



Case studies of women in New Hampshire politics:

An exploration of the barriers and supports for political candidates and incumbents

By

Kathy L. DesRoches

Submitted to

Plymouth State University College of Graduate Studies

In partial fulfillment of

the requirements for candidacy for the degree of

Doctor of Education

September 30, 2014



AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF Kathy L. DesRoches for the degree of Doctor of Education in Learning, Leadership and Community presented on September 30, 2014.

Title: Case Studies of Women in New Hampshire politics: An exploration of the barriers and supports for political candidates and incumbents

Abstract approved:

---

Pamela L. Clark, Ph.D.

Dissertation Committee Chair

The intent of this study was to discover what could be learned from the experiences of the five women in elected political leadership roles in New Hampshire that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates. Using a multiple case study approach, each woman was interviewed and books, newspapers accounts, and other electronic documents were used as supporting documentation. The results of the women's stories revealed that relationships and prior experience provide foundational support for women running for office. Relationships offer opportunities for recruitment, mentoring, and networking. Experience helps women to gain the skills, wisdom, and confidence to run for and succeed in office. While the women described fundraising and balancing their families and careers as challenging, they did not identify either of

these or any other factor as a barrier in their journeys to public office in New Hampshire.

©Copyright by Kathy L. DesRoches

September 30, 2014

All Rights Reserved

Case studies of women in New Hampshire politics:  
An exploration of the barriers and supports for political candidates and incumbents

By

Kathy L. DesRoches

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to

Plymouth State University

In partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

Defended September 30, 2014

Degree Conferred December 1, 2014

Dissertation of Kathy L. DesRoches

Presented on September 30, 2014

APPROVED:

---

Pamela L. Clark, Ph.D., Dissertation Committee Chair

---

Kathleen C. McCabe, Ph.D., Dissertation Committee

---

Christie Sweeney, Ed.D., Dissertation Committee

---

Gail Mears, PsyD., Interim Associate Vice President for the College of Graduate  
Studies

I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of  
Plymouth State University, Lamson Learning Commons. My signature below  
authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

Kathy L. DesRoches, Author



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to express my gratitude to the women who allowed me to interview them for this work: House Minority Leader Liz Hager, Senate Minority Leader Sylvia Larsen, Speaker Terie Norelli, Councilor Debora Pignatelli, and Senator Jeanne Shaheen. This project could not have been completed without their assistance.

I want to thank my chair, Dr. Pamela Clark, who has provided support and guidance throughout my process and my committee Dr. Kathleen McCabe, who has left oranges for me along this journey, and Dr. Christie Sweeney, and the faculty at PSU. I will always remember the day when I realized that this was the perfect program for me.

I want to recognize my doctoral cohort. The cohort has scaffolded me through the past four years and I'm grateful. We have shared a lot; they've become friends and colleagues.

I want to acknowledge the librarians at Manchester Community College. They have been cheerful despite my endless requests for interlibrary loans.

I would like to dedicate this work to my husband: Stuart Thompson and three of the most important women in my life: my grandmother, Evelyn Foss; my sister, Lisa Nugent; and my niece, Monique DesRoches.

**Table of Contents**

Abstract.....	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Purpose.....	2
Methodology.....	3
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	5
Barriers to Running for Office.....	6
Supports for Running for Office.....	21
Women in New Hampshire.....	34
Conclusion.....	36
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	38
Approach.....	38
Approaches to Qualitative Research.....	39
Research Questions.....	42
Setting.....	42
Participants.....	45
Ethical Considerations.....	48
Chapter 4: Presentation of the Data.....	50
The Study and the Researcher.....	50
Data Collection and Analysis.....	55
Results of the Study.....	59
Summary.....	104

Chapter 5: Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations .....	108
National and State Political Context .....	108
Summary of the Literature Reviewed .....	110
Themes from this Study .....	111
Implications for Women Who May Wish to Seek Office.....	112
Implications for Encouraging More Women to Run .....	119
Recommendation for Further Study.....	123
Limitations .....	124
Conclusion .....	124
Appendix A.....	143
Appendix B.....	147
Appendix C .....	148

### Abstract

The intent of this study was to discover what could be learned from the experiences of the five women in elected political leadership roles in New Hampshire that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates. Using a multiple case study approach, each woman was interviewed and books, newspapers accounts, and other electronic sources were used as supporting documentation. The results of the women's stories revealed that relationships and prior experience provide foundational support for women running for office. Relationships offer opportunities for recruitment, mentoring, and networking. Experience helps women to gain the skills, wisdom, and confidence to run for and succeed in office. While the women described fundraising and balancing their families and careers as challenging, they did not identify either of these or any other factor as a barrier in their journeys to public office in New Hampshire.

*Key words:* New Hampshire, politics, women, recruitment, campaigns, mentor.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

In the United States (U.S.), there is disparity in the gender distribution of the elected leadership roles. “In the U.S., women make up more than half of the population yet only occupy 16-20% of elected leadership positions” (Tarr-Whelan, 2011, p. ix). Krook’s research (2010) suggests that “this is the combined result of: (1) the supply of females aspiring to office or the qualifications of women as a group to run for political office; and (2) the demand for female aspirants, or the preference of political elites for male over female candidates” (p. 166). In November 2013, New Hampshire elected an all-female delegation to Washington, DC and a female governor. This is the first time in the nation’s history that a state has sent all female delegates to Washington; the governor’s seat was also won by a woman (Seelye, 2013). The purpose of this research was to study five women in political leadership roles in New Hampshire to understand what can be learned from their experiences that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates.

Markham (2013) along with Stanwick and Kleeman (1983), establish that it is advantageous to all citizens to have women in the upper levels of government. Research sponsored by the World Bank demonstrates the value of women in office, when women are empowered as political leaders countries often experience higher standards of living with positive developments in education, infrastructure, health, and concrete steps to help make democracy deliver (Markham, 2013; Stanwick & Kleeman, 1983). Additionally, there are

... two good reasons for caring about increasing women's presence in government. First, there is a basic issue of equality. Women are more than half of our country's population ... second is the issue of full utilization of resources. We cannot afford to draw our leadership from only one segment of the American people. (Stanwick & Kleeman, 1983, p. 8)

When more women participate in higher levels of government, there is a lower level of corruption (Dollar, Fisman, & Gatti, 1999; Hunt, 2007). Also, “there is a correlation between women holding political office and the overall economic competitiveness of a nation” (Hunt, 2007, para. 8). “Worldwide, female legislators tend to concentrate on helping marginalized citizens” (Hunt, 2007, para. 10). If the research about other countries with a strong female leader holds true for the U.S., then women in leadership will allow the U.S. citizens the opportunity to have a stronger economy and less corruption.

### **Purpose**

There are multiple barriers that preclude women from running for office. These barriers were identified from the literature review and include: the belief among women that they do not have the qualifications to run, the lack of encouragement women experience to run, the limited recruitment of women to public office, and limited or narrow experience with competition, biased and mis-representative treatment by the media, and differences in leadership style.

The intent of this study was to understand and learn from the experiences of five N.H. women who were elected to office, which would be instructive to other women

interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates. These questions were asked of the participants: How have they navigated the challenges of running for office? What motivated their decision to run? What forms of support did they have during their campaigns? What factors do they feel contributed to their successful bids for election? Did mentoring play a role in their lives?

The findings from this research offer insights that can be used to encourage other woman who may not have considered running for office. This work provides strategies for women to employ to optimize their potential to win election. The results of this study provide insights that can be useful to our educational system to educate girls to become successful women leaders. The research can change the ways girls are socialized to encourage them to be more confident and competitive.

In an attempt to be transparent, it must be revealed that the researcher is interested in this topic as she has a strong feminist background. The researcher often tells people that her grandmother raised a feminist. Her grandmother was very hard working, which demanded to be treated as an equal and treated everyone she met the same. There is not a single definition of feminism but for this study the researcher has adopted this one “the concept (of feminism) embodies the experiencing of empowerment for women and others of a lesser valued status in comparison to the dominate majority with the aim of bolstering social equality and equity for all persons” (Blumer, Green, Compton, & Barrera, 2010, p. 69).

### **Methodology**

The qualitative study employed a “multiple case study approach” (Merriam, 1998,

p. 40). The purpose of this study was to understand what can be learned from the experiences of five women in political leadership roles in New Hampshire that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates. Data was collected through interviews with the participants and through published stories and other print and electronic media.



## Chapter 2: Literature Review

In November 2013, New Hampshire (N.H.) elected an all-female delegation to Washington DC. Additionally, the citizens of N.H. elected a female governor. This was the first time in the nation's history that a group of all female delegates were sent to Washington and the governor's seat was won by a woman (Seelye, 2013). The purpose of this research was to study five women in political leadership roles in New Hampshire to understand what can be learned from their experiences that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates.

In the United States, women are widely underrepresented in elected offices. While women represent more than 50% of the U.S. population, only 16 of the 100 members of the Senate (or 16%) are women and 71 of the 435 members (or 16%) of the House of Representatives are women (Carroll & Strimling, 1983; Hunt, 2007).

Why does it matter whether women run for and are elected to public office? The importance of electing more women to public office grows out of a belief that representative democracy demands that all citizens, regardless of gender, have equal opportunity to participate in politics. (Burrell, 2004)

This literature review is divided into five sections. The first section describes the barriers that women face when running for political office and the supports that they receive. The second section, examines why women decide to run. The third section focuses on women's experiences when in office. The fourth section discusses the unusual

situation that allowed all five women to be in office at the same time. In the final section, areas of further study are identified.

### **Barriers to Running for Office**

There are multiple barriers that preclude women from running for office. The largest barrier, which is a theme throughout this chapter, is that the image of men as political office holders has become the norm. This section explores the following barriers: the feeling among women who believe that they do not have the qualifications to run, the lack of encouragement women experience to run, the limited recruitment of women to public office, women's limited or narrow experience with competition, biased and misrepresentative treatment of female candidates by the media, and differences in feminine and masculine leadership styles.

**Qualifications.** Often women do not believe that they have the skills or knowledge to run for office. Women were twice as likely as men to describe themselves as more hesitant and less qualified to run for office, even when their credentials were equivalent to men (Fox, n.d.; *How Women Become Political*, 2013; Hunt, 2007; Lawless & Fox, 2013). Since women frequently lack the confidence to run, it makes it difficult to convince them to run for office. "The overwhelming majority of people – women and men – do not run for office unless they believe that they have a chance of winning" (Lawless & Fox, 2012, p. 10). When running is tied to the perceived ability to win, female candidates may observe the risk as too great.

Women and men alike have to decide to run. The "decision, even for experienced politicians, requires character traits such as confidence, competitiveness, and risk-taking

– characteristics that men have traditionally been encouraged to embrace and women to eschew“ (Lawless & Fox, 2012, p. 10). Confidence is gained through risk taking. Women do not have a lot of experience with risky behavior. From an early age, girls are taught not to appear too confident or competitive as they risk being “labeled as bossy” (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013, p. 19). Bossy girls risk social exclusion; women fear social exclusion as they have been socialized to be cooperative and inclusive, (Burrell, 2004; Lawless, 2012; Sandberg & Scovell, 2013).

**Encouragement.** Encouragement is important, as without encouragement viable candidates often do not consider running (Lawless & Fox, 2012). Generally, in order to make the decision to run, women must receive encouragement to run a number of times and from many people. Swanne and Hunt report, “Women have to be asked at least four times before deciding to run” (*How Women Become Political*, 2013). Whose encouragement has the largest impact? Family, friends, and confidants (Lawless & Fox, 2012; Lawless & Fox, 2013) have the largest influence on the decision to run. Encouragement may also come from a personal source a spouse or partner, family member, friend, co-worker, or acquaintance (Ford, 2006; Sandbonmatsu, Carroll, & Walsh, 2009). Women may hesitate because they question their qualifications and support helps them to put their reluctance aside.

Younger women are less likely to receive encouragement to run; therefore, older women are more likely to receive encouragement. “Young women are less likely than young men to receive encouragement to run for office” (Lawless & Fox, 2012, p. ii). The lack of encouragement for younger women results in older women running for office.

“By the time women get to the Senate, they are really much older than men. This means that they will have fewer terms, and have less seniority” (*How women become political*, 2013). Women in office are generally older than their male colleagues and earn seniority (as well as seats of powerful committees) at a much older age than men.

**Recruiting for public office.** Research identifies factors that contribute to the political gender gap; it also recognizes the lack of political party recruitment as a barrier to running. Recruitment leads individuals to run who may not naturally emerge as candidates otherwise (Lawless & Fox, 2012; Sandbonmatsu, Carroll, & Walsh, 2009). For people who have never considered running, or feel unsure about their ability to run for and hold public office, recruitment may push them to consider a run. Three faculty members of the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers, Kira Sandbonmatsu, Susan Carroll, and Debbie Walsh, conducted a 2008 study of women state senators. They received 1,268 responses and their research showed that “women state representatives, more than their male colleagues, rated 'having the support of my party as very important to their decision to run’” (Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009, p. 3). Party support helps to strengthen women’s confidence to run and in its absence, they may not run.

The role of party recruitment is not as critical for men as it is for women. “Women legislators are more likely to say that they decided to seek elective office after receiving the suggestion to run, whereas men are more likely to say that the decision to run was entirely their idea” (Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009, p. 3). In other words, recruitment appears “to matter more to the success of women than men” (Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009,

p. 3). It is important that women are recruited, as “many women encounter efforts to discourage their candidacies” (Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009, p. 11).

Why is recruitment so important to women? It may stem from cultural and psychological barriers women continue to face in society and politics. As one woman legislator we interviewed argues: 'in some ways men are just seen as more competent, and men see themselves as more competent. I think it is sort of an unconscious thing.' Another women legislator argued that because women as a group have not historically been a part of the entire political process, they doubt their abilities and need additional encouragement. (Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009, p. 9)

“Both major parties continue to field an overwhelming majority of male candidates” (Fox & Lawless, 2010, p. 4). One reason that political parties continue to recruit men is due to the fact that there are more men in office than women; men are the *norm* for political leaders. “The persistence of the male and masculine stereotype of a leader is one reason why there is a lack of diversity” (Petit, 2014, para. 8). This pervasive image creates a barrier that keeps some women from entering into politics.

**Competition.** Researchers Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox (2013) purport that barriers to political ambition have also shown competition as a barrier. “Young men are more likely than young women to have played organized sports and care about winning” (p. ii). Lawless and Fox (2013), believe that “the competitiveness associated with sports appears to be a significant predictor of interests in running for office” (p. 10).

“Participation in sports is meant to foster a spirit of competition reserved only for boys”

(Lawless & Fox, 2013, p. ii). Even when there are opportunities for girls to play sports, the opportunities are often not taken.

To even out the playing field between boys and girls, while creating opportunities for girls and women, Title IX was enacted. “Title IX is a law passed in 1972, it requires gender equity for boys and girls in every educational program that receives federal funding” (“TitleIX.info - History Overview,” n.d., para. 2). Before Title IX, “the primary physical activities for girls were cheerleading and square-dancing. Only 1 in 27 girls played high school sports. There were virtually no college scholarships for female athletes and female college athletes” (“TitleIX.info - Athletics,” n.d., para. 2).

Sarah Palin, former Governor of Alaska (2009), enjoyed basketball and was a long-distance runner who reaped the benefits of Title IX. Although Title IX has influenced some women, it has not affected all. Even today, girls “are not encouraged to participate in sports to nearly the extent that boys are” (Bernay & Cantor, 1992).

In a study of politicians that was conducted to test the methodology and questions for this dissertation, three women in the N.H. State Legislature were studied (DesRoches, 2013). The questions asked were based on the Lawless & Fox 2013 study. The subjects were of varying ages and experience; two of the three women played sports. One played street hockey and softball (DesRoches, Interview 2, July 7, 2013). Another said, “When I got to school, I played competitive basketball. Our team always won. I was terrible at shooting and very good at defense, nobody got past me...I was a Phys-Ed major for a while” (DesRoches, Interview 1, June 28, 2013). She changed her major when she realized that she did not play well enough to be competitive at the college level.

Learning to be competitive is an important link to risk taking “even when sports participation might seem somewhat removed from political ambition, the competitiveness associated with sports appears to be a significant predictor of interests in running for office” (Lawless & Fox, 2013, p. 10). Examples of women in political office who played competitive sports include Senator Margaret Chase-Smith, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, and Governor Sarah Palin. Senator Chase-Smith of Maine (1949-1975) had a passion for sports and was the first woman to serve as a U.S. Senator and U.S. Congressperson (Sherman, 2000). As a child, Senator Chase-Smith created time “for her passion: basketball. Sports provided a safe outlet for her competitive impulse” (Sherman, 2000, p. 13). Secretary Clinton played sports as a child. “I played in a girls' summer softball league through high school” (Clinton, 2003, p. 13) and Governor Palin characterizes herself “as an athlete who advanced more on tenacity than talent. I wanted sports to be my future but was realistic enough to know I wouldn't always be a player” (Palin, 2009, Chapter 5).

Sibling rivalry teaches competitiveness to both boys and girls. Bernay and Cantor (1992) write, “Competition is so much a part of life that people tend to overlook its potential value. They do not see how sibling rivalry contributes to a person's ability to be competitive as an adult” (p. 120). When women grow up with siblings, they generally compete with their siblings on a daily basis in almost all aspects of life.

Exposure to and experience with competition may be the critical factor that makes having grown up with siblings useful to women who run for public office, because outside the family, women have had many fewer

opportunities to compete than men do. (Bernay & Cantor, 1992, p. 120)

Sibling rivalry not only teaches girls how to contend but also that it is all right to be competitive. Bernay & Cantor (1992) write that, “Siblings learn to pick their battles and to take calculated risks. This is an extremely important skill for political women” (p. 121). Girls who learn to read their competition in order to know how and when to take action to win.

In the preparatory independent study, three female legislators completed as preparation for this research project, all three had participated in debates, another form of competition. One participant said, “I was on the debate team and can vividly remember that one of the topics was whether or not we should have capital punishment” (DesRoches, Interview 1, June 28, 2013). “I was on the debate team in high school” (DesRoches, Interview 2, July 7, 2013). “I lost the debate but that sort of gave me the (political) bug” (DesRoches, Interview 3, July 10, 2013). Only two of the N.H. State legislators interviewed competed through athletics; however they have all experienced competition through formal debates (DesRoches, 2013).

As an Associate Professor of Political Science at Northern Illinois University and a faculty associate in Women’ Studies, Barbara Burrell wrote of the socialization of women. She says, “traditionally women have been socialized to emphasize values such as cooperation, nurturance, sacrifice, harmony, and moralism, whereas men are socialized to prize rationalism, competition, and objectivity” (Burrell, 2004, p. 111). Female socialization impacts a woman’s propensity for competitiveness and running for public office. If one must be assertive and competitive to run, then teaching girls to value



cooperation through socialization may impact the number of women who are willing to run. Beth Reingold (2008), Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, at Emory University writes, the “men are taught to be confident, assertive, and self-promoting” (p. 58). Women are socialized to disdain these traits.

**Media.** The media may serve as a barrier to potential female candidates, as some find the media intimidating. As a former reporter, editor, and professor at the University of Kentucky, Maria Braden understood that “reporters describe women politicians in ways and with words that emphasize women’s traditional roles and focus on their appearance and behavior. They perpetuate stereotypes of women politicians as weak, indecisive, and emotional” (Braden, 1996, p. 1). Voters do not want to elect leaders whom they consider weak, indecisive or emotional “voters are less confident that women can handle the emotional demands of high-level office, and they worry about whether women are tough enough and can act decisively” (Carroll & Fox, 2010, p. 46).

The impact of the press cannot be ignored as the press has the responsibility to deliver accurate news; however, “it is impossible for the media to accurately reflect a complete image of the political world. The press often determines what is newsworthy and whose voice is heard. The media, by necessity, are selective in spotlighting some political events” (J. Dolan, 2007, p. 99). Items covered by the media become the important stories of the day and what the public discusses at the dinner table and the water fountain. Julie Dolan, (2007) Associate Professor of American politics, women, and politics, bureaucracy at Macalester College writes, the “Importance of the news media to politics in the United States cannot be underestimated” (p. 99). Many people expect the

media to perform the function of filtering all the news of the day and then covering the most important stories.

In addition to perpetuating the image of male as politician, the media place excessive emphasis on women's physical image. As Dolan (2007) notes, "Women are often plagued by the press' commentaries on their appearance. By emphasizing females' physical appearance over their policy expertise, media coverage does little to dispel the stereotype that women are more style than substance" (p. 172). To discuss a woman's looks rather than her abilities, Braden (1996) writes women "are also trivialized by gender-specific words journalists commonly use to describe them" (p. 6).

Joanne Rajoppi has the experience of being both a politician and journalist. Joanne was the first woman mayor of Springfield, New Jersey, and is a former staff writer for Newark Evening News ("Our Campaigns - Joanne Rajoppi," n.d.). "In politics, attractiveness can be a disadvantage. Political experience reiterates that for women, very good looks are a disadvantage because such women are not perceived as serious or intelligent as less attractive women" (Rajoppi, 1993, p. 31).

Women are "disadvantaged by a frame that places undue emphasis on their appearance" (Tarr-Whelan, 2011, p. 33). Men "have image problems too but generally have had more latitude in how they are expected to dress and behave because both history and personal experience have conditioned people toward accepting male leaders" (Braden, 1996, p. 7). Men have fewer wardrobe options than women, which may minimize the criticism that they can receive. "It's harder for women ... to project the right 'image' on television. In terms of appearance, it's easier for a man to put on a suit,

while a woman's garb can be easily criticized for appearing too feminine or too masculine" (Braden, 1996, p. 15). Often women resort to the safety of "an anodyne uniform ... its chief components are a formless suit, flat or low-heeled shoes and a noncommittal hairstyle" (La Ferla, 2010, para. 5). "Business and politics are full of surprises—and a near certainty. Whether they are politicians, bankers or trade-union leaders, men nearly always meet other men in suits" ("Men's clothing: Suitably dressed," 2010, para. 1).

Women in political leadership are imprisoned in a double bind: when they perform and dress along feminine patterns, they might be looked as deficient actors in the hard field of politics. When they refuse typical female looks and submit to male dress code, their performance is commented as conspicuous.

(Flicker, 2013, p. 201)

When it comes to dress, some women seek the sensible advice of a stylist (La Ferla, 2010). Ruth LaFerla, advises female candidates to adopt a high-quality, low-key wardrobe befitting a corporate chief executive. "You have to look approachable and, at the same time, look like you can 'handle the job'" (La Ferla, 2010, para. 7). Women must find a way to feminize the male standard of dress and behavior, rather than act as clones of men.

The issue of dress creates a double standard, since men have relatively few clothing options, the press rarely comments on their clothing, whereas a woman's dress may become more newsworthy. Women are disadvantaged by a frame that places undue emphasis on their physical appearance and does not pay adequate attention to their

policies and issues (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013). Dolan (2007) chalks this phenomena up to the fact that “women are more of an anomaly in politics, ... their appearance sets them apart from men in obvious ways but in ways that have nothing to do with their ability to be effective public servants” (p. 172). Until women become more recognizable as political leaders, this double standard will continue to exist. Blanche Lincoln, former Senator from Arkansas says, “I can talk about whatever issue I want to talk about but if I have a run in my pantyhose, no one hears what I am saying” (*How women become political*, 2013). Rajoppi (1993) suggests using this double standard to one’s advantage in order to look attractive but not so attractive that one may not be considered smart. Rajoppi (1993) says, women should know what colors are good for them, wear tailored clothes that flatter their figure, consider cosmetic surgery, and concentrate on their voice. This advice may be considered relevant given the press’ focus on women’s appearance and the pressure to look like they can do the job without looking too conspicuous.

The media have noticed their tendency to focus on women’s looks and have attempted a resolution through the creation of an informal fairness standard which states, “Don't describe a woman in terms you would not use for a man” (Braden, 1996, p. 7). The fact that the media are taught a fairness standard implies that the previous standard was unfair. The fairness standard is less than twenty years old, which indicates that only the newer journalists have been taught this standard.

Media company managers determine what stories are important. “The media have tended to reflect the values of those who assign, report, and produce the news, a majority of whom have been white males” (Braden, 1996, p. 8). In the study by the Status of

Women in the U.S. media, 2014 “As an overall average, females comprised 15.3 percent of the boards of the directors of the top 10 national news organizations” (Women’s Media Center, 2014). The media do not find women to be viable candidates, perhaps because they are not white males, a “major problem facing women politicians has been the media’s skepticism about women’s capacity for holding public office and making tough decisions” (Braden, 1996, p. 8). Women “are less likely to be singled out for these positions because people’s perceptions of leadership are inherently masculine” (Bhatt, Payne, Feldt, & Litzenberger, 2013, p. 255). When women are highlighted in the media, outside of their appearance, it is about their positions on women’s issues but not their positions on national or foreign affairs. “What is missing from general press coverage of women in Congress is any sense that women are important players on legislation other than women’s health, abortion, and a handful of other related concerns” (Norris, 1997, p. 145). The press does not recognize women’s individual strengths or interests. New Hampshire Senator, Jeanne Shaheen, is on the foreign relations, appropriations, armed services and small business committees (“Jeanne Shaheen,” n.d.); none of these committees are primarily focused on “women’s issues.”

A recent article focused on the women in the U.S. House and U.S. Senate, and their role in ending the 2013 government shutdown, could not resist pointing out how women unite on women’s issues. “Over the years they have pushed through legislation that has vastly expanded funding of women’s and children’s health research, testing and treatment” (Newton-Smith, 2013, p. 27). The choice of the words “pushed through” is an interesting one as it sounds as though women force these money-spending bills through

and that their only care is women's issues. This illustrates the media's fascination with the framework of women's issues despite the fact that the women played key roles in putting the government back to work and were willing to work across the aisle to create change.

Biased press treatment may intimidate women considering a run for political office. If elite politicians such as Clinton and Palin are not immune from the media's bias treatment, then a new face on the campaign trail feels more vulnerable.

Clinton's and Palin's campaigns provided potential candidates with a window into how women are treated when they run for office. And what women of both political parties saw likely confirmed some of their worst fears about the electoral arena. Roughly two-thirds of female potential candidates believe that Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin were subjected to sexist media coverage. In terms of perception of bias, roughly half of the female potential candidates believe that Sarah Palin faced gender bias from voters; more than 80 percent felt the same way about Hillary Clinton. (Lawless & Fox, 2012, p. 8)

Unfair treatment of seasoned politicians makes the potential new female politicians circumspect as to their own fate if they were to throw their "hats" into the ring.

Considering the importance of media, some women feel obligated to invite the media in. Once the candidates invite the media in, "Women are more likely than their male colleagues to emphasize their competence and credentials in their political advertisements" (Carroll, 2003, p. 179). When one brags about their accomplishments,

others question their authority. This furthers “the impression that women don’t understand and cannot handle real power” (Wilson, 2004, p. 38). This is a double edge sword, as women believe that they must quantify their credentials while the public perceives their bragging as evidence of their inability to handle real power. Men are not so vehement when quantifying their credentials. The media rarely uses women “as sources in stories” (Carroll, 2003, p. 173), perpetuating the myth that women do not have the authority or credentials to lead.

Once in office, women may continue to feel harshly treated by the press. Press “coverage of women is usually more personal” (Wilson, 2004, p. 38) than the treatment of men. References to husbands and children often crop up in news stories in a context where it would not be mentioned if the politician were male, this media practice causes some women to attempt to keep their private lives separate than their public lives (Braden, 1996; Rajoppi, 1993; Wilson, 2004). Men rarely have to be concerned with their personal lives becoming newsworthy, unless they have done something deceitful.

**Leadership.** Women are not often labeled as leaders. “Women leaders are perceived as ‘never just right.’ If women business leaders act consistent with gender stereotypes, they are considered too soft. If they go against gender stereotypes, they are considered too tough” (Tarr-Whelan, 2011, p. 35). The male model of leadership is more widely accepted despite the fact that women search for collaboration. We see this through “Men’s ‘natural’ tendency is to be aggressive, dominating, and competitive are the keys to understanding why men predominate as leaders” (Eagly, 2007, p. 39). “Although neither physical nor verbal aggression appears to enhance leadership in most contexts,

positive forms of dominance do foster leadership” (Eagly, 2007, p. 39). Men have become the stereotype of a leadership with which women have to contend.

Men have greater access to positions of leadership than women. “It is a fact that the ratio of women leaders compared to men is disproportionately low, even in fields dominated by women” (Rayburn, 2010, p. 251). This includes “occupations such as school teaching in which women dominated the workforce, leadership roles were still given exclusively to men” (Northouse, 2013, p. 207).

Lack of self-confidence precludes women from moving into leadership roles. “What stands in the way of talented, capable women accepting the leadership challenge when it presents itself? One answer is that self-confidence is in too short supply for too many women” (Tarr-Whelan, 2011, pp. 56–57).

As leaders, women have to be both likeable and able to do the job. “Men, unlike women, do not bear the burden of having to be especially likable to be influential or to be accepted as leaders, nor do they have to establish themselves as clearly superior in ability” (Eagly, 2007, p. 117). Women require more confidence in their own leadership style while not appearing too assertive. Women who appear “too assertive, competitive, or even competent can at times threaten others” (Eagly, 2007, p. 117). Some girls may gain confidence while attending a girls’ only private school. “Women’s schools provide leadership opportunities that might not be otherwise available to women...the downside is after college, women have to be leaders in a mixed environment” (Folta, Seguin, Ackerman, & Nelson, 2012, pp. 206–207) which may be difficult. Some girls obtain leadership skills around their friends. “The women we interviewed told us repeatedly



how hard they have to work now to be perceived as leaders. But they also recalled always leading their friends and classmates as they grew up, so that leadership felt natural” (Bernay & Cantor, 1992, p. 62). The challenge that girls face in leadership is not being seen as too bossy because other girls will not like them.

### **Supports for Running for Office**

Both men and women will not run for political office unless they believe that they have a chance to win. Recruitment and grass roots issues often influences a woman’s decision to run for office (Fox & Lawless, 2010; Hunt, 2007; Krook, 2010; Lawless & Fox, 2012, 2013; "Mentoring and Networking," 2013; Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009).

Women gain confidence to run for office through past competitive experiences.

Mentoring supports their life choices. Women may be influenced to run by a passion that overrides their internal qualification concerns. Once they are in office, women may be surprised to find that they speak for all women and that their leadership style affects their office.

“For girls, female role models may affect participation by increasing girls’ engagement with political topics” (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006, p. 234). Secretary Clinton grew up in a family where politics was discussed. “I was interested in politics from an early age, and I resolved to hone my debating skills with my friends” (Clinton, 2003, p. 21). Governor Palin (2009) wrote, “every year in school I ran for something in student government—vice president, treasurer” (Chapter 5). For girls, participation on “school committees and participation in extracurricular activities plays an important role in preparing them for political activism later in their life” (Lawless & Fox, 2013, p. 10).

These experiences build the required self-esteem and political experience to take the step to candidacy.

**Mentoring.** A mentor helps one to develop a positive sense of self, learn about organizational cultures, build stronger political skills and networking opportunities, and internalize occupational values and norms, all of which are critical elements to sustain success (McGuire & Reger, 2003; Ruminski & Holba, 2012; Tarr-Whelan, 2011). Mentoring remains a critical activity for career advancement; having a mentor is a predictor of success (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013). Senator Kristen Gillibrand, from California, writes of her personal experience,

Having a mentor in your life can make all the difference in your future success. A strong mentor or role model can help you find your path, build your confidence, make the most of your opportunities and achieve your full potential. (Gillibrand, 2013, para. 6)

Most of our understanding of mentoring comes from research focusing on a type of relationship involving an older, experienced person and a younger, less experienced person (Barrera, Braley, & Slate, 2010; Cohen, 1995; Devos, 2008; Ferrari, 2004; McGuire & Reger, 2003). “Good mentors have strong communication and listening skills” (Barkham, 2005, p. 333). Mentors assist mentees to build their network and open doors for them (Rayburn, 2010; Rose, 2005; Tarr-Whelan, 2011). “They routinely empower mentees to take risks” (Ashley, 2006, p. 11). Mentors help mentees to identify personal and professional goals and promote self-esteem, self-awareness, self-motivation, and self-efficacy (Ashley, 2006; Barkham, 2005; Rayburn, 2010; Tarr-Whelan, 2011). “A

contemporary definition of mentoring as a relationship in which a mentor supports the ‘professional and personal development of another by sharing his or her experiences, influence or expertise’” (Driscoll, Parkes, Tilley-Lubbs, Brill, & Pitts Bannister, 2009).

Mentors “provide insight into the unwritten rules relating to culture and norms” (Chan, 2008; McGuire & Reger, 2003). When women move in a man’s world, this role becomes extremely valuable.

Every woman can benefit from having a mentor—preferably a woman mentor who has been there and done that and can show her how it is done.

This cuts down on the needless trial and error and saves precious time, trouble, and painful frustration. (Rayburn, 2010, p. 208)

Generally, one seeks a mentor whom they admire and respect. “People look to individuals who they perceive as similar to themselves in terms of personality characteristics, background, race and sex as models to emulate; thus, women role models would demonstrate and legitimate the professional role for women students” (Kurtz-Costes, Andrews-Helmke, & Ülkü-Steiner, 2006, p. 139). Although this quote speaks specifically about female graduate students in the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields who seek female mentors, it has application to mentoring in the political realm as STEM, like politics, has a shortage of women in faculty/leadership roles. Having a female mentor would be preferable for women entering any male arena (Downing, Roberta, Crosby, Faye J, & Blake-Beard, Stacy, 2005; Kurtz-Costes et al., 2006; Rose, 2005). The mentor provides insight as to how to move up the political ladder to at least the level of the mentor, if not higher.

A woman holding a local office in the southern U.S. writes, “I had a huge mentor, and she had been in politics herself for decades. And gave me the strength and support I needed to run... that level of comfort. I don’t think I could have made it without her” (“Mentoring and Networking,” 2013, para. 5). We do not know who the mentor was; however, one would guess that when she says a “huge mentor” she means someone who is enormously successful and acted as a strong role model.

Volunteering provides access to another form of mentoring; women learn how to run a campaign by working with others. Many women begin their political careers by volunteering for others who are running (J. Dolan, 2007; Fox & Lawless, 2010; *How women become political*, 2013; Tarr-Whelan, 2011). In an earlier study of three women who hold office in the N.H. State Legislature, one of the women began her political career by working for the Obama campaign, volunteering on a campaign provided a window into running a campaign. “I had gotten really involved for the first time in N.H. in politics in the Obama campaign and worked like crazy. I loved it and then decided that I would stay involved in the Democratic Party” (DesRoches, Interview 3, July 10, 2013). In a report from the Center of American Women and Politics (CAWP) at Rutgers states, participating on “campaigns, ... and political parties helps one's political networks to grow. Women and men have served as political mentors and trainers for women now serving in public office” (Stanwick & Kleeman, 1983, p. 37).

When women are looking for a political mentor, “a woman mentor is the best choice because she is already sensitized and aware of the special challenge that women face, you may not find one because of the small numbers of women in political office”

(Rajoppi, 1993, p. 53). The lack of women in office makes finding a female mentor a challenge. “Females preferred a role model who could demonstrate the successful integration of professional and personal life” (Rose, 2005, pp. 59–60). Mentors are needed to move more women into office.

Mentors assist mentees to overcome the barriers that discourage women from considering a run for office. The dearth of women in higher office is not due to a lack of interest, but rather to insufficient mentoring, discrimination in recruitment, higher hurdles, and the greater isolation women face as candidates and elected officials (“Mentoring and Networking,” 2013). Female mentors cannot be underestimated in politics, “mentors are important for women; we need mentors that are a little bit ahead of us. Mentors need to be very hands on and very involved in their lives” (*How women become political*, 2013). Mentors, who have already faced the challenge of running for and holding office, provide support as they have faced many of the same challenges as those confronting the mentee.

The women in the U.S. Senate provide mentoring support. Women Senators have created a mentoring group they call

... the women’s club as a tongue in cheek version of the old boy’s club.

The women's club offers some of the same benefits that came in the original (unofficial) men's version, as well as some updates: mentor lunches and regular dinners, (it was) started decades ago by Mikulski.

(Newton-Smith, 2013, p. 26)

For women who are considering a run for the U.S. Senate, this group exists as a lifeline once they become elected.

One source of mentoring that we don't often consider is one's mother. Often a mother's mentoring starts as role modeling. Helen Pratt, PhD, a contributor to the book *A Handbook for Women Mentors*, writes that her mother was her first mentor. Her mother taught her "how to read the behavior of other people, how to detect and avoid danger, how to negotiate and compromise, how to resolve conflict, and how to follow good and effective leaders" (Rayburn, 2010, p. 225). Helen "is a woman of color who found it difficult to secure mentors who shared her background" (Rayburn, 2010, p. 294). Her mother was a likely mentor choice. A mentor is effective when she models behavior and cares about her mentee. For the daughter, it is important to see a mother as an equal player and not a second-class citizen (J. Dolan, 2007; Rayburn, 2010). Bernay and Cantor (1992) report that the women they interviewed saw their mothers as in control of their own lives. These women received "positive messages about women, which contributed to the positive image they developed of themselves as females" (Bernay & Cantor, 1992, p. 99).

Secretary of State Hilary Clinton's mother acted as her mentor in an unexpected way. Secretary Clinton saw her mother as confined by her options as a woman. At the same time her mother taught her that she could have more than she herself had had. Secretary of State Clinton (2003) wrote, "My mother loved her home and her family, but she felt limited by the narrow choices of her life. It is easy to forget now, how few choices there were for my mother's generation" (p. 10). Secretary Clinton understood her

mother's personal limitations were due to social constraints. Secretary Clinton took advantage of many of the opportunities she had. Secretary Clinton explained that her mother also mentored her by teaching her softball, telling her that she was unique, and conditioning "us to be tough in order to survive whatever life might throw us" (Clinton, 2003, p. 12).

In an earlier study, three women were interviewed who are in the N.H. State Legislature (DesRoches, 2013). Each of the three women were in their sixties and were strongly influenced by their mothers who were very hard workers during a time in U.S. history when women didn't normally work outside of the home. The third woman's mother was very shy, so shy, the legislator decided she didn't want to be like her mother when she grew up. All three women conveyed the influence of their mothers on their lives and their professional roles as legislators.

The role of mother as mentor carries through to the N.H. delegation. In a recent article in New York Times, the women in N.H. who hold the offices of governor, U.S. Congress and U.S. Senate were described as having grown up with "mothers who worked, which set an example for them, which, has given them practice at reading compromise and solving problems" (Seelye, 2013). These are qualities that one would look for in a mentor and qualities that are invaluable in the workplace.

Access to women mentors may be scarce due to the number of women available in the Senate and House. Women politicians serve as role models for other women and for girls, encouraging them to overcome traditional sex roles and achieve their dreams, (Bernay & Cantor, 1992; Burrell, 2004). However, since there are a small number of

women in senior levels of government, it is difficult to find female political mentors at the upper levels. The shortage of female mentors is mostly due to the scarcity of women in senior roles (Daniel, 2011). There are only 16 female U.S. Senators (out of 100) and 71 U.S. Congresswomen (out of 435) (Carroll & Strimling, 1983; Hunt, 2007). The value of mentors is to demonstrate a road map for women to run, help women to hold a political seat, and to provide support in a man's world.

One obstacle for women wishing to find a mentor is that not everyone wishes to act as a mentor. This further reduces the number of mentors available. "Given the barriers we still face today, some women are too competitive to allow themselves to reach down and help those behind them" (Rayburn, 2010, p. 258). Mentoring is most successful when both parties are invested.

While the emphasis is on women mentoring women, men may also serve as mentors. Men are able to help to create networks for their mentees in ways that woman mentors may not, because many men may have a stronger network in the House and Senate. "It is important that men mentor females as well, often there is not a woman who is in a position to mentor" (*How women become political*, 2013). Men are more often in a position of authority and their numbers are greater. They may be a good mentor option for women. Mentoring relationships are more difficult for women to establish and may influence the rate in which women run for political office. They are difficult as there are not a lot of women in office and men are more reluctant to work with women (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013). Cheryl Sandberg writes of working with her mentor in his hotel room until three a.m. As she left his room, she realized that if someone has seen her leaving,



their meeting could have misinterpreted. These misperceptions can create unequal opportunities for women (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013). She points out “if you see an older man and a younger man in a bar, people often think mentoring. If they see an older man and younger woman, they most likely will not think of mentoring” (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013, p. 72). This potential for misinterpretation of the relationship is problematic. Additionally, she says, “Mentoring relationships often form between individuals who have common interests or when the junior members remind the more senior members of themselves” (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013, p. 71). A shared interest among men keeps the men’s club alive and excludes women; the women’s club in the U.S. Senate hopes to redress this exclusion (Newton-Smith, 2013, p. 26).

Since there are many more men than woman in upper levels of politics, frequently the only option for a woman is a male mentor. “It is important that men mentor females as well, often there is not a woman who is in a position to mentor” (*How women become political*, 2013). Men have to be willing to accept someone who is not male as a protégé and woman must be able to accept a role model who is male and has interests that differ from hers.

To attract more women into politics, women must support each other. The most persuasive evidence suggests that we will see more women moving into public life if women support other women, (*How women become political*, 2013; Stanwick & Kleeman, 1983). Women make up more than half of the population and the majority of the voters; therefore, voting for other women is essential for women to become office holders. All women can participate by helping women in this way.

**Passion.** “Behind the decision to become a candidate, there is usually a desire to influence events” (Kirkpatrick, 1974, p. 30). The desire to influence events could be grounded in a passion. Women are more likely than men to run for office because of public policy issues or a grass roots level cause (Rajoppi, 1993; Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009). Their sense of mission can override their self-doubt or fear when they realize that they can make a difference. Representative McCarthy of New York had such an experience; she never cared about politics until “her husband was killed and her son injured in a random act of gun violence. It was during this time that her ambition took shape” (Lawless, 2012, p. 23). Certainly the death of a family member can change one’s perspective and can reveal personal power that woman may have not previously experienced. This awareness of power can prevail over any feelings of self-doubt. Swanne Healey says,

Women are more productive in government, they introduce more laws, they get them passed, and they care very deeply about content. It probably springs from the reason they got into government in the first place. That personal passion for policy work is something women uniquely bring to government. (*How women become political*, 2013)

Women, driven by passion, are able to create a change when they may not have felt empowered in the past. “Women get into politics because they care about something, men often get into politics for reasons that are more personal or unknown. Women know why they are there” (*How women become political*, 2013). Women must have a reason to

run for office and it cannot be ego driven. Harriet Woods, who later became lieutenant governor of Missouri,

Complained to the city council that the noise generated by cars driving over a manhole cover outside of her home disturbed her children's naps. When the council ignored her complaints, she initiated a petition drive to close the street to through traffic; then she sought (and won) a seat on the city council herself. (Lawless, 2012, p. 87)

A personal issue, no matter how large or seemingly small, can jump-start a political career and dispel feelings of self-doubt and overcome the fear of risk taking.

**Perception.** Women, more often than men, believe that one of the purposes of government is to improve its citizens' lives (Burrell, 2004; Kirkpatrick, 1974; Mandel, 1981). Women diligently work to create change in hopes of improving people's lives. "Women tend to see government as a way to fix problems and make lives better; men tend to see it as obtrusive and meddling" (Burrell, 2004, p. 11). Women see the government as a catalyst to repair problems and improve lives; they advocate for their citizens.

Traditionally, women have been socialized to value collaboration, cooperation, compromise, and nurturance, whereas, men are socialized to prize rationalism, competition, and objectivity. Women are less interested in controversy and conflict, (Braden, 1996; Burrell, 2004; *How women become political*, 2013). In political office, voters may see women as a welcome relief. "At a focus group in Chicago, a woman state senator stated that creating consensus is an effective leadership tool that she and her

female colleagues use to get things done” (Tarr-Whelan, 2011, p. 80). Cooperation, and compromise, and/or consensus building are traits that make women leaders productive.

Women’s caring attitude is displayed in their campaigns. A common theme among women running is “We can improve government by making it more responsive for you, the people whose interests it exists to represent” (Mandel, 1981, p. 21). Women want to make a difference for the people they represent. Community service and cooperation are central values for women in office (Kirkpatrick, 1974, p. 49). Women believe the obligation of a citizen is to take part and help out; these women serve with a sense of duty and obligation, (Kirkpatrick, 1974; Tarr-Whelan, 2011). They believe that they should strive to make government more responsive to their constituent’s needs. Women “pay more attention to their constituents and their leadership styles tend to be more inclusive, more cooperative, less hierarchical, and less authoritative” (Reingold, 2008, p. 3) than men. As public servants, they can make positive improvements and their inclusive leadership style leads to more productivity and an attitude of public servitude.

**Voice.** Women who run for office must learn to trust their own voice, as they become the voice for others. Mary Field Belenky, the author of *Women’s Ways of Knowing*, based her book upon 135 in-depth interviews with women. The intention was to illustrate that many women still feel silenced in their families and schools (Belenky, 1986). Belenky (1986) “found that women repeatedly used the metaphor of voice to depict their intellectual and ethical development, and that the development of a sense of voice, mind, and self were intricately intertwined” (p. 18). Women, both in and out of office, must recognize their voice in order to not be silenced. Committing to a cause or to

the mission of making government more responsive can help a woman to find her voice. Belenkey (1986) writes of one interview, “She understands that she must begin to listen to her own voice if she is to become clear and confident and to move on in her life” (p. 51). A women’s discovery of voice helps her to travel self-assuredly through life; through having found her voice, she can confidentially represent others’ voices.

Many women, once they are in office, recognize that they are not only speaking with their own voice but also are using their voice on behalf of others. Senator Heitkamp of North Dakota realized that she represented more than herself, and more than her constituents, she represented women in the United States.

A female friend in the Senate said to me, ‘You know, it’s because they feel you represent all women, not just the women of North Dakota.’ And it just clicked for me for the first time. I was, like, oh, now I get it. (Newton-Smith, 2013, p. 27)

Once women get into office, they take the responsibility of being the voice for other women seriously. “Most of the Senators say they feel they speak not just for the voters in their states but for women across America” (Newton-Smith, 2013, p. 27). Their commitment comes through in their productivity, in their passion, and in their voting records—they support laws that care for citizens.

**Leadership.** When considering leadership one must look at the leadership styles, women’s personality traits, barriers to leadership, and childhood influences. The leadership style of women helps to ensure their success (Folta et al., 2012; Northouse, 2013; Tarr-Whelan, 2011).

There is conflicting information as to what type of leadership style is best. Women, are more likely to have a transformational leadership style because it is both effective and consistent with what women most comfortably bring to the table (Folta et al., 2012; Tarr-Whelan, 2011). Transformational leaders inspire change (“Collaborative Transformation Leadership - Inspiring Good Leaders to be Better,” n.d.). Other leadership skills that women possess are related to the democratic style. “Successful leaders have a democratic-decision making style; and make it possible for all members of a community to participate; are responsive and accessible; and are well-connected to other leaders” (Folta et al., 2012, p. 2). The “democratic style builds on a triad of emotional intelligence abilities: teamwork and collaboration, conflict management, and influence” (Goleman, 2002, p. 40). People skills are also rated to be an important skill for leaders and “many experts emphasize that effective leadership requires a good measure of people skills” (Eagly, 2007, p. 39).

### **Women in New Hampshire**

The state of N.H. is the first and only state in the nation to send an all female delegation to Washington, D.C.; additionally N.H. has a female governor. The state leadership is dominated by women: the Speaker of the House, the Senate Minority leader, Member of the Executive Council, the Commissioner of Education, the Commissioner of Agriculture, the Commissioner of Administrative Services, and the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court. This is particularly remarkable as in 1992, an article in the New York Times said, “New Hampshire is one of only two states that have never elected a woman to either a statewide office or to Congress; Alaska is the other” (Butterfield, 1992,

para. 2). In an article written after the election, Starr (2014) writes “twelve states ... have no women in their congressional delegations. Of that group, four—Delaware, Iowa, Mississippi and Vermont—have never sent a woman to the U.S. House or Senate. Only five states, including New Hampshire have female governors” (p. 104)

As for the current women in N.H., it was written that, “these women did not rise to the top together overnight. Nor was there an orchestrated movement to elect them. Each toiled in the political vineyards, climbed the ladder in her own time and campaigned hard for her job” (*How women become political*, 2013). The definition of the term Political Parity is that once a woman is in office, there is more likely to be another woman elected. This creates the phenomena known as twin states. New Hampshire is a triplet state, by virtue of two women being elected in the senate and one to the governor’s role, serving concurrently or within one to two election cycles (Shames, n.d., p. 2). North Carolina and Washington are also triplet states, (Shames, n.d., p. 2). A twin state is characterized as:

Demographically, these states tend to be larger, comprised of younger, more educated, and racially-diverse populations; Politically: they tend to more democratic and have more women in their state legislative and Congressional delegations, same-day voter registration, public financing; and Electoral history: they often have already elected a woman to the top office. (Shames, n.d., p. 2)

Most of these traits do not apply in the state of N.H. However, New Hampshire does have some of the same traits such as: women in the state legislature, same-day voter

registration, and a woman elected to the top office. Twenty states have been identified as twin or triplet states. Another twelve states has a single woman who holds office. Swanne Hunt says,

When you look at the map of the U.S. and note how many women senators are in pairs, if you start noting how many have one woman governor and senator. It's clearly not random. The second woman has a boost. It could be that there is role modeling going on. Some of the women have said, I showed the second woman where the pockets of energy and money are.

*(How women become political, 2013)*

In New Hampshire, there has been mentoring or role modeling, Congresswoman Kuster's mother mentored Senator Sheehan. Senator Shaheen is known for mentoring others. A lot of people in office are Shaheen protégés or were brought up through the Shaheen organization (Seelye, 2013).

### **Conclusion**

The literature reveals a number of challenges for women running for office and the kinds of support that assist them to successfully run. Women are socialized to eschew the traits that make men run for office (Lawless & Fox, 2012, p. 10). A strong passion for a cause may propel a woman to run; otherwise she is influenced by a number of rare events in her childhood—exposure to politics, competition, and/or success in office.

The focus of the research was to explore what can be learned from the experiences of women in N.H. that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women



candidates. In particular, this research project hoped to uncover what role mentoring played and is currently playing in the lives of these women.

### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

New Hampshire citizens have sent an all female delegation to Washington, DC as well as elected a female governor. According to Seelye (2013) this was the first time in the nation's history that a group of all female delegates were sent to Washington by a single state and the governor's seat was also won by a woman. Seelye points out that women will make up 20 percent of the new Senate and 17.9 percent of the new House. These are records in Washington, but they fall far short of matching the 50.8 percent of the general population that is female (Seelye, 2013, para. 11).

The purpose of this research was to study five women in political leadership roles in New Hampshire to understand what can be learned from their experiences that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates.

#### **Approach**

This qualitative study employed a multiple case study approach; specifically five case studies were conducted. "Qualitative research is an inquiry approach in which the inquirer: explores a central phenomenon (one key concept); asks participants broad, general questions; and collects detailed views of participants in the form of words or images" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2004, sec. 5). The purpose was to understand how the sample cases succeeded in politics. Qualitative methods consist of three kinds of data collections 1. Open-ended interview questions which probe responses about experiences, opinions, and feelings, 2. direct observation, and 3. written documents which may include

records, memoranda and correspondence (Patton, 1990, 2002). This research utilized opened ended interview questions and written documentation.

### **Approaches to Qualitative Research**

Creswell (2013) identifies types of qualitative research. He writes that the narrative researcher collects stories from individuals about their lives. Narrative stories tell of individual experiences, and they may shed light on the identities of individuals and how they see themselves. Narrative research is a challenging approach to use as the researcher needs to collect extensive information about the participant and have a clear understanding of the individual's experience (Creswell, 2013, p. 76). This is not a viable approach for this research, as it requires hours and hours of interview time; it is not reasonable from the schedules of these women.

In the phenomenological study, a common meaning is sought for several people's experiences as a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). The basic purpose "is to reduce individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence" (Creswell, 2013, p. 76). Phenomenological approach is best suited when "it is important to understand several individual's common or shared experiences of a phenomenon" (Creswell, 2013, p. 81). This type of research goes beyond the realm of phenomenological research in that the research sought to understand their experience.

The intent of grounded theory research is to "generate or discover a theory" (Creswell, 2013, p. 83). Creswell (2013) writes, "grounded theory is a good design to use when a theory is not available to explain or understand a process" (p. 88). The purpose of

the research was not to develop a theory of explanatory framework but to understand the experiences.

A case study “is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a real-life contemporary bounded system or multiple bounded cases” (Creswell, 2013, p. 97).

The case study

becomes particularly useful when one needs to understand special people, particular problem, or unique situation in great depth, and where one can identify cases rich in information—rich in the sense that a great deal can be learned from a few exemplars of the phenomenon in question. (Patton, 2002, p. 54)

A case study is defined as an in-depth inquiry using qualitative research methods. “The purpose of gathering responses to open-ended questions is to enable the researcher to understand and capture the points of view of other people without predetermining those points of view though points of view through prior selection of the questionnaire” (Patton, 2002, p. 24). Several data sources allow the researcher to triangulate and validate the data. In a case study, data is collected about each participant using interviews and through the examination of records, (“Guide: Case Studies,” n.d.). In this study, in addition to the interviews, books, radio interviews, newspaper, and magazine articles were used as sources of data. Understanding what people value and the meaning they attach to experiences, from their own personal perspective ... are major inquiry areas for qualitative inquiry (Patton, 2002).

A case was selected because it has merit, or when the case is of interest, it is called an intrinsic case (Creswell, 2012). Creswell (2012) describes an ‘intrinsic case as a type of qualitative case study where the researcher studies the case itself because it is of interest’ (p. 622). This bounded multiple case study interviewed women who have had leadership roles in the state of New Hampshire.

Working with multiple cases instances “allows for the full complexity of the phenomena be understood” (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991, p. 255). The use of multiple cases brings more strength to the data. “Multiple case study involves collecting and analyzing data from several cases and can be distinguished from the single case study” (Merriam, 1998, p. 40). A single case study would be applicable if all of the women were elected together, if they were a single case. However, since they were elected separately, each woman constitutes her own case. The multiple case studies will contribute to creating stronger validity. The case studies used a phenomenology framework as it “focuses on exploring how people make sense of experience” (Patton, 2002, p. 104). “We can only know what we experience by attending to perceptions and meaning” (Patton, 2002, p. 105). When using a multiple case study approach, one should look for the similarities and differences in the cases; this data provides the richness of study.

A multiple case study enables the research to explore the differences within and between cases. The goal is to replicate findings across cases. Because comparisons will be drawn it is imperative that the cases are chosen carefully so that the researchers can predict similar results across cases, or predict contrasting results. (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 548)

Furthermore, the case study was an appropriate approach to explore the stories of the women as, “it can produce an in-depth analysis of phenomena in context, support the development of historical perspectives and guarantee high internal validity, which is to say that the observed phenomena are authentic representations of reality” (Gagnon, 2010, pp. 2–3). In this research project, a case study was a useful tool to understand the conditions that helped the women attain the leadership positions that they currently hold or have held in the past. The data revealed the meaning the women have made of their experiences, thus far. Their stories will be contextualized with data to strengthen validity.

### **Research Questions**

The purpose of this study was to understand and learn from the experiences of five N.H. women who were elected to office, which would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates. During the interviews with the participants, these questions were asked: How they have they navigated the challenges of running for office? What motivated their decision to run? What forms of support did they have during their campaigns? What factors do they feel contributed to their successful bids for election? Did mentoring play a role in their lives?

### **Setting**

New Hampshire’s population is a million and just over 50% of its residents are women (“New Hampshire QuickFacts from the U.S. Census Bureau,” n.d.). New Hampshire is racially homogeneous, 94% of the residents are white and households where languages other than English are spoken make up only eight percent (“New

Hampshire QuickFacts from the U.S. Census Bureau,” n.d.). New Hampshire residents are educated, 91% have completed high school and 33% have at least a 4-year college degree (“New Hampshire QuickFacts from the U.S. Census Bureau,” n.d.).

The state government system in New Hampshire has many unique characteristics. The Governor is responsible for the faithful execution of the law and the Executive Council assists the governor (“New Hampshire state website,” 2014). The Executive Council is unique, it is a five-member council who work with, advise, and share the governor’s responsibilities to enforce laws (“New Hampshire Executive Council,” n.d., para. 7). Together, the Governor and Executive Council award state contracts. The Council may veto the Governor’s actions (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 7). Other states may have Executive Councils (Massachusetts, for example), however, they serve in an advisory capacity (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 7).

The legislative branch of New Hampshire state government is called the General Court (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 3). There are 400 Representatives and 24 Senators; the General Court is the second largest legislature in the United States following the U.S. Congress (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 3). In New Hampshire, members of the General Court are elected every two years. New Hampshire takes pride in its Citizen Legislature (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 4). Citizen Legislature refers to the fact that the members of the General Court are not professional politicians. The members’ professions include the self-employed, retired, homemakers, students, and lawyers (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 4). Members are paid \$200

per term plus mileage costs. Because of their added duties, the Speaker of the House and the Senate President receive \$250 per term (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 4).

In New Hampshire, the political practices are as unique as its governmental system. New Hampshire hosts the first Presidential primary every four years. As then Senate President Larsen said "As the first-in-the-nation primary state, we are always glad to lead the way" (Snow & Milberger, 2008, para. 5). As cited in *According to Beginning*, “In 1952 New Hampshire began to hold its first in the nation primary” (Conyne-Rapin, 2008, p. 10).

In New Hampshire the presidential primary is conducted the same as local elections. Candidates are expected to go door-to-door and most people in New Hampshire expect to meet most of the presidential candidates in an election year.

People who live in New Hampshire are more civically engaged than most Americans and are more politically aware. They take their first in the nation role very seriously. They expect to have intense conversations with the candidates in living rooms, grocery stores, and small town diners.

Candidates have to get out in person and engage the public. (“Why is New Hampshire’s primary a national news story? - Beliefnet.com,” n.d.)

In the past, New Hampshire’s citizens have elected two female governors, Jeanne Shaheen and Maggie Hassan. Governor Maggie Hassan was elected in November 2013 along with an all-female delegation for the U.S. Senate and U.S. House. Senator Shaheen is the first U.S. women to have held the seats of both governor and senator (“Women in the Senate,” n.d.). As a native of N.H., this struck the researcher as quite a feat, since



N.H. citizens largely identify as conservative.

A resident of New Hampshire is 9% more likely than the average American to consider himself very conservative and 13 percent more likely to consider himself somewhat conservative. A resident of New Hampshire is 5% less likely than the average American to consider himself somewhat liberal and two-percent less likely than the average American to consider himself very liberal. (“SmartBlogs,” n.d.)

It is interesting that a state, which identifies as very conservative has a strong presence of women in leadership roles. These women are largely from the Democratic Party, the more liberal of the two prevailing parties.

Five women in some of the top political positions within the state of N.H. were selected as participants in this study. Each individual represented one case of a woman in N.H. who has sought and succeeded in winning political office. It is a convenient set of participants as the researcher lives in the state from where they were elected.

The purpose of the research was to determine what can be learned from the experiences of these women that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and used to encourage and support more women candidates?

### **Participants**

The participants have vast experience and credentials; the researcher believed they would provide information-rich content. Each of the women’s careers in politics spanned at least a decade and in some cases, two. Four of the women have been elected to multiple public offices. The case studies focused on women who were leaders in the

past or are currently leaders in the state of New Hampshire. Of the five women, three do not plan to run again, one is retired, and one will seek reelection in the fall of 2014. The following is a description of the women who were the participants in this study. These five women are also represented in Table 1.

**Elizabeth Hager.** Elizabeth Hager served in the N.H. Legislature for twelve terms or 24 years (Fahey, 2006, para. 16). She was house minority leader and chaired the Bill of Rights Committee. She served on the city council in Concord, N.H., and was the first woman to serve as Mayor in the city of Concord, 1988-1989 (“Elizabeth Hager,” 2014, “Monitor editorial: Why not a city women’s history project?,” n.d., para. 7). Representative Hager is retired. Representative Hager grew up in Iowa and she has two daughters. Her proudest accomplishment was getting the equal rights amendment passed in New Hampshire (Hager, 2014).

**Sylvia Larsen.** Sylvia Larsen is the Senate Minority Leader of the N.H. Senate. Larsen was first elected in 1994 (Ronayne, 2014, para. 4). Senate Minority Leader Larsen is serving her tenth term in the Senate and has served in the N.H. State Legislature for 20 years, and the city council Concord, the capital city of N.H., for nine years 1989-1998 (“Sylvia Larsen,” n.d., para. 7). Larsen served as Senate President from 2006-2010 (“Sylvia Larsen,” n.d., para. 3). Her passions lie in women and children’s issues, namely education. She grew up in Ohio. Senate Minority Leader Larsen will retire at the end of term, December 2014.

**Terie Norelli.** Terie Norelli is the current speaker of the House in the New Hampshire General Court. Speaker Norelli is in her ninth term, or 18<sup>th</sup> year. She was

elected speaker from 2006-2010 and then again in 2012 (Love, 2014, para. 2). Speaker Norelli is a strong supporter of women's reproductive rights (Norelli, 2014). Speaker Norelli grew up in New Jersey and currently lives on the seacoast of New Hampshire. She will also retire this year, December 2014.

**Debora Pignatelli.** Councilor Debora Pignatelli is currently the only woman on the New Hampshire Executive Council. She has spent 15 years, until 2003, in elected office—five years in the House of Representatives and ten years in the State Senate (“Executive Councilor Debora Pignatelli - Biography, New Hampshire Executive Council,” n.d., para. 2). Prior to running for Executive Council, Councilor Pignatelli served in the N.H. House of Representatives from 1986-1992 and N.H. Senate for ten years from 1992-2002. Her passion is in women and children's rights. Pignatelli grew up in New Jersey. The Councilor will retire this December 2014, when her term expires.

**Jeanne Shaheen.** United States Senator Jeanne Shaheen is the first (and only woman) to have held the seats of both state governor and U.S. Senator. She was governor in New Hampshire for three terms, from 1997-2003 and is serving her first term as U.S. Senator having been elected in 2008 (“Biography Jeanne Shaheen,” n.d.). Despite the demands of public office and the fact that she will run for the U.S. Senate again this year, she made herself available for this study. Senator Shaheen grew up in Missouri. She sits on the following committees: foreign relations, appropriations, armed services, and small business (“Committees Jeanne Shaheen,” n.d.).

Table 1

*Women Researched*

	Current Role	Other offices held	Number of years in politics	College	State of Origin
Hager	House Minority Leader, retired	City Council, Concord, N.H., Mayor, Concord, N.H.	36	University of New Hampshire	Iowa
Larsen	Senate Minority Leader	City Council, Concord, N.H., N.H. State Legislature	26	University of Wisconsin in Madison	Wisconsin
Norelli	Speaker of the N.H. House		18	University of New Hampshire	New Jersey
Pignatelli	N.H. Executive Councilor	N.H. State Senator	16	University of Denver	New Jersey
Shaheen	U.S. Senator	N.H. State Senator, N.H. Governor	22	Shippensburg University, (B.A), University of Mississippi (MA)	Missouri

**Ethical Considerations**

Before commencing the interviews, the purpose of the study was described to the subjects in order to obtain their consent to participate in this study. The researcher asked

the interviewees to sign the informed consent form (See Appendix A). The participants are public figures and much information about them is in the public domain; it is unlikely that their participation would yield anything that would put their reputations at risk. Risk was offset through the following steps. Participants were able to decline answering any questions. The participants were invited to proofread the interview transcripts for accuracy and remove any information they are not comfortable disclosing.

All data collected is stored securely and only accessible to the researcher. Since the research subjects are in the public domain, there was no attempt to keep their identities' confidential. The interview recordings, transcriptions, notes, and other study materials are secured in a safety deposit box and on-line in a password-protected space. The data will be kept for five years and then destroyed.

One ethical consideration that was addressed is the researcher's strong feminist tendency. The researcher's bias was controlled through triangulation of data and then ensuring that all conclusions were firmly rooted in and supported by the data. Additionally, notes were maintained for each coding decision to create a transparent coding process.

## **Chapter 4: Presentation of the Data**

### **The Study and the Researcher**

The purpose of this multiple case study research was to determine what could be learned from the experiences of women who hold or have held state and/or federal elected offices. The goal of the research was to identify common aspects of their experiences that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates.

This study's researcher is interested in this phenomenon as she is a self-identified feminist and believes that women should be more represented in the United States leadership. Her interest was sparked in 2012 when four New Hampshire women were elected into leadership positions; this event made New Hampshire the first state in the country to send an all-female delegation to Washington, DC, while having a woman elected to the position of Governor of the state. This made the researcher proud of her native state. She wondered what had caused the shift in New Hampshire politics, as when she was a girl the political scene was strongly patriarchal. The women she interviewed were in top leadership positions in state offices and one from a federal office. These women were able to reveal the political landscape in N.H., which was important to the researcher and this research project.

### **Research**

In this study, the researcher sought to understand the political landscape for women in New Hampshire. Four local leaders, as well as one leader at the national level (formerly a leader at the state level), were interviewed to investigate the condition of

politics in N.H., a state that appears to be more open to women in political leadership than in the past. This section will describe the research question, the methodology, the research setting, and the participants.

**Research question.** The purpose of this study was to understand what could be learned from the experiences of five women in political leadership roles in New Hampshire that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support women candidates?

**Methodology.** In seeking answers to this question, a multiple case study approach was employed. The case study participants were five women who had successfully sought political office and who have held, or currently hold, positions of power in the state of New Hampshire.

The research methodology involved multiple case studies of five women, four who had succeeded in achieving public office in New Hampshire and one who had become a U.S. senator. The researcher contacted five women, who agreed to be interviewed: House Minority Leader Hager, Senate Minority Leader Larsen and Speaker Norelli, Executive Councilor Pignatelli, and U.S. Senator Shaheen.

The study was intrinsic, as it was meant to provide an understanding of the cases and offer insight for the sake of refining an issue or theory. Intrinsic case studies work with purposefully chosen cases that have been selected due their information-rich content (Patton, 1990; Stake, 1995). The multiple case studies were constructed from the experiences of women who had succeeded in winning public office in New Hampshire.

**Setting.** The state government system in New Hampshire has many unique characteristics. Like other states, N.H. has judicial, executive, and legislative branches of government. The judicial branch is like that of other states in that it governs the court system. The executive and legislative branches are more distinctive.

The Executive Branch consists of the Governor, Executive Councilors, and state agencies. This branch enacts and enforces state laws. The Governor is the state's highest executive and is responsible for the faithful execution of the law, the Executive Council assists the Governor (New Hampshire state website, 2014). The Executive Council is a unique aspect of New Hampshire government, it is a five-member council which works with, advises, and shares the Governor's responsibility to enforce laws ("New Hampshire Executive Council," n.d., para. 7). Together, the Governor and Executive Council award state contracts. The Council may veto the Governor's actions ("New Hampshire Almanac," n.d., para. 7). Other states may have Executive Councils (Massachusetts, for example), however, they serve only in an advisory capacity ("New Hampshire Almanac," n.d., para. 7). The N.H. Governor and Councilors are elected to serve two-year terms (New Hampshire state website, 2014).

The legislative branch of New Hampshire state government is called the General Court of New Hampshire. There are 400 Representatives and 24 Senators; the General Court is the second largest legislature in the United States following the U.S. Congress ("New Hampshire Almanac," n.d., para. 3). In New Hampshire, members of the General Court are elected every two years. New Hampshire takes pride in its Citizen Legislature. The Citizen Legislature refers to the fact that the members of the General Court are not



professional politicians. The members include the self-employed, retired, homemakers, students, and lawyers (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 4). Members are paid \$200 per term plus mileage costs. Because of their added duties, the Speaker of the House and the Senate President receive \$250 per term (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 4).

**Participants.** The participants in this research study have vast experience and credentials; and the researcher believed they would provide information-rich content. Each of the women’s careers spanned at least two decades and in one case, three. During their careers, four of the women have been elected to multiple public offices. The purpose of this study was to understand what could be learned from the experiences of five women in political leadership roles in New Hampshire that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support women candidates. The researcher sought to gain insights that would extend beyond the experiences of the study participants to provide an understanding, which would be valuable to the campaign efforts of other women seeking office. The case studies focused on women who were past or current leaders in the state of New Hampshire. Of the five women, three do not plan to run again, one is retired, and one will seek reelection in the fall of 2014. The following is a description of the women who were the participants in this study.

***Elizabeth Hager.*** Elizabeth Hager served in the N.H. Legislature for twelve terms or 24 years (Fahey, 2006, para. 16). She was first elected in 1972 and lost her bid for reelection in 2008; she did not serve consecutive terms. She was house minority leader and chaired the Bill of Rights Committee. She served on the city council in Concord,

N.H. (the state's capitol city), and was the first woman to serve as Mayor in the city of Concord, 1988-1989 (Elizabeth Hager, 2014; "Monitor editorial: Why not a city women's history project?," n.d.). Representative Hager is retired. She grew up in Iowa and she has two daughters. Her proudest accomplishment was "getting the equal rights amendment passed in New Hampshire" (Hager, 2014).

**Sylvia Larsen.** Sylvia Larsen is the Senate Minority Leader of the N.H. Senate. Larsen was first elected in 1994 (Ronayne, 2014, para. 4). Senate Minority Leader Larsen is serving her tenth term in the Senate. She has served in the N.H. State Legislature for 20 years, and served on the city council Concord, for nine years from, 1989-1998 ("Sylvia Larsen," n.d., para. 7). Larsen served as Senate President from 2006-2010 ("Sylvia Larsen," n.d., para. 3). Her political passions lie in women and children's issues, particularly education. She grew up in Ohio. Senate Minority Leader Larsen will retire at the end of term, December 2014.

**Terie Norelli.** Terie Norelli is the current speaker of the House in the New Hampshire General Court. Speaker Norelli is in her ninth term (18 years). She was elected speaker of the House from 2006-2010 and then again in 2012 (Love, 2014, para. 2). Speaker Norelli is a strong supporter of women's reproductive rights (Norelli, 2014). Speaker Norelli grew up in New Jersey and currently lives on the seacoast of New Hampshire. She will retire this year, December 2014.

**Debora Pignatelli.** Councilor Debora Pignatelli is currently the only woman on the New Hampshire Executive Council. Councilor Pignatelli was elected to the Executive Council in 2004. Prior to the Executive Council, she served in the N.H. House of

Representatives from 1986-1992 and N.H. Senate for ten years from 1992-2002. Her passion is for women and children's rights. Pignatelli grew up in New Jersey. The Councilor will retire this December 2014, when her term expires.

***Jeanne Shaheen.*** United States Senator Jeanne Shaheen is the first (and only woman) to have held the seats of both state governor and U.S. Senator. She was governor in New Hampshire for three terms, from 1997 to 2003 and is serving her first term as U.S. Senator having been elected in 2008 ("Biography Jeanne Shaheen," n.d.). Despite the fact that she is in the midst of a run for the U.S. Senate again this year, she made herself available for this study. Senator Shaheen grew up in Missouri. She sits on the following Senate Committees: Foreign Relations, Appropriations, Armed Services, and Small Business ("Committees Jeanne Shaheen," n.d.).

### **Data Collection and Analysis**

The data collected in this study consisted of evidence from interviews with the participants and a review of published documents. The interviews occurred in June 2014. The participants received the questions (Appendix B) to review before the interviews; of the five women interviewed, two interviews were conducted over the phone and three interviews were conducted in person. As part of the protocol, the participants were provided with an opportunity to review and edit their own transcripts.

**Data collection process.** Published materials were collected and analyzed. The researcher used newspaper databases available through Plymouth State University library. Additionally, a general search of documents on the Internet was conducted and Google Scholar was utilized. The researcher used materials available from the St.

Anselm's College School of Politics, in Manchester, N.H. The participants themselves suggested additional sources of written documents.

In a pilot study conducted in preparation for this study, the researcher interviewed three members of the New Hampshire General Court. One woman was a member for 18 years. Another woman moved to N.H. to serve on the General Court, she had been in office for two terms. The last woman had been in office for less than a year. This pilot provided background information as well as a literature review and helped to refine the participant pool for this study.

The data collection for this study began by sending an email request to the selected women leaders to seek their agreement to participate (Appendix C). The research purpose and questions were provided in the solicitation along with the interview questions. In all cases, the interviews were granted and scheduled fairly soon after the requests were received.

**Documents.** The written media consisted of transcripts from radio interviews, newspaper articles, magazine articles, and almanacs of political candidates, websites, and books that focused on women in political office. The materials were photocopied, transferred to the researcher's Hard Drive, and bookmarked. Each item was catalogued in the Zotero database.

**Interviews.** Each woman was interviewed using the following questions:

- What were the challenges that you experienced when running for office?
- What motivated your decision to run?
- What forms of support did you have during your campaigns?

- What factors do you feel contributed to your successful bid for election?
- Did mentoring play a role in your life?
- Do you feel that the fact that the top political leaders in the state are female is noteworthy?
- How do you frame the past, present, and future of women in politics?

Each participant represented a case of a woman who had achieved public office.

Each interview began with an oral introduction of the researcher's intent. At the interview, each woman was offered a hard copy of the questions to review before and during the interview. Each of the three women interviewed in person accepted the written questions. In the case of two of the women interviewed in person, the researcher went to their offices; the interviews were conducted with the interviewee and interviewer sitting side by side. In the case of the last face-to-face interview, all of the details are the same, except the researcher and her subject met in a conference room at a community college. In the two phone interviews, the questions were emailed the day before the interview.

To increase the consistency of the interview process, the research questions were read verbatim to each participant. In three cases, the women asked clarifying questions as to what was meant by "forms of support." On occasion, the researcher asked a follow-up question. The interviews were recorded using Evernote<sup>TM</sup> on an iPad. The researcher transcribed the interviews and sent written transcripts to the participants. To improve validity, the women were provided the opportunity to review the content of the transcripts and to make changes before the researcher began to analyze the data.

The interviews and published data were imported into NVIVO™ (a qualitative analysis computer software product). The interviews were the source of primary data and written media composed the second set of data.

**Coding data.** The coding began with the researcher reviewing the data and assigning a code to it. In qualitative research this may be called content analysis (Hsieh, 2005, p. 1277) as the content of the data is coded. “A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 3). This first cycle of coding was done using some of the specific supports and barriers as identified in the literature review as coding categories. These codes included: competition, encouragement, leadership, media, mentorship, recruiting, passion, perception, qualifications, and voice.

In the second cycle coding, the data was more closely examined and a process of conventional content analysis was used in which the codes were derived directly from the text (Hsieh, 2005). The new codes emerged while reading and rereading the data and then considering the essence of the participants’ stories. Patterns were discovered, categorized, and grouped on the basis of similarities (Hsieh, 2005; Saldaña, 2009). The groups resulted in subcategories, for example in this coding phase, mentoring was grouped under the theme of relationships.

**Analysis.** The researcher analyzed the data sets based upon all the levels of coding. During the coding process, the researcher looked at data to see if it revealed

information that differed from codes which had emerged from the literature review and when it did, the researcher created a new code.

Using NVIVO™, the data was coded into categories and then subcategories. The researcher found that she lacked the skills to use the reporting feature of the data analysis software so she printed hardcopies of all data and began to hand code it, using essentially the same codes, but having much more flexibility in deconstructing the data and reconstructing it using the codes.

### **Results of the Study**

The answers to the research question emerged in relation to supports for and barriers against achieving office. Some topics identified in the literature as supports to running also emerged as barriers in this study. When reviewing the data, two salient themes not revealed in other published research emerged: 1. Relationships with others, in the form of recruiting and mentoring, and 2. Concern for the future of women in politics. In this section the supports and barriers for holding office will be covered and then the themes will be presented and discussed.

**Supports for achieving and holding political office.** In the literature review, leadership was viewed as both a barrier and support to becoming a political leader. In this study the participants saw leadership as a support. This section will explore leadership and other supports for running for and holding political office. New forms of supports arose that were not part of the literature review: they included service, community, and prior experience. The women interviewed spoke of these aspects of their own experiences

while running and these descriptions are included as supports because these elements contributed to their success.

***Leadership style: consensus and collaboration.*** Overwhelmingly, the women studied believed that their leadership style tended towards consensus building and collaboration, and that this contributed to their success. “Women practice politics differently. They pay more attention to their constituents and their leadership styles tend to be more inclusive, more cooperative, less hierarchical, and less authoritative” (Reingold, 2008, p. 3). Consensus building, among New Hampshire women in politics, was recognized as an asset in an article entitled *Founding Mothers*, Starr (2014), who writes women are “less contentious and more collaborative” (p. 106).

In an article in the *NY Times* about then Governor Shaheen’s leadership style versus that of the earlier establishment, Former Governor Merrill described Shaheen’s leadership style this way:

‘Jeanne Shaheen has had a much easier time than I did,’ said former Governor Stephen Merrill, the popular tax-cutting Republican whose place she won after he chose not to run again. She says, ‘I’m the Governor, they’re the Legislature; we’re working together for your best interest,’ he said. ‘When I was Governor, I said, I’m Steve Merrill, I fight these people [the legislators] every day for you.’ (Goldberg, 1997, p. 14)

In the same *NY Times* article, Golberg (1997) writes about Governor Shaheen’s leadership along with other women’s styles, which are more cooperative. Mrs. Shaheen's style and substance largely conformed to what national studies have reported about



women in political power; ... When women rule, Goldberg (1997) said, 'communication and dialogue become less combative' (p. 14). According to Goldberg, Shaheen works in a collaborative style that is consistent with national studies.

When Senator Shaheen was interviewed by Goldberg, Shaheen said, "I believe in consensus building" (Goldberg, 1997, p. 14). In her interview, she reflected on her Governorship and working with Donna Sytek the then Speaker of the House, "We certainly didn't agree on everything but we were focused on how we were going to get things done and we did that" (Shaheen, 2014).

In a public radio interview, Senate Minority Leader Larsen said that she believes that women have a "good sense of consensus building" (Lyden, 2008). In the same public radio interview, Senate Minority Leader Larsen spoke of leadership in terms of trust and likability as factors, which is more than gender. She said the public likes people they believe are trustworthy. "I think they don't necessarily look at [people's] gender in terms of leadership. They're looking more at the policies we promote, whether they trust us, whether we're likeable enough" (Lyden, 2008).

In an interview with Della Ferra (2008), Councilor Pignatelli echoes the words of others, "Women ... govern differently than men 'we are consensus builders. We make sure everyone heard. No one is left out'" (p. 281). In the interview for this study, Pignatelli said, "From my own experience, the way women approach issues and problems is quite a bit different from the way men approach them. Women tend to be more inclusive by making sure that everyone is heard" (Pignatelli, 2014a). Council Pignatelli told Della Ferra (2008), "In the 'old days' ... women running for political office felt that

they had to behave as men; to duplicate their behavior. Tough. Thick-skinned ... I don't think women have to be that way, and that's a good thing" (p. 281).

In her interview, Minority Leader Hager also spoke of her collaborative leadership style when working with the Speaker of the House, Peter Burling.

All those years, a lot of the bills in New Hampshire and a lot of the important laws in New Hampshire went through under my name. ... They would be Burling Hagen or Hagen Burling because Peter was the head of the Democrats. He was the majority leader. So we would work together, me, as leader of the moderate Republicans, and Peter as the official leader of the Democrats. (Hager, 2014)

Speaker Norelli believes that women were not always consensus builders. When women first joined the political ranks, they had to emulate the men's styles to be heard. She believes that there has been an evolution of leadership styles from the stereotype of the dominant male style to the stereotype of the collaborative female style. Norelli told author Della Ferra (2008), "The first women who broke through the class ceiling had governing styles similar to men. In the seventies and eighties, when women moved up the ladder, they didn't typically hold their hand out and bring up other women" (p. 275).

In her interview, Speaker Norelli discussed her leadership role and the challenges women face in the House. Norelli believes that when she first ran for Speaker of the House, that its membership was not ready for a woman leader. Speaker Norelli described this incident, during her interview when she first ran for the Speaker,

I remember that I actually heard members say that they didn't want a woman as a leader, never mind one's qualifications. I think that women have to work harder and ... smarter to get to the same place ... [we] have to be more prepared for a meeting ... they have to cross every t and dot every i. (Norelli, 2014)

In Norelli's (2014) interview, she said that when she ran for Speaker, she felt discriminated against because of gender; today she sees women as change makers. Women inspire Norelli by the changes that they are trying to achieve. Senator Giffords from Arizona inspires her. "You see women who are getting something done, whatever that is, it doesn't have to be in a big way. Gabby Giffords is out there trying to change the gun laws in the country but it doesn't have to be that big. It could be someone trying to make changes in their community" (Norelli, 2014). Speaker Norelli describes the past and present situation with what she sees as a future picture; this picture will contain more women in leadership.

The New Hampshire Senate, in the 2009-10 sessions had the first chamber in the history of our country where the majority was made up of women. And now we have the first state in the country where the entire federal delegation is female. We have a relatively small delegation in the country, but still, they are all women. I think what we have is now the tipping point where ... it's pretty normal and women see themselves in that role. (Norelli, 2014)

*Service.* When one thinks of service, one typically thinks of working on another's behalf, or in support of another person, group, or organization. The women in these case studies worked in service of their constituents and their communities; they worked for the benefit of all. Many of the women spoke passionately of serving their constituents. For Senator Shaheen, that record of service started in college with an effort to gain equity for herself and other female students. "While in college, she complained about the different curfew policies that were mandated for male and female students. A political science professor urged her to get involved and change things and her political activism began" (Hightower-Langston, 2002, p. 206).

Senate Minority Leader Larsen is committed to serving her female constituents through her commitment to women's rights. In her interview, she described herself as "very pro-choice and I don't like the idea of the government being in a women's medical decisions" (Larsen, 2014).

One of the factors that contributed to Larsen's decision to run for the house was due to the issue of state funding for education. Larsen worked as a volunteer at her children's schools before she ran for City Council. During her interview she said, "I was working as a volunteer in my children's school, and that combined with City Council, I could see that the schools needed help and I thought there ought to be a better state funding program" (Larsen, 2014). In her role as Senate President, she continues to advocate for children. Larsen said that she has "accomplished nearly everything she set out to, including creating a constitutional school funding [program]... shepherding

through a tax-free college savings plan, the first in the nation of its kind, and establishing universal kindergarten” (Ronayne, 2014, para. 12).

When Senate Minority Leader Larsen was in high school, she ran for class president. This is where her propensity for service began. Speaking in an interview with author Michaeline Della Ferra, she recalled this early event.

In her sophomore year (of high school) her roommate nominated her for class president and to her surprise, she won the vice president’s seat. ‘My midwestern openness probably helped me win ... It just came naturally to me, I didn’t stand out in anyway. (Della Ferra, 2008, p. 233)

Speaker Norelli spoke at length about service and her passion for schools and children during her interview. Like Senate Minority Leader Larsen, the school funding issue also moved her to service. “Something is going on in the schools that needs to be changed” (Norelli, 2014). She saw that she could have a role in helping to remedy the funding issues.

Speaker Norelli’s passion for women’s issues first began with volunteering at a rape crisis center, later she was recruited for the House. She spoke of her earlier experience during her interview.

I began working in rape crisis in the early 70’s in South Carolina, because a woman who worked in the same office building was raped. I saw first-hand what that did to her. I realized that I needed to do something, so I became involved with an organization called “*People against Rape.*” (Norelli, 2014)

Norelli “didn't know she was preparing herself for political life when she worked on issues and advocacy for women” (Kunin, 2008, p. 49). Before she came to N.H., Speaker Norelli said that she “worked with organizations that advocate on the behalf of people” (Norelli, 2014). When she arrived in New Hampshire she continued to serve on boards related to women’s issues. When she was recruited for political office she realized that being a legislator “was an avenue where you could have a statewide impact” (Della Ferra, 2008, p. 271), rather than serving solely on local boards. In an interview, Speaker Norelli told former Vermont Governor Kunin (2008), “women are active in their communities: they volunteer, they contribute, and they support social causes. That is where the seeds of political activism lie” (p. xi). She said this about other women but she was also describing her own roots. During her interview, she described herself in the third person when explaining why she runs, “you do it because you care about N.H., you do it because you want to create things, you want to make N.H. a better place” (Norelli, 2014). It’s the desire to serve that drives her to attempt to achieve more.

Councilor Pignatelli spoke of her desire to serve the people and issues about which she cares. Pignatelli told Della Ferra that she ran because she wanted to help. “Debora cares about issues: education, children and the elderly” (Della Ferra, 2008, p. 280). During her interview, Pignatelli spoke of the gentleman who held her seat in the Executive Council before she ran. He had voted against Planned Parenthood. “This affects women overwhelmingly and is very important in the state” (Pignatelli, 2014a). His stand against Planned Parenthood is one of the forces that drove her to run. Pignatelli not only helps in the areas of education, children, the elderly and women’s reproductive

rights, but she also mentors women, including a former female inmate. She told the researcher, “I mentor a woman who has just been released from our Women’s Prison” (Pignatelli, 2014a).

**Community.** The participants spoke about community and their desire to contribute to the overall health of the community. Although, Senator Shaheen was raised in Missouri, she moved to New Hampshire in the 1960s and considers New Hampshire to be her home; she has advocated for her state and its people. Her family, her children, and grandchildren also live in N.H. A writer at the *Manchester Union Leader*, the largest newspaper in New Hampshire, wrote the following about Senator Shaheen, “... maybe it’s because her father worked in a shoe factory and her mother was church secretary. Maybe because she and her husband raised three daughters but Jeanne Shaheen gets it done. She puts people first” (“Shaheen unveils first TV ad in race for Senate,” 2008). In her interview, she described her reason for running for her first political office in the state senate, Senator Shaheen said,

There was a particular situation in the state senate district where I thought the senator had not done a good job, so I looked at the things I cared about and the community ... I thought I could do a better job.” (Shaheen, 2014)

Speaker Norelli works to help her community while serving in the New Hampshire House of Representatives. Speaker Norelli has a background in education and she spoke of her commitment to her fellow representatives. She said to the researcher, “Many [legislators] come in and they don’t have any background, so we do orientation and we do continuing education programs for them” (Norelli, 2014). During the

interview, Norelli said we “get things done to help our community, the greater community of state as opposed to our local community” (Norelli, 2014). When she considered running, she reports that she had to look at the issues “differently as a way to help my community, to create a positive change that I had been working to create, in a smaller arena” (Norelli, 2014).

Council Pignatelli spoke of her communities quite literally. She described the thirty-three communities she represents and how she interacts with them during the interview.

Some communities want me to visit. For example, I represent Peterborough. They send me a request to meet with the Board of Selectmen every year. I got to know them very well. It was helpful for Peterborough. ... I know them and they know me. If they had a problem, we had a personal connection. They could call me. Some communities don't seem to want me involved. I don't want to push myself on those communities. I send out an email after every meeting and every community gets that email. It discusses what went on in Council and how it will affect their particular community. (Pignatelli, 2014a)

***Experience.*** The participants in this study have varying types of experience that have brought them to serving as elected officials: some have been mothers, some teachers, some worked in the political world, and others worked in social services. The women shared how their experiences had affected their ability to run for and serve in office.



Senator Shaheen and Speaker Norelli were teachers; they described their teaching experience to Governor Kunin (2008). In the interview Senator Shaheen said, “I had been a teacher for several years. You can’t be usually too shy standing up in front of a group of high school students” (p. 46). Speaker Norelli said, “I was a high school math teacher” (Kunin, 2008, p. 46).

Speaker Norelli highlighted how her previous experience serving on and chairing various boards had prepared her for the parliamentary procedures of the legislature. When coming to the House floor everyday, Speaker Norelli told Governor Kunin (2008) that she tries to be ultra prepared. She recalled, “I was not surprised by anything parliamentary because I was well prepared with the rules, with the citations” (Kunin, 2008, p. 102). In her interview for this study Speaker Norelli said that she “had served on several boards and chaired a couple of boards” (Norelli, 2014) before running for the New Hampshire House.

Senate Minority Leader Larsen explained how she had gained confidence through her early experiences working for a New Hampshire governor and as a staff member in the State Senate. She told Governor Kunin, “I had worked for New Hampshire Governor Hugh Gallen as a ‘background staff person’ before I ran for City Council” (Kunin, 2008, pp. 50–1). When speaking of her decision to run for City Council in her interview, Senate Minority Leader Larsen told the researcher, “I had been a staff member for Governor Gallen, and I had been in the State Senate as a staff member, I was confident that I could do it” (Larsen, 2014).

Minority Leader Hager mentioned her role as a principal in her interview, she “was a principal at the Philbrick Center” (Hager, 2014) in Concord, N.H. Her experience as a principal taught her about administration. She was surprised when she experienced the gender bias that women face. When she left to have a second child, the reaction of her supervisor surprised her.

He was the new head of education at N.H. hospital and I said I would be taking a leave of absence, and I will return after my baby is born. He said, ‘oh you can't do that. If you're going to have two children, you'll have to stay home and take care of them.’ (Hager, 2014)

Minority Leader Hager was not prepared for that response. Later, she was appointed to the “N.H. Commission on the Status of Women” (Hager, 2014) and became an advocate for women’s issues.

***Meeting constituents.*** In New Hampshire, meeting constituents is important when running for office; you have to shake a lot of hands. In N.H., “voters expect to meet candidates in living rooms, coffee shops and town hall meetings—a system that prizes person-to-person contact plays to women’s strengths and experience” (Starr, 2014, p. 104).

The women in this study have won many elections, during the interviews they were asked what contributed to their success when running. They all gave the same response “going door-to-door” (Hager, 2014; Larsen, 2014; Norelli, 2014; Pignatelli, 2014a; Shaheen, 2014). None spoke of their political records; they only spoke of their ability and willingness to go door-to-door. New Hampshire voters want to know their

politicians, and know that they consider their well-being as part of the service they will provide to the community.

Senate Minority Leader Larsen spoke of her strategy to win an election. It included going door-to-door, getting the support from her family and friends, and the advantage of being a woman. In N.H., people want to be able to trust their politicians.

I'd go to every event, I'd get out on the street corner and wave at people with my signs. I have a wonderful network of friends who have always supported me and have gone out campaigning with me, they also helped to underwrite the costs of these campaigns. I think, too, female campaigns engender greater trust; I think there is a sense that we're doing it more for the needs of the people instead of self-grandisment. I think we actually benefit from being women candidates. (Larsen, 2014).

As described by Senator Larson, people would rather see the candidate in person than see an advertisement on the television.

Speaker Norelli also talked about "burning up a lot of shoe leather" (Norelli, 2014) by going house to house to meet voters. She indicated she does not have to do very much because her district is very Democratic, but going door-to-door is her strategy to winning.

Councilor Pignatelli said she got elected by "working really hard, being available when I'm asked to speak to groups or at events, going to door-to-door ... I think putting up signs is really important, getting people in each community to be the point person" (Pignatelli, 2014a). She said it is difficult to run where there are 263,000 people in your

area. Some people do not want a candidate walking up their long driveways (Pignatelli, 2014a). There is a certain amount of risk in doing that “A lot of people in this state own guns and I do not want to put myself at risk” (Pignatelli, 2014a).

Minority Leader Hager echoed the words of the other women interviewed. She attributed her wins to “enthusiasm and working hard. In New Hampshire, if you go door-to-door and you show up for everything, and you really answer people’s questions, and show them how informed you are and how hard you work, you can get elected” (Hager, 2014). She lost her last election when she was marginalized by the conservative Republicans. If she had become a Democrat, she was told that she would win. “If I wanted to get back into the House, I would have to be a Democrat because I cannot win a Republican primary” (Hager, 2014). She thought the voters would not trust her if she changed parties.

**Passion.** Passion is a support for women to run for office as it motivates women to take action, which may result in them running for office. It is passion that propels women to run and that sustains them through their campaigns and political careers. As Sarah Palin wrote in *Going Rogue* (2009), hard work and passion matter most of all. As the literature review has shown, passions often drive women to become involved in politics. “Women are more productive in government, they introduce more laws, they get them passed, and they care very deeply about content. It probably springs from the reason they got into government in the first place. A personal passion” (How women become political, 2013). A passion for women’s issues was discussed by all five of the women studied and more than one of the women expressed passion for issues related to children.

During her interview, Minority Leader Hager said when people ask of what she is most proud of it was her role of working on the Equal Rights Amendment and her passion for women's rights.

I was the chair of the Bill of Rights Committee. I was the prime sponsor of the equal rights amendment ... I saw the Equal Rights Amendment all the way through and I spoke around the state on it. It became a part our constitution after the 1974 vote. (Hager, 2014)

She said, "Getting really involved in the women's movement made a significant difference in my life. ... through all the decisions I made" (Hager, 2014).

Senate Minority Leader Larsen is passionate about women's reproductive rights and school funding. Larsen described herself to the researcher in terms of her passion. When she thinks of her passion of women's and children's rights, she hopes that other women share her passion and will take action. Larsen (2014) said, "There are a lot of women who would be motivated by many of the same things as me. I think if government were to crack down and start overseeing a woman's body, and the things she does with it" then more women would run for office.

Senate Minority Leader Larsen and Minority Leader Hager were not the only women influenced by their passion. Speaker Norelli spoke of her passions and how they influenced her decision to run.

I had served on several boards, chaired a couple of boards, she [Senator Clark] said, 'You have to look at it this way. You can work on the same issues you've always worked on .... It's just a different venue, and it will

have a statewide impact.’ And, when I started looking at it that way, you know it started to make more sense. I care about a woman’s right to access the full range of reproductive health care; I care about violence against women. I could continue to be an advocate for women at sexual assault support services, or I could be in the legislature and advocate for women across the state; make changes in policy that will make a difference for all women across the state. So, I began looking at it differently as a way to help my community, to create the positive change that I had been working to create in a smaller arena. (Norelli, 2014)

Councilor Pignatelli also mentioned women’s reproductive rights as a passion. Councilor Pignatelli decided to run when she noted the person in office did not share her values. She said, “My Councilor did not represent my views and did not cherish what I cherish ... he voted along with two other counselors to close down Planned Parenthood clinics” (Pignatelli, 2014a).

In addition to women’s reproductive rights, many of the women mentioned children’s rights. Senate Minority Leader Larsen believes that many women share the same passion for education. During her interview, she said, “if we were to somehow, devalue public education so our kids were not getting the education they needed or if we were to privatize all of our schools, people would start getting involved” (Larsen, 2014). Councilor Pignatelli had worked for child advocacy before her initial run for office. When she first ran, her name was put on the ballot as a placeholder, as often happens in a district where there is not anyone likely to win against the incumbent. Once she was

elected, she realized that she could advocate for children. She told the researcher:

Joe Freeman, administrator to the Mayor [in Nashua, N.H.], called and asked if I would put my name on the ballot to run for State Representative. ‘Don’t worry’, he assured me, as I wasn’t going to win. ... Children have always been a focus for me and probably their interests have kept me in office for so long. Children don’t have a voice and they don’t get a vote. (Pignatelli, 2014a)

**Campaigns.** Working on a political campaign allows women to gain entry into the workings of the political world and gain access to mentors. Many of the women interviewed for this study have had some experience working on a campaign before starting their own. “Working in campaigns, organizations, and political parties all help one’s political networks to grow. Women and men have served as political mentors and trainers for women now serving in public office” (Stanwick & Kleeman, 1983, p. 37). Working with others on campaigns not only helps one to organize her campaign but also creates networks of people who may help to make political connections.

Senator Shaheen had experience in electoral politics that dates back to 1976, when she and her husband, Billy, were organizers in Jimmy Carter’s New Hampshire presidential primary bid and Gary Hart’s campaign (Hightower-Langston, 2002; Starr, 2014). Jimmy Carter’s campaign was the first of many campaigns. Senator Shaheen campaigned for others before campaigning for herself. “Shaheen honed her political strategy by working on the campaigns of others for 16 years before deciding to run herself” (Hightower-Langston, 2002, p. 206). Starr (2014) writes, “Shaheen ran two

statewide campaigns before she became the candidate herself in 1999.” She said, “I had a good network, and I saw a great opportunity in my district, where I thought the state senator was too conservative,” (Starr, 2014, p. 107).

Speaker Norelli worked on former Secretary of State Clinton’s presidential election campaign and plans to work on Clinton’s next campaign. After the interview had ended, and the recorder turned off, Speaker Norelli displayed her Hillary Clinton pin and said that she had plans to work on Secretary Clinton’s campaign if she runs for president again.

Senate Minority Leader Larsen also gained experience from working on campaigns. She “worked on Jeanne Shaheen’s and Jimmy Carter’s campaigns as a field coordinator, coordinating volunteers” (Della Ferra, 2008, p. 233). Working with volunteers is not easy and she learned a great deal from working in these roles.

Councilor Pignatelli spoke to the interviewer of her own involvement in the campaigns of others saying, “In New Hampshire, we can support local and state candidates and presidential candidates. They all come here to campaign for national office. That’s what I had done prior to running for office” (Pignatelli, 2014a).

**Barriers experienced while running for or holding political office.** Throughout the five interviews, the participants described barriers that they had encountered in their runs for office. In *Men Rule the Continued Under-Representation of Women in Politics*, researchers Lawless and Fox (2012) identified these three as sources of challenge: family, competition and fundraising. Participants also describe two barriers in this study that



were not discussed in the literature review: fundraising and carrying the label of ‘politician.’

**Family.** Family may be defined as both a barrier and a support when running for office. Former Vermont Governor Madeline Kunin authored a book about women political leaders entitled *Pearls, Politics, & Power: How Women Can Win and Lead* (2008). In this book, Senate Minority Leader Sylvia Larsen tells the story of the commitment she made to her husband to make him a hot meal every Monday night.

When Larsen first ran for city council, her husband, a trial lawyer, was concerned because their youngest child was still in nursery school and she wouldn’t be home on Monday nights when the council met. ‘My husband committed to staying home with the kids, in return for his support I promised him a hot dinner every Monday night, and he still gets that--but now I have hired someone.’ (Kunin, 2008, pp. 25–26)

As Della Ferra (2008) explains in her book *Women at the Table*, “Her husband wasn’t on the same wavelength. He didn’t want his life to change” (p. 234). In the interview for this study, Larsen was specifically asked about the hot dinners. Larsen said it was true.

He was a busy lawyer, so he was like, ‘What am I going to do on Monday night?’ I said, ‘I promise a hot dinner.’ ... I was on City Council for six years and I did two years of both, City Council and State Senate. I had to finish out my term; I didn’t want to cause a special election. I finished my term on the City Council and by then I had a system. I actually ended up hiring a woman .... who would start dinner; she was also in the house for

teenagers so the house was never empty. I got by that way by basically hiring another wife [laughter]. (Larsen, 2014)

The need to make dinner for the family was a barrier but her family also became a support; it was her desire to go beyond the role of stay-at-home mom that propelled her to run for office.

Larsen needed to do something other than spend all day with children. In her interview, Larsen (2014) described, “I felt the need to do something with my head because I was home with babies all day.” She used her position in politics to balance her family’s schedule and her need for more mental stimulation. Larsen told Della Ferra (2008) “Being a city councilor was a good fit for a mother. . . .The council met one night a week. But with all the political positions, one night a week turned into many more evenings, which turned into many late afternoon meetings” (p. 234). Even though Larsen had an important role as a politician, she also had an important role as a mother and like most mothers she had to find a way to balance both roles. In an interview with Kate Snow of ABC news, Larson recalls one of those late afternoon meetings when she was in the Senate, “On one particularly grueling day, Larsen remembers having to quietly ask the then-president of the State Senate if they could take a recess so she could pick up her daughter from piano lessons” (Snow & Milberger, 2008, para. 27).

For politicians, there are advantages to being a mother too; one advantage is having a working knowledge of health care and educational systems. In a book written by former Vermont Governor, Madeline Kunin, Speaker Norelli explained the relationship between her “mom” role and her political agenda:

If you are a woman, if you are a mom, then chances are you are the one who is interacting with the schools and monitoring the one who is taking your kids to the doctor, and maybe you've had them to the emergency room. So you are figuring out how your health insurance works ... you know something about health care. A lot of people don't. We have experiences based on our everyday life, what we do professionally, or what we do in the community. (Kunin, 2008, p. 83)

A second advantage is the support for political life that a family can provide. The Speaker said to the researcher,

Having family support is critical ... my husband and children ... [they] have been [supportive]. In fact, my husband is not one who would typically go to political events, so he stretches himself to be supportive even in that way. It takes an awful lot of time to do this; so, families make sacrifices and it's important to have family support. (Norelli, 2014)

Speaker Norelli described her family's dynamics to Della Ferra (2008),

'Being speaker has been a huge commitment, and I could never have done it if my children were still young.' Terie's children are now in their twenties; still support her by stuffing envelopes for her campaigns. Her supportive husband keeps her spreadsheets and even helps with the photocopying. 'My family is very supportive.' (p. 270)

As written in the book *Women at the Table*, Speaker Norelli told author Della Ferra (2008) “her husband encouraged her [to run] and offered support even before Terie had finalized her decision for herself” (p. 271).

Pignatelli realized that she could not hold a job as a counselor, be a state representative and a mother all at the same time. She realized that she had to leave one job and she valued her political life. In her interview, she said, “I liked it [being in the house] but found that I couldn’t do this and my other job, rehabilitation counseling. I was also the mother of two young boys. ... I left the rehabilitation job and concentrated on the elected office and motherhood” (Pignatelli, 2014a). She further describes her children (now) as “very supportive. They are very media savvy. They were able to put my newspaper ads together, deal with the newspaper, help me to set up meetings, and drive me to speak to groups about the Council” (Pignatelli, 2014a).

Like Senate Minority Leader Larsen, work as a full-time mother was not challenging enough for Minority Leader Hager who describes her initial decision to run to the researcher. “I was 26 years old but I was not a happy full-time mother” (Hager, 2014). She also describes a situation akin to the Larsen experience, in the middle of an important meeting she had to leave to take care of her children,

Then, I looked at my watch. I had to get home to my little girls, they were only four and six and I only had a babysitter for so long. ... So I said, ‘oh I have to go home, the babysitter has to leave’ and they said, ‘what committee do you want?’ (Hager, 2014)

Families have served as both barriers and support for the women interviewed. In the case of some of the women, there were barriers to be faced. The first was not feeling as though being a full-time mother was challenging enough and the need to do more. Even when women are supported by their families, “women are still responsible for the majority of childcare and household tasks. Women are much more likely than men to be responsible for the majority of household work and childcare” (Lawless & Fox, 2012, p. 13). It is only when children are older that the responsibilities begin to lessen that children become supporters. Some of the women in this study waited until their children were older before running for office. “While both male and female elected officials have children, elected women are more likely than their male counterparts to have children older than 18” (Rajoppi, 1993, p. 28). The women interviewed spoke of the challenge of balancing family and work in terms of hiring help, leaving jobs, and having to leave meetings to attend to family situations.

*Media.* In the literature review, it was established that the media is regularly viewed as a barrier for women running for office; however, the research did not show the media to be a barrier to the women studied. The media discrimination against women results in some women making a decision not to run for office. Women in New Hampshire are fortunate in that there are so many political races that the House and Senate races go largely unnoticed drawing little or no media attention.

When asked during her interview about her experience with the media, Senate Minority Leader Larsen describes what she believes are the dynamics in the press when men run against a woman based on her experience with the media. She said, “I think it’s

slightly easier [for women]; there is a funny thing that happens when men are candidates against women, and I noticed this even in my first race, they [the men] get all flustered. They don't know how to campaign against a woman" (Larsen, 2014). She attributes it to "they don't want to be seen as picking on a woman. That might be more with older men because with younger men there has been more inclusion. But with older men, there was always the separation of the sexes" (Larsen, 2014).

The women in N.H. generally do not have to struggle with the level of competition and conflict with which women in other states must contend. Women are less interested in controversy and conflict (Braden, 1996; Burrell, 2004; *How women become political*, 2013) than men.

**Competition.** The literature review describes the lack of competition in women's lives as a barrier when running for office. As girls, women are taught to be more cooperative than competitive. Women "for the most part have been brought up to be nurturing and conciliatory and to avoid risks" (Bernay & Cantor, 1992, p. 166). This becomes an issue when women have to publically compete for a political position. Not only must women compete but they are also competing in the public eye. While competition was discussed in the literature review as a barrier, it was not a focus of the interviews in this study. This may be due in part to the short length of time available for each interview and the interviewer's decision not to ask specific questions related to competition. Each interview was less than an hour in length with the exception of Senator Shaheen's interview; she was scheduled for 15 minutes. However, Senator Shaheen knew the value of competition as she voiced it as a phenomenon that she had witnessed when

she was the director of the Institute of Politics at the Kennedy School at Harvard University. At the Kennedy School, she noted a lack of competitive spirit and wondered about the lack of political drive for woman in college. She said,

We would have a room full of young people and I would ask ‘How many of you want to be in politics?’ Virtually every male hand in the room would go up and only 25-30% of the young women. ... Are we discouraging them from thinking about that? This is a question that we really need to ask. (Shaheen, 2014)

A few of the barriers as outlined in the literature review were described to Senator Shaheen by the researcher. When the researcher came to the point where she started to describe the value of competition for young women, the Senator interrupted and said,

Sports, I think that’s really important. If you look at Title IX and the impact on women, it’s significant. I played both interscholastic basketball and softball in high school and played intercollegiate basketball at a time when most colleges didn’t have women’s sports teams. You look at business, across the board; it has had a huge impact on woman, so I think you’re onto something here. (Shaheen, 2014)

The researcher never got to the point of mentioning Title IX but the Senator clearly saw the value of sports in her own life. She described Title IX as having a significant impact on women. “Competition is so much a part of life that people tend to overlook its potential value” (Bernay & Cantor, 1992, p. 120). The value comes when one holds office, when working with men who are taught to think differently than women.

“Traditionally women have been socialized to emphasize values such as cooperation, nurturance, sacrifice, harmony, and moralism, whereas men are socialized to prize rationalism, competition, and objectivity” (Burrell, 2004, p. 111). Women must be able to negotiate with men who prize competition.

***Fundraising.*** Asking others for money was problematic for some of the participants. “For many, the responsibility lies with the candidates' fundraising ability. ... However distasteful it might be to a novice's ideals, successful fundraising drives the machine, makes the candidate visible to move votes and is essential to do well if you want to win” (Rajoppi, 1993, p. 12). According to the literature, it is as difficult for women to ask for money as it is for men. It is a barrier for women and men. Due to the fact that it was not a specific female barrier, it was not included in the literature review. Counselor Pignatelli described the ease of asking for money for a cause, but not for her own campaign (Pignatelli, 2014a). It is uncomfortable to seek campaign contributions.

When speaking of her run for Governor, Minority Leader Hager pointed out that she raised the money she needed. She recognized fundraising as an issue but not a barrier. Minority Leader Hager said, “I could go into the gubernatorial campaign ... the real challenge is money. I raised as much [money] as I needed that summer, the summer of ‘92” (Hager, 2014). When she was asked if her largest challenge to running for office was fundraising she said, “Yes, but I can't think of any barriers” (Hager, 2014). She describes a political school where former Vermont Governor Kunin was the keynote speaker. The school inspired Hager and it influenced her ability to raise funds.



Well, I don't think it is ever easy but there are a lot of good schools about how to run for office. I was particularly inspired by one I went to a couple of years earlier where Madeline Kunin was the keynote [speaker], she talked about ... the different things that affected her decision to run for governor of Vermont and how much it had meant to her. I was inspired and I knew intellectually that I had to raise the money, so I did. (Hager, 2014)

Minority Leader Hager described that very little money is needed to run for the House, as with 400 seats, it becomes a local issue. There are only 24 seats in the Senate, and special interest groups often fund those races, due to the fact that it only takes 13 votes to stop a piece of legislation that might be unfavorable to a special interest group.

It costs \$100,000 to run for State Senate in New Hampshire but with a 24-person Senate, all the special interest groups are willing to put that kind of money in Senate campaigns. ... If you want to pass something, you have to get 13 Senators and a majority in that huge House. If you want to kill something, you just have to worry about the 13 Senators. (Hager 2014)

If a special interest group believes that a piece of unfavorable legislation may come before the House, it may want to fund a few political races.

When asked about barriers, Speaker Norelli acknowledged fundraising as an issue for some women. One barrier that women face is “not wanting to raise money, or being uncomfortable raising money” (Norelli, 2014). She went on to say,

I think even if you look at the philanthropic world, it's more often men who are raising money and giving money. And, I think nowadays, we are trying to change that and that is why there are women's funds across the country, such as Emily's list. Women can raise money and they can give money but we do not naturally think of ourselves in that way--so that's a barrier. (Norelli, 2014)

Emily's list is a Political Action Committee (PAC) that seeks "to put women into office who can make significant contributions to education, health care, voting rights, and economic equality. We have systematically defined a strategic approach to winning elections that drive progressive change" ("What we do," n.d.). Pursuing funding from Emily's list is an option for women who have the same beliefs as the group.

Councilor Pignatelli also spoke of the role of raising money in her own career; she would have liked to run for Congress, an expensive race, but decided against it for monetary reasons. She describes to the researcher her ability to raise money for others but not for herself.

One of the big challenges for me, and I think for women in general, is the task of fundraising. I don't know if you've heard this from other women. Some women do it very well. Annie McLane Kuster does it very well. I could learn from her. It always seemed unseemly to me to make the calls and ask for money for myself. I have no problem asking for money for the Girls' Club. I had thought about running for Congress a few years ago. When I thought about raising an enormous amount of money, I decided

not to run. Raising money for campaigns has been a stumbling block.

(Pignatelli, 2014a)

Pignatelli (2014a) then said, I “made up for lack of fundraising by being out in the community.” At her level of office, “it’s pretty inexpensive to run in N.H.” and there are ways to get around not having enough money such as ‘going door-to-door.’” In an email from Councilor Pignatelli, she estimates that she “spent about \$40,000 on my last campaign” (Pignatelli, 2014b). The councilor has found a way to circumvent the money issue by avoiding costly expenses and having face-to-face interactions with the voters.

I didn’t have to raise that much money because I was fairly well known. I ran for the House and then I ran for the Senate. The Senate district was a bit larger. I made up for the lack of fundraising by being out in the community--knocking on doors, doing other things, and I limited the advertisements, which costs the most money. Same when I ran for Council. I was told that I needed to raise \$100,000-\$200,000. It just seems outrageous that I’d have to raise that much money to win a seat.

(Pignatelli, 2014a)

Despite the fact that she was informed that the race for council would cost in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, she found a way to run and win for, less. As one author writes,

Campaigning in the granite state is slightly different than in the rest of the nation. Candidates tend towards a ‘meet and greet’ style of campaigning. Meeting in homes, the local diner or the corner bakery are the most

popular ways of campaigning than huge, impersonal rallies. (Della Ferra, 2008, p. 190)

To manage raising the necessary funds to run for office, Senator Shaheen hired a professional fundraiser; she is currently employing Will Comparas. The Senator told the researcher that Will Comparas, “just organized three concerts for me with Carole King” (Shaheen, 2014). The Senator’s use of a fundraiser allows her to focus on the election and assign the task to someone with skills in that area.

***Politicians.*** Another barrier encountered by Speaker Norelli lay in thinking of oneself as a politician; she was uncomfortable thinking of herself in this way. She believes politicians are self-serving and that others perceive them that way as well.

I think that politician sounds self-serving to some people and I think that people tend to think of politicians as people who take money from special interests--just for the sake of getting elected. That certainly has not been my experience with N.H. legislators in the House. (Norelli, 2014)

After working in the legislature for 18 years she knows that politicians in the state’s legislature are not self-serving and realize that they are largely volunteers. It is not a job where people have a lot of financial advantages.

***Relationships.*** The women who were interviewed created relationships with others through recruiting and mentoring activities.

***Recruitment.*** The research shows that lack of recruitment is an impediment to women running for public office. The act of recruitment can make a difference between women running, or not. “Women's recruitment disadvantage depresses their political

ambitions and ultimately hinders their emergence as candidates” (Fox & Lawless, 2010, p. 311). The act of recruitment is a support for women. Senate Minority Leader Larsen, Speaker Norelli, Councilor Pignatelli, and Minority Leader Hager, were recruited to run for office thus demonstrating the value of recruiting for N.H. women. All have actively recruited other women. Senate Minority Leader Larsen spoke of her own recruitment to the N.H. House; she had not considered running until asked.

I was asked to run by a couple of women; in fact [N.H. Senator] Jeanne Shaheen and [N.H. Senator] Debora Pignatelli took me out to lunch and talked me into it. They told me that I’d be home after school for my kids ... It was a combination of them asking and one other person called me on the phone and asked me to think about it. I hadn't been thinking about it until I was asked. (Larson, 2014)

Senate Minority Leader Larsen spoke of current governor in N.H., Governor Maggie Hassan and Larsen’s role in initially recruiting Governor Hassan to the Senate.

I encouraged Maggie Hassan to run. I was the one who picked her ... I watched her and noticed how good she was ... she was lively and smart, and she would be more likely to stand up and say something in a crowd. (Larsen, 2014)

Senate Minority Leader Larsen spoke of recruiting in terms of gender, “People get recruited based on their gender, so men seem to turn to other men” (Larsen, 2014) and by extension, women recruit women. All, but one, of the women recruited were recruited by another woman.

Prior to running for office, Speaker Norelli had volunteered on various committees. Speaker Norelli described her own recruitment, “I was actually recruited by another woman, Martha Fuller Clark, who is in the Senate. ... I said no, and she didn’t take no for an answer. She came back and back again” (Norelli, 2014). One author writes on Speaker Norelli’s recruitment, she said, “Senator Martha Fuller Clark, convinced Norelli that she could continue working on all the community service causes that she had been involved with” (Della Ferra, 2008, p. 271), while serving in the House. Speaker Norelli described to the researcher why she believes she was recruited. “When I moved to New Hampshire, someone asked me to serve on a sexual assault services board ... I think it started out that I had interest in issues and someone saw that interest and recruited me” (Norelli, 2014). She further described her role in recruiting others and the greater challenge inherent in recruiting women.

Now I’m in the position of trying to recruit others to run. There is a very different dynamic when you’re asking a man versus asking a woman. First of all, men as a general rule just assume they can do it. And women assume that they will have to work really hard, that they don’t know enough, that they have to have something to offer. ... Asking is the first task to get more women elected; you have to make a conscious effort to recruit women. (Norelli, 2014)

Minority Leader Elizabeth Hager told the researcher that her neighbors recruited her. “We lived in Gilmanton when we first got to New Hampshire and our dear friends

were George and Margaret Roberts. At the time George was majority leader so he encouraged me” (Hager, 2014).

***Mentoring.*** Mentoring is another relationship theme that emerged from the data. Many of the women received mentoring and/or provided mentoring for others. In the experiences of these women, mentoring included role modeling. Mentoring is a support for women running for election as well as for incumbent women. Role modeling was discussed as another form of mentoring.

***Contemporary mentoring.*** Most of the women spoke of mentoring relationships which fall within the parameters of the contemporary definition of mentoring “as a relationship in which a mentor supports the ‘professional and personal development of another by sharing his or her experiences, influence or expertise’” (Driscoll et al., 2009, pp. 6–7). The women shared descriptions of the mentoring they had received as well as the ways in which they had mentored others.

In former Vermont Governor Madeline Kunin’s book, the author wrote that according to Speaker Norelli, mentors do not have to come from the ranks of the elected; they can come from other areas too.

Mentors don’t have to be politicians ... [I] was inspired by the executive director of the pro-choice New Hampshire Chapter of NARAL (National Abortion Rights Action League). ‘She was that one person.’ I admired her for her ability to make connections and work in the political arena across party lines and to develop leadership in other people. [She] was one of

those people in my life who encouraged me to take on leadership roles.

(Kunin, 2008, p. 58)

Speaker Norelli described, to the researcher, the two ways that mentoring has manifested itself in her life.

... one is having mentor and the other is being a mentor. I find that many, many, women over the 18 years feel like I'm their role model, their mentor. As I leave here, there is probably nothing that means more to me than that ... I am willing and interested in teaching them things they need to do their job better. (Norelli, 2014)

During her interview, Minority Leader Hager identified her father as a mentor and explained that she had not realized that he had mentored her until he had passed away. "My dad was an unbeknownst mentor to me in the political world" (Hager, 2014). Her father had been director of the United Way in Iowa. Many years later, she became the director of the United Way in New Hampshire; Minority Leader Hager described another mentor relationship she had while serving in the House. She explained that Representative William Kidder had taught her how to work with people in the legislature.

The best thing for me was sitting next to Bill Kidder for two years [in the N.H. House] because he was ... a true mentor ... just his way with dealing with the issues, dealing with people ... and it was wonderful; he shaped a lot of my thinking about the legislature...[he] was a real inspiration when I ran for governor. Bill was a great mentor. (Hager, 2014)



Minority Leader Hager also mentions Susan McLane and Carol Pierce as having mentored her. McLane was also a friend. “Susan McLane was one of my very best friends. I think there was a lot of mentorship when we first knew each other” (Hager, 2014).

When speaking of mentoring, Senate Minority Leader Larsen described a Senate colleague as one of her mentors, “having a mentor in Senator [Martha Fuller] Clark was certainly helpful” (Larsen, 2014). Senator Shaheen provided mentorship for Larsen as well, “Shaheen was about the second person I met in the city, and we’ve been friends for many years. Watching her way of doing things would be considered mentoring” (Larsen, 2014). Larsen believes that women should support one another through mentoring, “It’s important that as women we take on these leadership roles, including mentoring and being a good role model” (Larsen, 2014). When speaking of her role in the Senate she accepts that she is both a role model and a mentor.

Councilor Pignatelli did not speak of having had a mentor, but like Speaker Norelli, she recognized her place as a mentor and role model. She said,

I’ve always tried to be available to girls and young women. I speak to Girls’ State every year ... I believe that when you’ve reached a level of success, you have an obligation to keep the door open and the ladder down to encourage other women. I’ve tried to do that. I’m available to anybody who wants to call and I go out to speak to many women’s groups.

(Pignatelli, 2014a)

Senator Shaheen identified two mentors in her interview, Robert Craig (a political science professor at the University of New Hampshire) and N.H. State Senator Susan McLane. Dr. Craig taught the Senator about government by facilitating her participation in the U.N.H.'s governing system.

I have had the benefit of having people who took an interest in trying to advise me and give me direction ... Robert Craig, who I worked with right out of graduate school, ran the senate at U.N.H. At that time U.N.H. had a unicameral senate, it was the only college in the country that had faculty, staff, and students all part of the same governing body. They hired me to be what they called the senate secretary, which was essentially the person who ran the senate operations. (Shaheen, 2014)

While working at the University and acting as an administrator to the legislative body, Senator Shaheen learned first-hand about the workings of a political body. When speaking of Robert Craig, she said explained that he continued to be a mentor as she moved into her political career, "He was one of the people that whenever I had a political decision to make, I always talked to Bob to get his thoughts and ideas" (Shaheen, 2014). Senator Shaheen mentioned that it was unfortunate that Mr. Craig has passed away and can no longer act as a mentor for her. She also identified Senator Susan McLane as a source of constant support.

Another person who was very helpful to me ... was Susan McLane, [U.S. Congresswoman] Anne McLane Kuster's mother. She was a Republican, but she really believed in getting more women in politics and did

everything she could to help me. She was one of the people who, early on, reached out to me and offered her help and support. We served in the state Senate together and she was terrific to support me. (Shaheen, 2014)

In an article entitled the *Founding Mothers of New Hampshire*, (Starr, 2014), Shaheen remembered McLane as a “big mentor.” McLane was responsible for “Introducing her to lawmakers and imparting advice she’d received about the best colors to wear for public appearances” (p. 107). When asked during the interview about her role as a mentor, Senator Shaheen said, “Well, I hope that many of the young men and women who have worked with me over the years would think that I was a good mentor” (Shaheen, 2014).

***Role modeling.*** One form of mentoring includes role modeling. Role modeling is closely related to mentoring and was identified as a support by several of the women interviewed. Role models demonstrate to others, through their own behavior, how to act in a position or situation. Female mentors can offer role modeling by demonstrating how to do something that is different than other paths and integrate it into their life (Burrell, 2004; Rose, 2005). Role models may or may not have direct contact with those for whom they become a model. When looking for a role model, people seek someone they can emulate. They look for someone who demonstrates the ability to accomplish what they wish to achieve. Many of the women mentioned role models that they had had; some of their role models were historical figures and some were contemporaries that the participants passed in the halls of the House or Senate.

Minority Leader Hager was greatly inspired and influenced by women who came before her. Minority Leader Hager described the (former representative’s) Caroline

Gross' special place in the state house and how Representative Gross inspired her. She spoke of Representative Caroline Gross as a woman who carved a path among women leaders in the state of N.H.

My representative was Caroline Gross, who was the majority leader, and she died. Hers was the only picture of a woman in the [State House] hall. There are six women's pictures in the State House now. Hers is in the hall over the entry door, along with five men. I ran for her seat in '93. (Hager, 2014)

By running for a seat held by the only woman in the hall of men, Minority Leader Hager attempted to fill Gross' shoes, and by many standards would become a powerful woman in her own right. Gross' political career indicated to Minority Leader Hager that a woman from a small rural district could make an impact in politics. Minority Leader Hager also spoke of Carol Pierce as a role model. "Carol Pierce was the chair of the commission of the status of women when I first got in" (Hager, 2014). Carol demonstrated how to navigate the powerful role of chairing a statewide committee.

Senator Shaheen highlighted the role that women leaders have played in her life. These women leaders created pathways for her and for other women leaders. She mentions, Marilla Marks Ricker who campaigned for Presidents Harrison and McKinley (Underwood Parker, 2009). Ricker attempted to run for governor when "no women had ever filed for the office of governor ... the only requirements for governor were to be over thirty and a New Hampshire resident for seven years" (Underwood Parker, 2009, p. 104). Powerful and brave women, like Ricker, carved the way for the women behind

them and influenced Senator Shaheen. When describing Ricker to the researcher, the Senator said, “Women couldn’t even vote when she ran for Governor. That kind of legacy has been important. [Look at] Vesta Roy taking over [the office of Governor] for a short time when she was president of the Senate” (Shaheen, 2014). She mentioned Liz Hager, Arnie Arneson, and Dudley Dudley, “All the women who have gone before us who have been so important by helping to pave the way so voters see that this is not about gender but about ideas, experience, and ability” (Shaheen, 2014).

Senator Shaheen also spoke of the fourth graders in New Hampshire who make the trek to the State House to learn about state government. When they enter the State House, they see women modeling how to be political leaders in the state. She speaks of her own and her contemporaries’ responsibilities as role models for children and particularly young women.

One of the exciting things about having all of the women leaders in New Hampshire is that it provides role models for others ... for kids in fourth grade who go through the state house and meet the Governor ... and see that they can grow up and do whatever they want. They can be in politics if they want; that's one of the best ways to get young women involved, to see other women that they can look to and see that they've been involved in politics. They've been able to see that they can have families ... be able to deal with all of the challenging criticism, and all of the things that women are concerned about. To see that other women are doing it is probably the best way to get more women involved. (Shaheen, 2014)

Speaker Norelli also addressed the value of seeing the fourth graders in the State House, the impact she believes that has on the young women, and her role as a trailblazer.

I also think it's important for young women to see women in leadership roles. Fourth grade classes come to the State House a lot. If they are Portsmouth students [she represents Portsmouth], I'll meet with them and I ask them, how many women speakers think there are? They think there are a lot, and why not? They are looking at one. But I think if I were a man and I said to them, how many women speakers do you think there are, the numbers would probably not be so high. It's important, critically important, to see women in those kinds of roles that tell them that they can aspire to be the Speaker of the House. Be the Governor, be a U.S. Senator, especially in New Hampshire. (Norelli, 2014)

Speaker Norelli discussed in her interview the value of being a role model for adults, too, as one to create a pathway and as one to emulate. She stated, "I think it's important that as women we take on these leadership roles and being a good role model for those coming up behind us" (Norelli, 2014). She believes that "the younger generations of women are more comfortable ... seeing women as role models" (Norelli, 2014).

Minority Leader Hager said other women influenced her in her first days of the House. They role-modeled leadership for her and reinforced the acceptability of women as leaders.

One of the things that struck me, and I didn't realize [un]til much later, how much it had struck me was that I was a freshman legislator at age 28. The chairs of the important committees in that legislature were women, so it was just taken for granted in 1973. There was a wonderful woman named Martha Frizzel who was the chair of the Judiciary Committee. She was from Charleston. And a woman named Roma Spaulding ... was from Claremont and she was chair of Health and Human Services. Susan McLane was chair of Ways and Means. Ruth Griffin chaired one [a legislative committee]. You just took it for granted that there would be women in leadership positions. (Hager, 2014)

Michaeline Della Ferra, (2008) describes Senate Minority Leader Larsen's childhood in the book *Women at the Table*. She "was born third into a busy family of six. Sylvia [Larsen] was always trying to prove that she could contribute" (p. 233). When Larsen was a girl, there were very few role models for one who wanted to contribute. Margaret Chase Smith was from Maine and was the first woman to serve in both the U.S. House and Senate. Della Ferra (2008) wrote, "Because there were so few women models in politics, Sylvia kept her eyes on Margaret Chase Smith" (p. 233). "Women who are here now have paved the way ... the women politicians of today have moved the ball so those who will replace us can expect to be named to top political offices" (Larsen, 2014).

**Women in office.** Until recently, there have not been as many women in powerful political roles as there are now in New Hampshire, and their move into important offices has been a shift in the way women are seen. It is so unusual for women to be seen in

powerful roles that even little girls have taken note. In a recent article, one woman describes her granddaughter's reaction to seeing images of "the newly elected, Hassan, Shea-Porter, and Kuster on TV. 'Look, Mommy!' she shouted. 'All girls!'" (Starr, 2014, p. 117). Not only are little girls noticing women in office but college professors at Ivy League colleges are also noticing. "Dartmouth professor Fowler said, 'women are the major players.' In other words, women are the establishment now" (Starr, 2014, p. 117).

Women were not always major players. There are those who think women belong at home and not in the House. Councilor Pignatelli talks about her experience when she was "out meeting her constituents and shaking hands, men would say to her, but you can't be in politics. You're a woman! You should be home!" Politely Debora would say [that] she 'had been at home raising her sons'" (Della Ferra, 2008, pp. 280–1).

When Senate Minority Leader Larsen ran for state Senate twenty years ago, she faced the same issue as Pignatelli. There were people who believed a woman should not be in the Senate. In her interview she said, there was a "Republican candidate who kept repeating that I was a 'nice lady' implying that I couldn't really handle the job. And, there were some older women, too, who were saying that I wasn't only a woman but I was young" (Larsen, 2014). Her husband really did not want her to run for office and overheard conversations around town. These conversations were along the lines of that she could not handle budget issues. She believed that her inexperience was an issue that she overcame in her first run for Senate.

Minority Leader Hager mentioned a time when she felt unwelcome in the 1970s when she had to enter a smoke-filled room, she had to assert her rights to be in the room.



“I walked up after to the President’s office and it was completely smoke filled. In those days it was all men. And I said, ‘Aren’t I supposed to be here? I did one of the seconding speeches [for nomination]’” (Hager, 2014). She continued to say, “They said, ‘Oh, come in young lady,’ and I stayed.” Hager also recalled the time she ran for governor and how “Lots of people who wanted to see a woman run” (Hager, 2014). In recent memory, there had not been a woman who had run for the office of governor.

Senate Minority Leader Larsen believes that it is significant that there are many women serving in New Hampshire at the present time, but she indicated her wish that it were not unusual. She is proud of “our state for having many women involved and men who are willing to work with them” (Larsen, 2014). She also recognized her responsibility to do a great job and to make the House and Senate accessible to more women in the future. She described her thoughts to the researcher about when she was elected to Senate President,

When I was elected Senate President and Terie as Speaker of the House, we wanted to write it off as no big deal. We knew it was a big deal, but we were hoping we'd get to a point in the world when it would not be a big deal. ... There was and continues to be a sense of responsibility to other women to do it well. Because if you're breaking ground like that you want what you're doing to reflect well on all women. So, there is a sense of responsibility. (Larsen, 2014)

In a public radio interview, Senate Minority Leader Larsen was asked about state government and women’s roles. She said, “It is a citizen participation legislature. And it

means that we don't make careers of it, but women do tend to be active community leaders more and more over the years” (Lyden, 2008). In an ABC news piece, Kate Snow said, “when the voters went to the polls last month, they weren’t looking to create a female majority in the Senate ... they were picking from a very talented slate of candidates, many of which happen to be women” (Snow & Milberger, 2008, para. 8).

Senator Shaheen has demonstrated the powerful role a woman can have in New Hampshire. She changed many of the laws that N.H. had previously adopted. N.H. was the second to last state to honor Martin Luther King, which it did under Shaheen’s leadership. Senator Shaheen’s tenure should be remembered chiefly for its firsts.

... first woman governor, first Democratic governor in a generation (and only the fourth in the twentieth century), the first governor to name a woman to the Supreme Court. She erased the state’s anti-abortion laws, encouraged public kindergarten, and signed into law the Martin Luther King Day Holiday (Belman & Pride, 2001, p. 151)

Councilor Pignatelli said in her interview that she believes women hold so many seats due to the fact that all of the House, Senate, and councilor positions are unpaid. “When I was in the House and the Senate, I used to think that women can run for these offices because their spouse can support them and they don’t need full-time employment. That was the case for me” (Pignatelli, 2014a). When asked her perception of the future for women in politics she said, “It would be nice to achieve parity with men. From my own experience, women approach issues and problems differently from men. Women tend to be more inclusive ... and try to reach a consensus” (Pignatelli, 2014a).

Senator Shaheen echoed the same sentiment as Councilor Pignatelli, in her interview, about the volunteer nature of the House and Senate that makes elected positions in N.H. more available to women.

If we look nationwide, it really is impressive to see so many women. I find that this is a tribute to the N.H. voter. It probably results from ... the fact that we have this big legislature and we have one of the highest percentages of women in it. Part of that is due to the fact that they are not paid. Women don't have to compete in the same way and deal with some of those prejudices that occur in some places. Particularly in the early years, women had another income from their husbands and were able to run for the legislature and juggle that with whatever job they had. ... if they were the main breadwinner [they] may not have had that option.

(Shaheen, 2014)

Speaker Norelli (2014) told the researcher “we’ve broken several barriers during the 18 years that I have been in the legislature. ... the first women speaker ... we were the first state in the country where the top three elected officials ... were women.”

Speaker Norelli believes that having a large representation of women serving is notable.

“Well, I think it’s still is a big deal ... I’m in a national association of female legislators, when I travel around [the country] I meet people who hear I’m from N.H. We are on their radar because N.H. is so unusual” (Norelli, 2014). When asked about the current status of women in office and her projections for the future, Norelli (2014) said that she believes “what we have now is the tipping point where it’s pretty normal and women see

themselves in that role. Going forward, we hope our numbers go up.” Norelli (2014) spoke further of the ease of women entering politics, “Well, I think that in N.H., the House is certainly a place that is relatively easy for women to have their first entrée into politics. That creates a platform or bench for other offices.” Many of the women in this study started in local political offices, such as City Council, then moved into state positions and in the case of Senator Shaheen, from state to federal office.

Councilor Pignatelli noted that she is the only woman on the Executive Council. This is the first time for her that she has been the only woman on this Council. This seems to be unusual to her, as earlier in her career there were not as many women running but there was more than one woman serving on the Council. Now there are many more women running and she is alone on the Council. In terms of the present, Councilor Pignatelli (2014a) said, “this is the only time when there hasn’t been another woman on the Council with me.” Later, [she paused] she said, “I think back then, women were not running for office in the numbers that they are now” (Pignatelli, 2014a).

As the first woman to have served as both Governor and U.S. Senator, Senator Jeanne Shaheen is hopeful that more women will follow in her footsteps. During her interview, she stated, “Hopefully we will have many more to come, just as we’ve had a lot of men who have been both governor and then gone onto the senate ... and vice versa” (Shaheen, 2014).

### **Summary**

The purpose of this research was to study what can be learned from the experiences of women, who currently hold or have held leadership roles in New

Hampshire, that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and used to encourage and support more women candidates. The interviews revealed rich information about both the supports and barriers experienced by the five female political leaders.

In the interviews, the participants revealed a theme of relationships as strong support. The women were supported during their journey through recruiting, mentoring, and role modeling. Their interviews offered testimony to the value of recruiting, as all but one were recruited. Both men and women recruited the women in these cases and many of these women have also recruited others to run for office. The women who were interviewed have been and are involved in mentoring; they have received mentoring, acted as a mentor, or both.

Another theme that emerged was the future of women in politics. The women spoke of being very pleased that women are so prevalent in political leadership in N.H. They hope that this continues in the future.

Leadership is considered a support. The collaborative consensus building style of the woman helped them to get what needed to be accomplished, done. Many of them had experience in former roles, such as running a legislative body at the University, working as a volunteer on committees, and working behind the scenes at the State House. All of women had some past experiences that assisted them in their roles as politicians. Their campaign work for others prepared them for their own runs for office and their political careers. All of the women felt a sense of community and this helped them to meet their

constituents, by going door-to-door. They were inspired by their passions; passion inspired many of these women to run for office.

The research revealed that family could be both a barrier and a support and provided evidence that the women found it possible to have a family and be a politician. All of the women have children, two had young children when they first ran and one had to negotiate with her husband to leave the children in his care so she could work on the city's business.

Fundraising was discussed as a barrier. The participants revealed that running for these offices could cost little money by going door-to-door to appeal directly to their voters. These women indicated that people running for the state legislature and Senate do not have to purchase expensive advertising space, that the way to get elected is to work hard, knock on doors and show up when asked to speak.

Only one woman brought up the lack of experience with competition in their formative years but the literature review confirmed that it is a barrier. Fundraising is a barrier for some, but not for all. Additionally, carrying the label of politician gave one woman pause. She felt that it was unflattering; she and others work very hard and were not "in it" for the money.

The media is often considered a barrier but in N.H. it is not. As Speaker Norelli described, the size of the house makes media a non-issue, as the media is not interested in all 400 races.

The stories of these remarkable political leaders reveal many useful insights about running for political office in the state of New Hampshire. These women hold powerful

political leadership roles and have won many elections. In sharing their stories, they have made visible the barriers they faced and the supports they enjoyed. The implications of what these women have shared will be discussed in the following chapter.

### **Chapter 5: Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations**

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings from the data, draw conclusions, and make recommendations for further study. This chapter will begin with a description of the political landscape, a summary of the literature reviewed and themes from this study. Suggestions will be provided for women who wish to run for office and for those who wish to increase the number of women running for political office. These suggestions are listed under the headings of the implications for women who wish to seek office and implications for encouraging more women to run. Recommendations for further research will be made, the limitations of the study will be discussed, and finally the conclusion.

The purpose of this study was to understand and learn from the experiences of five New Hampshire women who were elected to office, which would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates. To understand the study results in relation to the research question, one must understand the context.

#### **National and State Political Context**

In the United States (U.S.), there is disparity in favor of men in the gender distribution among the elected leadership roles. Krook's research (2010) suggests that "this is the combined result of: (1) the supply of females aspiring to office or the qualifications of women as a group to run for political office; and (2) the demand for female aspirants, or the preference of political elites for male over female candidates" (p. 166). In 2014 women make up 20% of the Senate and 17.9% of the House (Seelye,



2013). These are record numbers in Washington for women, but they fall far short of matching the 50.8% of the general population that is female.

Currently, women hold many of the uppermost levels of New Hampshire elected political seats at the state level and all of the political seats at the federal level. In November 2012, N.H. elected an all-female delegation to Washington DC. Additionally, the citizens elected a female governor. This was the first time in the nation's history that a group of all female delegates were sent to Washington and the governor's seat was won by a woman (Seelye, 2013). At the state level, women in N.H. are also seated as Speaker of the House, Senate Minority Leader, and as a Member of the Executive Council. In 2014, New Hampshire women hold 32.8% of state legislature seats (Center for American Women and Politics, 2013, p. 2).

The National Women's Political Caucus refers to 1992 as the *Year of the Women*, due to the surge in the number of female candidates running for elected office. In 1992, twenty-nine female candidates filed for U.S. Senate elections and four out of eleven Senatorial candidates elected to office were women. Twenty-two percent of the freshmen members of the U.S. House were women. ("National Women's Political Caucus, Statistics," n.d., para. 9). At the same time, there has been an increase in the written material as well as an on-line presence relative to women in politics. These two developments indicate that people were beginning to see a value to having women in office. Women were running and people were taking note of it.

### Summary of the Literature Reviewed

The literature relative to women in politics reveals the kinds of supports that assist them to successfully run and a number of challenges for women running for office. These supports and challenges are outlined below.

**Supports.** A number of supports surfaced from the literature that assist women in running for political office and holding office. These include:

- Women's collaborative leadership style (Bernay & Cantor, 1992; Carroll & Fox, 2010; Folta et al., 2012; Rayburn, 2010; Reingold, 2008; Sherman, 2000; Tarr-Whelan, 2011),
- Mentoring relationships and their influence on women running for office (Ashley, 2006; Bernay & Cantor, 1992; Center for American Women and Politics, 2013, *How women become political*, 2013; Seelye, 2013; Stanwick & Kleeman, 1983; Tarr-Whelan, 2011),
- Passion for a cause which may propel women to take action (*How women become political*, 2013; Hunt, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 1974; Lawless, 2012; Palin, 2009),
- Perception of the role of government as a support for its citizens (Burrell, 2004; Hunt, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 1974; Mandel, 1981; Tarr-Whelan, 2011), and
- Voice in expressing oneself (Belenky, 1986; Newton-Smith, 2013).

**Barriers.** A number of barriers emerged in the literature that preclude women from running for political office or impede the success of their campaigns. The identified barriers were:

- Lack of experience with competition (Bernay & Cantor, 1992; Braden, 1996; Burrell, 2004; DesRoches, 2013; *How women become political*, 2013; Lawless & Fox, 2013; Palin, 2009; Shaheen, 2014),
- Lack of encouragement to run (Bernay & Cantor, 1992; K. Dolan & Ford, 1995; *How women become political*, 2013; Lawless & Fox, 2012; Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009),
- Feminine leadership style (Hoyt & Blascovich, 2007; Northouse, 2013; Rayburn, 2010; Tarr-Whelan, 2011),
- Treatment by the media (Braden, 1996; Carroll & Fox, 2010; K. Dolan & Ford, 1995; Lawless & Fox, 2012),
- Actual or perceived lack of qualifications (Fox & Lawless, 2010; *How women become political*, 2013; Hunt, 2007; Krook, 2010; Lawless & Fox, 2012), and
- Inadequate recruitment (Fox & Lawless, 2010; Hunt, 2007; Krook, 2010; Lawless & Fox, 2012, 2013; “Mentoring and Networking,” 2013; Sandbonmatsu et al., 2009).

### **Themes from this Study**

The focus of this research was to explore what could be learned from the experiences of five elected New Hampshire women. The goal of the research was to gather insights that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and create means to encourage, as well as, support more women candidates.

The research question was limited to the experiences of elected women; therefore, the focus of the literature review was gender specific. In the literature review, the

researcher found both supports that aided women in their run for office and barriers that inhibited or impeded them. This framework of supports and challenges was utilized to construct the interview questions used in this qualitative multiple case study.

The participants in this case study were women who have held or currently hold positions of political leadership in New Hampshire. Elizabeth Hager was New Hampshire House Minority Leader and chaired the Bill of Rights Committee; Sylvia Larsen is currently the Minority Leader in the N.H. Senate; Terie Norelli is the Speaker of the N.H. House; Debora Pignatelli is the only woman sitting on the N.H. Executive Council; and U.S. Senator Jeanne Shaheen is the first (and only woman) to hold the seats of both Governor and U.S. Senator.

In their own voices, these five women provided the data for the study. Their stories, while each unique in its specific details, revealed supports and challenges common to the experiences of all of the women. These supports and challenges affirmed some of the findings noted in the literature review and brought to light supports and challenges not previously identified. The stories told through this study reveal what it is like for women running and serving in the state of New Hampshire. While Senator Shaheen has served outside of the state, at a national level, her interview responses focused on her N.H. experience.

### **Implications for Women Who May Wish to Seek Office**

The first portion of the research question in this study asked, *What can be learned from the experiences of the five women that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office?* The stories told by the participants provided advice

and how a potential public office seeker may pursue office. This section will outline why a factor is a support or a barrier and then provide advice as to how a woman can use the wisdom from the stories of the participants to champion her own political career.

**Supports.** The stories revealed relationships as a support when running for office. Relationships were presented in the way women achieved their professional experience. Relationships were evident in how they incorporated their family into running for and holding political office. The women studied had deep relationships with others that served with them and their constituents.

The women revealed the importance of relationships through the stories they shared about their family, mentors, colleagues, and supporters. Their stories demonstrated strong personal connections. The researcher was privy to the importance of the supports they shared. The participants were proud of the women they recruited and were proud of their mentors. Within New Hampshire politics, to be chosen as a mentee by Martha Fuller-Clark, Susan McLane, or Jeanne Shaheen is a vote of confidence. The participants expressed the importance of these relationships through sharing names and stories, laughing as they recalled some events and fondly recalling the loss of a special mentor when some stories were told. One participant would adopt a new posture or voice when she would recall a woman who came before her.

The stories of the women interviewed underscore the importance of relationships as a source of support and guidance. For women considering a run for office, the message is clear that building and sustaining relationships with other political leaders and particularly other women leaders is a foundational step to gathering the support and

guidance one needs to succeed in winning and serving in public office. Through these relationships, come the opportunity to be recruited, the inspiration of role models, and the guidance and support of mentors.

Leadership style is another support for success in office. The women in the study were cooperative leaders and their leadership style assisted these women in building effective collaboration with other politicians resulting in the passage of legislation. These women are warm and collaborative; their human kindness is related in their stories. Hager proudly told of working collaboratively with Speaker Burling. They co-sponsored many bills while she was House Minority Leader and Speaker Burling. They were effective due to the fact that they worked side by side.

Norelli spoke in a serious tone as she described the importance of creating training for legislators. Norelli told of shaping training to legislators to supply tools to them to make them more effective. The creation of these training programs is a collaborative effort that empowers legislators do to be more successful. As a candidate and later as an office seeker, a politician must be a good leader. The participants' effective leadership style was demonstrated by the long careers, as they each had at least twenty years of experience.

Their stories demonstrate the significance of collaboration. Collaborative leadership can be learned through relationships with mentors and role models. To learn collaborative leadership, it must be practiced. One who wishes to become an office holder should look for opportunities to become more collaborative. These opportunities may arise at work, in school, in volunteer organizations, etc.

*Experience.* The stories told by the participants revealed that working on another's campaigns might be an important step to a political run. This experience teaches women how campaigns are run and organized. Most of the women in this study worked on a campaign before they themselves ran. One can tell, by listening to the women talk about those experiences, they were proud to share these war stories developed while working on a campaign. They were entrusted to join a team of someone who came before, someone with potentially strong political influence. Speaker Norelli worked on Secretary Hillary Clinton's 2008 national campaign and plans to run Clinton's campaign in New Hampshire, if and when, Clinton announces her candidacy for 2016 (Norelli, 2014). Senator Shaheen spoke of working on Gary Hart's national campaign in 1988 and Al Gore's campaign in 1992. She met her team of supporters: Judy Reardon, Richard Siegel, and Will Comparas while working on campaigns (Shaheen, 2014). Experience and relationship building often begin on the campaign trail.

Experience came through a variety of means and the participant's stories illustrate just a few. Senator Shaheen fondly recalled a mentor who helped her acquire parliamentary experience. This knowledge increased her confidence and has supported her success in office. Shaheen was grateful for that experience and what it taught her.

Senate Minority Leader Larsen earned experience while working in support of political offices. She worked for the late Governor Hugh Gallen (1979-1982). While working in his office, she learned to write legislation and gained insider information as to political workings. She spoke about having a revelation during that time--that she had the tools necessary to hold political office herself.

These stories demonstrate how women gained their knowledge. It is important to recognize the connection between relationships and experience. They had experiences because of relationships and, in turn, developed more relationships due to the experiences. Their experiences gave them a sense of being trusted as keepers of political knowledge and know how. They realize and appreciate this gift of trust, and have used it to influence the lives of the citizens in New Hampshire.

Experience is an important asset for any career and politics is no different. To acquire the experience, one can slowly attain it over time. Women may start in their youth on a campaign trail. As a young woman enters college she may find an externship with a politician by working in her office or on her campaign. A summer externship with an elected official would provide valuable experience. Women who wish to join the ranks of the Congress or Senate may consider studying law or business in college. Women who are past their college years may choose to join a campaign, enter a campaign school, or run for a local office.

***Family.*** Family may be both a barrier and a support. Balancing a family and political role is not impossible, nor does it have to be an impediment to running. The women managed their multiple roles by making accommodations, such as hiring help. At times, they expressed some disbelief while retelling these stories of juggling family and professional life. Senate Minority Leader Larsen spoke of hiring a woman to cook dinner. She laughed and said that she did her job basically by “hiring a wife.” House Minority Leader Hager mentioned having to leave a meeting, as she had to get home before the baby sitter left. When she told the story of looking at her watch and saying her babysitter



had to go home, she mimed the action and then shrugged her shoulders, as if to say, what can you do?

As their children grew, they became part of the campaigns. In this way, the women combined their political and family roles into one. Councilor Pignatelli proudly talked about her children driving her door-to-door and their finesse with the media. She told of her sons coming home from college specifically to help her with her campaign, as they were good with the publicity and she was not. This may explain why she is wearing a Doctor Seuss hat on her webpage.

This research project demonstrates that women need not be constrained by a family. For one considering political office, a supportive partner has a huge influence but some of the participants hired assistance where needed. As fledgling politicians, women may join committees that do not meet until late at night so they can be home with their families. One story demonstrated that a family provides access to information that others may not have, such as health insurance requirements (as told by one woman). Family members may become the strongest supporters by becoming part of the campaign team.

**Barriers.** The barriers the women faced were in the areas of fundraising, media, and family. The stories of the women, in their own words, provide suggestions that women may use to run for political office.

**Fundraising.** The participants in the study were reluctant to discuss barriers. None of the women enjoyed fundraising. House Minority Leader Hager seems resolute when describing it. It had to be done—like housework has to be done. Some found ways around the issue. They revealed a number of strategies to avoid having to raise money.

The tactics included campaigning door-to-door, finding someone to do the fundraising job, taking PAC money, or having friends help to finance the campaign. Senate Minority Leader Larsen described standing on the roadside with her sign and waving at people. Larsen must have enjoyed recalling those moments, for even though the interview was held over the phone, the researcher could envision her smile and heard her slight laugh.

Councilor Pignatelli told of going door-to-door to meet voters as an effective and inexpensive way to campaign. During the interview she told of going door-to-door, she continued the story recalling that she would then sit in her car and hand write a post card to address the concerns of those with whom she had just met. All the while, she indicated, her husband sat quietly beside her and waited.

The participants were successful as politicians because they are women who get things done and fundraising has to be done, so they did it. They did it despite the fact it was uncomfortable for them to ask for money. They did it because they believed that they were making a difference.

For those new to running for office, women may ask others how they raise funds. They may use this advice to start their own fundraising campaign. Additionally, networks may provide reliable information about Political Action Committees (PAC) as a source of funding and other supports. Others may have advice as to how and who to hire, to run a campaign. They might have practical tips such as where to purchase signs, what advertising has worked for them, etc. Women running for office in N.H. can reduce campaign costs by going door-to-door to talk with their constituents and garner votes.

*Media.* The literature suggests that media is a barrier in running for political office. Media attention is an issue in other states. When the researcher asked participants about the media, she was surprised to learn that it is not perceived to be one by these women. House Minority Leader Hager laughed in such a way that suggested to the researcher that she should rephrase the question because that was not an issue for her.

Senate Minority Leader Larsen said she never had a problem with the media (in a tone that conveyed even she couldn't believe it). Speaker Norelli, in her soft measured voice, indicated that it is not an issue. There are just too many races. The researcher expected Senator Shaheen might bring it forward, but even she did not talk about it, and her race is much more public than the others.

The participants hinted at some of the reasons that the media was not a barrier for them. First of all, the citizens of New Hampshire deal with political campaigns almost all the time. At the national level, once voting ends, a new wave of political hopefuls arrive. The number of possible political seats at the state level is large. Therefore, political campaigns are a way of life in N.H. Many of the candidates are neighbors or friends' living ordinary lives. Not much is newsworthy.

Although media is not an issue in New Hampshire, women may consider finding a staffer, or volunteer, to work with the press. This may require a proactive approach such as inviting the press in for meetings, sending out press releases.

### **Implications for Encouraging More Women to Run**

The second portion of the research question focused on the implications from the women's stories relative to creating more opportunities for other women to run. These

stories shed more light on the political landscape in New Hampshire. In order to encourage more women to run, the supports that assist women must be increased and the barriers that block them from engaging in politics must be eliminated or reduced. In N.H., the natural elimination of the media as a barrier appears to have increased the numbers of women in leadership positions.

Implementable strategies that may increase the number of women in political office include creating more opportunities for recruitment and encouragement to run. These opportunities may include creating avenues to encourage mentoring, changing attitudes about fundraising, changing the paradigm around the title “politician,” and creating opportunities for girls to gain experience in the political arena. The following are recommended strategies:

1. Invite women to join campaigns. The literature and this study show that one approach to get women into politics is through active involvement in others’ campaigns. Volunteering as a political supporter allows women to grow their networks, gain experience with organizing, and understand complex political systems. Women learn the intricacies of working on a campaign, which makes the campaign process less daunting. They can apply those lessons to their own future campaigns.

2. Actively recruit more women. Recruiting is an activity performed by political parties and by the people who work for the party. To have more women occupying political leadership roles, women must be recruited. Parties look to their volunteers as potential office holders; they should widen their pool of candidates by looking wider in the community for people to recruit.

3. Create more mentoring opportunities. Mentoring is a support for women. Four of the women in the study spoke of having mentors. Mentoring enables people to gain experience to run for elected office. Mentoring results in recruitment to office, and provides role modeling to women so that they may learn how to become a politician.

Mentoring occurs when there are situations that promote it. Increasing access to people in elected positions, working on campaigns, or volunteering at a political office creates opportunities for mentoring. The mentoring relationship often starts with friendship; some of the most successful mentoring relationships have grown organically. While friendship may be the beginning of a mentoring relationship, there may be other ways to support mentoring within the state. Retired women from political office could create a mentoring program for girls and women interested in politics.

4. Provide alternatives to fundraising. Fundraising is a barrier for some women. Despite the discomfort that arises when asking for money, there are many free or nearly free methods that can be employed when running for office. Many, if not all, of the women, employed these techniques. They include meeting voters where they live by going door-to-door, meeting voters at town and civic meetings, taking advantage of free media such as public access television, and writing letters to the editor of newspapers.

Political action committees provide funding but do not always make this information readily available. *Emily's list* raises money but does not advertise that they support candidates. If women were more aware of funding from PACs, or knew that they could hire someone to fundraise for them, the barrier of fundraising would not be quite so difficult to overcome.

Groups that support women candidates could be more proactive in forwarding their cause. These groups should create robust social media campaigns, only two of the five women interviewed had websites, a few used Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc... As the face of voters changes, so should the campaign strategies. Many of these techniques are free or low-cost. However, potential candidates may not know how to create and maintain an Internet presence. Perhaps they are unfamiliar with social media sites. One way to change is to recruit teenagers and young adults to provide information to new platforms and technical support as to how to implement new media tools. This also creates mentoring opportunities for those girls and an opportunity to work on their leadership skills.

5. Change the fundraising paradigm. The research shows that women do not have a problem asking for money for social causes, but find it difficult to ask for money for themselves (their own campaign). This way of thinking requires a paradigm shift in the minds of the women running. When politicians are soliciting donations, they are not asking for themselves. It is not self-serving; receiving a donation makes service possible. When this researcher gives money to a campaign, the primary reason is not because she likes the candidate but because the candidate shares the same political values as the researcher. Politicians need to understand that the money they solicit enables them to be of service to their constituents and to make a difference in matters of concern.

6. Help women to understand that “politician” is not a bad word. In the interviews, one woman spoke unfavorably of being called a politician. This label gave her pause. She believed that it was unflattering and that she and others she knew worked

very hard and were not “in it” for the money. In the state of New Hampshire the legislature is referred to as a Citizen Legislature as they are not professional politicians. The state legislators and senators are ordinary people and get paid only \$200 a year for their work (“New Hampshire Almanac,” n.d., para. 4).

For those who are running, they should make friends with the media, and challenge the politician paradigm. Additionally, they should continue the tradition of going door-to-door. This will allow women to be seen as people and not another politician. A candidate ought to make every attempt to be seen as part of the community and not an outsider.

7. Move beyond Title IX. The literature and the study both provide evidence of the value of competition for girls. Senator Shaheen thought the researcher was onto something when she mentioned the lack competition as a barrier to political competition. Competitive activities should be made available to girls so they have an opportunity to learn how to compete. The competitive activities could be in the form of debate teams, sports, robotics camps, and science fairs.

### **Recommendation for Further Study**

This study provides the reader with an image of the New Hampshire political landscape for women. The women in this study have suggested that N.H. is an easier place to gain political access than other states. Women do not have to compete in the ways they must in other states, as there are many political seats to fill and one does not have to spend a great deal of money to become a candidate or become elected to political office. While the research described the landscape for New Hampshire women, one

wonders if N.H. is as unique as its citizens believe. A study of the experiences of women legislators in other states could prove informative and broaden the generalizability of the findings. A study of women who have achieved public office on a national level would provide more information about the supports and barriers that are experienced by women.

### **Limitations**

Time is always an issue and the time available to interview the participants was limited, therefore a multiple case study approach was chosen for this study. In an ideal world, a narrative inquiry methodology may have provided much richer data than the case study. “The purpose of narrative research is to study personal experience and meaning making in a systematic manner. Narrative research is used to describe already held beliefs by individuals and groups (descriptive), and to explain through narrative why something happened” (Giovannoli, n.d., p. 39). Narrative inquiry allows the researcher to learn how people make meaning of their lives and how they interpret their journey. Narrative inquiry requires hours of interviews and the women simply did not have the time to spend with the researcher.

The findings presented in this research are germane to New Hampshire and its political landscape for women. To make general conclusions and recommendations beyond this study, the study would require replication in other states and at the national level.

### **Conclusion**

Currently, political parity does not exist in the United States. There are 50.8% women in the U.S. (“USA QuickFacts from the U.S. Census Bureau,” n.d.); only 20% of



the seats in the U.S. Senate and House of Representative are held by women. The purpose of this research was to study five women in political leadership roles in New Hampshire to understand what can be learned from their experiences that would be instructive to other women interested in seeking public office and could be used to encourage and support more women candidates.

The research methodology involved multiple case studies of five women, four who had succeeded in achieving public office in New Hampshire and one who had become a U.S. senator. The researcher interviewed five N.H. women leaders: three leaders in the New Hampshire General Court (Senate Minority Leader Larsen, Speaker Norelli, and House Minority Leader Hager), the only woman on the Executive Council (Councilor Pignatelli), and U.S. Senator Shaheen.

The stories of the women in this study emphasized the value of relationships and a concern for the future of women in politics. Relationships are at the center of women running for office. Women are more apt to run when they are recruited. Many of the women interviewed had been recruited and had recruited others to run. The women studied have had political experience before they decided to run, they had worked on campaigns, had been mentored by others, had role models, and have acted as role models for others. The women believed that it is important that women hold many political seats in N.H. and that N.H. is unique in sending an all female delegation to Washington D.C.

Recommendations made in the research results were in response to methods to assist individual women to run for office as well as to circumvent some of the barriers

that prevent women from running. Additionally, there are other options available to inspire and educate girls and women to become politicians.

**Educational opportunities for women and girls.** This research shows that many of the women studied had received mentorship and/or had female role models. One way to increase the number of role models and mentors available to women and girls is to create state chapters of national organizations, create mentoring opportunities and organizations for girls, and make campaign schools more accessible.

*Create state chapters of national organizations.* National organizations promote women in political office. These organizations provide mentoring, networking opportunities, training. One such organization is the National Women's Political Caucus. Like other organizations, this group has a platform, which may be appealing to some women.

This group has chapters in thirteen states; it does not have a chapter in New Hampshire. States, like N.H., may benefit from creating local chapters in order to help girls and women become involved in political activities.

*Create opportunities and organizations for girls.* Support and/or create organizations that provide instruction to girls about political process. These organizations should be age-appropriate; older girls could work with adults on campaigns as part of the organization. Older and younger girls would be able to organize efforts such as posting flyers, fundraising, and taking turns acting as leaders within their own organization. These organizations may use field trips to expose girls to visit political offices where they can speak with politicians and act as volunteers. Girls are often adept at the latest

technology and could be a valuable resource for the use of social media on local campaigns. There are tasks girls can do to make themselves part of the process and provide opportunities to know that they are valuable and can make a difference.

Girls do not engage in the same level of competition as boys. Create more opportunities for girls to actively participate not only in sports but also in other competitions such as science and robotics fairs, spelling bees, Lego camps, etc. Create sporting events, summer camps, and other learning experiences specifically for girls so that they may feel more empowered to excel.

***Make campaign schools more available and provide college credit for participation.*** There are political schools specifically designed to teach women how to run for office. Yale has such a school every summer; it is a school of politics with some of the smartest women ever gathered in one place (“Women’s campaign school at Yale University,” n.d., para. 1). These schools should be more widely available and marketed to female college students and in those occupations where women are employed and more apt to run, such as areas where women work on policies, in law, or in business.

Women enter politics more often much later than men. This creates a situation where women are less likely, than men, to be a senior member of any committee—even when they are senior citizens. Many women do not run until their children are grown, younger women should be actively recruited to these campaign schools. Colleges may consider creating service learning opportunities or college credit to encourage women to attend campaign schools.

This research showed the value of relationships for women to make the decision to enter politics and to be successful as politicians. To create political parity in this country, opportunities must be created to allow those relationships to take root and grow. Many of the suggestions provided above are not costly suggestions; they require time and educational institutional commitment to implement these activities and programs. The cost is little but the benefits may be huge as the payoff such as having more women in political leadership. When more women are in leadership roles, there is higher standards of living with positive developments in education, infrastructure, health, and concrete steps to help make democracy deliver (Markham, 2013; Stanwick & Kleeman, 1983). All citizens should embrace higher standards of living, better educational, infrastructure and health and a stronger democracy. Terie Norelli spoke her aspirations for a better New Hampshire.

You do it because you care about New Hampshire, you do it because you want to create things, you want to make N.H. a better place. Each of us has a different way of doing that but ultimately we all want to make N.H. a better place. (2014)

Norelli's voice speaks for all of the women in this study. These women are not advocating for themselves; they want to improve life for all the people in New Hampshire.

## References

- Ashley, B. D. (2006, December). *The perceived influence of past mentoring experiences on the mentoring practices of selected female school executives* (Dis). Texas A&M University, College Station, TX.
- Barkham, J. (2005). Reflections and interpretations on life in academia: a mentee speaks. *Mentoring and Tutoring, 13*(3), 331–344. doi:10.1080/13611260500177468
- Barrera, A., Braley, R., & Slate, J. (2010). Beginning teacher success: An investigation into the feedback from mentors of formal mentoring programs. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning, 18*(1), 61–74.  
doi:10.1080/13611260903448383
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The qualitative report, 13*(4), 15.
- Belenky, M. F. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing : the development of self, voice and mind* (Kindle.). [New York]: Basic Books.
- Belman, F., & Pride, M. (Eds.). (2001). *The New Hampshire century: Concord monitor profiles of one hundred people who shaped it*. Hanover, NH: University press of New England.
- Bernay, T., & Cantor, D. W. (1992). *Women in power: the secrets of leadership*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Bhatt, M., Payne, R., Feldt, G., & Litzenberger, A. (2013). *Leadership fictions: gender, leadership and the media* (p. 15). Retrieved from

[http://www.taketheleadwomen.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/TTL\\_Leadership-Fictions.pdf](http://www.taketheleadwomen.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/TTL_Leadership-Fictions.pdf)

Biography Jeanne Shaheen. (n.d.). Retrieved April 8, 2014, from

<http://www.shaheen.senate.gov/about/biography/>

Blumer, M., Green, M., Compton, D., & Barrera, A. (2010). Honoring our feminist mentors. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy, 22*, 57–87.

doi:10.1080/08952831003652319

Braden, M. (1996). *Women politicians and the media*. Lexington: University press of Kentucky.

Burrell, B. C. (2004). *Women and political participation: a reference handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Butterfield, F. (1992, September 5). 2 women defy history in New Hampshire governor race. Retrieved July 20, 2014, from <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/09/05/us/2-women-defy-history-in-new-hampshire-governor-race.html>

Campbell, D., & Wolbrecht, C. (2006). See Jane run: women politicians as role models for adolescents. *Journal of politics, 68*(2), 14. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00402.x

Carroll, S. J., & Strimling, W. (1983). *Women's routes to elective office: A comparison with Men's* (p. 238). New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American women and politics.

Carroll, S. J. (2003). *Women and American politics: new questions, new directions*. Oxford, UK ; New York: Oxford University press.

Carroll, S. J., & Fox, R. L. (2010). *Gender and elections: shaping the future of American politics* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University press.

Center for American Women and Politics. (2013). *Women in elective office 2013* (Fact sheet) (p. 2). New Brunswick, NJ. Retrieved from [http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast\\_facts/levels\\_of\\_office/documents/elective.pdf](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/elective.pdf)

Chan, A. (2008). Mentoring ethnic minority, pre-doctoral students: An analysis of key mentor practices. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning*, 16(3), 263–277. doi:10.1080/13611260802231633

Clinton, H. R. (2003). *Living history*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Cohen, N. (1995). *Mentoring adult learners : a guide for educators and trainers* (Original ed.). Malabar, FL: Krieger publication Co.

Collaborative transformation leadership - Inspiring good leaders to be better. (n.d.).

Retrieved September 14, 2014, from

<http://germaneconsulting.com/transformational-leadership/>

Committees Jeanne Shaheen. (n.d.). Retrieved December 2, 2013, from

<http://www.shaheen.senate.gov/about/committees/>

Conyne-Rapin, Z. (2008, April). *Presidential primary reform in the United States*

(Honors Thesis). Indiana University. Retrieved from

[http://www.indiana.edu/~spea/pubs/undergrad-honors/honors\\_vol.2\\_no.1.pdf](http://www.indiana.edu/~spea/pubs/undergrad-honors/honors_vol.2_no.1.pdf)

Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational research: planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. (2004). *Principles of qualitative research: Designing a qualitative study*. Presentation presented at the Leadership, Andrews University. Retrieved from <http://www.andrews.edu/leaderpart/roundtable/2004/workshops/2b/au-qual-071504-jwc-vpc.pdf>
- Daniel, L. (2011). *Seasons of a Woman's Life* (1st Kindle.). Ballantine Books.
- Della Ferra, M. (2008). *Women at the table*. Spring, TX: L&L Dreamspell.
- DesRoches, K. (2013, October 19). *Women in political office*. Presented at the Doctoral externship presentations, Plymouth state university.
- Devos, A. (2008). Where enterprise and equity meet: the rise of mentoring for women in Australian universities. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 29(2), 195–205. doi:10.1080/01596300801966831
- Dolan, J. (2007). *Women and politics: paths to power and political influence*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice Hall.
- Dolan, K., & Ford, L. E. (1995). Women in the State Legislatures: Feminist identity and legislative behaviors. *American Politics Research*, 23(1), 96–108. doi:10.1177/1532673X9502300105
- Dollar, D., Fisman, R., & Gatti, R. (1999). *Are women really the "fairer" sex? Corruption and women in government*. (Policy and Research Report on Gender and Development No. 20776). World Bank. Retrieved from <http://www->



[wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2000/08/26/000094946\\_0008120532266/Rendered/PDF/multi\\_page.pdf](http://wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2000/08/26/000094946_0008120532266/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf)

Downing, Roberta, Crosby, Faye J, & Blake-Beard, Stacy. (2005). The perceived importance of developmental relationships on women undergraduates' pursuit of science. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29, 419–426.

Driscoll, L., Parkes, K., Tilley-Lubbs, G., Brill, J., & Pitts Bannister, V. (2009). Navigating the lonely sea: peer mentoring and collaboration among aspiring women scholars. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning*, 17(1), 5–21. doi:10.1080/13611260802699532

Eagly, A. H. (2007). *Through the labyrinth: the truth about how women become leaders*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Elizabeth Hager. (2014, July 20). Retrieved September 13, 2014, from <http://www.zoominfo.com/p/Elizabeth-Hager/44465068>

Executive Councilor Debora Pignatelli - Biography, New Hampshire Executive Council. (n.d.). Retrieved September 13, 2014, from <http://www.nh.gov/council/district5/biography.html>

Fahey, T. (2006, June 18). Libertarians “swap” parties on election ballots. *Manchester Union Leader*, p. 1. Manchester, NH.

Feagin, J. R., Orum, A. M., & Sjoberg, G. (Eds.). (1991). *A case for the case study*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina press.

- Ferrari, J. (2004). Mentors in life and at school: impact on undergraduate; perceptions of university mission and values. *Mentoring and tutoring, 12*(3), 295–305.  
doi:10.1080/030910042000275909
- Flicker, E. (2013). Fashionable (dis-)order in politics: Gender, power and the dilemma of the suit. *International journal of media & cultural politics, 9*(12), 20. doi:10.1386
- Folta, S., Seguin, R., Ackerman, J., & Nelson, M. (2012). A qualitative study of leadership characteristics among women who catalyze positive community change. *BMC Public Health, 2012*(12), 12.
- Fox, R. L. (n.d.). Gender, political ambition and the decision not to run for office.
- Fox, R. L., & Lawless, J. L. (2010). If only they'd ask: Gender, recruitment, and political ambition. *The journal of politics, 72*(02), 310. doi:10.1017/S0022381609990752
- Gagnon, Y.-C. (2010). *The case study as research method: a practical handbook*. Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Gillibrand, K. (2013, December 11). A mentor's guiding hand points the way to success. Retrieved December 29, 2013, from  
<http://www.politico.com/story/2013/12/women-rule-kirsten-gillibrand-dianne-feinstein-a-mentors-guiding-hand-points-the-way-to-success-100975.html>
- Giovannoli, R. (n.d.). *The narrative method of inquiry*. Retrieved from  
[www.sonic.net/~rgiovan/essay.2.PDF](http://www.sonic.net/~rgiovan/essay.2.PDF)
- Goldberg, C. (1997, October 7). Women at helm of New Hampshire politics. *New York Times*, p. 14. New York NY.

Goleman, D. (2002). *Primal leadership realizing the power of emotional intelligence*

(Kindle.). Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business school press.

Guide: Case Studies. (n.d.). Retrieved February 25, 2014, from

<http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/guide.cfm?guideid=60>

Hager, E. (2014, May 27). Elizabeth Hager.

Hightower-Langston, D. (2002). *A to Z of American women leaders and activists*. New

York: Facts on file.

*How women become political*. (2013). Simmons College. Retrieved from [http://www.c-](http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/315499-1)

[spanvideo.org/program/315499-1](http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/315499-1)

Hoyt, C. L., & Blascovich, J. (2007). Leadership efficacy and women leaders' responses to stereotype activation. *Group processes & intergroup relations*, 10(4), 595–616.

doi:10.1177/1368430207084718

Hsieh, H.-F. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative health research*, 15(9), 1277–1288. doi:10.1177/1049732305276687

Hunt, S. (2007, June). Let women rule. Retrieved August 20, 2013, from

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/62617/swanee-hunt/let-women-rule>

Kirkpatrick, J. (1974). *Political woman*. Center for the American woman and politics:

Rutgers University press.

Krook, M. (2010). Why are fewer women than men elected? Gender and the dynamics of candidate selection. *Political studies review*, 8(2), 155–168. doi:10.1111/j.1478-

9302.2009.00185.x

Kunin, M. (2008). *Pearls, politics, & power: how women can win and lead*. White River Junction, Vt: Chelsea green pub.

Kurtz□Costes, B., Andrews-Helmke, L., & Ülkü□Steiner, B. (2006). Gender and doctoral studies: the perceptions of Ph.D. students in an American university. *Gender and education, 18*(2), 137–155. doi:10.1080/09540250500380513

La Ferla, R. (2010, October 20). For female candidates, conservative clothes are trendy. Retrieved December 22, 2013, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/21/fashion/21IMAGE.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>

Larsen, S. (2014, May 30).

Lawless, J. (2012). *Becoming a candidate: Political ambition and the decision to run for office*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University press.

Lawless, J., & Fox, R. (2012). *Men rule the continued under-representation of women in politics*. Washington, DC: Women & politics Institute.

Lawless, J., & Fox, R. (2013). *Girls just wanna not run, the gender gap in young American's political ambition*. Washington, DC: Women & politics institute.

Love, N. (2014, April 21). Norelli retiring as New Hampshire House speaker - Washington Times. Retrieved September 13, 2014, from [http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/apr/21/norelli-retiring-as-new-hampshire-house-speaker/?utm\\_source=RSS\\_Feed&utm\\_medium=RSS](http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/apr/21/norelli-retiring-as-new-hampshire-house-speaker/?utm_source=RSS_Feed&utm_medium=RSS)

Lyden, J. (2008, November 9). Women dominate New Hampshire State Senate. *All things considered*. NHPR.

Mandel, R. B. (1981). *In the running: the new woman candidate*. New Haven, CT:

Ticknor & Fields.

Markham, S. (2013). *Gender equality & development*. The world bank. Retrieved from

[http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/Gender/Markham%202013.%20Women%20as%20Agents%20of%20Change%20Having%20voice%20in%20society%20and%20influencing%20policy\\_%20Dec%202017.pdf](http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/Gender/Markham%202013.%20Women%20as%20Agents%20of%20Change%20Having%20voice%20in%20society%20and%20influencing%20policy_%20Dec%202017.pdf)

McGuire, G. M., & Reger, J. (2003). Feminist co-mentoring: A model for academic professional development. *NWSA Journal*, 15(1), 54–72.

Men's clothing: Suitably dressed. (2010, December 16). Retrieved April 20, 2014, from

<http://www.economist.com/node/17722802>

Mentoring and Networking. (2013, August 30). Retrieved December 12, 2013, from

<http://www.politicalparity.org/mentoring-and-networking/>

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education: revised and expanded from "Case study research in education."* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Monitor editorial: Why not a city women's history project? (n.d.). Retrieved September

13, 2014, from <http://www.concordmonitor.com/news/4441179-95/christamcauliffe-marybakerreddy-countessrumford>

National Women's Political Caucus, Statistics. (n.d.). Retrieved September 16, 2014,

from <http://www.nwpc.org/statistics>

New Hampshire Almanac. (n.d.). Retrieved August 17, 2013, from

<http://www.nh.gov/nhinfo/stgovt.html>

New Hampshire Executive Council. (n.d.). Retrieved June 22, 2014, from

<http://www.nh.gov/council/overview.html>

New Hampshire quickfacts from the U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.). Retrieved February 8,

2014, from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/33000.html>

Newton-Smith, J. (2013). In shutdown Washington, women are the only adults left. *Time magazine*, 182(18), 25–28.

Norelli, T. (2014, June 10).

Norris, P. (1997). *Women, media, and politics*. New York: Oxford University press.

Northouse, P. G. (2013). *Leadership: theory and practice* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.

Our Campaigns - Joanne Rajoppi. (n.d.). Retrieved December 28, 2013, from

[http://www.zoominfo.com/CachedPage/?archive\\_id=0&page\\_id=582112077&page\\_url=/www.ucnj.org/ctyclerk/bio.html&page\\_last\\_updated=2010-07-10T21:23:48&firstName=Joanne&lastName=Rajoppi](http://www.zoominfo.com/CachedPage/?archive_id=0&page_id=582112077&page_url=/www.ucnj.org/ctyclerk/bio.html&page_last_updated=2010-07-10T21:23:48&firstName=Joanne&lastName=Rajoppi)

Palin, S. (2009). *Going rogue: An American life* (Kindle.). HarperCollins, e-books.

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd edition.). Newbury Park Calif.: Sage publications.

Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd edition.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.

Petit, V. (2014, March 2). Male stereotype of a leader persists. Retrieved April 20, 2014,

from <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/7fa182cc-7ebd-11e3-8642-00144feabdc0.html#axzz2zRiice44>

Pignatelli, D. (2014a, June 9).

Pignatelli, D. (2014b, July 17). Campaign spending.

Rajoppi, J. (1993). *Women in office: getting there and staying there*. Westport, CT:

Bergin & Garvey.

Rayburn, C. A. (Ed.). (2010). *A handbook for women mentors: transcending barriers of stereotype, race, and ethnicity*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Reingold, B. (Ed.). (2008). *Legislative women: getting elected, getting ahead*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Ronayne, K. (2014, June 5). After 2 decades serving Concord, Senate Democratic leader

Sylvia Larsen announces retirement. Retrieved August 31, 2014, from

<http://www.concordmonitor.com/home/12245479-95/after-2-decades-serving-concord-senate-democratic-leader-sylvia-larsen-announces-retirement>

Rose, G. L. (2005). Group differences in graduate students? Concepts of the ideal mentor.

*Research in Higher Education*, 46(1), 53–80. doi:10.1007/s11162-004-6289-4

Ruminski, E. L., & Holba, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Communicative understandings of women's*

*leadership development: From ceilings of glass to labyrinth paths*. Lanham, Md:

Lexington books.

Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Los Angeles, Calif:

Sage.

Sandberg, S., & Scovell, N. (2013). *Lean in: women, work, and the will to lead* (Kindle

Edition.). New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Sandbonmatsu, K., Carroll, S. J., & Walsh, D. (2009). *Poised to run: Women's pathways to state legislatures*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American women and politics.

Seelye, K. (2013). From Congress to halls of state, in New Hampshire, women rule.

Retrieved March 28, 2013, from

[http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/02/us/politics/from-congress-to-halls-of-state-in-new-hampshire-women-rule.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/02/us/politics/from-congress-to-halls-of-state-in-new-hampshire-women-rule.html?_r=0)

Shaheen, J. (2014, May 30).

Shaheen unveils first TV ad in race for Senate. (2008, May 21). *Union Leader*, p. 2.

Manchester, NH.

Shames, S. (n.d.). Twin states: A multiplier effective, executive summary. Political

Parity. Retrieved from [http://www.politicalparity.org/wp-](http://www.politicalparity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/twinstates_exsum.pdf)

[content/uploads/2013/03/twinstates\\_exsum.pdf](http://www.politicalparity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/twinstates_exsum.pdf)

Sherman, J. (2000). *No place for a woman: a life of Senator Margaret Chase Smith*. New

Brunswick: Rutgers University press.

SmartBlogs. (n.d.). Retrieved February 7, 2014, from

<http://smartblogs.com/leadership/2012/10/14/examining-political-leanings-in-nh/>

Snow, K., & Milberger, M. (2008, December 7). New Hampshire Senate makes history.

Retrieved June 1, 2014, from

<http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/Weekend/story?id=6408328>

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publ.



Stanwick, K. A., & Kleeman, K. E. (1983). *Women make a difference*. NJ: Center for American women and politics, Rutgers.

Starr, A. (2014). The new founding mothers of New Hampshire. *More Magazine*.

Sylvia Larsen. (n.d.). Retrieved July 2, 2014, from <http://nhsenatedemocrats.org/sylvialarsen/>

Tarr-Whelan, L. (2011). *Women lead the way: your guide to stepping up to leadership and changing the world*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler publishers.

TitleIX.info - Athletics. (n.d.). Retrieved November 30, 2013, from <http://www.titleix.info/10-Key-Areas-of-Title-IX/Athletics.aspx>

TitleIX.info - History Overview. (n.d.). Retrieved November 30, 2013, from <http://www.titleix.info/history/history-overview.aspx>

Underwood Parker, G. (2009). *More than petticoats: Remarkable New Hampshire women* (First., p. 176). Globe Pequot press.

USA auickfacts from the U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.). Retrieved October 20, 2014, from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html>

What we do. (n.d.). Retrieved August 23, 2014, from <http://www.emilyslist.org/pages/entry/what-we-do>

Why is New Hampshire's primary a national news story? - Beliefnet.com. (n.d.). Retrieved September 8, 2014, from <http://www.beliefnet.com/News/ElectionCenter/Home-Page-News-and-Views/new-hampshire-primary-overview.aspx?p=5#>

Wilson, M. (2004). *Closing the leadership gap: Why women can and must help run the world*. New York: Viking.

Women in the Senate. (n.d.). Retrieved November 23, 2013, from  
[http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/briefing/women\\_senators.htm](http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/briefing/women_senators.htm)

Women's campaign school at Yale University. (n.d.). Retrieved October 29, 2014, from  
<http://www.wcsyale.org/training.php>

Women's Media Center. (2014). *The status of women in the U.S. media 2014*. Washington, D.C. Retrieved from  
[http://wmc.3cdn.net/6dd3de8ca65852dbd4\\_fjm6yck9o.pdf](http://wmc.3cdn.net/6dd3de8ca65852dbd4_fjm6yck9o.pdf)

**Appendix A****CONSENT FORM**

INVESTIGATOR(S) NAME: Kathy L. DesRoches

Study Title: N.H. Women in Public Office: What has Influenced Elected Women from N.H. to Enter Political Life

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this research studies five elected officials from the state of N.H. The intent is to garner similarities as to what propelled them to run. This will be compared with the literature to indicate if there are patterns in women's lives that push them to run. The research will be shared with other who runs election institutes to educate woman as to the issues of running.

**Description of the Study**

The purpose of the study is to learn why five N.H. women ran for and achieved office. The study looks at what barriers they faced, and overcame, and what propelled them to run. The amount of time required to participate in the study is ten hours and there no known costs. Each woman will be interviewed for 1-2 hours.

**Risks and Discomforts**

As an elected official, I may risk damage to my reputation, however, I will be allowed to read the transcripts and strike items that I do not want included. It is anticipated that there will be no discomfort in the interview process.

**Benefits**

There may be no direct benefits of participating in this study; however, the knowledge received may be of value, as the information will be shared with others who may consider running for office. Also, it's anticipated that it may be used as part of a political school for women to help women to overcome any discomfort that they may experience when determining to run. The research may serve as a model as to how other women overcame their apprehensions.

**Alternative procedures**

I may choose not to participate.

**Confidentiality**

All documents and information pertaining to this research study will be kept confidential in accordance with all applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations. I understand that data generated by the study may be reviewed by Plymouth State University's Institutional Review Board, which is the committee responsible for ensuring my welfare and rights as a research participant, to assure proper conduct of the study and compliance with university regulations. If any presentations or publication result from this research, I may be identified by name.

The information collected during my participation in this study will be kept five years.

Confidentiality will be also protected, as information will be kept confidential; although my identity of the woman may be disclosed as I am high ranking political figures. Any potential damaging information will be omitted from the final report. The interview and notes will be secured in a safety deposit box and on-line in a password protected space.

**Termination of Participation**

I may choose to withdraw from this study at any time and for any reason. If I choose to drop out of the study, I will contact the investigator and my research records will be destroyed. If this is an anonymous survey, research records cannot be destroyed following submission of the survey.

**Compensation**

I will not receive payment for being in this study. Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. There will be no cost to me for participating in this research.

**Injury Compensation**

Neither Plymouth State University nor any government or other agency funding this research project will provide special services, free care, or compensation for any injuries resulting from this research. I understand that treatment for such injuries will be at my expense and/or paid through my medical plan.

**Questions**

All of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction and if I have further questions about this study, I may contact: Kathy L. DesRoches , at 553-1349 or kdesroches@plymouth.edu. If I have any questions about the rights of research participants, I may call the Chairperson of the Plymouth State University’s Institutional Review Board at 603-535-3193 (Valid until May 18, 2012)

**Voluntary Participation**

I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and that refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to me. I am free to withdraw or refuse consent, or to discontinue my participation in this study at any time without penalty or consequence.

I voluntarily give my consent to participate / for my child to participate in this research study. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form.

Signatures:

\_\_\_\_\_

Participants Name (Print)

\_\_\_\_\_

Participants Signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

I, the undersigned, certify that to the best of my knowledge, the subject signing this consent form has had the study fully and carefully explained by me and have been given an opportunity to ask any questions regarding the nature, risks, and benefits of participation in this research study.

Investigator’s Name (Kathy L. DesRoches)

\_\_\_\_\_

Investigator’s Signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

Plymouth State University's IRB has approved the solicitation of participants for the study until Leave blank, date will be one year from IRB approval.

**Appendix B**

Interview questions for women politicians

- 1) Would you tell me about any barriers or challenges that you may have encountered while running for office?
- 2) Would you describe any events or circumstances that influenced your decision to run?
- 3) What situations or circumstances assisted/supported you throughout your campaign?
- 4) To what do you attribute the success of your campaign?
- 5) Would you describe what, if any, role mentoring has had in your journey to political office?

**Appendix C**

Dear Ms. Hager,

I met your daughter last year at Plymouth State during a session where students presented their externships in preparation for their dissertation. My dissertation focuses on women in political leadership. Your daughter suggested that I interview you. I'm ready to start the research piece of my dissertation and I would like to know if I could interview you about your initial decision to enter politics, your mentors, who you have mentored and your feelings about the current role of women in politics in our state (see basic questions below).

I believe the interview would take less than an hour. Would you be open to letting me interview you?

These are my questions:

- (1) Would you tell me about any barriers or challenges that you may have encountered while running for office?
- (2) Would you describe any events or circumstances that influenced your decision to run?
- (3) What situations or circumstances assisted/supported you throughout your campaign?
- (4) To what do you attribute the success of your campaign?
- (5) Would you describe what, if any, role mentoring has had in your journey to political office?

Thank you for your attention, Kathy DesRoches