

Shifting Gears



How Women
Navigate the Road
to Higher Office



A RESEARCH REPORT FROM

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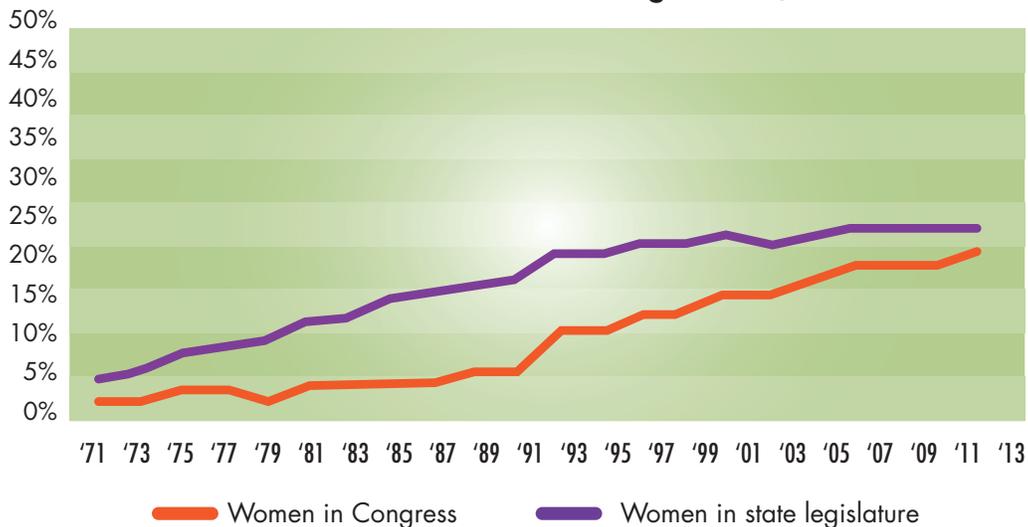
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INTRODUCTION

It has been long thought that as women gain ground in a “man’s world,” progress in elective office would follow. Formal barriers against their inclusion in political parties were eliminated in the 1970s, and women have achieved relative parity in educational attainment, and in some fields have narrowed or closed the pay gap. Equal representation, however, remains elusive.

Women make up 51 percent of the US population, but hold fewer than a quarter of political offices. They comprise, on average, only 24 percent of state legislatures and less than 20 percent of Congress. There are only five female governors — a critical pathway to the presidency — and relatively few big-city mayors. Moreover, women’s entry into political office, particularly advancement into higher office, has slowed rather than accelerated. In 1992, dubbed the “Year of the Woman in Politics,” the number of women in Congress doubled overnight. Not long after, the rate of progress slowed considerably, especially in state legislatures. Though 2012 saw a bump in female representation in Congress, the overall trend in the past two decades has been near-stagnation with occasional incremental gains. The United States is still far short of parity.

Women in the U.S. House and State Legislatures, 1971-2013



Given their effectiveness as political leaders — research shows women are more collaborative, hard-working, transparent, and nonhierarchical in leadership — this dilemma poses critical questions. Why the scarcity of female candidates and elected officials? Are women uninterested, unwilling, or uncertain? Is the political system unresponsive and impenetrable? Ultimately, is the issue the driver or the road?

Our research shows that both the driver and the road conditions are critical in any journey. “Shifting Gears” explores how women navigate their political paths — including how newcomers weigh their options — to better understand the factors that contribute to a successful career and the barriers that hinder or stall progress.

Running for office is not a stand-alone decision; it requires a number of sacrifices and commitments that affect family life and personal reputation. The multilayered nature of the decision and its impacts requires careful examination at every level of political ascent. We explore in depth factors affecting women’s

political careers not adequately addressed in existing research. Our goal is to provide nuanced understanding about the root causes of the gender gap in political office and recommendations to close this gap and increase the number of female officeholders, especially at higher levels (House, Senate, and governor).

Understanding women’s political decisions illuminates the causes of the candidate gender gap and highlights the ways in which women can become successful political leaders. This knowledge can lead to greater organized support for women candidates and appropriate party reforms.

Ultimately, our research concludes, the confidence-versus-structure debate sets up a false dichotomy. Both the driver and the road matter. In particular, the driver’s perceptions of whether she will face smooth road conditions or stop-and-go traffic influence her choice to take or avoid a certain route. Likewise, women contemplating running for office are strongly affected by the costs and benefits they anticipate from a candidacy. We also found that road conditions appear to differ for women; the roads on which men travel to higher office have fewer potholes and roadblocks than those navigated by women. Surely women’s documented lesser confidence matters for whether they run for office — but so too does the larger set of structures that help shape their choices.

Although women follow many paths to public office, our research reveals five major stages of candidate emergence and political career development:

Stages of Candidate Emergence and Political Career Development for Women in Politics:

- 1. Deciding to Run (or Not)**
- 2. Campaigning While Female**
- 3. Gender in Governing**
- 4. Considering Bids for Higher Office (or Not)**
- 5. Long-Term Planning: Viewing Politics as a Career**

Beginning or completing any one stage does not imply that a candidate continues on to the next stage; indeed, many women may consider whether to run for office (Stage 1) and never campaign or enter elected office. And of those who make an initial run (Stage 2) and win (Stage 3), most choose to leave before pursuing higher office (Stages 4 and 5). There are also differences between levels of office (local versus state versus federal) and types of office (executive versus legislative versus judicial). What we present is necessarily a simplification, geared toward better understanding women’s choices about aiming for high elected office (House, Senate, and governorships).

This project combines results from two major studies — one qualitative and one quantitative — by respected researchers in the field. Lake Research and Chesapeake Beach Consulting surveyed state legislators, while Denise Baer, working with Heidi Hartmann and the Institute for Women’s Policy Research, conducted interviews and focus groups across the country with current, former, and potential female candidates. Full methodology details for both studies (Lake/Carpenter and Baer/Hartmann) are in the Appendix. The findings of these two studies are complementary, and this report draws on both for conclusions and recommendations.

Navigating This Report

In addition to explaining the major stages for female candidates, we provide information on both the “on-ramps” that aid and “potholes” that slow women’s progress as political office-seekers, including:



On-Ramps Aiding Women as Candidates

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Motherhood as an Inspiration for Public Service	30



Potholes Derailing Women Candidates

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Strategies for Change

In the final section of this report, “Strategies for Change,” we suggest actions that can help both female candidates and those seeking to advance their progress. When women do take the steps to run, their efforts must be bolstered, providing promised and expected supports and resources. Pervasive formal and informal sources of gender bias require hard hitting, rapid-responses. Momentum and infrastructure must be created for woman-centered mentoring and sponsorship.

Women candidates face a complex maze of barriers and opportunities when seeking public leadership. We can support their navigation by widening roads, paving potholes, removing roadblocks, and building more on-ramps to the highway to high elective office.

STAGE 1: Deciding to Run (or Not)



Getting Interested, Getting “Angry,” Getting into the Fray

Most people don’t think about running for political office, let alone high office, and research shows that women are far less likely than men to consider it — even among elite potential candidates. The majority of women in our studies discussed running for office with others, yet few have taken the initial steps to launch a campaign.



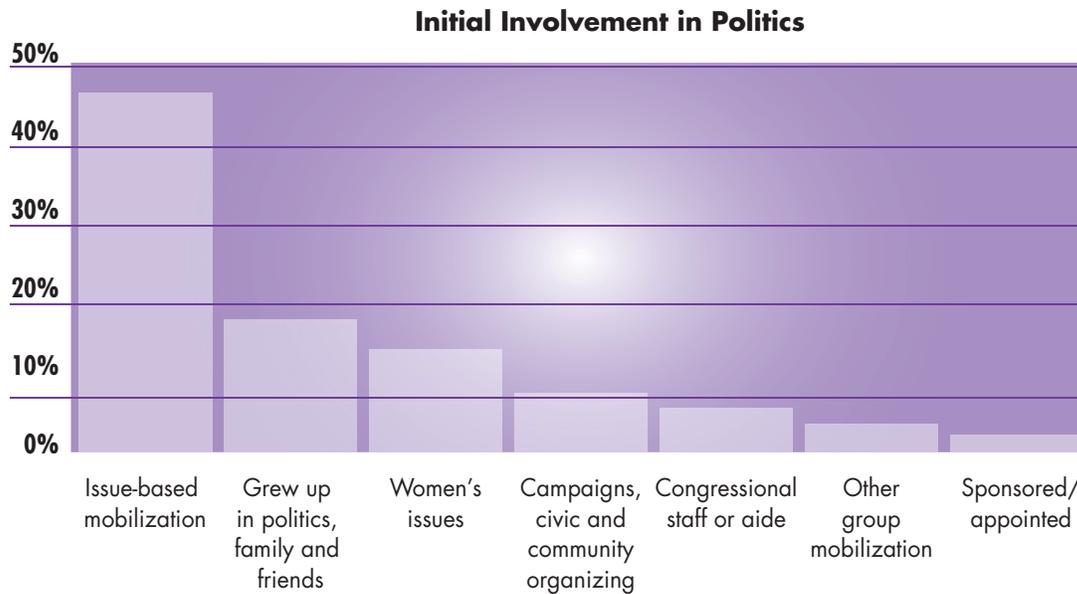
Source: Lake/Carpenter survey

Women’s paths to political engagement vary. Nearly half of the Baer/Hartmann study participants were motivated by a specific issue, which supports conventional wisdom that many women are mobilized to political action by a desire to achieve specific policy goals. About one in ten respondents cited “women’s issues” (traditionally child care, health care, reproduction, education, and the environment) and representing women as major motivators for political office.

Participants’ policy goals, however, do not focus solely on such issues. Women’s interests are diverse, including broad policy areas such as national security, business issues, and economic inequality and poverty. Many respondents were motivated by local issues, and were first recruited by parties or officials to help with a local problem.

Party involvement is another common pathway to political life. Though political parties were traditionally closed to women beyond posting flyers and sorting mail, more than half of those in the Lake/Carpenter survey were involved in party activism or held some type of party office before running for an elected position. More women are taking leadership roles within parties, although the upper ranks remain predominantly male. Several of the experienced candidates and electeds in the Baer/Hartmann study initially became involved through specific campaigns. Less common routes to political engagement included working in a congressional office, being mobilized by another group (e.g., a political faction), or being appointed to a public office.

As in any profession, family connections help. Nearly one in five women in the Baer/Hartmann study grew up in politics and became involved through family or friends. Support from family and friends is also critical to the women in the Lake/Carpenter survey, with 95 percent calling it important or very important.



Source: Baer/Hartmann study



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ I came to the conclusion that representing children and fighting the system case by case was never going to make a difference. It has to be at the legislative level to make real change.”

~ Local executive officeholder and former state legislator from a Southern state

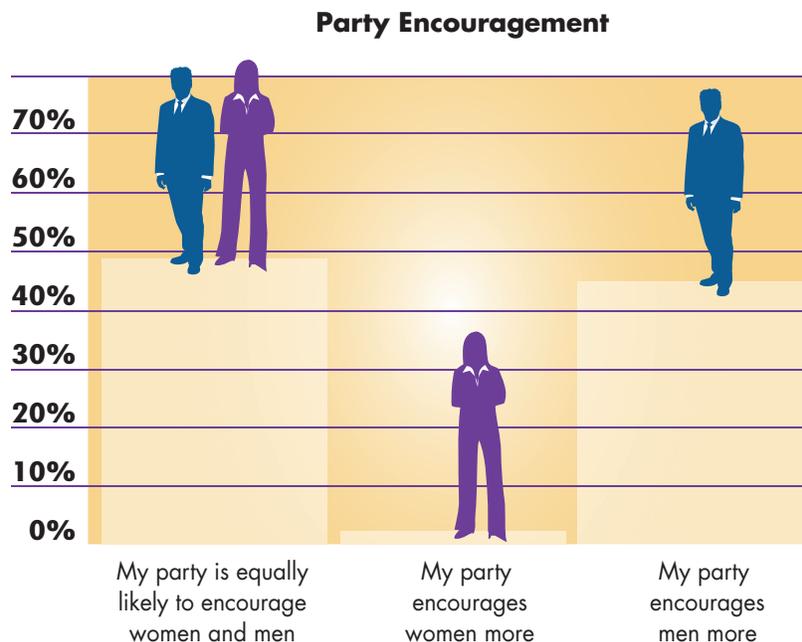
“ I had been working in [my district] since I was a teenager... with different residents and groups and also learning more about how local government works... I was asked repeatedly to run by the same people, and I was supported by them and my family. I remember [learning] some statistic, that for women, they had to be asked, like, three times before they would even consider. I'm like, wow, that was definitely my story.”

~ Local officeholder in a Northeastern state, under 40

Recruitment and Party Involvement

Most female candidates make the decision to run on their own (self-recruitment). Only about one in four of the Baer/Hartmann study participants were recruited by others. Though most candidates, both male and female, are self-starters, self-recruitment is easier for men because they are far more likely to consider themselves qualified to run (even when their qualifications are not better than their female counterparts’).

Among female politicians who decided to run without being recruited, reasons for political interest varied widely. Some are driven by feminism (e.g., disappointment/shock over how few women serve in government, outrage at the treatment of Anita Hill, or being inspired by Hillary Clinton’s presidential run). For others, it was simply the right time or they felt ready, as they had always wanted to run for office. The largest group of self-recruiters, however, are women who “got angry” over an incumbent’s failure to respond or represent the district well; or those who had a “eureka” moment, realizing that their issues could be best addressed through making policy themselves. In the Lake/Carpenter survey, the desire to change the way government works was cited as the most important reason to run for higher office, particularly for Republican women.



Source: Lake/Carpenter survey

Of those recruited, some women were appointed to office, while others were persuaded to run by a female elected official. According to the sample, political parties were nearly absent from recruitment and subsequent support of women candidates. Within parties, informal male networks are a barrier to women candidates. Nearly half of Lake/Carpenter survey respondents said their party encourages men more than women.

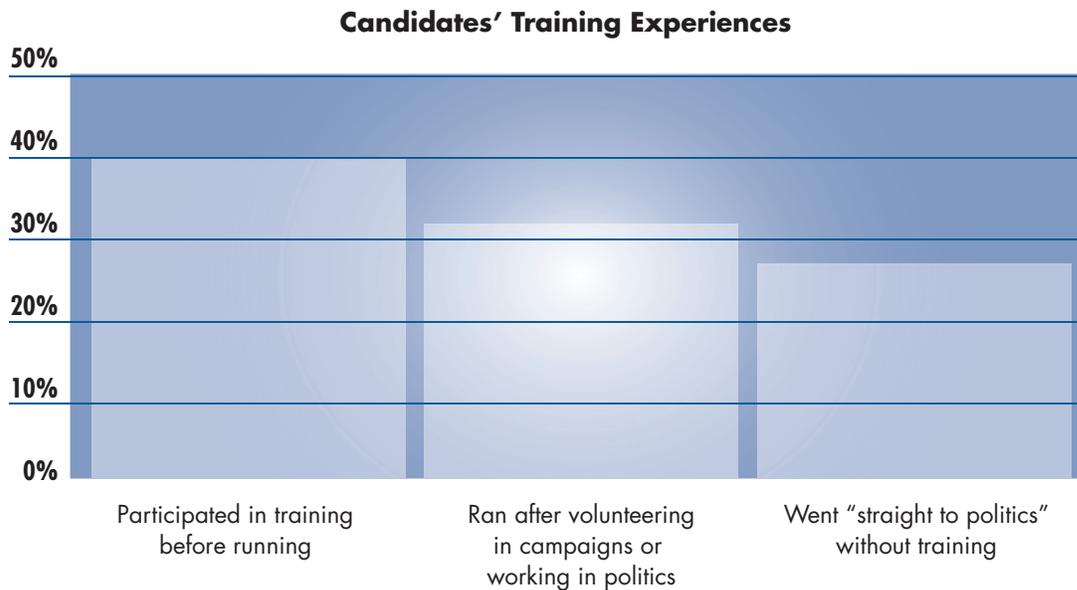
Baer/Hartmann participants said that the “folks in charge” are men, and that the informal male networks look to recruit candidates similar to themselves. Regarding the “old boy’s network,” one female state legislator said, “It’s so embedded, they don’t know they have it.” This is particularly important, as the Lake/Carpenter survey shows that political mentors — especially current or former elected or party officials — are instrumental in encouraging women to run. One clear finding is the need for greater recruitment of women as political candidates, especially by political parties.



On the whole, women were very strategic about whether or not, how, and when they ran. In the Baer/Hartmann study, of the 40 percent of women who had participated in a training session before their first run for office, nearly nine in ten found it extremely helpful to learn the nuts and bolts of campaigning. Of those who received training, one in four went on to participate in a second training. Of those who did not receive any training before their initial campaign, a majority subsequently enrolled in a program.

Most participants received training through a national women’s organization (particularly Emerge, which has state-level affiliates). For those who sought post-campaign training, the most common resource was a state party seminar; more than one third of Baer/Hartmann participants who ran without prior training took part in such sessions.

Many training options exist; what’s needed is more targeted and earlier programming. Several women said the state party training, after their announcement, came too late to impact their campaign strategy. Findings suggest it would be helpful to develop more specific training modules for women candidates that focus on level of office and provide different scales of campaign structure. Participants thought this would be more useful than the prevalent one-size-fits-all trainings.



Source: Baer/Hartmann study

First Office Factors

The Baer/Hartmann study identified several factors that tie closely to a female candidate's first run for office, including:

- Considering the effect a campaign and political career will have on family, and vice versa;
- Answering the “why me, why now?” campaign narrative question, which requires women to justify both to the public and to themselves why they are running and what makes them qualified;
- Strategizing the opportunity structure (e.g., knowing the political lay of the land, the history of the potential elected seat and constituency, and establishing a campaign before it officially begins);
- Putting together a campaign, which calls for women to define themselves as candidates, hire campaign staff, and determine their public image and privacy parameters;
- Feeling ready, which is affected by the degree of recruitment and training women receive prior to election season in their first (or subsequent) campaign(s); and
- Receiving party support; even if they have been recruited, women are often seen as party outsiders and do not receive the support promised, expected, or needed from their parties.

Ambition alone was not an issue or deficit for the women in this research. In contrast to some other research, the women candidates, eligibles, and electeds in these studies displayed considerable interest in office at all levels, including higher office, and had made personal, professional, and often financial sacrifices to engage in public service. Most were distinctly political personalities who enjoy campaigning and politics and consider self-confidence one of their strongest assets. They were, however, realistic about what they saw as challenges on the road to higher office, and their political ambition appeared to wax and wane according to the driving conditions on that road.



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ The first time I ran, I ran pretty much on my own. It was very grassroots. I didn't raise a lot of money. I had almost all volunteers on the campaign. ... I was kind of naïve in thinking that if you have a message that resonates with enough people, they're just going to notice and they're going to vote for you. So I lost my first campaign.”

~ *Local officeholder in a Northeastern state*

STAGE 2: Campaigning While Female

Once a candidate decides to throw her hat into the ring, she enters Stage 2. Our data suggest multiple new challenges and opportunities arise in this stage.

Appearance Stereotypes and Expectations

Appearance issues arise in distinctive ways for women. Almost nine in ten Baer/Hartmann study participants said women's campaign experiences differ from those of men. Elected representatives live among their constituents; even when running errands, a female candidate or officeholder must be always "on." One elected woman noted that she can't "run around in blue jeans," even on her time off, as she feared this would undermine her professional credibility. Another recounted media attacks calling her voice "high-pitched" and "lacking in authority." Some felt their lack of height relative to men also counted against them in being taken seriously. Yet height was not a panacea. One tall blond woman noted that she gets "Barbie" jokes, which subtly undermine her professional credibility as well.

Being Questioned

Female candidates often experience greater questioning of their qualifications than their male counterparts, which affects both how the media reports on their credentials and the recruitment processes of the parties and other informal networks. One US congressional candidate in the Baer/Hartmann study said:

"... If a guy says he's done something, the assumption is he's correct unless proven otherwise. If a woman says she's done something, the assumption is she hasn't until she can prove to everyone beyond a shadow of a doubt she has."

Qualifications are not the only element of a women's candidacy that receives disproportionate scrutiny. The family lives of female politicians are called into question far more often than those of male candidates. A woman is often asked why she is not taking care of her children or how she plans to do so — a query made rarely, if ever, of male candidates.



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

" When I made that decision, I had three very young children, I was in my mid to late 30s, and I just had ...my first visit to our state capitol. I went there to lobby on children's issues and women's issues and was just watching women legislators at work, and it was that eureka moment. That's what I need to do. But I decided I was going to wait until my children were older. So I actually put together a ten year plan: so I'm going to run in ten years, what do I need to do to get from here to there? That's when I started taking some campaign training courses. I got more involved in advocacy organizations, and continued to go to [the state capitol] every year as an advocate."

~ Local executive officeholder and former state legislator in a Southern state

The fact that the questioning of qualifications and concerns about media portrayals are among the most commonly-cited differences between women's and men's campaign experiences is troubling. It undermines the assumption that as women make headway in educational attainment and the labor force, their political ascent will run parallel.

Family, Motherhood, and Childlessness

Sadly, politics is a two-person career and will remain so without substantial changes in public policy, family life, and political institutions. Male politicians are typically married and rely on their wives to provide family care and support for their political careers (campaign work, joint and solo appearances, help from additional family members and networks). Single women candidates have the added burden of having to explain their social lives while campaigning for and holding public office.



The timing of having and rearing children can also be an issue. Slightly more than half of mothers in the Baer/Hartmann study with campaign or office-holding experience waited until their children were teenagers or adults to run their first campaign; more than one third ran when their children were newborns to age 13; one tenth ran before having children.

Overall, the advice of current and former officeholders is to run early — before children if possible — as the time involved in running for and holding office is significant. However, Baer/Hartmann study participants did not rank personal or family factors as particularly important in deciding whether to pursue high-level or lower office; it was the least important barrier to running for higher office, ranking last of four barriers identified. Similarly, while female state legislators in the Lake/Carpenter survey cited the length and difficulty of campaigns and separation from family and friends during a campaign and in office as barriers, they were less significant than others, like party support or raising funds. Despite negative media attention on the topic, the women in this study were not staying out of office because of family responsibilities.



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ A congresswoman must look like a girl, act like a lady, think like a man, speak on any given subject with authority, and most of all work like a dog.”

~ *Congresswoman Florence Dwyer, R-NJ (1957-73),
quoted in “Biographical Dictionary of Congressional Women”*

“ When you ask a man to run, he says, ‘Okay, but the party is going to have to do this for me, and the party is going to have to do that for me, and you are going to have to throw a fundraiser for me.’ When you ask a woman to run, she says, ‘Do you think I’m qualified?’”

~ *Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez, D-CA (2003-present),
quoted in “Breaking the Political Glass Ceiling”*

Dating and Personal Life

Young, single women said running for and serving in office are difficult without personal support, as from family and friends. They also indicated that dating is a challenge; both the media and constituents are overtly curious about their private lives. These women face immense scrutiny about their dating habits and how they meet potential romantic partners. Some felt that trying to date while in office was like being in a “fishbowl,” where whatever they did would be visible.

Social Norms, Double Bind

A number of women candidates said they need to comply with social norms to be considered credible; this includes acting and dressing professionally, as well as the “double bind” of acting like a leader without being perceived as aggressive. For some participants, this is one of the biggest barriers to running for higher office. For others, this affects how they conduct a campaign. Many women brought up the negative stigma facing women who act aggressively. This was described by one participant as “a fine line in how you can attack. Women have to be very careful that they don’t cross, with all due respect, the ‘b*tch line.’ That if they are too hard they’re a b*tch... That’s just the way it is... You want to be tough but you don’t want to be shrill because there’s a different way that people look at it.”



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ I also try very hard to always look the part, so I’m never running around in blue jeans... I always try to look like the position I hold. ...So that takes a little effort, and whether I’m driving into [the city] or whether I’m attending meetings locally or going to office hours or whatever, I’m always on, so to speak.”

~ *State legislator from a Northeastern state*

POTHOLE | Politics as Brutal



Study participants describe a gendered learning curve to politics, which involves a number of factors relevant to what one interviewee called “campaigning while female.” For example, for safety reasons, not all women felt comfortable traveling or campaigning alone. Campaigns, and indeed, politics, are conflictive and can be a new or difficult environment for women. Some study participants described politics as “brutal.”

Threats, Backlash

Noted by Baer/Hartmann study participants, an infrequently discussed but seemingly prevalent part of public office is a sense of danger, including stalking or threats— some from opposing campaigns. One female candidate was threatened enough by an opposing campaign to drop out of the race three weeks before the election. Some campaign threats are made by members of the wider public, who may see a female candidate as a symbol for change, upsetting the status quo. A US congressional candidate from the West said,

“...If I had run for state senate, I don’t know that [they] ...would have bothered to make me the polarizing figure that they did while I was running for Congress. I probably wouldn’t have got the hate mail and the death threats.”

Women running for office can easily become lightning rods for polarized political beliefs and sexism. Female (and male) candidates would benefit from more attention on their policies and less on their personal appearance and private lives.

Women candidates in both studies showed remarkable courage and resilience. In the Lake/Carpenter survey, nearly three-quarters (73 percent) agreed with the statement, “Fear would never hold me back from running for higher office.” Unfortunately, that means more than a quarter said it would.



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ You put yourself in the public eye, and you give up so much. I gave up a lot.”

~ Local officeholder from a Southern state, under 40

“ You might have a lot of people that may want to come on to you, but be careful because you don’t want to be perceived as someone who is free and open. You have to be careful... next thing you know, you’re in the paper. But when you are [a politician], your guard is more up, your antenna is up. You’re more aware of who you’re allowing yourself to be with.”

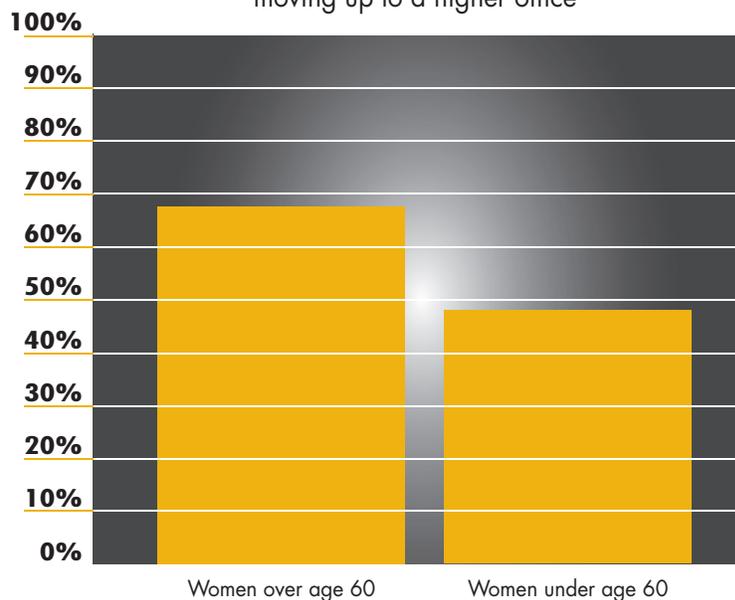
~ Local officeholder from a Southern state, under 40

Older Women on the Campaign Trail

Older women face their own set of challenges. In a culture obsessed with youth, they sometimes have to fight for attention. Some Baer/Hartmann study participants noted that the intensity involved in raising money and knocking on doors is difficult for someone with decreased stamina and/or physical capacity. Advanced age correlated with lower political ambition in the Lake/Carpenter survey; female state legislators over age 60 were far more likely than those under 60 to: (1) be ready to leave public life/get out of politics; (2) find politics frustrating; and (3) think they could do more good at lower versus higher levels of office. Recruiting women earlier in life may help fill the political pipeline.

Park It?

"I can do more good where I am than moving up to a higher office"



Source: Lake/Carpenter survey



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

" It's like a boy's club. But ...if a woman were to go out there and be as good as the boys or the guys and try to cut deals, especially in small communities, or especially conservative communities, her reputation would be marked. It would... make her look like, "Oh. She's a bar hopper." ...But the men can sit there in the bars and make their deals. And, yet, I can't go out to the bars and network with some of the guys the way they're able to do it. I couldn't- I didn't fit that mold. I wasn't able to do that. It was those inner circles with the men."

~ US congressional candidate from a Southern state, over 40

" Age was the biggest factor. My board was primarily full of women before. They've seen women on the board. They hadn't seen [someone] so young.."

~ Local officeholder from a Midwestern state, under 40

STAGE 3: Gender in Governing

Social Norms and the Double Bind in Governing

Just as in a woman's candidacy, double binds abound for women officeholders. Women often experience sexist comments and advice from male colleagues about how to comport themselves in office (on this point, see also the "Name It, Change It" research from Women's Campaign Fund and other groups). If women must figure out how to look like a leader without seeming aggressive during campaign season, upon election they must figure out how to *be* a leader without seeming aggressive and risking the alienation of colleagues whose help they may need in legislating.

POTHOLE | Potential for Backlash



Even after a campaign, several women expressed unease about the health and safety of their families being in the public eye. Some disliked their children being teased during formative years, while others had to cope with threats due to controversies over their voting positions. It is reassuring that those interviewed were able to continue in politics while taking appropriate steps to protect themselves and their families. Nevertheless, it is worrisome that women politicians can be made targets because of their political personas.



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

" I always cheer up immensely if an attack is particularly wounding because I think, well, if they attack one personally, it means they have not a single political argument left."

~ *Famously attributed to former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990)*

" When I'm arriving or going to different neighborhoods, sometimes I have to have people with me, like an entourage."

~ *Local executive official from a Midwestern state*

Young Women’s Experiences Differ in Governance

Women experience gender as a challenge in politics; young women experience both age and gender as a challenge, though in a different way than older women. Generational factors seemed present throughout the political experiences of young legislators in the Baer/Hartmann study. Participants in the study noted they had to “be smarter” than their colleagues to “offset” their age. They also noted running into the “Queen Bee” syndrome, where an older woman who has attained leadership or power acts territorially. One female politician told the following story:

“I’m the only non-grandma on [the city] council. There are two other women that I work with, and they’re both grandmothers, and today at a meeting, a female councilwoman literally said to me ‘grow up’ and left the room in a huff because I disagreed with her on an issue... Not all female politicians are created equal.”

Long Hours as a Mother

A number of women mentioned the family stress that ensues with the decision to run for and hold office. The hours are long and the responsibilities are heavy; as one subject put it, “Your children will miss you, your dog will miss you.” Indeed, we asked our interviewees for a year-round average of the number of hours per week they worked in politics and public service and whether this changed in legislative sessions or campaign season. Results indicate a grueling schedule of both official duties during sessions, as well as community outreach, responding to constituents, and attending public events year-round.

Of current officeholders — none of whom currently hold high political offices — nearly two-thirds work 40 or more hours per week in public service, and nearly one in five works 60 or more hours per week in public service (Baer/Hartmann). This is often in addition to other paid work, as state legislative office is in many states a part-time job. The work differs across state legislatures, as well; some are more “professionalized” than others, in that they offer more hours and higher pay. For many women in politics, however, even in the state legislature, political office is still a part-time, underpaid job, where workloads increase during both legislative sessions and during campaign seasons.



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ I think that many women do not like conflict. And if you’re in a competitive district when you throw your hat in the ring, you’re signing up for a lot of conflict. We get a tremendous amount of negative mailers, and negative attacks, and things like that. ... I don’t know that they’re worse than [what] the men [experience], but I know some women just don’t want to do it. You know what I mean? It’s not the way they prefer to spend their time.

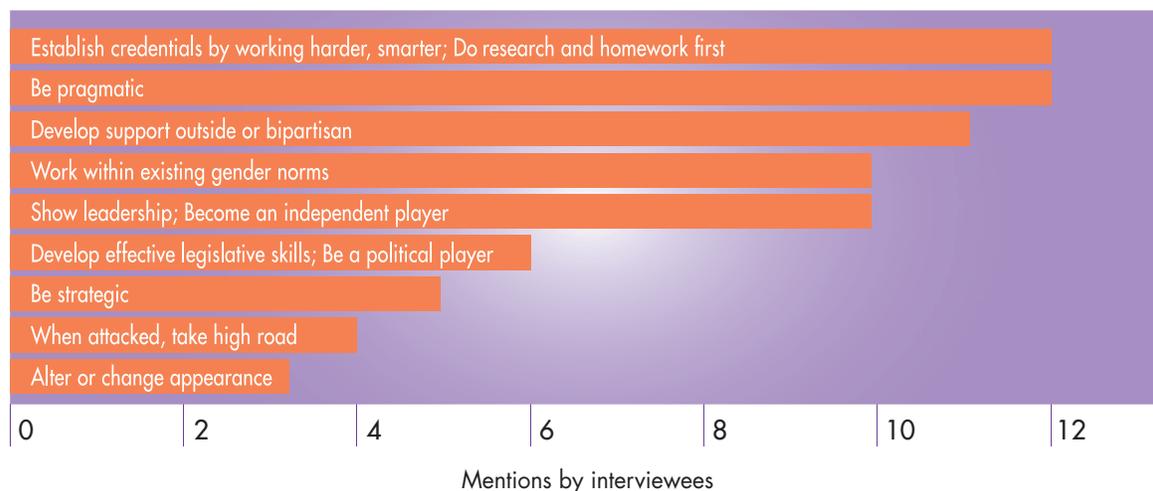
~ State legislator from a Northeastern state

Strength through Adversity

Throughout both studies, participants demonstrated confidence and determination. In stark opposition to many gender stereotypes about women being passive, our participants described themselves as confident, relentless, ruthless, and curious. Some indicated that they bring special assets to a campaign, while others felt that their experience in prior professions allowed them to be assertive or deal with conflict in politics in a mature and useful way. Several found strength through their religion or spiritual beliefs to deal with the day-to-day difficulties of being a female politician.

We collected responses on both the strategies women use to deal with difficulties in office and strengths that help them surpass struggles. These data showcase two complementary facets of the daily life of political women: 1) many challenges are gender-specific; but also 2) the strengths of female politicians are more than equal to the opposition or biases they face.

Strategies Employed by Female Politicians



Source: Baer/Hartmann study



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

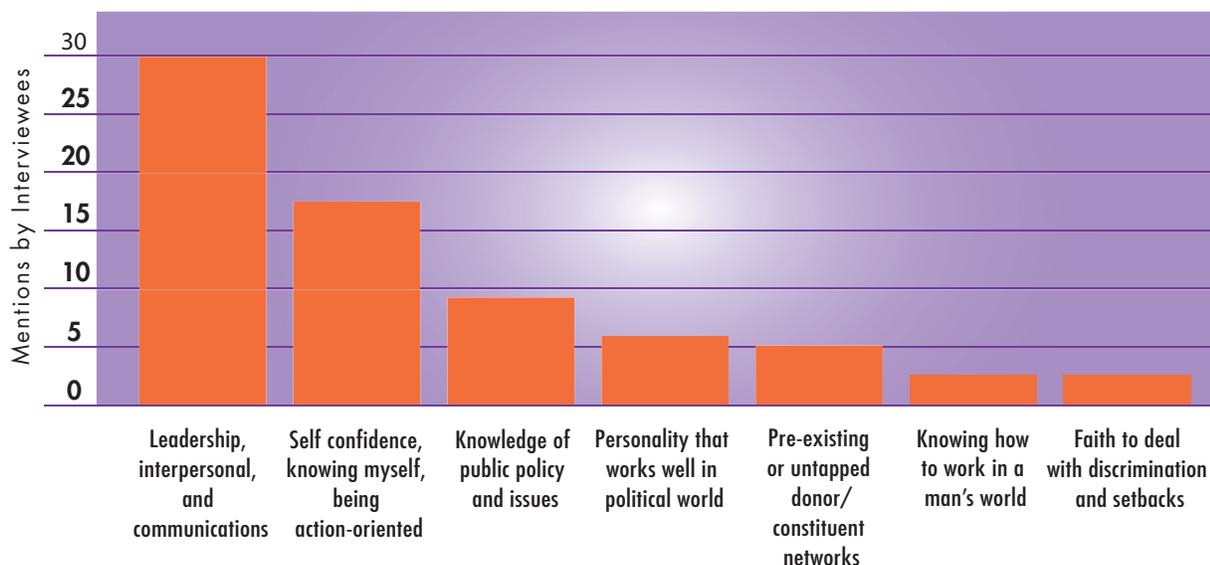
“ The biggest barrier is still an overabundance in our society of the perception that a powerful woman is a negative. That ambition is a negative personality characteristic in a woman. That power and being female...are in some sense anti-feminine. That being strong....and being outspoken is being a b*tch. And all the things which are positive about men doing it when translated to a woman...define her in a negative [way with]... really unpleasant social stereotypes. I don't know how to overcome that.”

~ US congressional candidate from a Southern state

“ Physically, I'm older. Door to doors was really hard for me physically too – I could not keep up the level that the young guys could do.”

~ State House candidate and local officeholder from a Northeastern state, over 40

Strengths Shown by Female Politicians



Source: Baer/Hartmann study

To be a public servant is to bear the weight of a community’s needs and expectations; this is made more difficult when elected women face burdens relating to their gender, race, or other characteristics unrelated to governing. Women throughout this study spoke out against the barriers they have encountered during both their campaigns and their time in office, from gender and age discrimination, to family issues, to feelings of isolation. They struggled with pioneering the diversity surge in political offices around the country. They have questioned their own relation to or retreat from the women’s movement. Most importantly, though, they experienced the thrills and rewards of political achievement and standing up for their beliefs as legislators. Many women in state legislatures across the country are beginning to ask, as Texas State Senator Leticia Van De Putte did in a recent state legislative filibuster, “At what point must a female senator raise her hand or her voice to be recognized over her male colleagues?”



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ I see it more as a passion. ...I feel like there’s this amazing privilege to be able to do this; because it’s so extraordinary to be in a position where you can challenge your own government, challenge democracy, ask questions, put a voice to the underserved or to issues of injustice.”

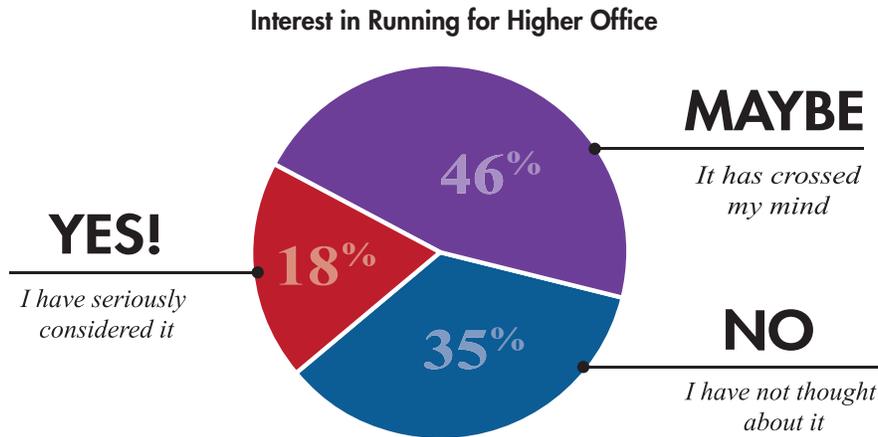
~ State legislator from a Northeastern state

STAGE 4: Considering Bids for Higher Office (or Not)



Staying in the First Office – Why or Why Not

The large majority of female state legislators in the Lake/Carpenter survey had not thought seriously about moving up to higher office. Similarly, throughout the Baer/Hartmann study, it became clear that for many women, part of the joy of politics is seeing the changes they make and knowing the people whose lives they affect. Local politics allows for close ties with constituents, an easier family life (lower stakes, less stress, and less travel), and less scrutiny from the media. Many study participants see their role in politics as active public service, so it is not surprising that many favor local politics, with its tendency toward more tangible and immediate solutions. Women's relative lack of interest in higher office could indicate one or both of the following: 1) they believe the choices demanded by higher office would challenge how they lead their personal and political lives; 2) they have found balance, security, and fulfillment in the work they already do.



Source: Lake/Carpenter survey



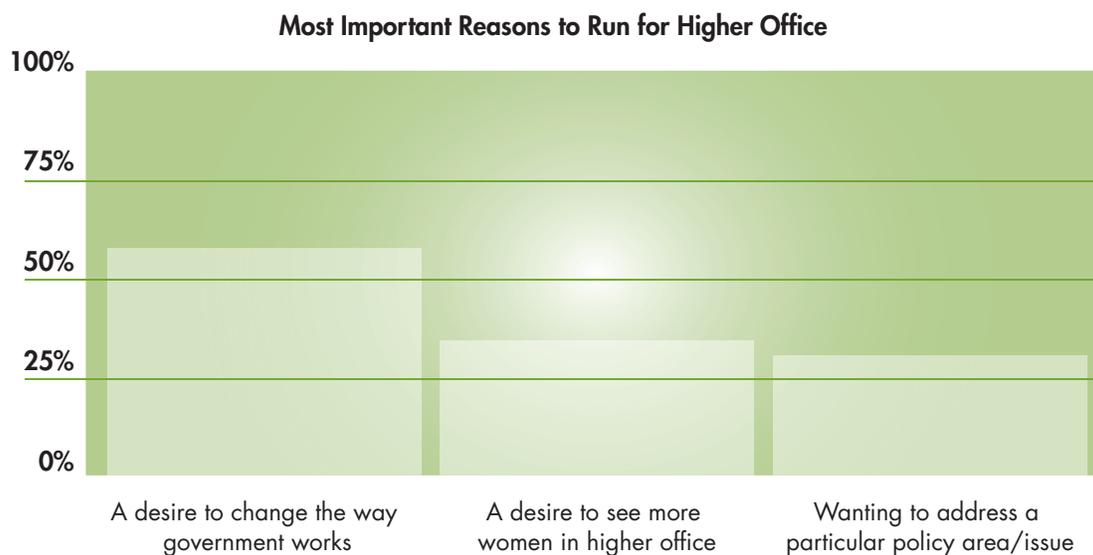
LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

" I like local politics.... I'm a grassroots person...I believe in quality of life issues, and since I started with my neighborhood, I wanted to make sure that quality of life issues were addressed. I wanted to see that—I focus in on zoning issues and making sure the character of the neighborhood did not change."

~Local officeholder from a Northeastern state

The quantitative data in the Lake/Carpenter survey supports both explanations. Only about one in five female state legislators expressed serious interest in seeking any form of higher office, although almost half said the thought of higher office “crossed my mind.”

Some participants in each study — especially those who were younger and Democrats — displayed greater interest in running for higher office. Women who had served in office longer and those who were asked to run by a prominent member of their party (or another power broker in their state) also expressed greater interest in higher office.



Source: Lake/Carpenter survey

Recruitment, Mentoring, and Networks

With few mentorship structures or opportunities and tenuous relationships with the powerful guardians of the political pipeline, many female politicians struggle to emerge as eligible and ready for higher office. The opportunity to run is rarely presented to them, and the tools to campaign for high office are seldom passed down. Many, though not all, female politicians must take the initiative by declaring candidacies without organized support lined up and creating their own fundraising networks.

An encouraging counterexample can be found in the recent ascension of high-level female politicians in New Hampshire (see Political Parity’s “Twin States: A Multiplier Effect”). As Governor in 1999, Jeanne Shaheen asked experienced business attorney (but political novice) Maggie Hassan to serve on the Advisory Committee to the Adequacy in Education and Finance Commission. Hassan went on to run for State Senate, while Shaheen eventually ran for and won a US Senate seat. Shaheen continued to actively recruit and mentor potential female candidates. In 2012, New Hampshire elected Maggie Hassan as Governor and re-elected Shaheen, two years after electing Kelly Ayotte to the state’s second US Senate seat. The 2012 elections also saw the re-election of Congresswoman Carol Shea-Porter and the first-time election of Congresswoman Ann Kuster. Now a gleaming example of the development of an “old girl’s” club, New Hampshire represents one possible road toward stronger recruitment and training for promising female politicians.

Campaign Scale

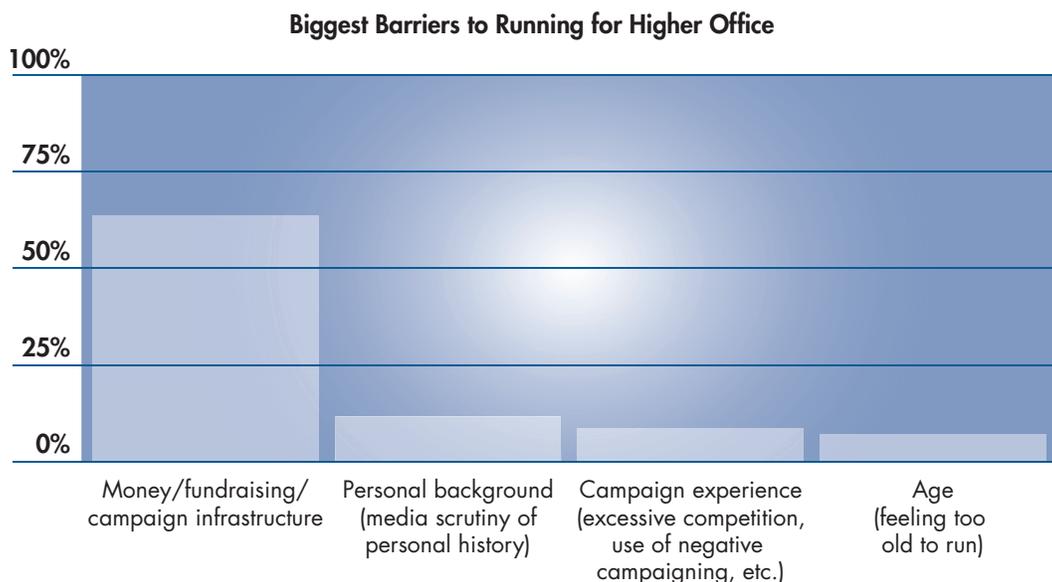
Many study participants noted that running for higher offices, whether governorships or congressional seats, required an entirely different scale of campaign — one that they could not manage themselves. They would have to hire a professional fundraiser and spend a significant portion of their campaign time on fundraising. Campaigns for higher offices become more remote than the direct, person-to-person politics upon which some women thrive.

Fundraising Difficulties

Fundraising, which did not prove to be a high priority factor for women making the initial decision to run for office, emerged as the top factor for women considering higher office in both studies. In the Lake/Carpenter survey, 62 percent of women said “money/fundraising/campaign infrastructure” was the biggest barrier they would face in running for higher office. Having the infrastructure and ability to raise the needed funds was for these state legislators the most critical factor in considering a bid to move up the political ladder. Yet more than two-thirds said it would be difficult for them to raise the amount of money necessary for a bid for high office.

Fundraising needs are substantial and ever-growing. The scope of what must be raised, however, does not align with the fundraising approaches described by study participants. In describing campaigning and fundraising for state and local offices, women in the Baer/Hartmann study described their approach as “grassroots.” State and local offices are winnable through small-scale campaigns managed by the candidate and a few volunteers rather than professionals. This is not the case, however, when it comes to fundraising for higher office, which requires a significant dedication of time, effort, and staffing.

Fundraising at a high level requires established networks, to which women often struggle to gain meaningful access. Furthermore, although research suggests that serious women candidates generally raise as much money as men do, it often takes more “asks” for the women, and in our interviews and focus groups, women expressed unease with certain aspects of the “asking” process. Although “the ask” is easy enough for candidates to learn, expanding donor lists and finding people to raise money for you is more difficult when running for higher office, especially without significant help from sponsors and mentors. Women in the Lake/Carpenter survey sample said that the best support they could receive from women’s organizations would be the recruitment of female candidates and fundraising assistance.



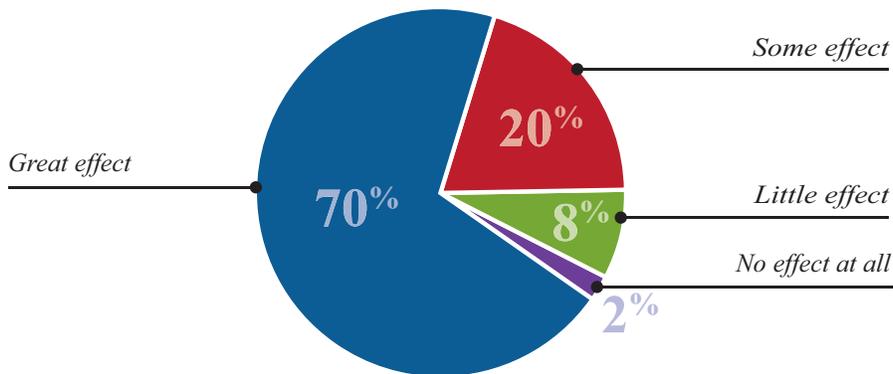
Source: Lake/Carpenter survey



The never-ending need for campaign funds seems to be a major deterrent to women’s entry into higher office. Two-thirds say it is difficult to raise the money needed to run effectively and a majority says this factor has a great deal of influence on their desire to run. They list fundraising as the biggest barrier to running for higher office. This is a far greater obstacle than concerns about background, age, work/life balance, or the dislike of negativity and competition.

More than 70 percent of the Lake/Carpenter respondents said the need to raise money for a campaign for higher office would influence their decision to run “a great deal,” and another 20 percent said it would influence their decision “some.” Together, then, nine in ten say that money matters most. This is critically important when considering overall agreement with the statement, “It is hard for me to raise the money needed to run an effective campaign” (71 percent). The majority of women in the Lake/Carpenter survey say they never raised more than \$100,000 in any capacity, but the “big money” required to run a campaign for higher office in their state far exceeds that amount. Regional differences also come into play; it is especially difficult for women in the South to talk about or directly ask for money. Campaign fundraising appears to be the major factor keeping more women from seeking higher office.

**The Effect of Raising Large Amounts of Money
on Interest in Running for Higher Office**



Source: Lake/Carpenter survey



Party support can stimulate a woman’s ambition to move up the political ladder. Many of the Lake/Carpenter respondents expected local and state party support if they decided to run for higher office, and a majority (65 percent) said they were asked by their party. There is a strong, statistically-significant correlation between those who are asked to run by their party and those who consider running for higher office. Those that consider running report the most helpful thing the party can do is help them raise money. Women who previously held a party office (as distinct from public office) were far less nervous about raising money to run, were significantly less likely to find politics “frustrating,” and had fewer concerns about gridlock in higher office.

Visibility and Access to Personal Life

As discussed above, politicians live their lives under scrutiny, with female politicians facing additional criticism. One officeholder in the Baer/Hartmann study said she was unable to join her colleagues making deals in bars for fear of being seen as a “bar hopper.” This scrutiny only intensifies in a run for higher office. Although lower office still requires local visibility and the constant need to be “on,” a run for higher office necessitates more professionalized media coverage, more diverse constituencies, and more competitive campaigns.

In contemplating higher office, many lower-level officeholders in our study experienced the same concerns articulated by those seeking office for the first time. Time with family becomes more restricted during a bid for higher office, and investigations into family life increase. Furthermore, worries about the well-being of young children can inform the decision to run for higher office. One local officeholder who was interviewed in the Baer/Hartmann study decided not to run for higher office for this very reason, stating:

“I don’t want to bring too much attention to my children right now in their formative ages. In my community, they would get attacked.”

Who Comes Next?

Finally, in considering a bid for higher office, some women worry about the person who will occupy their current seat after they leave. As a Western state legislator put it,

“I am the best person to keep this seat in [my party’s] hands. If I don’t run, what happens? I’m in kind of a marginalized district but because I’m well known, because I door knock like crazy, I’m confident about being able to keep this seat as long as I wanted but I really can’t leave in good conscience unless there’s somebody else that [is] sort of poised to do it, take it.”

This concern is both troubling and uplifting. On one hand, it means that a number of women might be convinced — or will convince themselves — to stay put in lower office, warming a seat indefinitely for the next person they or their party trusts. But on the other hand, it means that women are thinking about the future, about the pipeline for the next generation of female politicians, and perhaps about the political community they are creating for women in the future.

STAGE 5: Long-Term Planning: Viewing Politics as a Career



ON-RAMP | Diverse Characteristics and Motivations

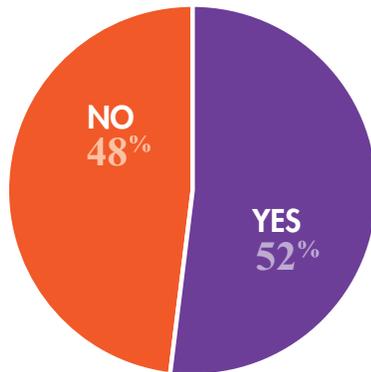


There is no one reason that women officeholders pursue politics. Throughout our discussions, we identified a number of rewards women glean from serving in public office. These range from the power one can find in holding office, to the social benefit of getting to know and representing constituents, to the thrill of using politics and policy for the betterment of individual lives. These upsides have driven countless women toward public service and political office for years.

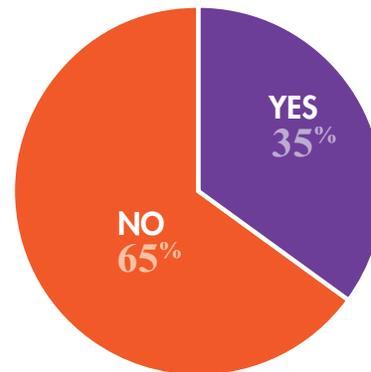
One objective of our research was to consider how women construct political careers. Do women who run for office think of their work as “building a career?” If not, how do they see their service? How do political careers work in practice? Orientations toward politics as a career were diverse among the women in our research. Participants in both studies were attracted to running for office less as a career than as a way of providing public service. Many women came to politics through community organizing and service.

Younger elected women, however, were more likely to consider politics a career if encouraged by experienced women candidates. In fact, advice from these experienced candidates and elected officials promotes a career orientation among young women.

Do You Consider Politics a Career?



*Baer/Hartmann study,
party activists and candidates*



*Lake/Carpenter survey,
state legislators*



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ I love the policy work so much that if we could really be representatives and if we could really focus on public policy and what I’m hearing is, ‘No. You have to spend most of your time raising money.’ And it’s just like, ‘No. I have absolutely no desire to be in that.’”

~ State legislator from a Western state

Many participants in both studies have other careers. In the Baer/Hartmann study, more than six in ten have a paying job outside of their public service. Nearly half do not see politics/public service as a career. A few feel that politics *can* be a career, but have caveats. In particular, in many states politics is an unpaid or low-paid endeavor, meaning that most serving in these offices — such as non-professional state legislatures — must have other sources of income.

Perhaps for this reason, state legislators in the Lake/Carpenter survey were less likely to consider politics a career than the Baer/Hartmann study respondents (potential candidates), with only 35 percent agreeing. Among state legislators, younger Democrats were the most likely to see politics as a career, with Republican women and older women far less likely.

Mentoring, Sponsoring, Kitchen Cabinets

Beginning with difficulties in recruitment, the political pipeline does not work the same way for women as it does for men. Women often hire their fathers, husbands, or friends instead of professional campaign managers. They feel less likely to be mentored and groomed for higher office and feel that mentorship at all levels is lacking. Furthermore, only a handful of the Baer/Hartmann participants said they have had a mentor who doubled as a sponsor (sponsors go beyond training and advice and actively promote candidates). In the Lake/Carpenter survey, more than half of participants agreed that moving up in politics was difficult in their state, with most attributing this to raising money and party support. Nearly three-quarters of Lake/Carpenter respondents reported having a “kitchen cabinet”— consisting of friends and informal mentors rather than power players in their area — during their state legislative runs.

Experienced state legislators who are now able to provide mentoring observed that it is a two-way street. Those being mentored must understand the role of a mentee and how to work effectively with busy political women. One older participant who served over 20 years in the state legislature said:

“I had a woman who contacted me [and] she was in my district and wanted to talk with me. And I’m extremely, extremely busy. It’s campaign year. I have a primary. I have this other job working for [a national legislative association]. So I said, ‘Oh, well the best way to talk to me is come and door knock with me’ because I’m having trouble finding volunteers because everyone says, ‘Why do I have to volunteer for you? You know you’re in.’ She has yet to show up. She says to me, ‘I’m really busy.’ ... She wants to learn more about running for office. And she’d have me to herself for two hours door knocking. And I’d probably take her out for a Coke or drink afterwards. You know, I would have jumped at that opportunity. Instead of twenty minutes when I’m rushed in my office.”



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ I’ve tried to connect with folks just to get some sort of idea, mentoring and that part is also difficult, as well, to find good mentors. I mean in my experience, as far as finding a mentor [or a way] for a younger [woman] to be paired with older seasoned women who have gone before...in my experience it’s been very difficult in connecting and knowing how to connect.”

~ Congressional staffer from a Southern state

Scholars of women and politics have long noted that networks are especially important for fundraising. Mentoring and sponsorship can be helpful in this regard, as they can provide the support and networks needed to fundraise and achieve leadership positions.

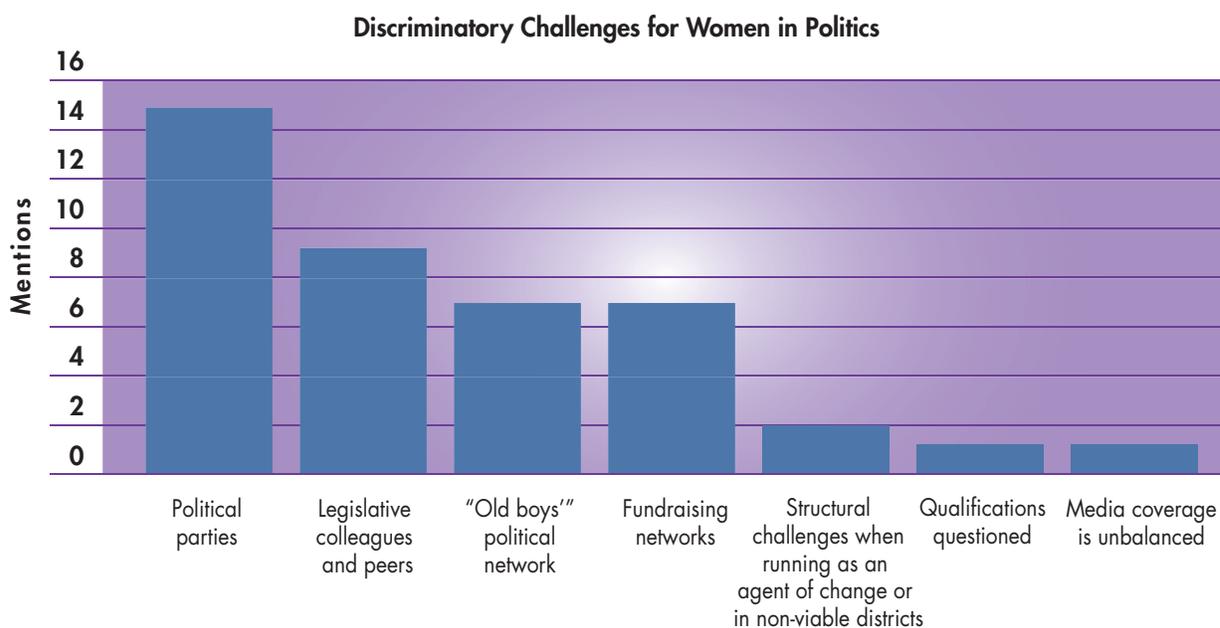
Mentorship also appears critical for its own sake. Our studies found that nearly three-fourths of participants receive political or personal mentorship. The most common mentor is an elected official, although state legislators more often described a peer or colleague as a mentor, citing limited access to mentors at a higher level of office. Expanded mentorship across levels is essential to building the relationships women need to advance through the political ranks. Young elected officials and congressional staffers, in particular, expressed feelings of isolation and a desire for deeper relationships with experienced female officeholders. Above all, what’s needed most is infrastructure to organize meaningful mentorship; outside groups, such as women’s political organizations, can fill this role.

Gendered Discrimination in Politics

Although many study participants related stories of discrimination in both their personal and political lives, others said they never encountered gender biases until becoming involved in politics. Politics, for some, was a more sexist arena than the private sector. Nearly three in four Baer/Hartmann participants said they had felt discriminated against in politics.

In the campaigning process, these barriers often manifest in the form of informal, party-based recruitment followed by inadequate party support. Even after women overcome sex-based campaign hurdles and make it past Election Day, barriers remain. Discrimination extends to work environments with colleagues, such as in state legislatures or city councils. Examples of this discrimination include:

- public behaviors (e.g., *being disrespected by the Speaker on the floor, inappropriate physical touching*);
- limited opportunities to gain policy credentials (e.g., *being limited to education- or humanities-committee assignments, a lack of opportunities to introduce legislation such as those provided to male colleagues*); and
- informal problems with colleagues (e.g., *unwillingness to negotiate despite a leadership position, being told that one does not have the right look or appearance to represent the party publicly*).



Source: Baer/Hartmann study

POTHOLE | Political Pipelines and Informal Male Networks



Most of the barriers women in politics experience today relate to informal processes. One female state legislative leader explained:

...The informal part usually leads you to the formal, so it's the informal recommendation that then puts you into the party organization, or it's the informal pipeline that recommends you to the labor organizations that then carry you... The same people in the informal pipeline are the ones who manage the formal pipeline... They're the most important, and because you can never get into the pipeline—once you're in there, you can move. There are always going to be problems, but, for women, it's that point-of-entry issue, and that point of entry is guarded by the informal relationships.

Throughout the Baer/Hartmann study, political parties emerged as the most common area in which women found the fewest campaign resources available to them. They experienced a lack of informal access such as:

- “Not being given a through path” or being excluded (not being invited to meetings, or being the only woman in the room);
- Finding party support to be contingent upon the willingness to sacrifice campaign principles;
- Being ridiculed, either privately or sometimes in public;
- Not being accorded the same level of formal party support as other candidates (such as congratulatory calls after elections);
- Lack of party financial support or promised contributions never arriving.

A few also noted that their state party had arrangements with “official” party consultants who did not provide the “best deal” for mailings, targeting voters, and other services needed in a grassroots campaign.



LOOKING IN THE REARVIEW MIRROR

“ You just can't take it personally. I know it's a really hard [thing] to say don't take it personally. You've just got to put your feet back on the ground and keep crunching away. And that even though I've had to accept there's some bias. I've had to accept there's some sexism. I've had to accept there's a good old boy network. I've got to accept those things.”

~ US congressional candidate

Motherhood in Politics

The women in our studies differed — and will likely continue to differ — on how to balance children and family with their plans for elective office. Some women with young children said they would be happy to campaign and serve, given their commitment to work while mothering and their high comfort level with multi-tasking. Other women said they wished to wait until their children were older. Some wanted to be the ones to put their children to bed at night, while others worried about media invasion of their family’s privacy during political controversies. Still others dislike the additional family stress created by the rigors of elective office-holding and public service. This variability is important because it suggests that a one-size-fits-all recruitment approach might omit women with differing perspectives on how to combine their family life with public service.

ON-RAMP | Motherhood as an Inspiration for Public Service



Despite the difficulties motherhood brings to campaigns and political office, some women describe becoming a mother as their inspiration for serving in political office. One US congressional candidate explained:

“The first thing was....that my son ___ was born. And I did what I think all new parents do...step back and [say]... “How do we give this child the kind of life we want him to have?” when ___ was a couple weeks old, my brother ___ marched into Iraq, the initial invading force. And I remember holding ___ when I was packing a care package for ___, and realizing that there was no set of traces where I could make as an individual parent that was going to be sufficient to give my son the kind of life I wanted him to have, if we didn’t change the direction of the country.”

SUMMARY & STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE



Paving over potholes and increasing the presence of on-ramps is no small feat, but creating or improving the needed infrastructure is not an impossible task. Encouraging more women to run and giving them opportunities to succeed requires an increased emphasis on both personal ambition and the structures that reinforce women's hesitation about political careers. In this section, we suggest a number of strategies for change and areas for improvement to spur an increase in women's representation.

Deciding to Run (or Not)

- Younger women feel isolated as candidates and elected officials. They must be recruited, supported, and mentored to advance politically.
- Campaign training needs to expand beyond cycle-by-cycle emphases and focus on long-term strategies for helping women pursue politics as a career.
- Cultivating women's interest through issue advocacy and demonstrating how elected office is a means to policy ends can steer more women onto political paths.
- Political parties remain an important part of the recruitment process, in both formal and informal ways; they must move beyond traditional targets.
- Motherhood inspires public service, but the dual demands of work and family also cause a time crunch. The adoption of more family-friendly policies is essential to women's increased success in any type of leadership, especially political.

Campaigning While Female

- Female candidates face intensive scrutiny, both personal and professional. Whether it is their appearance or qualifications, women experience persistent questioning by voters and the media.
- Pervasive formal and informal sources of gender bias require direct, immediate attention. Women and their allies must create a rapid response team to call out sexist media treatment.
- In addition to the elected official herself calling out double standards and other unfair treatment, surrogates are effective in quickly combatting sexism.
- When female candidates take the steps to run, they must be encouraged, receiving promised and expected support and resources from parties.

Gender in Governing

- Momentum and infrastructure must be created for woman-centered mentoring. Women at all levels of government stress the desire for formal mentoring by organizations, parties, or other elected officials.
- Our study participants learned to establish their credentials by working not just harder, but also smarter.
- An elected leader must always be in touch with voters. Interpersonal skills and communications are natural characteristics female candidates can tout.

Considering Bids for Higher Office (or Not)

- Advocates should highlight discrimination that occurs in recruitment, including limited access to party resources (good donor lists, funding, and endorsements). Even before formal candidate recruitment begins, political parties need to know the negative effects of overlooking exemplary women.
- The top priority for female office holders and candidates differ upon ascending to higher office. Policy priorities are eclipsed by wanting to change the way government works.
- Fundraising is a learned skill. It is not always pleasant, but women need to know it is not impossible, and parties need to help by providing access to donor databases, training, and other support.
- Access to quality/vetted consultants: too many candidates are given bad advice, paying significant sums of money to consultants who do not have their best interests at heart.
- Parties and other candidate recruiters should map potential resources and open seats, matching candidates to districts receptive to women's skills and qualifications.
- One-size-fits-all trainings are not as valuable for seasoned candidates considering a run for higher office. Local officeholders and candidates from other professions may require specialized training and support.

Long-Term Planning: Viewing Politics as a Career

- Women should establish new resource connections across levels and sectors.
- Potential candidates need introductions to funders, including PAC leaders and major political donors. Early financial support is increasingly important.
- Momentum and infrastructure must be created for woman-centered mentoring and sponsorship. Women at all levels of government stress the desire for mentors and sponsors by organizations, parties, and other elected officials.
- Helping women attain appointed positions when they are between elected seats will keep them in politics.
- National political leaders need to invite women into the inner circle, to develop policy experience and raise their profiles as a head start for future races.
- More role models can inspire more rising stars to run for office.
- Women who achieve higher office can work with parties, recruiters, and political groups on succession-planning, to ensure other women follow them.

Summary:

A majority of our respondents discuss running for higher office with family and friends, but few take the initial steps to run. The barriers hindering women's political ascension have meant only slow, incremental gains in their representation in Congress and governorships. With greater understanding of these barriers and the strategies to effectively dismantle them, we can see more women in the driver's seat on the road to higher office.

APPENDIX: Methodology & Related Reports

This project was designed to address the following research questions:

- What motivates women to leadership, public service, and running for elective office, especially higher office (House, Senate, and Governor)?
- What barriers stand in the way of women once they have made this decision?
- What factors make a material difference for women who have embarked on a political career?
- How important are these factors for women developing political careers and seeking higher office (House, Senate, and governor)?
- What are the change-drivers within the control of women's organizations and political parties?

Lake/Carpenter survey

From May 9 to June 28 of 2012, Lake Research Partners (LRP) and Chesapeake Beach Consulting conducted an original survey of female state legislators, mostly via email (with phone follow-up), to study why these women would or would not run for higher office. The survey was funded by Hunt Alternatives. Political Parity and LRP together designed the survey questionnaire, in consultation with experts at the Center for American Women in Politics, at Rutgers (CAWP) and with qualitative research partners at the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR), including Denise Baer, Heidi Hartmann, and Barbara Gault. LRP and Chesapeake Beach Consulting programmed and administered this survey, which was conducted online and by phone using professional interviewers. The survey reached a total of 176 female State Legislators. The online interviews reached 171 legislators and were conducted from May 9 to June 4. The phone interviews reached five legislators and were conducted June 12 through June 28. Telephone numbers and email addresses for the survey were drawn using a list from CAWP. The samples were stratified geographically based on the proportion of state legislators in each region and by political party. The recruitment process for this survey yielded a total of 176 completed responses, with reasonable variation in geography and party. Because the survey sample size is low, the margin of error is higher than the usual 5 percent margin (+/- 7.4 percent). The sample is not large enough to project outward to all elected officials, but rather offers useful insight into trends among female elected officials at the state level. Still, many of the findings in the analysis are far larger than the margin of error, leading the researchers to report these with confidence.

Baer/Hartmann study

The Baer/Hartmann study, conducted by Lead Researcher Denise Baer, working with Heidi Hartmann and others at IWPR and funded by Hunt Alternatives, consisted of 36 in-depth interviews with experienced candidates and officeholders and the convening of several focus groups (totaling 24 participants) with elected state legislators, young elected officials, and congressional staff members (a group from which federal office holders are often drawn) to investigate how women make the decision to run and how they develop their political careers, with a focus on seeking or achieving higher office. In some cases, focus group participants also responded to a shorter interview. All the interview and focus group participants were ensured confidentiality. All sessions, which occurred between June 2012 and January 2013, were transcribed and analyzed for common themes; in some cases mentions of common factors identified by the women interviewed were counted.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ON PROJECT OR METHODOLOGY, PLEASE VISIT:
www.politicalparity.org/research/pathways

RELATED RESEARCH REPORTS

Since this research was conducted, we and the individual researchers have released preliminary versions of some of the data, including an executive summary, “Steps to the Capitol,” which previews some of these findings, and a scholarly version of the report, available through IWPR:

“Steps to the Capitol”

<http://www.politicalparity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/steps-to-capitol-exsum.pdf>

Full Research Report and Appendices from IWPR

Building Women’s Political Careers: Strengthening the Pipeline to Higher Office (Report)

<http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/building-women2019s-political-careers-strengthening-the-pipeline-to-higher-office>

Appendix with the protocols for interviews and focus groups

<http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/appendix-e-building-women2019s-political-careers-strengthening-the-pipeline-to-higher-office/>

Also see

“Name It, Change It,” a non-partisan project of She Should Run, Women’s Media Center, and Political Parity.

<http://www.nameitchangeit.org/>

“Twin States,” a Political Parity research report

<http://www.politicalparity.org/research/twinstates/>

“LatinasRepresent,” a Political Parity research and outreach initiative, in partnership with the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda

<http://www.latinasrepresent.org/>



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