

Tenure, Turnover, and Reelection in the Wisconsin Legislature, 1940 – 2012

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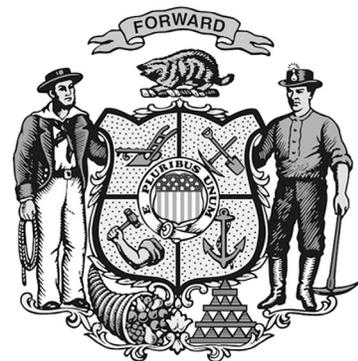


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TENURE, TURNOVER, AND REELECTION IN THE WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE, 1940 – 2012

Perceptions about turnover and length of service in the Wisconsin Legislature often lack grounding in historical data. Do legislators serve for longer or shorter periods than they once did? Are they more or less likely to run for reelection and be reelected than in the past? These questions can only be answered definitively by a careful study of relevant data and comparing recent trends over a period of decades. This bulletin is a presentation of that data derived from the various editions of the *Wisconsin Blue Book*, specifically from the biographical and elections sections. It makes a study of legislatures and elections from 1940 to the present. This 70-year span should offer comparable data across a time period that has seen considerable changes in the social and political culture in Wisconsin and in the Wisconsin Legislature as an institution. In the 1940s, for example, the legislative session tended to last no more than seven or eight months. By the 1970s, the legislative session had expanded to the point where legislative business is routinely conducted over 15 months or more, and may be conducted at any time during the biennial session. The legislative salary in 1940 was \$100 per month for the biennium; it is now \$49,943 per year and includes a per diem allowance. There has been a veritable revolution in election law, redistricting, and campaign finance since 1940. This seven decade span also takes us across an interesting period of Wisconsin's political landscape: It begins during a period of robust multiparty competition; to a period of Republican dominance in the late 1940s and early 1950s; to a period of close two party competition in the late 1950s and 1960s; through a period of Democratic ascendancy in the 1970s and 1980s; and a second period of close two party competition since the 1990s.

This bulletin will provide data on tenure – the length of time members have served in the legislature; turnover – the number of new members in each session, and the rate at which each new class or cohort departs legislative service; and reelection rates – the likelihood that an incumbent member will face an opponent and, if opposed, the likelihood that he or she will be defeated in a primary or general election.

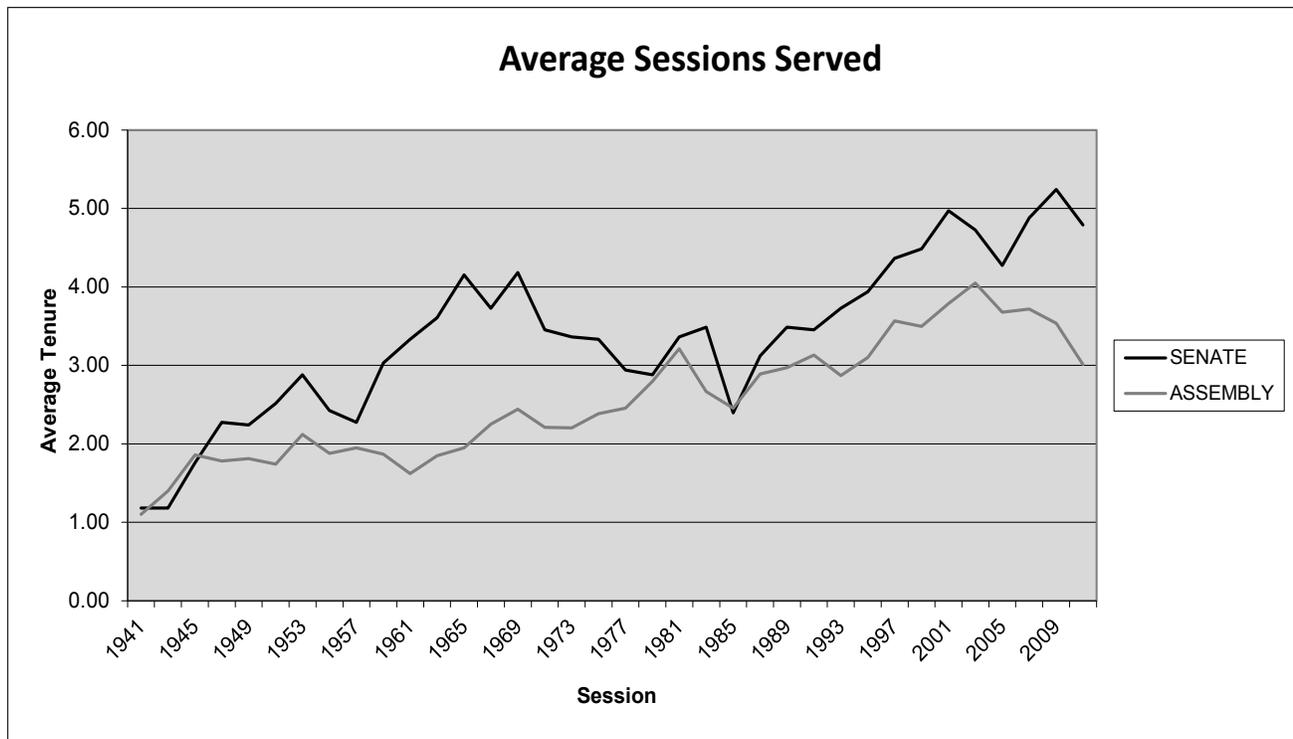
The Wisconsin Legislature consists of a senate and an assembly. The 33 senate members serve four-year terms and these terms are staggered so the whole membership never faces the voters at the same time. Members in odd-numbered districts are up for reelection in “off-year” or non-presidential elections; members in even-numbered districts run in presidential years. The result is that there are never more than 17 incumbent senators running in a cycle. The small sample size makes the data for the senate perhaps less meaningful, or at least more difficult to interpret. Representatives to the assembly serve two-year terms and are all up for reelection in each biennial cycle. The assembly consisted of 100 members during the first decades of this study; membership was reduced to 99 beginning with the 1973 session. This offers a much larger sample than the senate, making trends less susceptible to being affected by the actions of a few individuals and easier to spot.

Both senators and representatives to the assembly must be elected in party primaries and again at the subsequent general elections in even-numbered years. Primaries have generally been in early September, except in 1944, 1946, and 2012, when they were held in mid-August. General elections have coincided with the federal elections in November.

TENURE

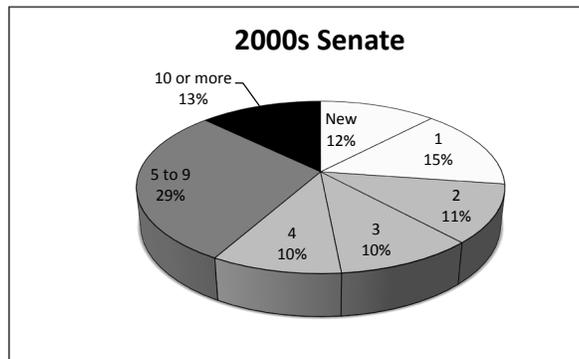
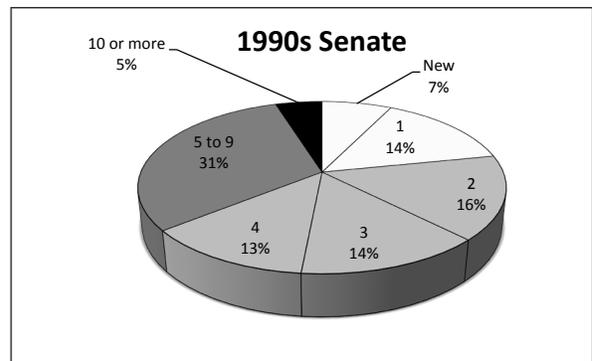
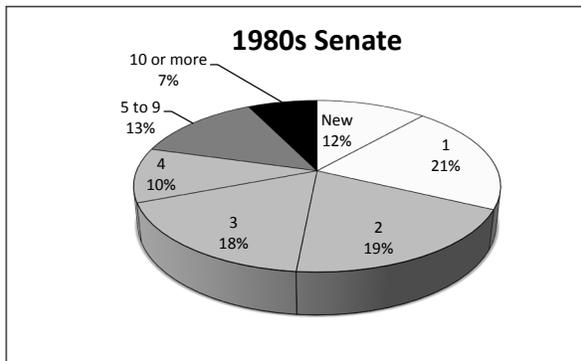
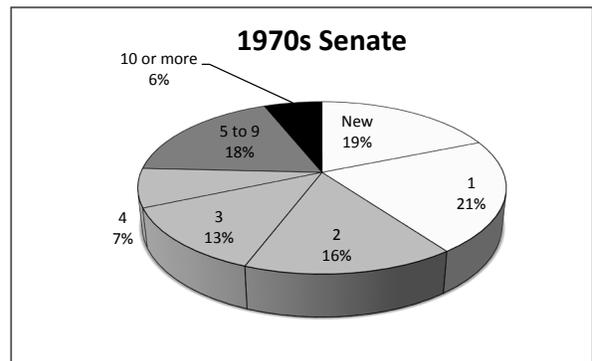
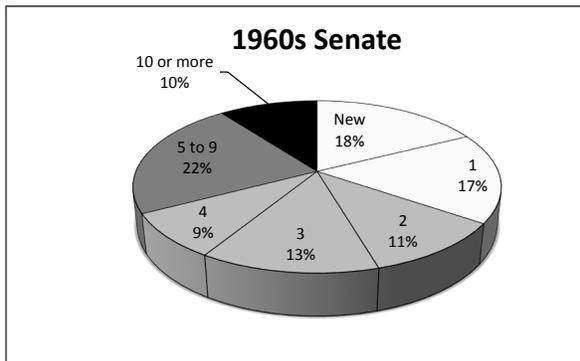
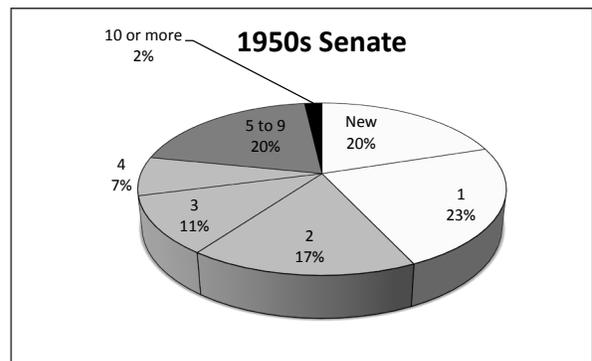
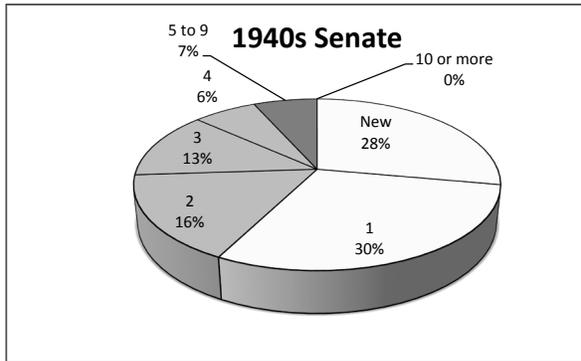
Average Sessions Served. One measure of longevity for the legislature as a whole is average tenure. For the purposes of this bulletin, in each session of the legislature each member of the legislature has been assigned a number corresponding with the number of prior legislative sessions he or she has served. This includes sessions in which he or she served only a portion (having been elected in a special election or resigned during the session) of an entire session. It counts only consecutive sessions served immediately prior to the session in question. The figure is summed with the comparable figure for all the other members of the house to determine the total tenure for the house as of inauguration day. That figure, divided by the total number of members in the house, gives an average tenure for the session. This counts service only in the one house, not any service in the other house.

An examination of the data resulting from the calculations confirms that the average legislative experience enjoyed by members of the Wisconsin Legislature has increased over the last 70 years, amounting to an almost five-fold increase in the senate and a three-fold increase in the assembly. Although one might expect the senate, with its four-year term, to have a longer average tenure, in 1941, both houses had a near identical experience of just over 1.1 sessions per member.



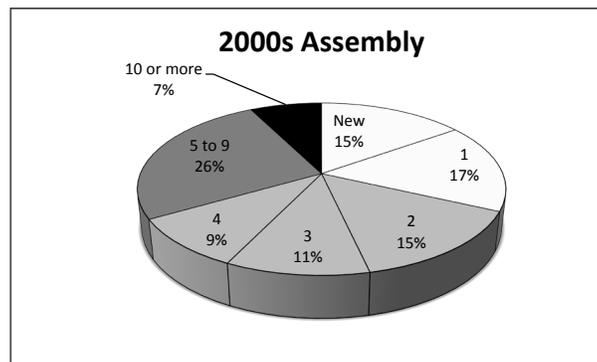
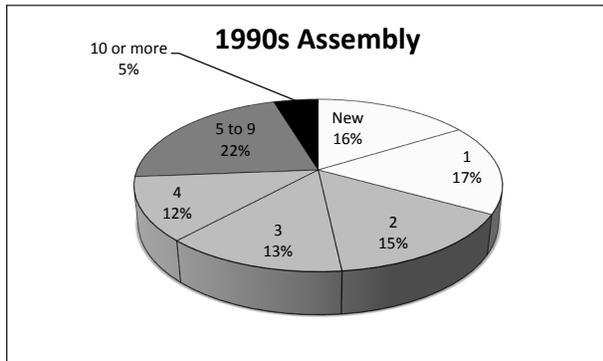
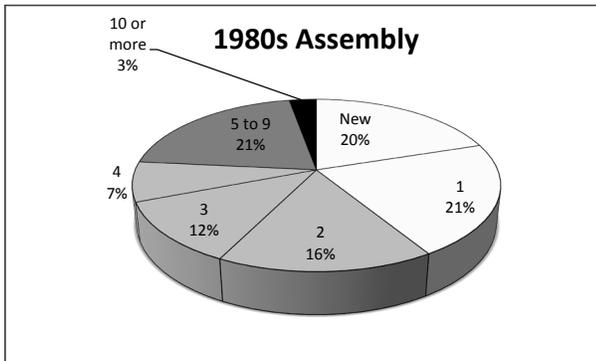
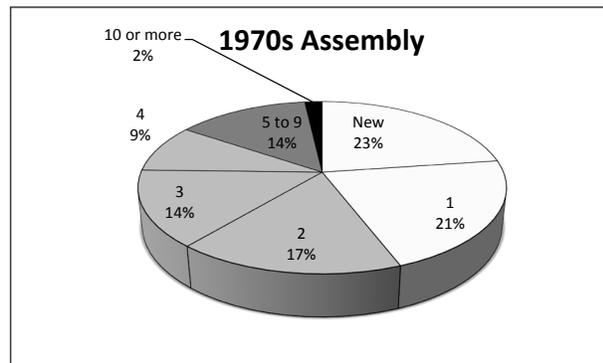
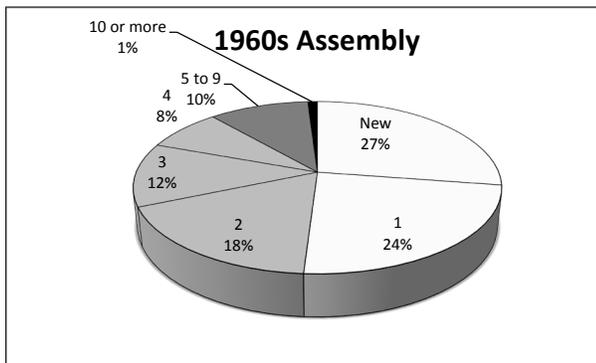
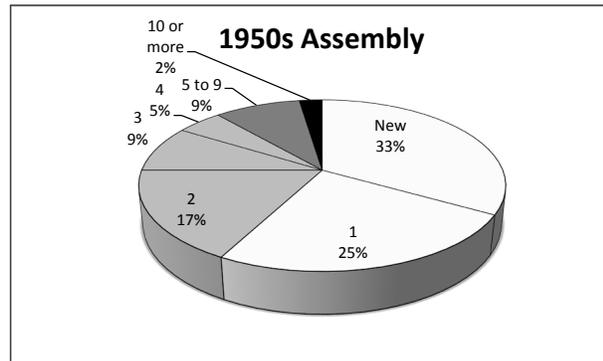
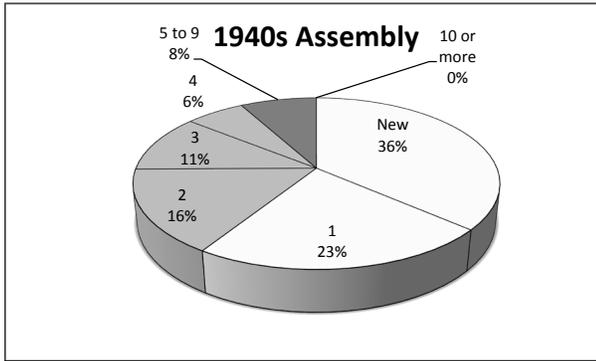
The average experience of a member quickly doubled to around two sessions in the post-war years, but steadily increased in the senate through the 1950s and 1960s while plateauing at that level in the assembly. The average senator exceeded three sessions of experience for the first time in the 1959 session, and topped four sessions in 1965. The assembly average remained near but below two sessions throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, with the exception of the 1953 session, when average tenure peaked at 2.12 sessions. It did not exceed two again until the 1967 session, and it has never fallen below two since.

PRIOR SESSIONS* SERVED BY WISCONSIN SENATORS, By Decade



*Includes consecutive sessions only.

PRIOR SESSIONS* SERVED BY WISCONSIN REPRESENTATIVES, By Decade



*Includes consecutive sessions only.

During the 1970s, the average experience in the senate declined while accelerating rapidly in the assembly. By 1979, the two houses had again reached near-parity, at just under three sessions (2.88 and 2.80, respectively). Average tenure in the senate increased rapidly again in the 1980s and 1990s, exceeding its 1969 high in 1997 (4.21) and exceeding five for the first time in 2009 (5.24). The assembly remained around three during the 1980s, then rose rapidly in the late 1990s, exceeding four (4.05) in 2003. The assembly figure has declined gradually since, with an average of 3.01 in 2011, only slightly higher than the average during the 1980s. The average tenure for the 2013 session, 2.42 sessions per assembly member, is the lowest since the 1975 session.

TURNOVER

Members Seeking Reelection

Turnover in the legislature may be reflected by the number of members who seek reelection in each biennial election cycle, and the number of new members appearing to take the oath of office the following January.

The Senate. In the senate, there has been some consistency in the number of incumbent members seeking reelection since 1940. With few exceptions, between two-thirds and nine-tenths of the members up for reelection have run. The trend has been upward, but only slightly. During the 1940s, 68% of senators ran for reelection. This figure is affected by two cycles, 1940 and 1942, when almost half the members up for reelection did not run. The rate of senators running for reelection has increased steadily through the decades. During the 1950s, 75% ran. During the 1960s, the rate increased to 78%. Since the 1970s, each decade has seen at least 84% of senators run for reelection, peaking at over 90% during the 1990s. In two cycles, 1980 and 1994, every senator up for reelection ran.

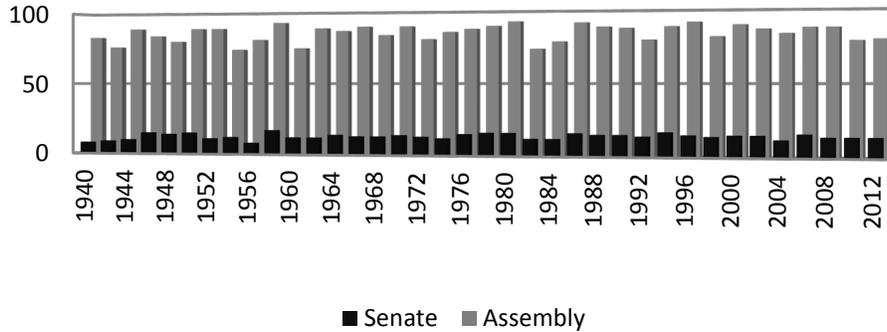
The Assembly. The assembly presents an even more consistent picture. Each decade has seen between 82% and 88% of representatives seek reelection. The low was 82% in the 1940s and the high was 88% in the 2000s. Each election cycle has seen at least 74 members run for reelection. This low was hit in 1954, and may have been affected by a new redistricting plan that went into effect that year. The number of representatives seeking reelection has peaked at 93 twice – in 1958, and again in 1980. In 2010, 79 representatives sought reelection, the lowest figure since 1984.

New Members Being Inaugurated

The number of new members in each session of the legislature when it convenes is another measure of turnover in the legislature. Given the consistency of the number of members seeking reelection from session to session, one might expect to see a similar consistency in the number of new members each house has welcomed each session. In this case, however, we see a steady decline in the number of new members across the decades.

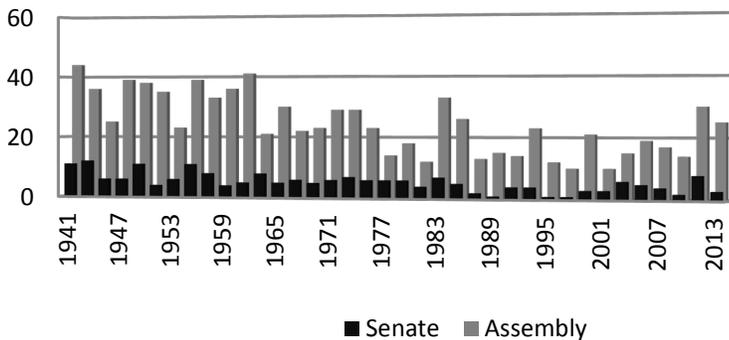
The Senate. In the senate, where only 16 or 17 members are up for reelection in each cycle, an average of 5.5 new members were sworn in at the beginning of each session since 1941. This reflects a much larger turnover in earlier decades, and much lower figures in recent decades. During the 1940s, an average of 9.2 new members were sworn in at the start of each session. The high was 12 in January 1943. The number of new senators fell, on average, to 6.6 during

Members Seeking Reelection, 1940-2012



the 1950s, and was 5.8 and 6.2 in the 1960s and 1970s, respectively. The figure fell markedly in the 1980s with just 3.8 new members at the start of an average session. It fell further to 2.4 in the 1990s. In three sessions, 1989, 1995, and 1997, only one new senator was sworn in on inauguration day. Since then, there has been a trend toward more new members, an average of four per session during the 2000s. The 2011 session welcomed eight new senators on inauguration day, the highest since the 1963 inaugural.

New Members, 1941-2013



The Assembly.

The assembly has also seen a noticeable trend over the decades toward fewer new members. During the 1940s, the

assembly averaged 36.4 new members per session, with a high of 44 new members in the 1941 session. The average figure has been lower in each subsequent decade. The 1950s averaged 33.2 new members per session, and each session of the decade except 1953 had at least 30 new members. The 1960s averaged 27.4 new members, despite peaking at 41 new members in 1961, the last session with more than 40 freshmen. The 1970s saw an average of 22.6 new members; the number of freshmen fell below 20 in 1977 for the first time in the period of this study. The average would dip below 20 (19.8) for the decade of the 1980s despite a high of 33 in 1983, following redistricting. The downward trend continued in subsequent decades, with an average of 16 in the 1990s and 15 in the 2000s. The low figure for the last 70 years of 10 new members was achieved in both 1997 and 2001. Despite this long-term trend, the 2011 assembly had 30 freshmen, the highest figure since 1983, and the second-highest since 1965. This was followed by the 2013 freshman class of 25, the second-highest since 1983.

Examining turnover as a percentage of members new to the house in each session also reflects a steady decline in turnover since 1940, with the notable exception of the last two sessions. In the senate, each session averaged 27.8% new members during the 1940s, 20% during the 1950s, and 17.5% during both the 1960s and 1970s. During the 1980s, the senate had on average 11.5% new members at the start of each session. Turnover per session finally fell below 10% (7.8) in the 1990s. Since 2000, turnover in the senate has jumped back up – 12.1% during the 2000s, and 16.6% since 2010.

Turnover Percentage. Viewing turnover as a percentage also allows comparison between the senate and assembly. This comparison shows that the assembly consistently has a higher turnover than the senate, which is not unexpected because of the senate’s four-year term. During the 1940s, the assembly averaged 36.4% new members per session on inauguration day; that fell to 33% exactly during the 1950s. Average turnover in the assembly declined steadily during the period of this study. Turnover dropped to 27.4% during the 1960s, and 22.7% in the 1970s. It fell further to 20.6% during the 1980s, 16.2% in the 1990s, and 15.2% during the 2000s. It has rebounded to 27.8% for 2010 and 2012. The long-term average turnover for the senate since 1940 is 16.4%. The assembly’s long-term average turnover is 24.6% (907 of 3,679), a figure realized in only four individual sessions since 1973 – 1983, 1985, 2011, and 2013.

Cohort Analysis. The steady decline of new members in each house from session to session certainly conforms with the observation that members are serving in the legislature for longer periods. An examination of how long members of each cohort or class of freshmen since 1941 remained in the legislature may help pinpoint when the trend toward longer tenure began in earnest. For the purposes of this analysis, members elected to the house for the first time by special election during a session are added to the freshmen elected at the previous general election, so the number serving in the second session may be larger than the number elected initially. Following the second session, the number of members of the cohort will always decrease; never increase.

AVERAGE EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS BY SESSIONS SERVED, BY DECADE (consecutive service only)

SENATE							
	New	1 Session	2 Sessions	3 Sessions	4 Sessions	5 to 9 Sessions	10 or more Sessions
1940s	9.2	9.8	5.4	4.2	2.2	2.2	0.0
1950s	6.6	7.6	5.6	3.6	2.4	6.6	0.6
1960s	5.8	5.6	3.6	4.4	2.8	7.4	3.4
1970s	6.2	7.0	5.2	4.2	2.4	6.0	2.0
1980s	3.8	6.8	6.4	5.8	3.4	4.4	2.4
1990s	2.6	4.8	5.2	4.6	4.2	10.0	1.6
2000s	4.0	5.0	3.6	3.4	3.2	9.6	4.2
ASSEMBLY							
	New	1 Session	2 Sessions	3 Sessions	4 Sessions	5 to 9 Sessions	10 or more Sessions
1940s	36.4	22.6	15.8	11.0	6.2	8.0	0.0
1950s	33.2	24.6	17.2	8.8	4.8	9.0	2.4
1960s	27.4	23.6	17.6	12.0	8.0	10.4	1.0
1970s	22.6	21.2	16.8	14.2	9.0	13.6	1.8
1980s	19.8	21.0	16.0	11.6	7.4	20.4	2.8
1990s	16.0	16.8	15.0	13.4	11.8	21.4	4.6
2000s	15.0	16.6	14.4	10.6	9.4	25.6	7.4

The Senate. Senators are elected to four-year terms; it should be expected that a large portion of each cohort of freshmen senators will serve into a second biennial session of the legislature. Prior to 1970, at least 50% of every cohort (1941-1969) was still serving in the senate into a fourth legislative session, with the single exception of 1959; only one of the four members of that class served into the 1965 session. After the fourth session, the number of members remaining from a cohort drops off dramatically. No cohort sent a majority into a sixth session; only one, 1957, sent as many as 25% (3 of 8) into a seventh.

The 1977 class was the first one to send a majority of its members (including those elected in a special election) as far as a seventh session. Following 1977, it became normal for a high percentage of each cohort to serve into a sixth session. The class of 1987 sent three members into an eleventh session. Except for 2007, no cohort since 1985 has depleted to less than 50% within six sessions.

The Assembly. Having three times the membership of the senate, the freshman classes in the assembly are larger and the patterns of depletion more obvious. Representatives to the assembly serve two-year terms and therefore do not serve a second session as a matter of course – every session served represents a test before the voters. It can be expected, then, that a greater turnover will occur in the assembly than in the senate. Every cohort since 1941 has sent at least half of its members on to a second consecutive term. In the early years of this study, however, only two classes, 1949 and 1953, sent half its members to a third term. No class until 1963 sent half its members to a fourth term. The 25 members of the class of 1945 had disappeared entirely by the sixth session, 1955. No cohort prior to 1967 sent as many as a fourth of its members to a sixth consecutive term. After about 1971, however, longer tenures of 10 years or more became common. Forty-eight percent of 1971's 29 members served into their sixth term, a far higher figure than any previous class. Three members served into their 12th session; only six members of the previous 15 classes had served as long. Since 1971, at least 70% of each cohort has served into its third term; this seems to be a kind of demarcation, since no prior class had achieved this measure of longevity. At least 60% of each class since 1987 has served into a fifth term (although only nine of the 19 members of the class of 2005 and nine of the 17 members of the class of 2007 remained at the 2013 inaugural). During the 1940s and 1950s, no cohort had a quarter of its membership serve this long. One cohort of notable endurance was the 1991 freshman class: fully 64% (9 of 14) served into their eighth session (2005). Over time, an expectation clearly emerges that members of the assembly will continue over a longer tenure in later decades than existed during the 1940s and 1950s.

REELECTION: PRIMARIES

Members of the legislature may leave legislative service for any number of reasons: seeking higher office; other career opportunities; a desire to leave public life; or retirement. The number of members not seeking reelection has been fairly consistent through the decades, and has generally been under one-fifth of the membership in each house. At the same time, recent decades have seen tenure in each house increase markedly, and turnover decrease. This suggests that the number of members leaving office involuntarily – through defeat at the polls – has decreased since 1940.

Throughout the period of this study Wisconsin has had a system of open primaries in which incumbent members and others seeking election must be nominated by their party by

winning in a primary election in competition against others of the same party. Any qualified elector may vote in a party's primary without declaring an affiliation with the party, but may vote in only one party's primary on a given election day. Even in the case where a large number of candidates contest a primary, victory goes to the candidate receiving the most votes, even if only a plurality.

SENATE INCUMBENTS FACING PRIMARY CHALLENGES, 1940 – 2012

Primary Election	Incumbents			Primary Election	Incumbents			Primary Election	Incumbents		
	Seeking Reelection	Facing Primary Opponent	Percent Facing Primary Opponent		Seeking Reelection	Facing Primary Opponent	Percent Facing Primary Opponent		Seeking Reelection	Facing Primary Opponent	Percent Facing Primary Opponent
1940	8	5	62.5%	1966	13	6	46.2%	1992	14	3	21.4%
1942	9	5	55.5	1968	13	4	30.8	1994	17	3	17.6
1944	10	3	30.0	1970	14	5	35.7	1996	15	4	26.7
1946	15	8	53.3	1972	13	4	30.8	1998	14	2	14.3
1948	14	7	50.0	1974	12	6	50.0	2000	15	2	13.3
1950	15	9	60.0	1976	15	3	20.0	2002	15	1	6.7
1952	11	4	36.4	1978	16	6	37.5	2004	12	1	8.3
1954	12	7	58.3	1980	16	3	18.8	2006	16	3	18.8
1956	8	1	12.5	1982	12	3	25.0	2008	14	0	0.0
1958	17	6	35.3	1984	12	2	16.7	2010	14	1	7.1
1960	12	3	25.0	1986	16	3	18.8	2012	14	1	7.1
1962	12	3	25.0	1988	15	1	6.7				
1964	14	5	35.7	1990	15	0	0.0				

ASSEMBLY INCUMBENTS FACING PRIMARY CHALLENGES, 1940 – 2012

Primary Election	Incumbents			Primary Election	Incumbents			Primary Election	Incumbents		
	Seeking Reelection	Facing Primary Opponent	Percent Facing Primary Opponent		Seeking Reelection	Facing Primary Opponent	Percent Facing Primary Opponent		Seeking Reelection	Facing Primary Opponent	Percent Facing Primary Opponent
1940	83	37	44.6%	1966	90	35	38.9%	1992	80	9	11.3%
1942	76	28	36.8	1968	84	24	28.6	1994	89	8	9.0
1944	89	36	40.4	1970	90	26	28.9	1996	92	11	12.0
1946	84	53	63.1	1972	81	29	35.8	1998	82	6	7.3
1948	80	47	58.8	1974	86	24	27.9	2000	90	5	5.6
1950	89	53	59.6	1976	88	16	18.2	2002	87	11	12.6
1952	89	37	41.6	1978	90	22	24.4	2004	84	11	13.1
1954	74	28	37.8	1980	93	15	16.1	2006	88	9	10.2
1956	81	36	44.4	1982	81	24	29.6	2008	88	11	12.5
1958	93	41	44.1	1984	79	16	20.3	2010	79	13	16.5
1960	75	28	37.3	1986	92	14	15.2	2012	80	14	17.5
1962	89	36	40.4	1988	89	4	4.5				
1964	87	40	46.0	1990	88	6	6.8				

Contested Primaries

How big a hurdle is the primary election to an incumbent legislator? The first thing to look at in answering that question is the number of incumbents who actually have opposition in their primary races.

The Senate. In the senate, 50% of all members seeking reelection during the 1940s had a primary opponent. This figure declined slightly in subsequent decades: 42% during the 1950s and 32% and 34% in the 1960s and 1970s, respectively. Contested primaries involving incumbents became much rarer after 1980. Since then, despite at least 12 incumbent senators running in each biennial cycle, there has never been a year in which more than four have faced a primary challenger. In five cycles, only one incumbent faced a challenge, and twice, in 1990 and 2008, all incumbents were unopposed in their primary races. The percentage of opposed primaries for incumbents fell below 10% in the decade of the 2000s.

The Assembly. The assembly shows a similar decline in contested primaries following about the same time frame. Assemblymen running for reelection in the 1940s stood about a 48% chance of facing a primary opponent, almost identical to their senate counterparts at that time. The peak for contested primaries was reached in 1946 when 63% (53 of 84) of incumbent assemblymen faced primary opponents. It was during that campaign, it may be remembered, that members of the defunct Progressive Party were trying to reestablish a presence in the Republican Party, or, alternatively, to gain a foothold in the Democratic Party. In the next two primary cycles, a large number of incumbents again faced primary opponents: 1948 (58.8%) and 1950 (59.6%). The number of contested primaries settled down then, with each cycle seeing between 37% and 46% of incumbents opposed from 1952 to 1966, perhaps signaling a more stable party situation. During the 1970s, 26% of incumbents faced primary opponents. Following the 1982 primary, which saw a new redistricting plan and nearly 30% of incumbents facing primary opposition, the incidence of opposed primaries for incumbents declined rapidly, reaching a historic low (since 1940) of 4.5% (4 of 89) in 1988. Between 1988 and 2008, the percentage of incumbents facing primary challenges was always between 5% and 15%. The last two election cycles have seen a slight increase: 16.5% in 2010 (13 of 79) and 17.5% (14 of 80) in 2012. The latter is the highest percentage figure since 1986.

Incumbents Defeated

Having established the increasing rarity of primary challenges to incumbents, we can move on to perhaps the more pointed question: how often are incumbents defeated in primaries?

INCUMBENT SENATORS DEFEATED IN PRIMARIES, 1940 – 2012

Incumbents				Facing Incumbents				Facing Incumbents			
Primary	Contested	Incumbents	Percent	Primary	Contested	Incumbents	Percent	Primary	Contested	Incumbents	Percent
Election	Primaries	In Primaries	In Primaries	Election	Primaries	In Primaries	In Primaries	Election	Primaries	In Primaries	In Primaries
1940	5	1	20.0%	1966	6	2	33.3%	1992	3	0	0.0%
1942	5	1	20.0	1968	4	1	25.0	1994	3	1	33.3
1944	3	1	33.3	1970	5	2	40.0	1996	4	0	0.0
1946	8	2	25.0	1972	4	3	75.0	1998	2	0	0.0
1948	7	3	42.9	1974	6	0	0.0	2000	2	0	0.0
1950	9	1	11.1	1976	3	1	33.3	2002	1	1	100.0
1952	4	0	0.0	1978	6	3	50.0	2004	1	1	100.0
1954	7	3	42.9	1980	3	1	33.3	2006	3	0	0.0
1956	1	0	0.0	1982	3	0	0.0	2008	0	0	—
1958	6	0	0.0	1984	2	0	0.0	2010	1	1	100.0
1960	3	0	0.0	1986	3	1	33.3	2012	1	0	0.0
1962	3	0	0.0	1988	1	0	0.0				
1964	5	1	20.0	1990	0	0	—				

The Senate. The senate presents a difficult problem, because as we bore in on this question, the numbers get very small, and trends harder to spot. Suffice it to say that it has been rare for incumbent senators to lose in primaries throughout the period of this study. On only four occasions were as many as three senators defeated in primaries on the same day: in 1948, 1954, 1972, and 1978. In three other cycles, two were defeated (1946, 1966, and 1970). With so few senators being defeated in primaries, it is difficult to assert any trends. During the 1940s, 71.4% of incumbents with primary opponents were reelected. Reelection rates increased to 85% in the 1950s, fell to 80% in the 1960s, and to a low of 62.5% in the 1970s. In later decades, with fewer contested primaries involving incumbents, the figures were 83% (1980s), 91% (1990s), and 71.4% (2000s), this latter figure representing the five victors and

two vanquished in the grand total of seven contested primaries involving incumbents in the entire decade. Perhaps a clearer statistical picture will emerge if we examine the whole seven decade period together. Since 1940, 133 senators have faced primary opponents, and 102 have been reelected. Over the long haul, a senator's chances of beating back a primary challenge are better than 3 in 4 (76.7%)

INCUMBENT REPRESENTATIVES DEFEATED IN PRIMARIES, 1940 – 2012

Primary Election	Incumbents			Primary Election	Incumbents			Primary Election	Incumbents		
	Facing Contested Primaries	Incumbents Defeated In Primaries	Percent Defeated In Primaries		Facing Contested Primaries	Incumbents Defeated In Primaries	Percent Defeated In Primaries		Facing Contested Primaries	Incumbents Defeated In Primaries	Percent Defeated In Primaries
1940	37	7	18.9%	1966	35	4	11.4%	1992	9	1	11.1%
1942	28	4	14.3	1968	24	4	16.7	1994	8	0	0.0
1944	36	4	11.1	1970	26	3	11.5	1996	11	0	0.0
1946	53	19	35.8	1972	29	5	17.2	1998	6	1	16.7
1948	47	10	21.3	1974	24	1	4.2	2000	5	0	0.0
1950	53	18	34.0	1976	16	1	6.3	2002	11	1	9.1
1952	37	9	24.3	1978	22	2	9.1	2004	11	1	9.1
1954	28	8	28.6	1980	15	3	20.0	2006	9	0	0.0
1956	36	11	30.6	1982	26	5	19.2	2008	11	0	0.0
1958	41	10	24.4	1984	16	1	6.3	2010	13	0	0.0
1960	28	5	17.9	1986	14	3	21.4	2012	14	2	14.3
1962	36	5	13.9	1988	4	0	0.0				
1964	40	11	27.5	1990	6	1	16.7				

The Assembly. The assembly, with its larger membership and two-year terms, offers greater opportunity for detecting trends on the fate of incumbents in primaries. Having already shown that incumbents were more likely to face a primary challenge in the earlier decades of this study than the latter, the data now shows us that incumbents were in far greater danger of defeat if they faced a primary challenge then than they would be today. Indeed, the figures for these early decades might prove startling to some modern observers. In two cycles, 1946 and 1950, more than a third of the members facing primaries were defeated. The raw numbers are even more striking – 19 of 53 (35.8%) in 1946 and 18 of 53 (34%) in 1950. By modern standards, these numbers are staggering – nearly a fifth of the entire assembly defeated in the primary. This period may, depending on perspective, mark a sort of “golden age” of the primary, when more of the political battles were fought in September than November. Amazingly, in every cycle between 1946 and 1956, more incumbents were defeated in primary elections than in the general. This period of Republican ascendancy, beginning with the demise of the Progressive Party, ended abruptly in 1958, after which two party competition drove political combat back to the November election. The rate of reelection in contested primaries, which had been in the 80% to 90% range until 1948, fell to about 70-75% during the 1950s. Competitive primaries had a last hurrah in 1964, when only 72.5% (29 of 40) were reelected. After that, the rate of reelection returned to over 80% fairly consistently. As the number of contested primaries declined, it became quite rare for any representative to be defeated in a primary. The 2012 primary, when two incumbents were defeated, was the first time since 1986 that more than one was defeated in a single cycle. During that period (1988 to 2010 primaries) a total of five members lost in primaries, in one case when two incumbents were paired by redistricting. The rate of reelection was 95.2% (100 of 105). The primary as a hurdle to clear for reelection seems to have almost disappeared in recent years.

REELECTION: GENERAL ELECTIONS

Contested General Elections. The chances of an incumbent legislator losing in a primary have become remote. Only a small percentage even face a primary opponent anymore. But what about the general election, where the voters express their choice between competing political parties as well as individual candidates, and when voter turnout tends to be much higher than in primaries? First, how many members of each house face a general election opponent?

INCUMBENT SENATORS FACING GENERAL ELECTION OPPOSITION, 1940 – 2012

General Election	Incumbents Running	Incumbents Opposed	Percent Opposed	General Election	Incumbents Running	Incumbents Opposed	Percent Opposed	General Election	Incumbents Running	Incumbents Opposed	Percent Opposed
1940	7	7	100.0%	1966	11	11	100.0%	1992	14	10	71.4%
1942	8	7	87.5	1968	12	10	83.3	1994	16	14	87.5
1944	9	6	66.7	1970	12	12	100.0	1996	15	11	73.3
1946	13	8	61.5	1972	10	10	100.0	1998	14	11	78.6
1948	11	7	63.6	1974	12	9	75.0	2000	15	10	66.7
1950	14	14	100.0	1976	14	12	85.7	2002	14	11	78.6
1952	11	9	81.8	1978	13	11	84.6	2004	11	8	72.7
1954	9	9	100.0	1980	15	10	66.7	2006	16	12	75.0
1956	8	7	87.5	1982	12	11	91.7	2008	14	7	50.0
1958	17	17	100.0	1984	12	9	75.0	2010	13	12	92.3
1960	12	11	91.7	1986	15	14	93.3	2012	14	10	71.4
1962	12	12	100.0	1988	15	11	73.3				
1964	13	10	76.9	1990	15	10	66.7				

The Senate. The senate, with only 16 or 17 members up for reelection in each cycle, saw about three-quarters of those members seeking reelection opposed during the 1940s. All seven were opposed in 1940 and seven of eight in 1942, but the rate fell to two-thirds or less for the 1944-1948 cycles, a period already identified as more notable for intra-party than inter-party competition. During the 1950s, however, 94% (56 of 59) of incumbents faced opposition in the general election. This represents a high for the period of this study. The subsequent trend in the senate has been a gradual decline in the rate of contested general elections for incumbents. In the 1960s, 90% of incumbents were opposed in the general election; in the 1970s, 88%. It was common during these decades for all incumbents to have an opponent in the general election, but this has not happened since 1972. The trend toward less competition has continued in more recent decades, with 79% opposed in the 1980s, 75% in the 1990s, and only 68.5% in the 2000s. The lowest rate was in 2008, when only half of the senators running for reelection were opposed (7 of 14). All were reelected.

INCUMBENT REPRESENTATIVES FACING GENERAL ELECTION OPPOSITION, 1940 – 2012

General Election	Incumbents Running	Incumbents Opposed	Percent Opposed	General Election	Incumbents Running	Incumbents Opposed	Percent Opposed	General Election	Incumbents Running	Incumbents Opposed	Percent Opposed
1940	76	76	100.0%	1966	86	82	95.3%	1992	79	53	67.1%
1942	72	58	80.6	1968	80	73	91.3	1994	89	52	58.4
1944	85	63	74.1	1970	87	87	100.0	1996	92	75	81.5
1946	65	50	76.9	1972	76	73	96.1	1998	81	51	63.0
1948	70	56	80.0	1974	85	69	81.2	2000	90	52	57.8
1950	71	67	94.4	1976	87	74	85.1	2002	86	43	50.0
1952	80	67	83.8	1978	88	70	79.5	2004	83	48	57.8
1954	66	60	90.9	1980	90	66	73.3	2006	88	50	56.8
1956	70	59	84.3	1982	68	59	86.8	2008	88	64	72.7
1958	83	76	91.6	1984	78	65	83.3	2010	79	59	74.7
1960	70	62	88.6	1986	89	70	78.7	2012	78	59	75.6
1962	84	78	92.9	1988	89	72	80.9				
1964	76	67	88.2	1990	87	50	57.5				

The Assembly. The assembly presents a similar picture, with a high percentage of incumbents opposed in earlier decades, and the rate of opposition for incumbents declining markedly after about 1970 or 1980. The 1940s saw quite a variation across the five general elections of that decade. In 1940, all 76 incumbents seeking reelection who had survived the primary had an opponent in the general election. In later cycles, however, as we have seen, political energy seemed to become focused on the primaries. The 1944 and 1946 general elections had incumbent assemblymen facing opposition in only 74.1% and 76.9% of races, lows that would not be seen again for decades. The figure rose to 80% in 1948, and an era followed during which normally 90% or so of incumbents in the assembly faced an opponent. The 1950 general election saw 94.7% (67 of 71) of incumbents with an opponent. Although a high figure for the decade, subsequent cycles in the 1950s, a period of growing party competition, also saw at least 83% of incumbents facing an opponent. For the decade of the 1950s, 88.9% (329 of 370) of incumbents running for reelection had a general election opponent.

Considered by decades, the 1960s represented a peak for incumbents having general election opposition. Over the decade, 91.4% (362 of 396) of incumbents were opposed in the general election. Each of the five cycles saw at least 88% of incumbents opposed. The peak year was 1966, when 95.3% (82 of 86) of incumbents were opposed in the general election. In 1970, for only the second time during the period of this study, all incumbents had an opponent in the general election. The 1972 cycle also saw a high rate, 96.1% (73 of 76). After this, however, a gradual decline in the number of contested races began. By 1980, the number of incumbents facing general election opposition had fallen to 73.3% (66 of 90). The average for the decade of the 1980s would be just 80.1%, and the decline would continue. Incumbent representatives during the 1990s would face a general election opponent just 65.4% of the time. A spike to 81.5% (75 of 92) in 1996 was the highest since 1984, and has not been equaled since. The average for the 2000s was 59% and fell to an historic low in 2002 when only half of assembly incumbents seeking reelection were opposed in the general election (43 of 86).

While it is clear that the long-term trend since the early 1970s has been for fewer and fewer incumbent representatives to be opposed in the general election, the most recent cycles have shown a bit of a counter-trend. After being between 65% and 50% since 1996, the percentage of opposed incumbents jumped to 72.7% (64 of 88) in 2008 and has increased slightly in each of the two following cycles: 74.7% (57 of 79) in 2010, and 75.6% (59 of 78) in 2012.

Incumbents Defeated

Having examined the fate of incumbent legislators in primary elections, and the odds of an incumbent having an opponent in the general election, we can move on to perhaps the central question: How often are members of the Wisconsin Legislature actually defeated in a general election?

The Senate. During the period of this study, 1940 to the present, it has never been common for large numbers of senators to be turned out of office in a single election cycle. It bears repeating that there are never more than 17 senators facing reelection in any biennial cycle. That having been said, it is fairly common for a biennial cycle to pass with no incumbent senator going down to defeat in a general election. This has happened 13 times in the 37 cycles examined, first in 1944 and most recently in 2008. In one instance the senate went three consecutive cycles, essentially eight years, without an incumbent losing in the general election: 1994, 1996, and 1998. The average number of incumbents defeated in each decade

has remained fairly consistent, between 1.2 and 0.6 per cycle, since 1940. It is possible that incumbency in the senate is very formidable, or there are simply not enough senators running in each cycle for trends to be noticeable. In six cycles, two incumbent senators lost in the general election. Four times, as many as three lost, the first in 1958; most recently in 2006. The highest number of incumbent senators defeated in a general election since 1940 occurred quite recently: four in 2010. If curiosity led one to research the last time so many senators lost in the general election beyond the scope of this study, one would find that eight incumbent senators were defeated in the 1938 general election.

SENATE INCUMBENTS DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1940 – 2012

General Election	Contested Elections	Defeated Incumbents	Percent Defeated	General Election	Contested Elections	Defeated Incumbents	Percent Defeated	General Election	Contested Elections	Defeated Incumbents	Percent Defeated
1940	7	1	14.3%	1966	11	0	0.0%	1992	10	2	20.0%
1942	7	2	28.6	1968	10	1	10.0	1994	14	0	0.0
1944	6	0	0.0	1970	12	1	8.3	1996	11	0	0.0
1946	8	1	12.5	1972	10	0	0.0	1998	11	0	0.0
1948	7	2	28.6	1974	9	1	11.1	2000	10	2	20.0
1950	14	1	7.1	1976	12	3	25.0	2002	11	3	27.3
1952	9	0	0.0	1978	11	1	9.1	2004	8	0	0.0
1954	9	1	11.1	1980	10	1	10.0	2006	12	3	25.0
1956	7	0	0.0	1982	11	2	18.2	2008	7	0	0.0
1958	17	3	17.6	1984	9	1	11.1	2010	12	4	33.3
1960	11	0	0.0	1986	14	0	0.0	2012	9	1	11.1
1962	12	1	8.3	1988	11	0	0.0				
1964	10	1	10.0	1990	10	2	20.0				

The Assembly. The assembly once again gives a clearer picture of trends because of its larger membership and more frequent elections. It has never been the norm since 1940 for a high percentage of incumbent representatives to be beaten in the general election. The number has approached one-fourth on a couple of occasions. It was exactly 25% in 1940, when 19 of 76 incumbents were defeated. More than 22% of incumbents lost in 1958, when 19 of 83 incumbents were defeated. These mark unusual spikes in electoral vulnerability for incumbent representatives. Including these two instances, in only six of 37 cycles were 10 or more incumbents defeated in a general election: 1940 (10); 1958 (19); 1960 (11); 1970 (16); 1982 (12); and 2010 (10). In 1982, a new legislative district map paired incumbents in the same district four times, meaning that at least four would have lost in any case. Nevertheless, there is a discernible trend showing that incumbents were somewhat more likely to be defeated in the earlier decades of this study. On average, 9.6 incumbents were defeated in each general election cycle during the 1940s – this includes the abnormally high figure of 19 in 1940. The following decade, which includes 1958 (19), the figure was 7.4 per cycle. The 1960s and 1970s saw an average of 7.6 and 8.0 defeated per cycle, respectively. Expressed as a percentage it was fairly normal for incumbents to be reelected in the general election during these decades at a rate of between 85% and 95%, with a few outliers (in 1956 and 1976 more than 97% were reelected). After about 1980, however, it became more common for reelection rates in the general election to be at the higher end of the scale. During the 1980s, at least 93% of incumbents were reelected in each cycle of the decade, with the exception of 1982. After 1982, spikes in incumbent vulnerability became almost unknown. In 1990, two incumbents lost in the general election. Three lost in each of the subsequent general elections of that decade, for an average of 2.8 defeated per cycle. The following decade saw an identical average of 2.8 defeated per general election. This decade included the 2000 general election, when what

may be an all-time low was reached: just one incumbent lost in the general election. Over time it can be seen that although it has not generally been common for incumbents to lose in the general election since 1940, it has become less than half as common as it was in the 1960s and 1970s. A recent uptick has modified this trend: six incumbents were defeated in 2006. Ten incumbents were defeated in 2010, the most since 1982. Four were defeated in 2012.

ASSEMBLY INCUMBENTS DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1940 – 2012

General Election	Contested Elections	Defeated Incumbents	Percent Defeated	General Election	Contested Elections	Defeated Incumbents	Percent Defeated	General Election	Contested Elections	Defeated Incumbents	Percent Defeated
1940	76	19	25.0%	1966	82	8	9.8%	1992	53	3	5.7%
1942	58	8	13.8	1968	73	6	8.2	1994	52	3	5.8
1944	63	9	14.3	1970	87	16	18.4	1996	75	3	4.0
1946	50	3	6.0	1972	73	6	8.2	1998	51	3	5.9
1948	56	9	16.1	1974	69	9	13.0	2000	52	1	1.9
1950	67	6	9.0	1976	74	2	2.7	2002	43	2	4.7
1952	67	4	6.0	1978	70	7	10.0	2004	48	2	4.2
1954	60	6	10.0	1980	66	3	4.5	2006	50	6	12.0
1956	59	2	3.4	1982	59	12	20.3	2008	64	3	4.7
1958	76	19	25.0	1984	65	5	7.7	2010	59	10	16.9
1960	62	11	17.7	1986	70	3	4.3	2012	59	4	6.8
1962	78	5	6.4	1988	72	5	6.9				
1964	67	8	11.9	1990	50	2	4.0				

REELECTION: OVERALL

A more stark overview of reelection rates is revealed if we combine the number seeking reelection but failing to be reelected in both the primary and general election for each election cycle. This will give us a success rate, expressed as a percentage, of those seeking reelection to the legislature.

The Senate

Even with primary and general elections combined, there have never been more than five senators defeated in the same election cycle since 1940. With a few exceptions, at least three-quarters of senators running for reelection have been successful since 1940. Even then, it is possible to detect a slight increase in the odds of a senator being reelected over recent decades. An average of three-quarters (42 of 56) of all senators seeking reelection were successful during the 1940s. That rate shot up to 86% (54 of 63) in the 1950s and 89% (57 of 64) in the 1960s. Reelection became less certain during the 1970s – only 55 of 70 (74%) were reelected. The 1980s and 1990s saw new heights of incumbent durability – 92% and 93% of incumbents reelected, respectively (65 of 71 and 70 of 75). During three cycles of this period – 1988, 1996, and 1998 – all senators seeking reelection won. Total reelection rate fell to 86% (62 of 72) during the 2000s. For the 2010 and 2012 cycles combined, the rate of reelection has fallen back to the levels of the 1970s – 79% (22 of 28).

Overall. Since 1940, 499 senators have run for reelection, and 72 have been defeated: over time, 85.6% of senators seeking reelection are successful.

The Assembly

As usual, the assembly, with its larger sample size, offers a clearer picture of trends over time. Every full decade of this study shows an increase in the likelihood of reelection from the previous decade. Only 77% of incumbents were reelected during the 1940s. This in-

creased slightly to 78% (353 of 426) during the 1950s. The 1960s saw an increase to 84% (358 of 425), and the 1970s another sizable jump to 88% (385 of 435). This demonstrates a steady increase in the likelihood of incumbents being reelected throughout the period 1940-1980. Even so, it was a period marked by a few cycles in which a large number of incumbents were defeated, and others when they were comparatively safe. The 1940 election saw only 68.7% (57 of 83) incumbents seeking reelection successfully, while in 1942 and 1944, the success rate was well over 80%, as were several election cycles during the 1950s. Another abnormally high rate of defeat occurred in 1958, when only 68.8% (64 of 93) of members running were reelected. By the 1960s, all but two of the five cycles – 1960 and 1964, when 78% were reelected – saw more than 80% of all incumbents reelected. In fact, only two election cycles since 1964 have seen fewer than 80% of incumbents running reelected (1970 and 1982). By 1976, 96% (85 of 88) of incumbents were reelected – the first election cycle since at least 1940 and possibly ever in which more than 90% of representatives seeking reelection were successful. Generally, electoral defeat for incumbents became quite rare after 1976. 1982 would be the only cycle until 2010 in which fewer than 90% were reelected. The overall percentage for the 1980s, 90.8%, was depressed considerably by the single year of 1982, when only 79% (64 of 81) were reelected; the reelection rate was at least 92% in every other cycle of the 1980s. The overall reelection rate was over 96% for the decades of the 1990s and the 2000s, with no cycle falling below 93.2% (2006) during that 20-year period.

The long-term trend since 1940 has been toward incumbents' reelection becoming more and more certain; over 95% in many recent election cycles. However, the most recent two election cycles, 2010 and 2012, were harder on incumbents than recent precedent would have predicted. 2012 had the lowest reelection rate for representatives since 1984 except for 2010. 2010 was the worst year for assembly incumbents since 1982. Setting aside 1982, it was the worst year since 1972.

Overall. Since 1940, 3,152 representatives have run for reelection, and 393 have been defeated: over time, 87.5% of representatives seeking reelection have been reelected.

APPENDIX

TENURE BY SESSIONS OF SERVICE, 1941 – 2013

SENATE

	Members' Experience by Sessions Served								Total Sessions Served	Avg.	Members Serving Sessions			Avg.*
	New	1	2	3	4	5 to 9	10 or more	Noncon- secutive Sessions			Noncon- secutively Served	All Sessions		
1941	11	15	3	1	1	2	0	39	1.18	4	22	61	1.85	
1943	12	11	6	3	0	1	0	39	1.18	5	22	61	1.85	
1945	6	11	8	5	2	1	0	58	1.76	4	18	76	2.30	
1947	6	6	8	6	4	3	0	75	2.27	4	12	87	2.64	
1949	11	6	2	6	4	4	0	74	2.24	4	12	86	2.61	
1951	4	10	6	2	4	7	0	83	2.52	4	12	95	2.88	
1953	6	4	7	5	2	9	0	95	2.88	4	12	107	3.24	
1955	11	6	2	6	1	7	0	80	2.42	4	7	87	2.64	
1957	8	11	4	2	3	4	1	75	2.27	4	10	85	2.58	
1959	4	7	9	3	2	6	2	100	3.03	4	10	110	3.33	
1961	5	4	6	9	2	5	2	110	3.33	4	10	120	3.64	
1963	8	5	1	4	6	5	4	119	3.61	5	11	130	3.94	
1965	5	7	3	1	3	10	4	137	4.15	5	11	148	4.48	
1967	6	6	5	3	1	9	3	123	3.73	4	9	132	4.00	
1969	5	6	3	5	2	8	4	138	4.18	4	9	147	4.45	
1971	6	7	5	3	3	7	2	114	3.45	1	4	118	3.58	
1973	7	6	4	4	2	9	1	111	3.36	1	4	115	3.48	
1975	6	7	5	4	2	7	2	110	3.33	1	4	114	3.45	
1977	6	8	5	5	2	5	2	97	2.94	1	4	101	3.06	
1979	6	7	7	5	3	2	3	95	2.88	1	4	99	3.00	
1981	4	7	6	6	3	4	3	111	3.36	1	4	115	3.48	
1983	7	4	6	5	3	4	4	115	3.48	1	4	119	3.61	
1985	5	12	4	4	4	3	1	79	2.39	0	0	79	2.39	
1987	2	5	11	4	4	5	2	103	3.12	0	0	103	3.12	
1989	1	6	5	10	3	6	2	115	3.48	0	0	115	3.48	
1991	4	4	5	5	7	7	1	114	3.45	0	0	114	3.45	
1993	4	5	3	5	4	11	1	123	3.73	0	0	123	3.73	
1995	1	8	5	2	5	11	1	130	3.94	0	0	130	3.94	
1997	1	5	8	4	2	10	3	139	4.21	0	0	139	4.21	
1999	3	2	5	7	3	11	2	148	4.48	0	0	148	4.48	
2001	3	3	2	5	5	12	3	164	4.97	0	0	164	4.97	
2003	6	4	2	2	4	11	4	156	4.73	0	0	156	4.73	
2005	5	9	3	2	2	9	3	141	4.27	0	0	141	4.27	
2007	4	5	6	3	2	7	6	161	4.88	0	0	161	4.88	
2009	2	4	5	5	3	9	5	173	5.24	0	0	173	5.24	
2011	8	2	1	5	5	7	5	158	4.79	1	6	164	4.97	
2013	3	8	0	2	4	10	6	181	5.48	2	8	189	5.73	

*Including nonconsecutive service.

**TENURE BY SESSIONS OF SERVICE, 1941 – 2013
ASSEMBLY**

	New	Members Experience by Sessions Served						Total Sessions Served	Avg.	Members Serving Sessions			
		1	2	3	4	5 to 9	10 or more			Nonconsecutive Sessions	Nonconsecutively Served	All Sessions	Avg.*
1941	44	25	16	8	6	1	0	110	1.10	11	31	141	1.41
1943	36	24	22	7	5	6	0	140	1.40	11	30	170	1.70
1945	25	25	20	15	5	10	0	186	1.86	11	22	208	2.08
1947	39	13	15	16	8	9	0	178	1.78	13	24	202	2.02
1949	38	26	6	9	7	14	0	181	1.81	14	29	210	2.10
1951	35	27	18	4	5	10	1	174	1.74	17	43	217	2.17
1953	23	29	21	11	2	12	2	212	2.12	11	34	246	2.46
1955	39	17	16	13	5	7	3	188	1.88	11	36	224	2.24
1957	33	28	12	8	8	8	3	195	1.95	7	34	229	2.29
1959	36	22	19	8	4	8	3	187	1.87	8	42	229	2.29
1961	41	20	15	11	5	7	1	162	1.62	10	46	208	2.08
1963	21	37	13	11	9	9	0	185	1.85	8	30	215	2.15
1965	30	16	26	10	7	11	0	195	1.95	7	23	218	2.18
1967	22	26	14	17	7	13	1	225	2.25	7	20	245	2.45
1969	23	19	20	11	12	12	3	244	2.44	5	11	255	2.55
1971	29	21	11	17	8	12	2	221	2.21	3	4	225	2.25
1973	29	25	12	9	8	14	2	218	2.20	3	7	225	2.27
1975	23	23	21	8	8	14	2	236	2.38	4	8	244	2.46
1977	14	23	23	19	5	14	1	243	2.45	3	7	250	2.53
1979	18	14	17	18	16	14	2	277	2.80	1	2	279	2.82
1981	12	22	12	12	13	25	3	318	3.21	3	8	326	3.29
1983	33	13	13	7	7	22	4	264	2.67	3	7	271	2.74
1985	26	30	9	8	6	18	2	243	2.45	5	11	254	2.57
1987	13	24	26	8	7	18	3	286	2.89	5	17	303	3.06
1989	15	16	20	23	4	19	2	294	2.97	5	15	309	3.12
1991	14	18	15	16	17	15	4	310	3.13	4	14	324	3.27
1993	23	16	12	11	14	19	4	284	2.87	3	12	296	2.99
1995	12	26	14	11	9	22	5	307	3.10	1	4	311	3.14
1997	10	13	23	13	9	26	5	353	3.57	0	0	353	3.57
1999	21	11	11	16	10	25	5	346	3.49	0	0	346	3.49
2001	10	21	11	8	15	30	4	375	3.79	0	0	375	3.79
2003	15	9	20	8	7	32	8	401	4.05	0	0	401	4.05
2005	19	17	9	16	6	24	8	364	3.68	1	5	369	3.73
2007	17	19	14	7	13	19	10	368	3.72	1	5	373	3.77
2009	14	17	18	14	6	23	7	350	3.54	2	10	360	3.64
2011	30	12	9	13	10	19	6	298	3.01	2	10	308	3.11
2013	25	29	9	9	9	14	4	240	2.42	2	10	250	2.53

*Including nonconsecutive service.

REELECTION SINCE 1940

	SENATE										ASSEMBLY									
	Primary					General					Primary					General				
	Total Seats	Incumbents Running	Contested Seats	Reelected	Defeated	Total Seats	Incumbents Running	Contested Seats	Reelected	Defeated	Total Seats	Incumbents Running	Contested Seats	Reelected	Defeated	Total Seats	Incumbents Running	Contested Seats	Reelected	Defeated
1940	16	8	5	4	1	100	83	37	30	7	100	83	37	30	7	100	83	37	30	7
1942	17	9	5	4	1	100	76	28	24	4	100	76	28	24	4	100	76	28	24	4
1944	16	10	3	2	1	100	89	36	32	4	100	89	36	32	4	100	89	36	32	4
1946	17	15	8	6	2	100	84	53	34	19	100	84	53	34	19	100	84	53	34	19
1948	16	14	7	4	3	100	80	47	37	10	100	80	47	37	10	100	80	47	37	10
1950	17	15	9	8	1	100	89	53	35	18	100	89	53	35	18	100	89	53	35	18
1952	16	11	4	4	0	100	89	37	28	9	100	89	37	28	9	100	89	37	28	9
1954*	17	12 ⁶	6	4	3	100	74 ¹	26	20	8	100	74 ¹	26	20	8	100	74 ¹	26	20	8
1956	16	8	1	1	0	100	81 ²	36	25	11	100	81 ²	36	25	11	100	81 ²	36	25	11
1958	17	17	6	6	0	100	93	41	31	10	100	93	41	31	10	100	93	41	31	10
1960	16	12	3	3	0	100	75	28	23	5	100	75	28	23	5	100	75	28	23	5
1962	17	12	3	3	0	100	89	36	31	5	100	89	36	31	5	100	89	36	31	5
1964*	16	14	5	4	1	100	87 ³	38	29	11	100	87 ³	38	29	11	100	87 ³	38	29	11
1966	17	13	6	4	2	100	90	35	31	4	100	90	35	31	4	100	90	35	31	4
1968	16	13	4	3	1	100	84	24	20	4	100	84	24	20	4	100	84	24	20	4
1970	17	14	5	3	2	100	90	26	23	3	100	90	26	23	3	100	90	26	23	3
1972*	16	13	4	1	3	99	81 ⁴	28	24	5	99	81 ⁴	28	24	5	99	81 ⁴	28	24	5
1974	17	12	6	6	0	99	86	24	23	1	99	86	24	23	1	99	86	24	23	1
1976	16	15	3	2	1	99	88	16	15	1	99	88	16	15	1	99	88	16	15	1
1978	17	16	6	3	3	99	90	22	20	2	99	90	22	20	2	99	90	22	20	2
1980	16	16	3	2	1	99	93	15	12	3	99	93	15	12	3	99	93	15	12	3
1982*	17	12	3	3	0	99	81 ⁵	24	22	5	99	81 ⁵	24	22	5	99	81 ⁵	24	22	5
1984*	16	12	2	2	0	99	79	16	15	1	99	79	16	15	1	99	79	16	15	1
1986	17	16	3	2	1	99	92	14	11	3	99	92	14	11	3	99	92	14	11	3
1988	16	15	1	1	0	99	89	4	4	0	99	89	4	4	0	99	89	4	4	0
1990	17	15	0	0	0	99	88	6	5	1	99	88	6	5	1	99	88	6	5	1
1992*	16	14	3	3	0	99	80 ⁶	9	9	1	99	80 ⁶	9	9	1	99	80 ⁶	9	9	1
1994	17	17	3	2	1	99	89	8	8	0	99	89	8	8	0	99	89	8	8	0
1996	16	15	4	4	0	99	92	11	11	0	99	92	11	11	0	99	92	11	11	0
1998	17	14	2	2	0	99	82	6	5	1	99	82	6	5	1	99	82	6	5	1
2000	16	15	2	2	0	99	90	5	5	0	99	90	5	5	0	99	90	5	5	0
2002*	17	15	1	0	1	99	87 ⁶	10	10	1	99	87 ⁶	10	10	1	99	87 ⁶	10	10	1
2004	16	12	1	0	1	99	84	11	10	1	99	84	11	10	1	99	84	11	10	1
2006	17	16	3	3	0	99	88	9	9	0	99	88	9	9	0	99	88	9	9	0
2008	16	14	0	0	0	99	88	11	11	0	99	88	11	11	0	99	88	11	11	0
2010	17	14	1	0	1	99	79	13	13	0	99	79	13	13	0	99	79	13	13	0
2012*	16	14	1	1	0	99	80 ⁷	14	12	2	99	80 ⁷	14	12	2	99	80 ⁷	14	12	2

*First election under new district plan.

¹Two races paired incumbents in primary; one in general.

²One member won primary but did not appear on general election ballot.

³Two races paired incumbents in primary.

⁴One race paired incumbents in primary, two in general.

⁵Three races paired incumbents in primary, four in general.

⁶One race paired incumbents in primary.

⁷Two races paired incumbents in general.

SENATE	TENURE ARRAY*																									
	1909 Session	1911 Session	1913 Session	1915 Session	1917 Session	1919 Session	1921 Session	1923 Session	1925 Session	1927 Session	1929 Session	1931 Session	1933 Session	1935 Session	1937 Session	1939 Session	1941 Session	1943 Session	1945 Session	1947 Session	1949 Session	1951 Session	1953 Session	1955 Session	1957 Session	1959 Session
1941											1	2	3	4	7	22	33	21	16	13	8	7	5	4	2	2
1943											1	1	1	1	4	10	21	33	27	21	14	11	9	6	4	4
1945											1	1	1	1	3	7	16	27	33	27	16	13	11	7	4	4
1947											1	1	1	1	3	7	13	21	27	33	22	19	16	8	5	5
1949															1	4	8	14	16	22	33	29	23	14	8	8
1951															1	3	7	11	13	19	29	33	27	16	10	10
1953															1	3	5	9	11	16	23	27	33	22	14	13
1955															1	2	4	6	7	8	14	16	22	33	25	22
1957															1	2	2	4	4	5	8	10	14	25	33	29
1959															1	2	2	4	4	5	8	10	13	22	29	33
1961															1	2	2	4	4	5	6	7	9	18	24	28
1963															1	2	2	4	4	5	6	7	9	15	19	20
1965															1	2	2	4	4	5	6	7	8	14	17	18
1967															1	1	1	2	2	3	4	5	6	9	12	13
1969															1	1	1	2	2	3	4	5	5	8	11	12
1971															1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	7	8
1973																					1	1	1	3	6	7
1975																								2	5	6
1977																								1	2	2
1979																								1	2	2
1981																								1	2	3
1983																								1	2	3
1985																										
1987																										
1989																										
1991																										
1993																										
1995																										
1997																										
1999																										
2001																										
2003																										
2005																										
2007																										
2009																										
2011																										
2013																										

*This table shows the number of members of each senate who served in previous or future senates. (Consecutive service only.)

1941 – 2013

1961 Session	1963 Session	1965 Session	1967 Session	1969 Session	1971 Session	1973 Session	1975 Session	1977 Session	1979 Session	1981 Session	1983 Session	1985 Session	1987 Session	1989 Session	1991 Session	1993 Session	1995 Session	1997 Session	1999 Session	2001 Session	2003 Session	2005 Session	2007 Session	2009 Session	2011 Session	2013 Session	SENATE
2	2	2	1	1	1																						1941
4	4	4	2	2	1																						1943
4	4	4	2	2	1																						1945
5	5	5	3	3	1																						1947
6	6	6	4	4	2	1																					1949
7	7	7	5	5	2	1																					1951
9	9	8	6	5	2	1																					1953
18	15	14	9	8	4	3	2	1	1	1	1																1955
24	19	17	12	11	7	6	5	2	2	2	2																1957
28	20	18	13	12	8	7	6	2	2	3	3																1959
33	25	21	16	14	9	8	7	4	3	3	3																1961
25	33	28	21	19	12	10	8	5	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1963
21	28	33	27	22	15	12	9	6	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1965
16	21	27	33	28	20	16	11	7	5	5	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1967
14	19	22	28	33	27	20	15	9	5	5	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1969
9	12	15	20	27	33	26	20	14	8	7	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1971
8	10	12	16	20	26	33	27	19	13	10	8	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1973
7	8	9	11	15	20	27	33	27	20	16	11	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1975
4	5	6	7	9	14	19	27	33	27	22	16	8	7	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1977
3	4	4	5	5	8	13	20	27	33	29	22	12	11	8	6	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1979
3	4	4	5	5	7	10	16	22	29	33	26	16	15	11	8	6	4	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	1981
3	4	4	5	5	5	8	11	16	22	26	33	28	26	21	15	12	9	7	6	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	1983
	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	8	12	16	28	33	31	26	20	16	12	9	7	6	5	3	3	3	2	2	1985
	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	7	11	15	26	31	33	32	25	21	17	14	11	10	8	6	6	5	4	4	1987
	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	5	8	11	21	26	32	33	29	24	19	16	13	12	9	7	7	5	4	4	1989
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	6	8	15	20	25	29	33	29	24	20	16	15	11	9	9	7	5	5	1991
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	6	12	16	21	24	29	33	32	28	23	20	15	11	10	8	6	6	1993
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	9	12	17	19	24	32	33	33	28	25	19	12	11	9	7	7	1995
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	4	7	9	14	16	20	28	33	33	30	27	21	14	13	11	9	8	1997
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	6	7	11	13	16	23	28	30	33	30	23	16	15	13	10	10	1999
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	5	6	10	12	15	20	25	27	30	33	27	19	18	16	12	12	2001
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	5	8	9	11	15	19	21	23	27	33	28	24	22	17	16	2003
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	6	7	9	11	12	14	16	19	28	33	29	27	22	20	2005
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	6	7	9	10	11	13	15	18	24	29	33	31	23	22	2007
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	5	5	7	8	9	11	13	16	22	27	31	33	25	22	2009
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	4	5	6	7	9	10	12	17	22	23	25	33	30	2011
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	4	5	6	7	8	10	12	16	20	22	22	30	33	2013

ASSEMBLY	TENURE ARRAY*																										
	1909 Session	1911 Session	1913 Session	1915 Session	1917 Session	1919 Session	1921 Session	1923 Session	1925 Session	1927 Session	1929 Session	1931 Session	1933 Session	1935 Session	1937 Session	1939 Session	1941 Session	1943 Session	1945 Session	1947 Session	1949 Session	1951 Session	1953 Session	1955 Session	1957 Session	1959 Session	
1941											1	7	15	31	56	100	64	50	33	21	11	10	6	5	4		
1943											1	6	11	18	40	64	100	75	48	30	16	14	10	8	5		
1945											1	5	10	15	30	50	75	100	61	36	20	16	10	8	5		
1947											1	3	6	9	17	33	48	61	100	62	38	27	15	11	8		
1949											1	3	6	8	14	21	30	36	62	100	65	48	28	19	11		
1951											1	3	5	7	8	11	16	20	38	65	100	77	44	27	15		
1953											1	2	4	6	7	10	14	16	27	48	77	100	61	39	23		
1955											1	1	3	4	5	6	10	10	15	28	44	61	100	67	42		
1957											1	1	2	3	4	5	8	8	11	19	27	39	67	100	64		
1959											1	1	2	3	4	4	5	5	8	11	15	23	42	64	100		
1961													1	1	1	1	2	2	4	7	8	13	24	39	59		
1963																				1	3	4	9	18	29	42	
1965																				1	3	3	7	11	18	28	
1967																				1	3	3	6	9	14	21	
1969																				1	3	3	5	7	10	15	
1971																				1	2	2	3	4	5	8	
1973																				1	1	1	2	3	4	7	
1975																				1	1	1	2	2	3	6	
1977																										1	3
1979																										1	2
1981																										1	2
1983																										1	2
1985																										1	2
1987																										1	2
1989																											1
1991																											1
1993																											
1995																											
1997																											
1999																											
2001																											
2003																											
2005																											
2007																											
2009																											
2011																											
2013																											

*This table shows the number of members of each assembly who served in previous or future assemblies. (Consecutive service only.)

1941 – 2013

1961 Session	1963 Session	1965 Session	1967 Session	1969 Session	1971 Session	1973 Session	1975 Session	1977 Session	1979 Session	1981 Session	1983 Session	1985 Session	1987 Session	1989 Session	1991 Session	1993 Session	1995 Session	1997 Session	1999 Session	2001 Session	2003 Session	2005 Session	2007 Session	2009 Session	2011 Session	2013 Session	ASSEMBLY	
1																											1941	
2																												1943
2																												1945
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																					1947
7	3	3	3	3	2	1	1																					1949
8	4	3	3	3	2	1	1																					1951
13	9	7	6	5	3	2	2																					1953
24	18	11	9	7	4	3	2																					1955
39	29	18	14	10	5	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1															1957
59	42	28	21	15	8	7	6	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1													1959
100	79	54	38	27	14	11	8	4	3	3	2	2	2	1	1													1961
79	100	70	52	38	22	16	11	6	5	5	4	2	2	1	1													1963
54	70	100	78	58	39	24	16	8	7	7	4	2	2	1	1													1965
38	52	78	100	77	50	33	24	15	13	12	7	5	3	2	1													1967
27	38	58	77	100	71	45	32	20	16	14	9	7	5	2	1													1969
14	22	39	50	71	100	70	53	39	32	28	17	11	8	5	4	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1971
11	16	24	33	45	70	99	76	62	50	41	26	15	12	8	6	4	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1973
8	11	16	24	32	53	76	99	85	67	53	33	20	16	12	9	6	5	5	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1975
4	6	8	15	20	39	62	85	99	81	65	40	26	21	15	11	6	5	5	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1977
3	5	7	13	16	32	50	67	81	99	87	53	34	28	21	15	9	7	6	5	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1979
3	5	7	12	14	28	41	53	65	87	99	66	43	36	25	19	12	10	8	6	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1981
2	4	4	7	9	17	26	33	40	53	66	99	73	62	47	36	23	17	13	11	8	8	5	5	3	1	1	1	1983
2	2	2	5	7	11	15	20	26	34	43	73	99	86	68	52	37	27	22	18	14	13	8	8	5	1	1	1	1985
2	2	2	3	5	8	12	16	21	28	36	62	86	99	84	67	48	36	31	24	19	17	12	10	6	2	1	1	1987
1	1	1	2	2	5	8	12	15	21	25	48	68	84	99	85	60	47	40	30	24	20	13	11	7	3	1	1	1989
1	1	1	1	1	4	6	9	11	15	19	36	52	67	85	99	76	61	53	40	34	29	22	16	9	6	3	1	1991
					3	4	6	6	9	12	23	37	48	60	76	99	87	76	56	49	40	28	20	12	8	4	1	1993
					2	3	5	5	7	10	17	27	36	47	61	87	99	89	67	57	47	32	24	14	10	4	1	1995
					2	3	5	5	6	8	13	22	31	40	53	76	89	99	78	68	55	38	29	17	13	5	1	1997
					1	2	4	4	5	6	11	18	24	30	40	56	67	78	99	89	75	54	42	30	20	10	1	1999
					1	1	2	2	3	4	8	14	19	24	34	49	57	68	89	99	84	63	49	36	25	12	1	2001
					1	1	2	2	3	4	8	13	17	20	29	40	47	55	75	84	99	80	63	50	35	18	1	2003
					1	1	1	1	2	3	5	8	12	13	22	28	32	38	54	63	80	99	82	68	48	27	1	2005
					1	1	1	1	2	3	5	8	10	11	16	20	24	29	42	49	63	82	99	85	57	36	1	2007
					1	1	1	1	1	2	3	5	6	7	9	12	14	17	30	36	50	68	85	99	69	45	1	2009
											1	1	2	3	6	8	10	13	20	25	35	48	57	69	99	74	1	2011
													1	1	3	4	4	5	10	12	18	27	36	45	74	99	1	2013

SENATE	NONCONSECUTIVE TENURE ARRAY*																									
	1909 Session	1911 Session	1913 Session	1915 Session	1917 Session	1919 Session	1921 Session	1923 Session	1925 Session	1927 Session	1929 Session	1931 Session	1933 Session	1935 Session	1937 Session	1939 Session	1941 Session	1943 Session	1945 Session	1947 Session	1949 Session	1951 Session	1953 Session	1955 Session	1957 Session	1959 Session
1941								2	3	4	5	6	6	6	9	22	33	21	16	13	8	7	5	4	2	2
1943								2	3	3	4	4	3	4	7	10	21	33	27	21	14	11	9	6	4	4
1945								2	2	2	3	3	3	4	6	7	16	27	33	27	16	13	11	7	4	4
1947								1	1	1	2	2	2	4	6	7	13	21	27	33	22	19	16	8	6	6
1949								1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	4	8	14	16	22	33	29	23	14	9	9
1951								1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	3	7	11	13	19	29	33	27	16	11	11
1953								1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	3	5	9	11	16	23	27	33	22	15	14
1955												1		3	4	2	4	6	7	8	14	16	22	33	25	22
1957														3	4	2	2	4	4	6	9	11	15	25	33	29
1959														3	4	2	2	4	4	6	9	11	14	22	29	33
1961														3	4	2	2	4	4	6	7	8	10	18	24	28
1963														3	4	2	2	4	4	6	7	8	10	15	19	20
1965														3	4	2	2	4	4	6	7	8	9	14	18	18
1967														2	3	1	1	2	2	4	5	6	7	9	13	13
1969														2	3	1	1	2	2	4	5	6	6	8	12	12
1971															1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	4	7	8
1973																				1	2	2	2	3	6	7
1975																				1	1	1	1	2	5	6
1977																				1	1	1	1	1	2	2
1979																				1	1	1	1	1	2	2
1981																				1	1	1	1	1	2	3
1983																				1	1	1	1	1	2	3
1985																										
1987																										
1989																										
1991																										
1993																										
1995																										
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1999																										
2001																										
2003																										
2005																										
2007																										
2009																										
2011																										
2013																										

*This table shows the number of members of each senate who served in previous or future senates. (All service included.)

1941 – 2013

1961 Session	1963 Session	1965 Session	1967 Session	1969 Session	1971 Session	1973 Session	1975 Session	1977 Session	1979 Session	1981 Session	1983 Session	1985 Session	1987 Session	1989 Session	1991 Session	1993 Session	1995 Session	1997 Session	1999 Session	2001 Session	2003 Session	2005 Session	2007 Session	2009 Session	2011 Session	2013 Session	SENATE
2	2	2	1	1	1																						1941
4	4	4	2	2	1																						1943
4	4	4	2	2	1																						1945
6	6	6	4	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1																1947
7	7	7	5	5	3	2	1	1	1	1	1																1949
8	8	8	6	6	3	2	1	1	1	1	1																1951
10	10	9	7	6	3	2	1	1	1	1	1																1953
18	15	14	9	8	4	3	2	1	1	1	1																1955
24	19	18	13	12	7	6	5	2	2	2	2																1957
28	20	18	13	12	8	7	6	2	2	3	3																1959
33	25	21	16	14	9	8	7	4	3	3	3																1961
25	33	28	21	19	12	10	8	5	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1963
21	28	33	27	22	15	12	9	6	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1965
16	21	27	33	28	20	16	11	7	5	5	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1967
14	19	22	28	33	27	20	15	9	5	5	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1969
9	12	15	20	27	33	26	20	14	8	7	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1971
8	10	12	16	20	26	33	27	19	13	10	8	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1973
7	8	9	11	15	20	27	33	27	20	16	11	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1975
4	5	6	7	9	14	19	27	33	27	22	16	8	7	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1977
3	4	4	5	5	8	13	20	27	33	29	22	12	11	8	6	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1979
3	4	4	5	5	7	10	16	22	29	33	26	16	15	11	8	6	4	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	1981
3	4	4	5	5	5	8	11	16	22	26	33	28	26	21	15	12	9	7	6	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	1983
	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	8	12	16	28	33	31	26	20	16	12	9	7	6	5	3	3	3	3	3	1985
	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	7	11	15	26	31	33	32	25	21	17	14	11	10	8	6	6	5	4	4	1987
	1	1	2	2	2	2	5	8	11	21	26	32	33	29	24	19	16	13	12	9	7	7	5	4	4	4	1989
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	6	8	15	20	25	29	33	29	24	20	16	15	11	9	9	7	5	5	1991
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	6	12	16	21	24	29	33	32	28	23	20	15	11	10	8	6	6	1993
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	9	12	17	19	24	32	33	33	28	25	19	12	11	9	7	7	1995
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	4	7	9	14	16	20	28	33	33	30	27	21	14	13	11	9	9	1997
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	6	7	11	13	16	23	28	30	33	30	23	16	15	13	10	10	1999
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	5	6	10	12	15	20	25	27	30	33	27	19	18	16	12	13	2001
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	5	8	9	11	15	19	21	23	27	33	28	24	22	17	16	2003
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	6	7	9	11	12	14	16	19	28	33	29	27	22	20	2005
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	6	7	9	10	11	13	15	18	24	29	33	31	23	22	2007
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	5	5	7	8	9	11	13	16	22	27	31	33	25	22	2009
	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	6	7	9	10	12	17	22	23	25	33	29	2011
	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	6	7	9	10	13	16	20	22	22	29	33	2013

NONCONSECUTIVE TENURE ARRAY*,

ASSEMBLY	1909 Session	1911 Session	1913 Session	1915 Session	1917 Session	1919 Session	1921 Session	1923 Session	1925 Session	1927 Session	1929 Session	1931 Session	1933 Session	1935 Session	1937 Session	1939 Session	1941 Session	1943 Session	1945 Session	1947 Session	1949 Session	1951 Session	1953 Session	1955 Session	1957 Session	1959 Session	
1941					1	1	1	1	1	2	4	6	11	21	36	56	100	64	52	34	24	16	15	12	8	7	
1943	1	1			1	1	2	1		1	3	4	10	17	22	42	64	100	75	49	33	19	17	14	10	7	
1945	1				1	1	1				1	3	8	16	17	33	52	75	100	61	38	23	18	12	11	7	
1947		1					1			1		5	6	12	13	19	34	49	61	100	62	40	29	16	15	12	
1949		1					1			1		5	6	10	12	17	24	33	38	62	100	65	49	29	22	15	
1951					1	1	1		1	2	1	5	6	12	12	12	16	19	23	40	65	100	77	44	30	19	
1953					1	1			1	2	1	4	4	7	8	11	15	17	18	29	49	77	100	62	41	25	
1955					1	1			2	1	1	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	12	16	29	44	61	100	67	42	
1957					1	1			1			3	4	6	5	6	8	10	11	15	22	30	41	67	100	64	
1959					1	1			1			3	4	6	6	7	7	7	7	11	14	18	25	42	64	100	
1961												1	3	4	3	3	2	3	5	8	12	14	18	27	43	59	
1963												1	2	2	1	1			2	4	6	8	12	21	33	42	
1965												1	1	1	1				1	3	6	6	10	14	20	28	
1967												1	1	1	1				1	2	5	5	8	11	16	21	
1969												1	1	1	1					1	3	3	5	8	7	15	
1971																					1	2	2	3	5	7	8
1973																					1	1	1	2	4	6	7
1975																					1	1	1	2	3	5	6
1977																											
1979																											
1981																											
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2005																											
2007																											
2009																											
2011																											
2013																											

*This table shows the number of members of each assembly who served in previous or future assemblies. (All service included.)

1941 – 2013

1961 Session	1963 Session	1965 Session	1967 Session	1969 Session	1971 Session	1973 Session	1975 Session	1977 Session	1979 Session	1981 Session	1983 Session	1985 Session	1987 Session	1989 Session	1991 Session	1993 Session	1995 Session	1997 Session	1999 Session	2001 Session	2003 Session	2005 Session	2007 Session	2009 Session	2011 Session	2013 Session	ASSEMBLY	
2																											1941	
3																												1943
5	2	1	1																									1945
8	4	3	2	1	1	1	1																					1947
12	6	6	5	3	2	1	1																					1949
14	8	6	5	3	2	1	1																					1951
18	11	10	8	5	3	2	2																					1953
28	21	14	11	8	5	4	3	1	1	1																		1955
43	33	20	16	12	7	6	5	2	2	2	1	1	1															1957
59	42	28	21	15	8	7	6	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1													1959
100	79	55	39	28	15	12	9	5	3	3	2	2	2	1	1							1	1	1	1	1		1961
79	100	70	52	38	22	17	12	7	5	5	4	2	2	1	1													1963
55	70	100	78	58	39	24	16	8	7	7	4	2	2	1	1							1	1	1	1	1		1965
39	52	78	100	77	50	34	25	16	13	12	7	5	3	3	2	1	1					1	1	1	1	1		1967
29	39	58	77	100	71	46	33	21	16	15	10	8	7	3	2	1	1					1	1	1	1	1		1969
15	22	39	50	71	100	70	54	40	32	30	18	13	11	7	6	5	3	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1		1971
12	17	24	34	46	70	99	76	62	50	42	27	16	14	10	8	6	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1				1973
9	12	16	25	33	54	76	99	85	67	54	34	21	18	13	10	7	5	5	4	2	2	1	1	1				1975
5	7	8	16	21	40	62	85	99	81	66	41	28	23	16	12	7	5	5	4	2	2	1	1	1				1977
3	5	7	13	16	32	50	67	81	99	88	53	36	30	23	17	10	7	6	5	3	3	2	2	1				1979
3	5	7	12	15	30	42	54	66	88	99	66	45	38	27	21	13	10	8	6	4	4	3	3	2				1981
2	4	4	7	10	18	27	34	41	53	66	99	73	63	50	38	25	17	13	11	8	8	5	5	3	1			1983
2	2	2	5	8	13	16	21	28	36	45	73	99	86	68	52	37	27	22	18	14	13	8	8	6	2	1		1985
2	2	2	3	6	11	14	18	23	30	38	63	86	99	84	67	48	36	31	24	19	17	12	10	7	3	2		1987
1	1	1	3	3	8	10	13	16	23	27	50	68	84	99	85	60	47	40	30	24	20	13	11	8	4	2		1989
1	1	1	2	2	6	8	10	12	17	21	38	52	67	85	99	76	61	53	40	34	29	22	16	10	7	4		1991
			1	1	5	6	7	7	10	13	25	37	48	60	76	99	87	76	56	49	40	28	20	13	9	5		1993
			1	1	3	4	5	5	7	10	17	27	36	47	61	87	99	89	67	57	47	32	24	14	10	4		1995
				2	3	5	5	6	8	13	22	31	40	53	76	89	99	78	68	55	38	29	17	13	5			1997
				1	2	4	4	5	6	11	18	24	30	40	56	67	78	99	89	75	54	42	30	20	10			1999
				1	1	2	2	3	4	8	14	19	24	34	49	57	68	89	99	84	63	49	36	25	12			2001
				1	1	2	2	3	4	8	13	17	20	29	40	47	55	75	84	99	80	63	50	35	18			2003
1		1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	5	8	12	13	22	28	32	38	54	63	80	99	82	68	48	27		2005
1		1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	3	5	8	10	11	16	20	24	29	42	49	63	82	99	85	57	36		2007
1		1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	6	7	8	10	13	14	17	30	36	50	68	85	99	69	45		2009
1		1	1	1	1						1	2	3	4	7	9	10	13	20	25	35	48	57	69	99	74		2011
1		1	1	1	1							1	2	2	4	5	4	5	10	12	18	27	36	45	74	99		2013

LONGEST SERVING MEMBERS IN EACH SESSION, 1941 – 2013
CONSECUTIVE SERVICE

SENATE		Sessions Served	ASSEMBLY		Sessions Served
1941	Conrad Shearer	6	1941	John T. Kostuck	5
1943	Conrad Shearer	7	1943	John T. Kostuck	6
1945	Conrad Shearer	8	1945	John T. Kostuck	7
1947	Conrad Shearer	9	1947	John T. Kostuck	8
1949	Allen J. Busby	6	1949	John T. Kostuck	9
1951	Allen J. Busby	7	1951	John T. Kostuck	10
1953	Allen J. Busby	8	1953	John T. Kostuck	11
1955	Allen J. Busby	9	1955	John T. Kostuck	12
1957	Allen J. Busby	10	1957	John T. Kostuck	13
1959	Allen J. Busby	11	1959	John T. Kostuck	14
1961	Allen J. Busby	12	1961	Elmer L. Genzmer	13
1963	Allen J. Busby	13	1963	George Molinaro	8
1965	Allen J. Busby	14	1965	George Molinaro	9
1967	Allen J. Busby	15	1967	George Molinaro	10
1969	Allen J. Busby	16	1969	George Molinaro	11
1971	Allen J. Busby	17	1971	George Molinaro	12
1973	Casimir Kendzioriski	12	1973	George Molinaro	13
1975	Robert P. Knowles	10	1975	George Molinaro	14
	Gerald D. Lorge	10	1977	Earl F. McEssy	10
1977	Gerald D. Lorge	11	1979	Earl F. McEssy	11
1979	Gerald D. Lorge	12	1981	Earl F. McEssy	12
1981	Gerald D. Lorge	13	1983	Earl F. McEssy	13
1983	Gerald D. Lorge	14	1985	Earl F. McEssy	14
1985	Fred A. Risser	11	1987	Earl F. McEssy	15
1987	Fred A. Risser	12	1989	Cletus Vanderperren	15
1989	Fred A. Risser	13	1991	Cletus Vanderperren	16
1991	Fred A. Risser	14	1993	James A. Rutkowski	11
1993	Fred A. Risser	15		Marlin D. Schneider	11
1995	Fred A. Risser	16		Lary J. Swoboda	11
1997	Fred A. Risser	17	1995	James A. Rutkowski	12
1999	Fred A. Risser	18		Marlin D. Schneider	12
2001	Fred A. Risser	19	1997	James A. Rutkowski	13
2003	Fred A. Risser	20		Marlin D. Schneider	13
2005	Fred A. Risser	21	1999	Marlin D. Schneider	14
2007	Fred A. Risser	22	2001	Marlin D. Schneider	15
2009	Fred A. Risser	23	2003	Marlin D. Schneider	16
2011	Fred A. Risser	24	2005	Marlin D. Schneider	17
2013	Fred A. Risser	25	2007	Marlin D. Schneider	18
			2009	Marlin D. Schneider	19
			2011	Peggy Krusick	14
			2013	Al Ott	13

LONGEST SERVING MEMBERS IN EACH SESSION, 1941 – 2013

ALL SESSIONS

SENATE		Sessions Served	ASSEMBLY		Sessions Served
1941	John E. Cashman	8	1941	Albert J. Baker	6
1943	John E. Cashman	9	1943	Albert J. Baker	7
1945	John E. Cashman	10	1945	John T. Kostuck	7
1947	Bernhard Gettleman	10	1947	John T. Kostuck	8
1949	Bernhard Gettleman	11	1949	John T. Kostuck	9
1951	Bernhard Gettleman	12	1951	John T. Kostuck	10
1953	Bernhard Gettleman	13	1953	John T. Kostuck	11
1955	Allen J. Busby	9	1955	John T. Kostuck	12
1957	Allen J. Busby	10	1957	John T. Kostuck	13
1959	Allen J. Busby	11	1959	John T. Kostuck	14
1961	Allen J. Busby	12	1961	Elmer L. Genzmer	13
1963	Allen J. Busby	13		John T. Pritchard	13
1965	Allen J. Busby	14	1963	Hugh A. Harper	10
1967	Allen J. Busby	15	1965	George Molinaro	9
1969	Allen J. Busby	16	1967	George Molinaro	10
1971	Allen J. Busby	17	1969	George Molinaro	11
1973	Casimir Kendziorski	12	1971	George Molinaro	12
	Clifford W. Krueger	12	1973	George Molinaro	13
1975	Clifford W. Krueger	13	1975	George Molinaro	14
1977	Clifford W. Krueger	14	1977	Bernard Lewison	10
1979	Clifford W. Krueger	15		Earl F. McEssy	10
1981	Clifford W. Krueger	16	1979	Bernard Lewison	11
1983	Gerald D. Lorge	14		Earl F. McEssy	11
1985	Fred A. Risser	11	1981	Bernard Lewison	12
1987	Fred A. Risser	12		Earl F. McEssy	12
1989	Fred A. Risser	13	1983	Earl F. McEssy	13
1991	Fred A. Risser	14	1985	Earl F. McEssy	14
1993	Fred A. Risser	15	1987	Earl F. McEssy	15
1995	Fred A. Risser	16	1989	Cletus Vanderperren	15
1997	Fred A. Risser	17	1991	Cletus Vanderperren	16
1999	Fred A. Risser	18	1993	James A. Rutkowski	11
2001	Fred A. Risser	19		Marlin D. Schneider	11
2003	Fred A. Risser	20		Lary J. Swoboda	11
2005	Fred A. Risser	21	1995	James A. Rutkowski	12
2007	Fred A. Risser	22		Marlin D. Schneider	12
2009	Fred A. Risser	23	1997	James A. Rutkowski	13
2011	Fred A. Risser	24		Marlin D. Schneider	13
2013	Fred A. Risser	25	1999	Marlin D. Schneider	14
			2001	Marlin D. Schneider	15
			2003	Marlin D. Schneider	16
			2005	Marlin D. Schneider	17
			2007	Marlin D. Schneider	18
			2009	Marlin D. Schneider	19
			2011	Peggy Krusick	14
			2013	Al Ott	13

Selected Legislative Reference Bureau Publications

These and other LRB publications are available at www.legis.state.wi.us/lrb/pubs

Research Bulletins

- RB-04-1 Wisconsin Legislative District Almanac. April 2004
RB-06-2 Issues in Administering the Death Penalty. October 2006
RB-12-1 Summary of the 2011-2012 Wisconsin Legislative Session. May 2012

Informational Bulletins

- IB-11-1 Guidelines for Adjusting Municipal Wards Following the 2010 Federal Census. March 2011
IB-12-1 Wisconsin's Role in Electing the President. March 2012
IB-12-2 The Evolution of Legalized Gambling in Wisconsin. November 2012
IB-12-3 2013 Legislative Session Fiscal Estimate Manual. December 2012
IB-12-4 Ask the LRB. December 2012
IB-13-1 Study Guide to the 2013-14 Wisconsin Blue Book. September 2013
IB-13-2 Inside the 2013-2014 Wisconsin Blue Book. September 2013
IB-14-1 Tenure, Turnover, and Reelection in the Wisconsin Legislature, 1940 – 2012. May 2014

Wisconsin Briefs

- Brief 12-1 Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in Wisconsin. April 2012
Brief 12-2 Executive Vetoes of Bills Passed by the 2011 Wisconsin Legislature from January 11, 2011, to April 20, 2012 (Except the 2011 Executive Budget Bill). April 2012
Brief 12-3 Concealed Carry and Firearms Laws in Wisconsin. May 2012
Brief 12-4 State Agencies, Boards, Commissions, or Councils Created, Repealed, or Revised by the 2011 Legislature – 2011 Wisconsin Acts 1-286. June 2012
Brief 12-5 Executive Budget Bills Enacted by the Wisconsin Legislature, 1931-2011. July 2012
Brief 12-6 Candidates: Primary Election, August 14, 2012. July 2012
Brief 12-7 Candidates: General Election, November 6, 2012. September 2012
Brief 12-8 Wisconsin Farm to School. October 2012
Brief 12-9 Wisconsin State Officers. November 2012
Brief 12-10 Genetically Modified Crops. December 2012
Brief 12-11 Salaries of State Elected Officials, Effective January 2013. December 2012
Brief 13-1 Brief Biographies 2013 Wisconsin Officers. January 2013
Brief 13-2 Profile of the 2013 Wisconsin Legislature, January 7, 2013. January 2013
Brief 13-3 Wisconsin Women Legislators – A Historical List. January 2013
Brief 13-4 Constitutional Amendment Given “First Consideration” Approval by the 2011 Wisconsin Legislature. January 2013
Brief 13-5 Statutory Misdemeanors in Wisconsin. April 2013
Brief 13-6 Executive Partial Veto of Assembly Bill 40 Executive Budget Bill Passed by the 2013 Wisconsin Legislature (2013 Wisconsin Act 20). July 2013
Brief 13-7 Wetlands of Wisconsin. September 2013
Brief 13-8 Researching Legislative History in Wisconsin. November 2013
Brief 14-1 Wisconsin Citizens Who Served in the United States Cabinet. January 2014
Brief 14-2 Online Privacy – Social Media, E-Mail Warrant Search, and Customer Data. March 2014
Brief 14-3 Voice Voting in the Wisconsin Legislature. April 2014
Brief 14-4 State Restrictions on Abortion: Admitting Privileges at Issue. April 2014

Budget Briefs

- Brief 09-1 Early Release and Sentencing Reforms. September 2009
Brief 09-2 Domestic Partnership. September 2009
Brief 10-1 Mandatory Motor Vehicle Insurance. May 2010

Legislative Briefs

- Brief 09-1 Indoor Smoking Ban in Wisconsin. May 2009
Brief 10-1 Human Growth and Development Instruction – 2009 Act 134. March 2010
Brief 10-2 Increased Penalties and Ignition Interlock Requirements for Drunk Driving Offenses. April 2010
Brief 10-3 Payday Loans – 2009 Wisconsin Act 405. November 2010
Brief 11-1 Local Redistricting Readjustment. August 2011
Brief 11-2 Earn-a-Buck Repeal and Hunting Season Regulations – 2011 Act 50. December 2011
Brief 12-1 Reporting Child Abuse or Neglect. March 2012
Brief 12-2 Earmark Transparency – 2011 Wisconsin Act 220. October 2012