

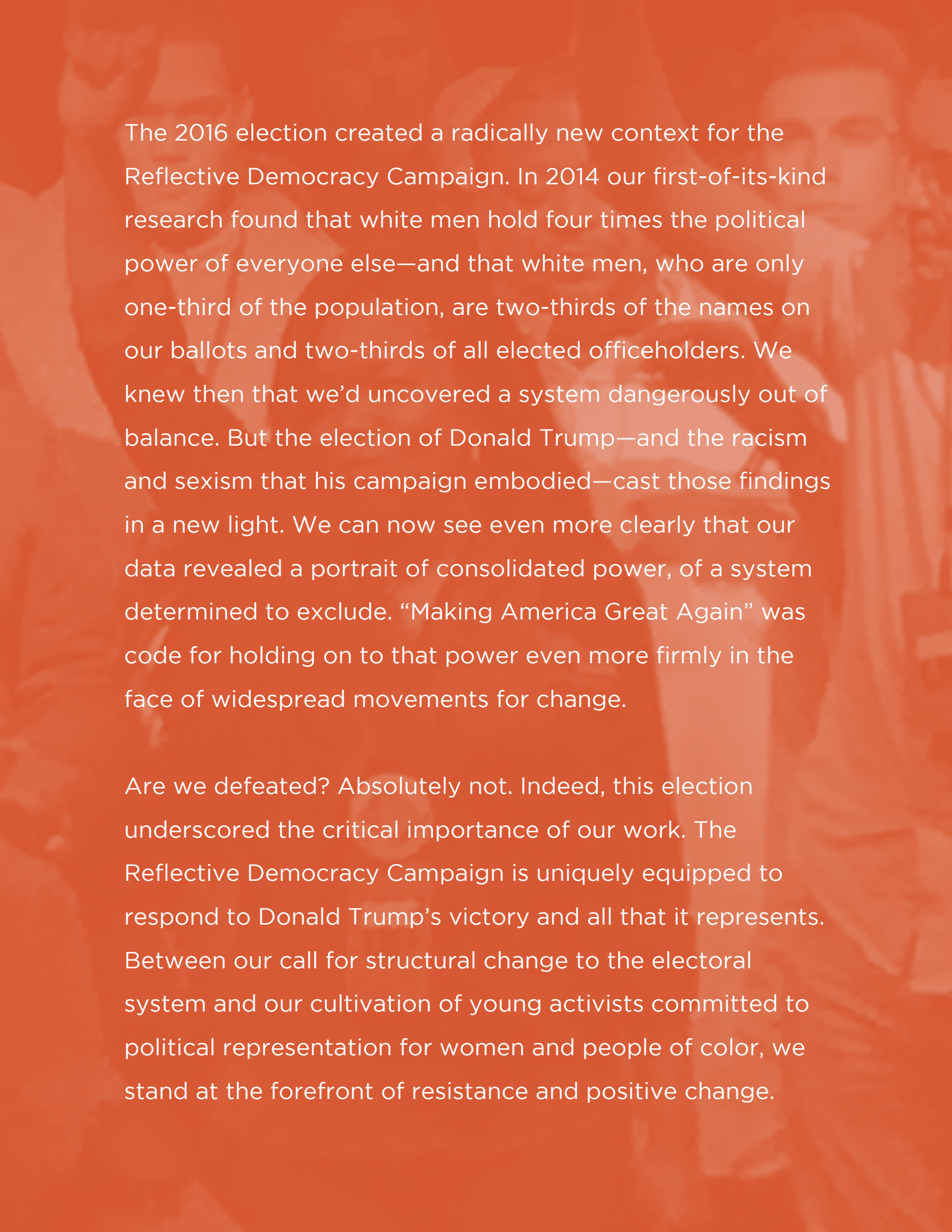
Reflective Democracy Innovators

Insights

Impact

Inspiration

2015-2017 REPORT

The background of the page is a photograph of a diverse group of people, including a woman in a white shirt and a man in a blue shirt, looking at a tablet together. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent orange filter.

The 2016 election created a radically new context for the Reflective Democracy Campaign. In 2014 our first-of-its-kind research found that white men hold four times the political power of everyone else—and that white men, who are only one-third of the population, are two-thirds of the names on our ballots and two-thirds of all elected officeholders. We knew then that we’d uncovered a system dangerously out of balance. But the election of Donald Trump—and the racism and sexism that his campaign embodied—cast those findings in a new light. We can now see even more clearly that our data revealed a portrait of consolidated power, of a system determined to exclude. “Making America Great Again” was code for holding on to that power even more firmly in the face of widespread movements for change.

Are we defeated? Absolutely not. Indeed, this election underscored the critical importance of our work. The Reflective Democracy Campaign is uniquely equipped to respond to Donald Trump’s victory and all that it represents. Between our call for structural change to the electoral system and our cultivation of young activists committed to political representation for women and people of color, we stand at the forefront of resistance and positive change.

The Reflective Democracy Innovators: Background and Goals

When we launched the Reflective Democracy Innovator program in 2015, we made an important intervention in the field. Our program of grantmaking explicitly set out to tackle the *structural barriers* keeping women and people of color from positions of elected leadership. There was no shortage of candidate training and recruitment programs focused on inspiring, motivating, and preparing individuals to run for office, but none proactively examined the barriers inhibiting their success. Building on our groundbreaking research about the race and gender of elected officials and candidates nationwide, we designed our Reflective Democracy Innovator program to propel this structural inquiry forward. We set out to examine and transform the role of *gatekeepers* – the donors, party officials, and other community institutions who influence who runs and who wins. We wanted to better understand the *economic barriers* to running for and holding office and explore how *voting systems* inhibit participation and influence electoral outcomes.

Our initial outreach generated more than 100 applications, demonstrating a high level of interest and energy in the field. After extensive evaluation, we identified **nine grantees** who have received more than **\$800,000** in grants and technical assistance. The Reflective Democracy Innovators have enabled the Campaign to experiment, explore, and learn. The Innovator projects have deepened our understanding of how funders can support grassroots field-building, exploring fundamental questions:

- **What is possible—what can the field achieve?**
- **What is needed—what does the field need to advance?**
- **What works—what are barriers and opportunities the field will face when working on reflective democracy?**

In the past 18 months, our grantees have grappled with the key obstacles to a reflective democracy and have pioneered ambitious efforts to overcome them. The Pathway Project, led by Jessica Byrd, and Advance Native Political Leadership, led by Chrissie Castro, are demonstrating how to connect pivotal political “moments” and grassroots movements to the electoral system. The Texas Organizing Project, Oakland Rising, and Michigan United are tackling the challenge of turning established, community-based organizations that are often viewed as sources of *voters* into sources of *candidates*. Our research grantees are providing valuable insight into how the current electoral system can be transformed to advance reflective democracy, and the role of economic barriers in supporting the un-reflective *status quo*.

In this report, we share with you what the Innovators learned and accomplished and how their work is informing the future work of the Campaign. This report draws on our review of their written reports, in-depth interviews with each of the Innovators, and ongoing engagement throughout the course of their grants. These grants have been uniquely experimental, meaning that the Campaign has often been both flexible and hands-on, providing direction, guidance, and support, while also creating the space for exploration and discovery. In compiling this information, we are happy to report that the experiment has been successful. Our grantees, and the work of the Campaign collectively, are at the forefront of the struggle for a more democratic America—one in which political power is distributed across our society, tapping into our full range of talent and experience, not concentrated in the hands of a few.

Emerging Themes in Reflective Democracy

While each of the Innovator projects offers unique and specific insights, across the cohort we observed a number of cross-cutting themes that will help guide the Campaign's work and the broader field-building necessary to strengthen the movement for reflective democracy:

MORE DEMOCRACY IS NEEDED (AND IT WORKS).

While the Campaign's own research about the race and gender of candidates and elected officials shows a dismally imbalanced political system, the research and experience of our Innovators points to a clear path forward. Expanding access to the electoral process—“more democracy”—has real, verifiable impact on the reflectiveness of electoral outcomes. Moreover, the closed nature of the system as a whole is such a profound barrier that even seasoned activists and organizers need help fully understanding the strategic intervention points that can transform the system.

GATEKEEPERS ARE POWERFUL, IMPORTANT, AND NOT WELL UNDERSTOOD.

Gatekeepers maintain tremendous, invisible and unchecked power on the candidate pipeline. Challenging and transforming the role of gatekeepers presents a tremendous opportunity to make the system more transparent, accessible, and democratic. A critical first step is to understand who the current gatekeepers are – including the “gatekeepers among us.” These institutions, donors, and leaders may identify as progressive advocates for women's equality and racial justice, yet deliberately or inadvertently, they consistently put aside those values for political expediency or as a result of false assumptions about the unelectability of more reflective candidates.

Building the strength of grassroots organizations to act as alternative gatekeepers is one way to democratize the system. Another is to re-cast current gatekeepers not as protectors of the *status quo* but as potential agents of change who can be persuaded to become more transparent, open, and committed to reflective democracy.

ORGANIZING FOR REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY IS NOT AS SIMPLE AS “BUILD IT AND THEY WILL COME.”

While grassroots activists are increasingly interested in reflective democracy, they are not necessarily ready for – or interested in – running for office. A number of structural issues and capacity challenges contribute to this reluctance. Candidate training programs for women and people of color, for example, tend to focus on the individual, not on the types of movement-building and policy change typically sought by grassroots campaigns. This can reinforce historical and ideological “fire walls” that discourage electoral engagement – even among very promising grassroots activists – and position grassroots activism as distinct from, if not antithetical to, electorally-focused work.

The complications and opacity of the political system, such as navigating the regulations restricting nonprofit involvement in politics, also discourage engagement. Unlike the corporate business sector, the nonprofit sector does not encourage its leaders to seek office, due to concerns – some warranted, some not – about falling afoul of the law. Lack of targeted funding also prevents many grassroots organizations from engaging with the electoral process. These issues informed a consistent observation from the Innovators: for grassroots organizations to engage successfully in electoral work, we must promote an “all-in” core strategy, instead of treating electoral campaigns as separate from or ancillary to grassroots organizing efforts.

CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS NEED A REBOOT.

Many candidate recruitment and training programs are built on the theory that if women and people of color receive the individual encouragement, support, and training to run for office, they will be elected. This theory was accelerated following the Women's Marches and other post-Inauguration protests, as reports surged of "tens of thousands" of people committing to seek office. Yet the glaring disparities in representation cannot be addressed solely through training programs or individual declarations of intent, however plentiful. The equality we seek requires structural change, and the work of the Innovators reveals how to combine training and recruitment programs with broader strategies addressing structural barriers, including:

- Linking training programs to grassroots community organizing institutions that can provide resources, energy, and strategic guidance to individuals seeking office
- Linking training programs to the policy and issue-based campaigns of those institutions
- Identifying incumbents vulnerable to community-driven campaigns around their positions on specific issues
- Positioning elected and appointed leadership as a vehicle of community empowerment
- Pro-actively transforming the roles of gatekeepers
- Pro-actively educating community groups on the role of electoral systems in maintaining an unjust *status quo*

These, and similar strategies, when combined with strong candidate recruitment and training programs, offer a potentially powerful "formula" for mobilizing the grassroots around reflective democracy and activating candidates who represent diverse communities.

DATA HAS MYTH-BUSTING POWER.

Activists, advocates, AND gatekeepers need to understand what the data tells us – not just about how unreflective our democracy is, but also about how to elevate more women and people of color to elected and appointed leadership. We need to educate political elites (party leaders and staff, potential candidates, and others) about the fact that women and people of color win at the same rates as other candidates, countering biases and false beliefs about which candidates are more viable and where they should run.

We also need to make sure that candidate training programs are informed by data. Instead of promoting negative biases that have now been disproved, or overwhelming trainees with so much information that they decide it's too daunting to run, we need to invest in serious candidate recruitment operations that demonstrate they can actually put people on the ballot, while ensuring women and people of color are spread out geographically and not running against each other.

UNCHALLENGED INCUMBENTS AND DOWN-BALLOT RACES ARE OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTERVENTION.

The large number of unchallenged incumbents is a tremendous barrier to reflective democracy. Our research shows that over half of incumbents run unopposed, and more than 60% of those unopposed incumbents are white men. Looking forward, the movement needs to mount serious challenges to incumbents.

If a major obstacle to representative parity is the sheer number of white (male) incumbents in office, we need a focused program to leverage every open seat opportunity and to strategically challenge current officeholders. Of particular value will be a focus on recruiting for down-ballot races, as well as Congressional races, to normalize the candidacies of women and people of color and to fill the pipelines for higher offices. Notably, elected prosecutors, who are notoriously embedded, un-challenged, and 95% white, have recently been unseated by women of color and other diverse challengers as a result of key strategic interventions by progressives and powerful grassroots movements for reform.



Reflective Democracy Innovator Insights & Reflections

The Reflective Democracy Innovators exemplify the kind of nimble, innovative grantmaking vital to kick-starting a broader movement for reflective democracy. Through these grants, we have elevated the emerging leadership of women working at the frontlines of today's vital movements for racial justice. We have supported the efforts of established community organizing groups to make their local appointed and elected officials more reflective of their communities. Through our Research Innovators, we have explored crucial questions to expand our knowledge and understanding of the barriers to reflective democracy, and the solutions to overcome them.



LEADERSHIP INNOVATORS

Our two Leadership Innovators initially approached us with vision, insights, ideas, energy and a plan. Neither represented established organizations. They used their grant periods to explore organizing around reflective democracy in two uniquely fertile political landscapes: the growing drive for Native American empowerment, and the burgeoning Movement for Black Lives. Our support enabled these two developing leaders to forge a dynamic, reciprocal bond between the Campaign and these emerging movements, generating mutual support and critical insights. Their work connects the vital, emerging energy of the revitalized Native American Rights movement and the Movement for Black Lives with strategies to promote broader political leadership. The connections they are building are crucial to the movement for reflective democracy as it continues to grow and evolve.

Chrissie Castro

Advance Native Political Leadership

Chrissie Castro, a citizen of the Navajo Nation, is a seasoned leader with more than 15 years of community organizing and consulting experience. Using extensive interviews and focus groups, gatherings, and original research, her Advance Native Political Leadership (ANPL) project is mapping the structural barriers that lead to the severe under-representation of Native Americans in elected and appointed leadership positions. Castro initiated her work during a new wave of organizing within the Native American community, particularly among younger Native leaders. This put Castro and ANPL at the center of the Dakota Access Pipeline mobilization, as well as in the Native Women’s Leadership contingent of the Women’s March on Washington. Combined with her network-building through intensive site visits and leadership councils, our support of Castro’s work allowed her to effectively access the real-time organizing happening over the last two years.

<p>Activities & Accomplishments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on extensive interviews with native leaders, ANPL published a white paper detailing the complexities of historical and contemporary Native American political participation. • ANPL convened a National Steering Committee in 2016 and 2017 to develop a National Implementation Plan to help established Native organizations sharpen their political and policy analysis.
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding to build a candidate pathway for Native Americans is scarce. • Political gatekeepers consider being a Native woman a “double disadvantage.” • A comprehensive national strategy and organizational capacity are needed for Native candidate recruitment, preparation and support. • Native groups need to take more initiative to build partnerships with key leaders and institutions including non-Native allies.
<p>Next Steps</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secure investments to implement pilot projects in communities with capacity to advance ANPL goals capacity to advance ANPL goals in New Mexico, Montana, Los Angeles, and Portland.

Jessica Byrd

The Pathway Project

Jessica Byrd set out to understand and address the barriers that prevent progressive candidates of color from running for office, and to identify opportunities for recruiting more candidates of color through people of color-led membership organizations. Her efforts garnered national media coverage; she was profiled in *Ebony*, *Essence*, and *Rolling Stone*, and she has emerged as a national leader.

Byrd's work taught us the importance of investing in leadership potential, especially during moments of change. While she originally planned to survey the relationship of people of color-led organizations and networks to electoral politics, our support also enabled her to play a critical role in the emerging Movement for Black Lives. The freedom we provided her to explore a range of projects and hypotheses led Byrd to a critical new analysis of African American candidate recruitment, training, and support with great promise for impacting the future of reflective democracy.

<p>Activities & Accomplishments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engaged with diverse organizations open to candidate recruitment as a tool for their work: AAPI Vote; 18 Million Rising; BYP 100; Dream Defenders; Black Lives Matter Network; Movement for Black Lives (M4BL); Dreamer Moms; and Advance Native Political Leadership. • Organized “Electoral Politics for Black Lives” training to provide education on electoral politics to organizations active in the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL). • Conducted a “political resistance” session for the first-ever Movement for Black Lives strategy conference in January 2017.
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizations in this space do not want more “tables” or meetings; they need focused, organization-specific strategy and targeting assistance. • There is an overwhelming lack of resources for candidate work. • Systemic racism is a clear obstacle in society, within political parties, and in the progressive movement. • There is no full-service, coordinated national candidate recruitment mechanism within the progressive movement.
<p>Next Steps</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with the Movement for Black Lives to develop a candidate development program and expand its power into the electoral realm.

ORGANIZING INNOVATORS

Each Organizing Innovator tested the ability of established community organizing groups – often relied upon to turn out voters – to take steps toward developing elected and appointed leadership from their own ranks, moving from being “boots on the ground” to becoming *de facto* political gatekeepers.

Texas Organizing Project Education Fund: Growing the Cadre of Women to Serve and Organize

The Boards and Commissions Leadership Institute (BCLI), a project of the Texas Organizing Project Education Fund, is working to grow a cadre of women of color (particularly low-income women) aligned with issue-based campaigns, who are equipped to serve in appointed positions and eventually seek elected office.

<p>Activities & Accomplishments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruited the first cohort of 14 women (5 Latina, 5 African American, 4 white) with ties to an ongoing economic justice campaign in Houston. • Designed and implemented a six-month training program (January-June 2017) including boards and commissions basic training; leadership development; political education and power mapping; and economic justice education. • Secured a \$50,000 matching grant from the Open Society Foundation.
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local boards and commissions are overlooked as forums to wield influence and pipelines for other positions. • Leaders of progressive organizations are disconnected from traditional networks that help people run for office. • Progressive community organizing campaigns are under-equipped to prepare their members to assume appointed leadership roles: dedicated staff, support systems, and tools are needed to develop leaders in these new roles.
<p>Next steps</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with the 2017 cohort to get appointed to various boards and commissions; goal is to have 6-7 women placed by the end of 2017. • Provide on-going support to women who get placed, including: issue and policy research; education on processes and protocols; assistance in overcoming barriers to participation (e.g. childcare, transportation).

Oakland Rising

Lead East Bay, a leadership development program initiated by Oakland Rising, will address the gaps in the San Francisco East Bay Area’s current leadership development infrastructure by training a cohort of 30 people in 2017. Lead East Bay connects grassroots leaders from working class communities of color to the networks, training, and information needed to build on their existing organizing skills and prepare for public leadership positions, both appointed and elected.

<p>Activities & Accomplishments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducted interviews with over 70 community partners to design a program that meets community needs. • Built Advisory Committee including elected officials, labor leaders, and political consultants. • Developed training partners, including Rockwood and Wellstone.
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progressive leaders of community-based organizations are not currently interested in running for office. • Leadership development programs are siloed, with little ability to cross race, class, and gender lines. • To be effective, electoral leadership programs must be framed as a core organizational priority. • To ensure that newly-elected leaders continue to uphold community values, community accountability must be integrated into programming.
<p>Next Steps</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruit 30 leaders accountable to working class communities of color to Lead East Bay, and begin training in June 2017. • Build a diverse base of funding to sustain Lead East Bay’s work. • Work with Bay Rising to coordinate placement of Lead East Bay leaders into campaigns across Alameda County.

Michigan United: Candidate Pipeline Project

Michigan United’s candidate pipeline program moves community leaders – predominantly women, people of color and low income people – from local activism to elected office. Their Training for Trainers (TFT) program is in the process of scaling to enable training more than 150 leaders per year.

<p>Activities & Accomplishments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hired deputy director for movement politics. • Conducted geographic targeting in Detroit, Flint, Kalamazoo, and Grand Rapids. • Designed and tested a three-day training program that trained 44 people: eleven participants ran for office and four were elected.
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building a culture in which individuals see their leadership and potential candidacy as part of a movement, not as a strategy for personal success, is a significant challenge. • Programming must account for the reality that community organizers need training in political skills and in transferring existing skills to the political arena. • Candidate development work adds a new dimension to community organizing, which can broaden an organization’s base of support.
<p>Next Steps</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to support and nurture the state training team and encourage them to organize trainings in their communities throughout the state. • Work with People’s Action to replicate this program in other states. • Establish a national People’s Action candidate training team to work with affiliates who lack the capacity to build their own program.

Women Organizing Women, a Minnesota organization focused on developing Somali-American women for political leadership, and the **Washington, DC chapter of Restaurant Opportunities Center** were also Organizing Innovators in 2015. Both organizations participated in a collaborative pilot phase with the Innovators above, designing programs to develop leaders from their ranks for positions of public leadership. At the conclusion of that phase they moved on to more electorally-focused projects. The policy director of Women Organizing Women, Ilhan Omar, was elected last November to the Minnesota state legislature and is recognized nationally as one of the first Somali-American state legislators in the country.

RESEARCH INNOVATORS

Building upon the Reflective Democracy Campaign’s data sets, as well other Campaign insights, hypotheses, and questions, the Research Innovators are contributing vital knowledge to guide our future strategies.

Candidate Supply and Electoral Success: Race and Gender in State Legislative Races

Working with the Campaign’s dataset for 2012 and 2014 state legislative offices in 42 states, Paru Shah of the University of Wisconsin and Eric Gonzalez Juenke of Michigan State arrived at a revolutionary conclusion: contrary to commonly-held beliefs, candidates of color – like female candidates – win races at the same rate as white men. *The problem is not that voters don’t choose them: the problem is that parties don’t run them.*

Their report coins the phrase *supply side theory of representation* as a framework for understanding where and why women and people of color run for office, who recruits them, and which political elites support them when they run. Their research confirmed many of our hypotheses, and provides invaluable insight to guide both the Campaign and the movement for reflective democracy as a whole.

<p>Questions & Areas of Inquiry</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do pipeline characteristics in a district influence candidate emergence? What differentiates districts where racial/ethnic minority and women candidates win? • What role does incumbency play in the likelihood of a person of color challenger emerging?
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data is essential; the ability to examine both candidates and elected officials is critical to understanding the racial and gender imbalance in political representation. • While voters’ race and gender biases factor into the under-representation of women and people of color, the strategic choices made by elites prior to the election – and the context for those choices – is a major contributor. • It has been established that “when women run, women win:” women win elections at about the same rate as men. Our researchers found the same holds true for candidates of color – when people of color run, they win at rates similar to whites. • 54% of analyzed elections offered only male candidates on the ballot, and a full 92% had at least one man on the ballot, underscoring the gender bias in the choices voters are given. • 78% of analyzed elections offered only white candidates on the ballot, and a full 90% had at least one white candidate in the election. The overwhelming majority of American voters cannot vote for a candidate of color because they are not on the ballot. • Regardless of race or ethnicity, all incumbents win about 95% of the time. • Contrary to the beliefs of many political elites, candidates of color can succeed outside majority-minority districts. There is no threshold number for voters of color in a district to make it competitive for a candidate of color. • The racial/ethnic and gender imbalance in political representation is a problem of supply – put simply, not enough women and people of color are on our ballots. Period.

Pathways to Leadership: Overcoming Personal Economic Barriers to Increase Race, Class and Gender Diversity in Civic Leadership Positions

Teresa Purcell and Elizabeth Sullivan explored ways to make running for and serving in office financially viable for women of modest means, focusing on the role of nonprofit and labor union employers. In consultation with attorneys, Purcell and Sullivan drafted a first-of-its-kind *Sample Civic Leadership Leave* employment policy.

<p>Questions & Areas of Inquiry</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the economic barriers to women running for and holding elected office? • What role can employers play in addressing these barriers?
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 42 states, legislatures pay part-time wages for essentially full time work, preventing women of modest means from holding office. • The existing structure favors those with wealth and/or flexible jobs. • Many public sector, nonprofit and union employers believe that employing an elected official may create a conflict of interest. • Candidate training organizations concerned with reflective democracy should apply a class lens to their curriculum, helping candidates deal with economic barriers and cultivating best practices and tools such as the Civic Leadership Leave employment policy.

Microloans and Low Income Scholarships in the Political World

Colleen Loper and Ross Peavey researched pertinent Texas laws to determine whether supplementary personal scholarships or microloans to potential candidates could overcome economic barriers to running for and serving in office.

<p>Questions & Areas of Inquiry</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can scholarships or loans from political action committees (PACs) help overcome economic barriers? • Does Texas law allow/encourage public sector and nonprofit employees to run for and hold elected office?
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While existing Texas Law probably prohibits personal scholarships from PACs to candidates, PAC loans are a promising possibility. • In Texas, other remedies to structural barriers to reflective democracy may include leaves of absence from work to serve, and encouraging nonprofit employees to run for office.

FairVote: Ranked Choice Voting and Representation of Underrepresented Groups

Fair Vote set out to identify the electoral structures that best achieve reflective democracy. Collecting data on all 3,000 US counties, they linked that data to the Reflective Democracy Campaign dataset, examining the relationship between reflective democracy and hundreds of different variables. They also studied the impact on reflective democracy of Rank Choice Voting (RCV), which allows voters to rank candidates in order of preference, electing candidates with strong first-choice support as well as broad second- and third-choice support.

<p>Questions & Areas of Inquiry</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there electoral structures that contribute to more reflective candidates and elected officials? • What is the impact of Ranked Choice Voting on electoral outcomes?
<p>Key Findings & Learnings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Counties that use fair electoral structures elect 59% more women, 41% more people of color and more than 60% more women of color. Fair structures include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commission form of county government • Annual November elections • Partisan local election; • Same-day voter registration • A voting system other than “winner take all” • In cities using RCV, more women, people of color and women of color ran for and won local elected office compared to cities without RCV.

Conclusion

At the time we launched the Reflective Democracy Innovator program, we had no way of knowing that the work we were supporting would become part of a critical resistance movement against a retrenched and victorious power structure. Supporting break-through projects tackling the barriers to reflective democracy has never mattered more. Cultivating dynamic, intersectional leaders who bridge the movement for reflective democracy with the nation's most energized racial justice activists is an invaluable investment in the future.

Looking ahead, the Campaign is exploring how best to partner with our promising Innovators, laying the groundwork for a next phase that invigorates our work while catalyzing interest in and support for their ongoing projects. As they grow and refine their efforts, we will continue to play a catalytic role in the revitalized—and now even more critical—movement to defend and rebuild our democracy.



SUMMARY OF REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY INNOVATOR GRANT AMOUNTS

PROJECT	2015-16 \$	2016-17 \$	TOTAL \$
LEADERSHIP INNOVATORS			
Advance Native Political Leadership	\$41,000	\$75,000	\$116,000
The Pathway Project	\$60,000	\$75,000	\$135,000
ORGANIZING INNOVATORS			
Texas Organizing Project Education Fund	\$45,000	\$90,000	\$135,000
Oakland Rising	\$20,000	\$65,000	\$85,000
Michigan United	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$40,000
Women Organizing Women	\$20,000		\$20,000
Restaurant Opportunities Center-DC	\$20,000		\$20,000
Public Leadership Institute (for coaching, meetings and facilitation, and technical assistance)	\$80,000	\$55,000	\$135,000
RESEARCH INNOVATORS			
<i>Candidate Supply and Electoral Success and Racial/Ethnic Elite Opportunity: Do Higher Office Minority Incumbents Affect the Emergence and Success of Lower Ticket Minority Candidates?</i> Paru Shah (UW-Milwaukee) and Eric Gonzalez Juenke (Michigan State)		\$30,378	\$30,378
<i>Microloans and Low Income Scholarships in the Political World</i> , Colleen Loper and Ross Peavey	\$11,800		\$11,800
<i>Pathways to Leadership: Overcoming Personal Economic Barriers to Increase Race, Class and Gender Diversity in Civic Leadership Positions</i> , Teresa Purcell and Elisabeth Sullivan	\$29,200		\$29,200
<i>Improving the Representation of Women and People of Color Using Electoral Reform</i> , FairVote		\$47,000	\$47,000
Convenings, travel and other miscellaneous expenses			\$33,000
TOTAL GRANTS:			\$837,000

REFLECTIVE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN

The Reflective Democracy Campaign reimagines a political system that engages America's full range of talent and experience. The campaign conducts groundbreaking research, engages the public in crucial dialogue, and makes catalytic investments in leaders and organizations working towards a Reflective Democracy.

Learn more at WhoLeads.us



The Reflective Democracy
Campaign is a project of the
Women Donors Network

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