata (R)	Nevada	1986
John Ashcroft (R)	Betty Hearnese (D)	Missouri	1988
Mike Hayden (R)	Joan Finney (D)	Kansas	1990
Bob Casey (D)	Barbara Hafer (R)	Pennsylvania	1990
Michael Sullivan (D)	Mary Mead (R)	Wyoming	1990
Bruce Sundlun (D)	Elizabeth Ann Leonard (R)	Rhode Island	1992
Jim Florio (D)	Christine Todd Whitman (R)	New Jersey	1993
Pete Wilson (R)	Kathleen Brown (D)	California	1994
Terry E. Bradstad (R)	Bonnie J. Campbell (D)	Iowa	1994
Jim Edgar (R)	Dawn Clark Netsch (D)	Illinois	1994
Thomas Carper (D)	Janet Rzewnicki (R)	Delaware	1996
Mel Carnahan (D)	Margaret Kelly (R)	Missouri	1996
Marc Racicot (R)	Judy Jacobson (D)	Montana	1996
John G. Rowland (R)	Barbara Kennelly (D)	Connecticut	1998
Ben Cayetano (D)	Linda Crockett Lingle (R)	Hawaii	1998
Parris N. Glendening (D)	Ellen Sauerbrey (R)	Maryland	1998
Frank Keating (R)	Laura Boyd (D)	Oklahoma	1998
Lincoln C. Almond (R)	Myrth York (D)	Rhode Island	1998
Howard Dean (D)	Ruth Dwyer (R)	Vermont	1998
Paul E. Patton (D)	Peppy Martin (R)	Kentucky	1999
Howard Dean (D)	Ruth Dwyer (R)	Vermont	2000
Mike Huckabee (R)	Jimmie Lou Fisher (D)	Arkansas	2002
Bob Riley (R)	Lucy Baxley (D)	Alabama	2006
Rod Blagojevich (D)	Judy Baar Topinka (R)	Illinois	2006
Mitch Daniels (R)	Jill Long Thompson (D)	Indiana	2008
Jim Douglas (R)	Gaye Symington (D)	Vermont	2008
Dennis Daugaard (R)	Susan Wisner (D)	South Dakota	2014
Scott Walker (R)	Mary Burke (D)	Wisconsin	2014
David Ige (D)	Andria P.L. Tupola (R)	Hawaii	2018
Chris Sununu (R)	Molly M. Kelly (D)	New Hampshire	2018
Greg Abbott (R)	Lupe Valdez (D)	Texas	2018
Phil Scott (R)	Christine Hallquist (D)	Vermont	2018

went on to lose in general election. No additional female challengers were present. In

Maryland, candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor appear together in both the primary and general elections.

TABLE 4.2: Maryland Gubernatorial Election 1974

Election	Election Results
General Election	Louise Gore – 36.50% Marvin Mandel (I) – 63.50%
Democratic Primary	Morgan L. Amaimo – 4.89% Wilson K. Barnes – 25.01% Howard L. Gates – 4.41% Marvin Mandel (I) – 65.68%
Republican Primary	Louise Gore – 53.60% Lawrence J. Hogan – 46.40%

Source: Maryland Secretary of State

Governor Mike O’Callaghan (Table 4.3) drew five challengers in the Democratic Primary, but defeated them all by a significant margin. Shirley Crumpler defeated three opponents in the Republican Primary, but lost in the general election. One additional female challenger was present in the primary against Governor O’Callaghan. Olga Bond Covelli received 2.11% of the vote.

TABLE 4.3: Nevada Gubernatorial Election 1974

Election	Election Results
General Election	Shirley Crumpler – 17.10% Mike O’Callaghan (I) – 67.38%
Democratic Primary	Olga Bond Covelli – 2.11% Mike O’Callaghan (I) – 90.85% Harry E. Springer – 4.22% Ken Varndell – 0.53% Albert D. Viller – 0.49% Eugene R. Welsh – 1.81%
Republican Primary	William E. Bickerstaff – 39.48% Ryall Bowker – 4.11% Gilbert D. Buck – 6.96% Shirley Crumpler – 49.45%

Source: Nevada Secretary of State

Governor Richard Snelling (Table 4.4) ran unopposed in his primary bid for reelection. Madeleine M. Kunin defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary, but lost the in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.4: Vermont Gubernatorial Election 1982

Election	Election Results
General Election	Madeleine M. Kunin – 43.95% Richard Snelling (I) – 55.01%
Democratic Primary	Madeleine M. Kunin – 90.60% Clifford Thompson – 8.12%
Republican Primary	Richard Snelling ran unopposed.

Source: Vermont Secretary of State

Governor William O'Neill (Table 4.5) defeated Julie Belaga in the general election. In Connecticut, the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor appear separately in the primary election, but together in the general election. Additionally, according to the Office of the Connecticut Secretary of State, the primary results are not available. The Statement of Vote only includes the general election. As such, I cannot be certain if additional female candidates appeared in either primary or if primaries took place at all.

TABLE 4.5: Connecticut Gubernatorial Election 1986

Election	Election Results
General Election	Julie D. Belaga – 41.11% William A. O'Neill (I) – 57.93%
Democratic Primary	Unknown
Republican Primary	Unknown

Source: Connecticut Secretary of State

Governor Richard H. Bryan (Table 4.6) drew one challenger in the Democratic Primary and won by a significant margin. Patty Cafferata defeated four opponents in the Republican Primary, but lost in the general election. One of Cafferata's opponents was also a female. Marcia J. Wines received 10.54% of the vote.

Governor John Ashcroft (Table 4.7) ran unopposed in the Republican Primary. Betty C. Hearnese defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.6: Nevada Gubernatorial Election 1986

Election	Election Results
General Election	Richard H. Bryan (I) – 73.47% Patty Cafferata – 25.53%
Democratic Primary	Richard H. Bryan (I) – 83.92% Herb Tobman – 16.08%
Republican Primary	Patty Cafferata – 59.17% Jim Stone – 23.15% “Smokey” Stover – 4.21% Robert A. Swartz – 2.93% Marcia J. Wines – 10.54%

Source: Nevada Secretary of State

TABLE 4.7: Missouri Gubernatorial Election 1988

Election	Election Results
General Election	John Ashcroft (I) – 64.22% Betty C. Hearnnes – 34.75%
Democratic Primary	Betty C. Hearnnes – 81.47% Lavoy Read – 18.35%
Republican Primary	John Ashcroft ran unopposed.

Source: Missouri Secretary of State

As noted in Chapter 3, the gubernatorial candidates in Kansas run for election with running mates. They appear together in both the primary and the general election. Governor Mike Hayden (Table 4.8) drew five challengers in the Republican Primary.

TABLE 4.8: Kansas Gubernatorial Election 1990

Election	Election Results
General Election	Joan Finney – 48.59% Mike Hayden (I) – 42.59%
Democratic Primary	John Carlin – 46.11% Joan Finney – 47.18%
Republican Primary	J. H. (Jack) Beemont – 1.23% Mike Hayden (I) – 44.73% Louis Klemp – 1.36% Harold Knight – 1.03% Richard Peckham – 9.38% Nestor Weigand – 42.26%

Source: Kansas Secretary of State

Joan Finney narrowly defeated one opponent in the Democratic Party. She then went to win the general election. Finney was the first female challenger to defeat an incumbent governor. No additional female challengers were present.

Governor Robert Casey (Table 4.9) drew one challenger in the Republican Party and beat him by a significant margin. Barbara Hafer defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary. This opponent was also a woman, meaning that the entire primary was female. Hafer then lost in the general election.

TABLE 4.9: Pennsylvania Gubernatorial Election 1990

Election	Election Results
General Election	Robert P. Casey (I) – 67.65% Barbara Hafer – 32.35%
Democratic Primary	Barbara Hafer – 54.43% Marguerite A. Luksik – 45.57%
Republican Primary	Philip J. Berg – 22.46% Robert P. Casey (I) – 77.54%

Source: Pennsylvania Department of State

Governor Mike Sullivan (Table 4.10) drew one challenger in the Democratic Primary and beat him by a significant margin. Mary Mead defeated one opponent in the Republican Primary. This opponent was also a woman, meaning that, once again, the entire primary was female. Mead then lost in the general election.

TABLE 4.10: Wyoming Gubernatorial Election 1990

Election	Election Results
General Election	Mary Mead – 34.65% Mike Sullivan (I) – 65.35%
Democratic Primary	Ron Clingman – 11.56% Mike Sullivan (I) – 88.44%
Republican Primary	Mary Mead – 67.24% Nyla A. Murphy – 32.75%

Source: Wyoming Secretary of State

Governor Bruce Sundlun (Table 4.11) drew one challenger in the Democratic Primary. Elizabeth Ann Leonard defeated one challenger in the Republican Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.11: Rhode Island Gubernatorial Election 1992

Election	Election Results
General Election	Elizabeth Ann Leonard – 34.27% Bruce Sundlin (I) – 61.55%
Democratic Primary	Francis X. Flaherty – 47.77% Bruce Sundlun (I) – 52.23%
Republican Primary	Elizabeth Ann Leonard – 52.10% J. Michael Levesque – 47.90%

Source: Rhode Island Board of Elections

Governor Jim Florio (Table 4.12) ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary. Christine Todd Whitman defeated four opponents in the Republican Primary. She then went on to defeat incumbent Governor Jim Florio and become governor. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.12: New Jersey Gubernatorial Election 1993

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jim Florio (I) – 48.29% Christine Todd Whitman – 49.33%
Democratic Primary	Jim Florio ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Cary Edwards – 32.91% J. Patrick Gilligan – 1.43% Charles P. Hoffman – 1.67% Jim Walkwork – 24.02% Christine Todd Whitman – 39.96%

Source: New Jersey Division of Elections

Governor Pete Wilson (Table 4.13) drew four challengers in the Republican Primary and defeated them all by a significant margin. Kathleen Brown defeated five opponents in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.13: California Gubernatorial Election 1994

Election	Election Results
General Election	Kathleen Brown – 40.62% Pete Wilson (I) – 55.18%
Democratic Primary	Kathleen Brown – 48.38% Mark Calney – 0.92% John Garamendi – 32.93% Tom Hayden – 13.89% Charles Pineda Jr. – 2.50% Jonathan Trip – 1.38%
Republican Primary	Louis D’Arrigo – 2.11% Jim Hart – 2.14% Ron K. Unz – 34.31% Pete Wilson (I) – 61.44% Mike Eagles – 0.00%

Source: California Secretary of State

Governor Terry E. Branstad (4.14) drew one challenger in the Republican Primary. Bonnie J. Campbell defeated two opponents in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.14: Iowa Gubernatorial Election 1994

Election	Election Results
General Election	Terry E. Branstad (I) – 56.80% Bonnie J. Campbell – 41.56%
Democratic Primary	Bonnie J. Campbell – 77.71% Darold Powers – 2.47% William J. Reichardt – 19.19%
Republican Primary	Terry E. Branstad (I) – 51.80% Fred Grandy – 48.13%

Source: Iowa Secretary of State

Governor Jim Edgar (Table 4.15) drew one challenger in the Republican Primary. Dawn Clark Netsch defeated four opponents in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. One of Netsch’s opponents was also a woman. Sheila A. Jones received 2.11% of the vote. In Illinois, the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor appear separately in the primary election, but together in the general election.

TABLE 4.15: Illinois Gubernatorial Election 1994

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jim Edgar (I) – 63.87% Dawn Clark Netsch – 34.43%
Democratic Primary	Roland W. Burris – 36.49% James Elroy Gierach – 2.43% Sheila A. Jones – 2.11% Dawn Clark Netsch – 44.34% Richard Phelan – 14.61%
Republican Primary	Jim Edgar (I) – 75.01% Jack Roeser – 24.98%

Source: Illinois State Board of Elections

Governor Thomas R. Carper (Table 4.16) defeated challenger Janet C. Rzewnicki by a significant margin to win reelection. Neither party held a primary and thus no additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.16: Delaware Gubernatorial Election 1996

Election	Election Results
General Election	Thomas R. Carper (I) – 69.50% Janet C. Rzewnicki – 30.50%
Democratic Primary	No Democratic Primary
Republican Primary	No Republican Primary

Source: Delaware Department of Elections

TABLE 4.17: Missouri Gubernatorial Election 1996

Election	Election Results
General Election	Mel Carnahan (I) – 57.17% Margaret Kelly – 40.43%
Democratic Primary	Mel Carnahan (I) – 81.61% Nicholas Clement – 3.51% Edwin W. Howald – 7.02% Ruth Redel – 7.86%
Republican Primary	David Andrew Brown – 6.64% Lester W. Duggan Jr. – 5.12% Margaret Kelly – 77.73% John M. Swenson – 10.51%

Source: Missouri Secretary of State

Governor Mel Carnahan (Table 4.17) drew three opponents in the Democratic Primary. Margaret Kelly defeated three opponents in the Republican Primary by a significant margin. However, she did not win the general election. Carnahan drew an additional female challenger as a part of his primary field. Ruth Redel received 7.86% of the vote.

In Montana (Table 4.18), the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor appear together in both the primary and general elections. Judy Jacobson ran as the running mate to Chet Blaylock in the Democratic Primary. However, Blaylock died before the general election and Jacobson took his place on the ballot. Governor Marc Racicot easily won reelection and no additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.18: Montana Gubernatorial Election 1996

Election	Election Results
General Election	Judy Jacobson – 20.83% Marc Racicot (I) – 79.17%
Democratic Primary	Chet Blaylock – 74.61% Bob Kelleher – 25.39%
Republican Primary	Rob Natelson – 23.63% Marc Racicot (I) – 76.37%

Source: Montana Secretary of State

Governor John G. Rowland (Table 4.19) defeated challenger Barbara B. Kennelly by a significant margin in the general election. Neither party held a primary and thus no

TABLE 4.19: Connecticut Gubernatorial Election 1998

Election	Election Results
General Election	Barbara B. Kennelly – 35.44% John G. Rowland (I) – 62.90%
Democratic Primary	No Democratic Primary
Republican Primary	No Republican Primary

Source: Connecticut Secretary of State

additional female challengers were present. In Connecticut, the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor appear separately in the primary election, but together in the general election.

Governor Ben Cayetano (Table 4.20) drew five challengers in the Democratic Primary and beat them all by a significant margin. Linda Lingle defeated one opponent in the Republican Primary. She then narrowly lost the general election. No additional female challengers were present. Once again, the Office of the Governor and the Office of the Lieutenant Governor appear separately in the primary election, but together on the general election ballot in Hawaii.

TABLE 4.20: Hawaii Gubernatorial Election 1998

Election	Election Results
General Election	Ben Cayetano (I) – 50.11% Linda Lingle – 48.82%
Democratic Primary	Jim Brewer – 5.56% Ben Cayetano (I) – 86.40% Richard C. Ho – 2.73% Raymond N. Onaga – 1.49% Miles F. Shiratori – 1.35% Fred K. Tamura – 2.47%
Republican Primary	Frank F. Fasi – 69.22% Linda Lingle – 30.78%

Source: State of Hawaii Office of Elections

Governor Parris N. Glendening (Table 4.21) drew three challengers in the Democratic Primary and beat them all by a significant margin. Ellen R. Sauerbrey defeated one opponent in the Republican Primary, but lost in the general election. One of Glendening's challengers was a woman and received the second largest percentage of votes. Eileen M. Rehrmann received 13.41% of the vote. In Maryland, candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor appear together in both the primary and general elections.

TABLE 4.21: Maryland Gubernatorial Election 1998

Election	Election Results
General Election	Parris N. Glendening (I) – 55.14% Ellen R. Sauerbrey – 44.82%
Democratic Primary	Lawrence K. Freeman – 5.61% Parris N. Glendening (I) – 70.09% Terence McGuire – 10.89% Eileen M. Rehrmann – 13.41%
Republican Primary	Charles I. Ecker – 18.97% Ellen R. Sauerbrey – 81.03%

Source: Maryland State Board of Elections

Laura Boyd (Table 4.22) defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election to Governor Frank Keating. No Republican Primary was held and no additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.22: Oklahoma Gubernatorial Election 1998

Election	Election Results
General Election	Laura Boyd – 40.93% Frank Keating (I) – 57.86%
Democratic Primary	Laura Boyd – 60.24% James Hagar – 39.76%
Republican Primary	No Republican Primary

Source: Oklahoma State Election Board

Governor Lincoln C. Almond (Table 4.23) ran unopposed in the Republican Primary. Myrth York defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.23: Rhode Island Gubernatorial Election 1998

Election	Election Results
General Election	Lincoln C. Almond (I) – 50.98% Myrth York – 42.14%
Democratic Primary	Jack Dennison Potter – 17.11% Myrth York – 82.89%
Republican Primary	Lincoln C. Almond ran unopposed.

Source: Rhode Island Board of Elections

Governor Howard Dean (Table 4.24) ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary. Ruth Dwyer defeated one opponent in the Republican Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.24: Vermont Gubernatorial Election 1998

Election	Election Results
General Election	Howard Dean (I) – 55.67% Ruth Dwyer – 41.14%
Democratic Primary	Howard Dean ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Ruth Dwyer – 57.54% Bernie Rome – 40.35%

Source: Vermont Secretary of State

Governor Paul E. Patton (Table 4.25) ran unopposed in the Democratic Primary. Peppy Martin defeated one opponent in the Republican Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present. In Kentucky, the candidates for the Office of Governor and Lieutenant Governor appear together in the both the primary and the general election.

TABLE 4.25: Kentucky Gubernatorial Election 1999

Election	Election Results
General Election	Peppy Martin – 22.20% Paul E. Patton (I) – 60.70%
Democratic Primary	Paul E. Patton ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Peppy Martin – 51.27% David Lynn Williams – 48.73%

Source: Kentucky State Board of Elections

Although Governor Howard Dean (Table 4.26) and Ruth Dwyer both had primary opponents in 2000, the 2000 gubernatorial general election looked very similar to the 1998 gubernatorial general election in Vermont. Governor Dean won both general elections by similar point spreads. However, Dwyer did close the gap somewhat in 2000. Once again, no additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.26: Vermont Gubernatorial Election 2000

Election	Election Results
General Election	Howard Dean – 50.45% Ruth Dwyer – 37.95%
Democratic Primary	Howard Dean – 84.39% Brian Pearl – 11.72%
Republican Primary	Ruth Dwyer – 57.85% William Meub – 41.09%

Source: Vermont Secretary of State

Governor Mike Huckabee (Table 4.27) drew one challenger in the Republican Primary. Jimmie Lou Fisher defeated two opponents in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.27: Arkansas Gubernatorial Election 2002

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jimmie Lou Fisher – 46.96% Mike Huckabee (I) – 53.02%
Democratic Primary	Jim Billie – 9.12% Jimmie Lou Fisher – 63.11% Joe Holmes – 27.77%
Republican Primary	Doyle Cannady – 14.56% Mike Huckabee (I) – 85.44%

Source: Arkansas Secretary of State

TABLE 4.28: Alabama Gubernatorial Election 2006

Election	Election Results
General Election	Lucy Baxley – 41.57% Bob Riley (I) – 57.45%
Democratic Primary	Lucy Baxley – 58.98% Joe Copeland – 0.89% Harry Lyon – 0.53% Katherine Mack – 0.73% Nathan Mathis – 0.86% James Potts – 0.71% Don Siegelman – 36.44%
Republican Primary	Roy Moore – 33.34% Bob Riley (I) – 66.66%

Source: Alabama Secretary of State

Governor Bob Riley (Table 4.28) drew one challenger in the Republican Primary. Lucy Baxley defeated six opponents in the Democratic Primary by a significant margin, but lost in the general election. One of Baxley's opponents was also a woman. However, Katherine Mack only received 0.73% of the vote.

Governor Rod Blagojevich (Table 4.29) drew one opponent in the Democratic Primary. Judy Baar Topinka defeated four opponents in the Republican Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present. Once again, in Illinois, the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor appear separately in the primary election, but together in the general election.

TABLE 4.29: Illinois Gubernatorial Election 2006

Election	Election Results
General Election	Rod Blagojevich (I) – 49.79% Judy Baar Topinka – 39.26%
Democratic Primary	Rod Blagojevich (I) – 70.84% Edwin Eisendrath – 29.14%
Republican Primary	Bill Brady – 18.40% Ron Gidwitz – 10.88% Andy Martin – 0.83% Jim Oberweis – 31.74% Judy Baar Topinka – 38.15%

Source: Illinois State Board of Elections

TABLE 4.30: Indiana Gubernatorial Election 2008

Election	Election Results
General Election	Mitch Daniels (I) – 57.84% Jill Long Thompson – 40.04%
Democratic Primary	Jill Long Thompson – 50.60% Jim Schellinger – 49.40 %
Republican Primary	Mitch Daniels ran unopposed.

Source: Indiana Secretary of State

Governor Mitch Daniels (Table 4.30) ran unopposed in the Republican Primary. Jill Long Thompson narrowly defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary. However, she lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

Both Governor Jim Douglas (Table 4.31) and Gaye Symington ran unopposed in their respective primaries. Governor Douglas then defeated Symington in the general election.

TABLE 4.31: Vermont Gubernatorial Election 2008

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jim Douglas (I) – 53.43% Gaye Symington – 21.79%
Democratic Primary	Gaye Symington ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Jim Douglas ran unopposed.

Source: Vermont Secretary of State

Governor Dennis Daugaard (Table 4.32) drew one challenger in the Republican Primary. Susan Wismer defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. Daugaard’s challenger was a woman. In South Dakota, the gubernatorial candidates run with a running mate in the general election. The Office of Lieutenant Governor is not a separately elected office.

TABLE 4.32: South Dakota Gubernatorial Election 2014

Election	Election Results
General Election	Dennis Daugaard (I) – 70.47% Susan Wismer – 25.43%
Democratic Primary	Joe Lowe – 44.51% Susan Wismer – 55.49%
Republican Primary	Dennis Daugaard (I) – 80.87% Lora Hubbel – 19.13%

Source: South Dakota Secretary of State

Governor Scott Walker (Table 4.33) ran unopposed in the Republican Primary. Mary Burke defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary, but lost on the general

election. No additional female challengers were present. In Wisconsin, the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor run separating in the primary election. Then, the winners of the primary elections appear together on the general election ballot.

TABLE 4.33: Wisconsin Gubernatorial Election 2014

Election	Election Results
General Election	Mary Burke – 46.59% Scott Walker (I) – 52.26%
Democratic Primary	Mary Burke – 83.28% Brett Hulse – 16.61%
Republican Primary	Scott Walker ran unopposed.

Source: Wisconsin Elections Commission

Governor David Ige (Table 4.34) drew five challengers in the Democratic Primary. Andria Tupola defeated two opponents in the Republican Primary, but lost in the general election. One of Governor Ige’s challengers was a woman. Colleen Hanabusa received 44.33% of the vote, second behind Ige. Once again, the Office of the Governor and the Office of the Lieutenant Governor appear separately in the primary election, but together on the general election ballot in Hawaii.

TABLE 4.34: Hawaii Gubernatorial Election 2018

Election	Election Results
General Election	David Ige (I) – 62.67% Andria Tupola – 33.70%
Democratic Primary	Ernest Caravalho – 2.33% Colleen Hanabusa – 44.38% David Ige (I) – 51.37% Wendell Ka'ehu'ae'a – 0.95% Richard Kim – 0.65% Van Tanabe – 0.32%
Republican Primary	Andria Tupola – 55.52% John Carroll – 35.22% Ray L'Heureux – 9.26%

Source: Hawaii Secretary of State

Governor Chris Sununu (Table 4.35) ran unopposed in the Republican Primary. Molly Kelly defeated one opponent in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. No additional female challengers were present.

TABLE 4.35: New Hampshire Gubernatorial Election 2018

Election	Election Results
General Election	Molly Kelly – 45.74% Chris Sununu (I) – 52.78%
Democratic Primary	Molly Kelly – 65.55% Steve Marchand – 33.84%
Republican Primary	Chris Sununu ran unopposed.

Source: New Hampshire Secretary of State

Governor Greg Abbott (Table 4.36) drew two challengers in the Republican Primary. Lupe Valdez defeated eight opponents in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the general election. One of Governor Abbott’s challengers was a woman. While Barbara Krueger was second behind Abbott, she only received 8.25% of the vote.

TABLE 4.36: Texas Gubernatorial Election 2018

Election	Election Results
General Election	Greg Abbott (I) – 55.81% Lupe Valdez – 42.51%
Democratic Primary	James Jolly Clark – 2.15% Cedric Davis, Sr. – 8.24% Joe Mumbach – 1.36% Adrian Ocegueda – 4.40% Jeffrey Payne – 4.75% Lupe Valdez – 42.91% Tom Wakely – 3.41% Andrew White – 27.40% Grady Yarbrough – 5.37%
Republican Primary	Greg Abbott (I) – 90.42% SECEDE Kilgore – 1.32% Barbara Krueger – 8.25%

Source: Texas Secretary of State

Governor Phil Scott (Table 4.27) drew one challenger in the Republican Primary. Christine Hallquist defeated three opponents in the Democratic Primary, but lost in the

general election. One of Hallquist's opponents was also a woman. Brenda Siegel received 19.97% of the vote.

TABLE 4.37: Vermont Gubernatorial Election 2018

Election	Election Results
General Election	Christine Hallquist – 40.25% Phil Scott (I) – 55.19%
Democratic Primary	James Ehlers – 20.63% Christine Hallquist – 44.99% Brenda Siegel – 19.97% Ethan Sonneborn – 7.65%
Republican Primary	Phil Scott (I) – 66.66% Keith Stern – 32.22%

Source: Vermont Secretary of State

While all of the races evaluated in this chapter already had female major party challenger, a third of the races had additional female challengers as well. This number of female challengers is significantly higher than what was seen in the races with a female incumbent. These findings provide support for my first hypothesis. The presence of a female governor discourages female challengers.

Additionally, three of the four races in 2018 had additional female challengers. This is an increase in the number of additional female candidates from previous election years. I argue that this uptick in the number of additional female challengers provides support for my second hypothesis. The presence of a female major party candidate in the 2016 presidential election increased the levels of ambition for possible female gubernatorial candidates. More women are running for the office of governor in general, against both female and male incumbents.

Once again, it will take until the end of the 2020 election cycle to see if this trend continues. I argue that it will. Women are capable of running, women are capable of winning and women are even capable of unseating incumbent male governors. While the

TABLE 4.38: Additional Female Challengers

Challenger	State	Year	Additional Female Challengers
Louise Gore (R)	Maryland	1974	0
Shirley Crumpler (R)	Nevada	1974	One with 2.11%
Madeleine Kuhn (D)	Vermont	1982	0
Julie Belaga (R)	Connecticut	1986	0
Patty Cafferata (R)	Nevada	1986	One with 10.54%
Betty Hearnnes (D)	Missouri	1988	0
Joan Finney (D)	Kansas	1990	0
Barbara Hafer (R)	Pennsylvania	1990	One with 45.57%
Mary Mead (R)	Wyoming	1990	One with 32.75%
Elizabeth Ann Leonard (R)	Rhode Island	1992	0
Christine Todd Whitman (R)	New Jersey	1993	0
Kathleen Brown (D)	California	1994	0
Bonnie J. Campbell (D)	Iowa	1994	0
Dawn Clark Netsch (D)	Illinois	1994	One with 2.11%
Janet Rzewnicki (R)	Delaware	1996	0
Margaret Kelly (R)	Missouri	1996	One with 7.86%
Judy Jacobson (D)	Montana	1996	0
Barbara Kennelly (D)	Connecticut	1998	0
Linda Crockett Lingle (R)	Hawaii	1998	0
Ellen Sauerbrey (R)	Maryland	1998	One with 13.41%
Laura Boyd (D)	Oklahoma	1998	0
Myrth York (D)	Rhode Island	1998	0
Ruth Dwyer (R)	Vermont	1998	0
Peppy Martin (R)	Kentucky	1999	0
Ruth Dwyer (R)	Vermont	2000	0
Jimmie Lou Fisher (D)	Arkansas	2002	0
Lucy Baxley (D)	Alabama	2006	One with 0.73%
Judy Baar Topinka (R)	Illinois	2006	0
Jill Long Thompson (D)	Indiana	2008	0
Gaye Symington (D)	Vermont	2008	0
Susan Wisner (D)	South Dakota	2014	One with 19.13%
Mary Burke (D)	Wisconsin	2014	0
Andria P.L. Tupola (R)	Hawaii	2018	One with 44.38%
Molly M. Kelly (D)	New Hampshire	2018	0
Lupe Valdez (D)	Texas	2018	One with 8.25%
Christine Hallquist (D)	Vermont	2018	One with 19.97%

focus of this dissertation has been female versus female races, I argue that competition against men will grow as a consequence as well. This developing trend is evident based upon the most recent races in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

GUBERNATORIAL RACES WITH TWO FEMALE MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATES

As previously stated, there is no example of a race with a female incumbent and a female major party challenger. The only four races with two female major party candidates have been open. I argue that this fact lends support to my first hypothesis. The presence of a female governor discourages female challengers. Additionally, the evaluation of these races provides insight into elections that produced female candidates from both parties. One could argue that if the situations that existed in these states and in these particular election cycles could be understood and perhaps replicated, more women would run for the office of governor and be successfully elected.

TABLE 5.1: Gubernatorial Races with Two Female Major Party Candidates

State	Year	Candidate	Party
Nebraska	1986	Helen Boosalis Kay Orr	Democrat Republican
Hawaii	2002	Mazie Hirono Linda Lingle	Democrat Republican
New Mexico	2010	Diane Denish Susana Martinez	Democrat Republican
Oklahoma	2010	Jari Askins Mary Fallin	Democrat Republican

Such a small number of cases excludes any type of meaningful quantitative analysis. Additionally, as previously stated, elections are inherently complicated and difficult to study. There are a large number of variables to consider, many of which

cannot be easily quantified. However, qualitative allows the opportunity to look deeper into categories of variables affecting the elections.

I evaluate these four elections from several perspectives. First, I evaluate the institutional characteristics of each state. Second, I examine the history of women's suffrage and electoral participation in each state including the percentage of women serving in the state legislature at the time of the election. Third, I examine the circumstances surrounding the elections including why the election was open and what occurred during the primaries. Fourth, I evaluate the results of the primary and general elections.

Institutional Characteristics

The first institutional characteristic is the geographic size of the state. The geographic size of each state is measured in square miles. This information was obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau. The geographic size of the state is important because a larger state can indicate a more diverse geography, a more demanding travel schedule and the need to raise more money. The responsibilities of the Governor of Rhode Island are drastically different than that of the Governor of Alaska in these regards, to say nothing of the political climate of the states and policy and lawmaking obligations.

The second institutional characteristic is the population of the state. The population of each state is measured by individual citizens. This information was also obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau. The importance of the population of each state is similar to that of the geographic size of the state. The more people living in the state, the more people to represent. Some studies have found negative correlations between population and female candidates (Oxley & Fox, 2004).

The third institutional characteristic is the professionalization level of the legislature. Professionalization level of the legislature is measured on a scale of one to five. One represents Citizen II Legislatures, two represents Citizen I Legislatures, three represents Hybrid Legislatures, four represents Professional II Legislatures and five represents Professional I Legislatures. This ranking system was developed by Karl Kurtz, the National Council of State Legislature's Director of The Trust for Representative Democracy. A full listing of all states and their professionalization level can be found in Appendix B. The professionalization level of the legislature is important because it represents the level of commitment expected from a governor. For example, some states meet for a month or less while others are in session all year long (Gray & Hanson, 2008).

The fourth institutional characteristic is institutional power of the governor. Institutional power of the governor is measured by a scale created by Thad Beyle. "The institutional powers of the governorship are those given to the governor by the state constitution, state statutes and the voters when they vote on constitutions and referendums" (Gray & Hanson, 2008, p. 205). Beyle's 5-point scale incorporates six categories: Separately Elected State-Level Officials, Tenure Potential, The Power of Appointment, Control Over the Budget, Veto Power and Party Control. Some studies have shown a positive correlation between power and female candidates (Oxley & Fox, 2004).

Table 5.2 presents the institutional characteristics of each state at the time two female candidates were present. It can be noted that all of the states have smaller than average populations. This lends further support to the idea that the presence of a female candidate is related to smaller populations. Three of the four states also have hybrid

legislatures in common. Otherwise the states range in geographic size and institutional power of the governor.

TABLE 5.2: Institutional Characteristics

State	Election Year	Size of State	Population	Prof. Level of Legislature	Institutional Power of Governor
Nebraska	1986	76,872.41	1,569,825	3	3.8
Hawaii	2002	6,422.62	1,211,537	3	4
New Mexico	2010	121,355.53	1,819,046	2	3.3
Oklahoma	2010	68,667.06	3,450,654	3	2.8

History of Women's Suffrage and Electoral Participation

Although the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920, some states offered women the opportunity to vote beforehand. Some states allowed women to hold public office before 1920 as well. This has an effect on the overall culture of women in politics in individual states. This pattern has been found at the international level as well. Frank Thames (2017) found a statically significant and positive correlation between the number of years of suffrage and women's representation.

While Oklahoma did allow women to vote in 1918, the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment standardized the right of women across all fifty states. Therefore, there is no variation past 1920. There is no way to know when women would have been allowed to vote in each state if the Nineteenth Amendment had not been ratified. Perhaps the election or appointment of a woman to the state legislature is a better measure of the culture towards women each state. In this case, all four states elected or appointed a woman to the state legislature between two to four years of women being allowed to vote.

The percentage of women serving in each state legislature also varies by state and year. The Center for American Women and Politics maintains yearly records of women

serving in state legislatures. In 1986, 16.3% of the seats in the state legislature were held by women in Nebraska. This was slightly above the average that year. It should also be noted that Nebraska has a unicameral legislature. In 2002, 25% of the seats in the state legislature were held by women in Hawaii. Again, this was slightly above the average that year. In 2010, 30.4% of the seats in the state legislature were held by women in New Mexico and 11.4% were held by women in Oklahoma. While New Mexico was above the average that year, Oklahoma was near the bottom. In fact, only South Carolina had fewer women serving that year.

The longer women have been legally able to vote and hold office and the more women who actually hold office, the more welcoming the environment for potential female candidates. Women in these states can see themselves in public office. Although, Oklahoma had a very low percentage in 2010, these states have a more welcoming environment for women seeking public office.

TABLE 5.3: Women's Suffrage and Electoral Successes

State	Year Women Were Given the Right to Vote	First Female(s) Elected or Appointed to the State Legislature	Percentage of Women in the State Legislature at the Time of the Election
Nebraska	1920	Mabel A. Gillespie, Clara C. Humphrey and Sara T. Muir (1924)	16.3%
Hawaii	1920	Rosalie Keli'inoi (1924)	25%
New Mexico	1920	Bertha M. Paxton (1922)	30.4%
Oklahoma	1918	Amelia Elizabeth "Bessie" McColgin (1920)	11.4%

Circumstances Surrounding the Elections

The four elections I am evaluating were open and there was no incumbent. However, this circumstance does not preclude the previous officeholder from having an

impact on the election. Outgoing officeholders can have a significant, positive or negative, impact on the elections to replace them. During some campaigns, candidates have purposefully distanced themselves from the outgoing officeholder, even if that individual belongs to the same party. The outgoing Governor of Nebraska retired and the other three were prevented from seeking reelection by term limits.

TABLE 5.4: Outgoing Governors

State	Year	Outgoing Governor	Reason for Leaving Office
Nebraska	1986	Joseph Robert Kerrey (D)	Did not seek reelection.
Hawaii	2002	Benjamin J. Cayetano (D)	Term Limits
New Mexico	2010	Bill Richardson (D)	Term Limits
Oklahoma	2010	Brad Henry (D)	Term Limits

Source: National Governor's Association

All of these elections occurred during midterm election years. Although it is impossible to estimate exactly how much the sitting president affected the races, the Office of President was not on the ballot. Additionally, a Republican was in office in 1986 and 2002, while a Democrat was in office in 2010.

TABLE 5.5: Candidate Political Experience

State	Year	Candidate	Political Position at the Time of the Election
Nebraska	1986	Helen Boosalis (D) Kay Orr (R)	Former Lincoln Mayor State Treasurer
Hawaii	2002	Mazie Hirono (D) Linda Lingle (R)	Lieutenant Governor Former Mayor of Maui
New Mexico	2010	Diane Denish (D) Susana Martinez (R)	Lieutenant Governor District Attorney
Oklahoma	2010	Jari Askins (D) Mary Fallin (R)	Lieutenant Governor Representative and Former Lt. Governor

All of these candidates had previous political experience. In fact, a majority had statewide officeholder experience. They were not first-time candidates as is the case with most candidates for higher level elective offices (Windett, 2011). Half had either served

or were currently serving as Lieutenant Governor at the time of the election.

Theoretically, each candidate had a clear understanding of what severing in such a public office would be like.

If more women ran, more women would be elected to office. Taking that logic one step further and applying it to the Office of Governor, if more women were elected, more women would run for governor. If prior officeholder experience is a standard for executive office, the larger the number of women who have held or are currently holding public office in the state, the larger of pool of possible female gubernatorial candidates.

Election Results

It is not uncommon for open elections to draw a large number of candidates. The power of incumbency has been completely eliminated and possible candidates are aware of this fact. This was true for a majority of the primary races below.

TABLE 5.6: Nebraska Gubernatorial Election 1986

Election	Election Results
General Election	Helen Boosalis – 46.98% Kay Orr – 52.85%
Democratic Primary	Chris Beutler – 21.79% Helen Boosalis – 44.01% Barton E. Chandler – 0.87% Nina B. Dillingham – 0.28% David A. Domina – 26.18% Marge Higgins – 3.06% Robert J. Prokop – 3.56%
Republican Primary	Kermit Brashear – 31.29% Nancy Hoch – 22.11% Chuck Loos – 0.34% Kay Orr – 39.35% Paul Rosenberg – 2.22% Everett Sileven – 2.22% Munts Taylor – 1.70% Roger Yant – 0.46%

Source: Nebraska Secretary of State

TABLE 5.7: Hawaii Gubernatorial Election 2002

Election	Election Results
General Election	Mazie Hirono – 47.01% Linda Lingle – 51.56%
Democratic Primary	D.G. (Andy) Anderson – 17.95% Ed Case – 39.84% Joe Fernandez – 0.26% Mazie Hirono – 41.24% George Nitta, Jr. – 0.40% Art P. Reyes – 0.31%
Republican Primary	John Carroll – 9.66% Linda Lingle – 89.77% Crystal Young – 0.58%

Source: State of Hawaii Office of Elections

TABLE 5.8: New Mexico Gubernatorial Election 2010

Election	Election Results
General Election	Diane Denish – 46.55% Susana Martinez – 53.29%
Democratic Primary	Diane Denish ran unopposed.
Republican Primary	Janice Arnold-Jones – 3.1% Pete Domenici, Jr. – 7.0% Susana Martinez – 50.7% Doug Turner – 11.6% Allen Weh – 27.6%

Source: New Mexico Secretary of State

TABLE 5.9: Oklahoma Gubernatorial Election 2010

Election	Election Results
General Election	Jari Askins – 39.55% Mary Fallin – 60.45%
Democratic Primary	Jari Askins – 50.28% Drew Edmondson – 49.72%
Republican Primary	Randy Brogdon – 39.41% Mary Fallin – 54.79% Robert Hubbard – 3.26% Roger L. Jackson – 2.53%

Source: Oklahoma State Election Board

However, Diane Denish ran unopposed in the New Mexico Democratic Primary in 2010. Otherwise, the number of candidates in each primary election ranges from two to

eight. Nebraska comes in with the most primary election candidates total at fifteen. Also note that the Office of Governor and the Office of Lieutenant Governor appeared together on the general election ballot in Nebraska, Hawaii and New Mexico.

Although there were far more male candidates than female candidates in the elections above, it is important to note that additional female candidates were present. This is in addition to the women who ultimately became the major party candidates. There were three in Nebraska, one in Hawaii and one in New Mexico. No additional female candidates were present in Oklahoma. These findings provide further support for my first hypothesis. The presence of a female incumbent discourages female challengers. In these cases, there was no incumbent.

Although my focus is on the candidacy of women for governor, it is worth noting the outcomes of these elections. The Republican candidate won in every race, actually replacing a Democrat. In Oklahoma in 2010, the Republican candidate won by 20%. Although it is difficult to provide conclusions from only four elections, these results would seem to provide evidence counter to the findings of Stambough and O'Regan (2007). They argued that Republican women are more likely than Democratic women to be sacrificial lamb candidates, but I do not find evidence of that in these cases.

If the trends from Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 continue, more women will run in gubernatorial races. More women will run against men, against women and in open races. As the ceiling continues to crack and the barrier to competition is broken, there will be more races with two female major party candidates.

CHAPTER 6

THE IMPACT OF THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

2016 Presidential Election

The 2016 presidential election was historical for a number of reasons. One, Hilary Clinton received the Democratic Party nomination. While other women have declared themselves as major party candidates in past elections, Clinton was the first to receive the nomination and to appear as a major party candidate on the general election ballot.

Two, Hilary Clinton won the popular vote. While this victory did not earn her the presidency because Donald Trump won the Electoral College vote, Clinton won the popular vote by 2,839,197 votes. A plurality of Americans voted for a woman to become President of the United States and lead the executive branch.

TABLE 6.1: 2016 Presidential Election Results

Candidate	Number of Votes
Hilary Clinton	65,794,399
Donald Trump	62,955,202

Source: The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration

I argue that the 2016 presidential election marks a significant change, not only in the perception of a woman's ability to lead an executive branch, but in the ability of women to be able to see themselves in the role. It had a far reaching affect across all fifty states. Like Sally Ride said, "You can't be what you can't see." Hilary Clinton provided a visual clue. Women can run and women can win.

In 2018, there were sixteen female major party candidates for governor. Six more candidates appeared than in any previous election cycle. In 2018, the number of female challengers running against a sitting female incumbent exceeded the total of all of the previous elections combined. These numbers are significant and signify a major change. I argue that while the glass ceiling has yet to be broken at the federal level, Hilary Clinton's candidacy contributed to an increased level of ambition at the state level. Her candidacy is helping to break the barrier to competition. More women are running to be the leader of the executive branch for their respective states.

Additionally, there was no gradual build of female major party candidates before the 2018 elections. The number of female major party candidates was capped at ten. This number was reached four times in 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2010. As such, it took twenty years to go from ten to sixteen major party candidates. A gradual build is missing from the female challengers to a female incumbent as well. In the races with male incumbents, the number of female challengers receiving the nomination marks a return to the numbers seen in the 1990s.

Anti-Trump

Although I argue that Hilary Clinton's candidacy has had a significant impact on the levels of ambition for possible female gubernatorial candidates, the rhetoric surrounding the 2016 presidential election cannot be ignored. Donald Trump's tone was so divisive and perceived as anti-women that it inspired a march on January 21, 2017. Hundreds of thousands of men and women marched in Washington, D.C. and in cities across the United States in support of women's rights. Marches also occurred internationally. The march has continued in subsequent years.

There have certainly been other reactions as well. President Trump's personal attacks on women, in and out of public office, have been criticized by members of both parties. President Trump's use of Twitter has spread his comments and opinions more widely as well. While there is no denying that President Trump has had an effect on women running for office, it is difficult to quantify that impact. Anger does not necessarily translate into candidacy.

The Next Crack

The first significant jump in female major party candidates occurred in 1986. Eight women appeared as major party candidates. Geraldine Ferraro was the Democratic Candidate for Vice President in 1984. I argue that this was the first crack in that class ceiling. Ferraro was the first woman to appear on the general election ballot for either party. It appears, however, that Sarah Palin's candidacy did not have the same effect. Perhaps because a woman had previously run for Vice President. The reasoning is not clear.

From 1984 to 2014, the number stayed between eight and ten. Ten was reached in 1998 and that record remained for twenty years. The number then jumped to sixteen candidates in 2018 after Hilary Clinton's candidacy. Will it take a female president to raise that number again? To possibly shatter the ceiling completely?

It is one thing to be angry with the status quo or inspired by a cause. It is quite another to take that anger or inspiration and run for office. Political participation does not have to involve candidacy and that is where many women stop. For the Office of Governor, the 2016 presidential election has made a difference. Another visual cue is there. More women are running to be governor.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

While the body of research surrounding women in politics is large and growing, the area of female governors specifically lacks attention. This dissertation adds to this body of research and contributes to the understanding of factors influencing the decision of women to run for governor.

My findings provide support for both of my hypotheses. The presence of a female governor discourages female challengers and the presence of a female major party candidate in the 2016 presidential election has increased the levels of ambition for possible female gubernatorial candidates. However, the question remains if this is a conscious choice. The data shows that the presence of a female incumbent discourages female challengers. It also shows that there has been an increase in female ambition after the 2016 presidential election. But how would female candidates and Governors articulate why they ran?

Continuing the Research

Although my data and findings provide support for my hypotheses, there is still more work to be done. Elite interviews would provide a deeper understanding of the decision making process for women contemplating a run for governor. Additionally, this effort would need to include more than just candidates and incorporate women who decided not to run for the office. The reasoning behind their decisions not to run are just as, if not more important than, the reasoning behind their decision to run.

The identification of possible candidates is difficult, however. Women do not always self-identify or make their decision making process public. The accurate identification of these women would require the participation of individuals intimately involved in politics in the included states.

Future Research

A large amount of research has already been dedicated to women in politics, but there is more work to do. The opportunities for future research regarding women running for governor are many. First, as the number of female candidates increases more quantitative analysis can take place. However, it takes four years for gubernatorial elections to take place in all fifty states. This is a long wait time for new data. Currently there are only nine women serving as governor. How many will run for reelection? Perhaps there will finally be a race with a female incumbent and a female major party challenger.

Second, researchers in this area can follow the path set up by researchers evaluating the variation of women serving in state legislatures. The puzzle has not been solved, but scholars have worked through a number of variables affecting the candidacy and success of female legislators. Variables once thought to affect the number of women serving in state legislatures, like the ability to raise money, have been excluded and new avenues are being explored. A particularly interesting area of research is rhetoric. Does the policy conversation change when the candidates are of a different sex compared to race between two men or two women? Additionally, is the rhetoric different in races between two males candidates compared to races between two women?

The Office of Governor is also the only office that can be compared to the office of the United States President. Conclusions drawn by researchers regarding why women run for governor can be compared to why women run for president. The same cannot be said for political positions that are part of a larger group such as the United States Congress and state legislatures. Future research can add to the findings of Whitby on the historic 2008 Democratic presidential nomination contest between Senators Barak Obama and Hillary R. Clinton (Whitby, 2014). Perhaps this knowledge will someday lead to a larger number of female candidates for governor as well as president.

REFERENCES

- Achen, C. H. (2002). "An Agenda for the New Political Methodology: Microfoundations and ART." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5, 423-450.
- Barbara Lee Family Foundation. (2001). *Keys to the Governor's Office*.
<http://www.barbaraleefoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/Keys-to-the-Governors-Office.pdf>.
- Beyle, T. (2010). "Governor's Institutional Power Score." <http://www.unc.edu/~beyle>.
- Beyle, T. (2011). Gubernatorial Elections, Campaign Costs and Powers. In *Book of the States 2011*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments.
- Bledsoe, T. & Herring M. (1990). Victims of Circumstances: Women in Pursuit of Political Office. *American Political Science Review*, 84(1), 213-23.
- Bos, A. (2011). Out of Control: Delegates' Information Sources and Perceptions of Female Candidates. *Political Communication*, 28, 87-109.
- Burrell, B. (1993). Party Decline, Party Transformation, and Gender Politics: The U.S.A. In J. Lovenduski & P. Norris (Eds.), *Gender and Party Politics* (p. 291-308). London: Sage.
- Carroll, S. J. (1985). Political Elites and Sex Differences in Political Ambition: A Reconsideration. *Journal of Politics*, 47, 1232-43.
- Carroll, S. J. (2001). *The Impact of Women in Public Office*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Carroll, S. J. (2010). Voting Choices: The Politics of the Gender Gap. In S. J. Carroll & R. L. Fox (Eds.), *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics* (p. 117-143). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carroll, S. J. & Strimling, W. S. (1983). *Women's Routes to Elective Office: A Comparison With Men's*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for the American Woman and Politics.
- Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP). (2018a). Women Candidates for

- Governor 1970-2018. New Brunswick, NJ, Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.
- Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP). (2018b). Women Versus Woman: Congressional and Gubernatorial Races 1944-2018. New Brunswick, NJ, Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.
- Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP). (2019). Women in Elective Office 2019. New Brunswick, NJ, Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.
- Constantini, E. (1990). Political Women and Political Ambition: Closing the Gender Gap. *American Journal of Political Science*, 34, 741-70.
- Crowder-Meyer, M. (2013). Gendered Recruitment without Trying: How Local Party Recruiters Affect Women's Representation. *Politics & Gender*, 9, 390-413.
- Darcy, R., Welch, S., & Clark, J. (1994). *Women, Elections, and Representation*, 2nd edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Dittmar, K. (2013). Turning the Tables: Behind Every Successful Woman. In M. Rose (Ed.), *Women and Executive Office: Pathways and Performance* (p. 231-256). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Elder, L. (2012). The Partisan Gap Among Women State Legislators. *Journal of Women Politics & Policy*, 33, 65-85.
- Fox, R. L. & Lawless, J. L. (2005). To Run or Not to Run for Office: Explaining Nascent Political Ambition. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49, 642-659.
- Fox, R. L. & Lawless, J. L. (2010). If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition. *Journal of Politics*, 72, 310-326.
- Fox, R. L. & Lawless, J. L. (2011). Gendered Perceptions and Political Candidacies: A Central Barrier to Women's Equality in Electoral Politics. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55, 59-73.
- Fox, R. L. & Oxley, Z. M. (2003). Gender Stereotyping in State Executive Elections: Candidate Selection and Success. *Journal of Politics*, 65, 833-850.
- Gray, V. & Hanson, R. L. (Eds.). (2008). *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, 9th edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

- Han, L. C. (2006). *Women and American Politics: The Challenges of Political Leadership*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Harrison, B. C. (2002). *Women in American Politics: An Introduction*. Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
- Jewell, M. E. & Morehouse, S. M. (2001). *Political Parties and Elections in American States*. (4th ed.) Washington, D.C: CQ Press.
- Junn, J. & Brown, N. (2008). What Revolution? Incorporating Intersectionality in Women and Politics. In C. Wolbrecht, K. Beckwith, & L. Baldez (Eds.), *Political Women and American Democracy* (p. 64-78). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawless, J. L. (2012). *Becoming a Candidate: Political Ambition and the Decision to Run for Office*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawless, J. L. & Fox, R. L. (2005). *It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawless, J. L. & Fox, R. L. (2010). *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. (Rev. ed.) New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawless, J. L. & Fox, R. L. (2018). *Women, Men & U.S. Politics: Ten Big Questions*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Lien, P. & Swain, K. (2013). Local Executive Leaders: At the Intersection of Race and Gender. In M. Rose (Ed.), *Women and Executive Office: Pathways and Performance* (p. 137-156). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Long, J. S. (1997). *Regression Models for Categorical and Limited Dependent Variables*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mansbridge, J. (1999). "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *The Journal of Politics*, 61, 628-657.
- McDonagh, E. (2009). *The Motherless State*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Maisel, L. S. & Brewer, M. D. (2010). *Parties and Elections in America: The Electoral Process*. (5th ed.) Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Niven, D. (2006). Throwing Your Hat Out of the Ring: Negative Recruitment and the Gender Imbalance in State Legislative Candidacy. *Politics & Gender*, 2, 473-489.
- Oxley, Z. M. & Fox, R. L. (2004). Women in Executive Office: Variation Among American States. *Political Research Quarterly*, 57, 113-120.

- Norrander, B. & Wilcox, C. (2005). Change in Continuity in the Geography of Women in State Legislatures. In S. Thomas & C. Wilcox (Eds.). *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*, 2nd edition (p. 176-198). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pitkin, H.F. (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Reingold, B. (2008). Women as Officeholders. In C. Wolbrecht, K. Beckwith & L. Baldez (Eds.), *Political Women and American Democracy*. (p. 128-147) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenthal, C. S. (1998). *When Women Lead: Integrative Leadership in State Legislatures*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sanbonmatsu, K. (2006). *Where Women Run: Gender and Party in the American States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sanbonmatsu, K., Carroll, S. J., & Walsh, D. (2009). *Poised to Run: Women's Pathways to the State Legislatures* Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.
- Sanbonmatsu, K. (2010). State Elections: Why Do Women Fare Differently Across States?. In S. J. Carroll & R. L. Fox (Eds.), *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics* (p. 263-286). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Squire, P. & Hamm, K. E. (2005). *101 Chambers*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press.
- Stambough, S. J. & O'Regan, V.R. (2007). Republican Lambs and the Democratic Pipeline: Partisan Differences in the Nomination of Female Gubernatorial Candidates. *Politics & Gender*, 3, 349-368.
- Swers, M. L. (2002). *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Thames, T.C. (2017). Understanding the Impact of Electoral Systems on Women's Representation. *Politics & Gender*, 13, 379-404.
- Thomas, S. (1994). *How Women Legislate*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). <http://www.census.gov>.

- Wheeler, M. S. ed. (1995). *Votes For Women! The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee, the South, and the Nation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Whitby, K. J. (2014). *Strategic Decision-Making in Presidential Nominations: When and Why Party Elites Decide to Support a Candidate*. New York: SUNY Press.
- Windett, J. H. (2011). State Effects and the Emergence and Success of Female Gubernatorial Candidates. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 11, 460-482.
- Windett, J. (2014). Differing Paths to the Top: Gender, Ambition, and Running for Governor. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 35, 287-314.
- Wolbrecht, C., Beckwith, K., & Baldez, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Political Women and American Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

APPENDIX A

GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION CYCLES

States Holding Their Gubernatorial Elections in Midterm Election Years			
Alabama	Hawaii	Minnesota	Pennsylvania
Alaska	Idaho	Nebraska	Rhode Island
Arizona	Illinois	Nevada	South Carolina
Arkansas	Iowa	New Mexico	South Dakota
California	Kansas	New York	Tennessee
Colorado	Maine	Ohio	Texas
Connecticut	Maryland	Oklahoma	Wisconsin
Florida	Massachusetts	Oregon	Wyoming
Georgia	Michigan		

States Holding Their Gubernatorial Elections in Presidential Election Years			
Delaware	Montana	North Dakota	Washington
Indiana	North Carolina	Utah	West Virginia
Missouri			

States Holding Their Gubernatorial Elections in Odd-Numbered Years After the Midterm Year and Before the Presidential Year		
Kentucky	Louisiana	Mississippi

States Holding Their Gubernatorial Elections in Odd-Numbered Years After the Presidential Year and Before the Midterm Year	
New Jersey	Virginia

States Holding Their Gubernatorial Elections in Every Two Years	
New Hampshire	Vermont

APPENDIX B

PROFESSIONALIZATION LEVELS OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Professionalization Levels of State Legislatures				
Citizen II (1)	Citizen I (2)	Hybrid (3)	Professional II (4)	Professional I (5)
Montana New Hampshire North Dakota South Dakota Utah Wyoming	Georgia Idaho Indiana Kansas Maine Mississippi Nevada New Mexico Rhode Island Vermont West Virginia	Alabama Arizona Arkansas Colorado Connecticut Delaware Hawaii Iowa Kentucky Louisiana Maryland Minnesota Missouri Nebraska North Carolina Oklahoma Oregon South Carolina Tennessee Texas Virginia Washington	Alaska Florida Illinois Massachusetts New Jersey Ohio Wisconsin	California Michigan New York Pennsylvania