

The gender and racial identities of our elected representatives influence how they govern.

Democracies in which political officeholders reflect the identities of the populations they represent have many benefits, from bringing more diverse views and experiences to political agendas, to spending on priorities that are more widely shared. For example, research on state legislatures has shown that in addition to representing their districts and their parties, Black state legislators are more likely to support legislation aimed at reducing racial discrimination and improving the socioeconomic status of African Americans, while women legislators do the same for women. Moreover, each lends support to the interests of the other.¹ How inclusive is Minnesota's democracy? How far has the state come, and what goals must we set to ensure that Minnesota's residents are fairly represented?

To answer these questions, we analyze data on Minnesota elections over the past two decades to show trends in women's, Native peoples', and racial and ethnic minorities' candidacy and representation in elected offices. The data shows important progress, but also work still to be done. In this fact sheet, we track the proportion of Minnesota women and men that have run for and been elected to all levels of office – federal, statewide, state legislature, county, and municipal. Because race and ethnicity are more difficult to verify, we include race and ethnicity only for those elected to federal office, statewide executive office, the state legislature, and the Twin Cities municipal elections.²

Trending Towards Inclusion

Since the year 2000, we see an upward trend of women, Native Americans, and people of color elected to public office in Minnesota, but different patterns for each.

After years of little change, since 2018 the numbers of women elected in Minnesota have increased significantly. In the first years of the century, between 2002 and 2006, the number of women elected to federal office, statewide executive office, and the state legislature combined rose from about 28% to 36%. Their numbers then flat-lined for the next eight years (between 2008 and 2016) at between 28% and 33% of officeholders before rising again in 2018.

In 2022, women represented 38% of those elected to federal and state offices combined in Minnesota.

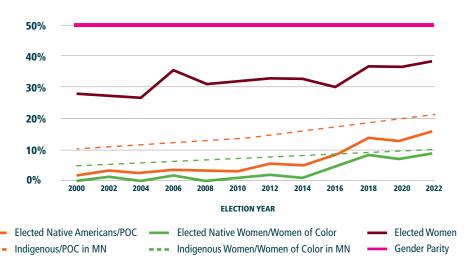
When women run, they win.

Research shows when women candidates run, their chances of winning are as good as those of male candidates. Factors such as incumbency, ideological match with constituents, and primary competition outweigh gender.⁴ However, women who run for office tend to be more qualified than the men they run against and overcome discrimination at the ballot box. When women and men candidates have the same qualifications, women's chances of winning drop.⁵



CENTER ON WOMEN, GENDER AND PUBLIC POLICY The numbers of Native Americans and people of color elected to federal and state offices have increased significantly only in the last few years. Between 2000-2014, just 2-5% of elected officials in these offices identified as Native American or a person of color. This number began to rise in 2016, eventually reaching 16% in 2022. These proportions are getting closer to the 20% of adult residents who identify as Native American or a person of color in the state. Since 2016, at least half of these representatives have been women.³

Women, Native Americans, and People of Color Elected to Minnesota Federal and State Offices, 2000-2022



Gender Parity in Minnesota's Federal Delegation

Minnesota is one of eleven states to have gender parity or greater in their federal delegation in 2023.⁶ Following the 2018 election, five out of the ten members of the Minnesota federal delegation – the Congress people and Senators sent by Minnesotans to Washington D.C. – were women. This included three of eight House representatives and two Senators.

- Minnesota's eight-members of the U.S. House of Representatives first reached gender parity in 2020, with four women and four men. Minnesota is currently one of 18 states and territories to achieve gender parity or greater for their House of Representatives delegates.⁷
- Since 2018, both Minnesota U.S. Senate seats have been held by women. Currently, four states have all-woman senate delegations: Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, and Washington.⁸

Democrats have run women candidates for Minnesota's federal delegation more often than Republicans. The first woman from Minnesota elected to the U.S. Congress was Democratic Farmer Labor party (DFL) Representative Coya Knudson in 1955. It was not until 2006 that Minnesota Republicans sent a woman to the U.S. Congress – Representative Michele Bachman. Only the DFL has nominated women for the U.S. Senate seats, and each time they have won.⁹

Native Americans and people of color are underrepresented in the federal delegation. Only one current member of the federal delegation is a person of color – Ilhan Omar (DFL) of the 5th Congressional District is Black. Omar was preceded in office by African American Keith Ellison (DFL). Minnesota has never had a non-white senator.

States with Gender Parity or Greater in their Federal Delegation in 2023



CONGRESSIONAL FIRSTS

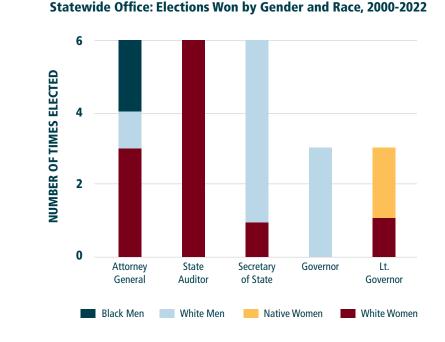
	Coya Knutson (DFL) First woman to represent Minnesota in the U.S. Congress in 1955. ¹⁰
۲	Amy Klobuchar (DFL) First woman to serve as Minnesota U.S. Senator, 2007. Tina Smith joined Klobuchar in 2019, making Minnesota's first all-female senate delegation.
	Keith Ellison (DFL) First Muslim to serve in the U.S. Congress and the first African American, person of color, and Muslim to represent Minnesota, 2007.
	Ilhan Omar (DFL) One of the first two Muslim women to serve in the U.S. Congress, and the first woman of color to represent Minnesota, 2019.
	Angie Craig (DFL) First out LGBTQ+ U.S. Congressional member from Minnesota, 2019.



Statewide Elected Offices

Election to statewide executive office is a greater challenge for historically marginalized groups than other elected offices. To win, candidates must garner the support of the majority of voters from across the entire state – not just a district. For Native American candidates and candidates of color in Minnesota, this means gaining the support of a voting population that is about 80% white. We focus on Governor and Lieutenant Governor (which are elected on the same ticket), Attorney General, State Auditor, and Secretary of State.

Between 2000 and 2022, white women won election to these statewide offices eleven times and white men nine times. Only one Native person and one Black person has ever been elected to statewide office in the state – to the Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General offices respectively, and each has won two terms. Only white men have held the top executive position – the Governor's office.



STATEWIDE FIRSTS

First woman to serve as Secretary of State,

First woman to serve as Lieutenant Governor,

First woman elected State Auditor in 1995.

First woman to serve as Attorney General,

First Muslim, African American, and person of color to serve as Attorney General, 2019.

First Native American woman to serve in statewide office, as Lieutenant Governor, 2019. Highest ranking Native woman elected to

Virginia Holm (DFL)

Marlene Johnson (DFL)

Judi Dutcher (Republican)

Lori Swanson (DFL)

Keith Ellison (DFL)

Peggy Flanagan (DFL)

1952.

1983.

2007.

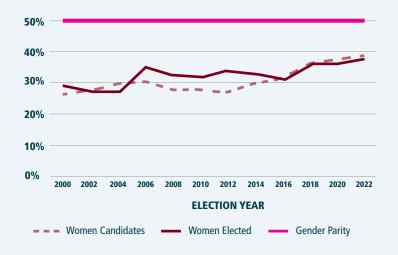


executive office in the United States.

The Minnesota Legislature has become more reflective of Minnesotans in the last decade. After incremental change between 2000 and 2014, since 2016, Minnesotans have elected significantly more Native Americans, people of color, and women.

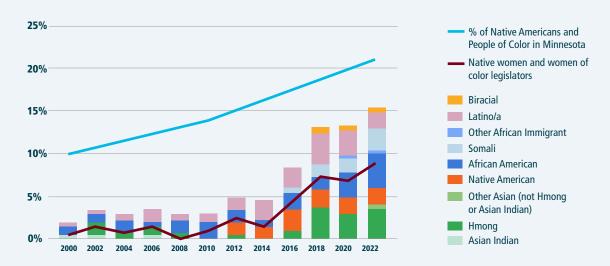
After a decade of decline, since 2018 women's representation in the Minnesota Legislature has been on the rise. The numbers of women elected to the Minnesota Legislature increased from 2000 to 2006 from 29% of the legislative seats to 35%. Then, for the next decade (from 2006 to 2016) women lost ground - their numbers dropped to 31% in 2016. In 2018, the number of women in the legislature rose to 36% and in 2022 women's representation hit an all-time high of 39%.

Minnesota Legislature: Women Candidates and Elected, 2000-2022





The Minnesota Legislature has become significantly more reflective of the state's racial and ethnic composition since 2016. The number of Minnesotans that identify as Native American or a person of color has increased from 10% of the state's population in the year 2000, to 20% in 2020. Between 2000 and 2014, the Minnesota Legislature barely represented these groups – the total proportion of legislators of color never exceeded 5% until 2016. Beginning in 2016, the legislature has become more reflective of the state. In 2022, Minnesotans elected the most ethnically and racially diverse legislature in history, with 16% of legislators identifying as Native American or a person of color. More than half of these legislators since 2016 have been Native women or women of color (between 52% and 56%).



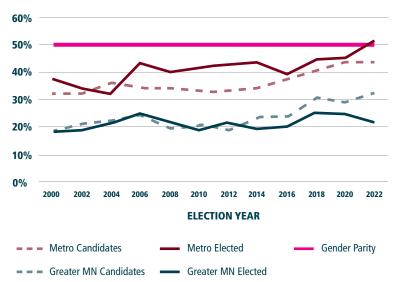
Minnesota Legislature: Native American and People of Color Representatives

Metro and Greater Minnesota Comparisons

More women run for the state legislature in metro districts than in Greater Minnesota, but women in Greater Minnesota are closing the candidate gap. For the past 22 years, women in metro districts have constituted a greater share of candidates and elected legislators than women from Greater Minnesota districts.¹¹ However, the number of women candidates running for Greater Minnesota seats has increased more guickly than women candidates for metro seats. Between 2000 and 2022, women running in metro Minnesota districts increased by 27% (from 32% of all metro district candidates to 44%). Women candidates from Greater Minnesota districts increased from 18% to 33% - a 45% increase in women candidates over this period.

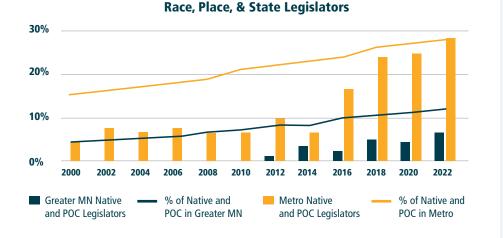
Minnesota Legislature: Women Candidates and Elected, Metro and Greater Minnesota

Percent of all Metro compared to Greater Minnesota women candidates and elected.





Native legislators and legislators of color are predominantly elected to the Minnesota Legislature from the metro area. From 2000 to 2010, Greater Minnesota elected no individuals that identified as Native or as a person of color, while districts with at least 50% of their population in metro areas elected 4-8% Native and people of color legislators. In 2022, 7% of Greater Minnesota's state legislators were Native or people of color.¹² In the Metro, 28% of Minnesota legislators were Native or people of color in the same year.

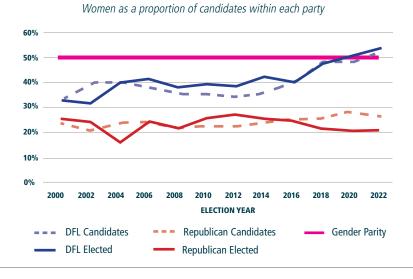


Party Matters

The DFL has supported more women candidates for the Minnesota Legislature than the Republican party. Forty percent of DFL candidates and 24% of Republican candidates have been women since 2000. The proportion of female DFL candidates has steadily increased since 2000, breaking 50% for the first time in 2022 (52%). For Republicans, 2020 marked the highest proportion of women candidates fielded (28%).

The proportion of women among Republicans elected to the Minnesota Legislature has yet to break 30%. The most Republican women state legislators served in 2012, when they comprised 27% of representatives from their party. In the 2023 Minnesota Legislature, women comprised 21% of Republican legislators, and 54% of DFL legislators.

Minnesota Legislature: Women Candidates and Elected by Major Party



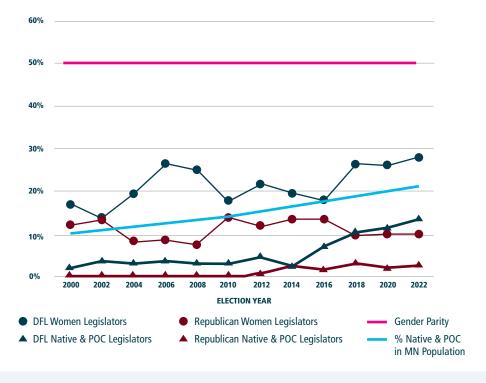
FIRSTS IN THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE¹³

	John Francis Wheaton (R): First known African American to serve in the Minnesota Legislature (House), in 1899.
	Sue Metzger Dickey Hough (R), Mabeth Hurd Paige (R), Myrtle Agnes Cain (Famer-Labor) (all of Minneapolis) and Hannah Jensen Kempfer (Independent) (of Otter Tail County) First four women to serve in the Minnesota Legislature, 1923. ¹⁴
۲	B. Robert Lewis (DFL) First known African American to serve in the Minnesota Senate, 1973.
	Allan Spear (DFL) First openly gay member of the Minnesota Legislature (Senate), 1973.
	Conrado M. "Conrad" Vega (DFL) First known Latino (Mexican) to serve in the Minnesota Legislature (Senate), 1977.
•	Harold Raymond "Skip" Finn (DFL) First known Native man (Leech Lake Band of Chippewa) to serve in the Minnesota Legislature (Senate), 1992.
۲	Edwina Garcia (DFL) First known Latina to serve in the Minnesota Legislature (House), 1991.
۰	Satveer S. Chaudhary (DFL) First known Asian American member of the Minnesota Legislature, 1996.
	Neva Walker (DFL) First African American woman to serve in the Minnesota Legislature (House), 2001.
۲	Mee Moua (DFL) First Asian woman and Hmong American to serve in the Minnesota Legislature. First Hmong American to serve in any U.S. state legislature, 2002. ¹⁵
	Susan Allen (DFL) First known Native woman (Lakota, Dakota, And Anishinaabe) to serve in the Minnesota Legislature (House), 2012.
	Alicia Kozlowski (DFL) First known non-binary member of the Minnesota Legislature (House), 2023.
	Leigh Finke (DFL) First known transgender person to serve in the Minnesota Legislature (House), 2023.



Minnesota Legislators: Women, Native Americans, and People of Color by Party

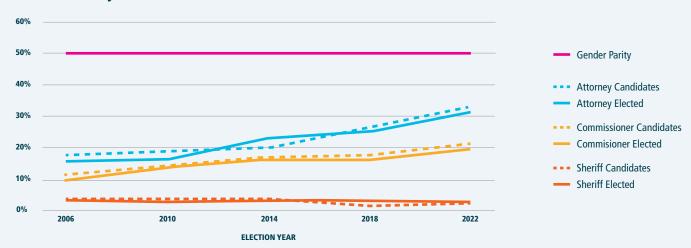
Historically, the DFL has fielded more Native Americans and people of color for state legislative seats than the Republican party. Beginning in 2016, this party gap has increased. Since 2000, 122 Native American and people of color from the DFL have been elected, compared to 20 Native American and people of color Republican state legislators. Currently, 5% of Republican legislators identify as Native or a person of color, compared to 26% of the DFL.



County Governments

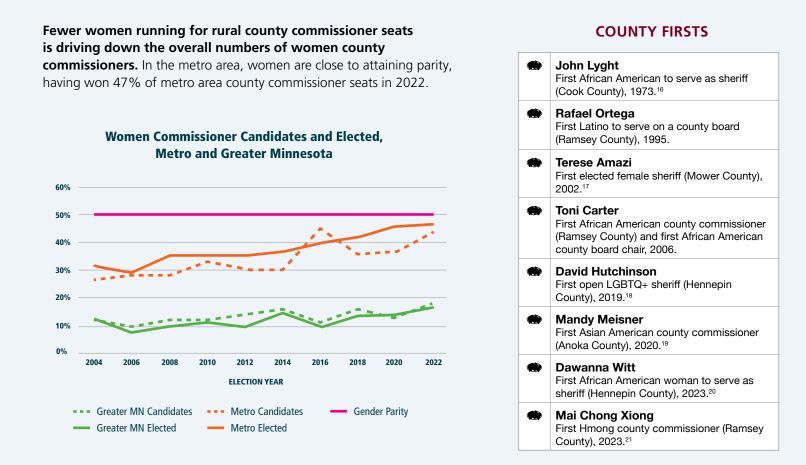
For county governments, we focus on county commissioners, attorneys, and sheriffs. We compiled information on gender only – not race or ethnicity – beginning in 2006.

From 2006 to 2022, women – candidates and elected – to commissioner seats and county attorneys offices have been steadily increasing. The 2022 elections resulted in women holding 33% of all county attorney offices, and 20% of all county commissioner seats. Women sheriffs, however, have not increased since 2006. In fact, in 2006, 4% of county sheriffs in the state were women, and that number dropped to 2% in 2022.



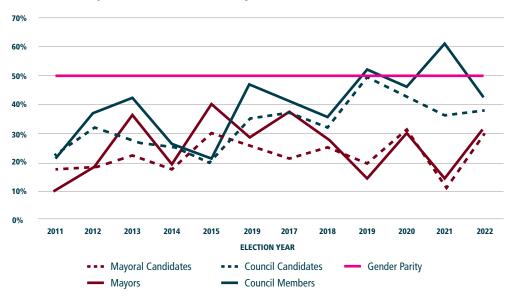
County Government: Women Candidates and Elected, 2006-2022





Municipal Governments

City councils in cities with a population of 30,000 or greater are trending toward gender parity. The pattern for women mayors has been less consistent. In 2019, 52% of all council seats in these cities were held by women, and 62% in 2021, before dropping to 42% in 2022.²² We counted women mayors in all cities with a population of 10,000 or greater. Women mayors hit a high point in 2015, when women comprised 40% of mayors of these cities. In 2022, they comprised 32%.



Municipal Elections: Women Mayors and Council Members 2011-2022



CENTER ON WOMEN, GENDER AND PUBLIC POLICY UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Mayoral Elections

City size does not necessarily correlate with gender parity in mayoral candidacy. A mere 18% of the 100 largest cities have achieved gender parity in candidates for the highest position in municipal government. The most populous cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, are not among these. In Minneapolis, women comprised just 15% of mayoral candidates between 2011 and 2022. Among Minnesota's cities with a population 10,000 or greater, 29 have not had a woman candidate for mayor since 2011.²³

Fewer women mayoral candidates mean fewer are elected. Less than one-third (29) of the 100 largest cities have elected a woman mayor between 2011-2022.

MUNICIPAL FIRSTS

Cities in bold are among the 30 largest in the state.							
City % Women Women Candidat Candidates of Total Elections							
Savage	100%	4 of 4					
Maplewood	88%	7 of 8					
Shoreview	88%	7 of 8					
Otsego	80%	4 of 5					
Richfield	75%	3 of 4					
New Hope	75%	3 of 4					
Hastings	75%	3 of 4					

Top Seven Cities for Proportion of

Women Mayoral Candidates, 2011-2022

Among all Minnesota cities population 10,000+.

Brian Covle First openly gay man to serve on the Minneapolis City Council, 1984. **Sharon Sayles Belton** First African American and first woman to serve as mayor of Minneapolis, 1994. Melvin Carter First African American to serve as mayor of Saint Paul, 2018. **Phillip Cunningham** First out transgender man of color to serve on the Minneapolis City Council, and any public office in the United States, 2018. **Andrea Jenkins** First out transgender woman of color to serve on the Minneapolis City Council, and any public office in the United States, 2018. Maria Regan Gonzalez First Latina mayor in Minnesota. Served from 2018.27

Council Elections

Women candidates for council seats fare better than mayoral candidates.²⁴ As of 2023, 16 of Minnesota's 32 largest municipalities have achieved or exceeded gender parity among their council members, with 50% or more women council members.²⁵ Maple Grove's four-person council is entirely women.

Cities moving toward gender parity:

- Only four of the 32 largest cities in the state have had 50% or more women candidates for their city council over time: Maplewood (63%), Brooklyn Center (52%), Maple Grove (51%), and Richfield (50%).
- Seven of the 32 largest cities between 2011 and 2022 have had half or more women council members: Brooklyn Center and Maple Grove (75%), Woodbury (67%) Maplewood (57%), Inver Grove Heights (50%) St. Louis Park (50%) and Edina (50%).

Cities with the fewest women candidates and elected:

- The fewest women ran for council in Lakeville (9%), Bloomington (15%), Shakopee (20%), Blaine (21%), and Coon Rapids (22%).
- From 2011-2022, the five worst cities for women's representation on city councils have been: Bloomington (14%), Coon Rapids (22%), St Cloud (23%), Cottage Grove (23%), and Rochester (24%).



Twin Cities Mayoral Elections

Minneapolis Mayor							
Election Year Candidates Women % Women Women Elected Native Am/POO Candidates Candidates Candidates Candidates Elected							
2013	35	6	17%	1	0		
2017	16	2	13%	0	0		
2021	17	2	12%	0	0		

Minneapolis: Women have comprised 15% of mayoral candidates and have been one of three mayors elected.²⁶

St. Paul: Women have comprised 18% of mayoral candidates, but none have won. In 2017, St. Paul elected its first African American mayor, Melvin Carter, who previously served in the city council.

St. Paul Mayor							
Election Year	Candidates	Women Candidates	% Women Candidates	Women Elected	Native Am/POC Elected		
2013	4	1	25%	0	0		
2017	10	2	20%	0	1		
2021	8	1	13%	0	1		

Twin Cities City Council Elections

Minneapolis: Minneapolis has a 13-member city council. Between 2013 and 2021, 33% of candidates and 46% of council members have been women. Racial and ethnic diversity in the Minneapolis City Council has been increasing in recent elections, to a majority of members identifying as non-white in 2021 (62%).

	Minneapolis Council Member								
Election	Election Candidates Women % Women Women % Women Native Am/ % Native Am/								
Year		Candidates	Candidates	Elected	Elected	POC Elected	POC Elected		
2013	47	12	26%	6	46%	3	23%		
2017	43	18	42%	5	38%	5	38%		
2021	58	19	33%	7	54%	8	62%		

St. Paul: St. Paul's city council has seven members. Between 2011 and 2019, 38% of city council candidates and 43% of council members have been women. The Council significantly increased its representation of people of color in 2019, when three council members of color were elected.

St. Paul Council Member								
Election	Election Candidates Women % Women Women % Women Native Am/ % Native Am/							
Year		Candidates	Candidates	Elected	Elected	POC Elected	POC Elected	
2011	20	5	25%	2	29%	1	14%	
2015	18	4	22%	3	43%	1	14%	
2019	28	17	61%	5	71%	3	43%	



Policies to Encourage Inclusive Representation

- Candidate training programs are crucial for candidates from historically marginalized communities. It takes knowledge, networks, and funding to run a successful political campaign. Candidate training programs provide valuable information, technical skills, access to networks, and the confidence boost that many historically marginalized individuals need to decide to run, and to win.²⁸
- Political action groups can direct resources to candidates where it will make the most impact. The data we present suggests greater attention is merited to rural Minnesota and offices in which women are underrepresented, such as county government.
- **Party policies and norms matter.** While U.S. parties do not control candidate selection, they are crucial in recruiting and endorsing candidates. When party elites develop party rules and norms that facilitate inclusion, more candidates from diverse backgrounds are willing to run.
- Institute ranked choice voting more widely. Several Minnesota municipalities use ranked choice voting. One study has found that ranked choice voting which eliminates the "wasted vote" dilemma faced by voters facilitates the election of greater numbers of Native Americans and people of color, and women of color specifically.²⁹
- Create multi-member electoral districts. Research shows that women are more likely to win in multi-member districts. Put simply, when voters have more than one seat to elect, they are more willing to "risk" a vote on a less traditional candidate.³⁰ In 1984, one fourth of lower state houses and one in twelve upper state houses had multi-member districts.³¹ These numbers have decreased because some states used multi-member districts as a means to dilute the vote of marginalized racial and ethnic groups violating the Voting Rights Act. If instituted simultaneously with safeguards against gerrymandering (such as independent redistricting commissions), multi-member districts could significantly increase the election of women, Native Americans, and people of color.



CENTER ON WOMEN, GENDER AND PUBLIC POLIC

Minnesota at a Glance

- In 2021, Minnesota was the 22nd most populous state in the U.S. with about 5.7 million residents. Females represent 49.9% of the state's population, and males 50.1%.³²
- Just over half of Minnesotans live in the Twin Cities metro area. About 55.2% live in the Twin Cities metro and 44.8% in Greater Minnesota.³³
- The percentage of Minnesota households with a same-sex married couple was 0.49%. Just over 8% of adults aged 18 and over identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual or Transgender (LGBT).³⁴
- Minnesota's racial and ethnic composition is 79% white and 21% non-white including 6.4% Black, 5.5% Latinx, 4.9% Asian, 3.4% other or multiple, and 0.9% Native American.³⁵

About the Fact Sheet

This fact sheet was prepared by Jenna Hoge, Masters of Public Policy student at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs and Dr. Christina Ewig, Director of the Center on Women, Gender and Public Policy. It was made possible by financial support of the Carlson Family Foundation and the Humphrey School of Public Affairs. © 2023 Center on Women, Gender, and Public Policy, University of Minnesota

- 1 See for example: Kathleen A. Bratton and Kerry L. Haynie, "Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: The Effects of Gender and Race," *The Journal of Politics* 61, no. 3 (August 1, 1999): 658–79, https:// doi.org/10.2307/2647822.
- 2 Our election data comes from the Minnesota Secretary of State website. We examined state and federal elections data from 2000 to 2022. We collected county data from 2004 to 2022 and limited our analysis to commissioners, attorneys, and sheriffs. Our municipal data is from 2011-2022 and includes mayoral data for Minnesota municipalities with a population of 10,000 or greater. We analyzed both mayoral and council election data for Minnesota municipalities with a population of 30,000 or greater. For the most part, our gender data is binary women men. When clear, we coded for nonbinary individuals; this was only two people out of the 11901 in our sample. We determined gender, race, and ethnicity for those elected to the state legislature using the legislature's own self-identification survey, available from the Minnesota Legislative Reference Library. For state legislature candidates and all other offices, we determined gender, race, and ethnicity by searching relevant news and political websites. Some with no web presence were verified by contacting the relevant office. In two instances (one City of Minneapolis candidate and one Morrison County commissioner) we were not able to confirm the gender of a candidate; in both instances, the candidate was not elected and their gender was omitted. Because of the greater challenge of verifying race and ethnicity, we narrowed our scope to just those elected (not candidates) for state and federal offices and excluded county and municipal offices. Two coders independently coded gender and race/ethnicity of each individual and disagreements were adjudicated by a third coder. We include special elections data only in major election years, and omit it in off years. This means our data includes all offices with the exception of six municipal seats, four county seats, and 19 Minnesota Legislature seats which were filled in off-year special elections When included, population numbers for Native Americans and people of color are from the U.S. census. Historical population counts in Metro and Greater Minnesota are calculated from Steven Manson, Jonathan Schroeder, David Van Riper, Tracy Kugler, and Steven Ruggles. IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 17.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS. 2022. http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V17.0, and the 2020 census tables available at: https://data.census.gov/
- 3 In 2016, half of all Native American and people of color elected were women; 57% in 2018, 54% in 2020; and 56% were women in 2022.
- 4 Jennifer L. Lawless and Kathryn Pearson, "The Primary Reason for Women's Underrepresentation? Reevaluating the Conventional Wisdom," *Journal of Politics* 70, no. 1 (January 2008): 67–82; Barbara Palmer and Dennis Simon, "The Political Glass Ceiling," *Women & Politics* 23, no. 1–2 (May 1, 2001): 59–78, https://doi.org/10.1300/J014v23n01_05.
- 5 Tiffany D. Barnes, Regina P. Branton, and Erin C. Cassese, "A Reexamination of Women's Electoral Success in Open Seat Elections: The Conditioning Effect of Electoral Competition," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 38, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 298–317, https://doi.org/10.1080/15544 77X.2016.1219589.
- 6 Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Oregon, and West Virginia also have gender parity. Sixty-seven percent of Alaska, Nevada, Washington, and Wyoming's federal delegation representatives are women. At 75%, New Hampshire has the highest percent of women in their federal delegation (three of four seats).
- 7 American Samoa*, The District of Columbia, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico*, and the Virgin Islands* each have one house of representative vote. Those marked with an asterisk are represented by a woman.





- 8 Center for American Women and Politics, "Women in the U.S. Senate 2023," 2023, https://cawp.rutgers.edu/facts/levels-office/congress/womenus-senate-2023.
- 9 Amy Klobuchar ran and was elected in 2006, 2021 and 2018. Tina Smith ran and was elected in a 2018 special election and again in a 2020 regular election. Smaller parties also nominated three women who have not won.
- 10 Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, "Knutson, Coya Gjesdal," U.S. House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives, accessed May 10, 2023, https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/K/KNUTSON,-Coya-Gjesdal-(K000300)/.
- 11 We defined districts as Metro or Greater Minnesota based on whether or not 50% or more of their population fell within the 7-county metro area.
- 12 Representatives Heather Keeler, Alicia Kozlowski (also Mexican) and Steve Green are Native, and Representatives Lisa Demuth, Walter Hudson, Eric Lucero are people of color.
- 13 All references in this section are from the Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, "Legislators Past & Present" unless otherwise noted, https:// www.lrl.mn.gov/legdb/index. Dates refer to the first year in office, not year elected.
- 14 Linda A. Cameron, "Hough, Sue Metzger Dickey (ca. 1882–1980)," MNOPEDIA | Minnesota Historical Society, 2020, https://www.mnopedia. org/person/hough-sue-metzger-dickey-ca-1882-1980.
- 15 Tiffany Vang, "Election of Mee Moua to the Minnesota Senate, 2002," MNOPEDIA | Minnesota Historical Society, 2015, https://www.mnopedia. org/event/election-mee-moua-minnesota-senate-2002.
- 16 Samuel Meshbesher, "Lyght, John (1927–2010)," MNOPEDIA | Minnesota Historical Society, 2018, https://www.mnopedia.org/person/lyghtjohn-1927-2010.
- 17 Gordon Severson, "Minnesota's 1st Elected Female Sheriff Calls It a Career," kare11.com, accessed May 12, 2023, https://www.kare11. com/article/news/minnesotas-1st-elected-female-sheriff-calls-it-acareer/89-532622183.Amazi was preceded by women appointed sheriff.
- 18 Jiwon Choi, "10 Minnesota Political Firsts from the Midterms," MPR News, November 7, 2018, https://www.mprnews.org/story/2018/11/07/ ten-firsts-in-2018-midterm.
- 19 Kiya Edwards, "Anoka County Swears in First Commissioner of Color," kare11.com, accessed May 12, 2023, https://www.kare11.com/article/ news/local/kare11-sunrise/anoka-county-swears-in-first-commissioner-ofcolor/89-a336be5-18d1-4127-83cc-6f93615f6df3.
- 20 Joey Peters, "Dawanna Witt Elected as First Black Hennepin County Sheriff," Sahan Journal, November 9, 2022, http://sahanjournal. com/2022-elections/dawanna-witt-elected-as-first-black-hennepincounty-sheriff/.
- 21 Becky Z. Dernbach, "Mai Chong Xiong Elected Minnesota's First Hmong County Commissioner," Sahan Journal, November 9, 2022, http:// sahanjournal.com/democracy-politics/mai-chong-xiong-hmong-ramseycounty-board-of-commissioners-election-2022/.
- 22 Municipalities around the state have different terms for their mayors and council members, therefore elections happen at different times. At least some Minnesota municipalities hold an election each year.
- 23 Albert Lea, Austin, Blaine, Bloomington, Brainerd, Cloquet, Eagan, Elk River, Fridley, Grand Rapids, Ham Lake, Hermantown, Hibbing, Hugo, Little Canada, Maple Grove, Marshall, Monticello, Oakdale, Owatonna, Prior Lake, Robbinsdale, Rogers, Rosemount, Sauk Rapids, St. Cloud, Stillwater, Willmar, Worthington

- 24 We looked at city council candidates and winners for the 32 municipalities in Minnesota whose populations were greater than 30,000 between 2011 and 2022. Starting with the most populous these are: Minneapolis, St. Paul, Rochester, Bloomington, Brooklyn Park, Duluth, Plymouth, Woodbury, Lakeville, Blaine, Maple Grove, Eagan, St. Cloud, Burnsville, Eden Prairie, Coon Rapids, Apple Valley, Minnetonka, Edina, St Louis Park, Shakopee, Mankato, Moorhead, Maplewood, Cottage Grove, Richfield, Roseville, Inver Grove Heights, Brooklyn Center, Andover, and Savage. Source: https://mn.gov/admin/demography/data-by-topid/ population-data/our-estimates/
- 25 Brooklyn Park has six council seats, but one is vacant; two of the five council members are women. The municipalities with 50% or more women council members are, in order from most to least women representation are: Maple Grove, St Louis Park, Edina, Brooklyn Center, Maplewood, Woodbury, St. Paul, Blaine, Minnetonka, Duluth, Minneapolis, Plymouth, Eden Prairie, Inver Grove Heights, Roseville, and Savage. We gathered this data directly from each city's website.
- 26 We only tabulated race and ethnicity for elected mayors and council members, not candidates.
- 27 Aarushi Sen, "Minnesota's First Latina Mayor Aims for a Legacy of Improved Access for All," Sahan Journal, July 12, 2022, http:// sahanjournal.com/democracy-politics/richfield-minnesota-first-latinamayor-maria-regan-gonzalez-legacy-inclusivity/.
- 28 Kira Sanbonmatsu, "Electing Women of Color: The Role of Campaign Trainings," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 36, no. 2 (April 3, 2015): 137–60, https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2015.1019273.
- 29 Sarah John, Haley Smith, and Elizabeth Zack, "The Alternative Vote: Do Changes in Single-Member Voting Systems Affect Descriptive Representation of Women and Minorities?," *Electoral Studies* 54 (August 1, 2018): 90–102, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.05.009.
- 30 Richard E. Matland and Deborah Dwight Brown, "District Magnitude's Effect on Female Representation in U. S. State Legislatures," Legislative Studies Quarterly 17, no. 4 (1992): 469–92, https://doi. org/10.2307/439862.
- 31 Richard G. Niemi, Simon Jackman, and Laura R. Winsky, "Candidacies and Competitiveness in Multimember Districts," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1991): 91–109, https://doi.org/10.2307/439969.
- 32 U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, "Annual and Cumulative Estimates of Resident Population Change for the United States, Regions, States, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico and Region and State Rankings: April 1, 2020 to July 1, 2021 (NST-EST2021-CHG)," December 2021.
- 33 CWGPP analysis of American Community Survey 2016-2020, "American Community Survey 5 Year Estimates" (extracted from IPUMS U.S.A, University of Minnesota, 2022), https://usa.ipums.org/usa/.
- 34 U.S. Census Bureau, "New Household Pulse Survey Data Reveal Differences between LGBT and Non-LGBT Respondents During COVID-19 Pandemic," Census.gov, accessed July 15, 2022, https://www.census. gov/library/stories/2021/11/census-bureau-survey-explores-sexualorientation-and-gender-identity.html.
- 35 CWGPP analysis of American Community Survey 2016-2020, "American Community Survey 5 Year Estimates."

255 Humphrey School, 301 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455 | 612.625.3032 cwgpp@umn.edu | z.umn.edu/cwgpp