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Is Politics Really a Man's Game? Women as Political Recruiters and Participants

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IS POLITICS REALLY A MAN'S GAME? WOMEN AS POLITICAL RECRUITERS
AND PARTICIPANTS

by

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Abstract

Women are assumed to participate less often, and less effectively than men. Looking at the way women recruit others to participate, and their participation in protest activity, women seem to be as effective as men. As recruiters, men and women tend to recruit others of their gender, and due to the way women have been historically excluded, there are fewer women in politics who can recruit others to participate. Although they recruit as effectively as men, women are less likely to already be in positions of power that allow them to recruit. These structural barriers to participation reflect structural problems, not efficacy problems for women.

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Introduction

Less ambitious and less effective, women participate at lower rates in politics because they socialized to participate less, have more social expectations, and receive less support and encouragement. Women are supposed to be less engaged and less likely to run for office. However, women do run for office, they do participate, and they do these things even when they have children, low incomes, and little time or education. Why do women become involved in politics and who is responsible for increasing their participation? I look at the way recruitment affects women's political participation. Women participate more in politics when they are asked to do so, and women can recruit other women into politics. Brady, Lehman, and Verba (1999) find that women asking other women to participate are more effective than men asking other men to participate. If women recruiters can recruit other women so effectively, then the problem with women's participation must be something other than their lack of political ability. They are effective and capable in politics, and once mobilized women should be recruiting other women into politics better than men recruit other men. Why, then, is there still a gap between men and women's participation? External, rather than internal explanations, should be investigated to explain this gap.

Looking specifically at the mobilization of women and their recruitment, I argue that women do have the ability and knowledge to be full participants. External barriers to their participation, such as their more recent entry into the political realm and the existing political culture in some types of participation make it harder for women to engage. However, recruitment by other women is evidence that women are effective political actors. Burns et al. (2001) see recruitment as both a request to participate in politics from

a family member, coworker, neighbor, or stranger, and as one of the most effective ways of mobilizing citizens, We know that being asked to participate leads more citizens to become involved (Bowman & Boynton, 1966), so politicians, political activists, and organizations all use recruitment to mobilize citizens (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993). Through mobilization by elites (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993) and social networks (Klandermans & Oegama, 1987), citizens are incorporated into the political process. But these mobilization efforts occur unevenly across the electorate, leaving many citizens marginalized. This thesis investigates the causes and consequences of unequal mobilization in the case of women.

Political Participation

According to Burns et al. (2001), political participation is "an activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action- either directly, by affecting the making or implementation of public policy, or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies" (p. 4). Political participation can work within the system, as an institutionalized type, or outside of the system as a non-institutionalized form. Acts such as voting, serving on local political boards and committees, campaigning, and contacting representatives and political officials are examples of institutionalized participation as they work either within the electoral framework or traditional political institutions. Women historically participate at slightly lower rates than men in institutionalized forms, (Verba, Brady, & Schlozman, 1997) particularly in those activities that require money (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba 2001; Burrell, 2004). However, in non-institutionalized actions, such as protesting, boycotting certain goods or services, and engaging in volunteer work, women typically participate equally or more often than men (Burns et al,

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2001; Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2010; Hollway & Valentine, 2014; Marien, Hooghe, & Quintelier, 2010).

Citizens in the United States are engaging less and less in institutionalized forms of participation (Stoker, 2006) and increasingly in non-institutionalized or non-electoral forms of participation (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2010; Dalton, 2006, 2008; Norris, 2002). In place of institutional participation, non-institutionalized ways of participating, including social media and internet-based activities, are growing in popularity (Marien et al., 2010). In their study on equality in institutionalized and non- institutionalized forms of participation in different countries, Marien et al. (2010) find that men and older people tend to participate in institutionalized forms of participation, due in part to their levels of political knowledge and efficacy. While non-institutionalized forms of participation have more young people and more women (Holloway & Valentine, 2014), these forms of participation reinforce existing differences across education and income. Education continues to be a strong predictor of involvement in non- institutionalized forms of participation, with political interest and efficacy having a positive relationship with this form of participation. Non-institutionalized forms of participation reduce inequalities of age and gender, but socioeconomic and education status becomes an even larger predictor of participation. (Marien et al., 2010; Sander & Putnam 2010).

Non-institutionalized forms of participation are structured differently than institutionalized types of participation (Piven & Cloward, 1991). The entry costs for non-institutional types of participation are lower than they are for institutionalized types, making it easier for those who are typically excluded to gain access (Weldon, 2011). Therefore, rather than focusing on electoral gains, participants can focus more on civic or

social issues. They may be driven to mobilize around an identity or project, work against the authorities, or push against the status quo (Bang, 2004, 2009). Women's participation, and the participation of those typically excluded often looks more like civic participation than political participation. Although formal barriers to participation have technically been removed, many marginalized groups do not have space in formal politics to either fully participate or participate in the ways they would like. Non-institutional forms, then, offer then space to participate. (Karpowitz & Mendelberg, 2014; Weldon, 2011; Young, 2000).

Women are more drawn to non-institutional forms of politics than to electoral and party politics (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2010; Marien, Hooghe, & Quintelier, 2010; Weldon, 2011). Women are more likely to engage in protests, wear campaign buttons (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba, 2001), and are less likely to participate in formal politics or to run for office (Norris, 2002; Schlozman, 1999). Research on political behavior in the past has not captured the seemingly non-political ways that women do participate. Women have been participating in education, union activity, consciousness-raising, grass-roots work, volunteer work, and religious work for a long time (Bookman & Morgen, 1988, Fowlkes, 1992, Kathlene, 1989, Schlozman et al., 1994). Women have not always been allowed to engage in formal politics, driving women and other marginalized groups to other forms of civic engagement. Although there are no longer formal barriers to women's participation, the informal barriers leave women out of political organizations (Karpowitz & Mendelberg, 2014; Young, 2000).

Women as Elected Officials

Women's lower rates of participation in institutionalized forms of participation carry through to elected office. There is a consistent and dramatic gender disparity in the political leadership in the United States. Women make up 20% of Senators, 19.3% of Representatives in the U.S. House, 10% of Governors, 23.7% of state legislators, 22.3% of state senators, and 12% of mayors from the 100 largest cities (Center for American Women and Politics, 2015). While women are more than half of the population, they comprise less than a fifth of the Congress.

Women are less likely to be asked to participate than are men in running for political office (Carroll, 1994; Lawless & Fox, 2004). Being asked to run for office by a party elite makes a significant difference in who runs for office, and women are asked much less often than men are. Not only are women less likely to be asked at all to participate, when they are recruited, women are not recruited as aggressively than men are (Fulton, Maisel, & Stone, 2006; Lawless & Fox, 2004, 2010, 2014). When they are recruited, women are often recruited for low-level positions or to run as placeholders (Carroll, 1994). Carroll (1994) argues that elites fear that citizens doubt women's abilities as officials, and there is literature suggesting this may be true.

There is a fear that citizens in the electorate view women as less politically capable as they view men. However, many female citizens are actually more likely to vote for female candidates. Dolan (1997) finds that citizens view women representatives differently than they do male representatives, believing that women in the electorate are more likely than men to support female candidates. The disparity in support only becomes greater for higher offices, like the presidency.

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The gender disparity in political office may not be solely caused by women's lower rates of participation, but it may perpetuate it. Atkeson (2003) argues that having fewer women candidates and leaders impacts how women see themselves in the political process. "[T]he lack of political women leaders sends a cue to women citizens that they are more subject than citizens, fit to be led, but not to lead, and better ruled, than rulers." (Atkeson, 2003, p. 1043). She finds that with the presence of a competitive female candidate, women voters are more internally efficacious, discuss politics more often, try to convince others about politics, and are less likely to respond that they "don't know" to political questions in studies and on surveys.

For Atkeson solving the disparity in participation means having more visible, viable female candidates. "When women, however, become visible players in the political system they empower women citizens. Viable women candidates lead women to feel more connected to and a part of the political system in a way that they do not when they look around and see only men" (Atkeson, 2003, p. 1043). Having more women in office has effects on representation, with more attention paid to women's concerns (Franceschet, Krook, & Piscopo, 2012). Having women on national ballots makes women more likely to engage in political discussion with others, more likely to try to persuade others to adopt their political attitude, and feel more confident in their abilities as political actors (Hansen, 1996). If recruiting more women into politics can challenge the disparity of female politicians, then recruitment may therefore help resolve the disparity of engaged female citizens in politics.

Traditional Explanations for Women's Participation

Other explanations for the lower rates of women's participation have included understanding participation through resources, socialization, networks, and motivation (Olsen 1970, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995, Han 2009). It seems that no one explanation can fully account for unequal participation, but taken as a whole they can provide a picture of what has prevented women from participating. The impact of political culture in these institutions may also help explain women's slow entry into formal modes of political participation. Critical to this picture, but as of yet under-examined, is an awareness of how recruitment impacts women's political participation. Rather than just seeing women as being less likely to participate due to structural barriers, or as being less efficacious political actors, women can be the recruiters to challenge the gender disparity. Women are capable of recruiting other women to overcome the barriers keeping them from fully participating.

Resources

Resources like time, money, and civic skills have been used as measures to predict how possible it is that someone will become involved in politics (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Leighley, 1995; Verba et al., 1995; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). A citizen with adequate time, money, and civic education can participate more than those who lack such resources, because in order to participate one needs time, energy, and money beyond what is required for work and home responsibilities before political activism becomes possible. Writing letters to officials, working on a campaign, and attending community events take time, so those with more free time can more easily do these things (Brady et al., 1995, p. 273). Typically, having more leisure time is associated

with higher socioeconomic levels, so conventional wisdom says that socioeconomic level predicts participation. Those with more resources can more easily overcome and afford the costs of participation, so higher income citizens are more likely to participate in politics (Bartels, 2009; Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993).

Having additional time and money to contribute to campaigns establishes a disparity in representation. Being able to give more to political campaigns is an example of how some citizens can directly influence political officials more than others. Larger donations give higher income citizens more access and leverage over elected representatives (Han, 2009). As a result, political officials are more responsive to those with more resources (Bartels, 2009). The voices of these citizens are not only more likely to be heard, but they are louder too (Verba, 1996).

Income inequality not only empowers some citizens, but it quiets others. Solt (2008) finds that higher levels of income inequality depress political interest, discussion, and electoral participation for all but the most affluent citizens in industrialized democracies. A large disparity in resources magnifies the disparity in participation, further challenging the possibility of equal representation. Hill and Leighley (1992) find that the underrepresentation of lower income citizens leads to less generous welfare policies or drives a class bias in representation.

Women tend to participate less in campaign donations, but participate in civic life as volunteers (Burns et al., 2001). Women often serve as caregivers even when they have additional work responsibilities, which has led scholars to attribute their lower participation rates to inequity in resource distribution (Orum, 1974). In the resource model, women are, as a group, less likely to participate or have political influence.

However, some women do participate in politics. And sometimes, even low-income women with children participate (Han, 2009). What is it that allows these women to overcome their disadvantage in resources?

Motivation

Motivation, or personal and political commitments that encourage people to participate, can push citizens to overcome structural barriers to engage (Han, 2009). Political motivation has been studied both as it relates to personality traits like ambition and efficacy (Lawless & Fox, 2004, 2012, 2014), and as a tool that can be implemented to mobilize groups (Han, 2009). However, many argue that women are less likely to have the internal motivation to be politically active (Lawless & Fox, 2014). Verba et al. (1997) find that women are less politically interested, informed, and efficacious than men, and that these political traits lead women to be less politically engaged. According to Lawless and Fox (2012), women lack the motivation to run for office at the same rates as men. Women have been taught to be passive – leading them to leave politics in the man's realm (Orum, 1974). Pointing to literature on the ways women are socialized in the private sphere, educational sphere, and employment sector, political scientists have attributed lower rates of participation to women's lower rates of ambition. However, I will discuss other explanations of women's participation that focus more on external barriers to women's participation.

Some feminists argue that women and girls are socialized to be mothers and caregivers. By emphasizing the importance of motherhood, marriage, and homemaking, girls are socialized out of politics (Anderson, 1975; Burns et al., 2001; Jennings & Niemi, 1981), According to Sapiro (1983), women view themselves as living a private, rather

than public life. "It becomes clear that this model of female political socialization is predicated on the notion that most women will remain in the home, or that the home and family will continue to provide their primary orientation" (Anderson, 1975, p. 441). Women should participate vis-à-vis their husbands, and should remain in the home to take care of chores and children. Gendered family roles leave women with fewer political and economic resources (Okin, 1989a).

In an attempt to understand and explain how socialization in the private sphere thwarts women's development as political actors, scholars have tried to determine the age at which girls learn to be less ambitious (Burns et al., 2001; Hooghe & Stolle, 2004), whether boys or girls are encouraged to participate more by their parents, (Lawless & Fox, 2012), even if boys and girls are exposed to similar rates of political information as children (Burns et al., 2001). Hooghe and Stolle (2004) find that 14-year-old girls express as much desire to participate in politics as their male peers, but these effects may wane with time. Even among highly ambitious political extracurricular groups, such as Model UN, girls are discouraged from engaging as much as boys, they feel less effective, and they are judged more harshly than are boys (Rosenthal & Rosenthal, 2001). By the time women reach college, when asked, they are 50% more likely than men to report that they would never run for office, and men are twice as likely to report that at some point in the future they would definitely run for office (Lawless & Fox, 2012).

However, girls may be showing early preferences for non-institutionalized forms of participation. Hooghe and Stolle (2004) find that adolescent girls are more drawn to non-confrontational forms of participation, such as volunteering, wearing buttons, and

collecting signatures. This may also be a reflection of young people's desire to work in non-institutionalized forms.

School and education may serve as another socialization factor that can hinder future participation by girls (Dow, 2008). Studies in psychology show that boys and girls are socialized into distinct gender groups and roles in school (Adler, Kless, & Adler, 1992; Serbin, Connor, & Iler, 1979). With higher levels of formal education, men receive greater gains from higher levels of education than do women (Dow, 2008). One of the biggest predictors of political engagement, education, is seen as the source of political knowledge and efficacy. Education can be used to cultivate civic skills and knowledge. Formal education helps develop the skills and knowledge necessary for political activism (Becker, 1985; Burns et al., 2001; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980).

Civic and political knowledge enable people to participate in political life more fully (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). When people understand civic institutions better, they have higher political efficacy. Traditionally, studies have shown that women have less political knowledge than men (Burns et al., 2001; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Garand, Guynan, & Fournet, 2005). Another understanding, however, questions what metrics are used to evaluated political knowledge, and how it is measured may be account for the gender disparity (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Kenski & Jamieson, 2000). Dolan (2011) finds that the difference in political knowledge may be more of a reflection of women's different political content knowledge and the ways they approach questions. When gender-specific questions are asked, she finds that the gender disparity disappears.

Education can also increase how much exposure to opportunities to engage in politics by embedding citizens in politically engaged or disengaged social network (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). Those with education go on to often have jobs with others with high degrees of education, connecting them to other social groups and potential to engage. Therefore, jobs that require a higher degree of education can provide more chances for engagement. Education confers resources and opportunities that enable political participation. Knowledge about the political system and access to more skilled jobs make it easier for citizens to participate (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993).

Within the socialization framework, women's liberation and increasing access to the workplace should change the way women and girls perceive their roles in the world. If a public life is supposed to facilitate political participation, changes in employment should improve women's participation. Anderson found that employed women made the biggest gains in participation during women's liberation (Anderson, 1975). For those who did start to find employment outside of the home, situational factors, such as being responsible for work at home as well as duties in the workplace left many women with less time and fewer resources to participate in politics (Sapiro, 1983; Welch, 1977). These duties affected low-income women at higher rates, because they already have fewer resources. Many women do not reach the highest levels of jobs, but rather are stuck at mid-level jobs (Burns et al., 2001). Women are forced to make job decisions based on their additional gendered duties (Okin, 1989b).

Lawless and Fox (2012, 2014) argue that women on average are less politically ambitious than are men. Women are less likely to consider running for office, are less likely view themselves as qualified for office, and are more likely to perceive the

electoral environment as biased and competitive than are men similar to them (Lawless & Fox, 2012). Lawless and Fox (2014), looking at the ways parental encouragement, educational and social experiences in high school, and self-confidence socialize women and men differently, find women as group to be politically disadvantaged. While there are women who are politically savvy and ambitious enough to run for office and participate in politics, the socialization of women leads them on average to be less politically efficacious and confident. If women are less politically ambitious than men, then increasing the numbers of women in politics would not lead to more equal representation. As less politically ambitious actors, women would not be able to better challenge inequality even if they are within the system.

Furthermore, this frame does not fit with my findings as women are able to recruit other women into running for office. If women are socialized to be less politically efficacious, then they should not be effective recruiters or participants in politics. However, I find that women are effective recruiters, they can get men and women to participate in politics, and are as successful as men.

Social Networks

Networks are also used to explain disparities in recruitment and participation. A person's social network may make it more or less likely that she will be recruited into politics. As citizens are embedded in social networks that provide them with varying incentives, information, and links to the political realm (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993), those in networks that encourage participation are more likely to engage than those with less political networks. Citizens are embedded in social networks that provide them with incentives, information, and links to the political realm (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993).

Social networks and personal links with others can help explain how political participants become mobilized (Coleman, 1988; Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993).

Networks can explain how and why people get access to politics. "Networks condition whether people become targets of mobilization attempts. The more a movement's reach-out networks are woven into other organizations, the more people are reached by mobilization attempts" (Klandermans & Oegama, 1987, p. 520). The structure of the network matters in determining how effective it will be at encouraging political participation (Christakis & Fowler, 2009). Having a large social network increases the likelihood that one will be exposed to the information about activities, and increases the chances that a potential participant will know someone there (Christakis & Fowler, 2009). Weak ties, as opposed to strong ties found in small social circles, diffuse information quickly and, as laid about by Granovetter (1973, 1983), allow information to spread more easily than strong ties do. The structure of someone's social network may impact the likelihood of participation more than other personal traits do. Someone's position in a social network, and the size of the network impacts what and how information that person has access to. (Christakis & Fowler, 2009). The extent and make-up of social networks determine how much political information someone is exposed to.

Being linked in a network increases the chances that one will know how and when to engage in politics, and will increase the chances one will be asked to engage in politics. "[S]ocial interaction provides people with another opportunity to accrue resources that lower the barriers to political participation. Consequently, social resources supplement (rather than supplant) the personal resources and abilities that make participation likely" (McClurg, 2003, p. 450). However, low-income actors who are privy

to political information from their social network have a higher chance of being engaged than their peers without that political information (McClurg, 2003). Newman finds that having economically distressed friends increases perceived class bias, and indirectly increases support for government intervention in inequality (Newman, 2014).

Recruitment

According to Rosenstone and Hansen, mobilization "is the process by which candidates, parties, activists, and group induce other people to participate" (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993, p. 27). If political elites know who is more likely to participate, then they can target their efforts on those groups. Citizens with more resources, including money, time, and social connections, are more often asked to participate in formal modes of participation (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993). Having human capital, or peers who are likely to also be mobilized, also makes someone a more likely target of recruitment efforts, and reward citizens for participating (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993). Brady et al. (1999, 2001) find that recruiters tend to recruit people they know personally and who they believe will participate, creating a recruitment process of self-selection.

According to Hunt and Pendley's study of political recruiters (1972), individuals who choose to recruit others into politics tend to be older, established members of the community. They typically are established community or civic leaders, or political officials. If recruiters are community members with more time and experience in politics, then marginalized groups who have not always had access to these networks are at a disadvantage. There are fewer long-standing elites representing marginalized groups in these forms of participation, hindering the formation of a base of recruiters.

In her 1972 study of men and women as municipal candidates, Merritt finds that men are more likely to win office when they have been recruited by political elites, while women seem to win office when they have experience in volunteer activities. "Of course, given the predominance of males among political elites, we should expect women to have fewer previous social associations with political influentials" (Merritt, 1977, p. 742). She predicts that as women enter more into the political realm, they may be able to build up the social contacts to be able to be recruited through political elites.

Case studies of women's political participation and recruitment into social movements show women as being recruited by their peers when they are recruited. In her study of women's participation in environmental protests, Cable (1992) finds that women are initially recruited into social movements through their social networks with other women. Women with more structural availability, or more time to participate, meant that more housewives were recruited than working women. In a case study on the Mississippi Freedom Summer, McAdam (1992) finds significant barriers to women's recruitment into the movement. Being already engaged politically, or being involved in multiple other organizations allowed women participants to overcome the barriers to participate. Rocheford (1985), in reviewing women's involvement in the Hare Krishna movement, sees women being recruited through social ties with movement members, while men are contacted through strangers.

If networks and relationships generate the capital necessary to participate, then small interactions, such as asking someone to participate, can make a difference. Bowman and Boynton asked local party officials why they were engaged in politics, 26% reported becoming more active after being asked (1966). Many local candidates run

because they are recruited to participate (Althoff & Brady, 1972; Bowman & Boynton, 1966; Merritt, 1977). Being asked to participate can help potential political actors to overcome barriers to participation. Men's social ties and recruitment helps them win municipal office, while women are likely excluded from these forms of recruitment (Merritt, 1977).

Gaps in the Existing Literature

Through socialization, structural barriers, and political culture, women are excluded from political life. Women are apolitical, and uninterested in politics according to much of the participation literature. They are a monolithic group, kept from participating by the socialization and femininity. Feminists have challenged these ideas by drawing out methodological problems with previous literature (Carroll & Zerilli, 1993; Duerst-Lahti, 2002a, 2002b; Katzenstein, 1998; Siltanen & Stanworth, 1984). Common criticisms of the portrayal of women as uninterested or lacking political efficacy point to the fact that structural forces have excluded women, ways of studying political participation has been framed around men's participation, and women are painted as a monolithic group, fundamentally different from men.

The culture of political institutions is not gender neutral, and women's long-term exclusion from formal modes of participation shaped how those institutions work (Duerst-Lahti, 2002a). Women's exclusion from political institutions have shaped the culture and norms of those institutions, so even after women gain access to formal political spheres, those spaces are not gender neutral (Duesrt-Lahti, 2002b; Katzenstein, 1998). The political or institutional culture already in place in the political sphere impacts and limits how women can engage in these spaces. We should recognize the ways that

political institutions have historically excluded women rather than see women as less politically efficacious (Siltanen & Stanworth, 1984). Women are more likely to run for political office in states that already have a pattern of electing women to the state legislature, support women's participation, and do not have a gender disparities in income or education (Hill, 1981; Lawless & Fox, 2004). The political culture of a state may influence whether women are encouraged or discouraged from running for office (Diamond, 1977).

Dismissed as apolitical or too moral, women's participation has not been seen as political or worth measuring. By characterizing women as existing in the private sphere, women and their participation as been portrayed as "politically disengaged, unsuited to political life, and predisposed to conservatism" (Tollenson-Rinehart & Carroll, 2006, p. 509). Women have always participated in civic and social life, even when excluded from many formal modes of political life. Feminists have to balance describing different modes of participation and experiences without reducing women and their experiences to apolitical and exaggerating differences between men and women (Carroll & Zerilli, 1993).

Previous research has largely overlooked or mischaracterized women's participation (Siltanen & Stanworth, 1984). Spurred by the feminist movement in the 1970s and 1980s the field of political science has started to recognize and study women's participation more fully and in a more nuanced way (Carroll & Zerilli, 1993). Be challenging and complicating the ways we understand women and their participation, political scientists can look more closely at how different women participate in politics. Case studies, such as those referenced earlier, examine how women have been involved

in different social movements. As Burns et al. found (2001), women are much more likely to be found doing volunteer work, participate in religious institutions, and attend protests. Women pass out petitions and campaign buttons, run bake sales – attending to civic life. While these forms of participation are now seen as political, they have not always been measured or reported as political participation. The way women's participation and political experience have been studied are evaluated through criteria developed from the male political experience (Siltanen & Stanworth, 1984). Women participate in ways distinct from one another, and from men.

Even trying to evaluate women as a group may be problematic, and misrepresentative of women's experiences. Trying to measure the participation of women as a group assumes that all women have the same experiences and understandings of what is political. As Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill (1996) point out in their explanation of intersectional feminism, "[o]bjections to the false universalism embedded in the concept of 'woman' emerg[e] within other discourses as well as those of women of color." (p. 322). The literature on women's participation fails to see the differences that exist between women, and groups of women. Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill (1996) say that

> Women of color have long challenged the hegemony of feminisms constructed primarily around the lives of white middle class women. Since the late 1960's, U.S. women of color have taken issue with unitary theories of gender. Our critiques grew out of the widespread concern about the exclusion of women of color from feminist scholarship and the misinterpretation of our experiences, and ultimately 'out of the very discourses, denying, permitting, and producing difference.' (p. 321)

Their critique, and the critique of other women of color, holds that the traditional understandings of women and women's participation centers around the experiences of white middle class women, and posits that experience as the experience of all women.

The alternative to trying to explain the impact of gender alone on participation is to look at the way gender intersects with other identities, such as race and class. Intersectional feminists see gender as colliding with race, class, and other identities to create multiple expressions of what it means to be a woman. Collins (1990) explains how gender exists within a matrix of domination.

> Race, class, and gender constitute axes of oppression that characterize Black women's experiences within a more generalized matrix of domination. Other groups may encounter different dimensions of the matrix, such as sexual orientation, religion, and age, but the overarching relationship is one of domination and the types of activism it generates. (p. 222)

Within this matrix, identities interact with one another in ways that cannot be separated or reduced to being a woman, being Latina, or being educated. Instead of seeing gender and race as having consistent and identifiable effects on participation, one must look at how race and gender interact. Once we recognize that these identities interact to create new experiences and identities, we can put those with marginalized identities at the center of the debate. In order to understand participation of Black women, Black women must be the subjects of research. When we look at the experiences of Black women, we see that their participation does not conform to the same rules, barriers, and exceptions that white women face. Empowered and motivated by different forces, Black women may be more likely to engage in community-based actions rather than electoral politics.

Many of the traditional frames used to explain the political participation of women fail to account for these intersectional identities, and treat women like a monolithic group (Caroll & Zerilli, 1993; Collins, 1990; hooks, 1984; Spelman, 1988; Stilanen & Stanworth, 1984). In my analysis, I use women as a category without distinguishing between women of color and white women. However, given the data

available, and current discussions about women's participation, this analysis is important. Being able to compare the way women recruit and participate in institutional and non-institutional modes of participation will shed light on the limitations in institutional politics. Additionally, this analysis can shed light on the way women begin to gain access to these realms of politics. Rather than look at only the ways women have been excluded, I look at why women are able to gain access to political realms, and how they act once they get there. If women are less likely to recruit others to politics and political participation in the same ways that men do, then they do not lack the political ambition or efficacy that men have.

Methodology

The American Citizen Participation Survey is a two-wave panel survey collected by Verba et al. in 1990. Though it is now 25 years old, this dataset remains unique in its specific focus on political activists and unmatched its scientific rigor. The data collection began with a phone survey of 15,000 adults in the United States. The surveys gathered data about the political and nonpolitical lives of respondents. This sample was stratified, and an oversampling of Blacks, Latinos, and political activists was taken. They then conducted in-person interviews with 2,517 of the original respondents. The data are weighted, with the oversampling of those three populations, it becomes possible to study political activism and race.

The dataset is ideal for studying political activism, due to the range of questions covering political participation. Interviewers asked respondents about their personal histories, education, job duties, community involvement, family status, and personal beliefs. After asking respondents about whether or not they had participated in different

forms of political, civic, or volunteer activities, they were asked about their motivation behind each form of engagement. In order to see what draws citizens to activism, Verba et al. asked questions about life experiences, personal beliefs or ambitions, hobbies, and personal history.

Measures

In order to capture a range of political activities, I look at three types of participation – contacting a local or federal appointed or elected official, working for a political campaign, and attending a protest. These three variables represent both electoral and non-electoral types of participation, do not require money (such as campaign contributions), and include local participation. All of the variables are dichotomous, with each variable coded no as 0 and yes as 1. I am able to compare institutional versus non institutional forms of participation.

The Citizen Participation Survey includes variables for involvement in community, religious, and volunteer groups. While these variables can account for how women gain the skills needed to participate, I want to measure women's political involvement. "An expansive understanding of what constitutes participation is especially important given our concern with gender differences in political activity. It is sometimes argued that, like traditional approaches in many academic disciplines, mainstream political science tends to overlook women's distinctive choices or contributions" (p. 21). In order to give weight to these differences, it is important to look at more than voting, and to include non-electoral and financial forms of participation (Burns et al., 2001).

Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1994) find that women have less income to donate to political campaigns. Given that they typically have lower incomes, it makes sense that

they typically donate less to political organizations. While women and men participate at equal rates in volunteer activities, they do not contribute equally in financial activities. Contributing to a campaign is included in volunteering for a campaign. The campaign variable includes both work done for campaigns and campaign contributions. I included both types of participation in the campaigning variable because the question for recruitment into campaigning asks respondents about any type of involvement in political campaigns.

The traditional explanations for why women do not participate – having children, having less education or employment, and lower income are all included as control variables for the regression analysis. The presence of children is coded as a dichotomous variable, the presence of children is 1 and the absence is 0. Family income is coded as a continuous variable. I use family income instead of personal income as some women may participate more if their spouses make enough money that they do not need to work. Family income also works because employment is included. Women who are employed are more likely to participate in politics. Educational attainment is also included as an interval variable. According to Bowman and Boynton, the level of education a person has may affect who else is in that person's social network. If they are around people who are politically engaged, then the respondent may have more opportunities to be politically active (Bowman & Boynton, 1966).

In the survey, respondents are asked about their involvement in different types of political and civic actions. All respondents are then also asked if they were recruited into each form of participation, regardless of whether or not they report participating. The questions about participating and recruitment are given below.

Campaign Activity

> *Since January 1988, the start of the last national election year, have you worked as a volunteer -- that is, for no pay at all or for only a token amount -- for a candidate running for national, state, or local office?*

> *Thinking about the elections we have had since January 1988, during these election campaigns, have you received any request directed to you personally to work for or contribute money to a candidate for public office, a party group, a Political Action Committee, or any other organization that supports candidates?*

> *We are interested in learning about the kinds of people who ask others to get involved in politics. Think about the person who made this request. Was the person who made the request male or female?*

Respondents are asked if they participated at all in each type of activity over the course of a year. So a participant may report being recruited to protest, and protesting, even if they did not attend the specific protest she was recruited to. However this is not a problem as the literature suggests that being recruited in general increases the chances that someone will participate. Additionally, asking all participants means that even those who do not participate are asked if they have been recruited. Therefore, recruitment and participation can be isolated and the effects of recruitment can be seen as a treatment. Those who are recruited are coded as 1, and those who are not as 0. If respondents answer yes to being recruited, they are then asked a series of branching questions about who asked them to participate, including the gender of the recruiter. I made separate variables for recruitment by a man and woman, and coded the missing responses as 0.

The questions regarding the gender of the recruiter gives insight into who is recruiting others in politics. While respondents are not asked if they recruit or have recruited others to participate in politics, they do indirectly generate data about recruiters. By asking who recruited you into politics, we see how women and men act as recruiters, and more importantly how successful male and female recruiters are. Respondents not

only give information about the gender of their recruiter, but we can see if the

respondents chose to follow through and participate or not. Since the information about

recruiters comes from the recruits and potential participants, we know whether or not the

recruitment efforts were successful or not.

Contacting an elected or appointed official

> *Since January 1988, the start of the last national election year, have you worked as a volunteer -- that is, for no pay at all or for only a token amount -- for a candidate running for national, state, or local office?*

I combine the local and federally appointed and elected officials to see how often people

contact their representatives. The questions on recruitment address whether people were

asked to contact any official, so I coded the variable for consistency.

Protest activity

> *In the past two years have you taken part in a protest, march, or demonstration on some national or local issue (other than a strike against your employer)?*

> *In the past twelve months have you received any request directed at you personally to take part in a protest, march, or demonstration?*

The question about participating in a protest refers to the past two years, while the

question about recruitment refers to the past year. However, people who are likely to be

asked one are more likely to be asked again. The questions about recruitment and gender

look the same way for contacting an official and protesting.

I broke down their rates of participation based on whether the respondent's

recruiter was male or female. The variable for the gender of the recruiter includes all

respondents in the survey, so those who participated without being asked, those who did

not participate, and those who were asked but did not participate are included. This

allowed me to see how successful men and women were at recruiting to each type of participation, along with how much recruitment facilitated political participation.

I also ran linear regressions with control variables to test the significance of recruitment by each gender on women's political participation while controlling for other variables linked to participation. The control variables I used were education, family income, marital status, employment status, and having children.

Findings

Women, in general, participate at slightly lower rates than men do in institutionalized types of participation. However, there are two stories to tell about women's political participation, one surrounding their role in non-institutionalized political participation, and a second on their role as political recruiters. We know that women participate less than men, and that they tend to participate more in non-institutionalized activities, but those who do participate are able to recruit other women to participate. Most importantly, women ask other women to participate, and men ask other men to participate. Women as political participants, then, cannot be reduced to their rates of participation.

Women participate less even when controlling for income, employment, marital status, education, and having children – meaning the other factors we use to explain the disparity in participation do not tell the whole story. Being a woman still is associated with lower rates of engagement. The way participation is captured, being a woman is associated with lower rates of political participation. However, this lower rate can be explained by looking at the structural forces keeping women from participating. Being a woman, due to the way women are allowed to engage in the political process.

Rather than saying that women are less politically savvy or motivated, women's

rates of participation seem to moderated more by structural factors. Women seem equally

able to recruit other women into politics, and where there is space for them to participate

they do. Women are less engaged as participants in institutionalized types of participation

-- contributing to campaigns and contacting officials, though they are still recruiting

others into both of these activities. Women are effective recruiters to political activities,

and so should be as politically capable as men. The base of women participants in

campaigns and acting as contactors is smaller. Men have been more involved in these

types of participation, so there will be more men who have been recruited and can serve

as recruiters. If there were a larger base of women in these other types, they would likely

be able to recruit at similar rates as men.

Table 1 shows how likely women are to participate in three different types of

political activities. Even when controlling for having children, education level, family

income, marital status, and employment status, being a woman impacts whether or not

you will participate in politics.

Table 1
Women's Political Participation by Type of Participation

Variable	Contact Coefficient (*Std. Err.)*	Campaign Activity Coefficient (*Std. Err.)*	Protest Activity Coefficient (*Std. Err.)*
Woman	-0.0451***	-0.0312*	0.0081
	(0.0124)	(0.0125)	(0.0100)
Education level	0.0398***	0.0618***	0.0191***
	(0.0060)	(0.0068)	(0.0050)
Employment status	0.0051	0.0052	0.0103
	(0.0081)	(0.0084)	(0.0075)
Family income	0.0054*	0.0162***	0.0026
	(0.0018)	(0.0023)	(0.0019)
Has children	0.0136	-0.0082	-0.0231*
	(0.0132)	(0.0137)	(0.0105)
Marital status	-0.0039	-0.0009	-0.0078***
	(0.0036)	(0.0038)	(0.0024)
Black	-0.0229	0.0716***	0.0520**
	(0.0163)	0.0158	(0.0180)
Latino	-0.0342*	0.0394*	-0.0077
	(0.0139)	0.0158	(0.0114)
Age	0.0010*	0.0026***	-0.0011**
	(0.0004)	0.0005	(0.0003)
PTA involvement	-0.0009***	-0.0010***	0.0002
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)
Membership in women's org	0.0603**	0.0475*	0.0217
	(0.0228)	(0.0003)	(0.0180)

*Note.* * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$. Performed using OLS regression.

For the two formal modes of participation, contacting an official and campaigning, being a woman has a negative impact on participation. The coefficients are small, but negative, meaning their impact is slight but hinders participation. The results are also significant. However, being a woman slightly increases the chances you will engage in a protest. Since controls were included for education level, employment status, family income, having children, being married, and being involved in the PTA or a woman's organization, the variable for woman is capturing just the impact of being a woman,

separate from how the controls affect participation. So, we know that women participate less, and this cannot be attributed just to having children, having different job opportunities, and have less access to money and education.

As seen in the literature, having children reduces the chances that a person will contact a political official, participate in a political campaign, or engage in a protest, but is only significant for protest activity. Having more education positively and very significantly impacts all three types of participation, as anticipated. It has the biggest impact on campaign activity and the least impact on protest activity, which makes sense since education increases political efficacy and knowledge. Employment works similarly, increasing the chances of campaigning the most, and protest activity the least. Being a member of a women's organization increases the chances that someone will participate in contacting an official and protesting.

We already see that protesting works somewhat differently from the other types of participation. This is expected in the literature, as women typically participate more in these non- institutionalized types of participation. However, unlike the other two types, protesting is more accessible to women, and more accessible to women with less education, income, and employment. Unlike institutionalized types of participation, the women have never formally been denied access to protesting. Beyond formal barriers to participation, protesting requires less political knowledge and capital than campaigning or communicating with officials. Women have been able to participate in protest activity for far longer than they have been accepted as political actors in institutionalized activities. I will address protesting somewhat separately from the other two forms, as it has some unique characteristics.

What leads women to participate, and how do women participate differently from men? We know that recruitment increases the chances of participation, so what happens to women's political activity when they are recruited? Being asked to join is one of the strongest predictors of someone's participation. For each type of participation, respondents are more likely to participate if they are recruited. Looking at Graph 1, we see that 60% of respondents who protested or contacted an official reported being recruited to participate. For campaigning, over 70% of respondents who campaigned reported being recruited.
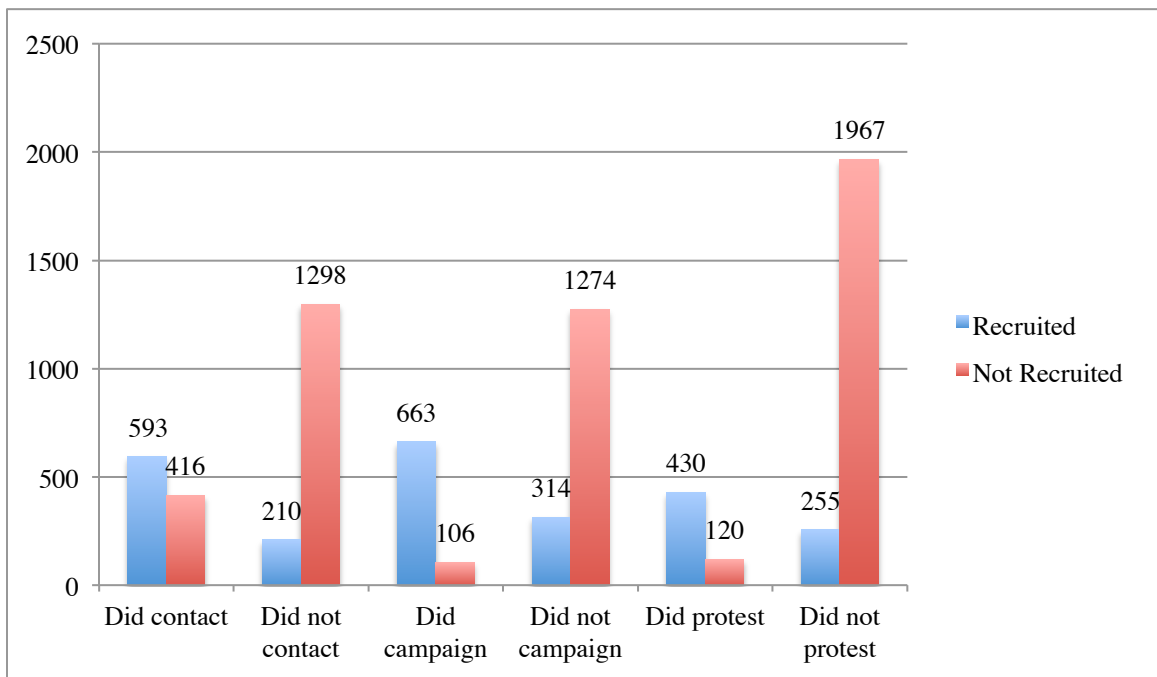

Graph 1. Men and Women's Recruitment and Participation

Men and women participate more when they are asked to participate. Graph 1 compares how many respondents in each category report being recruited. For each type of participation, those who report participating are divided into those who report being

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recruited and those who report not being recruited. Of those who contacted an official, 594 respondents or 59% report that they were recruited. In campaigning, 663 respondents or 71% of respondents who participated also report being recruited. Of those who protest, 430 respondents or 59% also report being recruited to do so.

For respondents who report not participating, the majority also reports not being recruited. Eighty-six percent of those who do not contact an official, or 1,298 respondents, also report not being recruited. Eighty percent of those who do not campaign report not being recruited, and 89% of those who do not protest report not being recruited. For respondents who do not engage in politics, most of them also report not being asked to engage.

If recruitment matters, who is doing the recruitment? Are men and women more receptive to being asked by members of their gender? Who is doing the important work of asking people to participate? Graphs 2, 3, 4, and 5 will look at each type of participation, and the gender of recruiters of each type.
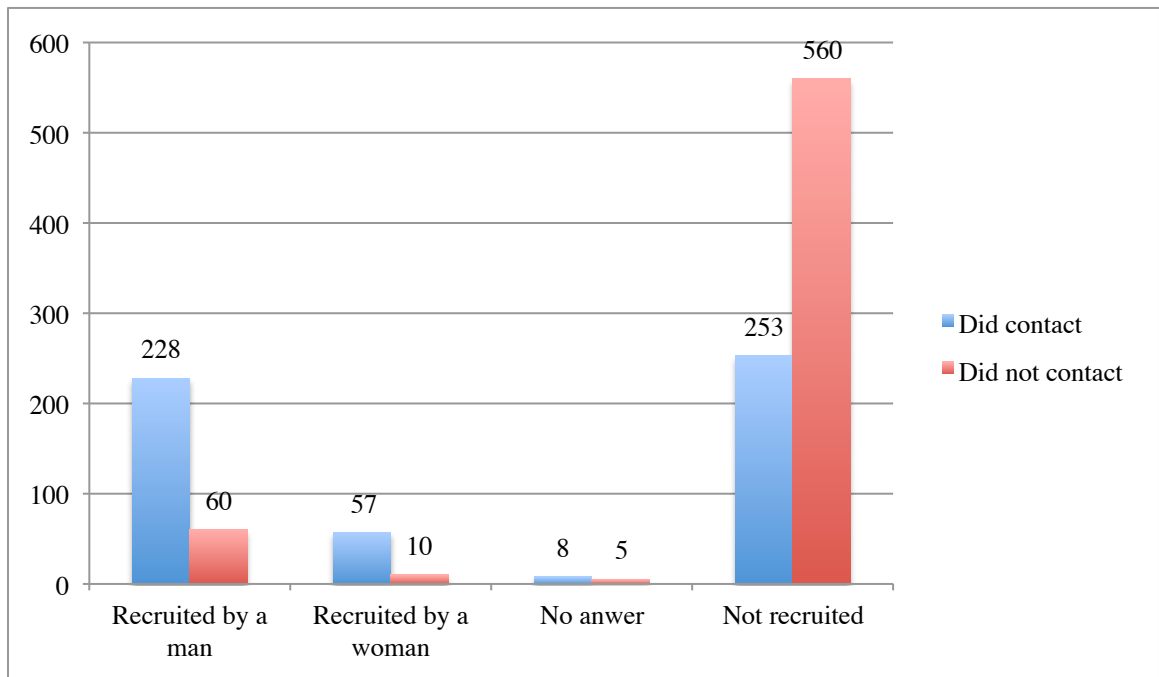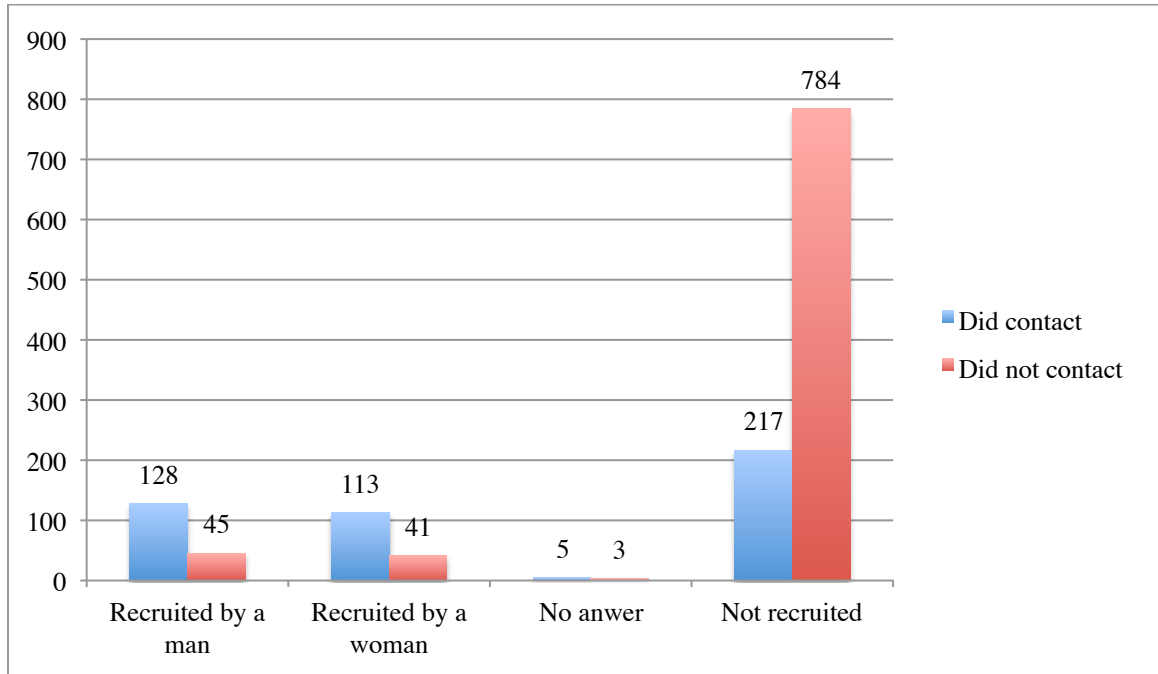
Graph 2. Communicating with Officials: Men's Participation

Graph 2 shows men's participation and recruitment for contacting a political official. If you are a man, you are more than four times more likely to be recruited by a man as you are to be recruited by a woman. Two hundred and eighty-eight respondents, or 24% of the male sample, report being asked to participate by a man, compared to 67, or 5.7% of the sample, reporting being asked by a woman. Of those who are not recruited, 253 respondents or 31% still contact an elected official. Interestingly, more men report following through on contacting an official when women recruited them. 85% of those asked by women contact an official, while 78% of those asked by men contact an official.

While it makes sense that men are more likely to ask men to participate, it is surprising that they are still receptive to the women who do ask. Of those recruited by women, 113 respondents or 85% followed through and contacted a political official.

Those recruited by women make up a fairly small percentage of the group of contactors (only 10% of contactors report being recruited by women), but they show that men are receptive to female recruiters. Women can successfully recruit men into this type of participation.

Graph 3. Communicating with Officials: Women's Participation

Like the graph for men's participation and recruitment into contacting, Graph 3 shows the rates of recruitment and participation for women. Here, women are asked almost evenly by men and women to contact an official, and they are very likely to participate when they are recruited. When recruited, 74% or 113 of women participate. However only 217 or 22% of women who report not being recruited also report participating. Women are equally receptive to being asked by a man or a woman. When asked by a man to

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participate, women followed through 74% of the time, and when asked by a woman, they followed through 73% of the time.

Comparing the two graphs for contacting an official for each gender, men participate more than women do – 46% of male respondents participate while 35% of female respondents do. However, more men report being recruited – 30% of men report being asked, compared to 25% of women. Men are more likely to be recruited, and are therefore more likely to participate. Men and women are receptive to being asked by both men and women, but men and women appear to ask those of their gender more often. Compounding the problem of unequal recruitment, women are less likely to participate if they are not asked. Only 22% of women participated without being asked, and 31% of men participated even when they were not asked. Being recruited matters more for women, and they are asked less. The other institutionalized type, participating in a political campaign, has similar results.

Looking at the graph, 24% men in the sample are asked to participate by another man, and 6% of men are asked to participate by a woman. For women, 13% of women in the sample are asked to participate by a man and 11% are asked to participate by another woman. While many more men are being recruited, they are primarily asked by other men to participate. Women are asked at a much lower rate, but women make up more of the recruiters. Men and women typically recruit people of their gender, and there a lot more men recruiting participants to contact political officials.

Women do participate in politics, and they do recruit others to participate as well. However, recruitment impacts women differently than it does men. Women are less likely to participate unless they are asked to do so, but they are effective at recruiting one

another to participate. If there were more women acting as recruiters, then there would be more recruitment occurring to help overcome the barriers to women's participation.
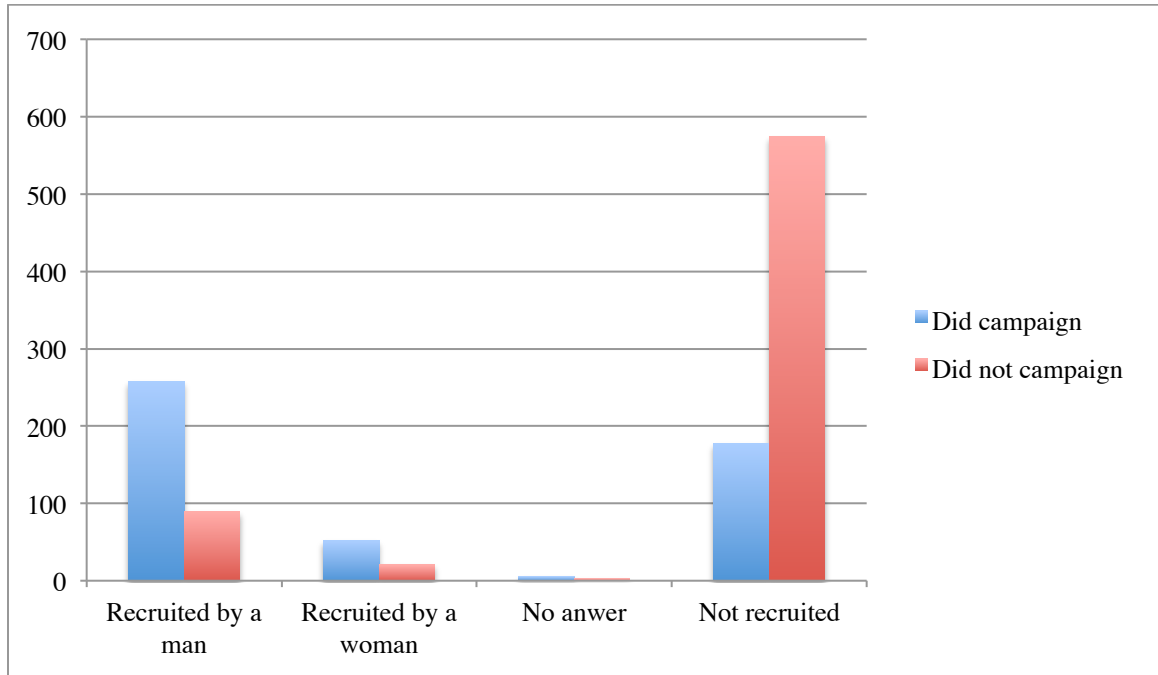
Graph 4. Participation in campaigns: Men's participation

More men report being asked by men to participate than by women (348 were asked by men and only 73 were asked by women). Similar to contacting a political official, men typically recruit other men to participate. However, men are receptive to recruitment by either gender, 74% participating when asked by a man and 71% participating when asked by a woman.
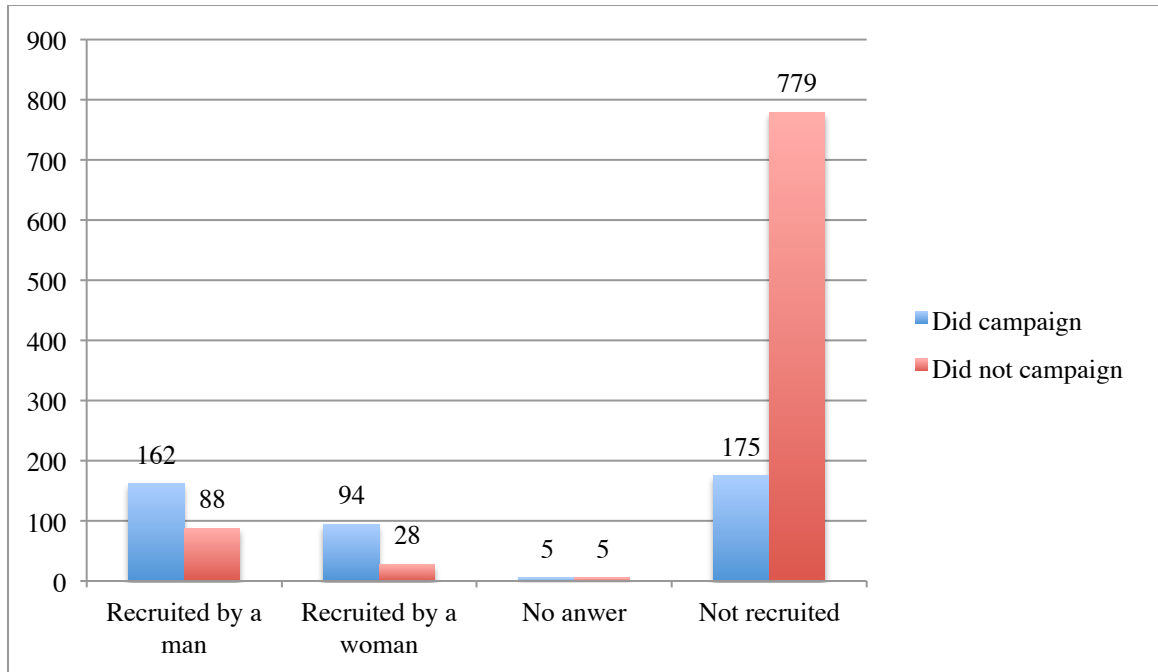
Graph 5. Participation in Campaigns: Women's Participation

Women are more likely to be asked by men to campaign (19% of women report

being asked by a woman and 9% report being asked by a man). However, if we look at

the data as a window to see how women act as recruiters, we see that women were more

likely to ask women than they were to ask men. One hundred and twenty two women or

9% of the sample of women report being asked by a woman, while 73 men or 6% of the

sample of men report being asked by a woman. Therefore, we can see 122 female

recruiters and 73 male recruiters. Additionally, women were somewhat more receptive to

female recruiters than they were to male recruiters as 77% of women who were recruited

by women participated, and 65% of those recruited by men participated. Without

recruitment, only 18% of women participated, while 24% of un-recruited men

participated. Of both those who participated and those who did not, 588 respondents

report being asked to participate by a man, while 195 report by asked by a woman. Here,

women are receptive to being recruited by other women, but most of those who report being recruited say a man asked them.

Looking at Graphs 4 and 5 together, we can see that women are recruited less often than men are to campaign. Twenty-nine percent of men report being asked by a man to campaign or 250 respondents, compared to only 122 respondents or 6% who report being asked by a woman to participate, so 35% of men report being recruited to participate. On the other hand, 18% of women report being recruited by a man, and 9% report being asked by a woman. So 27% of women are asked to participate, compared to 35% of men who are recruited to campaign. Women participate at lower rates in campaigns, and they are recruited at lower rates as well. Regardless of who is asking them, they are from the start recruited less often than men.

In the two institutionalized types of participation, contacting an official and campaigning, men and women are both participating and recruiting others to participate as well. Men and women as recruiters have similar success rates. However, men usually ask men to participate, and women usually ask other women to participate.
In tables 5 and 6, men and women are recruiting mostly people of their own gender to participate. Two hundred and eighty-eight men report being asked by a man to participate, compared to 173 women. Similarly, 67 men report being asked by a woman and 154 women report being asked by another woman to participate. If we combine the responses of men and women, then 70% recruitment by women is directed at other women. Men recruit more men than women (348 men compared to 250 women), and women asked many more women than men (73 men compared to 122 women). Since

there are more men in general recruiting people to these forms of political action, more men therefore end up being asked.

Protesting provides a different story about participation. While men typically recruit more than women do, more women report being asked to protest by women than they do by men. Unlike the institutionalized types of participating, protesting is more open to women as participants and as recruiters.

Recruiters are more likely to ask others of their gender. Sixty-two percent of recruited male respondents report being asked by a man, and by a woman 38% of the time. Similarly, women who were recruited report being asked by a man 37% of the time, and by a woman 63% of the time. Each gender seems to be asking others of their gender at equal rates. However, when it comes to protesting, it seems women are asking at a higher rate than men are. One hundred and seventy-seven respondents report being asked by a man, while 209 report being asked by a woman. For the institutionalized types of participation, twice as many people report being asked by a man as being asked by a woman, but here the pattern is reversed.

To see if these differences are significant, I performed regression analyses to evaluate the impact of gender on the likelihood of recruitment into political activity. Being a woman has a negative impact on getting recruited into the formal modes of participation, but not into protesting. For contacting officials and campaigning, being a woman has a slight negative but significant impact, similar to the impact of the likelihood of participating. For protesting, being a woman actually has a positive impact on the likelihood of recruitment.

Table 2
Regression analysis of gender on recruitment for each participation activity

| Variable	Contact Coefficient *(Std. Err.)*	Campaign Activity Coefficient *(Std. Err.)*	Protest Activity Coefficient *(Std. Err.)*
Woman	-0.0387*** *(0.0120)*	-0.0294* *(0.0121)*	0.0063 *(0.0101)*
Education level	0.0253*** *(0.0059)*	0.0395*** *(0.0070)*	0.0093* *(0.0047)*
Employment status	0.0038** *(0.0107)*	0.0087 *(0.0079)*	0.0089 *(0.0076)*
Family income	0.0231*** *(0.0029)*	0.0130*** *(0.0022)*	0.0025 *(0.0020)*
Has children	-0.0009 *(0.0187)*	-0.0089 *(0.0131)*	-0.0237* *(0.0102)*
Marital status	0.0077 *(0.0051)*	0.00004** *(0.0036)*	-0.0075** *(0.0025)*
PTA involvement	-0.0009** *(0.0032)*	-0.0009*** *(0.0003)*	0.0001 *(0.0001)*
Membership in women's org	0.0444 (0.0279)	0.0178*** *(0.0003)*	0.0045 *(0.0160)*
Constant	-0.0905 *(0.0304)*	-0.1125* *(0.0486)*	-0.0052 *(0.0321)*
Number of Cases	2,310	2,309	2,310
R Squared	0.2028	0.2622	0.1364

Note. * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$. Performed using OLS regression.

As the regression analysis shows in Table 2, being a woman has a negative impact on the

likelihood of being recruited into the institutionalized types of participation. The Woman

variable has negative coefficients for both contacting a political official and campaigning

meaning women are less likely to be recruited to contact an official or to campaign.

Being a woman has the opposite effect on recruitment to protesting. The other

explanations for disparities in recruitment make sense. Education increases the chances someone will be recruited to contact an official, campaign, or attend a protest. Being employed helps with contacting and campaigning, but has a slight negative impact on protesting. Having children makes someone less likely to be recruited for all types, but impacts recruitment campaigning the most. Being in a woman's organization increases the chances of recruitment for all types – and impacts campaign recruitment the most dramatically.

Even when controlling for other factors, being a woman has a negative impact on recruitment into the institutionalized types of participation, though being in a women's organization, being educated and employed, and having a higher family income all increase the chances of being recruited. Those who are likely to participate seem to be more likely to be recruited to institutionalized types of participating. Education level, family income, and having children matters less for chances of recruitment into protesting. The barriers to recruitment into the institutionalized types seem to matter less for protesting as a non-institutionalized type. Protesting works differently than contacting and campaigning, so recruitment should look differently as well.
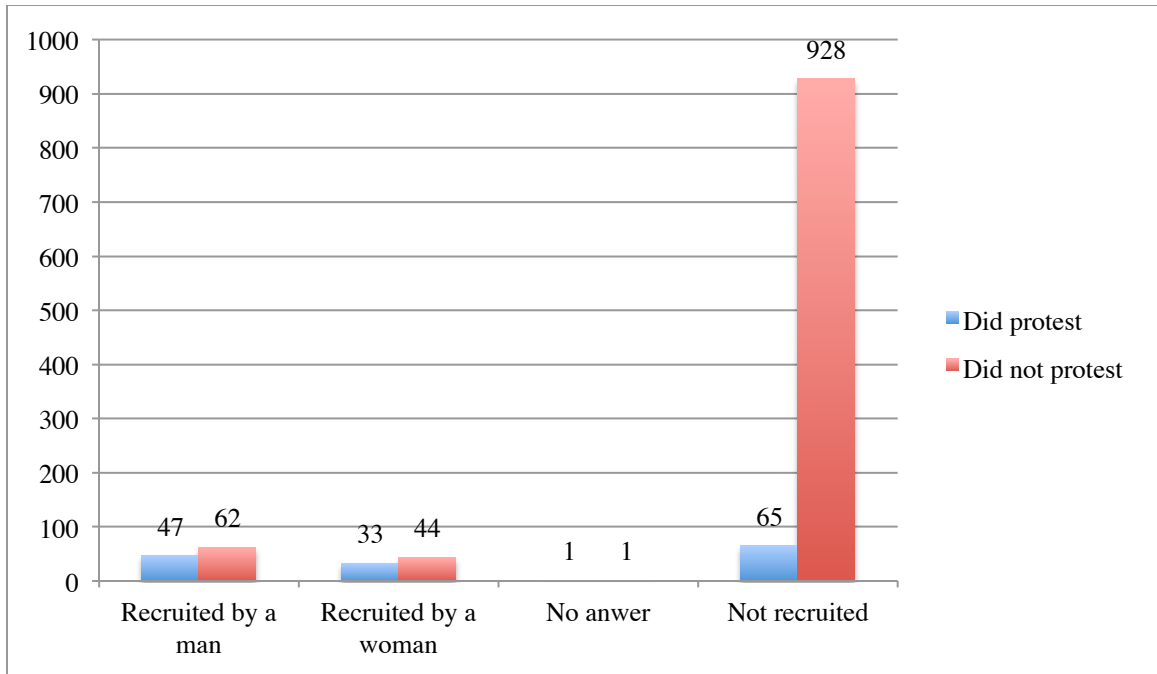
Graph 6. Recruitment into Protesting: Men's Participation

Looking a Graph 6, again men report being asked more often to participate by men (9% of male respondents) than they are by women (7% of male respondents). However, 43% of men asked by men follow through, and 43% of men asked by women participating. In protesting, men report being asked to participate by similar numbers of men and women, and they respond equally to men and women. Women here perform similarly as men do as recruiters.
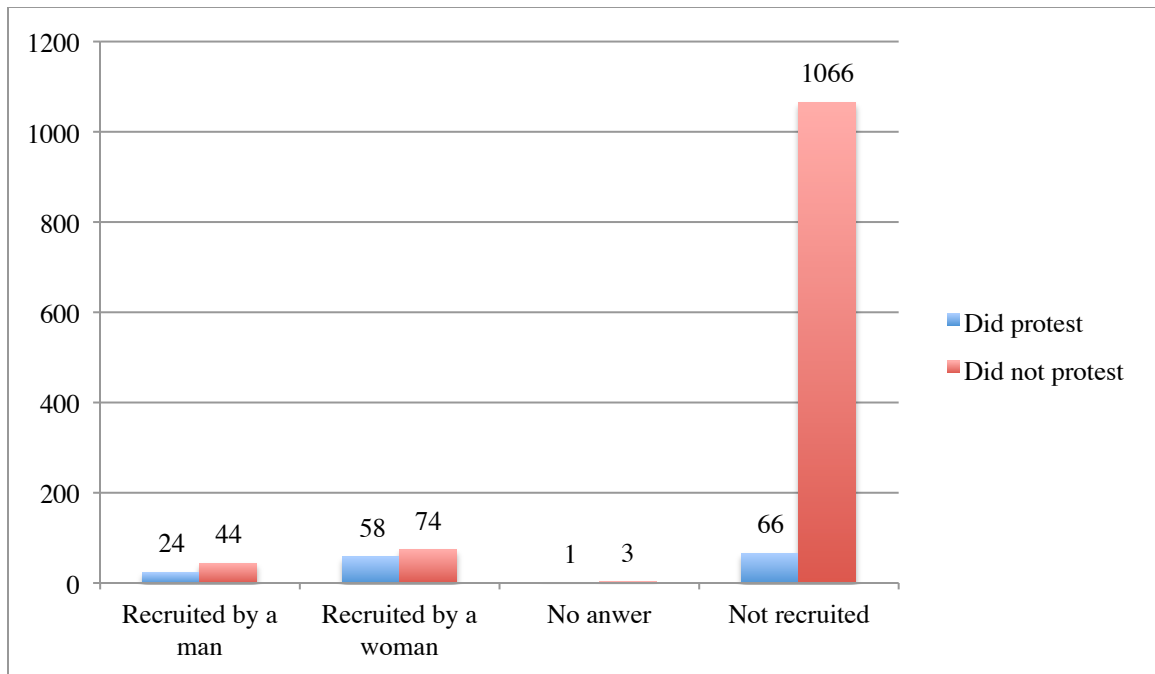
Graph 7 Recruitment into Protesting: Women's Participation

Looking only at those women who did participate in a protest, 39% of those protestors report being asked by a woman, 16% report being asked by a man, and 44% of protestors report not being recruited at all. For protesting, being recruited is not as necessary to being mobilized to protest. There must be a base of women already engaged in protesting. Of those who are successfully recruited, well over twice as many report being asked by a woman as report being asked by a man. In protesting, women are politically successful and ambitious. There remains a slight difference in participation, with 11% of women in the sample protesting, and 12% of men protesting, but this is far less than the difference in campaigning or contacting. 33% of women in the sample report campaigning, and 42% of men report campaigning, a 9-point difference. In contacting there is an 11-point difference, with 46% of men reporting that they had contacted a political official, and 35% of women reporting they had done so.

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In terms of recruiting women to protesting, more women report being asked by a woman than being asked by a man. Five percent of women report being asked by a man, and 10% of women in the sample report being asked by a woman. As explained earlier, of the women who participated, more than twice as many report being asked by women. For protesting, women recruiters are more successful than men at getting women to participate, and are as effective as men in getting men to participate. As there are more women involved in protesting than there are men, women are more likely to be asked, and are likely to be asked by a woman.

Unlike other forms of participation, women and men participate at very similar rates, and women make up more of the recruiters than do men. This may be explained in part by participation's as a non-institutionalized type of participation. Instead of requiring knowledge and insight into the political system like contacting an official or campaigning, protesting exists outside of formal politics. Anyone who wants to organize or participate in a protest may do so. There are fewer costs associated with protesting than with campaigning, as protesting can be a one-time event rather than an on-going commitment. Participation is also going to be issue-driven, which may make it easier to motivate non-typical political actors to engage. Rather than campaigning on behalf of a candidate, protestors may be motivated to participate due to an inequality or injustice, which may change the way costs are evaluated. It makes sense that protesting would be the type of participation to open the door to women participating more, and their increased role seems to have significant results.

Another story that emerges is the role of women's organizations for political participation. Being involved in a women's organization helps women overcome the

barriers to participation, and this membership makes them both more likely to participate and to be recruited. While it makes sense that the type of person who would join a women's organization is more likely to participate, the fact that it improves the chances of being recruited means that the organizations, or an affiliation with them, makes women seem more politically efficacious.

Conclusion

Explanations of women's political participation cannot be reduced simply to reported rates of lower participation. The literature shows that women participate less when they have children, earn a low income, attain less education, or have little free time. Women are supposed to participate at higher rates when they have high-paying jobs with other educated people and time to develop political skills. What can explain the presence of these women in political life? Women in general are said to be less ambitious, efficacious, and prepared, but many women still run and are elected to office. The analysis presented here reveals evidence against such generalizations, as women are able to recruit other women to participate in institutional and non-institutional forms of participation, to run for office, and to engage in political conversations. Women are also effective when it comes to recruiting other women (Brady et al., 1999). Attempting to explain women's lower rates of participation based on socialization and behavioral conditions reaffirms and even encourages the gender disparity in political participation, but examining the factors that lead women to engage will reveal more about women's participation in a way that may help women overcome the structural and institutional barriers to their participation.

While it is important to recognize that socialization and ambition have played a role in women's participation, it is also important to note the ways that women's participation is not fully explained by that literature.

> The systematic variation in women's political response across time and elections further suggests that women are not limited by their social status or socialization to private, subservient, or nonconflictual political roles, but are proactive citizens who can choose when and how to use their voices. (Hansen, 1996, p. 97)

Women have been cast as apolitical, ineffectual political actors; however, women are and have been involved in social movements for a long time. They participate in civic and volunteer life in a multitude of ways and for a variety of reasons. Explanations that rely on socialization or ambition as excuses for women's lower rates of participation not only overlook the history of women's political participation, the varied experiences of women, and the cultures that restrict women's participation but also provide no productive solution or direction for progress.

Women do participate in politics, especially when they are asked to do so. Importantly, I find that the people asking women to participate the most often are other women. Like men, women participate when they are recruited into politics; like men, they are more likely to ask others of their gender to participate; and, like men, women are successful as political recruiters. In my analysis, however, I did find more men than women participated without being asked. There are higher numbers of male respondents who report participating even without being recruited compared to female respondents. This may be due to the fact that once someone is mobilized, they are more likely to continue participating. Once a man has been recruited, he is a part of the network without further recruitment efforts. Additionally, in protesting, a form of participation that historically has not been shut off to women, women actually recruit more people than

men do. According to my analysis, being a woman actually increases the chances one will participate in a protest whereas this is untrue for the institutional types of participation.

Protesting, and the networks of activists that engage in protesting, may have a different political culture than the other forms of participation. As Hill (1981) found with elections, political cultures can either limit or create space for women to run for office depending on the values and history of the group. Protesting lacks, and has always lacked the formal barriers to participation found in institutional politics. Women have had access to protests for a long time, so there are more women who have been mobilized into that form of participation. There may be a base of women existing in those groups and activities who can recruit other women, in the same way that there is likely a larger base of men who participate in campaigns who can mobilize other men.

Social movements have often relegated women to gendered roles and excluded them from leadership positions. However, the structure of social movements allows anyone to theoretically engage, regardless of their income, education, or position in a social network. While past participation is the strongest predictor that someone will participate again, protests are much easier to join without having social or political capital.

Women can successfully recruit others into protesting and into the institutional forms of politics. Even though women and men do not participate at equal rates, women are able to recruit both men and women to engage in these actions. If women are as successful at recruiting as men are, then they must be as politically savvy and motivated.

If they are placed in a setting that undermines their efficacy and ambition, they have more to prove than do their male counterparts.

In the case of campaigning and contacting elected officials, men recruit more people. As there are more men already mobilized in these political realms, it would follow that there are more men able to recruit. If there is a larger base of men engaged in political activities, and men and women typically recruit others of their gender, then there are more men getting asked to participate. We know that women are successful recruiters, and when there is a commensurate base of women recruiters, as in protesting, the disparity between men and women disappears. If women could recruit at the same rates as men into campaigning and contacting officials, then the disparity in these areas may lessen as well. As opposed to being simply less politically ambitious, women appear to be historically less entrenched in these types of participation, and therefore they are less able to bring in others.

In order to see a shift in institutional forms of representation, more attention should be paid to the political culture that forms the current spaces. If patriarchal norms and values are still present, or if men in these spaces assume that women are less efficacious or ambitious, then it would be harder for any woman to be effective. Women can and have been participating in politics, but many measures of political engagement have not been able to capture their involvement. In receptive political cultures, women can and will run and be elected for office (Hill, 1981).

Women's lower rates of participation are due in part to the lack of women in politics to recruit others in. Having more women in political office would likely improve women's participation, and likewise having more women engaged in politics would

likely make it easier and more probable that more women would become involved. Future research could include looking at the impact of having women candidates on participation in campaigns. Encouraging more women to participate means that more women are engaging in politics, whether it be as political leaders, campaigners, or recruiters.

Another avenue for future research could investigate what about protesting makes it more accessible to women. If the characteristics or factors of protest spaces that allow people to protest more could be elucidated, such principles could be applied to mobilize disenfranchised groups into institutionalized types of participation. As non-institutionalized types of participation are more accessible for groups with marginalized political voices, studying how they function may help not only for women, but also for people who are low-income, people of color, or both.

Women, as a group, are highly diverse, and lumping all women into one category overlooks critical differences among the many demographics of women. Intersectionality posits that women have more to their identity than their status as women – race, income, age, and level of education, for example, all change the way women experience the world. Being a woman means different things depending on women's other identities, and their participation in politics is also impacted by these other identities and forces. Therefore, controlling for race, income, and age cannot fully account for why some women do or do not participate, as these are not simply "subsets" of all women—the interaction of these forces must be examined to paint an accurate, nuanced picture that does justice to the varied experiences of women. An intersectional analysis would shed

light on how women of color are impacted by existing political and structural norms that prevent women from participating.

In *The Public Roots of Private Action*, Burns, Schlozman, and Verba investigate the ways in which women participate in ways not traditionally seen as political – being active in civic, volunteer, and church-based activities. However, their expansion of what it means to be an active citizen only includes the way white women participate. In order to have a better definition of active citizenship, the definition should be further expanded to include the ways women of color participate. Black women, for example, are more likely to participate in ways that white women would not.

For example, Collins (1990) notes that for Black women, their "experiences as mothers, community othermothers, educators, church leaders, labor union center-women, and community leaders seem to suggest that power as energy can be fostered by creative acts of resistance" (p. 221). These creative acts of resistance foster an intentional type of community, empowering marginalized networks and allowing for the reconceptualization of power. While this type of community building is not recognized as political by traditional measures, these acts can be read as political and civic engagement. In an expanded understanding of what it means to be an active citizen, empowering one's neighbors and community members can be one of the most important forms of civic engagement.

In order to accurately capture these types of resistance, we need to be able to measure how women are engaged in their communities. By looking more closely at the ways women, and not just non-white women, participate, new measures can be created or used for using an expanded definition of active citizenship that include, for example, the

community building women of color often do. These types of resistance are, by their nature, not universal, but specific to the communities and people performing them.

My findings would also benefit from being re-created using an updated data set. Many of the findings on women's political participation come from the Verba et al. dataset. Since the data collection occurred for this dataset, there have been many mass mobilizations of young people in the United States, and those movements and how they are propagated via new (i.e., digital) means may shed new light on how women, in particular women of color, participate in politics. The Black Lives Matter movement, for example, is lead by two young women of color, which upsets many of the stereotypes about who should be involved and active in politics. Collecting these data again, especially with a more expansive idea of what counts as participation, would reveal more about how politics works for marginalized groups, and explain how participation has changed with advances in technology and online recruitment efforts.

As a whole, women participate less in politics than do men. These lower rates of participation can be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that there are not women already in politics to recruit women in. Structurally, women's ling-time exclusion from the political realm means that they have not built up as many people within the system to ask others to join. When women are allowed to participate at equal rates as men, as seen in protesting, they participate as much as men do. Women tend to ask women to participate, and men tend to ask men to participate. So when women are involved, they are the predominant recruiters of other women into that realm. These measures of politics and participation, however, are more aligned with the behavior of white at the expense of understanding the experiences of non-white women. Women of color participate in their

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communities in distinct ways, which are largely un-captured by existing measures. In order to get a clearer picture of why women participate, we need to continue to challenge the conceptualization of participation.

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