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ENGAGEMENT WITH POLITICS AND COMMUNITY

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Reviewed and approved by the following:

Rosa A. Eberly, PhD  
Associate Professor of Communications Arts  
and Sciences and English  
Thesis Supervisor, Thesis Advisor

Lori Bedell, PhD  
Associate Teaching Professor in Communication Arts  
and Sciences  
Thesis Reader

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis seeks to build a connection between the notions of civic engagement that contribute to the understanding of politics for young people and ultimately implicate their arena of political participation in adulthood, specifically, the degree of power civic engagement holds in the political pipeline for women. To understand these implications at a wide array of levels, I utilize a plurality of methodologies to construct this analysis, including an analysis of the Center for American Women in Politics survey data that asks women about their membership in different types of organizations, women's organizations, their first election, and plans for future terms, the Civic Engagement supplement of the 2020 Census Survey that includes questions about the engagement of care work and neighborhood duties, interviews with university students and alums with leadership positions and civic engagement experience, and a survey to university students to understand their current grasp of civic engagement, their levels of involvement, and perceptions of future political engagement and candidacy.

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## Introduction

Civic engagement has a plurality of associations, uses, and connotations, defined by Putnam as “people’s connections with the life of their communities, not merely politics” (Putnam, 1995, p.665). On a conceptual level, civic engagement is rooted in connection, community, and how individuals interact with those around them. Politics is also steeped in this definition; civic engagement has become essential to understanding electoral and political behavior. However, modern context implores us to consider care work and kinship as valid forms of civic engagement (Herd & Meyer, 2002). In expanding the definition of civic engagement, I consider how the debate on the decline of civic engagement may be reframed to understand the current moment in which civic engagement is situated in a post-COVID-19 world. Reshaping the understanding of civic engagement in a modernized world in which emerging technologies, economic downturns, and global health are all pertinent also leads to a broader conversation about the importance and impact of civic engagement.

Women have been historically marginalized from legitimate forms of political participation and expression. The exclusion of women: a deliberate attempt to continue the subjugation of women as traditional homemakers and subordinate members of society has led to an ongoing battle to access a means of government designed without their consideration. The historical implications of a lack of representation of women and, more specifically, women of color and Queer-identified women have led to a political landscape that, at first glance, is uninhabitable for women. Fox and Lawless demonstrate that despite comparable credentials,

backgrounds, and experiences, women are substantially less likely to perceive themselves as qualified for office; women also doubt they possess the necessary traits to succeed (Fox & Lawless, 2011). Candidate self-efficacy and the socialization of politics to young girls is a seminal piece of understanding the lack of representation, the mechanisms necessary to increase the number of female candidates, and the implications of the presence or lack thereof in descriptive and substantive forms of female representation.

This paper seeks to build a connection between the notions of civic engagement that contribute to the understanding of politics for young people and ultimately implicate their arena of political participation in adulthood, specifically, the degree of power civic engagement holds in the political pipeline for women. To understand these implications at a wide array of levels, I utilize a plurality of methodologies to construct this analysis, including an analysis of the Center for American Women in Politics survey data that asks women about their membership in different types of organizations, women's organizations, their first election, and plans for future terms, the Civic Engagement supplement of the 2020 Census Survey that includes questions about the engagement of care work and neighborhood duties, interviews with university students and alumni with leadership positions and civic engagement experience, and a survey to university students to understand their current grasp of civic engagement, their levels of involvement, and perceptions of future political engagement and candidacy.

## **Chapter 1: The Current State of Women in Politics and Civic Engagement**

### **Framing Civic Engagement**

Civic engagement is rooted in social contract theory, which states that we have moral or political obligations to the society in which we live. Robert D. Putnam takes this further in the 1990s, discussing how civic engagement is rooted in social capital, essentially the relationships, trust, and norms we all experience with each other (Putnam, 1995, p.665). Generally, the greater our connection, the more trust we produce. Putnam suggests that social trust and civic engagement go hand in hand (Putnam, 1995, p.665). In this research, social trust is critical to building buy-in for civic engagement, even more so for marginalized groups to gain political efficacy. Other frameworks include historical institutionalism and moralism. Some theorize civic engagement is declining because of “declines in social trust and increases in residential mobility, paid work, single-parent households, government involvement, television consumption, and generational differences”(Herd & Meyer, 2002, p.667). Those who are moralists attribute the decline in civic engagement to a “moral meltdown” (Herd & Meyer, 2002, p.668). It is important to note that a moralist definition of civic engagement precludes informal participation. For this reason, I exclude a moralistic framework from this analysis. Finally, historical institutionalists suggest that we should broadly conceptualize civic activity and that engagement methods will rise and fall with time (Herd & Meyer, 2002, p.668).

Nearly two decades ago, the social obligation for civic engagement was shrinking. Individualistic culture has emphasized the promotion of oneself and one's vision and goals. In the social media era, self-branding has continued to devalue the collective. Putnam discusses how technology has moved to “privatizing” our lives (Putnam, 1995, p.665). The distinct separation

of the individual and the collective brings a sense of individual powerlessness in society. The prevailing idea is that our actions are negligible in broader society; thus, our actions are invalid. I argue that this is a primary factor in a steep decline in organizational involvement at all ages, a reduction in the neighborhood, and a lack of underrepresented minorities within our society and, more specifically, in our political system. This does not negate the systematic exclusion of minority populations from politics. However, organizations and systems that were once steady pipelines into politics and other careers have experienced a devaluation of importance as the culture of individualism and political polarization rises. In today's context, political polarization has made politics a spectacle of an arena many do not want to engage with. However, this discontent will most likely bleed into how youth experience politics; thus, they can be set onto an apolitical or extreme path.

There are varying interpretations of how to define civic engagement—often thought of via a political lens measuring if people vote to engage with local government and political organizations. In today's age, the internet has brought other means of e-participation (Hamari, 2020). Social media is used for educational campaigns as a means of advocacy and activism, even as a means to organize and call for action. Using social media presents the opportunity to widen the scope of what we consider “civic engagement.” The emergence of internet use is not a primary concern of this analysis. However, future considerations are needed to determine if these effects still hold if youth methods of civic engagement occur online.

Care work has become more pertinent in a post-pandemic world in which caregiving within families and neighborhoods has become a more salient topic as the need for both formal and informal care work as we experience a more uneven age distribution. Feminist scholars have

long sought to demonstrate that “care work should be both a right and obligation of social citizenship” (Herd & Meyer, 2002, p.666). Considering this, one might wonder why care work has been devalued and excluded from the definition of civic engagement. Furthermore, gender is a critical part of this conversation. Suggesting that care work is less valuable suggests that the “daily physical and emotional labor of feeding and nurturing citizens” is not an act of civility when these acts frame our society. This analysis will utilize a social capital and historical institutionalist framework. Social capital is critical in the connection piece, which is critical in a political conversation. Historical institutionalism highlights evaluating contemporary social forms of civic engagement that are relevant today.

### **A Review of the Current State of Women in Politics**

Literature on gendered institutions can be conceptualized based on dominant theories and themes. Prominent literature discussing women in institutions examines the debate between critical mass and critical acts, gendered institutions and the logic of appropriateness, substantive and descriptive representation, institutional rules, norms, theories, relational power, and group function. At the same time, other literature focuses on candidates' emergence and the political socialization of women. These two aspects of the literature represent the emergence of candidacy and activity in the institution; however, at the center of this is how women utilize tools and resources, or lack thereof, to become political actors from the time of conceptualizing running for office and becoming a distinct political actor within the institution at a high level.



As a backdrop to many debates about women in political institutions, critical mass is at the center of many theories, thought to be a solvent for the gender disparities of political office and the lack of progress of women's agendas. Krook and Childs examine the effectiveness of critical mass theory in producing substantive representation for women (Krook, 2008). Krook summarizes the debate between Kanter and Dahlerup while arguing that critical mass may not make the outcomes you might expect it to. Kanter argues that women experience tokenism; thus, they become visible to the group and stress intra-group differences; they experience performance pressures, token isolation, and role entrapment, leading to a coercive adoption of the dominant group culture (Krook, 2008). This theory implies an increased number of women in the legislature who can potentially ally with other minorities to form coalitions that can affect group culture (Krook, 2008).

Nevertheless, she also states that because of group dynamics, tokens can be divided and kept apart to decrease the collective mobilization power of the minority group (Krook, 2008). I argue that collective power can be helpful for women who organize inside institutions. Still, that insight into political knowledge can empower individual action, thus highlighting the advantage of knowledge sharing in women's organizations.

Nevertheless, Dahlerup offers a more individualized approach to women's political ability, characterized as 'critical acts' that change the position of the minority and lead to further changes by the mobilization of the individual (Krook, 2008). Conflicting with Kander's theory, the percentage of women is no longer a prerequisite to political action because women voicing substantive policy, or issue-oriented remarks changes the space's dynamic (Krook, 2008).

Annesley and Gains agree with Dahlerup's assessment by claiming that the success of the positive gendered policy is the commitment to feminizing policy within the institution (Annesley & Gains, 2010). Krook also points out the lack of reliability in cross-applying studies from the private to the public sector (Kanter's theory is predicated on private sector business setting studies), where outcomes are separate from the yearly economic output—highlighting the difficulty in capturing data that can holistically assess the environment, especially when interviews can be an inauthentic portrayal of the environment because they can be connected to economic or political consequences (Krook, 2008). For this reason, isolating young women who are politically viable and ambitious could help improve interview reliability and understand how they perceive feminized policy before their perceptions are tied to political or economic constraints or consequences. Krook also discusses that the mere entrance of women into a male-dominated group changes the dynamic of the group. Thus, just a 'critical mass' of women in the legislature may ease the ability to act freely but does not act as a necessary condition for legislative success and the coalition of women.

Lowndes, Liu, Banaszack, Annsley, Gains, Chappel, and Waylen all analyze how institutions are gendered and produce gendered outcomes. Lowndes lays out a framework of a gendered institutional model, including rules about gender, rules with gendered effects, gendered actors working with rules, and gendered outcomes of action shaped by rules (Lowndes, 2019). At the root of these concepts are institutional rules and actors. Rules about gender explicitly discriminate against women or benefit women, like quotas, which can be both positive and negative or additive and subtractive (Lowndes, 2019). Many authors converse with Lowndes's claims about gendered actors working within the constraints. Debate exists within the literature

on how gendered actors operate within the rules and whether the actors or the rules are responsible for the outcomes. Knowing institutions' structure and design is vital before understanding which condition precedes or necessitates the other. I expect that both of these forces are coevolving and cyclical, creating a highly gendered environment in institutions. Lowndes outlines thresholds for institutional practices, including specific and particularly political and governmental settings, recognized actors, the shape of political behavior, and third-party enforcement (Lowndes, 2019). These are vital tenets that contribute to the definition of a formal organization. Firstly, the political 'game' can be broken down into arenas of private and public spectacle; women have unique advantages and disadvantages depending on the situational circumstances, which can impact their ability to act on women's behalf (Lowndes, 2019). Understanding how setting affects political advantage is one of many critical areas of expertise women need to be educated on, thus producing less political knowledge and fewer actions on women-centered agendas. Another essential aspect Lowndes presents is the recognition of actors. At the same time, Banaszack and Liu argue that visibility can lead to increased political force and power. Kanter's argument centralizes around the negative consequences of visibility, which she theorizes increases tokenism (Krook, 2008; Liu & Banaszak, 2017). This tension point illuminates how women as political actors walk fine lines and boundaries that could lead to role entrapment in which they fit into the role of a female stereotype. However, visibility may be necessary to produce political results merging with the former. Toeing this fine line is a unique challenge women and minorities face. Questions of how women gain knowledge of these unspoken dynamics deserve further exploration.

A vital component of these barriers is where, when, and how actors enforce and take on the rules. Lowndes argues that informal rules can break down or reinforce compliance with formal rules (Lowndes, 2019). Authors can utilize this to contextualize better how rules 'stick' or 'slip' (Lowndes, 2019). Various authors expand upon the idea of rules amalgamating into political institutions. Informal cues are a form of regulation on women within institutions, often in combination with formal rules. A vital aspect of this is bureaucratic neutrality, which has been significantly challenging as it encourages a radical acceptance of the status quo and backlash against impassioned radical feminist actors (even when female politicians are not ideologically radical) (Chappell, 2006). The expectation of neutrality and acceptance makes pushing feminist agendas difficult, as it necessitates an informal code of what is perceived as inappropriate in various political settings (Chappell & Waylen, 2013).

Chappell argues that each institution has its logic of appropriation, which is shaped by the gender norms within that institution. She also notes that institutions tend toward stability and path dependency”, however, they are not static or fixed in time (Chappell, 2006). Thus, they can alter and evolve just like gender norms. Gender norms consistently act upon institutions. Chappell and Waylen argue that institutions possess hegemonic masculinity in which men operate in a hegemonic normative code that pushes appropriateness onto the institution (Chappell & Waylen, 2013). Essentially, this states that there is an unspoken expectation of what manhood and masculinity should be like in the real world that is carried into the operation of political institutions. The impact of gender norms within institutions can be felt in many ways by female legislators, including relational power, division of labor, dimensions of emotion, and dimensions of culture, meaning that expectations of how men hold power, women do work, how both men

and women deal with emotions, and cultural norms associated with gender as also experienced in political institutions. They argue that legislatures take on microcosmic elements of the gendered world and explicit norms and expectations of women in politics. Chappell and Waylen make key arguments about how these feminist concepts impact women in politics. As seen in the real world, the dynamic of a disparity between men and women is an institutionalized power relation that significantly influences the distribution of resources (Chappell & Waylen, 2013).

Finally, the discourse regarding substantive and descriptive representation is core to women's political arguments. Banaszak and Liu argue that an increase in women in politics signals to women that politics is not only a man's game and impacts girls at the political socialization stage with the role model effect (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006; Liu & Banaszak, 2017). They also argue that promoting women's agendas leads to increased buy-in and, thus, increased political participation because women recognize their substantive representation.

Again, Banaszak and Liu connect this to the idea of re-gendering institutional norms to become friendlier to women so that they can increase their productivity. Karpowitz adds to the argument by examining group procedures that shape norms that advance and hinder women's authority in their interaction with men; in particular, Karpowitz examines how the higher level of women's authority leads to greater generosity to people experiencing poverty, connecting to Banaszak and Liu's claims that women's ability to set and implement political agendas impacts their effectiveness in producing substantive representation (Karpowitz et al., 2015; Liu & Banaszak, 2017). The concepts of institutionalization and deinstitutionalization capture how institutions can be re-gendered instead of un-gendered by creating more opportunities for

engagement with politics is possible (Lowndes, 2019). Most authors come to similar conclusions: gender will never be erased from institutional dynamics, but a re-gendering of the institution where women are empowered to act as substantive political actors. Based on the work of previous scholarship, the internal dynamics of gendered political institutions are complex and require an understanding of the dynamics of institutions. The informal and formal rules and expectations of appropriateness are complex and hidden for women, especially women of color and any woman considered an outsider of politics and its surrounding echelon. Lowndes remarks on how the British political system experiences a closeness to favored clubs, universities, and other formal and informal networks that allow men to understand internal dynamics even before they run for office (Lowndes, 2019). It is also important to note that the implications of class and understanding underlying dynamics are critical and should be examined further in future research. This research fills the gap in the literature to attempt to understand how women enter and maneuver into political institutions. Previous literature provides the scaffolding for the landscape of the dynamics of formal institutions and the proliferation of informal cues to allow theorizing on how women acquire and evolve their strategies as political actors. I argue that a primary mechanism is formal organizations and women's organizations. Literature regarding candidacy emergence discusses the role model effect, breadwinning, and stereotyping. A prominent work demonstrating how women conceptualize candidacy is "See Jane Run," which measures the role model effect on girls' interest in political participation (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006). Campbell and Wolbrecht, in conjunction with Ladam and Harden, discuss how adolescent girls are more likely to indicate they will be politically active if there is more national news coverage of prominent female politicians (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006; Ladam et

al., 2018). This role model effect signals the importance of representation that leads to the conceptualization of candidacy. However, there is still a gap in the literature as to what women do between the conceptualization of candidacy (especially for adolescent girls who are far removed from the possibility of running for office) and the candidacy itself—moreover, building the skills to self-evaluate as competent for the office.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical Connections: From Youth Civic Engagement to Women in Politics

### Trap Circumvention

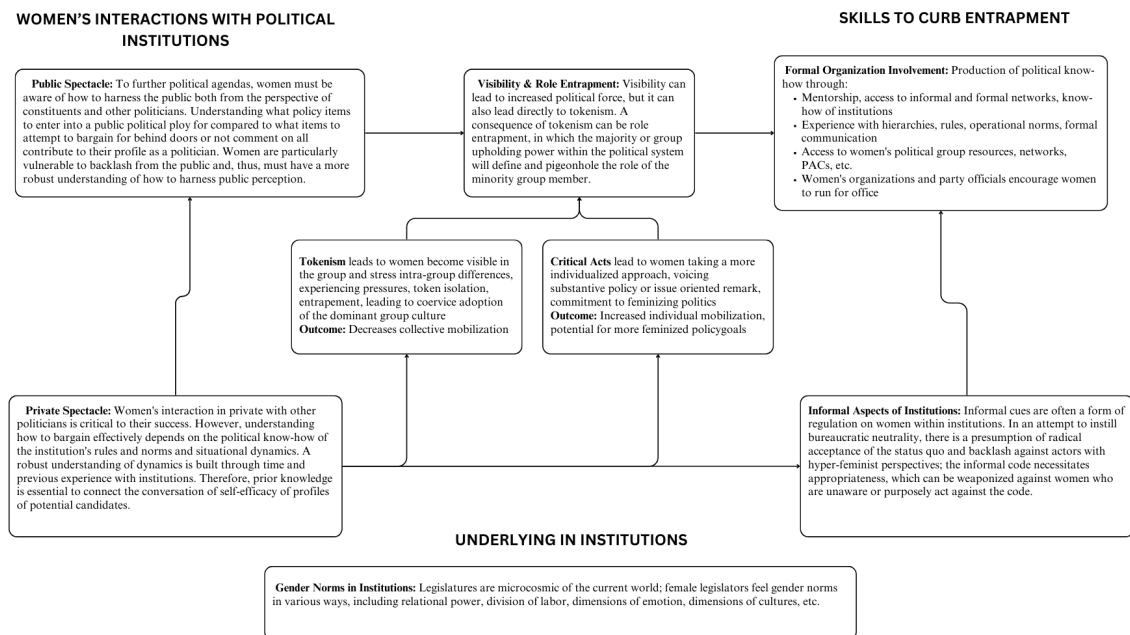


Figure 1: Mapping Women's Interaction with Political Institutions

Above is a mapping of the institutional constraints faced by women in political institutions. I theorize that women's political participation depends on their experiences with civic engagement; furthermore, a more extensive analysis could demonstrate connections between legislative success and civic engagement. However, I analyzed the connection between self-efficacy and civic participation for this study. Demonstrated by the institutional constraints above, women experience a double bind, as political institutions do not favor or even consider women are significantly constrained by the desire of a male majority to maintain the status quo. If women are tokenized, they will be put into a situation where they are pressured to adopt the prominent agenda over an agenda that may provide more substantive representation for women. On the other hand, if women engage in critical acts and lead with the desire to enact substantive policy, they risk increasing their visibility: that hypervisibility makes them more vulnerable to experiencing tokenism and token isolation. Ultimately, tokenism risk's role entrapment and a significant reduction in political clout and power by the majority, whether due to a public or private sector event. The complexity of private and public is critical to understanding how to maneuver politically. Generally speaking, women must exude a much more sophisticated political maneuvering to circumvent the traps women in politics often fall into. This coincides with Aniza and Berry's work that because females perceive there to be more sex-based discrimination in the electoral process, their qualifications to be less than their male counterparts, then only the most qualified and ambitious candidates will emerge; this is impart supported by their findings that congresswomen secure roughly nine percent more federal discretionary programs than congressman, and that women sponsor and cosponsor at higher rates than their male colleagues (Aniza & Berry, 2011).



I argue that civic engagement experiences are critical in producing female candidates and allowing them to be successful in office. This can be done through informal and formal methods of civic engagement. Formal organizations also have distinct hierarchies, such as authority and responsibility. Accountability for the individual is well-defined, requiring methods of identifying when one violates the rules. Formal organizations can measure the extent of the violation of the rule and mechanisms for punishing the violators; this official enforcement is typically taken on by a third party, giving the organization legitimacy (Chappell & Waylen, 2013). Examples of formal women's organizations include political action committees, national sorority councils, national lobbying, and advocacy organizations, and much more. On the other hand, informal organizations lack hierarchy and authority. Members may be pursuing a common goal. However, their plans are not organized by individual responsibilities that members can be held accountable to by an external entity. Often, informal organizations do not need written rules, and communication is casual (Chappell & Waylen, 2013). Typically, contact is frequent and occurs on the interpersonal level; thus, any necessary accountability measures are handled at the interpersonal level. Usually, informal organizations follow customs, morals, and beliefs that create subtle group norms of operation. These organizations are generally evolving and dissolving, primarily transient (Chappell & Waylen, 2013). Informal women's organizations can be book clubs, sports groups, colleague groups, neighborhood groups, social media forums, temporary consciousness-raising efforts, and affinity groups tied to formal environments. A key observation is that informal groups frequently precede formal organizations when members see a political, economic, or social value in a more formalized method of organization.

Formal organizations are uniquely suited to support women's needs for five reasons: (1) to encourage candidate conceptualization, (2) to gain experience with hierarchical structures and organizational norms, (3) to produce political know-how and maneuvering tactics, (4) to build a women-centered support network including mentorship, (5) to access to finances or finance raising tools. On the other hand, informal organizations are highly suited for consciousness-raising efforts and awareness of policy-oriented issues. The conventions of time are essential to note as informal organizations often exist as an extension of social circles and in the political realm as short-lived movements rather than long-term membership.

### **Civic Engagement to Political Arenas**

Membership in formal and informal organizations falls in line with the adopted definition of civic engagement in the context of this analysis. Many formal organizations surround the political component, advocating for a specific agenda, while informal groups align with kinship and care work definitions. I theorize that the specific type of civic engagement interaction also has implications for how women interact with politics. For generations, women have been distinctly outside of legitimate political avenues and deeply invested in movement and non-profit-based political engagement. Unsurprisingly, the suffrage movement gained the first means of legitimate political expression; women effectively organized the vote by utilizing movement-style politics since they needed access to representative methods. During the civil rights movement, Black women were responsible for coordination and logistics but outwardly and strategically hidden behind Black male leaders. Frequently, the structures left behind from civil rights movements develop into what we now know to be some of the largest non-profit advocacy

organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the League of Women Voters. One could argue that the historical rooting of women as the primary participants in the grassroots movement of these organizations is why women are so heavily involved in the non-profit movement side of politics. Yet, I suggest that these organizations' legacy be considered in coordination with the nature of youth organizations and the socialization of young people into civic engagement. For young women who can engage with organizations, as it can often require a specific geographic or financial profile, women have been historically separated from men, and the messages they receive have been starkly different—for example, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America. Undoubtedly, we all possess an array of associations with different activities children participate in; when considering the larger picture, it is perceived that gendered activities, especially those that emphasize the prominence of one gender or are outright exclusionary, reinforce gender norms. Often, these gender norms perpetuate the undervaluing of female-identified traits and do not socialize further civic or political engagement outside of a gendered context.

Secondly, those who engage in care work are overwhelmingly women. The responsibility to engage in the care work of elderly family members and siblings often acts as a stand-in for other forms of civic engagement or social opportunities for young women, which is an enormous responsibility. However, care work has not been widely accepted as a legitimate form of service or engagement. Even more, care work is seen as an implicit part of life; therefore, it is rarely shared to attain a position, job, or internship. Women and men alike are not accustomed to viewing care work as legitimate and demonstrative of various skills. I argue that this devaluation of primarily female experience is related to women's lower self-efficacy in running for office or

participating in politics. This is because their male counterparts most likely will not have a similar experience and because the male experience is normative in politics, it is deemed unpolitical. This perspective from both men and women actively contributes to a physiological barrier to women participating in politics, explicitly being candidates instead of taking on a supportive movement-based role.

### **Pipeline To Politics**

Another consideration is how civic engagement activities for young people socialize young girls to think about politics and their role in it. From what is known about childhood perceptions of political activity, the more women politicians are made visible, the more likely girls are to indicate their intention to be politically active (Chappell & Waylen, 2013). Based on the role model effect, it could be argued that if civic engagement organizations provide positive messages towards female participation, they will lead to more actively politically young women. However, the opposite would be true if these organizations had few positive role models; young women would be less likely to engage with politics or consider themselves viable candidates. Therefore, examining the messaging and perceptions of specific civic engagement pastimes of adolescents is critical. I theorize that many organizations are not producing positive messages regarding young girls' ability to participate in politics and, overall, are reinforcing widely accepted stereotypes. However, the underlying argument that civic engagement is a critical part of this socialization process and could be harnessed to increase political consciousness for young people more generally stands.

### **Chapter 3: Pluralistic Methodological Approaches**

#### **Center for Women in Politics Data**

I utilized the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University, Recruitment Studies, in 2008 for this research. This data consists of a survey of 1,450 Mayors and State Legislators, with 87.4% being State Legislators. This data allows for an analysis of upward mobility in office because State Legislators who serve in their State House or Senate can yield high-impact policy at the state level but also present ample opportunity to move up by serving as Governor or on the executive cabinet of the Governor, or running for National office in the Congress or Senate. It also represents a level at which organizations can affect how parties pick candidates and their support more so than an organization may have at the highest levels of office; the data capture membership to an organization before running for office and after, which can signal the effectiveness of organizations on winning their first term and running for another

level of office. This analysis utilizes various questions that capture membership to organizations, perceptions of candidacy, and plans. The anonymity of the survey limits the ability to control states and demographics; however, this does provide more insightful controls on family dynamics impacting candidacy. It was critical to measure membership in various organizations to produce a baseline understanding of whether or not organizational membership impacts women's likelihood of seeking another term on their own without the component of a women's organization, which provides more of a specialized network structure. To capture this, I utilized a series of questions asking, "Prior to becoming a candidate for the first time, how active were you in any of the following organizations?" The series of organizations includes a business or professional group, service club, teachers' organization, labor organization, children or youth organization, women's organization, church or another religious group, and civil rights or race / ethnic group. The responses are categorized as "not active," "active," and "very active." Assigned 1,2,3 respectively and recorded on a scale of zero to one like all other variables in this research. To test this hypothesis, I ran three models, one with all organizations, one with formal organizations, and one with informal organizations, based on the following hypothesis:

**H1:** Women engaged with formal organizations are more likely to seek another term at a different office level.

**H2:** Women engaged with formal women's organizations are more likely to seek another at a different office level.

**H3:** Women elected officials participating in a women's policy organization are more likely to seek another term at a different office level.

Based on the definition of formal and informal organizations above, I labeled service clubs, children and youth organizations, and church or religious groups as informational organizations. Service clubs, because they are categorized as clubs, with the example being the Rotary implying low levels of hierarchy, if at all, children and youth organizations because of the association with service unless at higher levels of leadership typically necessitated by full-time employment at the philanthropic level. I categorized church or religious groups as informal because they can be considered a casual offshoot of a formal institution, another category in which informal institutions operate, as a way to conglomerate and discuss the happenings of the formal institution in a casual context. This model contains a range of control variables, including party identification, state legislative chamber, prior elective or appointive positions, the importance of financial resources for campaigns, level of employment, spousal support, and children's age.

It is important to note that questions of finance, spousal support, and children's age were asked as "important in affecting your decision to run the first time for the office you now hold" and proceeded by "having sufficient financial resources to conduct a viable campaign," "Approval of my spouse or partner," "My children being old enough for me to feel comfortable not being home as much." These questions are categorized as "Very Important," "Somewhat Important," "Not Important," and "Not Applicable," coded on a scale of 1-4 and recorded from zero to one. Level of employment is coded as "Yes, full-time," "Yes, part-time," and "No, retired." The phrasing of the question is important to note, as it augments the implications of the

results. I utilized a series of questions that ask about membership in women's organizations; organizations included in the survey are the League of Women Voters, a women's civic organization, a business or professional women's organization, a conservative women's group, a feminist group, an organization of women public officials, a sorority, and a women's PAC. These variables are categorized as "Yes, before I ran," "Yes, I joined after I ran," and "No." This allows me to measure the impact on women's organizations to run in an election as "Yes, member before I ran," coded as one to test the effects of women's organizations on candidacy. More specifically, this includes both the theory's hierarchical and network aspects. To test the network impacts more specifically, I utilized the question, "Did any women's organization actively encourage you to run for the office you hold for the first time?" I also included associated questions for party leaders and party support to compare the impact of the party to the effect of women's organizations to capture questions of intra-party dynamics. The third hypothesis tests the impact of women's policy organizations once elected to office on the likelihood of seeking a different office level. I grouped organizations of women's political groups and PACs and used the same controls throughout Models One and Two.

### **Interviews and Survey Construction**

There are a variety of limitations in the survey data collected by the Center for Women in Politics and the Civic Life Supplement of the Census. Many interviewees were interviewed on the phone and encouraged to recall information from twelve months to years before the survey. Furthermore, neither survey data resource captures the organizational capacity of the organizations of which these women are a part. This could dramatically impact the effect of the



formal institutions, such as network effects. Furthermore, the recall required for yes, no, maybe questions could leave out significant information on the effectiveness of these experiences. That is why I gathered survey and interview data from college students and recent graduates who engage with leadership as a proxy for political experience.

The choice to utilize the universities and leadership as a proxy was made for assorted reasons, including but not limited to the capacity of informal and formal organizational membership, which is more apparent at the university level. Participants can share the organizational size, hierarchical structure, and specific experiences that shaped their decision-making in recent memory. University structures also deal with informal networks and political knowledge. Universities also have gendered organizations, activities, and associations that can speak to the impact of gendered arenas on a smaller scale. Furthermore, asking questions about political and future ambitions can be more salient at this time in life.

There is both a survey and an interview component. The call to participate includes a link to a study. All are encouraged to take the survey, which includes identifying information such as gender, age, educational level, marital status, and employment status. Then, participants are asked about their membership in civic-oriented programs, what organizations they were members of, how long they have been members, or where members are; this is repeated for high school and college experiences. For college experiences, participants are asked about leadership within their involvement. Participants are asked about their current membership and if they have been members of civic, political, and professional organizations. At the end of the survey, participants are asked about their party affiliation, consideration towards running for office, and

how often they discuss political, societal, or local issues with family, co-workers, and friends. The concluding section covers care-work considerations, including supporting members of families and neighborhoods by house-sitting, watching each other's children, lending tools, doing something positive for your neighbor, and acting as a caregiver. The complete questionnaire will be included in Appendix D.

This survey is meant to capture what organizational involvement has looked like in youth and adolescents as care workers and the political efficacy of those taking the survey. Here, we can measure the connection between organizational membership, care work, and level of political engagement. Specifically, targeting college students helps to bridge the gaps between current research on youth and candidates. This survey was disseminated through organizational list-serves at The Pennsylvania State University academic colleges, offices, and student organizations—as well as cold emailing, GroupMe, and Slack messaging. Although Pennsylvania State University is not representative of the entirety of the collegiate population, the diversity within the 40,000 undergraduate population still presents a utility when surveying students. For those who are only filling out the questionnaire, the cover page will inform them of the survey, click to move forward, which implies consent, and then take the survey. Their participation in the study is now complete. The survey respondents are aimed at 3,000; however, the number necessary to complete the study is five hundred.

The pre-interview survey is the same as the initial questionnaire discussed above. Interviewees' responses will be collected separately to evaluate them in tandem with their interview responses. Participants can elect to be interviewed. The criteria for interviewees are

that they must be above the age of eighteen, a college student or professional, and currently or previously involved with student organizations, co-curricular activities, internships, research, and work experience. Student interviewees will be solicited via organizational list services and databases. Professional interviewees will be solicited through the Communications Arts and Sciences Friends and Alumni Network, a directory of alumni who have volunteered to serve as a resource for Penn State students. The maximum number of subjects that can be interviewed is fifteen, and the minimum number necessary to complete the study is seven.

For those who elect to be interviewed, they will complete the form for an interview. As the investigator, I contacted them with the link to the pre-interview questionnaire consent form and scheduled an interview. The participants will be asked to review the form and send it back via email. All participants who were interviewed will be recorded. Participants will be interviewed in person and via Zoom. Interviewees were asked various questions targeting interviewees' leadership development, organizational involvement, and navigation of institutions. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed using Otter AI.

### **Civic Life Supplement**

The Scepter 2021 Volunteering and Civic Life Supplement was conducted to supplement that month's current population survey. Approximately 50,000 interviews were conducted across American households. Supplemental questions were asked to randomly selected household members above 16. Various questions were asked to assess civic health, including interactions with family, friends, neighbors, and people from other backgrounds; political engagement; group membership and participation; frequency of activity; and

donations to political or charitable organizations. Based on the data presented, I developed the following hypothesis.

**H1:** Participants who engage in care work are more likely to be politically active

**H2:** Participants who perceive they contribute to the community are more likely to be politically active

**H3:** Participants who are a member of a group, organization, or association are more likely to be politically active

To test the implications of viewing care work as a civic act, hypothesis one tests the correlation between engaging in care work and being active politically. Four questions outline a range of engagement levels to measure political activity. Eleven states “In the past 12 months, did you vote in the last local elections such as for mayor or school board member?” coded as level 1 of participation. S12 “In the past 12 months, did you attend a public meeting, such as a zoning or school board meeting to discuss the issue?” coded as level 2 of participation. S13 “In the past 12 months, did you contact or visit a public official at any level of government to express your opinion?” coded as level 3 of participation. S14 “In the past 12 months, did you buy, or boycott products or services based on the company's political values or business practices?” coded as level 4 of participation. By measuring the degree to which participants engage with politics, one may learn more about the level of participation in politics accessible to diverse groups of people.

To create a variable for care work, I utilized S6: “In the past 12 months, how often did you and neighbors do favors for each other such as house sitting, watching each other’s

children, lending tools, and other things to help each other.” To create a variable for community contribution, I utilized SWP1d: “Now, I will read you a list of statements that might or might not describe your main job. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with these statements - I contribute to the community through my work. “To create a variable for group membership, I utilized “S15 In the past 12 months, did you belong to any group, organizations, or associations?” These questions provide an overview of how the general public interacts with each other, their neighborhoods, community, and the concept of civic engagement.

### **Roadblocks to a pluralistic analysis**

This thesis faced several challenges, specifically in achieving aspects of the methodological agenda. Institutional Review Board approval was needed to conduct the interviews and surveys legitimately and include them in this work. As an undergraduate researcher, I faced several challenges in receiving approval, including a short timeline to gain approval for human subject testing, which is often not as present with multi-year professor-led projects. Thus, achieving approval before the submission of this work was not possible, and each section will include a robust justification for the methodological approach, hypothesized findings, and possible avenues for future research inside and outside the university environment. Finally, the Census Supplement Data possessed an elevated level of technological, methodological data to systematically analyze how the Center for Women in Politics Data has been. As a result, it is utilized as a reference to inform the survey construction process. Pivoting the methodological aspects of this thesis to a set out much like results blind, while also building a survey design that can be executed given the proper

timeline and resources at a later date.

## **Chapter 4: Youth Civic Engagement**

### **Bridging the gap of understanding with survey and interview design**

The interview and Qualtrics survey aim to provide further contextualization to the critical aspects of youth civic engagement, including (1) selection of activities/ availability of activities, (2) socialization with other young people, (3) development of a sense of civility, (4) development of leadership skills, (5) implications for long-term civic involvement. The selection and availability of activities are primarily outside the availability of activities among people, particularly in the activity. Undoubtedly, any family's access to activities for their children will be dramatically altered by geographic location, socio-economic status, and cultural norms. More research should be done to examine the level of access to co-curricular and civic engagement-esque activities; however, I did not choose to explore this avenue further for this study. However,

it is a crucial qualifier to contextualize the analysis of this research, which aims to understand how civic activities and organizational involvement shape a sense of self, community, leadership skills, and perceptions of the wider world.

The Qualtrics survey aims to do this in a myriad of ways. Firstly, it attempts to measure organizational power. The previous membership section asked, "Were you a member of any civic-oriented programs as a child/adolescent, such as Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts of America, or any other service-oriented youth group?" Participants who answer yes are then asked to select an organization. The choices include "Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts of America, Co-ed Scouting Organization, Religious Service Oriented Group, Big Brothers of America, Global Youth Action Network, and other national or state-level organizations. By naming specific organizations, the survey attempts to capture an understanding of the structure of the organization, the size of the organization, how standardized it is, and more. This was developed to delineate critical aspects of the theoretical analysis that implicates networks, hierarchy, rules, and communication as essential to creating preparedness for navigating institutions and political institutions.

Although it may be difficult to parse out what network or hierarchical effects look like at this early age, we can turn to critical identifiers about interactions with teams, such as a role one chooses to play compared to the role one is encouraged to play. Another critical aspect is assessing if these organizations produced a notion of spectacle, whether they learn when it would be appropriate to act publicly versus privately etc. Furthermore, one's response to learning hierarchy for the first time, such as whether they had an immediate desire to become a part of the

hierarchy or if they struggled with it conceptually. Additionally, it is vital to assess if gendered patterns or messages are present, such as recalling an instance in which gender norms heavily governed social dynamics and whether those norms were self-imposed or imposed by the adult or larger institution. Interviewees will most likely not be aware by sharing their perception of the group dynamic; they will share how they came to an understanding of the logic of appropriateness in the group and, more importantly, whether they contended well with it or if it caused them to act differently in the future. For example, for one interviewee, this experience could have produced a foundational desire to take a dominant position in setting agendas and controlling group norms in the future, perhaps characterizing themselves as a natural leader and perceiving themselves as adequate or worthy of a role based on this experience. While other interviews could have experienced disenchantment with structured groups, we may also have learned why children are self-selecting to stay in service-oriented groups as opposed to or in conjunction with sports and other popular youth activities. All of these takeaways could be critical to framing their future political engagement.

Secondly, it attempts to analyze the impacts of short and long-term involvement. The following question in the youth membership section is, "How long were you a member?" The options span from 1 year to over ten years. Operating under the assumption that to have gained significant enough skills for the experience to have been consequential, approximately one year is the baseline. Although not much can be derived from this question alone when put in tandem with the following question: "Did you hold any leadership during your tenure as a member of any organization listed above?" We can analyze if the membership length correlates with leadership and when that began to occur. A more in-depth analysis of youth membership would



include ages and a specific description of the type of leadership role, responsibilities, and impact. However, more specific questions were omitted to attempt to yield a high response rate but could be carried out in a future survey design.

These questions were also included in the pre-interview questionnaire so that the interviewer could contextually understand the interviewee. Some youth-specific focused questions will be irrelevant if the interviewer does not have the experience to answer them. The questions aimed at understanding how a sense of civility and leadership is achieved include: "Can you recall the first time you received a leadership position? Can you tell me about that experience? What has your development of leadership experience been? These questions aim to underscore the developmental process of leadership precisely to determine if adding connotations of leadership, responsibility, and teamwork at an early age are connected to taking on future leadership roles and developing self-perceptions of competency and leadership.

### **Hypothesized Implications**

I hypothesize that within the interview process, interviewees would pinpoint critical moments within their childhood and young adult life where specific organizational leadership experiences led to a cascade of future experiences, one informing the next. Furthermore, particular experiences like collaboration with peers, mentorship, and network building were critical aspects of development for participants. I also expect interviewees to discuss challenges or roadblocks faced with becoming involved and learning how to become a leader. Here, we could learn more about the specific traits that interviewees associate with their successes and

failures. More importantly, how they categorize and perceive their experiences can demonstrate how they build a sense of efficacy and if, at the youth level, specific controls like hierarchy and norms are playing a pivotal role in producing future engagement choices. This may help build a more extensive picture of how formative experiences may correlate with future aspirations of leadership, specifically political leadership. In the context of observing results from female-identified interviewees, responses can also demonstrate what gendered norms were impactful and long-lasting. Specifically, if it can be traced back, the foundational experience produced a desire to interact directly with an institution or to take on a supervisory or supportive role.

However, this compounding of a survey and interview with university students and alumni, as it is designed, can yield intriguing and impactful results. To understand more immediate perceptions and impacts, one could use a more robust study that would allow for interviews with younger children around middle school age, asking specifically about their perceptions of their environments as they live them. Recall can be dramatically impacted by overly positive or negative experiences that are more likely to be remembered in the long term.

## **Chapter 5: Adolescent Civic Engagement**

The Qualtrics survey aims to understand civic engagement at the adolescent level. Like youth civic engagement, these questions seek to understand the duration of organizational experience and the nature of the organization they were members of. Due to this survey being targeted directly toward university students, the current organizational membership section is critical to understanding the nature of current civic engagement levels for these students. The first question in this section is, "In the past 12 months, did you belong to any groups, organizations, or associations?" The responses can include "Yes, No, Don't Know, prefer not to reply." The next question asks about time spent volunteering, and the following question asks about the number of associations the participant is a member of. These questions give a good picture of university-level students' interactions and participation. Understanding the frequency

of interactions young people have with a broader community is critical to capturing how these participants build their perception of civility and self-efficacy.

The following questions narrow in on the organization-to-politics pipeline. In the Organization category/ Activity, participants are asked to select if they are members of specific types of organizations, from Greek life to political groups. The next set of questions also asks about these organizations' activity levels and membership duration. These questions are essential to assessing if organizational membership affects political ambition, such as if long-term high levels of activity in specific organizations correlate to this survey's political section. Being able to compare all of these aspects of membership would create more robust tests for correlation.

The following section would be utilized as the dependent variable in many potential analyses, including questions of party affiliation, consideration for running for future political office, and discussion of politics with family, friends, and co-workers. This information is essential to test the correlation with organizational membership and to control critical aspects like party identification.

### **Hypothesized Implications**

The second aspect of this analysis is the interview questions. It has been previously discussed in youth engagement and leadership development. I believe the hypothesis would remain consistent when participants discuss leadership development at the high school and college levels. However, more critical reflection may be present at this level, and the reflections may be more accurate due to a smaller recall window. Further, the following questions

demonstrate the bridge between organizational experience and institutional navigation, which is the seminal piece of the theoretical argument that organizational membership is correlated with increased political ambition due to the understanding of institutions. These questions are: "Have you been a member of any organizations for professional or social development? How has that experience impacted your leadership experience?" and "Do you feel that your success is dependent on your ability to navigate your organization/ institution?" I hypothesize that interviewees will share anecdotes on how specific experiences impact their understanding of an organization or institution and their ability to navigate their environment. Specifically, interviewees who share information about how they perceived organizations before joining compared to their perceptions as members. Moreover, looking at specific mentions of navigating interpersonal dynamics within the context of a hierarchy. For example, this is where mentions of mentorship would be critical, such as what the culture around mentorship looked like, if they had the desire to seek out mentorship, and if the confidence of others was a crucial piece in pursuing leadership. Other vital aspects could include anecdotes surrounding how the person gained institutional knowledge, whether from observation, doing, etc. At the collegiate level, interviewees can make connections and observations about the culture of organizations and leadership; thus, their interpretations of the environment are essential. Notably the mention of gender as a facet of cultural norms and perhaps differing or omitted notions of gender altogether by male interviews. A more systematic review would allow for the interview of multiple organization members to assess perceptions of gender comparatively. Additionally, at the collegiate level, we may be able to proxy for traditions or unspoken networks existing within government institutions worldwide by asking about outside socialization within these groups to

assess the importance of networks and informal aspects of organizations and institutions that cannot be captured via survey. Connections to academic, social, and other professional commitments may also be mentioned. These could also produce notable connections to the preparedness and the compounding of diverse types of preparedness for leadership and political futures. Additionally, role models' role in influencing future political ambition has not been fully assessed at this level. Due to the stage of life, we could predict that role model effects may begin to occur in closer proximity. Understanding, if university students are easily persuaded or influenced to pursue co-curricular activities or professional activities could demonstrate an avenue of increasing political engagement and candidate conceptualization across the board. However, given the current gaps in representation, interventions could be more effective for female-identifying students. Overall, there are myriad implications and avenues to explore at this current juncture that undoubtedly demonstrate civic engagement at the collegiate level and should be added to the overall pipeline of women to politics.

## **Chapter 6: Reframing Care Work as a means of Civic Engagement**

Understanding care work within the context of the definition of civic engagement, we can consider whether assessing care work as a means of civic engagement could increase political efficacy. If care work is valuable, what would women's efficacy in running for office look like? How does the devaluing of care work lead to the breakdown of candidate conceptualization? What are the implications for youth and adolescents if care work is designated a civic engagement?

The census supplement, interviews, and Qualtrics survey attempt to capture this. The Qualtrics survey had a section for labor considerations, asking the following questions: "In the

past 12 months, how often did you and your neighbors and/or members of your community do favors for each other such as house sitting, watching each other's children, lending tools, and other things to help each other? The responses include basically every day, a few times a week, a few times a month, not at all, don't know, and refuse. These responses are the same for the following questions: "In the past 12 months, how often did you get together with other people from your neighborhood and/ or community to do something positive for your neighborhood or the community?". The final question is, "In the past 12 months, have you acted as a caregiver for a family member, neighbor, or community member?" with the response options being "no, occasionally, and yes." Firstly, the inclusion of these questions represents an essential consideration in the world that has endured Covid-19. The slowly growing notion that care work is not only labor but an additive and an essential aspect of the economy raises questions about why it has been largely cut out of professional context. Adding care work to a resume or professional portfolio is unconsidered in the workplace, mainly outside of the medical field. Universities have begun to account for and acknowledge that students may have other burdens, including working to provide for their families or acting as caregivers. However, the value of these skills has not permeated mainstream society. Despite its validity as labor, including care work as a form of civic engagement, would open a conversation and pathway to other forms of civic engagement and community involvement. When considering how traits are often associated with politicians, it is evident that male-oriented traits dominate politics and feminized traits do not. This is a clear implication for why a female candidate would not highlight parenthood or caring for an elderly family member similarly. The argument of whether care work is advantageous to office can be explored; however, from a very rudimentary position, the ability to



care for others is one many views as innate and critical for familial and societal preservation. Connecting these aspects to Banaszak and Liu's work on re-gendering institutions, the inclusion of care work is a viable revision that has implications for expanding the candidate pool and increasing candidate conceptualization (Banaszak & Liu, 2017). As the census supplement makes the clear distinction between acting as a caregiver within the home and acting as a caregiver to the broader community, it would be essential to consider how the increase in caregiving within families and the decrease in communities for a myriad of reasons previously discussed the notion of care work may be challenging to integrate institutions. Thus, the census supplement capture of the state of civic engagement is foundational to this research. This increased capacity for a more robust analysis of the type of care work and the discussion of politics within communities could provide further insight into the connection between care work and politics. Additionally, the connection to the community also has implications for those who identify as community activists. Would the re-defining or re-examining of care work also cascade into re-examining how activists' function within and outside communities? A more extensive analysis of self-identified activists who join the institution and then become amalgamated into institutions should be conducted at both the local, state, and federal levels, as the pandemic also brought a rise to activist-branded candidates running for higher levels of office.

## **Chapter 7: Connecting Civic Engagement to the Women in Politics Pipeline**

### **Results for the Center for Women in Politics Data**

Model one compares informal, formal, and all organizations against each other and controls. As seen in Figure 1, women's involvement with any organization and participation in formal and informal organizations are all insignificant. However, we can still make critical observations about women's involvement in any organization, which are slightly negative but close to zero, essentially neutral. However, women's involvement with formal organizations is a positive figure slightly above zero, and women's involvement with informal organizations is slightly below zero. Thus, we observe a difference in impact between formal and informal

organizations, neutralizing all organizations. Suggesting different impacts on being a member of a formal and informal organization aligns with my theory of formal organizations and informal organizations being distinctly different. Other variables that hold significance include the importance of financial resources for the campaign to run for office, which suggests that having the financial resources to run a viable campaign is very important to candidates; this result is congruent with literature on campaign finance but does bring into consideration how vital women's PAC's are (Francia, 2001). Another significant variable is the level of employment, which suggests that the more gainfully employed women are, the more likely they are to run for office; we do not have information on whether or not these women are the breadwinner for their families.

Nevertheless, this still works with Bernhard's findings on breadwinning as a depressor for women's political ambitions (Bernhard et al., 2021). However, we can assert that unemployment, retirement, or the ability not to work are not positively associated with candidacy. In the third column of model one, measuring women's involvement, spousal support is negatively significant, suggesting the more important spousal approval is, the less likely women are to seek office at a different level of government. This is likely because the informal variables are strongly associated with childcare, kinship, and religion, suggesting that these groups may yield less political candidacy.

Table 1: Women's Interaction with Informal and Formal Organizations H1

| Woman's Interaction with Informal and Formal Organizations H1        |   |                       |                        |
|--|---|-----------------------|------------------------|
|  | Models  |                       |                        |
|  | Seeking an additional term at different level |                       |                        |
|  | (1)   | (2)                   | (3)                    |
| Woman's Involvement With All-Organizations                           | -0.018<br>(0.025)                             |                       |                        |
| Woman's Involvement With Formal Organizations                        |   | 0.011<br>(0.046)      |                        |
| Woman's Involvement With Informal Organizations                      |   |                       | -0.051<br>(0.033)      |
| Party Identification   | -0.037<br>(0.100)                             | -0.026<br>(0.099)     | -0.021<br>(0.096)      |
| State Legislative Chamber (House or Senate)                          | -0.061<br>(0.054)                             | -0.051<br>(0.054)     | -0.076<br>(0.053)      |
| Prior Elective or Appointive Positions                               | 0.019<br>(0.047)                              | 0.010<br>(0.047)      | 0.029<br>(0.045)       |
| Importance of Financial Resources for Campaign to Run for Office     | -0.200*<br>(0.102)                            | -0.183*<br>(0.102)    | -0.236**<br>(0.097)    |
| Level of Employment  | 0.165***<br>(0.051)                           | 0.165***<br>(0.051)   | 0.174***<br>(0.049)    |
| Spousal Support Affecting your Decision to Run for Office            | -0.217<br>(0.133)                             | -0.213<br>(0.132)     | -0.219*<br>(0.126)     |
| Children being Old Enough to Feel Comfortable not Being Home as Much | 0.123<br>(0.135)                              | 0.126<br>(0.135)      | 0.098<br>(0.128)       |
| Constant   | 0.767***<br>(0.156)                           | 0.701***<br>(0.152)   | 0.803***<br>(0.150)    |
| Observations   | 465   | 474                   | 503                    |
| R <sup>2</sup>   | 0.039   | 0.037                 | 0.046                  |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>  | 0.022   | 0.020                 | 0.031                  |
| Residual Std. Error  | 0.489 (df = 456)                              | 0.491 (df = 465)      | 0.488 (df = 494)       |
| F Statistic  | 2.292** (df = 8; 456)                         | 2.230** (df = 8; 465) | 2.986*** (df = 8; 494) |
| Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01                                    |   |                       |                        |

Model two has no significant variables, as seen in Figure 2. However, you can still observe positive and negative relationships between variables that may subvert expectations of patterns. Women's organizations actively encouraging women to run for office is positive but insignificant. However, it is higher than party leadership actively encouraging them to run for office. This potentially suggests that women are more likely to consider running for office when

fellow women ask them to. Putting these results into conversation with Fox and Lawless's work on self-efficacy may connect to women self-evaluating as less self-component to office compared to men; one could infer that women's stricter evaluations of themselves translate into higher importance placed on encouragement from other women. Much like the Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect, which suggests that because of increased scrutiny women receive, only the most talented and influential women will hold office and thus be more productive (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006). Applying this theory to women's organizations could suggest that women's organizations identify highly competent women who are more likely to seek higher levels of office, compared to the talent identification of the party, which may be less oriented toward women. Party support affecting the decision to run is negative, which may suggest three explanations: the party is generally supportive of its candidates, and thus party support goes unconsidered; the party is actively hostile toward women, and thus, their support is unassumed during the candidacy, and finally that at this level of office, the party is less concerned with the candidacy of these women.

Table 2: Women's Interaction with Informal and Formal Women's Organizations H2

| Women's Interaction with Informal and Formal Women's Organizations H2                                       |   |
|---|---|
|   | Models  |
|   | Seeking an additional term at a different level of Government |
| Women's Organizations Actively Encouraging You to Run for Office the First Time for the Office You Hold Now | 0.093<br>(0.064)  |
| Party Leadership Actively Seeking You Out to Run for Office the First Time your Ran                         | 0.006<br>(0.055)  |
| Party Support Affecting Your Decision to Run for the Office you Hold Now                                    | -0.327<br>(0.234)   |
| Member of a Women's PAC before You Ran or After You Run   | 0.035<br>(0.073)  |
| Party Identification  | -0.169<br>(0.115)   |
| State Legislative Chamber (House or Senate)   | 0.029<br>(0.062)  |
| Prior Elective or Appointive Positions  | -0.031<br>(0.052)   |
| Spousal Support Affecting your Decision to Run for Office   | -0.207<br>(0.140)   |
| Children being Old Enough to feel Comfortable Not Being Home as Much  | -0.053<br>(0.143)   |
| Constant  | 0.828***<br>(0.190)   |
| Observations  | 368   |
| R <sup>2</sup>  | 0.024   |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>   | -0.001  |
| Residual Std. Error   | 0.490 (df = 358)  |
| F Statistic   | 0.960 (df = 9; 358)   |
| Note:   | * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01                                |

Figure 4 resembles Model 3, which demonstrates membership in a women's political organization while in office to be positively associated with seeking a higher level of office, which is consistent with the expectations of the literature and the theory behind Model 3, which suggests that the coalition of women positively correlates with moving into higher levels of office and working in conversation with Liu and Banzack's work of re-gendering institutions to become friendlier and encourage coalition on the needs of substantive representation. Thus, for all three hypotheses, we can fail to reject the null hypothesis as there is no statistically significant relationship.

Table 3: Women's Interaction with Formal Women's Organizations Once Elected H3

| <b>Woman's Interaction with Formal Woman's Organizations Once Elected H3</b> |   |
|--|---|
|  | <i>Dependent variable:</i>                    |
|  | Seeking an additional term at different level |
| Members of a Women's Political Organization While in Office                  | 0.045*<br>(0.026)                             |
| Party Identification   | -0.079<br>(0.092)                             |
| State Legislative Chamber (House or Senate)                                  | -0.046<br>(0.048)                             |
| Prior Elective or Appointive Positions                                       | -0.044<br>(0.042)                             |
| Spousal Support Affecting Your Decision to Run for Office                    | -0.184<br>(0.116)                             |
| Children Being Old Enough to Feel Comfortable Not Being Home As Much         | 0.043<br>(0.120)                              |
| Constant   | 0.733***<br>(0.129)                           |
| Observations   | 608   |
| R <sup>2</sup>   | 0.013   |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>  | 0.003   |
| Residual Std. Error  | 0.496 (df = 601)                              |
| F Statistic  | 1.302 (df = 6; 601)                           |
| <i>Note:</i>   | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01                   |

In the Center for Women in Politics analysis, many of the results do not yield statistical significance, yet we can still extrapolate conclusions that necessitate future research. The most significant of these findings is that there may be a difference between women's formal and informal organizations that impacts their capacity as political actors and their likelihood to seek higher levels of office—contributing to the research by identifying a point in the "pipeline" for bringing women into office. Campbell and Wolbrecht work at the beginning of the pipeline by identifying that role models are seminal in increasing girls' political engagement (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006). However, there needs to be more work that follows girls into adulthood that studies how their political behavior evolves. The pipeline picks back up in the pre-candidacy

stage with Bernhard identifying breadwinning and familial obligation as a political ambition depressor, and then with Francia with the importance of funding non-incumbent women early, followed by Anzia's study of female candidate selection and female legislators outperforming their male counterparts (Bernhard et al., 2021) (Francia, 2001) (Anzia & Berry, 2011). This research suggests that formal organizations may increase women's political ambition between adolescence and candidacy.

## Mapping the Women to Politics Pipeline

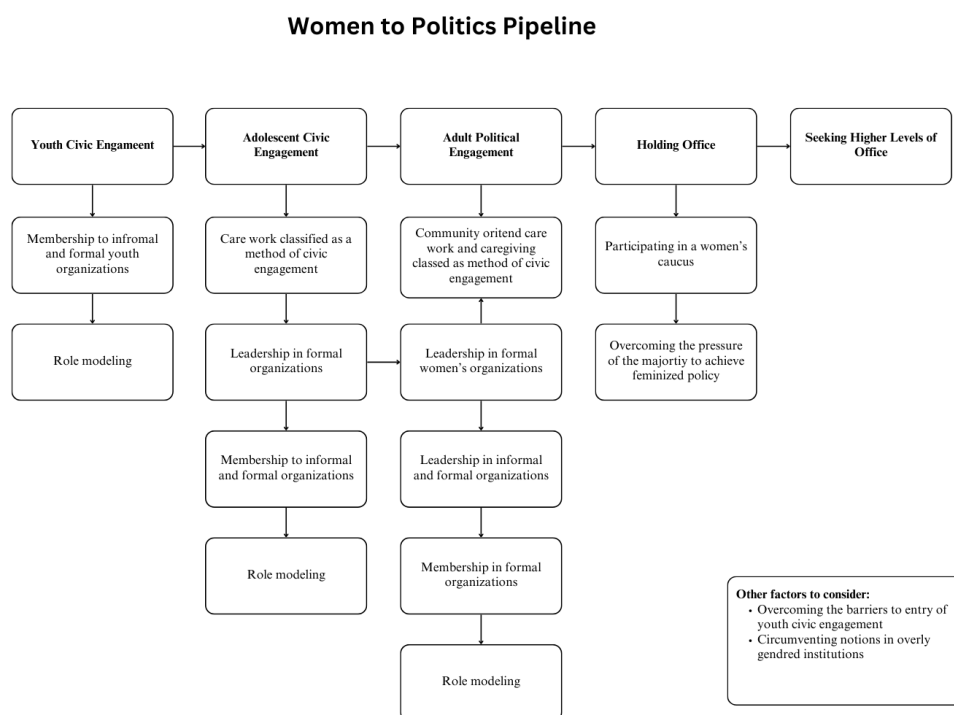


Figure 2: Mapping The Women to Politics Pipeline



The figure above strings together the pipeline of women beginning on the left with Youth Civic Engagement, Adolescent Civic Engagement, Adult Political Engagement, Holding Office, and Seeking Higher Office. Below each block are the critical factors identified within this paper that are important to that particular stage of life. As factors are added, some become less impactful or important. For example, role modeling becomes less critical as you move closer to adulthood and closer to being eligible to run for office. It is also demonstrated by membership being positioned lower than leadership and care work because it becomes a more significant part of everyday life as we move through various stages of life. It is also evident that adult political engagement must be underpinned by various conditions to hold office. We may "lose" or "leak" women earlier down the pipeline, but this section is most likely where most women fall off. They may not consider their community or care work valuable outside of their circles or are not members of or leading formal organizations. Finally, they may be less likely to view women of their own age as role models. We may hold many of these factor's constant for women in office; however, participating in a women's caucus and navigating the pressures of a majority become increasingly important to seek higher levels of office. In the bottom right-hand corner, there are other factors to consider, including overcoming barriers to entry for youth civic engagement, which would be positioned before the pipeline even begins. The notions of overly gendered institutions underpin all of the boxes that discuss organizations; this is where we could see women being disenchanted by the notions of gender and begin to adopt a core belief about their gender being a critical factor in positioning them in a specific role or just encouraging them to consider running for office as heavily masculine. This diagram is by no means a fully extensive mapping of the women-to-politics pipeline between each stage of life. There are likely more

factors, which can also be broken down into more miniature stages of life. The opportunity to expand upon this will be discussed further in the implications for future research.

## **Chapter 8: Conclusions and Implications for Future Research**

### **Implications based on Center for Women in Politics Data**

This research also adds to the conversation about the gendered nature of institutions. Most authors agree that institutions are unfit to withstand or include feminist actors. Debate exists about whether a specific number of women is necessary to break down these barriers or if a broader coalition of minority legislators can utilize individual influence to impact institutions (Lowndes, 2019). I was unable to test the productivity and effectiveness of female legislators, yet Model 3 demonstrates that formal women's organizations are positively associated with the desire to continue in government. This suggests a sense of affinity and security in these groups and that they provide a more nuanced understanding of the institutions, garnering increased political ambition.

This research should extend to a larger-scale study of state representatives across the country, mayoral offices, and representatives on the Senate and Congressional levels. Moreover, this study contains a variety of limitations, mainly because the data on women in office and in women's organizations could be more robust. Primarily, more demographic and geographic data needs to be collected. Consequently, the regression could produce more accurate and regionally contextualized results.

Another analysis that could have more precise results would be an intra-party analysis to understand the specific impacts of formal organizations within the parties. Capturing data

between those who are elected and those who are not in office but are considering candidacy could also be indicative of how formal organizations improve candidate emergence. Another consideration is clarifying the nature of the theory because so many resources are tied to institutions. It could be plausible that the effect is purely resource-based, suggesting that this should be tested on an array of demographics, socio-economic status, and types of organizations.

Furthermore, this study does not account for race, sexuality, or gender identity, despite more women of color and queer women entering the political landscape. This research should extend to review how women of color are impacted by organizations for people of color and organizations for women of color compared to predominantly white organizations, especially since they face unique challenges in conceptualizing candidacy and running for office. Research should also extend to the impact of Queer people in politics, how organizational support or a lack thereof impacts their candidacy, and how the infiltrated institutions are not only gendered but unprepared for queer identity and non-binary candidates and legislators. For all of these identity markers, more research on PACs and campaign finance should be considered as financial resources are one of the most significant inhabitants of office. These are all future considerations for addressing candidate conceptualization. Institutional knowledge and hierarchical authority also present their set of future considerations, including how institutions regulate actors' behavior to produce more gendered effects, if institutions obligate actors to behave in gendered ways, how the gendered logic of appropriateness operates, and how politics organizes women in particular policy positions (Lowndes, 2019).

Other considerations include relational power works in party systems; the literature has identified that intra-party dynamics significantly determine female candidates' success and effectiveness as legislators. As well as how these relations between women in parties work for marginalized women and Queer people in politics. Furthermore, as the number of women in legislators has increased since this 2008 recruitment survey, questions of the coalition and critical mass should be reconsidered, especially with the introduction of higher levels of women of color in politics and how that affects traditional women in political groups in which women of color could be considered outsiders. In general, women in politics are under research, and how they organize inside and outside of political institutions and the implications of this organization on descriptive and substantive representation should be considered further.

### **Implications for Survey Design**

There have been a variety of suggestions for the expansion of research within this specific project. In particular, surveys should be designed to recall organizational membership, civic engagement, and political ambition at each stage of life to reduce recall problems and capture more specific demographic and geographic information that can indicate the type, power, and capacity of organizations people are members of. I believe disseminating a survey to university students would be critical to producing a more robust understanding of how these years, a time when students are attempting to broaden their worldview and are surrounded by different types of people, may indicate how impactful political and civic engagement is at this time and how it shapes their perceptions of politics or how they perceive future political engagement. A long-term time series throughout life would produce even more robust results in

mapping the pipeline throughout distinct stages of life. Overall, little survey information captures what organizational membership looks like at various stages of life. Adding this aspect to a broader sample across different geographical regions and types of universities would significantly add to this research.

### **Implications for research on maneuvering institutions**

Throughout the literature surrounding women in institutions, it is clear that women have unique barriers to infiltrating and becoming successful within institutions. It is tough to capture political maneuvering within a survey design. One way to overcome this is to interview female legislators at all levels. Another way would be to proxy for political institutions and interview women with high power levels in male-dominated large private businesses. Finally, you may be able to loop in political communication to monitor if tweets, Instagram posts, and other campaign materials are presenting policy platforms in specific ways that are responding to gender. Overall, it is necessary to understand how women navigate institutions, which requires many approaches.

### **Conclusion**

How women utilize women's organizations to create and sell a women's agenda during candidacy in the context of the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* and other women's issues is also a consideration, as this paper does not consider the implications of gendered issue policies on women's political platforms. Furthermore, in a more gender-conscious world, candidates and

legislators will begin to push against the hegemonic forces of masculinity present in these political institutions; understanding how gender can be re-instituted will be vital in predicting and understanding political behavior.

## APPENDIX A

### Chapter 2 Diagram

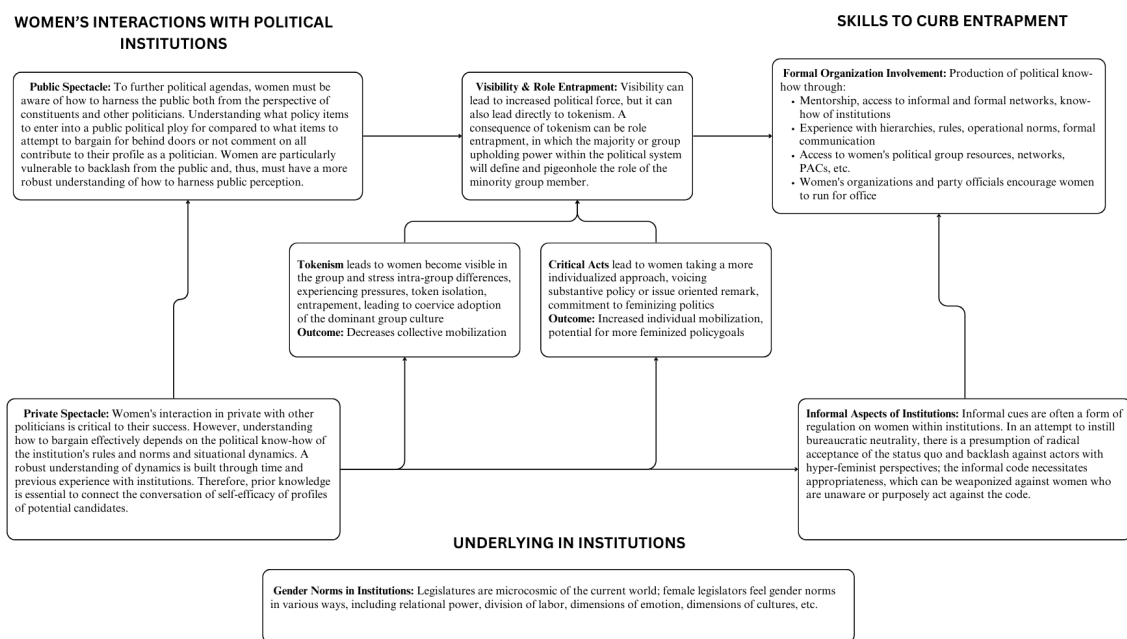


Figure A1: Mapping Women's Interaction with Political Institutions

## **APPENDIX B**

### **Chapter 7: Connecting Civic Engagement to the Women in Politics Pipeline Tables**



| Woman's Interaction with Informal and Formal Organizations H1        |   |                             |                        |
|--|---|-----------------------------|------------------------|
|  | Models  |                             |                        |
|  | Seeking an additional term at different level |                             |                        |
|  | (1)   | (2)                         | (3)                    |
| Woman's Involvement With All-Organizations                           | -0.018<br>(0.025)                             |                             |                        |
| Woman's Involvement With Formal Organizations                        |   | 0.011<br>(0.046)            |                        |
| Woman's Involvement With Informal Organizations                      |   |                             | -0.051<br>(0.033)      |
| Party Identification   | -0.037<br>(0.100)                             | -0.026<br>(0.099)           | -0.021<br>(0.096)      |
| State Legislative Chamber (House or Senate)                          | -0.061<br>(0.054)                             | -0.051<br>(0.054)           | -0.076<br>(0.053)      |
| Prior Elective or Appointive Positions                               | 0.019<br>(0.047)                              | 0.010<br>(0.047)            | 0.029<br>(0.045)       |
| Importance of Financial Resources for Campaign to Run for Office     | -0.200*<br>(0.102)                            | -0.183*<br>(0.102)          | -0.236**<br>(0.097)    |
| Level of Employment  | 0.165***<br>(0.051)                           | 0.165***<br>(0.051)         | 0.174***<br>(0.049)    |
| Spousal Support Affecting your Decision to Run for Office            | -0.217<br>(0.133)                             | -0.213<br>(0.132)           | -0.219*<br>(0.126)     |
| Children being Old Enough to Feel Comfortable not Being Home as Much | 0.123<br>(0.135)                              | 0.126<br>(0.135)            | 0.098<br>(0.128)       |
| Constant   | 0.767***<br>(0.156)                           | 0.701***<br>(0.152)         | 0.803***<br>(0.150)    |
| Observations   | 465   | 474                         | 503                    |
| R <sup>2</sup>   | 0.039   | 0.037                       | 0.046                  |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>  | 0.022   | 0.020                       | 0.031                  |
| Residual Std. Error  | 0.489 (df = 456)                              | 0.491 (df = 465)            | 0.488 (df = 494)       |
| F Statistic  | 2.292** (df = 8; 456)                         | 2.230** (df = 8; 465)       | 2.986*** (df = 8; 494) |
| Note:  |   | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |                        |

Table B1: Women's Interaction with Informal and Formal Organizations H1

| Women's Interaction with Informal and Formal Women's Organizations H2                                       |   |
|---|---|
|   | Models  |
|   | Seeking an additional term at a different level of Government |
| Women's Organizations Actively Encouraging You to Run for Office the First Time for the Office You Hold Now | 0.093<br>(0.064)  |
| Party Leadership Actively Seeking You Out to Run for Office the First Time you Ran                          | 0.006<br>(0.055)  |
| Party Support Affecting Your Decision to Run for the Office you Hold Now                                    | -0.327<br>(0.234)   |
| Member of a Women's PAC before You Ran or After You Run   | 0.035<br>(0.073)  |
| Party Identification  | -0.169<br>(0.115)   |
| State Legislative Chamber (House or Senate)   | 0.029<br>(0.062)  |
| Prior Elective or Appointive Positions  | -0.031<br>(0.052)   |
| Spousal Support Affecting your Decision to Run for Office   | -0.207<br>(0.140)   |
| Children being Old Enough to feel Comfortable Not Being Home as Much  | -0.053<br>(0.143)   |
| Constant  | 0.828***<br>(0.190)   |
| Observations  | 368   |
| R <sup>2</sup>  | 0.024   |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>   | -0.001  |
| Residual Std. Error   | 0.490 (df = 358)  |
| F Statistic   | 0.960 (df = 9; 358)   |
| Note:   | * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01                                |

Table B2: Women's Interaction with Informal and Formal Women's Organizations H2

| <b>Woman's Interaction with Formal Woman's Organizations Once Elected H3</b> |   |
|--|---|
|  | <i>Dependent variable:</i>                    |
|  | Seeking an additional term at different level |
| Members of a Women's Political Organization While in Office                  | 0.045*<br>(0.026)                             |
| Party Identification   | -0.079<br>(0.092)                             |
| State Legislative Chamber (House or Senate)                                  | -0.046<br>(0.048)                             |
| Prior Elective or Appointive Positions                                       | -0.044<br>(0.042)                             |
| Spousal Support Affecting Your Decision to Run for Office                    | -0.184<br>(0.116)                             |
| Children Being Old Enough to Feel Comfortable Not Being Home As Much         | 0.043<br>(0.120)                              |
| Constant   | 0.733***<br>(0.129)                           |
| Observations   | 608   |
| R <sup>2</sup>   | 0.013   |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>  | 0.003   |
| Residual Std. Error  | 0.496 (df = 601)                              |
| F Statistic  | 1.302 (df = 6; 601)                           |
| Note:  | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01                   |

Table B3: Women's Interaction with Formal Women's Organizations Once Elected H3

## APPENDIX C

Interview Protocol referenced in Qualtrics Survey referenced in Chapter 3: Pluralistic

### Methodological Approach

Obtain consent for recording.

I will be asking a series of questions if you ... at any point during the interview feel uncomfortable with the question you can let me know and we can move on. Please feel free to share as much or as little information in answering the questions. Thank you for agreeing to be recorded. If at any point you'd like me to stop recording please let me know. You are able to stop the interview and recording at any point during the interview. If you choose to withdraw, your recording will be immediately deleted.

Obtain informed consent again before beginning the interview.

#### **Main Interview Questions:**

1. Can you recall the first time you received a leadership position? Can you tell us about that experience ?
2. What has your development of leadership experience been? What were you involved with in school, university, and career?
3. Have you been a member of any organizations for professional or social development? How has that experience impacted your leadership experience?
4. Do you feel that your success is dependent on your ability to navigate your organization / institution?

(If participants answer questions in a way that necessitates further questions on the specific topic, there may be different follow up questions that are not outlined here.)

#### **Additional Questions:**

##### **Questions focusing on Women's Leadership**

- ❖ How have you been supported in your leadership? Do you receive primary support from family, friends, social networks, organizations, etc?

- ❖ Have you been a member of any women's organizations? If so, what organizations? How has that experience impacted your leadership experience?

### **Questions focusing on Women in Institutions**

- ❖ What barriers have you experienced as a woman in leadership? Do you attribute this to personal factors or barriers within your organization or institution?
- ❖ Have you ever been asked to complete a task because it is assumed that you are competent in that task based on your gender? Examples include, taking meeting notes etc.
- ❖ How important is navigating informal networks?
- ❖ How important is it to receive support and mentorship from other women?

### **Questions focusing on Civic Engagement**

- ❖ What organizations were you involved with as a child/ young adult? Can you tell us about these experiences?
- ❖ Did you make choices in organizational membership based on the reputation of a group? Can you discuss what your perceptions were and how the experience was?
- ❖ What organizational membership, over the span of your lifetime, has had the largest impact on your professional success?
- ❖ How do you feel about the activities that are pushed towards young girls– such as girl scouts, STEM related programs, etc.?

## APPENDIX D

### Qualtrics Survey referenced in Chapter 3: Pluralistic Methodological Approach

#### Start of Block: Demographics

#### Instruction Dear Participant,

Thank you for considering participating in our survey. Before you proceed, I would like to provide you with important information regarding your participation. Please take a moment to read the following:

**Purpose:** This study is a part of a larger project aiming to understand how women participate in civic engagement and political arenas of participation. The aim of this study is to interview young women in leadership at the collegiate level as a proxy for women in political leadership to further understand the nuances of how women navigate institutions, leadership, and power structures.

**Voluntary Participation:** Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any point without penalty.

**Confidentiality:** All responses will be kept confidential. Your individual responses will not be linked to your identity, ensuring anonymity. This survey will not collect any identifying information. This survey has been approved by the Penn State Institutional Review Board.

**Use of Data:** The data collected will be used solely for research purposes and will be reported in aggregate. No personally identifiable information will be disclosed.

**Duration:** The survey is expected to take 3-5 minutes to complete.

**Contact Information:** If you have any questions about the survey, you may contact Giselle

Concepcion at gac5494@psu.edu.

By proceeding with the survey, you indicate that you have read and understood the information provided, and you voluntarily consent to participate.

Thank you for your time and valuable contribution.

Click on the arrow below to begin the survey.

Page Break

Gender What is your gender / gender identity?

- ☐ Woman (1)
- ☐ Man (2)
- ☐ Transgender/Trans woman (3)
- ☐ Transgender/ Trans man (4)

☐ Non-Binary (5)

☐ Not Listed (6) \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Prefer not to reply (7)

Age What is your age?

☐ Under 18 (1)

☐ 18 - 24 (2)

☐ 25 - 34 (3)

☐ 35 - 44 (4)

☐ 45 - 54 (5)

☐ 55 - 64 (6)

☐ 65 - 74 (7)

☐ 75 - 84 (8)



☐ 85 or older (9)

Ethnicity1 Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

Ethnicity2 How would you describe yourself? Please select all that apply.

☐ White (1)

☐ Black or African American (2)

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native (3)

☐ Asian (4)

- ☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)
- ☐ Other (6)

Education What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

- ☐ Less than a high school diploma (1)
- ☐ High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED) (2)
- ☐ Some college, no degree (3)
- ☐ Associate degree (e.g. AA, AS) (4)
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BS) (5)
- ☐ Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, MEd) (6)
- ☐ Doctorate or professional degree (e.g. MD, DDS, PhD) (7)

Marital Status What is your marital status?

- ☐ Single (never married) (1)
- ☐ Married, or in a domestic partnership (2)
- ☐ Widowed (3)
- ☐ Divorced (4)
- ☐ Separated (5)

Employment What is your current employment status?

- ☐ Employed full time (40 or more hours per week) (1)
- ☐ Employed part time (up to 39 hours per week) (2)
- ☐ Unemployed and currently looking for work (3)
- ☐ Unemployed not currently looking for work (4)

☐ Student (5)

☐ Retired (6)

☐ Homemaker (7)

☐ Self-employed (8)

☐ Unable to work (9)

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Previous Membership

Q28 Were you a member of any civic-oriented programs as a child/adolescent such as Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts of America, or any other service-oriented youth group?

☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

End of Block: Previous Membership

Start of Block: Youth Membership

Q30 What organization were you a member of?

- ☐ Boy Scouts of America (1)
- ☐ Girl Scouts of America (2)
- ☐ Co-ed Scouting Organization (3)
- ☐ Religious Service Oriented Group (4)
- ☐ Big Brothers of America (5)
- ☐ Big Sisters of America (6)
- ☐ Global Youth Action Network (7)
- ☐ Other National or State Level Organizations (8)

Q31 How long were you a member?

- ☐ 1 year (1)
- ☐ 2-3 years (2)
- ☐ 3-5 years (3)
- ☐ 6-8 years (4)
- ☐ 8-10 years (5)
- ☐ Over 10 years (6)

Q36 Did you hold any leadership roles during your tenure as a member of any organization listed above?

- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)
- ☐ Informally (3)

End of Block: Youth Membership

Start of Block: Young-Adult Membership

Q37 During High School did you do any of the following?

- ☐ Work a job (1)
- ☐ Play a sport (2)
- ☐ Belong to a student organization (3)
- ☐ Act as a caregiver (4)
- ☐ Not applicable (5)

Q38 Did you hold a leadership role in any of your High School involvements?

- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

☐ Not applicable (3)

Q47 During College did you do any of the following?

☐ Work a job (1)

☐ Play a sport (2)

☐ Belong to a student organization (3)

☐ Act as a caregiver (4)

☐ Not applicable (5)

Q48 Did you hold a leadership role in any of your College involvements?



☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

☐ Not applicable (3)

End of Block: Young-Adult Membership

Start of Block: Current Organizational Membership

Q10 In the past 12 months, did you belong to any groups, organizations, or associations?

☐ Yes (1)

☐ No (2)

☐ Don't Know (3)

☐ Prefer not to reply (4)

Q14 In the past 12 months, did you spend any time volunteering for any organization or association?

- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)
- ☐ Don't Know (3)
- ☐ Prefer not to reply (4)

Q12 How many groups, organizations, or associations would you say you have belonged to over the past 12 months?

---

End of Block: Current Organizational Membership

Start of Block: Organization Category / Activity

Q17 Have you ever been a member of the following organizations?

- ☐ League of Women Voters (1)
- ☐ Other women's civic organization (2)
- ☐ A business or professional women's organization (3)
- ☐ A conservative women's group (e.g., Concerned Women for America, Eagle Forum)  
(4)
- ☐ A feminist group (e.g., National Organization for Women, Women's Political  
Caucus) (5)
- ☐ An organization of women public officials (6)
- ☐ A sorority (7)
- ☐ A women's PAC (e.g., EMILY's List, WISH List, Susan B. Anthony List) (8)
- ☐ Not Applicable (9)

Q22 How active are you currently in any of the following organizations?

|   | Not Active (1)           | Active (2)               | Very Active (3)          |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| League of Women Voters (1)  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other women's civic organizations (2)   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A business or professional women's organization (3)                               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A conservative women's group (e.g., Concerned Women for America, Eagle Forum) (4) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

A feminist group  
(e.g., National  
Organization for  
Women, Women's  
Political Caucus) (5)

☐☐☐

An organization of  
women public  
officials (6)

☐☐☐

A sorority (7)

☐☐☐

A women's PAC  
(e.g., EMILY's  
List, WISH  
List, Susan B.  
Anthony List) (8)

☐☐☐

Not Applicable (9)

☐☐☐

Q23 How active have you been in the PAST in any of the following organizations?

|  | Not Active (1)           | Active (2)               | Very Active (3)          |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| League of Women Voters (1)   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other women's civic organization (2)   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A business or professional women's organization (3)                                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A conservative women's group (e.g., Concerned Women for America, Eagle Forum) (4)      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A feminist group (e.g., National Organization for Women, Women's Political Caucus) (5) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

|  |                          |                          |                          |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| An organization of women public officials (6)                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A sorority (7)   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A women's PAC (e.g., EMILY's List, WISH List, Susan B. Anthony List) (8) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Not Applicable (9)   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q21 Have you ever been a member of the following organizations?

- ☐ Business or professional group (1)
- ☐ Service club (e.g., Rotary) (2)

- ☐ Teachers' organization (3)
- ☐ Labor organization (4)
- ☐ Children or youth organization (5)
- ☐ Women's organization (6)
- ☐ A church-related or other religious group (7)
- ☐ Affinity Group (race, ethnicity, sexuality etc.) (8)
- ☐ Not Applicable (9)

Q24 How active are you currently in any of the following organizations?

|                                    | Not Active (1)           | Active (2)               | Very Active (3)          |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Business or professional group (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



|  |                          |                          |                          |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Service club (e.g.,<br>Rotary) (2)                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Teachers'<br>organization (3)                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Labor organization<br>(4)                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Children or youth<br>organization (5)                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Women's<br>organization (6)                                | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A church-related or<br>other religious<br>group (7)        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Affinity Group<br>(race, ethnicity,<br>sexuality etc.) (8) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q26 Are you an active member of an organization not included in any category above?

---

End of Block: Organization Category / Activity

Start of Block: Political Affiliation

Q33 What is your party affiliation?

☐ Democrat (1)

☐ Republican (2)

☐ Independent (3)

☐ Other (please specify) (4) \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Prefer not to disclose (5)

Q34 Have you ever considered running for political office at the local, state, or national level?

- ☐ Definitely not (1)
- ☐ Probably not (2)
- ☐ Might or might not (3)
- ☐ Probably yes (4)
- ☐ Definitely yes (5)

Q41 In the past 12 months, how often did you discuss political, societal, or local issues with your family members?

- ☐ Basically every day (1)
- ☐ A few times a week (2)
- ☐ A few times a month (3)

- ☐ Not at all (4)
- ☐ Don't Know (5)
- ☐ Refused (6)

Q42 In the past 12 months, how often did you discuss political, societal, or local issues with your co-workers?

- ☐ Basically every day (1)
- ☐ A few times a week (2)
- ☐ A few times a month (3)
- ☐ Not at all (4)
- ☐ Don't Know (5)
- ☐ Refused (6)

Q43 In the past 12 months, how often did you discuss political, societal, or local issues with your friends?

- ☐ Basically every day (1)
- ☐ A few times a week (2)
- ☐ A few times a month (3)
- ☐ Not at all (4)
- ☐ Don't Know (5)
- ☐ Refused (6)

End of Block: Political Affiliation

Start of Block: Labor Considerations Block 7

Q44 In the past 12 months, how often did you and your neighbors and/ or members of your community do favors for each other such as house sitting, watching each other's children, lending tools, and other things to help each other?

- ☐ Basically every day (1)
- ☐ A few times a week (2)
- ☐ A few times a month (3)
- ☐ Not at all (4)
- ☐ Don't Know (5)
- ☐ Refused (6)

Q45 In the past 12 months, how often did you get together with other people from your neighborhood and/ or community to do something positive for your neighborhood or the community?

- ☐ Basically every day (1)

- ☐ A few times a week (2)
- ☐ A few times a month (3)
- ☐ Not at all (4)
- ☐ Don't Know (5)
- ☐ Refused (6)

Q46 In the past 12 months, have you acted as a caregiver for a family member, neighbor or community member?

- ☐ No (1)
- ☐ Occasionally (2)
- ☐ Yes (3)

End of Block: Labor Considerations Block 7

## APPENDIX E

### Women to Politics Pipeline

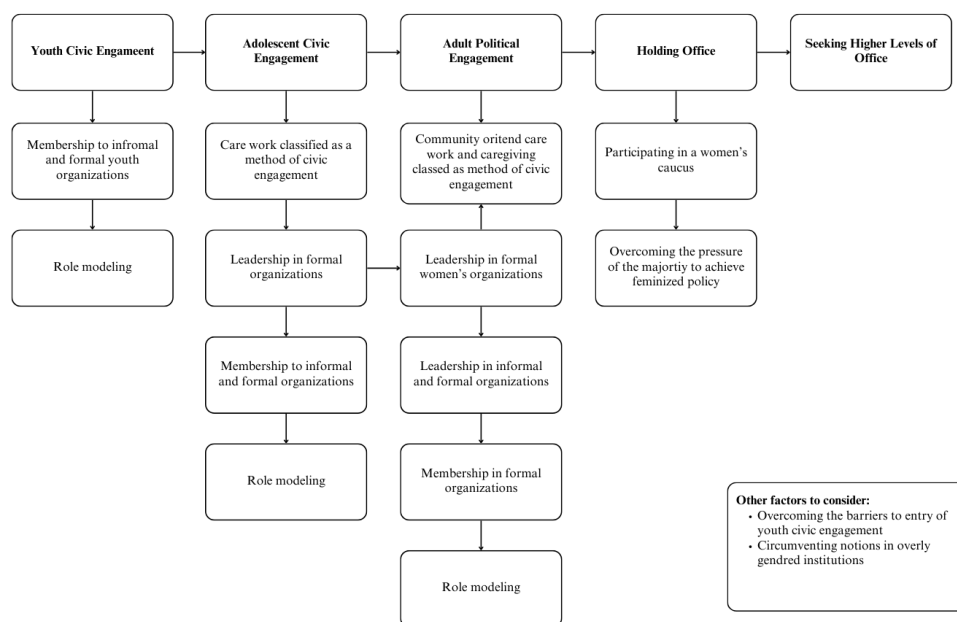


Figure E1: Mapping The Women to Politics Pipeline



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