

# **Reaching Gender Parity in North Carolina: Best Practices in Female Political Candidate Recruitment**

**Prepared for: Lillian's List of North Carolina**

**Prepared By: Rachael Estes**

**Master of Public Policy Candidate**

**The Sanford School of Public Policy**

**Duke University**

**Faculty Advisor: Pope McCorkle**

**May 3, 2015**

## Table of Contents:

1. Executive Summary.....	i
2. Background.....	p.1
3. Discussion and Recommendations.....	p.7
a. Overcome Psychological Barriers:	
i. Assuage the Fear of Losing.....	p.7
ii. Assuage the Fear of Being Under-Qualified.....	p.8
iii. Stimulate Progressive Ambition.....	p.9
iv. Bridge the Gap from Community Service to Public Service.....	p.9
b. Hunt Where the Ducks Are:	
v. Target Women-Friendly Districts.....	p.10
vi. Target Predominantly Female Professions.....	p.12
vii. Recruit Women through a Relationally Embedded Model.....	p.12
viii. Recruit the Right Demographics.....	p.14
c. When Running is Not an Option – Building a Pipeline for the Future:	
ix. Recruit for Party Leadership.....	p.15
x. Recruit for Local Boards.....	p.16
xi. Ask for Suggestions of Other Potential Candidates.....	p.17
xii. Recruit for the Committee of Another Candidate.....	p.17
d. Create a Long-Term and Sustainable Pipeline:	
xiii. Engage Tomorrow’s Leaders Today.....	p.17
xiv. Create a College Board.....	p.18
xv. Partner with Other Organizations .....	p.19
4. Final Recommendations.....	p.20
5. Appendix.....	p.22
6. References.....	p.23

## **Executive Summary**

**Policy Question:** What are the most effective strategies for recruiting women to run for public office in North Carolina?

**Client:** Lillian's List of North Carolina

### **Introduction:**

Lillian's List has expanded its commitment and role in targeting and recruiting female candidates by creating a new committee entitled "Candidate Recruitment and Training Committee". Given this expansion, I have researched academic studies on recruitment efforts and tested those theories and ideas with local recruiters, Lillian's List Board Members, successful and unsuccessful candidates, and prospects who declined to run. Through my interviews, I sought feedback on the effectiveness of various recruitment strategies and solicited new ideas from interviewees.

### **Background:**

Women represent over 50 percent of the US population, but only 20 percent of the US Congress (US Census Bureau 2011, Center for American Women and Politics 2015). In North Carolina currently 44 counties have no female representation on the Board of County Commissioners (McLennan 2015 p. 7). The lack of female representation in elected office is troubling for a variety of reasons: it sends a message to young women that power and leadership are reserved for men, it deprives our nation of the talents and expertise of many women, and it deprives the political process of the cooperative and consensus building approach to leadership that women often take. (Rinehart 1991, Kathlene 1994, Fox and Schuhmann 1999).

### **Discussion and Recommendations:**

Through extensive research and interviews with Lillian's List Board Members, recruiters, women who were recruited for office and ran, and women who were recruited for office and did not run, I have identified 15 best practices for recruiting women to run for office. These best practices have been divided into four categories:

#### **1. Overcoming Psychological Barriers**

The first category addresses the myriad psychological barriers that prevent women from considering themselves leaders. Through trainings, encouragement and recruitment women can overcome these barriers (Lawless and Fox 2013, Preece et al 2012). Specifically, I focus on assuaging the fear of losing, assuaging the fear of being under-qualified, stimulating 'progressive ambition', and bridging the psychological gap from community servant to public servant.

#### **2. Hunt Where the Ducks Are**

Good recruitment begins with good targeting. That is why my second section focuses on effective targeting methods. Using researchers' Nicolas Pyeatt and Alixandra Yanus's analytical model, I identified North Carolina's legislative districts most hospitable to female candidates. Next, I identified the different reasons and motivations of running for office for both women and men. Most women are not intrinsically motivated by political ambition, but rather are motivated through a relationally embedded model (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013). Therefore, recruitment efforts

should reflect this reality. Finally, there are specific cohorts of women more likely to serve in public office (older, without familial responsibilities, etc) and thus, targeting efforts could be improved by understanding and better targeting those demographics.

### 3. When Running is Not an Option

Sometimes nothing can be done or said to convince a woman to run for office. In my third section, 'When Running is Not an Option' I identified four strategies to make the best of these situations: recruit such women instead to serve in party leadership, on a local or statewide board, or to serve on the fundraising committee for candidates who ultimately run. It is also always helpful to ask these women for suggestions of other potential female candidates.

### 4. Creating a Long-Term, Self-Sustaining Pipeline

Finally, my last section focuses on building a candidate pipeline over the long-term. Studies show that at current rates, it will take nearly 90 years for the US to reach gender parity in elected office (Kanthak and Woon 2012). Worse, the gender gap in political ambition is actually growing so much that gender parity may be becoming less likely (Lawless and Fox 2013). The most effective way to ensure gender parity tomorrow is to engage tomorrow's leaders today. My recommendations include establishing a youth-engagement committee on Lillian's List's Board and partnering, or encouraging, Running Start (A non-profit that train's young women to run for student government in college) to expand its program in North Carolina.

## **II. Background:**

### **a. Where Woman Stand Today**

No woman in the United States has ever won the Presidency. Less than 1 percent of all governors and 2 percent of all Members of Congress have been women. The *Representation 2020 Project*, a project of the non-partisan, non-profit FairVote, ranked America 98<sup>th</sup> globally in the share of national legislative seats held by women – behind Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2013).

As if those numbers were not staggering enough, according to an ABC News/Fusion poll, only 23 percent of Republicans think that more women should serve in Congress (Langer 2013). In fact, only 43 percent of Americans think that more women should serve in Congress (Langer 2013). The problem of female underrepresentation in government is complex and multifaceted, in part because it is still not completely recognized as a problem.

Women’s representation in government does not come close to reflecting their representation in society. Women make up over 50 percent of the US population but only 20 percent of the US Congress (US Census Bureau 2011, Center for American Women and Politics 2015). In North Carolina, women are over 51 percent of the state’s population, but hold only 21.8 percent of the seats in the state legislature (National Conference of State Legislatures 2014). In North Carolina, 44 counties have no women serving on the Board of County Commissioners (McLennan 2015 p.7).

The gender gap in elected office is troubling for a variety of reasons: it sends a message to young women that power and leadership are reserved for men, it deprives the talents and expertise of many women in our nation, and it deprives the political process of the cooperative and consensus building approach to leadership that women often take. (Rinehart 1991, Kathlene 1994, Fox and Schuhmann 1999).

In his 2015 Report, *The Status of Women in North Carolina* Meredith University Professor David McLennan describes the benefits of female leadership:

This different approach to leadership often has very tangible results in legislative bodies. Bodies with a significant number of women, particularly those chaired by women, often invite more public and expert input on policy issues and spend more time deliberating issues than when men hold a significant number of the seats in the legislative body or chair the group. (McLennan 2015 p.10)

Furthermore, the relatively homogenous “governing class” of wealthy, white males lacks first-hand knowledge and experience with many of the issues with which government deals (Carnes 2012). These men are charged with determining the federal minimum wage (women comprise two-thirds of minimum wage earners), Medicaid reimbursement rates (women are 58 percent of Medicaid recipients), maternity leave, and many other important issues directly affecting women (National Women’s Law Center [NWLC] 2015, Kaiser Family Foundation [KFF] 2011).

While the gender gap in elected office is decreasing, it has done so at a glacial pace and may not continue to decrease. At the current rate, it will take nearly 90 years from today for women to reach parity (Kanthak and Woon 2012 p.1).

### **b. When Women Run, They Win at Rates Comparable to Men**

However, when women do run, they win. Extending as far back as the 1980s, studies have shown that women win at rates comparable to their male counterparts. Analyzing public opinion polls and election results in 2004, Professor Kathleen Dolan found that voters “levels of bias are low enough to no longer provide significant impediments to women’s chances of election” (Dolan 2004 p.50). The 2012 election cycle offers additional evidence: female candidates won 51 percent of the federal races and 62 percent of the state races in which they were candidates.

In, *He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates* Professor Deborah Jordan Brooks found that women do not get penalized disproportionately for common emotional behaviors as candidates (such as anger, crying, etc) (Brooks 2013). In *Sex as a Political Variable: Women as Candidates and Voters in U.S. Elections*, Seltzer et al found that the degree of female representation was largely a function of incumbency (Seltzer et al 1997)<sup>1</sup>. With incumbents reelected 98 percent of the time and a Congress comprised of more than 80 percent males, the sluggish increase in women serving in elected office over the years is unsurprising.

Similarly, in *Women, Elections, and Representation*, Professors Robert Darcy and Susan Welch found that female candidates win at rates directly comparable to their male counterparts after controlling for incumbency, seniority, and partisanship. According to Darcy et al: “the political system and cultural milieu no longer present the barriers to women state legislative candidates they may once have. If more women run, more women will be elected.” (Darcy et al 1994 p.73)

Important caveats exist to this literature documenting equivalence in the success rate of male and female candidates. For instance, in *Running Backwards and in High Heels: The Gendered Quality Gap and Incumbent Electoral Success*, Professor Sarah Fulton argued that “...if women are higher quality than men, and if quality is omitted from models of vote-share, then voter bias may be concealed.” (Fulton 2012 p.303) Thus equivalent electoral success rates may occur even though female candidates are more qualified than their male counterparts. (Fulton 2012) Building upon this theme in a study of women running for the state legislature<sup>2</sup>, Professor Shannon Jenkins finds that “while women raise as much money as men in state legislative campaigns, they must work harder to achieve this parity, relying on more techniques and hitting up more people and groups for money.” (Jenkins 2007 p.1)

Furthermore, in *Gender Stereotypes and Gender Preferences on the 2006 ANES Pilot Study*, Professors Kira Sanbonmatsu and Kathleen Dolan find that voters prefer men occupy 60 percent

---

<sup>1</sup> The data for this analysis came from a study of over 60,000 candidates comparing the success rates of men and women in state legislatures (1986-1994), the US House and Senate, and Governors’ races (1972-1994). This data was conducted for the National Women’s Political Caucus.

<sup>2</sup> The data for this analysis came from a survey of major party state legislative candidates in the 1996 election cycle from Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, South Carolina, Washington, and Wisconsin.

of political offices. Only 10 percent of respondents preferred females to hold a majority of elected offices. Thus, success rates between the genders may begin to diverge as the gender gap continues to decrease and women make up a larger share of elected officials. (Dolan 2007)

Despite these caveats, female candidates succeed at comparable rates to men across all office types and officeholder statuses (Palmer and Simon 2008). The significant underrepresentation of women in elected office is not due to a lack of electoral success. It is due to a lack of females running for elected office.

### **c. Why Women Don't Run**

The power of incumbency is well known – a product of superior name recognition, fundraising ability, constituent services and the myriad advantages of holding elected office. (Darcy et al 1986) The effect of incumbency on female representation is straightforward: it serves to preserve male domination of elected offices. However, a robust literature has identified a host of other cultural, structural, and environmental restraints that inhibit more women from seeking elected office.

In 2001, Professors Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox conducted a survey of 4,000 male and female “potential candidates” (lawyers, business leaders, educators, and political activists all of whom were well suited to pursue political candidacy) and their willingness to run for any public office – local, state or federal. They found that “women were less likely than their male counterparts to consider running for office and that, across generations, men expressed more comfort and felt greater freedom than women when thinking about seeking office.” (Lawless and Fox 2012 p.3).

Ten years later, in a follow-up study Lawless and Fox found that the gender gap in political ambition actually increased. According to their study, “the fundamental reason for women’s underrepresentation is that they do not run for office... There is a substantial gender gap in political ambition; men tend to have it, and women don’t.” (Lawless and Fox 2012 p.3)

Lawless and Fox identify the numerous reasons for women’s lack of political ambition<sup>3</sup>:

1. Women receive less encouragement to run for office.
2. Women are still substantially more responsible for the childcare and household tasks.
3. Women perceive that there is a bias against female candidates.
4. Young men are more likely than young women to be socialized by their parents to think about politics as a career path.
5. Women have a lack of confidence in their qualifications.
6. From their school experiences to their peer associations to their media habits, young women tend to be exposed to less political information and discussion than do young men.
7. Young men are more likely than young women to have played organized sports and care about winning.

---

<sup>3</sup> Lawless and Fox 2012 ii and Lawless and Fox 2013 ii

8. Women are more risk averse.
9. Women have a more negative reaction to aspects of the modern campaign.

These studies highlight the extensive gap in political ambition between men and women, yet the targeted candidate recruitment efforts of groups like Lillian's List can help assuage this gap in political ambition. In *If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition*, Lawless and Fox found that "encouragement from political actors is the single most important predictor of considering a candidacy. Both men and women who received encouragement to run are significantly more likely than those who received no such support to think about running for office." (Lawless and Fox 2010 p.321)

Lawless and Fox pointed out:

If women are not recruited to fill open seats, then the power of incumbency will continue to inhibit their numeric representation. In addition, only with the active recruitment of women candidates will women's presence in politics be less anomalous and, therefore, less conducive to gender stereotyping. And since potential candidates are more likely to consider running for office when they receive encouragement from political actors, recruitment is also a vital ingredient for closing the gender gap in political ambition. (Lawless and Fox 2010 p.311).

Lawless & Fox specifically analyzed the recruitment processes and infrastructure for male and female candidates. They found that "highly qualified and politically well-connected women from both major political parties are less likely than similarly situated men to be recruited to run for public office by all types of political actors." (Lawless and Fox 2010 p.311). This recruitment gap catalyzed a negative feedback loop in which "women's recruitment disadvantage depresses their political ambition and ultimately hinders their emergence as candidates." (Lawless and Fox 2010 p.310)

However, the study's regression analysis showed that the effect of women recruitment groups were offering "the first evidence of the significant headway women's organizations are making in their efforts to mitigate the recruitment gap..." (Lawless and Fox 2010 p.310). Thus active, gender-focused candidate recruitment of the type practiced by Lillian's List, can help overcome the barriers that have so far conspired to prevent gender parity in politics.

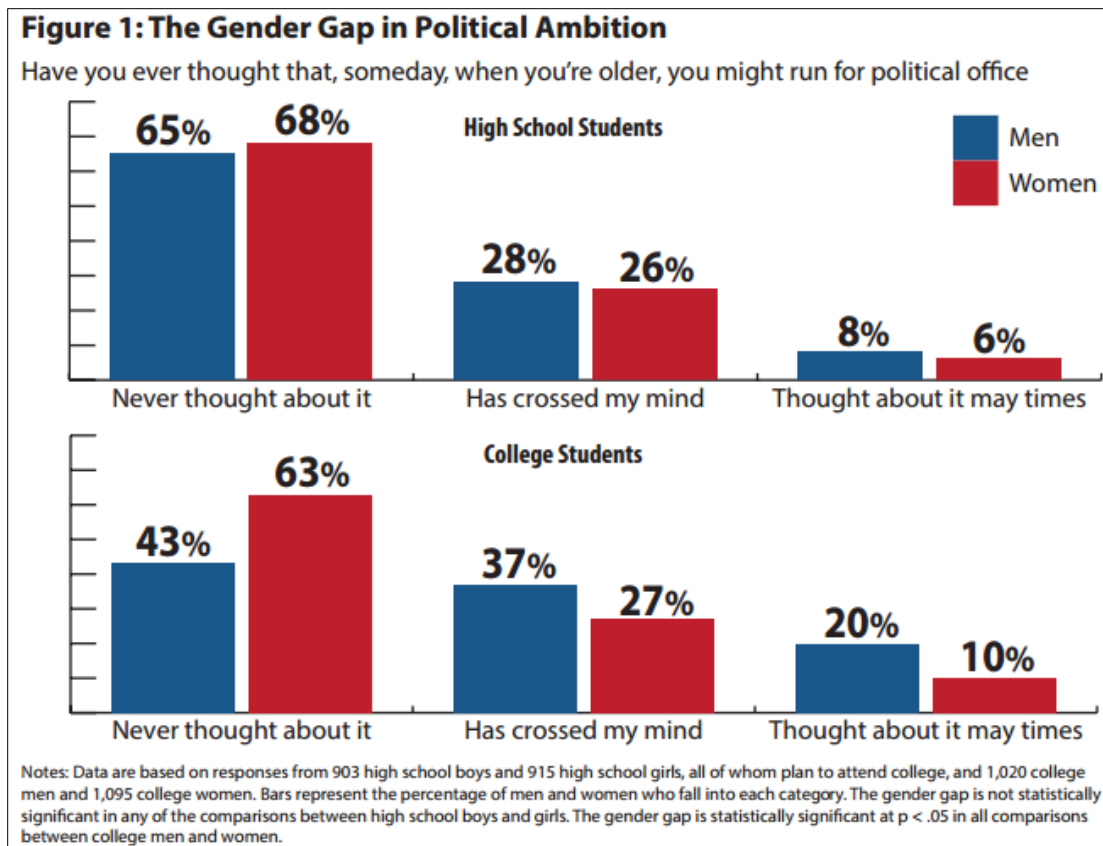
While women have made significant gains over the last 50 years in educational and professional attainment, gains in political representation have not kept pace. Many consider politics to be the last glass ceiling. Today, almost 60 percent of college graduates are women (Kanthak and Woon 2012). In 1971, women comprised just 6 percent of advanced degree recipients and 3 percent of Congress. Today women receive 50 percent of advanced professional degrees, but only 18 percent of Congress (Kanthak and Woon 2012 p.1). The barriers to women's representation in elected office are much more deep-seated and intractable than those of education and general career opportunities.



In Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox’s follow up study of male and female ‘potential candidates’ they discovered that over the 10 year period, the gender gap in political ambition actually increased. While men’s political ambition remained the same, women’s decreased from 18 percent in 2001 to 14 percent in 2011 (Lawless and Fox 2012 p.5).

Despite the historic election of the first female Speaker of the House and the candidacies of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin during that time period, women were even more disinterested in running for office in 2011 than they were in 2001 (Lawless and Fox 2012).

Even more troubling is the persistent gender gap in political ambition among young women. In *Girls Just Wanna Not Run: The Gender Gap in Young Americans’ Political Ambition*, Lawless and Fox found that ‘...the gender gap in ambition is as large among the next generation of potential candidates as it is among adult samples of the candidate eligibility pool.’ (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.3) Without a serious intervention, many of the same barriers that inhibit the recruitment of female candidates today will exist decades from now.



(Lawless and Fox 2012 p. 5)

One powerful way to achieve gender parity in government tomorrow is by recruiting, training and encouraging young women to run for office. According to Lawless and Fox’s research, college is the pivotal age when the gender gap in political ambition appears. They explained:

Girls... were just as likely as boys to be among the one-third of 13 – 17 year-olds who had considered running. When we turn to college students, political ambition between women and men diverges markedly. College men were twice as likely as college women to have thought about

running for office “many times.” Women were 50 percent more likely than men never to have considered it. (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.3)

Upon further investigation, Lawless and Fox discovered that this discrepancy is not necessarily due to a decrease in women’s interest, but rather to a substantial increase in interest among men (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.5). Why do men become substantially more interested in running for public office in college than women? It may be due to a difference in confidence levels between male and females. According to Lawless and Fox:

Researchers have found that the transition to university life diminishes women’s self-concept more than it does men’s; the move from the small pond of high school to the larger pond of college may reduce young women’s self-assessments of what they can achieve (Jackson 2003). (Lawless and Fox 2014 p.7).

Lawless and Fox found that young women are significantly less likely than young men to consider themselves qualified to run for public office (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.14). Furthermore, they found that these self-doubts inhibit female college students' interest in running for office more than they do men’s (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.14). When asked, “When you finish school and have been working for a while, do you think you will know enough to run for political office?” 51 percent of female college students answered “no”, yet only 31 percent of male college students answered “no”. Furthermore, twice as many males answered “yes” as females (Lawless and Fox 2013 p. 14).

This growing “ambition gap” suggests that without significant intervention the gender gap in government will persist for generations to come. Lawless and Fox make a compelling argument that this intervention should occur during a young woman’s college years:

Because female college students are less likely than men to take political science classes, discuss politics with their friends, and seek out political information through the media, there are substantial opportunities for interventions by women’s organizations – on college campuses and nationally – to make a difference. Exposing young women to female candidates and elected officials and providing examples of how pursuing electoral office can bring about societal change cannot be underestimated in closing the gap. These activities can also go a long way in combating women’s tendency to self-assess as unqualified to run for office. (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.17)

Political action groups like Lillian’s List of North Carolina and EMILY’s List, which target, recruit, and help finance qualified female candidates, have been leading the way. Their recruitment efforts are particularly important because studies have found that women need extensive encouragement to run (Preece et al 2013, Sanbonmatsu 2009). Despite the extensive efforts, recruiting qualified female candidates to run for office is challenging due to myriad social, structural, and environmental obstacles.

That is why in the following section I focus on the surmountable obstacles of female candidate recruitment and seek to identify the best practices through research and interviews to help overcome these obstacles.

## **Discussion and Recommendations:**

### **I. Overcome Psychological Barriers:**

#### **a. Assuage the Fear of Losing:**

Almost all of the women I interviewed, those who ran for office and those who did not-- expressed some fear of losing. With the vast disparity in the number of women and men running for office, this fear is probably not equally shared by gender. In fact, many of the recruiters<sup>4</sup> I interviewed said that losing was not as frequently discussed in recruiting sessions with men. Susannah Wellford, the President and founder of the non-profit Running Start<sup>5</sup>, which encourages and trains young women how to run for student government and office, said that she believed this discrepancy in fear of losing was a biological one.

In an interview with NET News, Jean Stothert, the Mayor of Omaha said through her numerous conversations with different women's groups, the number one reason women gave for not running for office was that they are afraid of losing (Robertson 2014). A female candidate for state senate recounted her own confrontation with the fear of losing, "I remember sitting in my living room with my husband discussing the possibility of running, and I remember saying I just don't want to lose...I just don't want to lose." To which her husband aptly replied, "Well, there's going to be a loser."

Lawless and Fox argue that the competitiveness associated with sports appears to be a significant predictor of interest in running for office (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.10). Women were less likely than men to have played competitive sports in high school (Lawless and Fox 2013). Playing competitive sports may help one grow comfortable with the idea of losing – an unfortunate reality of sports and politics.

Women are less likely than men to think that they would win their first campaign. Thirty-one percent of female potential candidates, compared to 38 percent of males, think that they would be "likely" or "very likely" to win their first race if they ran for office. Women are approximately 50 percent more likely than men to think that they would be "very unlikely" to win their first race. (Lawless and Fox 2012 p.9).

One candidate who ran for the state legislature and lost thought that her story could be helpful to share with other women considering running for office. Women considering a candidacy may be inspired by hearing a currently elected official's success story, but it does not assuage their fear of losing. It may be powerful to have a female candidate who lost speak to women considering running for office. This candidate said that while she of course would have preferred a different outcome, she still considers the experience valuable and does not regret running. One recruiter, who supported the idea, said sharing a story of an unsuccessful candidate may also better prepare a candidate for a potential loss.

---

<sup>4</sup> For purposes of this paper, 'recruiter' means someone who has recruited people to run for office in a formal capacity on behalf of the Party or another political organization.

<sup>5</sup> Founded in early 2007, Running Start grew out of the non-partisan Women Under Forty Political Action Committee (WUF PAC), which financially supports young women running for federal office.

### **b. Assauge the Fear of Under-Qualification:**

The research emphasizes women's propensity to underestimate their qualifications for higher office (Sanbonmatsu 2006, Sanbonmatsu et al 2009, Lawless and Fox 2013). In their 2011 study, Lawless and Fox found that men were 60 percent more likely than women to view themselves as "very qualified" to run for public office. Furthermore, "these gendered perceptions existed despite women and men's comparable educational and occupational backgrounds and professional success." (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.13). Twenty-three percent of men, compared with 15 percent of women, who did not think that they were qualified to run for office still considered running at some point (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.13).

Too many women consider themselves underqualified for the job. They also imagine additional qualifications for the job that do not exist. Lawless and Fox conclude that "women rely on a more exhaustive set of criteria when assessing whether they are qualified to run for office" (Lawless and Fox 2005 p.109). In fact their research found:

"When women determined whether they were qualified to seek public office, they envisioned an extremely accomplished, well-rounded candidate- one who is educated, has political experience, community connections, professional ties, and possesses the personality traits and qualities necessary to run a successful campaign and endure the scrutiny and criticism it entails." (Lawless and Fox 2005 p.115)

Conversely, several of the men commented on how low the bar was for politicians and how much more qualified they were than their currently elected officials. (Lawless and Fox 2005 p.115) Men are much more likely than women to judge themselves against current candidates rather than a mythical ideal candidate (Lawless and Fox 2005).

"I realized I could do this" was a common response from the women I interviewed who ultimately decided to run for office. In almost every instance, this epiphany occurred only after the encouragement of respected individuals. One woman who ran for the State Senate said, "I wasn't even going to think about it seriously until somebody formally reached out to me." Then she received an email from Carol Teal.

Conversely, one recruiter who has recruited both male and female candidates joked, "You barely have to pitch to a man." She recounted a time when she called to recruit a man to run for office, but before she could even finish asking he said, "Yes" to which she replied, "Don't you want to even know what position it's for?"

Because of women's propensity to consider themselves under-qualified for public office, it may be helpful during recruitment efforts to compare their qualifications with those of currently elected officials. For instance, even though it is not a pre-requisite for public office, women may be unaware that many of the NC General Assembly Members who have served did not graduate from college.

This can be done by highlighting a few elected officials whose qualifications are below those of the potential candidates', or by conducting an average of the NCGA Member's education and work experience. Either way, this exercise may help reduce the use of the 'mythical ideal candidate' and instead allow women to compare themselves to actual candidates and current members of the General Assembly.

One recruiter had the idea to draft a job description for a General Assembly position. She thought that if women were able to look at the actual requirements of the job and objectively measure their abilities, they may realize that they are qualified.

### **c. Stimulate Progressive Ambition:**

Once women are elected to office, recruitment efforts encouraging them to seek higher office must continue. Many networking opportunities are at a horizontal level, meaning that women are only networking with peers. Instead, Baer and Hartman argue for a more vertical approach that would stimulate progressive ambition (Baer and Hartmann 2014). The idea, as one recruiter who also serves on the Board of Lillian's List, put it, "you cannot be what you cannot see". She said that Lillian's List "already does some of that, but it may be helpful to be more intentional about it."

Baer and Hartmann discuss the importance of stimulating progressive ambition:

"The current types of official organizations for 'electeds' tend to gather all those at the same level. This arrangement could be seen as encouraging "static" ambition rather than "progressive" ambition. This organizational need is especially important because women candidates need to align running for higher office at the optimal point in a political career as well as to align such a run with one's personal and family life." (Baer and Hartmann 2014 p.79).

Lillian's List could consider creating networking forums where all of the states' female elected officials (from local county positions to state-wide elected office) gather to further stimulate progressive ambition. Lillian's List could also invite young women who have a desire to run for public office someday and are currently serving in their university's student government. Stimulating progressive ambition in young women could help cultivate a future generation of female candidates.

### **d. Bridge the Gap from Community Service to Public Service:**

In 2012, the Women's Philanthropy Institute found that among baby boomers (who own 90 percent of our nation's wealth) women are more likely than their male counterparts to donate to charity – even after controlling for other variables (Mesch 2012). In *Girls Just Wanna Not Run: The Gender Gap in Young Americans' Political Ambition*, 83 percent of female respondents saw volunteering as an important way to help improve their community – 10 points above the male respondents. Most of the women I interviewed had experiences volunteering for, or donating to, charities and working to improve their communities.

The drive and the ambition to help better the community already exists for a lot of women. However, many of these same women do not see public service as a form of community service. One woman who has a long history of civic engagement (at one point she was serving on 15 boards) and eventually ran for the state legislature said, "Women do lots of civic work without the notion of it translating into political power". Helping potential recruits understand that it is not egotistical to run for office, but rather, it is the ultimate act of community service, may encourage more women to run.

While women may volunteer and donate more money to charities than their male counterparts, their political donations pale in comparison. In 2012, men donated 68 percent of all reported political donations (Walden 2014). Furthermore, Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox discovered that women were 50 percent more likely than men to say that working for a charity is the best way

to bring about change. Men were nearly twice as likely to say running for office was the best way to bring change (Lawless and Fox 2013 p.16).

Women do not shy away from volunteer leadership positions. There is decades of evidence of women stepping up to lead PTAs, Girl Scouts, charity drives, church events, auctions, neighborhood associations, etc. In an interview with Pittsburgh University Professor Kanthak (who conducted a study on gender disparity in politics) said, “Women will volunteer to lead a group, but are less likely than men to go through an actual competition or election to do so.” (Masset 2014 p.1).

This sentiment was true for many of the subjects I interviewed. During an interview with a sitting Senator of the NC General Assembly, she characterized herself as more of a volunteer leader saying, “I am more likely to help start something or change something, or create an opportunity than I am to be the President. That’s just the particular type of leader that I am.” Even as an elected official, she still associated more closely with the “volunteer” type of leader.

One recruiter found that he was most effective in making his case to run for office when he made it about the community – and not about the individual. The majority of the women I interviewed became involved in politics because they became active in a particular issue. Over time, they realized that the most effective way to influence that issue was to run for office. By pressing upon the importance and effectiveness of public service, Lillian’s List may be able to accelerate this realization process.

Lillian’s List could attempt to induce this realization when approaching women who are active in their communities to run. Lillian’s List could demonstrate the impact that the state legislature has on the various issues that the potential candidate is passionate about and how that issue might be resolved through legislative action. Charity work is admirable, and a lot can be accomplished through volunteering. However, government holds considerable power and directs considerable resources. What may take years to accomplish through a non-profit can sometimes take minutes in the North Carolina General Assembly. It is critical that women understand the connection public service has to community service, but also the difference in its ability to affect change.

## **II. Hunt Where the Ducks Are:**

### **a. Target Women-Friendly Districts:**

Studies show that certain variables increase the likelihood of a woman running for, and winning, public office. Palmer and Simon found that certain types of Congressional districts are more likely to elect women (Palmer and Simon 2008 p.178).

Nicholas Pyeatt and Alixandria Yanus tested Palmer and Simon’s women-friendly districts theory on state legislatures. They found that “women-friendly districts are both more likely to see female candidacies and to see women elected to state legislatures.” (Pyeatt and Yanus 2014 p.1).<sup>6</sup>

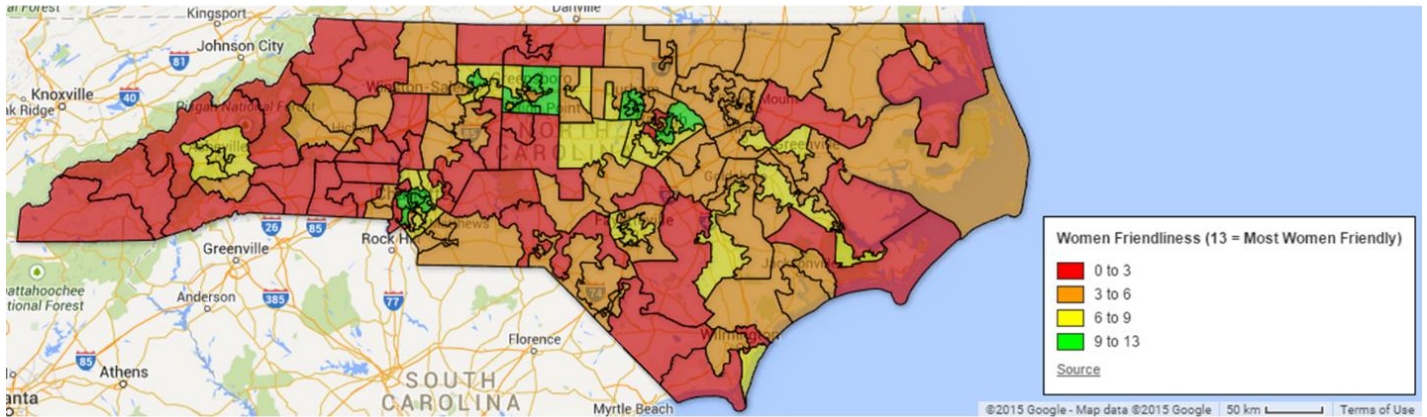
Specifically, their research found that “women-friendly” districts are more likely to be liberal, urban, non-Southern, ethnically diverse, wealthier, more educated, less blue collar, with more

---

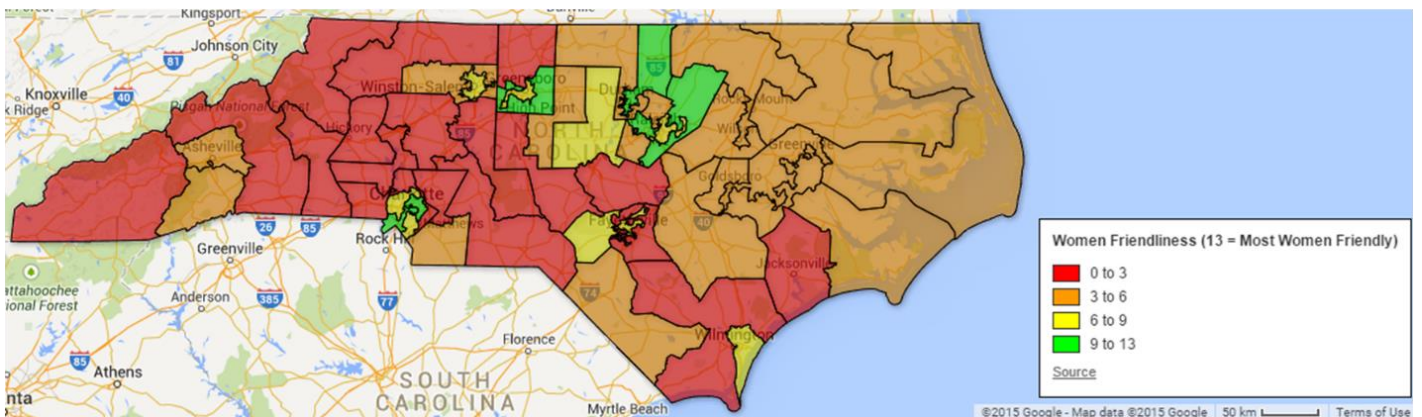
<sup>6</sup> The variable measures for their study were divided among ‘political’, ‘geography’, ‘ethnicity’, and ‘socio-economic’ categories.

foreign born residents (Pyeatt and Yanus 2014 p.11). One of the more striking differences between more “women-friendly” Democratic districts and less “women-friendly” Democratic districts was the difference in geographical size. Democratic districts represented by men averaged 133 square miles whereas Democratic districts represented by women averaged 39 square miles (Pyeatt and Yanus 2014 p.12). This highlights the importance of the urban characteristics on the “women-friendliness” of legislative districts.

**NC House District Map – Women Friendliness Color Coded**



**NC Senate District Map – Women Friendliness Color Coded**



The characteristics of “women-friendly” Democratic districts did not considerably differ from Republican “women-friendly” districts.<sup>7</sup> The only variable that varied significantly for Republican “women-friendly” districts was a lower Hispanic population (Pyeatt and Yanus 2014 p.28).

Pyeatt and Yanus used their data to create a scale of “women-friendliness,” grouping districts into ranges of 0-3, 4-7, and 8-12. Zero having no women-friendliness factors and 13 having the most. I took their raw data and populated it on a NC State House and NC State Senate map using color coding to show which districts were considered to be more “women-friendly”.

<sup>7</sup> Their study did not specifically measure pro-choice support/opposition.

By prioritizing those races, Lillian's List can ensure that they are maximizing the expected value of their time and financial investments while also providing prospective candidates with greater confidence that they will win.

### **b. Target Predominately Female Professions:**

We know that recruitment is an effective method in increasing the number of women running for office. However, in their 2014 report *Building Women's Political Careers: Strengthening the Pipeline to Higher Office*, Denise Baer and Heidi Hartmann argue that the typical broad-scale recruitment efforts alone are not enough. Recruitment should be tailored to women and their varying paths to office, or as they call it, "Go Hunting where the Ducks Are" (Baer and Hartmann 2014 p.79).

In *Poised to Run: Women's Pathways to the State Legislatures*, Sanbonmatsu et al found that "Women are much more likely than men to come from health and education fields, whereas men are more likely to come from business and law" (Sanbonmatsu et al 2009 p.20). According to Sanbonmatsu and Carroll, "In 2008, almost one of every five women state representatives in both chambers were elementary or secondary school teachers, compared with about one in ten of their male colleagues." (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013 p.22). Furthermore, women are typically motivated to run for office due to a specific policy issue (Sanbonmatsu et al 2009 p.21). Therefore, Lillian's List should consciously target the health and education fields as well as public policy organizations to broaden the pool of potential recruits.

Many of the women I interviewed confirmed the theory that women are motivated to run for office because of a specific policy issue. One woman became involved in politics after her child was diagnosed with Asperger's. She initially became active serving on the board of the Autism Society, later becoming involved in broader Autism advocacy and eventually running and winning elected office. Many non-profits and policy organizations are led by women passionate about one or more policy issues with a demonstrated track record of leadership and public service. By targeting these groups, Lillian's List may be able to access a greater pool of potential recruits, many of whom may be more motivated to run for office.

Working for an elected official is also a great stepping stone to elected office. Sixty-two Members of the US House and 14 US Senators, or 1 in 7 Members of Congress, previously worked on Capitol Hill as staffers (Hawkins 2014). Political aides have first-hand knowledge of the political process, what it takes to run for office, strong relationships in their localities, and a demonstrated interest in government. Targeting women who currently work, or have worked, for an elected official could also represent a high-yield potential candidate pool for Lillian's List. By targeting the women most likely to run and meeting them "where they are" Lillian's List can increase its chances of successful recruitment.

### **c. Recruit Women Through a Relationally Embedded Model**

For years, the political science community has believed in the theory of political ambition. The idea is that a long-standing goal or desire to serve in public office motivates candidates to run (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013). However, Carroll and Sanbonmatsu argue that this traditional model of ambition may not be equally applicable to men and women. They believe that the decision to run for most women is better explained by a relationally embedded model:



[W]omen's decision making about office holding is more likely to be influenced by the beliefs and reactions, both real and perceived, of other people and to involve considerations of how candidacy and office holding would affect the lives of others with whom the potential candidate has close relationships. The candidacy decision-making process takes place in the context of a network of relationships and is deeply influenced by relational considerations. (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013 p.45).

Of the women candidates I interviewed who ran for office, this theory was almost universally accepted. The vast majority of the women listed the support of loved ones (their spouse, children or close family members) as the most important factors in their decision to run for office (above personal ambition, party leadership, PAC support, or a currently elected official). Not having the support of loved ones would have been a major limiting factor in their decision to run. All but two of the nine women I interviewed who ran for office said that they did not have previous political ambitions to run for public office. Instead, later in life, a specific policy issue galvanized them to run for office.

One woman who was recruited recounted the story of telling her husband and daughter at dinner that she had been asked to run for office. Her husband had a positive response and encouraged her to do it. However, her daughter had a very different reaction saying:

“No, no, no, no way mom. You don't like public speaking, you don't like going out to events, and you're extremely sensitive. You do not fit the profile of a politician. You can't handle it. You'll be so miserable.”

This recruit responded that she had hoped her daughter would say 'go for it' or 'you can do this' because she had mixed emotions about running anyway and was relying on this conversation to steer her into the direction of her final decision. She did not run.

Another woman, who unsuccessfully ran for the General Assembly said that she would not consider running again, until after her daughter graduated from high school. She said that the campaign was difficult on her daughter:

“The campaign got very ugly in the end...during the election she was great, but post-election I found out how much it really hurt her. She would have friends come to school and say 'well my mom and dad said such and such about your mom'...she is perfectly fine now, however I feel as though if I were to run again now it would be more selfish in that sense.”

One woman who did run for the General Assembly said that she probably would not have run without the encouragement and support of her son. Another woman who ran expressed the same sentiments about her husband. These situations reflect the extreme importance relationships with family members and loved ones have on a woman's decision to run for office.

While the support of immediate family was almost a universal requirement to run, support of their political community – especially Lillian's List was also important. One woman who did run for the state senate said, “Lillian's List played a huge role in my running. I would not have considered it seriously had Carol not sent me that email and had a follow up conversation with me.”

Because many women may be motivated by different factors than men to run for public office, they should be recruited differently. A professor who studies female representation in elected office and also started a nonpartisan non-profit to help train more women to run for public office, stated in an interview that the most effective way to recruit a woman to run is to focus on how it

will help her community and help others. He found that women do not respond as positively to appeals to personal motives or to “breaking the glass ceiling.” Instead, recruiters should ask female prospects to run as stewards of their communities who enjoy helping others and making their community better.

Moreover, since women are more motivated by their relationships with others, deputizing the potential candidate’s broader network to also recruit her to run can be particularly effective. Since women are more sensitive to multiple recruitment efforts, engaging not just the prospective candidate but also those around her could increase conversion rates for Lillian’s List. After an initial conversation with a potential recruit, Lillian’s List should ask her to bring in any family members whose support are most important to her so that they can get comfortable with the process and ask questions as well. The more comfortable they are with the idea the more comfortable she will become too.

#### **d. Target the Right Demographics**

While men have begun to bear more of the child rearing and household responsibilities over the years, women still shoulder a disproportionate share (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013, Sayer 2005, Sayer et al 2009). Sanbonmatsu and Carroll found that few women served in the legislature when their children were young (2013). Out of the nine women I interviewed who ran for the state legislature, only one had a child under the age of six.

In their report, *Poised to Run: Women’s Pathways to the State Legislature*, Sanbonmatsu et al argue that recruiters should focus on both younger and older women-- not necessarily excluding women in the middle but rather focusing efforts on those below 35 or above 55. They explain:

“Some younger women may be ready to run because they do not yet have pressing family responsibilities. And some women will be able to balance their roles as legislators with young children at home. However, older women are the most likely to run because their children are grown and their family responsibilities have diminished.” (Sanbonmatsu et al 2009 p.22).

Many of the female candidates whom I interviewed either had adult children or did not have children. The only woman that I interviewed with young children said that she probably would not have run for the state legislature had she had to commute across the state.

Recruiting women whose family responsibilities have significantly decreased can be an effective tactic. These women have more experience and may have a more robust financial network. In *Poised to Run: Women’s Pathways to the State Legislature*, Sanbonmatsu found that the average age that a woman first ran for the office she currently holds is 50. (Sanbonmatsu 2009 p.22). Women serving in the state legislatures are less likely to be married than their male colleagues (Sanbonmatsu 2009). Twenty-five percent of women serving in state legislatures are divorced, separated, or widowed compared to just 6 percent of their male colleagues. (Sanbonmatsu 2009)

Although it is a significant benefit recruiting women whose family obligations have waned there are also drawbacks. Running as a second career means that there is not as much time for advancement to seniority position before retiring. One woman who ran for office, and won, for the first time in her sixties said that she would not recommend waiting as long as she did. She also said that she sees herself only serving one or two terms. This leaves groups like Lillian’s List having to repeat the recruitment effort for that same district every few years.

In their study, *Building Women's Political Careers: Strengthening the Pipeline to Higher Office*, Baer and Hartmann found that younger elected women (under 40) exhibited considerably greater ambition to serve in public office. In fact, they found that:

“The nonrandom subsample of young elected officials are about 50 percent more interested in higher office than the experienced candidate group. For example, all of those young elected officials who participated in brief interviews said they are interested in running for and serving in the U.S. Congress.” (Baer and Hartmann 2014 p.61)

These findings demonstrate the opportunity in targeting younger elected officials to run for higher office. This subgroup has demonstrated political ambition and the willingness and ability to run. They have known political brands as well as existing campaign infrastructure, and have already overcome the considerable barriers that women face when deciding to run for office. Moreover, they are more likely to have the ambition to run for higher office and are simply seeking the “right time.” Therefore, Lillian’s List could prioritize the recruitment of younger elected officials or recent officeholders to run for targeted seats. Additionally, the longer they serve in their currently elected position, the more seniority and power they will have.

Lillian’s List should target women who may either be in a financial position to only make \$14,000 per year at the General Assembly or have a job that would accommodate their schedule. One woman who ran said that:

“My husband and I do not come from money and he does not have a fancy job where he makes lots of money. We have to have my income to live...I could not have done it without [my employer’s] support...” While campaigning she said that she “was allowed to complete my work on my time. Most days I would get into the office around 7:00am and work until 2:00pm and then campaign and fundraise until 9:00pm.”

By targeting women for whom many of the barriers to running (such as commuting, financial strain, and child care responsibilities, etc.) are not applicable or insurmountable, Lillian’s List should be able to increase their candidate yield rate. Moreover, by targeting women who are most likely to exhibit progressive ambition and run for higher office, they may be able to create a deeper bench of candidates who serve for longer periods and obtain greater power and influence.

### **III. When Running is Not an Option**

#### **a. Recruit for Party Leadership – Not Just Elective Office**

While Lillian’s List and other women’s organizations work to target and recruit women to run for public office, a lot of candidate targeting and recruitment occurs at the local party level. In fact, *Crowder-Meyer’s 2008 Survey of County Party Leaders*, a study of the most recent and complete data available on this subject, finds that roughly 80 percent of county parties reported commonly recruiting candidates for county legislative offices such as county commissioner.” (Preece et al 2012 p.5).

As with elected office, local parties are usually dominated by men. When looking for potential candidates, like most people, men tend to look within their own networks. People in their networks are often similar to them in age, race, gender and socioeconomic status. Thus an in-grouping effect occurs where men in party leadership positions recruit other men to run for public office.

In 1998 researcher David Niven studied the effect that male party chairs had on recruitment efforts of women. He found that when male party chairs were asked for their top nominee for a future legislative race, they named a woman 24 percent of the time. Female party chairs named a woman almost 50 percent of the time (Niven 1998 p. 64).

These findings raise the question: “If there were more women serving in North Carolina’s local parties, would there be more women serving in the North Carolina General Assembly?” This is a question that I asked many of my interview subjects. The answer was a resounding “Yes”. However, one interviewee pointed out a potential caveat. Since the passage of Citizen’s United, political action committees have become even more powerful. Therefore, the local parties may not have as much influence as they once did.

Despite the increase in influence of political action committees, local parties are still actively recruiting candidates to run for public office. Many political action committees are more concerned with offices at the state legislature or higher. Therefore, much of the recruitment effort for local races is still conducted by the local parties. The local party still has the power to appoint people to legislative offices when the position becomes available – something PACs cannot do.

Research has shown that women need to be asked several times to run for office before they seriously consider launching a campaign (O’Leary and Shames 2013). Research also shows that serving on the local level can be a precursor to serving at the state level. In *Where Women Run*, Kira Sanbonmatsu describes the stepping stone process to higher office:

“The percentage of women in local office arguably provides a more proximate measure of the pool of women with the informal requirements for the legislature. As expected, women tend to fare better at the local level than at the state level: because local office can be a stepping-stone to state legislative office, inroads women make at a local level may take time to translate into gains at higher levels of office. For these reasons, the presence of women in local office is typically correlated with the presence of women in state legislative office.” (Sanbonmatsu 2006 p.94).

Thus increasing female representation in local parties could have an effect on female representation in elected office. If more women are serving on the local party boards, they may expand the candidate recruitment network to include more women. Women are more likely to run for office if they’ve been recruited (Preece et al 2012 p.6). Therefore, increasing female representation inside of state and local party apparatuses could be a highly effective method for closing the gender gap in elected office. Furthermore, the North Carolina Democratic Party just selected a female as the new Chair of the Party. It may be worth investigating if the NCDP would be willing to make gender parity a priority in this next election and moving forward.

By hardwiring a “fallback ask” of running for a local party position into all recruitment efforts, Lillian’s List can increase the chances that unsuccessful recruitment efforts plant the seeds for greater future female representation.

#### **b. Recruit for Local & State Boards**

Women are severely underrepresented on local and state boards in North Carolina. Studies show that when more women serve on boards, more women seek elected office (Jennings 2013). According to the newest *Status of Women in North Carolina Politics*, women make up just 18 percent of “power boards” – those with policy making authority (McLennan 2015). Many of the women I interviewed who ran for office had previously served on boards. In fact, over 65 percent

of women begin their public service career serving on a local or state board (McLennan 2015). Thus, serving on boards is a great stepping stone to elected office, allowing women to gain valuable experience in a semi-public role dealing with important policy issues while also expanding their respective networks.

Thus Lillian's List should consider hardwiring a second "fallback ask" into their recruitment efforts. They should ask prospects to consider serving on a local or state board. Furthermore, Lillian's List should petition the 2016 gubernatorial candidates to sign a pledge promising to appoint women to 50 percent of boards and high level positions in state government if elected, similar to the requests of the Women's Appointments Projects (McLennan 2015).

#### **c. Ask for Suggestions of Other Potential Candidates**

Given a potential recruit's stature in her community, she likely knows other accomplished, progressive women who would make a good public servant. Moreover, since women are more relationally driven to seek office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013), the network of potential candidates could be a fertile source of additional prospects. If a woman cannot make the time commitment to run for office, Lillian's List should consider hardwiring a third "fallback ask" into their recruitment process: asking for the names of other qualified women who may be interested in running.

#### **d. Recruit for the Committee of Another Candidate**

Many women who decide not to run do so because they simply cannot make that kind of time commitment. While not able to commit to the rigors of campaigning day in and day out, they may be able to help volunteer for another candidate on weekends or in the evenings. Potential candidates may be able to run later in life, when their children are grown or they are retired. Lillian's List should strive to keep the women engaged in the political process, either to help other women win or so that in future she will be "primed" for a run. Therefore, Lillian's List should consider hardwiring a fourth "fallback ask" into their recruitment process: asking the recruit to be on the fundraising committee and/or to volunteer for the candidate who does ultimately run.

### **IV. Create a Long-Term, Sustainable Pipeline:**

#### **a. Engage Tomorrow's Leaders Today**

The majority of female candidates whom I interviewed were over the age of 50. These women faced a different set of challenges and a different level of exclusion from the political world than their younger counterparts face today. One woman I interviewed said that when she graduated college her only career options were to become a teacher, secretary, or a nurse. This is clearly not the case today. However, despite the significant gains that women have made in the professional world, the gender gap in political ambition is still wide, and in fact, increasing (Lawless and Fox 2012).

Believing that gender parity in government will be achieved "in time" is a perilous assumption. Current projections show gender parity in government being achieved in 90 years assuming a steady increase in women's representation (Kanthak and Woon 2012). However, a steady increase in female representation is not a forgone conclusion. The 2010 election marked the first election in 30 years that the number of women serving in Congress actually declined (Kahn 2010).

This evidence points to a need for groups, like Lillian’s List, concerned with closing the gender gap in elected office, to engage tomorrow’s leaders today. By encouraging college-aged women to become involved in political life, be it by running for student government, volunteering for a local candidate or cause, or simply joining a campus political group, groups like Lillian’s List can work to ameliorate and/or reverse the growing ambition gap. By increasing the number of college-aged women who can see themselves ultimately running for office, Lillian’s List can create a larger pool of future potential candidates.

One interviewee who has served in public office for many years said that she benefited as a young girl growing up in a progressive state where she had a female US Senator and female Member of Congress. Because of that experience, she said that she knew from a young age that she could follow their example. Her mother was also politically involved and did a lot of fundraising for candidates. According to her, “[my mom] had me out knocking door to door to raise money for scholarships...so a lot of the things that are new to women when they decide to run for public office were things that I grew up doing and witnessing.”

Early exposure to political life can be extremely influential in a person’s decision to eventually run for public office. Many public figures had political parents or family members before running for office themselves including: Senator Kay Hagan, Senator Mary Landrieu, Senator Lisa Murkowski, and Former Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi. However, it is not necessary to get this exposure from family members. Non-profits, schools, and other organizations can fill this gap and help inspire young women to become politically engaged at a very young age.

For these reasons, it is important that Lillian’s List begin engaging tomorrow’s leaders today. By engaging women in their formative years, during the time when the political ambition gap begins to grow, Lillian’s List can create an ever-growing bench of future candidates.

#### **b. Create a “College Board”**

As previously discussed, Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox identified college as the pivotal time to intervene to increase political ambition in women. They found similarly low levels of interest in running for office among high school boys and girls, yet during college levels of interest begin to diverge:

“Two-thirds of high school students had never thought about a career in politics. Girls, however, were just as likely as boys to be among the one-third of 13 – 17 year-olds who had considered running. When we turn to college students, political ambition between women and men diverges markedly. College men were twice as likely as college women to have thought about running for office “many times.” Women were 50 percent more likely than men never to have considered it” (Lawless and Fox 2014 p.3).

Lillian’s List has a considerable opportunity to engage this cohort at this pivotal time in their political development. One-way is through creating a “College Board”. By creating a board populated by leaders in the target “young adult” cohort, non-profits can create a leadership structure for gathering feedback on, and marshalling resources towards, issues affecting the “young adult” cohort.

The “College Board” could take shape in many different ways, but one way would be to have mini-boards at each of the 16 UNC System schools with a president of the board who sits on Lillian’s List’s “College Board”. The “mini-boards” at the different universities could work on a number of

different issues, including volunteering for LL Featured Candidates throughout the state, registering other students to vote, and training and encouraging young women to run for student government and the “College Board” could be responsible for overseeing the broader program. By engaging female leaders on campus, groups like Lillian’s List could expand their reach, engage volunteers and supporters for featured candidates, all while increasing the pool of potential future candidates.

### **c. Partner with Other Organizations Focused on College-Aged Women**

Susannah Wellford, the President and founder of Running Start said that “Student government is such a huge stepping stone to running for public office.” In fact, a WPI study found that 53.7 of women currently serving in Congress served in student council in either high school, college or both (Frank 2009).

In conjunction with American Association of University Women, Running Start has started a program called “Elect Her – Campus Women Win”. The program is a one-day, 4.5-hour training for college-aged women to run for student government and future political office. This kind of targeted exposure and encouragement for college-aged women could become a critical factor in increasing political gender parity. Researchers found that both male and females “who ran for student government during college were seven times more likely than their peers who had not run to articulate plans for a political career” (Lawless and Fox 2013 p. 9). Lillian’s List could consider partnering with these organizations or actively recruiting them to increase the number of trainings at North Carolina Universities.

The ripple effect of trainings and efforts that focus on female youth engagement in public service could be significant. Studies have found that women require considerably more encouragement than men do prior to making the decision to run for public office. Yet these same studies have found that women typically receive considerably less encouragement to run for public office (Lawless and Fox 2012, 2013, 2014, Sanbonmatsu et al 2009, Preece et al 2012).

By engaging women at a younger age and familiarizing them with running for office, Lillian’s List may be able to increase a woman’s confidence in her abilities to run, win, and serve. Reaching out to women at such a young age gives them time to let the idea soak in and allows them to visualize themselves as a candidate. It also allows women to prepare for a potential run, both by planning their personal lives and professional careers with a future run in mind. Lawless and Fox found that “ [a] general interest in running for office early in life often sets the stage for a political candidacy decades later. Most 45-year-olds don’t wake up one day, look in the mirror, and decide to run for public office.” (2014 p.2)

Building a long-term pipeline may not yield effective results in the short-term. Yet, it could have an exponential impact in 10 to 15 years. In the short-term, it may help boost voter turnout among younger voters and increase volunteers for current candidates. In the long-term it could create a broader pool of potential candidates for Lillian’s List to pick from.

## **Final Recommendations:**

- 1.) Encourage women considering running for office to speak to both elected officials and women who lost their race. (p.7)
- 2.) Show women considering running for office resumes of currently elected officials and a job description of a General Assembly Member. (p.8)
- 3.) Host networking events for women elected to all different levels of office (county level to state-wide) to stimulate progressive ambition. (p.9)
- 4.) Impress upon women considering running for office the connection between community service and public service. (p.9)
- 5.) Target women friendly districts. (p.10)
- 6.) Target women friendly professions (education and health care). (p.12)
- 7.) When recruiting women engage their family members in the process. (p.12)
- 8.) Target women with less family responsibilities or younger women without families. (p.14)
- 9.) When running is not an option instead ask her to run for Party leadership. (p.15)
- 10.) When running is not an option instead ask her to serve on a local or state board. (p.16)
- 11.) When running is not an option ask her to suggest other women in her community to consider. (p.17)
- 12.) When running is not an option ask her to volunteer or serve on the fundraising committee for another candidate. (p.17)
- 13.) Engage tomorrow's leaders today. (p.17)
- 14.) Create a committee devoted to engaging college-age women. (p.18)
- 15.) Encourage Running Start to expand its mission in NC. (p.19)



## **Appendix:**

### *Interviewees:*

1. Kathie Russell
  - a. Attorney and Former Member of the Chatham County Board of Education
2. Margaret Dixon
  - a. Former NCGA Member, retired broadcaster, and Lillian's List Board Member
3. Ann Newman
  - a. Retired nurse, professor at UNC-Charlotte, candidate for the NC General Assembly, and Lillian's List Board Member
4. Senator Jane Smith
  - a. Retired Real Estate Broker and current NC Senator
5. Senator Terry Van Duyn
  - a. Retired Systems Analyst, current Minority Whip of the NC Senate, and former Lillian's List Board Member
6. Deb Ross
  - a. General Counsel for Triangle Transit and former NC House Member
7. Diane Evia-Lanevi
  - a. Former Journalist and Lillian's List recruit
8. Elizabeth Redenbaugh
  - a. Attorney, Former New Hanover County School Board Member and NC Senate Candidate
9. Senator Angela Bryant
  - a. Attorney, Consultant and current NC Senator
10. Sarah Crawford
  - a. Director of Development and Public Relations for the Tammy Lynn Center and NC Senate Candidate
11. Kim Pevia
  - a. President of the Pembroke Area Chamber of Commerce and Lillian's List recruit
12. Lynn Shoemaker
  - a. Issues and Advocacy Director at Women AdvaNce and Lillian's List Board Member
13. Kim Saccoccio
  - a. Deputy Director for Lillian's List and Staff Director for the Candidate Recruitment Committee
14. Nina Szlosberg-Landis
  - a. President of Circle-Squared Media, Former First-Vice Chair of the NCDP and Lillian's List Board Member
15. David McClennan
  - a. Professor at Meredith College and founder of North Carolina Center for Women in Public Policy
16. Susannah Wellford
  - a. President and Founder of Running Start

## References:

- Brooks, D. J. (2013). He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates, Princeton University Press
- Bureau of Labor Statistics. Volunteering In the United States, 2014. Washington, DC: BLS, 2015
- Burrell, B. (1996). *A woman's place is in the House campaigning for Congress in the feminist era*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Carnes, N. (2012). Which Millionaire Are You Voting For? *The New York Times*.
- Carnes, N. (2014, January 7). Millionaires run our government. Here's why that matters. *Washington Post*. Retrieved October 17, 2014, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/01/07/millionaires-run-our-government-heres-why-that-matters/>
- Carroll, S., & Sanbonmatsu, K. (2013). *More Women Can Run: Gender and Pathways to the State Legislatures*. NY, NY: Oxford University.
- Center for American Women and Politics (2015). Women in the U.S. Congress 2015. Center for American Women and Politics, The State University of New Jersey Rutgers.
- Center for American Women and Politics (2014). Women in the U.S. Congress 2014. Center for American Women and Politics, The State University of New Jersey Rutgers.
- Center for American Women and Politics and Political Parity, Research Inventory American Women and Politics. Cambridge, MA: Political Parity, 2012.
- Darcy, R. and James R. Choike. *A Formal Analysis of Legislative Turnover: Women Candidates and Legislative Representation*. American Journal of Political Science Vol. 30, No. 1 (Feb., 1986) , pp. 237-255 Published by: Midwest Political Science Association Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111303>
- Darcy, R., & Welch, S. (1994). *Women, elections & representation* (2nd ed.). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Darcy, R., & Welch, Susan (1994). Women, Elections, and Representation, University of Nebraska Press.
- Dolan, K. (2004). Voting for Women: How the Public Evaluates Women Candidates. Boulder, CO, Westview Press.
- Dolan, K.(2007). Gender Stereotypes and Gender Preferences on the 2006 ANES Pilot Study. ANES Pilot Study Report.

- Fox, R. and Schuhmann, R. 1999. "Gender and Local Government: A Comparison of Women and Men City Managers." *Public Administration Review* 59(3):231-42.
- Fox, R., & Lawless, J. (2012). *Men Rule: The continued under-representation of women in U.S Politics*. Washington, DC, Women and Politics Institute.
- Fox, R., and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2010. "If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition." *Journal of Politics* 72(2):310-326.
- Frank, A. (2009, May 8). Research Reveals New 'Pathway to Power' for Congresswomen. Retrieved February 4, 2015, from <http://www.american.edu/americanoday/campus-news/20090508-women-politics-research.cfm>
- Fulton, S. (2012). "Running Backwards and in High Heels: The Gendered Quality Gap and Incumbent Electoral Success." *Political Research Quarterly* 65(2): 303-314.
- Hawkings, D. (2014, March 17). Aides Aiming for Pins: Staffers Look to Join 1 in 7 Members Who Have Worked on Hill. *Roll Call*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.rollcall.com/hawkings/hill-staffers-running-for-congress-1-in-7-members-worked-on-hill/?dcz=>
- Hogan, R. (2007). The Effects of Candidate Gender on Campaign Spending in State Legislative Elections. *Social Science Quarterly*, 88(5), 1092-1105.
- Institute for Women's Policy Research. (2014). *Building Women's Political Careers: Strengthening the Pipeline to Higher Office*. Washington, DC: Baer, D. & Hartmann, H.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2013). *Women in National Legislatures: Rankings and Election Systems*, Inter-Parliamentary Union
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2013). *Women in National Legislatures: Rankings and Election Systems*, Inter-Parliamentary Union
- Jenkins, S. (2007). A Woman's Work Is Never Done? Fund-Raising Perception and Effort among Female State Legislative Candidates. *Political Research Quarterly*, 230-239.
- Jennings, D. *Closing The Leadership Gap: Achieving Gender Equity On North Carolina Boards And Commissions*. Raleigh, NC: Women AdvaNce, 2013.
- Kahn, C. (2010, November 5). Despite GOP Wins, Hill May See Fewer Women. *NPR*. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=131073867>
- Kanthak, K. & Woon, J. (2012, February 20). Women Don't Run? Gender Differences in Candidate Entry. NYU-CESS Political Science Conference. Lecture conducted from New York University, New York City.
- Kathlene, L. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policy-Making: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review* 88(3):560-76.

- Langer, G. (2013) "Poll Finds Vast Gaps in Basic Views on Gender, Race, Religion and Politics." [ABC News/Fusion](#).
- Lawless, J., & Fox, R. (2005). *It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawless, J., & Fox, R. (2013). Girls Just Wanna Not Run: The Gender Gap in Young Americans' Political Ambition.
- Lawless, J., & Fox, R. (2014). Not a 'Year of the Woman'...and 2036 Doesn't Look So Good Either. *Governance Studies at Brookings*. Retrieved from <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2014/11/7-not-year-of-the-woman-lawless-fox/apsr.pdf>
- Mariani, M, "A gendered pipeline? The advancement of state legislators to Congress in five states" (2006). *Political Science - Dissertations*. Paper 5. [http://surface.syr.edu/psc\\_etd/5](http://surface.syr.edu/psc_etd/5)
- Masset, C. (2014, December 12). Women Don't Run? Pitt study on gender gap in political candidates published in the American Journal of Political Science. *News Services, University of Pittsburgh*. Retrieved from <http://www.news.pitt.edu/news/women-don-t-run>
- McLennan, D. *The Status of Women in North Carolina Politics*. Raleigh, NC: Meredith College, 2015.
- Medicaid Enrollment by Gender. (2011). Kaiser Family Foundation. Retrieved from <http://kff.org/medicaid/state-indicator/medicaid-enrollment-by-gender/>
- Mesch, D. (2014). Women Give 2012 New Research about Women and Giving. *Women's Philanthropy Institute*. Retrieved from <http://www.philanthropy.iupui.edu/files/research/womengive2012forrelease.pdf>
- National Conference of State Legislatures (2013). *Women in State Legislatures: 2013 Legislative Session* National Conference of State Legislatures.
- National Women's Law Center, *Women And The Minimum Wage, State By State*. Washington, DC: National Women's Law Center, 2015.
- Niven, D. (1998). *The missing majority: The recruitment of women as state legislative candidates*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Niven, D. (2006). Throwing Your Hat Out of the Ring: Negative Recruitment and the Gender Imbalance in State Legislative Candidacy. *Politics & Gender*, P. p3-489.
- Office of the Clerk, United States House of Representatives. (n.d.). Retrieved March 27, 2015, from [http://clerk.house.gov/member\\_info/cong.aspx](http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/cong.aspx)

- O'Leary, P., & Shames, S. (2013, November 1). Shattering the Glass Ceiling for Women in Politics. Retrieved February 1, 2015, from [http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/sites/default/files/ssn\\_basic\\_facts\\_oleary\\_and\\_shames\\_on\\_shattering\\_the\\_glass\\_ceiling\\_for\\_women\\_in\\_politics\\_0.pdf](http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/sites/default/files/ssn_basic_facts_oleary_and_shames_on_shattering_the_glass_ceiling_for_women_in_politics_0.pdf)
- Palmer, B., & Simon, D. (2001). The political glass ceiling: Gender, strategy, and incumbency in U.S. house elections, 1978-1998. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 23(1-2), 59-78.
- Palmer, B., & Simon, D. (2008). *Breaking the political glass ceiling: Women and congressional elections*. New York: Routledge.
- Preece, J., Stoddard, O., & Fisher, R. (2012). *Run Jane Run: The Gender Gap in Responses to Party Recruitment*. Brigham Young University.
- Pyeatt, N., & Yanus, A. (2014). Breaking the Statehouse Glass Ceiling: Examining Women-Friendly Districts in the State Legislatures.
- Rinehart, S. (2000). A Tough Road for Women – Assessing the Role of Gender in Congressional Elections. In *Gender and American politics women, men, and the political process*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Robertson, R. (2014, October 30). Women In Nebraska Politics Discuss Why There Aren't More Of Them. *Net News*. Retrieved from <http://netnebraska.org/article/news/943484/women-nebraska-politics-discuss-why-there-arent-more-them>
- Sanbonmatsu, K. (2006). *Where Women Run Gender and Party in the American States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sanbonmatsu, K., & Dolan, K. (2007). Gender Stereotypes and Gender Preferences on the 2006 ANES Pilot Study.
- Sanbonmatsu, K., Carroll, S., & Walsh, D. (2009). *Poised to Run: Women's Pathways to the State Legislature*. Center for American Women and Politics Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.
- Sayer, L. (2005). Gender, Time and Inequality: Trends in Women's and Men's Paid Work, Unpaid Work and Free Time. *Social Forces*, 84(1), 285-303.
- Sayer, L. et al (2009). How Long Is the Second (Plus First) Shift? Gender Differences in Paid, Unpaid, and Total Work Time in Australia and the United States. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 40(4), 523-540.
- Seltzer, R., & Newman, J. (1997). *Sex as a political variable: Women as candidates and voters in U.S. elections*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner.
- Seltzer, R., & Voorhees, M. (1997). Sex as a Political Variable: Women As Candidates and Voters in U.S. Elections. Boulder, Colorado Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Tolleson-Rinehart, S. 1991. "Do Women Leaders Make a Difference? Substance, Style and Perceptions." In Debra Dodson, ed., *Gender and Policy Making*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American Women and Politics.

US Census Bureau (2011). *US Census: Age and Sex Composition*. US Department of Commerce: Economic and Statistics Administration, US Census Bureau. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html>

Waldman, K. (2014, January 15). Study: Men Shell Out a Lot More for Politicians Than Women Do. *Slate*.  
[http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx\\_factor/2014/01/15/women\\_contribute\\_far\\_less\\_to\\_political\\_campaigns\\_than\\_men\\_do\\_according\\_to.html](http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2014/01/15/women_contribute_far_less_to_political_campaigns_than_men_do_according_to.html)

Women in State Legislatures For 2014. (2014, April 1). Retrieved from <http://www.ncsl.org/legislators-staff/legislators/womens-legislative-network/women-in-state-legislatures-for-2014.aspx>

Women in the U.S. Congress 2015. (2015, January 1). Retrieved from [http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast\\_facts/levels\\_of\\_office/documents/cong.pdf](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/cong.pdf)