

Relaunch: Resilience and Rebuilding for Women Candidates After an Electoral Loss





The key question for a woman candidate who loses her race: **what's next?**



Past Barbara Lee Family Foundation research has shown time and again that women are held to a different and higher standard than men when running for political office: voters will vote for a woman only if they believe she is both qualified and likeable. Voters also remember women's mistakes on the campaign trail and penalize them more, which undermines the candidates' qualifications. The question remained: how does this double standard apply to women who lose their races?

In the winner-take-all voting system in the U.S., there can only be one winner. As one of our focus group participants put it: "There is always going to be a loser." This study shows that voters are incredibly open to the idea of a woman candidate relaunching herself as a public figure and running for office again, and provides guidance about next steps.



Key Findings

- 1 For voters, losing does not need to be the end of a woman's political career; it can be the beginning of the next chapter.
- 2 Post-election messaging is the first step towards successfully running again.
- 3 What a woman candidate chooses as her next step after losing an election matters.

1 For voters, losing does not need to be the end of a woman's political career; it can be the beginning of the next chapter.

Voters still rate losing women candidates favorably and believe that they are qualified to run for office. In both qualitative and quantitative research, we explored voters' perceptions of and attitudes towards a woman candidate who loses a race, asking specifically how losing affects a woman candidate's qualifications and favorability.

Encouragingly for women who lose their races, voters did not give negative ratings to losing women candidates on their qualifications or their favorability.

In the survey, we segmented the sample so that respondents reacted to different profiles of women candidates who had lost their races. One descriptor we tested was a woman candidate who is either a Democrat or a Republican. We also tested the intersectional ways that race interacts with gender: a segment of the sample was asked about an African American woman, and another segment was asked about a Latina woman. The women of color candidates were not identified with a partisan affiliation, although in the data there is evidence that survey respondents assumed the women of color candidates were Democrats. Understanding that in politics, a white man is the norm and the neutral, we also tested a Democratic man and a Republican man as controls. Survey respondents heard a short description of one of the types of candidates described above and then were asked to rate how favorable they feel toward the candidate and how qualified the candidate seems. Across the board, voters rated a woman candidate who lost as both favorable and qualified.

1 Key Findings

Favorability Rating			Qualified Rating		
(0-100 Scale)	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable		% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified
African Am. woman	23	74	Democratic man	21	60
Democratic man	23	63	Republican woman	20	55
Democratic woman	23	63	African Am. woman	19	67
Republican woman	23	56	Democratic woman	18	58
Latina woman	20	74	Latina woman	16	62
Republican man	17	51	Republican man	13	49

All Candidates were presented as losing. For candidate descriptions and a further breakdown of favorability and qualified ratings, see Appendix.

Voters have their own perceptions about what might have gone wrong in a "qualified" woman's campaign.

In the focus groups, we conducted an experiment where half of respondents in each group shared their perceptions of a qualified *woman* candidate who ran for office and lost, and the other half shared perceptions of a qualified generic candidate who ran for office and lost. It was clear that using the word qualified was very reassuring for voters. However, some of the participants who thought about a woman candidate who lost asked more questions or had more suggestions for what she did wrong that caused her to lose.

"Some of the women might have had less campaign funds. Maybe they weren't as good of a public speaker, or essentially, they didn't reach out to the right population."

- Democratic woman

"So, did she start campaigning early enough? Was her campaign team dedicated enough? Maybe her publicity efforts fell short. Like I start wondering are there things she could have done differently. It says she was qualified and so I don't doubt her qualifications, but maybe she just joined the party a little late."

- Republican woman

"I would say maybe she had unpopular ideas or didn't market her campaign effectively."

- Independent man

"I just imagined the reasons why this person didn't win and so I just went not personable, not a good communicator... Maybe she's just a cold person. Maybe she just doesn't have the warmth or something."

- Republican man

1 Key Findings

Voters reject the notion that many women losing elections is ominous for the electoral chances of women candidates in the future.

After hearing a negative news story about the number of women who lost their races, three-quarters of voters polled (**76%**) say they have no doubts about voting for a woman candidate, with over half (**57%**) who have no doubts at all. Voters across party identification reject this argument: **75%** of Democrats, **78%** of Independents, and **75%** of Republicans have no doubts.



“ Tested Sample News Story Text:

With so many women candidates on the ballot, this was supposed to be “the Year of the Woman.” Now that all the votes have been counted, the results are mixed. Even though a record number of women were elected to Congress, loads of women lost their campaigns, too. Especially after Hillary Clinton’s loss in 2016, political commentators worry that some will take this large-scale loss as a sign that few women are cut out for politics, making it that much harder for the next women candidates to win.”

In focus groups, participants were equally resentful of this message.

“There are thousands and thousands of men that lose. It’s not held on a pedestal or looked aside and all the sudden we are being critiqued.”

– African American woman

“Yeah, I disagree with the last statement. Think that is kind of a broad, generalized statement because men lose elections all the time and that doesn’t make them any less likely to get elected in the future. So, I disagree with that.”

– Independent man



1 Key Findings



Voters are much more persuaded by messages from women political commentators and groups that support women made in response to critiques and concerns about too many women candidates losing their elections. Voters respond to the ideas that our political system needs new voices, women are role models, and that we can change our country by changing who has access to power. They also respond to women running unapologetically as themselves with their varied perspectives and experiences.



Voters across party identification find these messages convincing, but Democratic voters really respond to this language. Republican voters tend to be wary of "identity politics," and that shows up in the lower numbers saying these messages are very convincing. Women voters are also more likely than men to find these messages very convincing.



	Very Convincing	Convincing
CHANGE We need change and new voices. Women are role models for our daughters and granddaughters and important leaders for our nation. Win or lose, women candidates stepped up to change the face of leadership. They ran unapologetically as themselves and invested their time in one of the hardest things that a democracy asks of its citizens. All because they believe in our country and wanted to contribute new ideas and solutions.	43	74
VARIED TALENT AND ENERGY The women who ran and lost understand that working together is smarter and accomplishes more when people come to the table with varied perspectives and life experiences. Our country needs the talent and energy of all Americans, whether they are men or women, white, Black, or brown. Our current elected officials don't hold the monopoly on leadership and problem-solving. We can change things in America by changing who has access to power.	44	76

See Appendix for a further breakdown by party identification and gender.

2 Key Findings

2 Post-election messaging is the first step towards successfully running again.

Voters respond best when a woman candidate centers on voters, not herself, and launching a future run can and should start on election night. The focus groups showed that “validity” is a bit more of a question for losing women, and it helps when women candidates position the race as close, refer to a big victory in the primary, or mention holding a previous office. Findings from the focus groups were clear:

- Voters want to hear a woman candidate stay positive and hopeful.
- Voters do not want to hear a woman candidate use excuses or place blame, even indirectly.
- Voters respond well to a woman who reinforces what she believes in, what and who she will continue to fight for, and how she will do it.

“Not putting any excuses in your speech and owning what occurred because there is always going to be a loser.”

– Democratic woman

“No bashing.”

– African American woman

“Lose graciously. Yeah, I lost, but it is okay and this is what I will do. You show that you are genuine, you are real...”

– Independent woman

“No blame.”

– Republican man

“She was proud. She said she was proud and she was hopeful and she said she was going to continue to fight for the issues. I like that they believe in something so strong that they won’t give up. And she focused on the issues that she was fighting for and she was going to continue working on those issues.”

– Latina woman

“Just because you lost doesn’t mean that it is over.”

– Republican woman

“Just being unselfish and getting that across to the media and to everyone. Okay, I lost or you know we have had kind of these issues, but either we will continue to fight or we will work with the other party. There are broad issues I am sure that are across the board that need to be fixed.”

– Republican man



These insights from the focus groups support the results of the survey. For every type of woman candidate we tested – a Democratic woman, a Republican woman, a Latina woman, and an African American woman – the best-testing statements focus on listening to voters, continuing to fight for her ideals, and getting things done for the community based on its needs.

The best messages center on the voters, not the candidate.

2 Key Findings

% Perception that the Woman is a Very Effective Leader	Democratic woman	Republican woman	African American woman	Latina woman
Cooperation*	48	49	48	52
Meeting People	43	45	49	47
Cooperation - Close Race*	41	46	52	51
Reform	42	41	40	43
Shared Values	41	47	46	45
Glass Ceiling	38	42	41	40
Bring People Together	37	40	45	49

*Split sample question

Top messages:

Cooperation: We've laid a foundation that needs to be built on. This campaign has ended, but our work to improve the lives of people and to build an economy that works for everyone continues. I pledge to work with my opponent to get things done for our community. I will continue to lead and listen to the people in this area to impact the issues that affect them, like more affordable health care and fighting drug addiction.

Meeting People: The best things about this experience of running for Governor were talking to voters and listening to voters about their hopes and aspirations. I will work my hardest to keep this amazing community we have built working together. I will focus my energy on continuing to fight for a brighter and better future that includes investing in our schools, promoting small businesses to create jobs, and using tax dollars wisely.

2 Key Findings

Cooperation - Close Race: We've laid a foundation that needs to be built on. It was such a close race, and this campaign has ended, but our work continues to improve the lives of people and to build an economy that works for everyone. I pledge to work with my opponent to get things done for our community. I will continue to lead and listen to the people in order to impact the issues that affect them, like more affordable health care and fighting drug addiction.

See Appendix for text of all messages asked.

Voters respond to the themes of listening to voters, continuing to fight to improve peoples' lives and the future, and getting things done for the community – no matter the gender and party of the candidate. However, there were some distinctions.

- On most messages, a Democratic woman who loses has an advantage among Democratic voters over a Democratic man who loses. The Glass Ceiling message is especially powerful to Democratic voters when it comes from a Democratic woman.
- Among Republican voters, a Republican woman has a huge advantage over a Republican man on the cooperation message that focuses on continuing to work on improving people's lives.
- Compared to their partisan counterparts, Independent voters are less enthusiastic about the messages – no matter which candidate is the messenger. However, a Republican woman performs better than others when she talks about cooperation and mentions this was a close race. A Democratic woman also has an advantage over other candidates among Independents when she talks about getting big money and special interests out of politics.

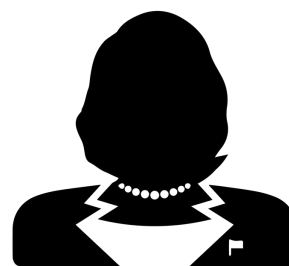
3 Key Findings

3 What a woman candidate chooses as her next step after losing an election matters.

After losing an election, a woman candidate has a wide range of options for her next steps. However, voters demonstrate clear preferences for specific things that a woman candidate could do after she loses that they believe would make her qualified to run for office again, and voters are very sensitive to a woman candidate who seems self-interested or self-promoting. Voters want to see a losing candidate who is a community-focused, issues-oriented public servant rather than someone trying to acquire money, power, or attention.

Things a Woman Can Do After Losing to Make Herself Qualified to Run for Office Again	Very Convincing	Convincing
Tier 1		
• Keep serving as an elected official in her current office	51	83
Tier 2		
• Go on a listening tour to learn about the concerns of her community	44	77
• Take a role in her political party	43	79
Tier 3		
• Help other women run for office	38	68
• Create a group that holds the winning candidate accountable for key priorities	36	70
• Start a nonprofit to follow up on an issue that she has been engaged in	36	70
• Serve on a commission for economic development	35	72

Women candidates who already serve as elected officials have a distinct advantage; over half of voters say that **continuing to serve as an elected official in her current office** makes a woman very qualified to run for office again. In focus groups, participants talked about continuing to serve in her current position as demonstrating passion, commitment, and resilience.



"She is not giving up. She is going to keep doing what she is doing, and she is going to forge on."

- Republican man

"I think that it just shows that, for one, you are not a sore loser, and that for two, that this is something that you are passionate about, and you are showing people that this is something that I am not going to give up on and I am still going to stay in what I said I want to do."

- Independent woman

3 Key Findings

Things a Woman Can Do After Losing to Make Herself Qualified to Run for Office Again

Very
Convincing

Convincing

Tier 2

- Go on a listening tour to learn about the concerns of her community
- Take a role in her political party

44

43

77

79



Focus group participants thought that a **listening tour** would ground a losing candidate in her community. They believe that listening would strengthen a woman's candidacy if she runs again in the future.

"I think putting yourself out there in the public and really listening. I think you don't get to do a lot of listening during elections. It's all just very publicized and flashy. But if you do this after you lose, it's really going to help you come back the next time stronger because you are going to have a more solid idea of who out there wants and needs what."

- Millennial woman

Taking a role in her political party is about building her professional skill set and strengthening her network. This tends to be more powerful to partisans than to Independent voters.

"I was assuming that when she took a role it would be some sort of leadership role, so she can demonstrate hey, like I got knocked down, but you know I am going to continue to find ways to lead and to grow and develop. Maybe that could help her the next time around."

- Republican woman



3 Key Findings

Things a Woman Can Do After Losing to Make Herself Qualified to Run for Office Again	Very Convincing	Convincing
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• Create a group that holds the winning candidate accountable for key priorities	36	70
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• Serve on a commission for economic development	35	72



Focus group participants believe that **helping other women run for office** would have multiple benefits for a woman who wants to run again: she can continue to learn, will stay visible, and will be able to engage with voters about their priorities.

"To stay in the public eye. To keep in touch with an active campaign. Because if she was working with another candidate, she would be hearing more voices."

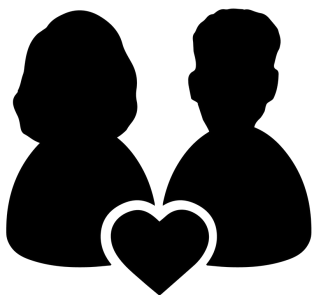
- Democratic man



While there was not much discussion about **holding the winning candidate accountable**, focus group participants noted that this is a common practice in other sectors.

"Well, and a lot of people do that. I mean in businesses and stuff and in higher up, people are holding each other accountable with stuff all the time, so I think that's very appropriate."

- Republican woman



To focus group participants, **starting a nonprofit** shows follow-through and commitment to a woman candidate's values and her campaign platform.

"It shows that you cared about the issue and you weren't just mouthing it. You actually did it."

- African American woman

"You want to see the results even though you are not in the position you want to be in and still working towards it."

- Millennial woman



Participants believe that **serving on a commission for economic development** will help a future candidate build her expertise on economic issues (which prior Barbara Lee Family Foundation research shows is especially important for women candidates to do) while keeping her connected to her community.

"It shows that she has got concern for the community and is willing to do something to benefit others, not just herself."

- Republican man

3 Key Findings

Voters' partisanship impacts their perceptions of things that a woman could do that would make her qualified to run for office again. Both Democrats and Republicans respond primarily to continuing to serve as an elected official. In a second tier, they place taking a role in her party and going on a listening tour. Not surprisingly, Independents are less interested in a woman candidate taking a role in a party. However, Independents respond to continuing to serve in office, followed by going on a listening tour.

There are also some nuances among other key subgroups of voters:

- While women voters and men voters both rate continuing to serve highest, followed by a listening tour and taking a role in her party, women voters respond with more intensity than men voters.
- African American voters react best to continuing to serve as an elected official in her current office. About half also say that going on a listening tour, taking a role in her political party, and helping other women run for office would make a woman very qualified to run for office again.
- About half of Latino voters say taking a role in her party and continuing her term as an elected official would make a woman very qualified for a future run.
- Among Millennial voters, the top things a woman could do to be very qualified to run again are continuing to serve as an elected official, taking a role in her party, and going on a listening tour.

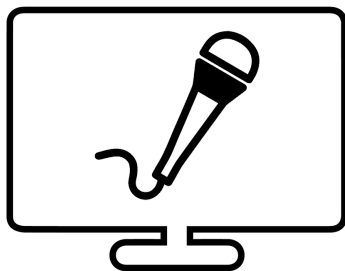
Just as voters have a clear idea about things a woman could do to be qualified for a future run, there are some things that do not make a woman seem qualified. Some common paths after a loss are not seen as an effective way to convey that a woman is qualified to run again.

Things a Woman Can Do After Losing to Make Herself Qualified to Run for Office Again	Very Convincing	Convincing
• Become a political commentator	23	51
• Teach at a university	21	48
• Take a prominent high paying job in business	19	45
• Write a book	18	37

See Appendix for a full list asked in survey.

3 Key Findings

A majority of voters say that writing a book would make a woman not qualified at all or a little qualified. Voters are split on whether taking a prominent high paying job in business would make a woman qualified or not, but focus group participants were quite negative about this. Fewer than a quarter of voters say that becoming a political commentator or teaching at a university would make a woman who lost very qualified to run for office again.



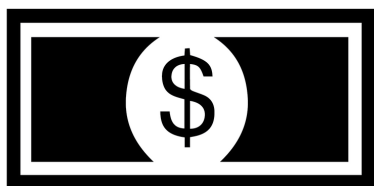
Becoming a political commentator opens up a woman to critiques that she is attention-seeking, biased, and not grounded in her community.

"I think it just shows that they are more looking for attention than actually helping people. Like that kind of is the reason that they probably ran for office."

- Democratic woman

"You can potentially isolate yourself from a lot of populations. You might become biased."

- Independent man



For focus group participants, **pursuing a high paying job** seems greedy and selfish.

"Because why give up? I am pretty sure that you would want to run again. I mean you wouldn't want to go like complete opposite. I mean if you are in it just to become the head of bank or get a high-paying job, you are in it for the money."

- Latina woman



Teaching at a university is perceived as elitist, out-of-touch, and is not seen as building the skills that a woman would need to run again.

"I love universities. I work at one, but just sounds so elitist."

- Democratic woman

"Well it's not going to help her if she wants to run for office again."

- Independent woman



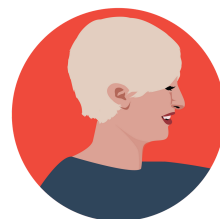
Writing a book is seen as self-centered in a different way, and participants do not believe people are interested in reading these kinds of books.

"I just feel like for the book it is a waste of her time. She could be doing more things to promote herself or helping her community. And also, why write a book if you lost? It's like no one is going to read that."

- Millennial woman

"I said kissing and telling. You are going to complain about the ins and outs and try to drum up some money."

- African American woman



Conclusion

It's not about how many times you fall, but how many times you get back up.

If at first you don't succeed, try again.

Clichés abound about the importance of learning and moving forward from failure, but often that's easier said than done, particularly after an electoral loss. Some women candidates may be hesitant to run again because they know that the barriers for women running for office are higher than they are for men – why should the standard after a loss be any different?

This research shows that voters think women who have lost their elections are still qualified and likeable (two must-haves for women candidates), and that losing an election can be a good moment for a powerful launch of a woman candidate's next campaign. It also points to concrete steps for women candidates to help set them up for a future run.

Key Tips For Women

- 1 Recognize that losing is not the end.** You can start launching your next campaign as soon as your concession speech or statement. Focus on listening to your community, continuing to fight for your ideals, and getting things done for the community.
- 2 Focus your messaging on voters, not yourself.** Be values-oriented and grounded in the needs of your constituency.
- 3 Be forward thinking.** Look to the future and don't dwell on the past. Voters are sensitive to any perceived whining or blaming.
- 4 Find ways to stay engaged in the community.** Work on an issue that was big in the campaign, build political skills, and network with other leaders.

Each woman who runs, win or lose, changes the face of leadership in the United States and adds another crack to the glass ceiling. The resilience of women willing to run again, even after losing a hard-fought campaign, is essential to shattering the glass ceiling once and for all!

Methodology

Focus Groups:

Lake Research Partners and Bellwether Research conducted nine focus groups with men and women in July and August of 2018 segmented as follows:

Richmond, July 24:

Independent women
Republican women

Phoenix, July 31:

Latina women
Independent men

Atlanta, July 26:

Democratic women
Millennial women
Republican men

Detroit, August 1:

African American women
Democratic men

Participants were recruited to reflect a mix of age, marital status, parental status, income, and education. This memo uses the term “participants” in reference to the participants of the nine focus groups.

Survey:

Lake Research Partners and Bellwether Research designed and administered this survey that was conducted over the phone from August 21 – 30, 2018. The survey reached a total of 2,413 likely 2018 voters, with oversamples of 368 African-Americans, 364 Latinos, and 241 millennials (age 18–35).

Telephone numbers were drawn from listed voter file Catalist sample. The data were weighed slightly by gender, age, region, party identification, race, race by gender, and education to reflect attributes of the actual population. The African American, Latino, and millennial oversamples were weighted slightly by gender, age, and education. The oversamples were weighted down into the base to reflect their natural proportion of the electorate.

The margin of error for the total sample is +/- 2.0%, +/- 5.1% for the African American and Latino oversample, and +/- 6.3% for the millennial oversample. In interpreting survey results, all sample surveys are subject to possible sampling error; that is, the results of a survey may differ from those which would be obtained if the entire population were interviewed. The size of the sampling error depends upon both the total number of respondents in the survey and the percentage distribution of responses to a particular question.



A Extended Favorability and Qualifications Ratings

Candidate Descriptions

Republican Jill Allen, a state senator, lost her election to Democrat James Martin after campaigning on reducing taxes, enforcing immigration laws and creating jobs.

Republican Joe Allen, a state senator, lost his election to Democrat James Martin after campaigning on reducing taxes, enforcing immigration laws and creating jobs.

Democrat Julie Martin, a state senator, lost her election to Republican Joe Allen after campaigning on access to affordable health care, bringing good-paying jobs to the state, and making the state a leader in public education.

Democrat James Martin, a state senator, lost his election to Republican Joe Allen after campaigning on access to affordable health care, bringing good-paying jobs to the state, and making the state a leader in public education.

Jada Martin, an **African American** state senator, lost her election to Joe Allen after campaigning on access to affordable health care, bringing good-paying jobs to the state, and making the state a leader in public education.

Juanita Martinez, a **Latina** state senator, lost her election to Joe Allen after campaigning on access to affordable health care, bringing good-paying jobs to the state, and making the state a leader in public education.



Favorability Rating

	Republican Jill Allen		Republican Joe Allen		Democrat Julie Martin		Democrat James Martin		African Am. Jada Martin		Latina Juanita Martinez	
(0-100 Scale)	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable
Men	23	54	18	58	23	62	22	61	21	75	15	68
Women	23	57	17	46	22	63	24	65	24	74	26	80
African Am.	7	26	3	20	37	76	26	76	44	82	29	74
Latinos	10	43	11	46	20	71	32	78	27	77	30	85
Millennials	10	47	9	33	21	73	16	60	18	73	20	70
Democrats	7	31	3	22	39	86	36	88	37	86	32	89
Independents	21	55	19	47	14	56	26	68	13	71	18	66
Republicans	43	85	34	87	7	38	8	32	11	63	10	61

Qualified Rating

	Republican Jill Allen		Republican Joe Allen		Democrat Julie Martin		Democrat James Martin		African Am. Jada Martin		Latina Juanita Martinez	
(0-100 Scale)	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified
Men	20	58	13	56	16	58	20	62	16	67	13	63
Women	21	51	13	43	20	57	21	59	21	67	18	62
African Am.	8	39	5	21	35	79	25	75	39	83	23	70
Latinos	9	42	8	41	19	73	33	72	15	71	23	75
Millennials	11	50	8	40	16	68	11	59	13	69	14	70
Democrats	4	32	2	26	31	78	32	82	28	77	23	77
Independents	14	55	21	49	18	59	20	61	10	67	13	65
Republicans	41	81	23	78	5	34	9	37	11	56	9	46

B Appendix



Exhibit

B Voter Reactions to Response to Critiques and Concerns



% Very Convincing	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Change	56	37	31
Varied Talent & Energy	55	40	34



% Very Convincing	Men	Women
Change	37	48
Varied Talent & Energy	39	49

Exhibit

C Text of Post-Election Messages

Cooperation: We've laid a foundation that needs to be built on. This campaign has ended, but our work to improve the lives of people and to build an economy that works for everyone continues. I pledge to work with my opponent to get things done for our community. I will continue to lead and listen to the people in this area to impact the issues that affect them, like more affordable health care and fighting drug addiction.

Meeting People: The best things about this experience of running for Governor were talking to voters and listening to voters about their hopes and aspirations. I will work my hardest to keep this amazing community we have built working together. I will focus my energy on continuing to fight for a brighter and better future that includes investing in our schools, promoting small businesses to create jobs, and using tax dollars wisely.

Cooperation - Close Race: We've laid a foundation that needs to be built on. It was such a close race, and this campaign has ended, but our work continues to improve the lives of people and to build an economy that works for everyone. I pledge to work with my opponent to get things done for our community. I will continue to lead and listen to the people in order to impact the issues that affect them, like more affordable health care and fighting drug addiction.

Glass Ceiling: I want to say this to all the women who have thought about running for office, and all the women who have tried, but maybe did not win. It's important that you try. For every qualified woman who has been passed over for a job or promotion, or who ran a race and lost, I say go right back at it. In 20 years, there will be young women who take for granted that we have equal representation of women in Congress. *Tested with women candidates only.*

Gender Neutral Glass Ceiling: I want to say this to all the people who have thought about running for office, and all the people who have tried, but maybe did not win. It's important that you try. For every qualified person who has been passed over for a job or promotion, or who ran a race and lost, I say go right back at it. In 20 years, there will be people who take for granted that we have equal representation in Congress. *[Tested with male candidates only.]*

Bring People Together: Our campaign brought together all kinds of people. Young and old. People of different faiths and different communities. I have never been more optimistic than I am right now, today, after months of seeing the extraordinary idealism, unity, commitment, and passion. Together, we have built a coalition of people, and it is obvious in this room tonight. We will continue to work together to improve our community, state, and country.

Shared Values: This was a tough race but we all worked really hard. While tonight didn't bring us the result we hoped for, it was worth the fight. You will always be worth fighting for. We have so much to be proud of, a record of courage, honesty, and integrity when it mattered the most. I will continue to fight for our shared values each and every day. These values include respect, fairness, freedom, and putting people first. I will continue to champion issues like health care and education.

Reform: I want to thank everyone who believed in and stepped up for this campaign. This election is over, but our principles endure. Two major principles that I will continue to fight for are getting big money out of politics and making sure every vote counts. Changing the way political campaigns work—and getting special interests out of politics—would make it possible for qualified people who aren't already rich and powerful to be part of the decision-making process. And that is better for our state.

D Appendix

Exhibit

D Things a Woman Could Do After Losing to Make Herself Qualified to Run for Office Again

	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51- 100" Qualified
Keep serving as an elected official in her current office	51	83
Go on a listening tour to learn about the concerns of her community	44	77
Take a role in her political party	43	79
Help other women run for office	38	68
Create a group that holds the winning candidate accountable for key priorities	36	70
Start a nonprofit to follow up on an issue that she has been engaged in	36	70
Serve on a commission for economic development	35	72
Focus on her family	33	57
Take a prominent leadership role at a nonprofit organization	33	67
Become an active adviser and public supporter on a presidential campaign	32	67
Serve on the board of directors at an organization in the community	31	67
Work as an entrepreneur at a small business and focus on creating jobs	30	67
Become a political commentator	23	51
Teach at a university	21	48
Take a prominent high paying job in business	19	45
Write a book	18	37

