2016

The Emerge Difference: Effects of Encouragement by Political Organizations on Women's Political Ambition

Ashleigh Hayes
University of Kentucky, ashleigh.hayes@uky.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://uknowledge.uky.edu/mpampp_etds

Part of the American Politics Commons, Gender and Sexuality Commons, and the Women's Studies Commons

Right click to open a feedback form in a new tab to let us know how this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

The Emerge Difference: Effects of Encouragement by Political Organizations on Women's Political Ambition

ASHLEIGH HAYES
MARTIN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY & ADMINISTRATION
CAPSTONE

Contents

Executive Summary

Substantive representation of women in elected positions is an area where The United States is lacking. Within the United States Congress, women are disproportionately less likely to be elected to office and it is much of the same at the state level. Nationally, women hold only 104 (19.4%) of the 535 seats in the United States Congress as of 2015 (8). At the state level, women fare somewhat better. Women comprise 24.2 percent of state legislatures nationwide (9). In the state of Kentucky, women hold 25 seats in the state legislature or 18.1 percent. This is far from equal or representative of the population, especially since women make up over half the population in the state of Kentucky (10).

In *Why Don't Women Run For Office?* (2004), Lawless and Fox suggest that there are five areas that could potentially lessen the political gender gap, which vary in expected effectiveness. Those five areas are: attitudes about campaigning, age and party affiliation and income, recruitment, family circumstances, and perceptions of electoral prospects. The area of focus for this analysis is the political organization recruiting and encouraging women to run for office. I seek to test how effective having the encouragement and support of a political organization is to women deciding to run for an elected office.

Women often do not think of themselves qualified or capable of holding an elected position and just need a bit of encouragement to step into the arena. Is this the determining factor as to whether or not a woman will decide not run for an elected position? Once those women have been encouraged and recruited, are they more likely to run for office? I seek to delve into the whether or not that makes a difference.

<u>Introduction</u>

As defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary, democracy is a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly and indirectly through a system of representation, usually involving periodically held free elections (Democracy 2014). The United States is considered one of the greatest democracies of the world, but we lack in one area of true democracy: representation. Our elected officials are not descriptively representative of the population they serve. Women make up over half the population of the United States, yet only 19 percent of the 113th Congress are women (US Population 2014; Manning 2014). The United States is globally ranked 85th in representation of women in national legislatures (Women in Parliaments 2014), 57th among democratic states (Lawless & Fox 2010). That does not sound like a leader of democracy.

Though women are making great strides, there is still a long road ahead. Debbie Walsh Director of CAWP once said, "If the goal is political parity - for women to be represented in Congress in proportion to their population - we're still not close. (McGregor 2014)" Women are still represented in elected positions at an alarmingly low rate. From 1965 when the first woman was elected to Congress, representing less than one percent of membership, women are seeing record highs of membership at only 19 percent of Congress (Manning & Brudnick 2015). This raises the question: how do we get more women to run for office?

Women have been fighting the good fight of trying to step out of societal imposed roles and into the workforce and political arena for quite some time. Women have been running for political and elected offices since before they had the right to vote. Jeannette Rankin became the first woman elected to the United States Congress in 1917 (Manning & Brudnick). With women making up over half of the population, it is hardly believable that they make up less than 20

percent of the elected officials that are to make decisions on behalf of the entire population. If over half of the population is not descriptively or substantively represented, then how can we expect to have a true democracy?

Encouragement is likely to be a key strategy in getting more women to run for office. Women are not often groomed to be candidates. One of the main five reasons Lawless and Fox 2004 believe women are underrepresented is due to the lack of encouragement to seek office. Political organizations do play a large part in encouraging and grooming women to prepare to take office; however, women are far less likely to get this kind of encouragement than men (Lawless & Fox 2004). This type of support and encouragement would greatly impact the representation of women in elected positions.

What happens when women are encouraged to run for office by political organizations? Emerge Kentucky is a political organization that recruits and trains Democratic women to run for office. Does participation in the organization make women more likely to run for office? What kind of successes do women who complete the training program achieve? As previous research has shown, getting more women to run for office is not singularly accomplished via encouragement but rather a combination of attributes (Lawless & Fox 2004). This research will, however, demonstrate that the involvement of political organizations can have a positive effect on the success of the election of women candidates.

Literature Review

Women are grossly underrepresented in the realm of elected positions. Five times more men than women are holding elected offices in the United States (Emerge America). The men of government seem to have a strong hold on available elected seats and do not seem show any signs of opening the gateway to newcomers. As stated in "Poised to Run" (Sanbonmatsu et al.

2009), "it is not that men in leadership don't recruit women. They just don't recruit as many, and they don't put the extra effort into recruiting women who are sometimes harder to get to get to run."

The United States is considered one of the greatest democracies of the world, but we lack in one area of true democracy: representation. Our elected officials are not descriptively representative of the population. Descriptive representation is when the outward, physical appearance such as gender, ethnicity, or race of a governmental official resembles that of his or her constituents (Dovi 2014). Substantive representation is when elected officials vote and take action in the interest of and on behalf of those being represented (Dovi 2014). Women already elected to office also play an integral role in descriptive and substantive representation. Reingold's study supports the idea that descriptive representation leads to substantive representation (Reingold 2006). Through their policy preferences, leadership and impact, Reingold acknowledges that women legislators champion for "issues of special concern to women." Women bring different viewpoints that allow for a superior and more efficient democracy. Nadia E. Brown's, author of "Sisters in the State House", research has helped frame how important it is to have African American women as elected officials to provide a better democracy (Neubert 2014). In her study of how African American women of the Maryland State legislated, she found that younger African America women tend to vote more liberally on certain issues than their more mature counterparts. Brown's study is another example of both descriptive and substantive representation at work. This speaks to how having a diverse group of women provides a better representation of the whole and, in turn, a better democracy.

Leaving women out of the political arena essentially silences a voice that needs to be heard. Women are an important part of the United States' society and economy, and should be

equally represented when decisions are being made on their behalf. It is not to say that men cannot advocate for women or that one woman can speak for all women. But it is best to have a representative mix so that a plethora of perspectives can be shared and taken into consideration.

Women have struggled to gain descriptive representation in elected positions. Not only do they face the stiff competition of simply entering a race, but they face many other doubts that may cause them not to throw their hat into the political ring. There is strong evidence that incumbents have an advantage over challengers in races and incumbents tend to be men. Also, those who have established name recognition are shown to have more success than those with unrecognizable names. According to Lawless and Fox's (2004) figure on a candidate's emergence from the pool of prospective candidates, women need to consider a candidacy and take the initiative to follow through in pursuing an elected position.

In the article, Poised to Run: Women's Pathways to the State Legislatures, Sanbonmatsu, Carroll and Walsh (2009) go over five key points for changing our descriptive representation of women in elected offices. First, they assert that women should be recruited. This could be done by a political party or organization. It could be as simple as the member seeking out a woman to join the organization, become more active within the organization, and/or suggesting she consider an elected position. Having the support and encouragement of a political party or organization plays a major role in solidifying a woman's decision to run for office. Secondly, the authors state that having the support of the woman candidate's political party is critical. Thirdly, organizations that groom and encourage women in running for office could be important catalysts. The authors believe this realm is lacking. Fourth, there are more qualified women for elected offices than many may believe. Often, women believe they need a laundry list of qualifications in comparison to their male counterparts; who usually believe themselves to be

qualified, even with less qualifications their women counterparts. Lastly, funding and training are paramount in helping women to get elected to office (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2009).

Dr. Jennifer Lawless, who happens to be an Emerge America Advisory Board member, co-authored the book "It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office" with Dr. Richard L. Fox. This book takes a deeper look into the barriers women may face while entering or consider entering the political arena, and how they may be able to overcome those perceived hindrances. Much like Sanbonmatsu et al. 2009, Lawless and Fox believe there is a problem with underrepresentation of women and that there are ways to tackle the problem. They take a deeper look at the mechanics and long standing societal expectations that create barriers needing to be overcome.

Lawless and Fox (2004) explore reasons as to why women decide not to run for political office in *Why Don't Women Run for Office*. They suppose five aspects as to why women are less likely to run for office. Women are often asked about these perceptions after they have obtained an elected position. This particular article surveys a pool of women that could be potential candidates for an elected position but have not actually gone through the process of running for an elected office. These were women were in "pipeline" professions such as law, business and education, that usually lead to positions in the political arena.

Of those five indicators, lack of recruitment, family circumstances and perceptions of electoral prospects seemed to be the most significant indicators for why women do not run for office. Initially, people may expect that increasing the number of eligible women candidates would cultivate gender parity in elected positions, but the data does not support this. According to Lawless and Fox, there already exists a pool of viable candidates, but they are being left untapped. A suitable group of women within pipeline professions already exist, which was found

to be comparable to the pool of men within their survey. The difference would be made when those women were encouraged to run for office. The findings support the importance of recruitment strategies and how often they are recruited and encouraged to run for elected office. The results did not indicate that women were more hesitant to enter a political campaign, even those that would be considered difficult to win. Their hesitation lies in the income gap established between men, the lack of encouragement from outside sources, the demands of home life and the low self-perceptions of their qualifications or likelihood to win the race.

Women of the Democratic Party had higher tendencies to consider running for office than their Republican counterparts. Women Democrats usually see this higher trend due to the types of issues championed for by the party. Lack of recruitment by parties has been shown to effect whether women choose to run for political office, according to Lawless and Fox (2004). The data presented in this study states that women who have not received encouragement to run for office have only a 20 percent likelihood of considering running for a political office; the likelihood that women consider to running for office "more than doubles" when women receive external support.

Family circumstances also play an integral role in whether or not women decide to run for office. According to Lawless and Fox (2004), if women have more responsibilities at home, they are less likely to consider running for office; whereas if the woman has less responsibilities in the home than their partner, the likelihood of the woman's interest in considering to run for office increases.

Lastly, the perception of their own qualifications definitely have effects on the likelihood of a woman considering to run for political office. Women usually are less likely to believe they

could win a political race, as opposed to their male counterparts that believe they are very likely to win.

Research Design

Do recruiting mechanisms, such as political organizations that recruit and train women, activate women to run for office? This study employs survey data collected from Emerge Kentucky, a political organization that is charged with the recruitment and training of Democratic women. The data was collected by the Executive Director of Emerge Kentucky on their 122 graduates of the program. They were asked questions about their level of education, whether or not they contested an election after participating in the program, and other descriptive indicators.

So how do we overcome the underrepresentation of women in elected positions? According to Lawless and Fox's Political Ambition Model (Lawless and Fox 2010), women need to consider a candidacy and take the initiative to follow through in pursuing an elected position. Recruiting and political organizations encouraging women to run for an elected position is crucial in increasing the pool of female candidates running for elected office.

Emerge Kentucky

Emerge America is an organization operating in 14 states that train and support women in their run for elected positions (Emerge America 2014). Fifty-two percent of their alumnae has either run for or been appointed to office, while 70 percent of those who have run for office have won their elections. If there were more states with this program, we may see greater numbers of women in elected positions. In the states where Emerge is already present, enrollment of women in the program should be increased. Emerge Kentucky has seen great success in since their state

creation in 2009. This is a numbers game at the heart of it. If there are more women that participate and receive training through the Emerge program, the more viable women candidates that can be placed on ballots for election.

Emerge Kentucky works within the Emerge network to overcome the issue of underrepresentation of women in elected positions in Kentucky. Emerge Kentucky seeks to get several seats at the decision making table (Emerge America). Emerge Kentucky vigorously trains democratic women through an intensive, cohort-based training that prepares women to run for an elected office. The women selected to participate in the program meet for seven sessions over a period of six months covering topics such as networking, fundraising, and campaign strategies.

Emerge Kentucky's focus is to train women to become viable candidates and change the landscape of state and local politics in the state of Kentucky. Women choosing to participate in the six month long cohort are self-motivated and desire effective and ethical political leadership training (emergeky.org/training/selection). They also must be interested in pursuing a political office, able to articulate a personal political vision, and be a registered Democrat. This list is not all inclusive but includes some of the highlights (emergeky.org/training/selection). Amongst the applicants, Emerge Kentucky selects 20-25 women who meet the criterion.

Matriculating through this program places the women at a strong advantage. They meet one weekend a month to participate in vigorous training on public speaking and communication, fundraising, campaign strategy and ethical leadership, just to name a few. These women will be the force that helps fight the disparity of women with political power and affluence. Emerge gives a starting point for women who have the desire to run for office but may be unsure of where to start.

Of the women that participate in Emerge Kentucky, how many women actually decide to run for an elected office? Women who have matriculated via the program from 2010-2015 were surveyed and the data used to get a better idea if women go on to run for elected positions after completing the program. Based on past predictors, women who receive the support of a political organization would be more likely to run for office. Going a step further, how effective is the program at preparing women to win elections?

Analysis

The women included in the dataset participated and matriculated through Emerge Kentucky from the years 2010 and 2015. The data presented offers insight into women who decide to run for office but has some noteworthy limitations. There is not a control group to which the results could be compared. Since Emerge Kentucky only accepts Democratic women, Republican or Independent women were not sampled and their statistics compared to those collected by Emerge Kentucky. Although only Democratic women were sampled, the data on electoral attempts made and wins for women who have matriculated the program could validate the application of certain theories.

Graph 1, on the next page, details the frequency of elections attempted by the 122 women who matriculated through the Emerge Kentucky rigorous training program. Depicted in Graph 1 located below, those that matriculated the rigorous curriculum, 76 or roughly 62 percent of the women did not go on to run for office. This leaves only 46 or approximately 38 percent of women of Emerge Kentucky that actually ran for office. This could be attributed to several different factors. Once the woman completed the program, there may not have been an office to contest. Requirements such as age and requiring the candidate to live in a certain district may

hinder a woman from their initial run for office. Personal reasons, such as home life changes or other extenuating circumstances, may cause a woman to pause her ambitions for office. Lastly, but not all inclusively, the woman may make an educated to decision to not run after completing the program and knowing all of what a run for office would entail. This could be traditional reasons such as not considering oneself qualified to run, reluctant to having to complete campaign duties such as fundraising or changes in career goals.
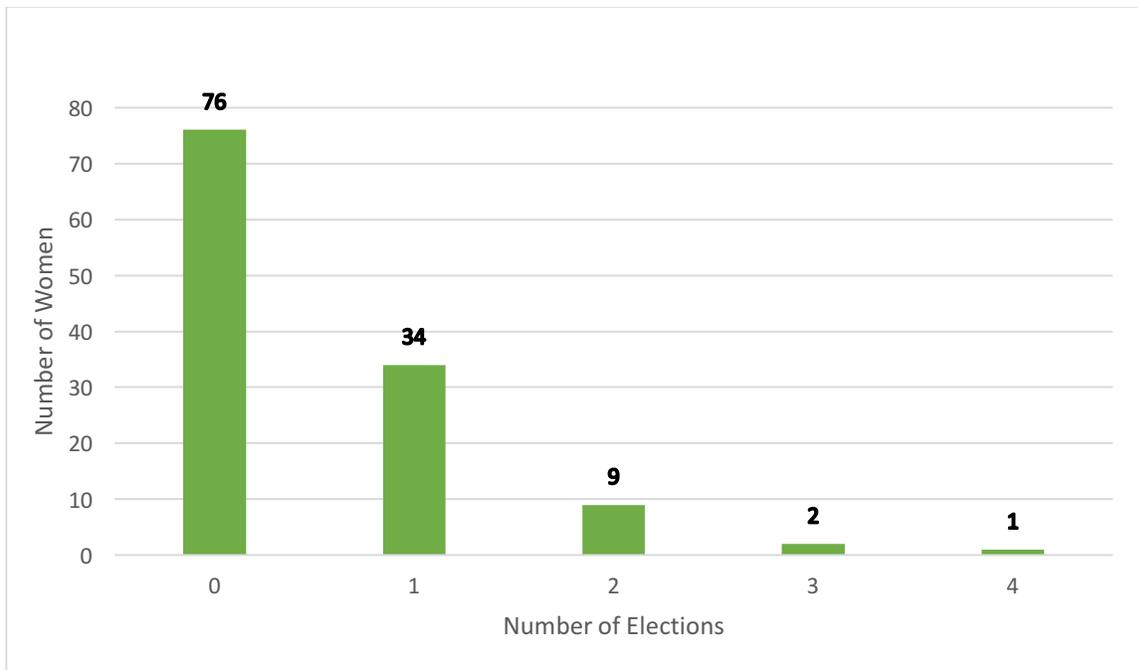
Graph 1. Number of Post Emerge Elections

Table 1 on the following page lists the number of elections contested after completing Emerge and how many of those elections were won by graduates. Of the women who contested at least one election, a success rate of approximately 29 percent was achieved. This percentage dramatically increased for those women who have contested at least two elections. Approximately 67 percent of those women experienced wins in their elections. The success rate almost doubled, even with some losing their race.

Table 1. Summary Statistics on Winning Elections

# of Post Emerge Elections	# OF WINNING ELECTIONS				
	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**Total**
0	76	0	0	0	76
1	24	10	0	0	34
2	3	6	0	0	9
3	1	0	1	0	2
4	0	0	0	1	1
Total	104	16	1	1	122

Most importantly, a woman can never win if she never runs for office. After completing the program, graduates have over a forty percent chance of winning their election. Completing the program and electing to run for office is statistically significant in a positive outcome of the election. Table 2 below displays the statistics on probability of winning an election after having completed the Emerge program.

Table 2. Number of Wins Post Program

Variables	Won Election
Post-Program Election	0.405***
	(0.0394)
Constant	-0.0335
	(0.0364)
Observations	122
R-squared	0.467

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The data collected by the Executive Director for Emerge Kentucky included women without children, having at least a bachelor's degree, age, in a racial minority group, sexual orientation, and having a juris doctorate. These attributes were used as explanatory variables when testing for the effects on the number of elections after participating in Emerge Kentucky and the percentage of successful elections. A linear regression was used to better understand the effects and significance of these variables on the number of elections after participating and the percentage of successful elections.

According to Lawless and Fox (2004), traditional family structures may not be as much of a hindrance as it was considered in the past. This may be attributed to the women study having already overcome many of the career barriers that lay in women's way when considering an elected position. If the household responsibilities mainly rest on their spouse or are equally divided, women tend to consider a run for office more frequently than those who are the main parent responsible for household responsibilities (Lawless & Fox 2004). The results of the regression of the number of elections after participating in Emerge Kentucky align with the theory of Lawless and Fox 2004. Women without children are not significantly more likely to run for office. It is also worth noting that the average age of women of the program is approximately 44 years of age. The youngest participant was 24 years of age where oldest was 68. Age is considered to be a significant variable, though very slight, as noted in Table 3.

As indicated in Table 3 on the following page, only one variable was a predictor of how many post-program elections the women entered. Women who are younger, of those who stated their age, which is probably a proxy for being younger, and those with children proved to be predictors for those who conducted a campaign for election. These women were the ones who contested more elections. Due to previous studies, some would predict that younger women, who may not have yet overcome the career barrier, would be less likely to go on to run for elected office. Having at least a bachelor's degree was not a strong predictor, which one would expect that the women with more education would be prone to run for election.

Table 3. Post-Program Elections Regression

VARIABLES	# of Elections after Participating in Emerge
Women without children	-0.177
	(0.162)
Bachelor, Advanced Degree, No Degree	0.0149
	(0.166)
Missing information on Degree	0.491
	(0.328)
Age	0.0170*
	(0.00979)
Missing information on Age	0.452
	(0.425)
Racial Minority	0.108
	(0.185)
Homosexual	0.00864
	(0.164)
Juris Doctorate	0.107
	(0.169)
Constant	-0.273
	(0.525)
Observations	122
R-squared	0.137

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Next, the percentage of successful elections were regressed shown on Table 4. Barring one exemption, none of the explanatory variables were significant. Though none of these variables suggested significance, it is important to note that a candidate would guarantee she would be unable to win if she never contested an election. The one exception has to do with the sexuality of the candidate. A candidate that identified as homosexual were left likely to win the election. This could most likely be attributed to the political nature of Kentucky. Historically a red state, Kentucky overall has conservative political values, especially those that are religiously charged. Homosexuality does not align with the traditional expectations of the voters of Kentucky.

Table 4. Percentage of Successful Elections Regression

VARIABLES	Percentage of Successful Elections
Women without Children	-0.130
	(0.177)
Bachelors, Advanced Degree, No Degree	-0.155
	(0.158)
Missing information on Degree	-0.560*
	(0.302)
Age	0.00406
	(0.00728)
Missing information on Age	0.388
	(0.348)
Racial Minority	0.0596
	(0.144)
Homosexual	-0.321**
	(0.151)
Juris Doctorate	0.0535
	(0.198)
Constant	0.433
	(0.486)
Observations	46
R-squared	0.156

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Based on these results, the program appears to be more effective in assisting women in winning elections for those women decide to contest an election. The data shows that as time passes, the women who participate in the Emerge Kentucky program are more likely to run. But it is important to note that women who had matriculated through the program in 2014 and 2015 have had little time to run in comparison to those who completed the program in 2010.

It would be a better use of resources to focus the efforts towards women who have held elected student offices in their educational career, such as Student Senate or Class president. These are the type of women who have already participated in an electoral process and may be more comfortable with the

process. Women who are older and more established in their careers may have less career barriers than younger participants and more willing to contest an election. Also, women who identify as homosexual drastically decrease their chances of a successful election. The effect of sexual orientation is the one exception of explanatory variables that did not work in favor of a successful campaign of a women. Women candidate that are homosexual have lower probability of winning. This could be mainly attributed to the conservative nature of Kentucky politics.

Limitations

There are several limitations faced in this study. To begin, Emerge Kentucky only grooms women who are registered Democrats. The lack of control group to compare presents some limitations. It would give way to validity of the claim that younger women with children are more likely to run for office if a more diverse group of women were polled. It would have been beneficial to have data on women who had not participated in the Emerge program but considered a candidacy. Going a step further, information on those women who won elections and their descriptive statistics for comparison could have brought more reliability and validity to this study.

Data on women who belong to the Republican Party or simply outside of the Emerge Kentucky are not included in this study. There is a counterpart to the Emerge Kentucky program for Republican women, named Kentucky Strong. Kentucky Strong was initiated by Senator Raque Adams, who is the Executive Director for the program. The first class of the program was set to begin the fall of 2015. Recruiting and training Republican women who are pro-business to run for public office is the program's mission (Kentucky Strong 2016). It has yet to be seen if Kentucky Strong will be modeled the same as Emerge Kentucky, as it does not seem as though they have a structured training program as of yet. It will, however, serve as a support group and provide mentoring, which Senator Adams believes if crucial in women running for office (Paducah Sun 2015).

The political parties are heavily involved in recruiting women and are intertwined with these recruiting organizations. Their influence and data collected on their influence has not been taken to

account. Emerge Kentucky is very involved with the Kentucky Democratic Party. As part of the program, members from the party will come to give presentations about tools that are at the candidates' disposal when running on the Democratic ticket and how to use them.

There were some limitations to the data itself. More information on the women participating in Emerge would have provided my options for regressions. Information on the women's occupation, level of their career and how their political ambitions started would be helpful for future studies of this cohort.

Conclusion

Emerge should continue their methods of recruitment. One suggestion for change would be stronger encouragement or requirements to run for office after completing the program. It is understandable that extenuating circumstances may arise that are beyond the potential candidate's control, but the majority of women should go on to campaign for elected office. It may be beneficial to implement a requirement to run for office after matriculating the program. Age and sexuality should be taken into account. No woman should be rejected based solely on these requirements but should be made aware of the uphill battle they will potentially face.

These methods would be good to take into account if Emerge plans to expand to other states, especially those considered "red" or usually conservative states. Emerge is currently in 14 states, most of them considered to be your more liberal states (e.g. California).

Figure 1. Emerge America Map

STATES
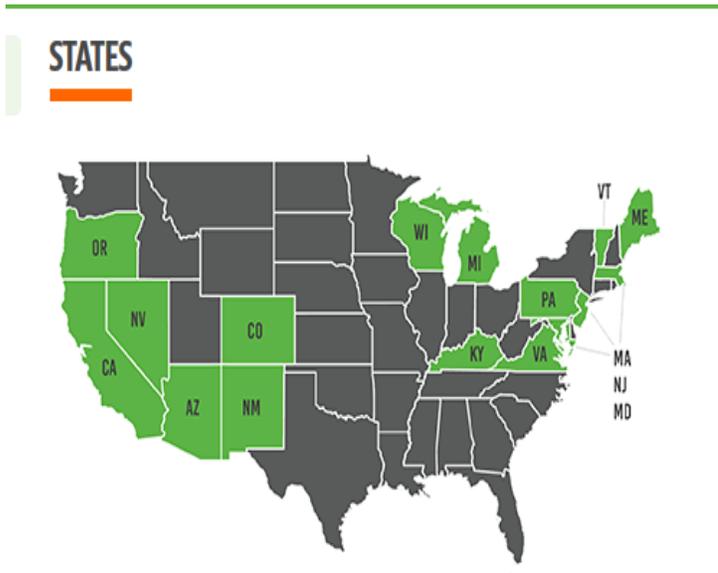
- Emerge Arizona – Founded in 2004
- Emerge California – Founded in 2002
- Emerge Colorado – Launched in 2012
- Emerge Kentucky – Launched in 2009
- Emerge Maine – Launched in 2007
- Emerge Maryland – Launched in 2012
- Emerge Massachusetts – Launched in 2008
- Emerge Nevada – Launched in 2006
- Emerge New Jersey – Launched in 2012
- Emerge New Mexico – Launched in 2006
- Emerge Oregon – Launched in 2008
- Emerge Vermont – Launched in 2013
- Emerge Virginia – Launched in 2013
- Emerge Wisconsin – Launched in 2007

Emerge America. http://www.emergeamerica.org/home

For the most part, Emerge networks are located in solid or leaning Democratic states. States such as Arizona and Wisconsin are competitive states, where there is not clear that there are statistically more Democrats than there are Republicans, and vice versa. Emerge Kentucky was the pilot program for

Figure 2. Party Affiliation by State, 2015
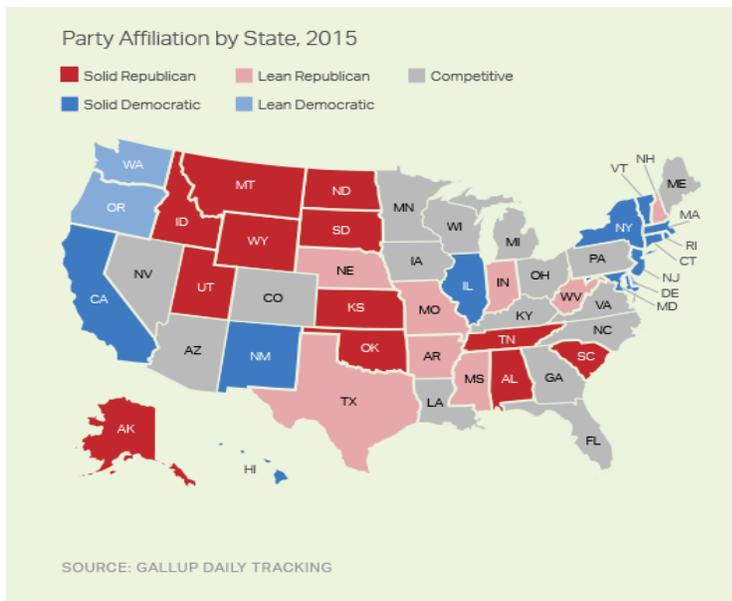
"Red States Outnumber Blue for First Time in Gallup Tracking." *Gallup.com*.

introducing Emerge to southern states (emerge.org). There are some low hanging fruit that could be taken advantage of. New York, Delaware, Connecticut and Rhode Island are solid Democratic states, so it would make the most sense to capitalize on that advantage. Taking some of the findings from this study and future ones could be beneficial when introducing to more southern states, such as Georgia or

Alabama, which may be considered red or competitive states. Expanding into other states should be strategic and this data could be beneficial. Polling of voting habits and views of women politicians would be beneficial to complete prior to completely expanding to a more red state.

Overall, we cannot get women into elected positions and better our descriptive representation if they are not actually running for office. Recruiting women and preparing them to run successful campaigns is imperative to increasing the number of women in elected offices. Emerge Kentucky is a useful catalyst in accomplishing this goal, especially with forty percent of those completing the program and running for office actually winning those elections.

References

1. Manning, Jennifer E., and Ida A. Brudnick (2015). "Women in Congress, 1917-2015: Biographical and Committee Assignment Information, and Listings by State and Congress." 27 Apr. 2015. Web. 13 Apr. 2016.

2. Dovi, Suzanne, "Political Representation", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/political-representation/>.

3. Manning, J. (2014). Membership of the 113th Congress: A Profile. Retrieved November 29, 2014, from http://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R42964.pdf.

4. U.S. Population. (n.d.). Retrieved December 15, 2014, from <http://www.mchb.hrsa.gov/whusa12/pc/pages/usp.html>.

5. Lawless, J. L., & Fox, R. L. (2004). *Why Don't Women Run for Office?* Taubman Center for Public Policy Brown University.

6. "Red States Outnumber Blue for First Time in Gallup Tracking." *Gallup.com*. Web. 6 Apr. 2016

7. Women in the U.S. Congress 2015. (n.d.). Retrieved January 19, 2016, from <http://cawp.rutgers.edu/women-us-congress-2015>.

8. (n.d.). Retrieved January 19, 2016, from <http://www.ncsl.org/legislatorsstaff/legislators/womens-legislative-network/women-in-state-legislatures-for-2013.aspx.>.

9. Current Population Demographics and Statistics for Kentucky by age, gender and race. (n.d.). Retrieved January 19, 2016, from <https://suburbanstats.org/population/how-many-people-live-in-kentucky>.

10. Democracy. (2014, November 28). Retrieved November 28, 2014, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/democracy>.

11. U.S. Population. (n.d.). Retrieved December 15, 2014, from <http://www.mchb.hrsa.gov/whusa12/pc/pages/usp.html>.

12. Women in Parliaments: World Classification. (n.d.). Retrieved November 28, 2014, from <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.

13. McGregor, J. (2014, November 5). More than 100 women in Congress for the first time, but not much growth. Retrieved November 23, 2014, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/on-leadership/wp/2014/11/05/more-than 100-women-in-congress-for-the-first-time-but-not-much-growth/>.

14. Lawless, J., & Fox, R. (2010). Chapters 1 & 2. In *It still takes a candidate: Why women don't run for office* (Rev. ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

15. Emerge America. (n.d.). Retrieved November 19, 2014, from <http://www.emergeamerica.org/home>.; <http://www.emergeky.org/about/women>.; <http://www.emergeky.org/training/selection>.

16. Sanbonmatsu, K., & Carroll, S., & Walsh, D. (2009). Poised to Run: Women's Pathways to the State Legislatures (Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2009).

17. Reingold, B. (2006). Women as Office Holders: Linking Descriptive and Substantive
   Representation. Retrieved November 1, 2014, from
   http://rooneycenter.nd.edu/assets/11302/reingold_conference.pdf
18. Duncan, Lauren P. "Program Designed to Help GOP Women Run For Office."
   Paducahsun.com.
   22 Oct. 2015. Web. 30 Mar. 2016.
19. "Kentucky Strong | About Us." *Kentucky Strong*. Web. 30 Mar. 2016.