

A Woman's Place:  
Women of the Indiana General Assembly, Past and Present

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## Introduction

For the first 105 years of Indiana's history, women did not own property, vote in general elections, or have the privilege of serving as state legislators. It was not until 1921 when the first woman served in the Indiana House of Representatives. Since then, the number of women has grown steadily over the years. Despite serving in the minority, women in the Indiana General Assembly hold key positions and bring unique perspectives to the table.

I was fortunate to spend the spring semester of my sophomore year at DePauw University at the Indiana General Assembly. I was one of six students observing the legislative process. As a part of the DePauw Environmental Policy Project, or DEPP, we tracked, researched, and testified on various pieces of legislation, with an emphasis on energy and the environment. Most days were spent talking with legislators and environmental lobbyists aiming to better understand the state legislative process. As part of our course, we were also charged with producing individual "major projects" that would capture a point of interest we had while at the General Assembly.

My report on the women of the Indiana General Assembly seeks to better understand the importance of and need for women at the state legislature. In this report I first discuss how women came to vote in Indiana, and subsequently made their way into the Statehouse as legislators and politicians. Next, I establish the current demographics of the 2010 legislative session. I then consider the "gender culture" of women at the Statehouse. Information and evidence in this section was produced through a series of interviews conducted during and after the legislative session with 18 of the 32 women state legislators. Lastly, I provide four case studies, a Republican and a Democrat from each of the two chambers. Each section expands from the former in hopes of formulating a cohesive overview of women in the Indiana General Assembly since its inception.

## I: Winning the Right to Vote and to Represent

The road to women's suffrage in the United States began in the summer of 1848. Elizabeth Cady Stanton met with colleagues in Seneca Falls, New York where they signed the "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions" outlining the main points and goals for the oncoming women's suffrage movement. Eighteen years later, Ms. Stanton became the first woman to run for a position in the United States House of Representatives, though she only received 24 of 12,000 votes cast (Center for American Women and Politics).

It was not until 1920 that the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified and the right to vote was extended to women, but several states and territories were ahead of the game. Colorado, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming not only extended the right to vote for women before 1920, they can boast some of the "firsts" for women in state and national elective office.

In 1894, Clara Cressingham, Carrie C. Holly, and Frances S. Klock were elected to the Colorado House of Representatives, thus becoming the first three women in the United States elected to state office (National Museum of Women's History). Two years later, Martha Hughes Cannon of Utah became the first woman in the United States to be elected a state senator. Senator Cannon, a physician, served two terms as senator and played a vital role in issues pertaining to public health (Lieber and Sillito). Montana was the first state to send a woman to the United States House of Representatives, Jeanette Rankin, in 1917 (Lopach and Luckowski).

In Indiana, Robert Dale Owen from Posey County was one of the first to champion women's rights. Representative Owen introduced legislation in 1837 to extend property rights to women. The bill became law, but was later repealed in 1842. When this took place, Owen was no longer in the Indiana General Assembly, but instead was in the United States Congress. He returned to Indiana politics as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Indianapolis in 1850 and then once again as a member of the Indiana General Assembly. He spent his last years at the Assembly championing women's suffrage but was unsuccessful (Walsh 166).

The Indiana Woman's Suffrage Association (IWSA) was established in 1851 and was one of the first such organizations in the United States. In the following years, the suffrage movement would not accomplish much in terms of legislation, but women's voices were being heard more and more. Petitions for suffrage were sent to the General Assembly in 1853, 1855, and 1857 by the IWSA, but none of them were formally presented. In 1857, Representative Silas Colgrove declared his support for the women's suffrage movement in Indiana. A few years later, on January 19, 1859, Representative Colgrove was able to have women present a petition to the House. Those presenting were Mrs. Mary F. Thomas and Mrs. Mary B. Birdsall. Their meeting with the House of Representatives received harsh criticism from the *State Sentinel*, one of the states prominent newspapers at the time, citing

hopes that the legislature would not consent to similar gatherings in the future (Walsh 168-9).

A decade passed before the Indiana General Assembly considered women's suffrage again. It was not until January 20, 1871, during a joint session that the Indiana General Assembly allowed the Indiana's Women Suffrage Association to plead their cause, proving to be less scandalous than the last but no more successful. Those in favor of extending suffrage to women cited women's leadership in the past, and those opposed cited religion and the proper place of women. After lengthy debate, a proposed constitutional amendment was rejected by a 20 to 27 vote.

A leap was made after 1875 when the House regularly opened its doors to suffragettes for periodic meetings during the evenings. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was one of the notable speakers to attend. While some viewed these gatherings with criticism, the overarching goal of generating suffrage awareness statewide was achieved. In fact, the Indiana Women's Suffrage Association saw their goal nearly accomplished at the end of the 1881 session. When the Democrats – who were anti-suffragist and anti-prohibition – swept the 1883 elections, however, the women's suffrage movement of Indiana came to a halt until the national debate in 1919 (Walsh 170).

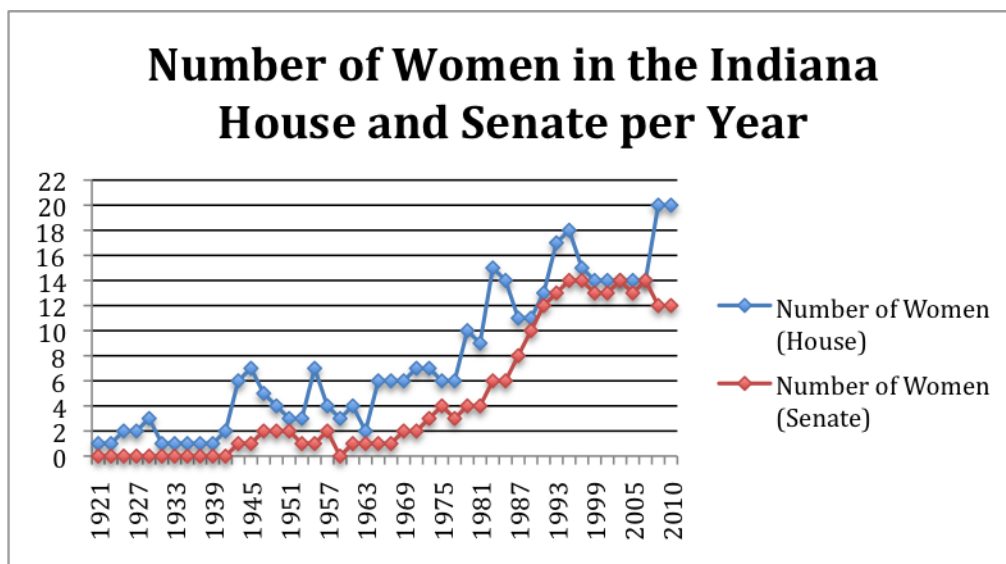
It was when members of the Indiana chapter of the National American Woman Suffrage Association pressed the governor of Indiana, James P. Goodrich, in 1919 to call a special session to consider the proposed Nineteenth Amendment that the suffrage movement in Indiana was revived. Several other states had already ratified the amendment, including Kansas, Ohio, Montana, and Michigan. Indiana's Governor Goodrich said he would call a special session if thirty-five other states also called their legislatures. On June 28, Governor Goodrich proposed calling a special session in September that would be limited solely to the suffrage issue. Initially, legislators felt nervous about a special session, inevitably resulting in no action taken or public statement from the Governor's office until late in the year. The Governor told Indiana suffragists that if they could get two-thirds of both chambers to limit debate to women's suffrage and support it that he would call the session. The suffragists gathered the required guarantees of thirty-six Senators and seventy Representatives. On January 16, 1920 a joint session between the chambers was held, thus sealing Indiana's place in the history of women's suffrage. Indiana was the 26<sup>th</sup> state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment (Catt and Shuler 377-9).

On April 2, 1920, Myrtle G. Meara of Hammond filed a request to be on the May Primary ballot for the Indiana General Assembly. Five days later, the attorney general of the state denied her request, and subsequently, no women ran for elected positions in 1920 (Walsh 370). In 1921, Julia D. Nelson of Muncie became the first woman to serve in the Indiana General Assembly, though she never campaigned for her seat. The incumbent, Joseph C. McKinley, died three days before the elections and Nelson's name was hurriedly placed on the ballot. Representative Nelson was selected by the Republican Party because of her involvement with the suffragist

movement and active participation in her county (Walsh 170). The first woman in Indiana to campaign for and hold state office was state Representative Elizabeth Rainey in 1923 (Walsh 371). Interestingly, Representative Rainey introduced a bill with several provisions concerning marriage. People of different races, epileptics, and people with tuberculosis or venereal disease were prohibited from marriage. The bill died by voice vote (Walsh 307).

Women in Indiana slowly began to run for state elective office after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. To date, a total of 130 women have served in the Indiana General Assembly (for a complete list see Appendices A and B).\*

In the 1920s, a total of nine women served in the House and zero in the Senate. The numbers fell to three women in the House during the 1930s, and still none in the Senate. Finally, in 1943 Arcada S. Balz became the first woman elected to the Indiana Senate with two more to follow in that decade. As can be seen in Graph 1, the number of women in the House rose during World War II, with a total of fourteen women in the 1940s, but fell to nine in the 1950s. The Senate remained the same with only three women in the 1950s. After that, the number of women rose steadily in the Senate with 3 in the 1960s, 6 in the 1970s, 14 in the 1980s, 18 in the 1990s, and 19 in the 2000s. In the House, however, the numbers fluctuated with 14 during the 1960s, 23 in the 1970s, 14 in the 1980s, 25 in the 1990s, and 27 in the 2000s.



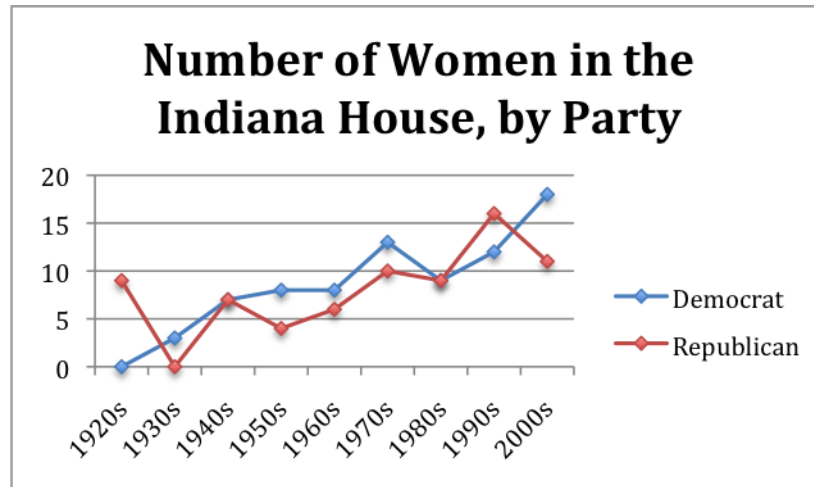
Graph 1

Surprisingly, the numbers of women identified with the Democratic and Republican parties have paralleled each other throughout the decades (see graphs 2

\* The remainder of Section 1 is based on the following sources: Cox 115-119, Indiana State Library web page "ISL: Women in the General Assembly," Walsh (Appendices)

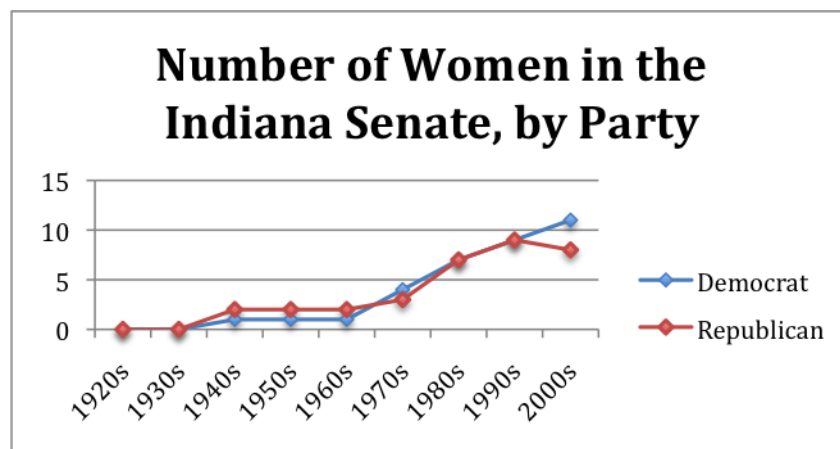
and 3). Of all the women who have served in Indiana, 68 have identified with the Democratic Party, while 62 identified with the Republican Party.

Initially, in the House, all the women were Republican. Democratic women took all 3 seats the following decade and equaled or outnumbered the Republican women until the 1990s when 16 of the 28 women were Republicans. During the 2000s, however, Republican women only held 11 seats while Democratic women held 18 seats.



Graph 2

As for the Senate, no women were present until the 1940s. Of the 3 women elected in that first decade, 2 were Republican. The numbers remained the same, 2 Republicans and one Democrat, until the 1970s when the Democrats gained a slight edge. The number evened out for the next two decades with 7 from each party in the 1980s and 9 from each in the 1990s. In the 2000s, the Democrats moved ahead with 11 of the 19 women serving in the Senate.



Graph 3

The women of the General Assembly currently come from all over Indiana, but that was not always true. It was not until 1975 that the Senate had its first woman, Jesse Sullivan, who was not from Indianapolis, Ft. Wayne, Gary, or the surrounding areas. Senator Sullivan was from Peru, Indiana. Since then, the geographic makeup has been diverse in the Senate. In the House, the geographic makeup has always varied. Women from the far north down to the southeastern part of Indiana have held seats in the House.

During their tenure at the Statehouse, some women have switched chambers. A total of nine women have moved from the House to the Senate since the late 1970s. The first women to switch chambers were Julia Carson of Indianapolis and Katie Hall of Gary in 1977. Lillian Parent of Danville followed suit in 1979. Carolyn Mosby of Gary made the transition to state senator in 1983. Patricia Miller of Indianapolis only spent one year, 1983, in the House before shifting over to the Senate where she currently serves. Earline Rogers of Gary spent time in the House in the mid to late 1980s before transitioning to the Senate in the early 1990s. Anita Bowser of Michigan City switched from the House to the Senate in 1993. Vaneta Becker of Evansville spent a majority of her time in the House before moving to the Senate in 2006. Monticello's Katie Wolf served in the House for a term before moving to the Senate in 1987. In 2006, Nancy Dembowski became the only woman to go from the Senate to the House.

## II: Women of the Indiana General Assembly Today\*

The IGA is composed of 150 legislators from all across the state with 100 in the House of Representatives and 50 in the Senate. During the 2009 and 2010 sessions, a total of 32 women served in either the House or Senate, not including Becky Skillman, who is the Lieutenant Governor, and therefore the President of the Senate. Twenty women occupied seats in the House and twelve in the Senate, which translates to 21% of all legislators (Center for American Women and Politics).

Representative Phyllis Pond of New Haven, Indiana, who was first elected in 1978 is the longest serving woman in either chamber. Eight women were first elected to the General Assembly in the 1980s, including Sheila Klinker, Patricia Miller, Dorothy Landske, Vi Simpson, Beverly Gard, Jean Leising, Earline Rogers, and Veneta Becker. The next seven women, Vanessa Summers, Kathy Richardson, Cleo Duncan, Connie Lawson, Connie Sipes, Linda Lawson, and Peggy Welch were all elected to their seats in the 1990s. The final sixteen women were all elected and have served in the 2000s. The average length of time served by the thirty-two women is 11.7 years. Most of the women were incumbents going into this past legislative session (2009-2010).

Of the 32 women currently serving, only five are women of color, four African-Americans and one Latina. The African-Americans in the Senate are Earline Rogers and Jean Breaux and in the House are Cherish Pryor and Vanessa Summers. Representative Candelaria-Reardon is the only Latina serving, and is recognized as the first woman of Hispanic descent to serve at the Indiana General Assembly (Indiana Commission for Women Status Report 2009).

The religious affiliation of women at the Statehouse is quite diverse. Of those women who identify their religion on their website or in the legislative guide, 4 are Roman Catholic, 4 Methodist, 3 Baptist, 2 Episcopalian, 1 Lutheran, 1 Presbyterian, and 1 Unitarian. Six identify themselves as Christian and 2 as Protestant. The remaining 8 women did not specify a religious affiliation.

In keeping with the idea that Indiana's General Assembly is a "citizen's legislature," the women's educational and occupational backgrounds are quite varied. Twenty-five have some form of higher education under their belts. Degrees vary from Bachelors of Science and Art to Juris Doctorates. Some women also have specialized degrees in nursing, public policy, and business.

Their occupations vary from retired teachers to small business owners, realtors to attorneys, and accountants to public service officials. The women of the IGA each bring unique experiences and knowledge to their positions. Senators Miller and Leising, along with Representative Welch, were nurses before entering the

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\* Unless otherwise noted, this section is based on the following sources: Indiana General Assembly website and the 1991, 2001, and 2010 Indiana Chamber of Commerce's Legislative Directories.



political world. A few women were in the public eye prior to being elected as state officials. Representative Walorski was a television reporter and Representative Dembowski worked as radio personality.

Interestingly, I was able to retrieve a copy of the 1991 legislative guide. Assuming legislators choose what is written about them, the occupations of women over the course of nearly twenty years have significantly expanded. In 1991, 4 women put “homemaker” as their occupation and 8 were in public education. In 2010, only one woman has chosen to place “homemaker” as one of her occupations and 4 as past public educators. Currently, there are a few small business owners, executive directors, realtors, and “public service” officials who serve.

Although they make up only 21% of the legislature, women are represented in leadership positions, especially in the Senate. Of the 12 female senators, 9 hold positions classified under leadership. In the House, 8 of the 20 women hold leadership positions. For the purposes of this report, leadership will include any chamber or caucus appointments and committee chairs.

As previously mentioned, Lt. Governor Becky Skillman is the constitutional President of the Senate making her the highest-ranking woman at the Statehouse. Senator Sue Landske, a Republican, serves as the Assistant President Pro Tempore of the Senate and also chairs the Senate Elections Committee. Following her is Senator Connie Lawson who serves as the Majority Floor Leader and also chairs the Joint Rules and Local Government & Elections Committees. Senator Jean Leising is the Assistant Majority Whip. Senator Patricia Miller chairs the Health and Provider Services Committee, and Senator Beverly Gard chairs the Energy and Environmental Affairs Committee.

On the Democratic side, Senator Vi Simpson holds the position of Minority Floor leader. Accompanying Senator Simpson in leadership for the Democrats are Senators Sipes, Rogers, and Breaux. Senator Sipes, who retired this past legislative session, held the spot of Caucus Chair with Senator Breaux serving as an Assistant Caucus Chair. Senator Rogers is one of two Minority Whips.

In the House of Representatives, Representative Sheila Klinker, a Democrat, serves as the Assistant Majority Leader. Representative Nancy Dembowski holds the position of Assistant Majority Caucus Chair. Representative Nancy Michael is the Assistant Majority Whip. Three other women hold leadership positions. Representative Vanessa Summers chairs the Black Legislative Caucus and the Family, Children and Human Affairs Committee. Representative Linda Lawson chairs the Judiciary Committee, and Representative Terri Jo Austin chairs the Roads and Transportation Committee.

On the Republican side, Representative Kathy Richardson serves as the Minority Caucus Chair, and Representative Jackie Walorski is the Assistant Minority Floor Leader.

### III: Women's Attitudes Towards Gender Relations at the Statehouse

For the first 105 years, the Indiana General Assembly was a completely male institution. Eighty-nine years have passed since women have joined, and yet the General Assembly remains mostly male.

To gain insight into how women in the state legislature view their roles at the Statehouse, I interviewed female state representatives and senators during the last two weeks of the 2009-2010 legislative session. Although my goal was to interview all 32 women state legislators, the time constraints of a short session only allowed for 18 interviews. Of the 18 women, 11 were representatives (5 Republicans and 6 Democrats) and 7 were senators (3 Republicans and 4 Democrats). The interviews ranged from fifteen minutes to one hour. All but one interview was conducted at the Statehouse, mostly in the small crowded offices that Indiana representatives and senators share with each other and their staff. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

The interviewees agreed that gender differences exist at the state legislature, but they lacked consensus on whether the Statehouse remained a "good 'ole boys club." Thus, some referred to the Statehouse as a "man's world" and confided that men often "don't know what to do with us." Others countered that gender was not a strong factor, and being a woman was no different than being a man at the Statehouse.

I don't think I'm treated differently as a woman legislator. In fact, I think that women are somewhat protected by men legislators. I mean, there are a lot of male legislators who protect people. But no, I don't think that it is a hindrance being a woman state legislator.

Another representative agreed with these sentiments.

I've never felt that I've taken a backseat because of my gender. I've been treated as an equal, and not as better or worse. I think there is progress being made here.

Most of the women in the Senate felt strongly that they hadn't ever been treated any differently or less seriously as a woman. One senator went as far as to say:

I feel like one of the guys. The men know how hard I work and that I'm dedicated to what I do. If you ask any of the guys at the Statehouse if I'm taken seriously, 95% of them would say that they take me seriously. Guys are afraid of me.

The general perception of the female senators differed from their counterparts in the House of Representatives, however, where women were more likely to feel gender played a role in the legislative process. Some representatives felt that when push came to shove their voices were not counted.

I don't ever remember feeling put down or demeaned for being a woman here at the Statehouse. However, I will say that when leadership is making real decisions with real policy, women are not consulted. I think the leadership would hear what we have to say, but would not really *listen* to what we had to say about issues.

Another representative expanded.

I really can't speak on behalf of everyone, but I would say that we [women of the House] are heard. I do think that it is harder to be at the negotiating tables when bills are being finalized with language.

One of the main reasons that the women of the Indiana House did not feel as if their voices were being heard is because so few women are part of the leadership. Unlike the Senate, the House has virtually no women in leadership, with the exception of a few lower-level leadership positions and committee chairs. (Please refer to Section 2, Demographics of the 2010 Legislative Session, for more details.) During the interviews, some of the Senators would often refer to the "lack of [women in] leadership" in the House of Representatives.

The interviewees attributed differences between male and female legislators less to problems of institutional culture than to different styles and approaches that men and women hold about work and legislative issues. Women agreed that their work ethic surpassed that of their male counterparts at the Statehouse. One senator described women at the legislature as "more organized, very passionate, and very bright." A colleague in the House concurred, "If you want something done, and done right, ask a woman. A woman's work is never done, but we know how to work and we're used to it." Women from both chambers overwhelmingly shared their feelings. Some expanded the argument making it more personal. "I think that people tend to trust women more than men. I think that people perceive women as less corrupt, and therefore more trusting." Another state legislator had this to offer.

Women have a different style of doing business. We know how to compromise. I believe that our roles in family equip us with the skills that allow us to act as mediators and to fill a compromise role. These skills benefit us, especially in this position at the Statehouse.

This interviewee's notions of family roles influencing and molding the women's work at the legislature came up during other interviews. Women with children believed that acting as "mediators" in families uniquely positioned them to handle the "games" males would play with each other at the Statehouse because they had dealt with similar situations at home. On the other hand, others expressed their concerns that it is difficult to interweave their personal lives with their public lives.

Some women perceived their roles at the Statehouse in relation to their interests and passions. As one senator put it, "I think people are more issue oriented than gender oriented." This was reflected in the committees the women sat on. Most women shared how they asked for and received their committee preferences, citing gender as not a significant factor in choosing or being appointed to the different committees. In the Senate, a woman sits on every standing committee, except the Judiciary Committee (not including subcommittees). In the House of Representatives, women sit on all but four standing committees (also not including subcommittees).

Female state legislators had varying interests and "issues" they take on while at the Statehouse. In fact, some legislators were quick to point out that their interests were not associated with "women's issues." The female state legislators tended to classify education, health, and family as commonly identified "women's issues." While some legislators agreed with this notion, most did not ascribe their involvement with these specific areas to their being women. A few outspoken Republican representatives noted that describing various legislative issues as "women's issues" created unnecessary divides among people. One representative had this to say about a bill in the 2007 legislative session that was supported by most female senators and would have provided cervical cancer (HPV) immunizations for girls in Indiana.

I don't think we would survive if we all banded together. Take HPV for example. It was one of those "issues" and it was isolated as a "women's issue." Not everyone agreed. When you try and use reasoning, such as gender, to promote a cause you can effectively do worse for the cause.

The extent to which the women at the General Assembly worked together was affected by several variables. The chamber in which the legislator resided, political party affiliation, personal take on issues, and general legislative issues determined how the women interacted, if they did at all. Most interviewees were conscious of the barriers that divided them, but some were not as open or verbal about them. One senator had this to say:

There are some issues that we've worked on. However, I would be willing to venture that political party lines are probably more important and more distinct here at the Statehouse. I don't really hang out with the Republican women. Our

relationships are not based on the fact that we are women. I would, however, consider the Democratic women some of my closest friends. There might be an issue that we all come together on, like abortion.

Several legislators cited chamber placement as divisive and the reason for “not knowing the women on the other side.” Despite some legislators’ strong notions that women only interacted within their chamber or party, just as many women countered these ideas, giving accounts of working well “across the aisle.”

I think women tend to come together on issues. Being women is what connects us, and I think that that is thicker than water. For women, there really are no political boundaries. We’re also cautiously open about a lot of what we do at the Statehouse.

Women have several outlets, aside from chamber and political party, in which they interact with one another. One organization that was brought up by every interviewee was POWER, an acronym for Political Organization for Women’s Education and Representation. Several women referred to POWER as the women’s caucus of the Indiana General Assembly. Others referred to POWER as a “social outlet.” It is actually a fund-raising organization for scholarships to non-traditional female students for higher education. One thing is certain about POWER; it is not for addressing any legislative issues or agenda. In fact, several female legislators expressed their concerns about it “not being an organization for women to discuss issues.”

As for whether women considered themselves feminists, the answers varied, but most did not. The women who answered “no” cited conservatism and not being a part of the feminist movement when they were younger as to why they did not identify themselves that way. Those who identified as feminists, answered with enthusiasm, like one Democratic senator.

Absolutely! I consider myself as a feminist. I do think that many feminists are tainted with presuppositions though. I think that I adhere to the principles of feminism. Knowing that women are equal, that they deserve equal representation, and that we have to look holistically at a picture that involves both genders.

In order to better understand the differing perspectives and offer more personal accounts of the women, I provide four case studies in the next section. A Democrat and Republican were chosen from each chamber. Each of the women selected present unique and invaluable insight into their legislative lives.

#### IV: Case Studies

##### Representative Phyllis Pond

Representative Phyllis Pond of New Haven, Indiana, can best be described as strong, persistent, and aware. Physically, she is small in stature and would remind anyone of his or her sixth-grade science teacher. Her glasses and soft demeanor would make you think she was a teacher at the Statehouse with her class giving a tour. Representative Pond carries herself with confidence through the halls of Statehouse. Rightly so; she has served at Statehouse for 32 years and is the first woman to sit on the front row of the House of Representatives.

I had the privilege of interviewing Representative Pond on one of the last days of the 2009-2010 legislative session. As we walked to her office on March 12, 2010, I explained who I was and what I was doing at the Statehouse. She was impressed that my peers and I observed the legislative process firsthand and would be receiving credit. She thought it was a great opportunity for us and believed more students should be given opportunities like this one. After making ourselves comfortable in her office, she began to tell me her legislative story.

Representative Pond grew up in a household that was not politically active. Instead, she aspired to become a teacher, which she did, retiring only a decade ago. Her encounters at the Statehouse started when she brought her own three children to serve as pages for their state representatives and senators. Prior to holding state office, Representative Pond was initially involved with her precinct committee back in her home district. She was following in the footsteps of one of her three children who had been involved with the local Republican committee. Representative Pond first ran for the state legislature in 1976, but was unsuccessful. Two years later, she ran a modest but successful campaign, receiving the votes to place her in office.

There were three of us running for this seat. The other two candidates spent a large amount of money for their campaigns. I did not take contributions from anyone. I did all my own campaigning with about \$4,500. I did all my own posters and flyers by hand. I even had notepads that I passed out. I've always been careful from who I take contributions, if I take any at all.

She then explained why she chose to run for elective office and what kept her motivated. Representative Pond expressed, in an animated way, that it was never her intention to run for state representative. Instead, she explained, "I wanted to get involved because I didn't like the way things were going. That's typically how people get started in politics. They don't like the way things are going at the time and decide to run for office. For me, I was lucky. I won."

Representative Pond does not believe gender affected any of her campaigns. When asked her if opponents had ever used gender as point of demoralization during a campaign, she replied, "They better not. They'll be sorry if they do."

The humor in her statement was short lived as Representative Pond went on to say:

Women aren't taken seriously. It's still a "good 'ole boy's network" down here at the Statehouse. They won't admit it but it is. There is an association with men that what they do is right. Women are not seen as aggressive as men, and what usually happens is that men tend to go on to other [political] positions. Women have to work twice as hard as men and have to really know their stuff. I do think it will get better though. Really, what women need is more education and a push to want to become involved with politics and government at any level.

Our conversation continued as she began discussing her front row accomplishment. When first elected, Representative Pond's desk on the floor of the House was located in the very back row. Content, she sat there quietly. As the years progressed and she gained seniority, Representative Pond requested to be moved forward, as was customary at the time. At first, the ramifications for what seemed to be a simple request were unclear. She placed her situation in context with a story of a former female representative who received "heat" for also asking to be moved up rows. I am unaware if the former representative's request was fulfilled, but our conversation helped shed light on the perception male legislators might have had about women in the Statehouse. Nevertheless, Representative Pond now proudly sits on the front row.

Representative Pond currently serves on the Ways and Means and Judiciary Committees. I asked if she felt gender affected committee appointments, to which she responded, "I think my committee assignments deal more with my seniority now than with gender. People will take anything when they first get here." I had mistakenly assumed that because she was a retired educator it meant she served on the Education Committee.

The term "feminist" conjures up numerous reactions and thoughts to different people. For some, expressing grievances on behalf of women for equality in the workplace and other aspects of life seems like a noble cause. For others, bra-burning radicals and picket lines of women demanding equal everything is the picture that might come to mind. As for Representative Pond:

I don't belong with the feminist movement. You attract more flies with honey than with vinegar; remember that. If a man opens up a door for a woman, I don't see anything wrong with that. It's an act of courtesy and should be received that way.

Representative Pond then provided insight about her relationships with other women at the Statehouse. Sitting back in her chair, she explained POWER, the

closest organization to a women's caucus in Indiana. POWER, which stands for Political Organization for Women's Education and Representation, seeks to provide scholarships for non-traditional female students across Indiana. Representative Pond explained that POWER is not a political tool for women legislators, nor is it the proper channel to go through if issues need discussion or a legislator needs support for a bill. She went on to say that party trumps gender in terms of relationships among women at the Statehouse. While I suspected as much, it was nice to have my theory of women sticking to their party's core principles confirmed.

Wrapping up the conversation, Representative Pond left an impression of gratitude and joy explaining her time spent at the Statehouse thus far.

I have a deep appreciation for the opportunity we have here in the United States. Women of the world are not always granted the same opportunities as us. Those that don't get to have their voices heard, like in the Muslim countries; those countries are missing out on talent. Needless to say, I'm very grateful and appreciative of the opportunities I've had and I wish it could be like this everywhere.



### Representative Linda Lawson

Probably one of the most passionate and energetic forces in the Indiana House of Representatives is Representative Linda Lawson of Hammond. Not only is her resume impressive, her attitude towards life makes her personable and a unique addition to the Indiana General Assembly. Her dark hair, cut just above her shoulders, sways as she walks, demanding your attention. Her assertive personality, coupled with her glasses, ignites thoughts of a strong businesswoman on a mission, ready to accomplish her tasks. Representative Lawson is no rookie. She has served the people of Indiana since 1998 and does not plan on going anywhere else soon.

Approaching Representative Lawson for an interview was as easy as approaching a friend you have not seen for years. A delightful, "Of course!" was her response outside the House floor on March 4, 2010. Before starting, she had to make a trip to her desk on the House floor. Multiple people went up and spoke with her as she entered the floor, demonstrating her likable personality and helpful insight. Representative Lawson and her colleagues were exchanging lighthearted banter, which made being around her all the more enjoyable.

Representative Lawson dominated the conversation as we walked to her office. She inquired about my professor, who she knew from years back working with her on prison legislation. I was impressed to find Representative Lawson's office walls decorated with different awards she received over the years. After settling down in seats, she began to tell me her legislative story.

Representative Lawson grew up in a non-politically active household. She attributes her awareness of social issues to the music she listened to growing. "When I was younger, it was the music I listened to that really made me think about things. I listened to Peter, Paul and Mary, Bob Dillon, Mary Travers, and the Weavers." She listed more bands and groups of the 1960s that also impacted her. Some I knew, others did not ring a bell.

She moved on to talk about her careers prior to being elected as a state official. One of Representative Lawson's first careers was as a police officer. Most of the awards on the walls gave thanks for her contributions as a police officer in Hammond. The story of Representative Lawson becoming a police officer is interesting and powerful because of the struggles she faced in pursuing her dream.

"When I first applied to become an officer, I was denied the job. I was not of weight and height. You had to be 5'8" and 185lbs. It turned into a two year lawsuit before I was finally able to become an officer on January 1, 1976." Representative Lawson also boasts becoming the first female captain of the Hammond Police Department. Her story exemplifies the institutional disadvantages of keeping whole segments of the population from pursuing and attaining certain jobs, such as women in law enforcement. For Representative Lawson to challenge the status quo also illustrates her desire and passion to accomplish what she sets her mind to.

Representative Lawson also served on the Hammond School Board. While on the school board, she was asked to run for the legislature. It was never an ambition of hers to run for state office. Representative Lawson showed me a postcard she had received years back from a friend. On it said, "If you want peace you have to work for justice." She explained that this particular quote was one of her favorites and one of her many motivations. "Things change gradually," she added with a look of optimism on her face.

When asked what effect gender had on her campaigns, she responded with a calm, "None." The conversation shifted as I began to inquire about her time at the Statehouse. Representative Lawson did make broad mention of differences between men and women at the Statehouse, but did not elaborate. Instead, she used the opportunity to express her discontent with her party and House leadership.

"We have no women in leadership positions as [they do] in the Senate. It's interesting because being a Democrat means being in the 'Party of Inclusion,' and yet we have no women in leadership." Frustrated, Representative Lawson reached to the top of her desk, pulling down a composite photo of the 20 women currently serving in the House of Representatives. Representative Lawson further discussed her grievances with the leadership of the House while she pointed to women in the photo who, in her opinion, would make great leaders. When asked if she were taken seriously at the Statehouse, she paused for a brief moment before saying, "Not by men. We [women] have a place at the table. We are competent." She did, however, explain that she found comfort in having the support of the 15 Democratic women in the House who would "stand behind her."

Representative Lawson currently serves on the Courts and Criminal Codes and Environmental Affairs Committees. She also chairs the Judiciary Committee, one of three women who chair a committee in the House. She did not believe that being a woman influenced her committee assignments. Instead, her background as a police officer influenced some of her committee assignments because of her knowledge and experience with law enforcement.

In response to the question, do you consider yourself a feminist, Representative Lawson enthusiastically stated, "Yeah! I would definitely be on the picket line!" She then moved the conversation to how the women in the General Assembly could hardly come to a consensus regarding women's issues.

There is no consensus on issues here. POWER, for example is not a caucus where we discuss controversial issues. There is also no discussion about issues that affect all of us. For example, if the issue of abortion were brought up, you would have some women get up and leave the room. I think that there are some women here [at the Statehouse] that if they lost all their reproductive rights they wouldn't care. I sat on the

Commission for Women for ten years but left because I could not take it. We wouldn't talk about anything.

She then pointed to the photo she had placed on her desk and stated, "If some people could have their way, reproductive rights for women would not exist in Indiana."

Unfortunately, the exciting conversation with Representative Lawson came to an abrupt end as her legislative assistant entered and asked for her assistance on a bill. Later that day, Representative Lawson found me and exclaimed her thorough enjoyment and appreciation of my project, and if I needed anything else to let her know.

### Senator Jean Breaux

In the Senate resides an individual whose outspokenness matches her care and consideration for people and her constituents. Senator Jean Breaux of Indianapolis can be described by many positives, but compassionate, driven, and strong probably best represent her. Senator Breaux is the type of person that does not come off as assertive or aggressive, but when she speaks, she has the ability to capture and keep you interested in what she is saying. Wise and eloquent, Senator Breaux stands at average height for women, but holds herself three feet taller.

Senator Breaux was easily accessible and more than willing to participate in my project. On the afternoon of March 2<sup>nd</sup> I conducted my first interview of the semester and could not have been more pleased to have Senator Breaux set an excellent precedent. Senator Breaux offered insight and knowledge about gender and politics that I consider invaluable.

Senator Breaux's political involvement began at an early age. "My grandmother was always aware of and recognized politics. She influenced my mother and me." Senator Breaux attributes her personal drive and involvement in government to her line of politically active family members. Her grandmother, a self-proclaimed Democrat, was well informed about the workings of government and would often involve Senator Breaux in political engagements. Her grandfather, a coal miner, was on the opposite side of the spectrum and identified as a Republican. He was also a union organizer and influenced her political pursuits.

Senator Breaux was appointed to fill the seat formerly held by her mother, Senator Billie Breaux, who resigned in 2006. She explained that receiving the nomination came easily and without turmoil. It was not until 2008 that Senator Breaux conducted her first campaign for state office. She explained in a candid manner that her male opponent decided to run because the seat was viewed as "easy." With a smile, she continued to remark that her male opponent might have perceived her as a weak and vulnerable contender, and therefore making it easy to win. This was not the case.

The conversation quickly shifted to her time spent at the Statehouse. Senator Breaux sees government and politics as still being a male dominated field, entrenched with old notions of women, who are perceived as more focused on their feelings. Male state legislators often have condescending notions of women, which places them at a disadvantage to their male counterparts in terms of the legislative process and not being taken as seriously at the Statehouse. With a look of discontent, Senator Breaux told me that at times she felt dismissed because of her gender.

"Yes, I don't think I'm taken seriously. I'm outspoken and I have my own opinions, and that can make them feel unsettled," referring to male state legislators. Absorbed by her insight, I was even more impressed when she began touching on

the subject of a two-way street in terms of gender and politics at the Statehouse. Senator Breaux brought up the point that women sometimes feed into the idea that behind every man is a “strong woman.”

At this point, the conversation veered from her frustrations about the disadvantages of being a woman at the Statehouse to future hopes. Senator Breaux believes that the Indiana General Assembly is on a “new road.” Women are slowly but surely increasing their involvement in state politics. Women think more intuitively and holistically than men who tend to view issues individually. Communication is a key component in just about every facet of life, especially in the state legislature. Grinning, she said that women have an advantage over men because, in her opinion, women are excellent communicators.

Senator Breaux currently serves on the following committees: Energy and Environmental Affairs, Homeland Security, Transportation and Veterans Affairs, Health and Provider Services, and Local Government. She is the Ranking Minority Member of the Utilities and Technology Committee. Senator Breaux does not think gender affected her committee assignments. Instead, she had the privilege of weighing in on the selection. More now than ever, women branch out of what can typically be considered “women’s issues,” with regard to committee assignments.

I then asked her if she considered herself a feminist, to which she responded hesitantly:

Yeah, I’m a feminist, although there are some negative connotations that go along with the word ‘feminist.’ I think to be a feminist you have to know your worth and value. You also have to recognize that gender is not the only defining feature of an individual. Women have strengths in their emotional well-being and also have mental strength because of it.

Towards the end of her statement, Senator Breaux appeared and sounded more grounded in what she was saying.

The dialogue moved to her relationships with other women at the Statehouse, which she described as positive. Senator Breaux cited other women senators as examples of women in leadership and power in the Indiana General Assembly. In contrast, few women in the House hold positions of power because there was “no demand from them” as there was in the Senate. She explained women as having an important role in state legislatures and that more women should be placed in positions of power across the board.

Our conversation turned to the “women’s caucus” formally known as POWER, Political Organization for Women’s Education and Representation. She explained that the organization served to raise money for non-traditional Hoosier women to attend college or a higher education institution. Senator Breaux stated

that POWER was not an organization where women of the legislature banded together to work on issues, but rather a “community outreach organization.” She then said optimistically, “I think that POWER might one day be used to work on gender issues, or at least an outlet to be used for it.”

After this statement, Senator Breaux was called to make her way to the Senate floor. She later found me in the halls and told me that one thing we did not get to talk about, but that she wanted to, was the role of women of color in elective office. “That’s a whole new subject,” she said with a smile on her face.

### Senator Beverly Gard

Excitement and eagerness overwhelmed me as I received a call from a legislative aide to verify my interview with the next Senator on March 10, 2010. I stood at the reference desk waiting to be called up to her office. Finally receiving the go-ahead to head up to the Senate chambers, I walked up the stairs with mixed emotions. I began to feel more and more intimidated. Initial thoughts of the interview went poorly in my head. I envisioned the Senator staring at me as I stumbled over my questions trying not to show nervousness.

My impressions of Senator Beverly Gard of Greenfield, Indiana, were marked by previous encounters during committee hearings. While at the Statehouse, my class followed environmental legislation closely and Senator Gard chaired the committee that determined the lives of the bills we kept under observation. Often following committee hearings, my classmates had no more than thirty-second talking sessions with her. That I might have more than 10 minutes with Senator Gard seemed like an accomplishment in and of itself.

Prior to the interview, Senator Gard set the stage for an open and welcoming interview by asking me about my day. She proved to be much more than the intimidating chairperson granting only minutes to people in the halls of the Statehouse, and instead offered many unique perspectives and experiences. Senator Gard's interview provided deep and meaningful insight into the world of politics for women at the Indiana General Assembly.

Senator Gard does not demand your attention when she walks into a room. Instead, she casually and quietly makes her way around. In fact, it would be easy to bypass her in the halls of the Statehouse unless you were specifically seeking her. She carries herself like a caring and affectionate grandmother and would not strike anyone as a former biochemist. Sitting in her chair, she began to tell me her legislative story.

Senator Gard grew up in Tennessee. Her father worked with hydropower plants, and she attributes her first encounters with politics and government to her father's job. It was not until high school that politics piqued her interest. During high school, Senator Gard would sit in front of the television and watch political party conventions. At the time, she did not identify with a political party. Since then, Senator Gard has made a name for herself within the Republican Party of Indiana.

It was never her intention to run for any elective office. "It just happened by accident I guess." She further explained, "People asked me to run for Greenfield City Council, and that was in the fall of 1975. I was the only woman on the ballot and used it to my advantage. I would tell people that I was the only woman on the ballot and that was how they could remember me. I won the election and started my term in January of the next year." She would later become the president of the City

Council. Senator Gard ran for and was elected to the Indiana General Assembly in 1988.

Senator Gard believes gender did affect her campaigns, though it was not clear whether for good or ill. One issue she discussed was money.

Fundraising may be the most difficult part of campaigning for women. Men tend to have more business contacts. Women usually don't have that many business contacts. Therefore, women may have a little more difficulty fundraising.

Senator Gard then revealed several personal instances of gender discrimination and bias. It was her vulnerability and sentiment during the next few moments that established another layer to Senator Gard, making the conversation more intimate and personable. She started the following story by framing it in terms of her time with the Greenfield City Council back in the 1970s. Senator Gard was sitting in on a meeting pertaining to waste and water management. She described the atmosphere as being completely male dominated, taking note of being the only woman in the room with authority.

An engineer looked over at me and told me that he was sorry that a lot of what they were discussing was technical in nature and might be boring to me. He apologized because he thought because I was a woman that I wouldn't understand what was going on. It really caught me off guard. It showed me that people have built in biases. A colleague of mine later let him know my credentials and told him that "she probably understands it better than any of us."

Completely absorbed in the story, she went on to describe another situation during her years at the Statehouse when her gender was made obviously apparent. "I've always been involved with environmental issues since I've been a part of the Indiana General Assembly. When I was appointed as the chairperson of the Energy and Environmental Affairs Committee, I remember someone in the back of the room asking aloud, 'What does a housewife from Greenfield know about environmental issues?'" She let the statement linger in the air a few moments. She had a distant look in her eyes as if reliving the scenario.

Shocked, I asked her about her time at the legislature since then. "Speaking in generalities, women typically come here to the Statehouse with the assumption that they can make a difference. Men, on the other hand, see their positions at the Statehouse as stepping stones to run for other, usually higher, elective office." Gender may not be a significant factor at the Statehouse, yet women still feel the need to prove themselves. "I don't think my gender has ever been a hindrance. Some who I represent come from rural and agricultural-based communities. I had to prove



to them that I have a hold on technical issues and that I understand what is going on.”

Senator Gard then spoke of how seriously women were taken at the Statehouse. “I think we are treated respectfully on the Senate side, more so than the House.” She gave credit to the former and current President Pro Tempores of the Senate for the respect she has been shown during her time at the Indiana General Assembly.

Senator Gard currently serves on three committees, Health and Provider Services, Local Government, Utilities and Technology, and Rules and Legislative Procedure, all of which she takes particular interest in. As mentioned earlier, she chairs the Energy and Environmental Affairs Committee.

In response to the question, do you consider yourself a feminist, Senator Gard stated:

No, I’m much more conservative than most, but I’m perfectly happy being a female. I’ve never been a flag waiver for issues that solely focus on women’s issues. I like to focus on issues that involve everyone. And fortunately, I’ve been able to use my background, which happens to be technical in nature, and apply it to what I do here at the IGA.

In terms of her relationships with other women at the Statehouse, Senator Gard had this to share:

I don’t know the women of the House all that well. Here on the Senate side we might have our philosophical differences between the Democrats and Republicans, but we work well together. There are also some personality traits that define women. Women are much more organized and we have mediation skills often times because we’ve had to settle disagreements with fighting children.

It was particularly interesting that she used an example illustrating women in a family role.

Senator Gard ended our conversation with fervent and well-thought comments concerning the role of gender with relation to lobbying and lobbyists.

I think that the increase in women at the legislature has changed the way people lobby. At one point, it was convenient for lobbyists to take the male legislators out for a drink to discuss issues. And if they really wanted to have a serious conversation, they would take them golfing. I don’t want to go

out for drinks. My approach is I want to have them set up an appointment and come talk with me and then leave. I'm not much for the social aspect of lobbying. I don't want a drink. So, in this regard, lobbyists have had to change their tactics.

## Conclusion

Creating laws that affect people at the local, state and national levels places a huge burden on our elected representatives. Ideally, elected officials would truly represent the actual population and not privileged segments. However, this is not the case. The Indiana General Assembly has always been a predominately white male institution. Yet, women are playing an increasingly important role, both by their numbers and their positions. Their presence and unique perspectives at the legislature provide insight and knowledge on issues that might otherwise be overlooked or ignored.

The lenses through which women see our world differ from those of their male counterparts. I argue these unique lenses are of necessity for large institutions such as state legislatures in order to provide laws that are as fair and effective as possible. The women of the Indiana General Assembly are independent, strong, organized, and disciplined. Their presence at the Statehouse serves as an accomplishment in and of itself. With that, no two women at the Statehouse are alike. Each has experiences and qualifications distinct from their male and female counterparts, making the pool of legislators diverse. Sound law, in my opinion, can only be achieved through varying ideas and the inclusion of minority voices.

In this report, I have only captured a glimpse of women's history in the Indiana General Assembly and the current make-up of the Statehouse. It is my hope to continue investigating gender and its role at the Statehouse, especially how women view their roles at the Statehouse and their interactions among other women state legislators. Also deserving closer inquiry is the experience of women of color at the predominately white Indiana General Assembly, a perspective that I neglected in this report but interests me greatly.

Women of the Indiana General Assembly definitely serve in the minority, making up only 21% of the entire legislature. Despite these numbers, the women serve as pioneers for future generations. Their drive and persistence sets the bar high for future female state legislators, and rightfully so.

Appendix A: List of All Women Who Have Served in the Indiana House of Representatives

House in the 1920s (9 Served)

Daugherty, Elizabeth Hunt	Wabash, Wabash	R	1925
Ferguson, Lettie McCave	Ft. Wayne, Allen	R	1929
Gardner, Ella Van Sickle	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1927
Hagenwald, Antoinette Cologne	Terre Haute, Vigo	R	1925
Mason, Clara Harris	Terre Haute, Vigo	R	1927
Misener, Mary Z. Hershey	Michigan City, La Porte	R	1929
Nelson, Julia D. Reynolds	Delaware, Madison	R	1921
Rainey, Elizabeth	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1923
Zimmerman, Bertha A. Goad	Terre Haute, Vigo	R	1929

House in the 1930s (3 Served)

Haines, Tella Chloe	Graysville, Sullivan	D	1931
Kaufman, Bess Robbins	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1933, 1937 -1939
Nicholson, Roberta West	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1935

House in the 1940s (14 Served)

Atkins, Katharine Lewis			
Watson	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1945
Barning, Elsie Seiler	Evansville, Vanderburg Crawfordsville,	D	1949, 1955, 1961 - 1963, 1967, 1971
Coons, Clara Van Cleave	Montgomery	R	1941 -1947, 1957
Downey, Nelle Bowman	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1941 - 1947, 1951 - 1953
Downing, Elizabeth Williams	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1943
Dunn, Mabel A.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1949
Lowe, Mabel Leota	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1943
Lynch, Irma Stone	Evansville, Vanderburg	D	1945
Malinka, Bernadine Betty	Gary, Lake	D	1943 - 1947, 1951 - 1955
May, Emma Mary	Terre Haute, Vigo	D	1945
Noble, Jane Ann	Kokomo, Howard	D	1949
Roach, Grace E.	Milan, Ripley	D	1949
Wilson, Ida R.	Boonville, Warrick	R	1943, 1947
Wyatt, Margaret L.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1945 - 1947

House in the 1950s (12 Served)

*Barning, Elsie Seiler	Evansville, Vanderburg	D	1949, 1955, 1961 - 1963, 1967, 1971
Brown, Alice Mathias	Highland, Lake Crawfordsville,	D	1955
*Coons, Clara Van Cleave	Montgomery	R	1941 -1947, 1957
Churilla, Mildred Kopack	East Chicago, Lake	D	1955 - 1961

Currie, Lucille Smith	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1959
*Downey, Nelle Bowman	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1941 - 1947, 1951 - 1953
Kirk, Naomi J.	New Albany, Floyd	D	1955 - 1957
Lauck, Marie Theresa	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1959
*Malinka, Bernadine Betty	Gary, Lake	D	1943 - 1947, 1951 - 1955
Norris, Fern E.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1951
Smelser, Anna Padberg	South Bend, St. Joseph	D	1953 - 1955
Stout, Harriet Cracraft	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1955 - 1957

#### House in the 1960s (14 Served)

Achor, Helen E. Martin	Anderson, Madison	R	1969
*Barning, Elsie Seiler	Evansville, Vanderburg	D	1949, 1955, 1961 - 1963, 1967, 1971
Caesar, Victoria	Gary, Lake	D	1965 - 1967, 1971
*Churilla, Mildred Kopack	East Chicago, Lake	D	1955 - 1961
Conn, Harriette B.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1967 - 1969
Dorbecker, Doris L.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1969 - 1973, 1977 - 1983
Fay Wilma J.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1967 - 1971
Fruits, Katherine	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1965
Gaylord, Ella Frances	Lafayette, Tippacano	R	1967 - 1973
Hawthorne, Marcia M.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1961
Lloyd, Daisy R.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1965
Logan, Cecilia M.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1965
Maloney, Anna	Gary, Lake	D	1961 - 1971
Ricketts, Marvel	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1965

#### House in the 1970s (23 Served)

*Barning, Elsie Seiler	Evansville, Vanderburg	D	1949, 1955, 1961 - 1963, 1967, 1971
Bowser, Anita Olga Albu	Michigan City, La Porte	D	1979, 1983 - 1991
*Caesar, Victoria	Gary, Lake	D	1965 - 1967, 1971
Carson, Julia	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1973 - 1975
Crimmins, Janiece L.	Marion, Grant	R	1971 - 1973
*Dorbecker, Doris L.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1969 - 1973, 1977 - 1983
*Fay Wilma J.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1967 - 1971
Fifield, Esther	East Chicago, Lake	R	1979 - 1990
*Gaylord, Ella Frances	Lafayette, Tippacano	R	1967 - 1973
Hall, Katie	Gary, Lake	D	1975
Hibner, Janet L.	Richmond, Wayne	R	1977 - 1986
Mahoney, Donnabelle	Hammond, Lake	D	1973 - 1975
*Maloney, Anna	Gary, Lake	D	1961 - 1971
Mosby, Carolyn Brown	Gary, Lake	D	1979 - 1983
Parent, Lillian M.	Danville, Hendricks	R	1977 - 1979
Pettersen, Mary J.	Hammond, Lake	D	1979 - 1985
Pond, Phyllis J.	New Haven, Allen	R	1979 - 2010

Shultz, Marilyn F.	Bloomington, Monroe	D	1973 - 1986
Seyfried, Maryann	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1975
Van Arsdale, Catherine E.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1975
Wilson, Esther M.	Portage, Porter	D	1977 - 1980, 1983 - 1998
Wooffendale, Lucille	Frankfort, Clinton	R	1973
Worman, Marna Jo	Cedar Creek, Allen	R	1977 - 1978

House in the 1980s (18 Served)

Becker, Vaneta Liley	Evansville, Vanderburg	R	1981 - 2005
*Bowser, Anita Olga Albu	Michigan City, La Porte	D	1979, 1983 - 1991
Brinkman, Joyce	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1985 - 1993
Budak, Mary Kay	Michigan City, La Porte	R	1981 - 2006
*Dorbecker, Doris L.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1969 - 1973, 1977 - 1983
Engle, Barbara L.	Decatur, Adams	R	1983 - 1996
*Fifield, Esther	East Chicago, Lake	R	1979 - 1990
*Hibner, Janet L.	Richmond, Wayne	R	1977 - 1986
Klinker, Sheila Ann J.	Lafayette, Tippacano	D	1983 - 2010
Leuck, Claire M.	Fowler, Benton	D	1987 - 2001
Miller, Patricia L.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1983
*Mosby, Carolyn Brown	Gary, Lake	D	1979 - 1983
*Pettersen, Mary J.	Hammond, Lake	D	1979 - 1985
*Pond, Phyllis J.	New Haven, Allen	R	1979 - 2010
Rogers, Earline S.	Gary, Lake	D	1983 - 1989
*Shultz, Marilyn F.	Bloomington, Monroe	D	1973 - 1986
*Wilson, Esther M.	Portage, Porter	D	1977 - 1980, 1983 - 1998
Wolf, Katie L.	Monticello, Carroll	D	1985 - 1986

House in the 1990s (28 Served)

*Becker, Vaneta Liley	Evansville, Vanderburg	R	1981 - 2005
*Bowser, Anita Olga Albu	Michigan City, La Porte	D	1979, 1983 - 1991
*Brinkman, Joyce	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1985 - 1993
*Budak, Mary Kay	Michigan City, La Porte	R	1981 - 2006
Burkhardt, Karen Buyer		30 R	1998
Crosby, Susan R.	Greencastle, Putnam	D	1991 - 2001
Dickinson, Mae	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1993 - 2006
Duncan, Cleo	Greensburg, Decatur	R	1995 - 2010
Eddy, Patricia		D	1992
*Engle, Barbara L.	Decatur, Adams	R	1983 - 1996
*Fifield, Esther	East Chicago, Lake	R	1979 - 1990
Goeglein, Gloria J.	Ft. Wayne, Allen	R	1991 - 2001
Heffley, Irene	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1995 - 1996
Henderson, Linda Kay	Bedford, Lawrence	D	1993 - 1994
*Klinker, Sheila Ann J.	Lafayette, Tippacano	D	1983 - 2010

Lambert, Sally Rideout	Boonsville, Posey	R	1995 - 1996
Lawson, Linda	Hamilton	D	1999 - 2010
*Leuck, Claire M.	Fowler, Benton	D	1987 -2001
Morris, Candy	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1995 - 1998
*Pond, Phyllis J.	New Haven, Allen	R	1979 - 2010
Richardson, Kathy Kreag	Noblesville, Hamilton	R	1993 -2010
Scholer, Sue W.	W. Lafayette, Tippacano	R	1991 - 2004
Summers, Vanessa	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1992 - 2010
Welch, Peggy	Bloomington, Monroe	D	1999 - 2010
Willing, Katherine	Lebanon, Boone	R	1993 - 1996
*Wilson, Esther M.	Portage, Porter	D	1977 - 1980, 1983 - 1998
Wolf, Sarah Margaret	Greenfield, Hancock	D	1991
Womacks, Martha A.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1995 - 1996

House in the 2000s (29 Served)

Austin, Terri Jo	Hamilton	D	2002 -2010
*Becker, Vaneta Liley	Evansville, Vanderburg	R	1981 - 2005
Blanton, Sandra "Sandy"	Orleans, Orange	D	2008 - 2010
Botterff, Carlene L.		D	2006
*Budak, Mary Kay	Michigan City, La Porte	R	1981 - 2006
Candelaria Reardon, Mara	Munster, Lake	D	2007 - 2010
Clements, Jacqueline	Clinton	R	2008 - 2010
*Crosby, Susan R.	Greencastle, Putnam	D	1991 - 2001
Crouch, Susan R.	Spencer	R	2006 - 2010
Dembowski, Nancy	Knox, Starke	D	2006 - 2010
*Dickinson, Mae	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1993 - 2006
*Duncan, Cleo	Greensburg, Decatur	R	1995 - 2010
*Goeglein, Gloria J.	Ft. Wayne, Allen	R	1991 - 2001
*Klinker, Sheila Ann J.	Lafayette, Tippacano	D	1983 - 2010
*Lawson, Linda	Hamilton	D	1999 - 2010
*Leuck, Claire M.	Fowler, Benton	D	1987 -2001
Mays, Carolene R.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	2002 - 2008
Michael, Nancy	Greencastle, Putnam	D	2008 - 2010
Noe, Cindy	Boone, Hamilton, Marion	R	2003 - 2010
*Pond, Phyllis J.	New Haven, Allen	R	1979 - 2010
Pryor, Cherish	Indianapolis, Marion	D	2008 - 2010
*Richardson, Kathy Kreag	Noblesville, Hamilton	R	1993 -2010
Riecken, Gail	Evansville, Vanderburg	D	2008 - 2010
*Scholer, Sue W.	W. Lafayette, Tippacano	R	1991 - 2004
Sullivan, Mary Ann	Indianapolis, Marion	D	2009 - 2010
*Summers, Vanessa	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1992 - 2010
VanDenburgh, Shelli	Crown Point, Lake	D	2008 - 2010
Walorski, Jackie S.	St. Joseph	R	2005 - 2010
*Welch, Peggy	Bloomington, Monroe	D	1999 - 2010

\*Indicates service in the previous decade.

\*\*Indicates woman has served in the other chamber.



Appendix B: List of All Women Who Have Served in the Senate

Senate in the 1920s (0 Served)

Senate in the 1930s (0 Served)

Senate in the 1940s (3 Served)

Balz, Arcada S.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1943 - 1947
Gardner, Dorothy Haberstroth	Ft. Wayne, Allen	R	1947 - 1957
Garrett, Mary C.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1949 - 1951

Senate in the 1950s (3 Served)

Burnett, Martha Yeager	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1957 - 1963
*Gardner, Dorothy Haberstroth	Ft. Wayne, Allen	R	1947 - 1957
*Garrett, Mary C.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1949 - 1951

Senate in the 1960s (3 Served)

*Burnett, Martha Yeager	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1957 - 1963
Gubbins, Joan M.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1969 - 1980
Lauck, Marie Theresa	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1965 - 1975

Senate in the 1970s (7 Served)

Allstatt, Angeline Paterson	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1973 - 1975
Carson, Julia	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1977 - 1989
*Gubbins, Joan M.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1969 - 1980
Hall, Katie	Gary, Lake	D	1977 -1983
*Lauck, Marie Theresa	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1965 - 1975
Parent, Lillian M.	Danville, Hendricks	R	1979 - 1983
Sullivan, Jessie Jean Keirn	Peru, Miami	R	1975

Senate in the 1980s (14 Served)

Blankenbaker, Virginia M.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1981 - 1991
**Carson, Julia	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1977 - 1989
Gard, Beverly J.	Greenfield, Hancock	R	1989 - 2010
*Gubbins, Joan M.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1969 - 1980
**Hall, Katie	Gary, Lake	D	1977 -1983
Landske, Dorothy Suzanne	Cedar Lake, Lake	R	1985 -2010
Lawson, Betty M.	South Bend, St. Joseph	D	1989 -1992
Leising, Jean	Oldenburg, Franklin	R	1989 - 1996, 2008 - 2010
**Miller, Patricia L.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1983 - 2010
Mosby, Carolyn Brown	Gary, Lake	D	1983 - 1989
**Parent, Lillian M.	Danville, Hendricks	R	1979 - 1983
Simpson, Vi	Bloomington, Monroe	D	1985 -2010

Smith, Kathy	New Albany, Floyd	D	1987 - 1996
Wolf, Katie L.	Monticello, Carroll	D	1987 - 2000

Senate in the 1990s (18 Served)

Antich, Rose Ann	Merrillville, Lake	D	1991 - 2005
*Blankenbaker, Virginia M.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1981 - 1991
Bowser, Anita Olga Albu	Michigan City, La Porte	D	1993 - 2007
Breaux, Billie J.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1991 - 2006
Dempsey, Sandra	Munster, Lake	R	1995 - 1998
*Gard, Beverly J.	Greenfield, Hancock	R	1989 - 2010
*Landske, Dorothy Suzanne	Cedar Lake, Lake	R	1985 - 2010
*Lawson, Betty M.	South Bend, St. Joseph	D	1989 - 1992
Lawson, Connie	Danville, Hendricks	R	1997 - 2010
*Leising, Jean	Oldenburg, Franklin	R	1989 - 1996, 2008 - 2010
Lubbers, Teresa S.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1993 - 2007
**Miller, Patricia L.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1983 - 2010
Rogers, Earline S.	Gary, Lake	D	1990 - 2010
*Simpson, Vi	Bloomington, Monroe	D	1985 - 2010
Sipes, Connie L.	Clark	D	1997 - 2010
Skillman, Becky	Bedford, Lawrence	R	1993 - 2004
*Smith, Kathy	New Albany, Floyd	D	1987 - 1996
**Wolf, Katie L.	Monticello, Carroll	D	1987 - 2000

Senate in the 2000s (19 Served)

*Antich, Rose Ann	Merrillville, Lake	D	1991 - 2005
Becker, Vaneta Liley	Evansville, Vanderburg	R	2006 - 2010
*Bowser, Anita Olga Albu	Michigan City, La Porte	D	1993 - 2007
*Breaux, Billie J.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	1991 - 2006
Breaux, Jean D.	Indianapolis, Marion	D	2007 - 2010
**Dembowski, Nancy	Knox	D	2003 - 2004
Errington, Sue E.	Muncie, Madison	D	2006 - 2010
*Gard, Beverly J.	Greenfield, Hancock	R	1989 - 2010
*Landske, Dorothy Suzanne	Cedar Lake, Lake	R	1985 - 2010
*Lawson, Connie	Danville, Hendricks	R	1997 - 2010
*Leising, Jean	Oldenburg, Franklin	R	1989 - 1996, 2008 - 2010
*Lubbers, Teresa S.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1993 - 2007
**Miller, Patricia L.	Indianapolis, Marion	R	1983 - 2010
*Rogers, Earline S.	Gary, Lake	D	1990 - 2010
*Simpson, Vi	Bloomington, Monroe	D	1985 - 2010
*Sipes, Connie L.	Clark	D	1997 - 2010
*Skillman, Becky	Bedford, Lawrence	R	1993 - 2004
Tallian, Karen R.	Porter	D	2006 - 2010
*Wolf, Katie L.	Monticello, Carroll	D	1987 - 2000

\*Indicates service in the previous decade.

\*\*Indicates woman has served in the other chamber.

## Appendix C: Interview Questionnaire

### A - Background:

1. When did you first decide to run for elected office?
2. Have you always known you wanted to become involved with politics?
3. Have you ever held any other position in which you were elected?
4. Why have you chosen to become involved with politics?
5. Was politics a part of growing up for you?

### B - Campaigning:

1. What was your campaign like?
2. Was your opponent male or female?
3. Were there any initial obstacles you faced when you decided to run for your position?
4. In what ways do you think gender affected your campaign?
5. Did your party specifically recruit you for this position?

### C – Indiana General Assembly:

1. How does being a woman differ, would you say, than being a male at the state legislature?
2. Do you think you are taken seriously at the statehouse?
3. When you were first elected to the state legislature, was gender a significant factor for you?
4. Do you consider yourself a feminist? If so, how would you describe yourself?
5. Do you think that your gender influenced committee assignments?
6. How are your relationships with other women at the statehouse?
7. The Assembly has many binaries, the House and the Senate, Democrats and Republicans, and inevitably men and women. Do you think that being a

woman might transcend some of these boundaries that make other women accessible and easy to work with?

8. Do the members of both parties work together on some issues?
9. Is there a women's caucus at the Statehouse?
10. Have times changed since you been involved with the Indiana General Assembly, with regard to the issue of gender?
11. Do you have any more thoughts on the issue of gender and politics?

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