# Legislating in the First Female-Majority State Legislature: Gendered Power, Leadership, and Patterns of Sponsorship and Cosponsorship

Jennie Sweet-Cushman Chatham University Rebecca Gill UNLV Christopher Zorn
Penn State

March 30, 2024

#### **Timeline**

1918: Sadie Hurst (R - Washoe) is the first woman elected to the Nevada Legislature

1920: Hurst presides over Nevada's ratification of the 19th Amendment

1947: Most recent legislative session in which all legislators were male

1951: First woman in leadership (Speaker Pro Tempore Louise Aloys Smith, D - Pershing)

2001: First all-female leadership team (Democratic minority, Nevada Senate)

2007: First woman Speaker of the Assembly (Barbara Buckley, D - Clark)

2019: First female legislative majority

First woman Senate Majority Leader (Nicole Cannizzaro, D - Clark)

2023: First female majorities in both the Assembly and the Senate

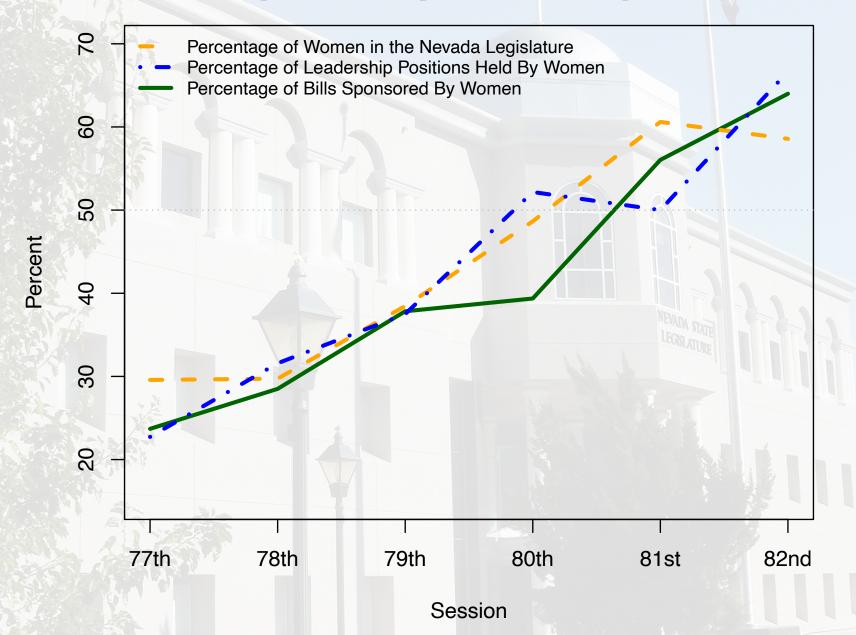
Source: "Women in the Nevada Legislature," https://www.leg.state.nv.us/Division/Research/Content/items/women-in-the-nevada-legislature

## Gender, Leadership and (Co)Sponsorship

#### Framework: Feminist Institutionalism

- How institutions shape and reflect gender roles, gendered power dynamics, and inequities within and emerging from the institution
- Potentially important roles for:
  - Majority control (Waylen 1994; Beckwith 2005)
  - "Critical actors" (Childs and Krook 2006, 2009; Thompson 2018)
- Suggests that legislative effectiveness may be related to:
  - Fraction of women in the legislature
  - Women occupying key leadership roles in the Assembly and Senate

# Majorities, Leadership, and Sponsorship, 2013-2023



## **Design and Methods**

#### **Quantitative:**

- Data: Combine sponsorship / cosponsorship data (LegiScan) + Legislator characteristics (Legislator Diversity Project) + Leadership (collected by authors)
- Legislator-level analysis: Number of Primary / Cosponsored Bills, Cosponsor "Position"
- Bill-level analysis: Number of Cosponsors + Percentage of Female Cosponsors
- Predictors: Female Legislator, Leadership Position, Legislative Session (trend), interactions + controls (party majorities)

#### Qualitative (not shown):

- In-depth interviews with N = 25 legislators serving in the 2019 session
- 18 women / 7 men, from both parties / chambers

# **Summary of Findings**

- 1. General <u>trend</u> toward greater female legislative effectiveness over time
- 2. Partisan effects (GOP vs. Democratic majorities)
- 3. Support for the majoritarian perspective:
  - As majorities grew, women legislators became more effective, but
  - Women in leadership positions (or the fact thereof) isn't associated with female legislative effectiveness at the margin

### Our Project: Women in the Nevada Legislature

- A "Critical Case Study" for feminist institutionalism
- Focus on changes brought on by both incremental and rapid change in the legislature's composition

#### Moving parts:

- A History of Women in the NV Legislature
- Feminist Institutionalism in Nevada State Politics
- The Elections of 2018, 2020, and 2022 (and 2024?)
- Leadership: Chambers, Committees, and Parties
- Policy Work: Bills, Laws, and Agendas
- Governing Women: Collaboration and Copartisanship
- Constituencies, Campaigns, and Cash
- The Future Is Female



# **Table 1: Member-Level Analysis**

Table 1: Legislator-Level Models of Bill Sponsorship and Cosponsorship, 2013-2023

Predictors	<b>Primary Sponsor</b>	Cosponsored	<b>Cosponsor Position</b>
(Intercept)	1.88	11.35***	73.71***
	(1.07)	(0.45)	(12.94)
Female Legislator	-3.49*	-4.07***	-11.55
	(1.61)	(0.66)	(18.73)
Legislative Session	< 0.01	-0.09***	-0.81***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.16)
Leadership Role	0.68***	0.39***	-1.45*
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.56)
Female Legislator × Legislative Session	$0.04^{*}$	0.05***	0.15
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.24)
Female Legislator × Leadership Role	0.02	-0.03	0.61
	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.85)
GOP Legislator	-0.08*	-0.07***	-0.10
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.46)
GOP Majority Session	-0.07	-0.03	-2.05**
	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.74)
GOP Legislator × GOP Majority Session	0.16	-0.05	0.89
	(0.09)	(0.04)	(1.03)
N	433	433	412

Note: Entries in columns one and two are Poisson regression estimates; column three reports OLS estimates. Cell entries are coefficient estimates; standard errors are in parentheses. One asterisk indicates P<0.05, two indicate P<0.01, three indicate P<0.001 (two-tailed). See text for details.

## Table 2: Bill-Level Analysis

Table 2: Bill-Level Models of Cosponsorship, 2013-2023

Predictors	<pre>ln(Number of Cosponsors)</pre>	Female Cosponsor Percentage
(Intercept)	1.35***	13.71***
(1110200)	(0.06)	(1.28)
Female Sponsor	-0.04	-1.65
-	(0.09)	(1.93)
Legislative Session (77th = 1)	-0.09***	2.10***
	(0.01)	(0.30)
Leader Sponsor	-0.09	-1.09
•	(0.05)	(0.96)
Female Sponsor × Legislative Session	0.04	1.05*
	(0.02)	(0.45)
Female Sponsor × Leader Sponsor	0.10	0.05
•	(0.07)	(1.48)
GOP Sponsor	0.03	-8.17***
	(0.04)	(0.85)
GOP Majority Session	0.21**	2.25
	(0.07)	(1.50)
GOP Sponsor × GOP Majority Session	-0.32**	1.80
	(0.10)	(2.00)
R <sup>2</sup> / Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.020 / 0.018	0.075 / 0.073

Note: N = 3,896. Cell entries are OLS coefficient estimates; standard errors are in parentheses. One asterisk indicates P < 0.05, two indicate P < 0.01, three indicate P < 0.001 (two-tailed). See text for details.