

Is the GOP'S Gentlemen Only Party Ready for Women?

A View from the New York State Legislature

By: Molly Warrington

Thesis Advisor: Laurel Elder

Spring 2016 POSC 490

Introduction

Over time, more and more women have extended their roles within society outside of the home and into the public sphere. We no longer live in a world where there are two separate spheres, the home for women and the workplace for men. In today's society gender roles are evolving to be more flexible and a shared responsibility between men and women. Today more women hold a higher number of college degrees than men do along with almost half of all law degrees compared to 1980 where they only made up around 30 percent, which was not that long ago (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013: 5). In 2009 women became the majority of the working force in the United States for the first time ever (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013: 6). Much has changed in terms of women's role in society in a short period of time, yet one field where women remain drastically underrepresented is in elected public office.

Women have incrementally been increasing their numbers within state legislatures over time. This increase in numbers is illustrated in Appendix A. While their numbers are increasing, women are far from being up to par with men in state legislatures in terms of representation. In 2015 women made up just 24.2% of legislatures in the country, a decline in percentage from 2014 where they made up 24.3% of legislatures (Center For Women and American Politics, 2015). While the decrease from 2014 to 2015 was not substantial, it was still a loss for women in legislatures where they are already scarcely underrepresented. Studies have shown that when women run for seats in their state legislatures they are just as likely to win the election as their male counterparts (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013: 8). What has been found is that the reason that women's numbers in state legislatures has remained stagnant is because Republican women are not running enough for office.

Determining the reasons Republican women run less for political office is very important. The Republican Party is not experiencing the same results in terms of women's representation as the Democratic Party is. The few women who make up the Republican Party tend to be very conservative. It appears that the Republican Party has put many barriers in place for Republican women who are more moderate to run for office and win their election. These barriers in place include the Party's tough stance on women's reproductive rights as well as their views on traditional family values and roles. Additionally the Party does not appear to be making any efforts to seek out women to run for office when there is an open seat. In many aspects the Republican Party appears to be pushing away women from running for and serving as an elected official within the Republican Party.

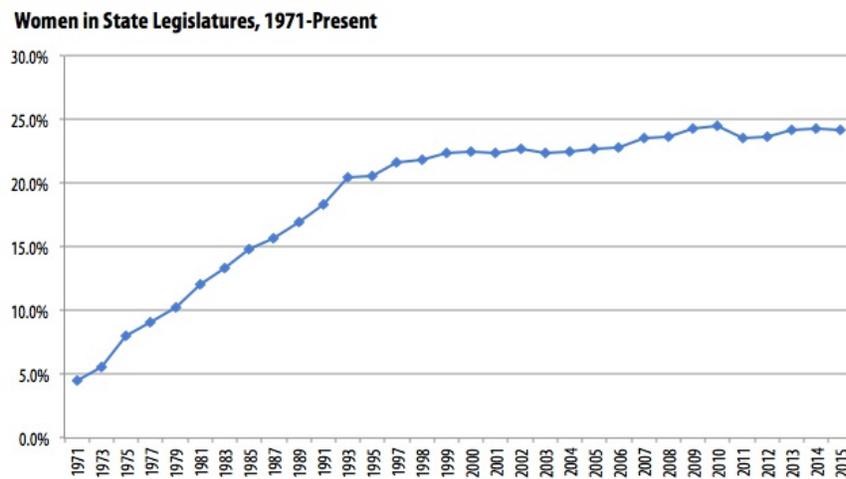
This thesis seeks to better understand Republican women's representation through a case study of the New York State Legislature. Women make up 24.4 percent of the New York State Legislature. There are only ten Republican Women combined in both the Assembly and the Senate that contribute to that 24.4 percent. Republican women are drastically underrepresented in New York State. I conducted interviews with Republican women in the New York State Legislature to get their views and insight in terms of their underrepresentation within New York State. Through these interviews I found that the shift of the Republican Party to the far right of the political spectrum appears to have discouraged the presence of moderate candidates within the Party as well as put in place many barriers that impeded upon moderates efforts to run for office and win their elections. Women in the Republican Party have been the group to suffer the most by these barriers because they tend to be more moderate than their male counterparts.

Literature Review

Republican Women are the Problem

The recent lack of overall growth of women within state legislatures that is hindering their shot of parity with their male counterparts seems to be due to the lack of Republican women within state legislatures. Since the late 1990's the number of Democratic women serving in state legislatures has been steadily climbing while the number of Republican women legislators has decreased significantly throughout much of the twenty-first century (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013; Elder 2014).

Figure 1: Women in State Legislatures, 1971-Present

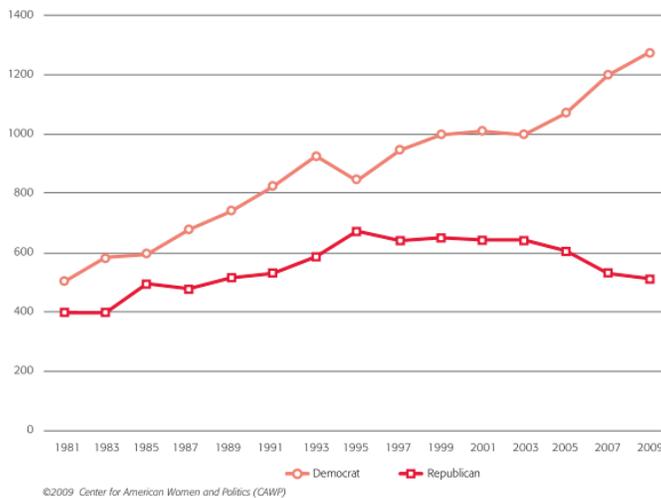


(Center for American Women and Politics 2015).

Figure 1 above illustrates the stagnant growth of women in state legislatures, which is as Carroll, Sanbonmatsu and Elder suggest due to the lack of Republican women in state legislatures. It was not always the case that Republican women lagged behind Democratic women in terms of holding public office. Jeannette Rankin who was the first ever woman elected to Congress was a Republican. In fact for a good part of the twentieth century

Republican women made up a larger part of their parties state legislatures than Democratic women did (Cox 1996: 27). Today this is not the case, “Republican women appear to be the primary source of the stagnation and decline apparent in the trend line for women state legislatures overall.” (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 65).

Figure 2
The numbers of Democratic women legislators have continued to increase while the numbers of Republican women legislators have declined (1981-2009).

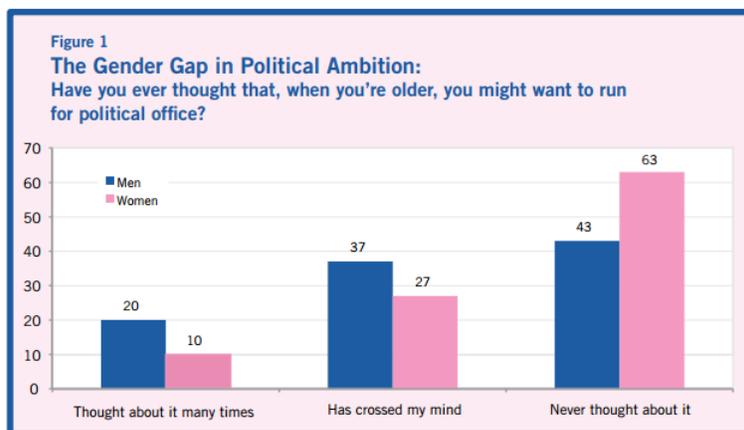


(Center for American Women and Politics 2015)

Figure 2 above illustrates the lack of growth in terms of women in the Republican Party in state legislatures. The chart shows the progression of Democratic and Republican women in legislatures from 1981 all the way to 2009 (for data from 1988-2015 see Appendix C). In 1995 Republican women hit their maximum point in terms of representation and have been declining in numbers ever since. It seems that there is some sort of “women issue” that has plagued the Republican Party in terms of the lack of them in state legislatures, and there are no signs of this issue improving any time soon.

Gender Socialization and the Decision to Run for Office

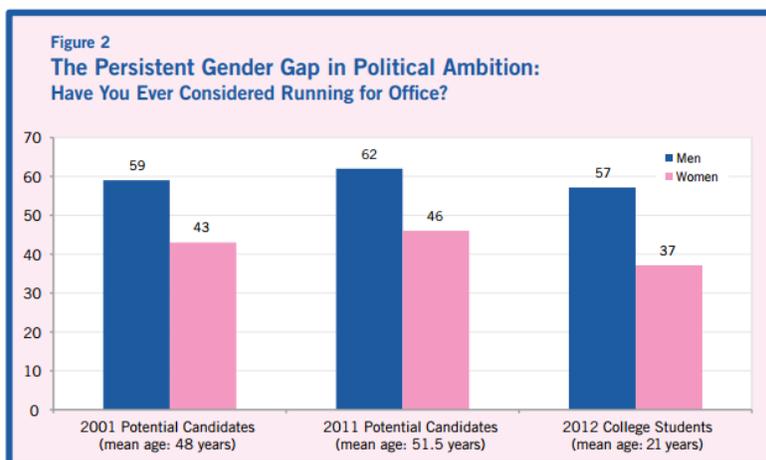
One idea as to why women are so underrepresented in elected government could be because young women and men do not share the same political ambition. Men tend to be more politically ambitious from a younger age, and some researchers attribute the high level of political ambition amongst men and low levels amongst women to be the reason there is a gender gap in elected governments across the United States. Lawless and Fox conducted a study of over 2,100 college aged students examining the gender gap in political ambition amongst males and females. When they asked the students if they would ever consider running for political office in the future, men were more likely than women to say they had thought about it. The figure below outlines the gender gap in political ambition amongst the men and women who were surveyed.



(Lawless & Fox 2013: 2)

In all three categories the men surveyed were more likely to have at least considered running for office, or had thought about it many times. Women were more likely than men to have never thought about running for political office at all. Lawless and Fox acknowledge that college students in general may not be the best pool of people to survey about running for political office, as many of them probably have other careers in mind for the long run. They then compared the results from the college students to results that they obtained from surveys conducted amongst what Lawless and Fox considered to be “potential candidates” which consisted of people who

were on track to pursue a political career. These people surveyed included lawyers, business leaders, educators and political activists (Lawless & Fox 2013: 3).

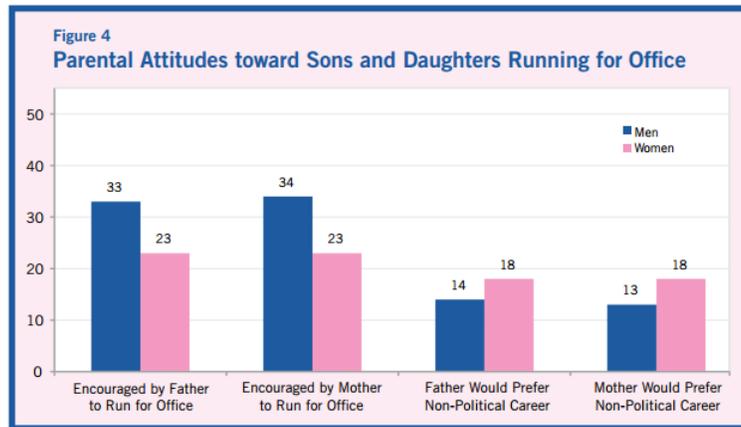


(Lawless & Fox 2013: 3)

The figure above shows that the gender gap was still relevant when Lawless and Fox asked the same question to adults who were in a place in their careers and life where they would be more likely than college students to make a run for political office. Men were still more likely than women to say they had considered running for political office solidifying that gender gaps in terms of running for political office are well in place prior to when both men and women enter their profession which is when they are most likely to seek political office (Lawless & Fox 2013: 3).

In their study amongst college aged students, Lawless and Fox found that, young men are more likely to be socialized by their parents to think about politics as a potential career path. The study found that 40 percent of the male respondents reported that they received encouragement from their parents to run for political office someday while only 29 percent of women reported the same. Fifty percent of the students who reported that their parents encouraged them to run for office said that they would like to run one day in the future, while

only three percent who did not receive similar encouragement from parents expressed interest in running for political office one day in the future (Lawless & Fox 2013: 7).



(Lawless & Fox 2013: 7)

The figure above shows that men were more likely to be encouraged by both their mother and father to run for office than women were. Both mothers and fathers were also more likely to prefer their daughter to have a non-political career than they were to prefer that for their son. Lawless and Fox point out that encouragement to run for political office from parents plays a large role in their children's decisions to possibly run for political office in the future. In cases where women did report support from their parents, they were more likely to consider running which Lawless and Fox point out creates more of an opportunity for women to become equal with men in terms of running for office. Yet the young men still reported higher levels of encouragement than the young women did (Lawless & Fox 2013: 7-8).

It is not just parents who seem to neglect encouraging young women to run for office in the future. It appears that young women are less likely to receive encouragement to run for office from anyone compared to their male counterparts. Lawless and Fox found that young women were less likely to be encouraged by their parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, siblings, coaches, religious leaders and friends to run for student government than young men were. The only category where women beat men by one percentage point was amongst teachers.

It was also found all of these influences above were more likely to encourage men to run for office later in life than they were to encourage women (Lawless & Fox 2013: 12). The table below shows these results found by Lawless and Fox.

Table 3
A Politicized Home Environment, by Sex

	Men	Women
Presence of Politics in the Household When Growing Up		
The news is often on.	48%	49%
We often talk about politics at meal times.	24 *	19
My parents often talk about politics with friends and family.	21	22
My parents sometimes yell at the TV because they are mad about politics.	14	17
Political Activity with Parents		
Followed the 2012 election with parents.	48 *	54
Watched election coverage with parents.	36	38
Discussed same-sex marriage with parents.	27 *	42
Discussed the environment and global warming with parents.	29	30
Discussed wars in Iraq and Afghanistan with parents.	35	35
Shared a story on email, Facebook, or a social networking site with parents.	18 *	24
Sample Size	1,020	1,097

Notes: Entries indicate percentage of respondents who answered each question affirmatively or engaged in each political activity. * indicates that the gender gap is statistically significant at $p < .05$.

(Lawless & Fox 2013: 6).

Carroll and Sanbonmatsu point out that women's decision to run for office is influenced by relationships with other people meaning that it is a "relationally embedded decision" (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 45). Gender differences in social roles can be attributed to the gender gap in politics. For example the household division of labor is one social factor that contributes to this gender gap. Women still bear disproportionate responsibility for child care and household maintenance than men do in the household so it makes sense that women will want to take into consideration how their family members may feel about them running for office (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 45).

Carroll and Sanbonmatsu interviewed women legislators and found a repeating pattern of the role that family played in the timing of their candidacy. Many of the women talked about how hard it would have been for them to leave their children at a young age, one woman said, "I decided to do this when my kids were about three and six, but I put it off until they graduated

high school”. Another woman talked about how she sees the woman as the “primary parent” for the children saying, “It is the mom who actually has primary responsibility for all those things involving children, husbands and houses” (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 47).

Carroll and Sanbonmatsu also argue that the decision to run for office occurs not only in a social context, but in a political context as well. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu believe that the long time exclusions of women from the political process have left long lasting consequences on their political involvement today (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 47). Politics remains a highly masculinized field and women remain as outcasts in many situations and are at times viewed as intruders (Duerst-Lahti 2005; Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 47; Lawless & Fox 2005: 84).

Carroll and Sanbonmatsu found that women are more likely than men to need encouragement to run for office. Looking at state legislatures, which typically are the first form of public office individuals hold, Carroll and Sanbonmatsu found that 55.9 percent of women who were surveyed had never thought about running for office until someone else suggested it to them. These women are known as “pure recruits”, individuals who said they had never considered running until someone suggested that they do it. While over half of the women who were surveyed fell into the category of pure recruits, only 29.7 percent of the men surveyed said they had never considered running until another person suggested it to them. Additionally women were less likely to be “self-starters” in their own campaigns (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 49). Women are socialized to think they are not qualified to run for office or that it is never something they would see themselves doing in the future. Because of this women not likely to go out and decide to start up their own political campaign, instead they need to be encouraged by others to do so.

Carroll and Sanbonmatsu spoke to women legislators about their decisions to run, which highlighted the relationally embedded nature of how women decide to run for office. One woman talked about how she decided to run when multiple people who she respected encouraged her to run numerous times. She talked about how women generally have to be talked into running, also noting how she has spent a lot of her own time talking other women into running for office as well (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 52-53).

Party leaders were also found to play a crucial role in women's decision to run for office. Some of the women who were interviewed pointed to the important role party leaders played in their decision to run. These women talked about how they never thought of themselves as qualified candidates until the party invested in them and showed interest in them as a potential candidate. It was found that an embedded candidacy model in which relationships with others play a vital role in an individual's decision to run is more prominent amongst women than it is amongst men (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 54). Lawless and Fox also found this to be true acknowledging how key party members and officials act as electoral "gatekeepers" and groom eligible candidates to run for office (Lawless & Fox 2005: 83-84). They also found that men tend to be the preferred candidates of the so called electoral gatekeepers, which further highlights the masculinity of politics and how it is rare that women are encouraged to run when they are the individuals who most need the encouragement not their male counterparts (Lawless & Fox 2005: 89).

It is not just parties that play an important role in encouraging women to run for political office. Various other organizations other than political parties play an important role in getting more women to run as well. Women's organizations in specific play a large role, in 2008 21.4 percent of women legislators who were interviewed said a women's organization had actively

encouraged them to run for office. These relationships with outside organizations also proved to have a larger impact on getting women to run than they did with men (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 56). Carroll and Sanbonmatsu found that the first most influential source in a women's decision to run for office was a party official or a leader within the party and the second most influential source was an elected or appointed office holder. Following the political sources was a friend, family member or coworker, and lastly organizations were the fourth most influential sources in a woman's decision to run for office. While organizations were the fourth source of influence, many of the women interviewed paid them credit for influencing them (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 57).

The Democratic Party has made worthy attempts towards trying to actively recruit Democratic women to run when there is an open seat to be filled. EMILY's List was established to recruit pro-choice Democratic women to run for publically elected office. The organization trains these women in how to become better leaders as well as helps them to start and win their campaigns. Due to organizations like EMILY's List, more Democratic women run for seats in state legislatures and win. Republican women on the contrary are not increasing in numbers at the same rate that Democratic women are. While Democratic women are steadily increasing, Republican women seem to have almost flat lined. This could be because the Republican Party does not have an organization like EMILY's list to actively seek out women candidates to run for empty seats (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 97).

Solidifying the importance of encouraging women to run for office is the results Lawless and Fox found when they asked women if they perceived themselves as qualified to run for office. They found that women are more than twice as likely as men are to say that they are not qualified at all to run for office. These women were also 63 percent more likely than men to

view their chances of winning a political contest as being very unlikely (Lawless & Fox 2005: 98). Because women are less likely to think they have the proper qualifications to run for office they are therefore less likely to consider running for office. Because of their perceptions of what a viable candidate looks like, women need the extra encouragement and suggestion to run for office.

Is the Republican Party Unwelcoming to Women?

As of 2014 women represent a larger share of Democrats over Republicans in state legislatures in almost all regions within the country with the exception of four regions. In nine states Republican women's numbers in legislatures have declined and in three additional states they have made no progress over the past three decades (Elder 2014). The majority of women today are now a part of the workforce and have the proper resources at hand to take advantage of the pipeline of social networking to further their political careers, yet it has been found that the advantages of being in the workforce are only being utilized by Democratic women, Republican women are showing no positive outcome. Democratic women are taking advantage of the networking opportunities, which leads them to run for state legislatures, but Republican women are not echoing this effect (Elder 2012). Some attribute this decline and flat line of Republican women legislators to the Party not being welcoming to women.

The Republican Party's attitude towards women's issues is seen as one of the unwelcoming characteristics of the Party. Christina Wolbrecht argues that the Party has been "distancing itself from feminists and siding with those who prefer more traditional women's roles" (Wolbrecht 2000: 3). Jo Freeman has characterized the Democratic and Republican parties' response to the modern aged women's movement as a elite party realignment (Freeman

1987; Freeman 1999). In the 1970's the Democratic Party seemed to replace the Republican Party as being the most supportive party of women's rights (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 83). 1980 was the year when the Republican Party distanced itself from the Equal Rights Amendment and began to no longer support it. Instead the Party began to place an emphasis on the importance of the role of mothers and how they positively contribute to the health of the nation along with homemakers (Sanbonmatsu 2004).

The emphasis the Republican Party began to place on traditional family values in 1980 and that they continue to emphasize today is viewed as another one of the unappealing factors that could be deterring Republican women from seeking office. The party does not outright criticize working mothers but they do not go out of their way to hide their feelings regarding the role of the woman in terms of traditional family values. The platform Republicans ran on in 1992 heavily attacked Democrats, accusing them of "forcing millions of women into the workplace" while stating that "the well-being of children is best accomplished in the environment of the home" hinting at that working mothers who send their children to daycare were neglecting their child. The Party also opposes policies that make it easier for women to be in the workforce such as the Family and Medical Leave Act and publically funded childcare (Elder & Greene 2012: Ch. 3). These policies would have the most effect on women, and the Republican Party is impeding on women's abilities to take advantage of them.

Women's views on abortion are also seen as a factor that may deter women from running within the Republican Party. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu discuss the reality of Republican Party gatekeepers holding a potential candidates stance on abortion at a very high importance (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 84). Women typically tend to place more importance on abortion than men do, and when the men are the typical gatekeepers to the party this can cause an issue for

Republican women who may have a different stance on abortion than the male gatekeepers of the party.

Carroll and Sanbonmatsu both agree that the Republican Party's views on gender roles have validity. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu conducted interviews with both Republican and Democratic women serving in state legislatures on their views of the Republican Party and traditional family values. One Republican woman agreed that Republican women are more traditional, "I think they are more oriented to the family [in] the old traditional...[way] of our families come first..." (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 71). A Democratic woman who was interviewed shared some of the same thoughts, saying Republican women's goals tend to be staying home and taking care of the family, and then eventually the grandchildren of the family (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013). While pointing out the validity of the argument that the traditional family gender roles held by the Republican Party can hinder women's path toward political involvement in state legislatures, Carroll and Sanbonmatsu counter this argument by pointing out the vast numbers of Republican women who do not hold these values as strictly as others. These women leave the Republican Party with a large pool of eligible women who could run within the Party, but they may be deterred because of the strict beliefs so many elected members of the party hold.

Moderates have no Place in the Republican Party

The drastic ideological shift of the Republican Party is viewed as another factor discouraging Republican Women from running for state legislatures. Republican women legislators tend to take a more moderate to liberal stance on many issues and tend to vote more moderately than their male counterparts (Johnson and Carroll 1978, Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013). Taking a moderate stance as a Republican legislator is a dangerous undertaking. While

reacting to fellow colleague and Senator Arlen Specter's decision to leave the Republican Party and join the Democratic Party, Republican Senator Olympia Snowe proclaimed, "It is true that being a Republican moderate sometimes feels like being a cast member of "Survivor"- you are presented with multiple challenges, and you often get the distinct feeling you're no longer welcome in the tribe" (Snowe 2009: A23).

While there used to be a greater presence of moderate women within the Republican Party their numbers appear to be dwindling. One legislator who was interviewed by Carroll and Sanbonmatsu classified moderate Republican women as "vanishing species" who are typically shunned by other members within the party. Another women talked about how communicating with the other side, or the Democrats makes you too much of a moderate and thus causes you thus to become in her own words "eaten by your own" (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 78). Party support plays an important role in being elected to office, and moderate Republicans have a much more challenging time gaining this support.

Carroll and Sanbonmatsu found that Republican legislators were more likely in 2008 than in 1981 to describe themselves as either conservative or very conservative, but in both cases there was an apparent gender gap in responses amongst Republican legislators. In 2008 the Republican women were twice as likely to describe themselves as middle-of-the-road, liberal and very liberal than their male counterparts. The exact percentages broke down to 41.8 percent of female Republican representatives to 20.2 percent of their male counterparts and 43.9 Republican female senators compared to only 24.1 percent of their male counterparts (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013 79).

Because of the ideological shift Republican primaries have become more conservative, thus making it harder for moderate Republicans to be successful. Republican leaders or "gate

keepers” whose main goal is to win elections for the Party may be reluctant to endorse or support a moderate Republican candidate who is seen as not having the ability to fare well in an election. Moderates are more than often regarded as not electable because they are too moderate in an increasingly polarized Party (King and Matland 2003 & Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013). Because women tend to be more moderate compared to their male counterparts within the Party, they are the ones who are primarily affected by this extreme shift within the Party.

Hypotheses

Listed below are the four initial hypotheses that I formed. I tested the validity of these hypotheses by conducting interviews with Republican women in both the New York State Assembly and the New York State Senate.

1. Women don't seek political office because when they were young they were not involved in leadership positions and or their teachers and parents never talked to them about it.
2. Women who may agree with most Republican ideals, may still be deterred from running in the Republican Party because of the stance the party has on women's health issues.
3. Women may be less likely to run for office in the Republican Party because some of the strong family values the party holds won't allow them to.
4. The Republican Party doesn't actively seek out women candidates when there is an open seat that needs to be filled.

Methods

To test these hypotheses I conducted interviews with women representatives within the New York State Legislature. Therefore, my research consists of a single case study of New York State. I chose to focus my research on New York State for a few reasons. What sparked my interest of Republican women's representation within New York State was a semester long internship I completed last spring in the New York State Assembly. While I worked for a male

Democrat during my internship, I noticed that there were few women in the Assembly, and even fewer Republican women. I still had connections to the Assembly, so I decided that I wanted to conduct interviews with Republican women in the Legislature to get their take on this issue.

Also, I live in Albany, which is the Capital of the State and I go to Hartwick College, which is just an hour and a half away from the Capital so I had somewhat easy access to the Legislators.

Another reason I was drawn to examine Republican women's representation in New York State was because of the political climate of the State. As a whole New York State tends to be very liberal and one would assume that there would be an abundance of women legislators within the State, but that is not the case. Women only make up 24.4% of the representatives within the Legislature (National Conference of State Legislatures). Colorado is the State with the highest female representation within their legislature with women making up 42% of the Legislature (National Conference of State Legislatures). While New York is not the lowest in terms of women's representation, it is certainly not the highest. Appendix B shows the rankings of each state in terms of women's representation within their legislature, New York is ranked number twenty-eight out of all fifty states.

Nationwide Republican women only make up 39.2% of women within state legislatures while Democratic women make up the remaining 60%; this is shown in a chart in Appendix B. There are also a low number of Republican women that make up the 24.4% of women within the New York State Legislature, which is why I was drawn to focus on Republican women in New York State. The Assembly in New York is composed of 39 women and only five of them are Republicans (New York State Assembly). The Senate has a total of nine women in the Senate again only five of the women are Republican. The Democrats hold control of the Assembly so it makes some sense that there are fewer women within the Republican Party in the Assembly, but

the Senate majority is the Republicans. There are a total of 63 seats in the Senate and Republicans make up 34 of those seats. Even with holding the majority there is a lack in the number of Republican women in the Senate.

I ended up interviewing six Republican women from the Legislature. Four of the women were from the Assembly and the other two women were from the Senate. Of the remaining four women whom I did not get to interview, two of them presented reasons as to why I could not possibly interview them. One of them has recently been found to have sexually harassed one of her male employees; therefore she is not running for reelection and is keeping a low profile. The other woman was out of town for the majority of the time I was completing my interviews due to personal reasons. The other two remaining women could not be reached due to scheduling complications. These complications regarding scheduling were to be expected as these women have very busy schedules, and also because I was traveling back and forth from Oneonta to Albany to conduct the interviews.

Conducting interviews always runs the risk of the subject not giving completely honest answers, or in this case just spewing the party line, which I was prepared for. While this is the case I feel that all of the women I interviewed were genuinely happy to contribute to my research efforts and were pleased that attention was being brought to this issue. After conducting all six interviews I came away with a great deal of inside information that these women so willingly shared with me. Additionally, taking notes during the interview was challenging, I tried to make sure all of what the women said was recorded in my notes while still being attentive to them while they were speaking. The interviews I conducted ranged all the way from being 15 minutes in length to almost 45 minutes long. While I had a set of initial interview questions, which can be found in Appendix D, the interviews were authentic in that I asked follow up questions based

on the responses that I got. The interviews took place during the months of March and April and were all held in the offices of the legislators.

Even though there were some challenges that presented themselves, I believe my method of conducting interviews was the best choice for my project. Getting one on one interaction with women legislatures allowed me to gain their perspective on this important issue. Being able to speak with these women allowed me to gather the most insight since these women were the basis of my initial research questions. The women really seemed to open up to me, and I have confidence in the answers they gave me mirror their true feelings about Republican women's representation in New York State.

Results

After conducting interviews with the Republican women within the Legislature, I found many of my initial hypotheses proved to be true, but also that some were not as widely supported as I predicted they would be. A lot of my hypotheses stemmed from the research I did nicely and further support the arguments made by other scholars. The table below outlines each hypothesis I initially formed along with the level of support for the hypothesis expressed by each legislator. I categorized the levels of support for each hypothesis based on the answers each Legislator gave me to my interview questions. The levels of support range from no support, mixed support and total support. I decided to include the mixed support category because many of the women gave me very in depth answers that could not be simply coded by showing total or no support for each hypothesis.

Table 1: Hypothesis Results

Hypothesis	No Support	Mixed Support	Total Support
Women don't seek political office because when they were young they were not involved in leadership positions and or their teachers and parents never talked to them about it	4/6 66.6%	1/6 16.7%	1/6 16.7%
Women who may agree with most Republican ideals, may still be deterred from running in the Republican Party because of the stance the party has on women's health issues	4/6 66.6%	1/6 16.7%	1/6 16.7%
Women may be less likely to run for office in the Republican Party because some of the strong family values the party holds wont allow them to	5/6 83.3%	0/6 0%	1/6 16.7%
The Republican Party doesn't actively seek out women candidates when there is an open seat that needs to be filled	0/6 0%	0/6 0%	6/6 100%

The first hypothesis I tested was that, women don't seek political office because when they were young they were not involved in leadership positions and or their teachers and parents never talked to them about it. Four out of six or 66.6% of the women who I interviewed did not show any form of support for this hypothesis. These four women who did not show support for the hypothesis told me about how they were involved in some form of school politics or class council throughout high school and college. These results compared to the results of Lawless and Fox are very different. Lawless and Fox found that women are less likely to be exposed to politics growing up. Lawless and Fox also pointed out in their research that women are less likely to be involved in student government and class council, which can form a pathway to political office one day (Lawless & Fox 2013: 12).

One legislator told me that her involvement in student government throughout high school drove her to become more active in politics while in college. She talked about how in college she volunteered on numerous local and statewide campaigns and really began being active in the political sphere during those years. On the other hand, the one woman who showed

mixed support for the hypothesis talked about how she was involved in clubs and activities such as student government when she was younger but when I asked her if that involvement then made her want to pursue a political career she said it did not. This representative talked about how she never really thought about running for office until someone suggested it to her. The same goes for the one woman who showed total support for this hypothesis. She talked about how as a child she was never really involved. It wasn't until she was an adult that she began to be more involved her community and that was when someone suggested she run for office.

My second hypothesis that women, who may agree with most Republican ideals, may still be deterred from running in the Republican Party because of the stance the party has on women's health issues, generated mixed levels of support amongst the women. One woman showed mixed support for the hypothesis because she agreed that she could see some of the stances the party takes on some women's issues being deterring to other women, but she noted how it did not specifically affect her. She has voted in favor in women's rights related legislation but she has not faced a lot of backlash from her colleagues. This woman is a member of the Senate and she told me she comes from a more moderate leaning district, which has allowed her to more easily support this type of legislation without experiencing much backlash from her constituents either.

Another woman showed total support for this hypothesis. She was one of the only Republicans in the Assembly to vote in favor of expanding and ensuring New York women's right to make their own decisions related to abortion. This particular woman talked to me about the backlash she received from her colleagues on the Republican side. Many of them would not speak to her or even acknowledge her on a day-to-day basis. She also made a lot of her constituents upset by her decision. In her district office security measures had to be put in place

because she received numerous death threats as well as other forms of harassment. This particular woman told me she has the best voting record in terms of conservative votes in regards to fiscal matters, but on social issues she tends to be more moderate.

Both women discussed how it is hard to hold their own beliefs related to abortion issues when their own party works so hard to make it impossible for women to make their own choice on the matter. While the one Senator who showed mixed results for the hypothesis emphasized to me that she had not been shunned by the party due to her stance on some women's issues, she made it clear that she is aware this is a reason some women are deterred from either joining the Republican Party, or running for office on the party's ticket. One point both of these women emphasized was that the Republican Party likes to say their core values includes minimal governmental intervention in people's lives, yet the party works so diligently to ensure that women are not able to make these choices about their own bodies. Both women agreed that they could see how a potential woman candidate might be turned off from running for office if she knew that she would face such scrutiny from members of her own party.

Johnson, Carroll and Sanbonmatsu all point to how Republican women tend to take more moderate stances on issues than male Republicans do (Johnson & Carroll 1978, Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013). Carroll and Sanbonmatsu also discussed how moderate Republican women are seen as "vanishing species" and what is left of the moderate Republican women tend to get "eaten" by their own party members (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 78). This correlates with the response the Assemblywoman gave me in regards to her own colleagues not speaking to her because of her votes related to abortion. She spoke about the backlash she faced and how hard it is to be moderate within the Republican Party.

The remaining four women who I interviewed did not show any support for this hypothesis. All of these women talked to me about their anti-abortion stances. One of them actually brought up the Assemblywoman who voted in favor of expanding and ensuring abortion rights for women. She told me that this legislator (her colleague) was not a true Republican, and spends too much time with the Democrats that she mine as well switch parties. These four women who do not support abortion are an example of how there are less and less moderate women in the Republican Party. Their answers to my questions stem nicely from the literature that discusses how there is no room for moderate women in the Republican Party.

My third hypothesis that women may be less likely to run for office in the Republican Party because some of the strong family values the party holds won't allow them to only received total support from one woman. Five out of the six women I interviewed did not see this as an issue for the Republican Party; instead they saw it as an issue for all women in general. These five women all talked about how hard it is to have children and a career at the same time, especially when the children are younger. When I asked the women I interviewed if they felt like they were pressured to wait to run for office if they had children until their kids were grown up because of the family values the Republican Party tends to hold, many did not think this was the case. While the women who have had children did say that they waited until their kids were older to run for a seat in the Legislature, again they did not believe that it was a party issue, rather it is an issue and decision all women have to make no matter what party they are a member of.

The New York State Legislature is in session for six months out of the year, meaning that the majority of the members have to commute from areas all across the State to Albany on a weekly basis to do their jobs. All of the women I talked with agreed that having a young child

and working in the Legislature would not be an ideal situation. Many of them talked about how their Democratic women colleagues feel the same way and have a hard time raising their children and doing their job at the same time.

Only one woman showed total support for this hypothesis by saying that she felt that she had to stay home with her kids because that is the traditional role she has always assumed as a mother and not doing this would be going against her beliefs. This woman talked about how she felt like there were certain things she could provide to her children as a mother that her husband could not provide as a father. She did acknowledge that she knew the comments she was making during the interview could be seen as sexist but she said that was just how she felt. She said she knew that if when her kids were young and she was commuting back and forth to Albany for six months out of the year she would miss key moments in her children's lives that in her words "a mother should be there for". She admitted that she felt it was more common for Republican women to want to assume this type of role, but she did also acknowledge that it is just as hard for Democratic women but in her opinion they were less likely to put their career on hold to stay home with the children. She talked about the struggles all parents face while trying to manage children and a job, not just the mothers but she did think that mothers, Republican mothers in general have a tougher time leaving the kids at home for their career.

Another important finding that stemmed from this question was that the women who did have children tended to be involved in local politics while their children were younger. These women talked about how working on the local level still allowed them to stay involved in politics and better serve their community, while taking care of their family at the same time. These results negate some of the literature that states that Republican women choose to stay home with their children and not enter the work force until they are grown up. Rather

Republican women are less likely to hold elected office on the state level when their children are young, but they are still involved in politics and government at the local level.

My fourth hypothesis that the Republican Party doesn't actively seek out women candidates when there is a seat to be filled proved to hold true amongst all of the women that I interviewed. All six of the women who I interviewed said that there is nothing substantial being done in the Republican Party to recruit women. One Assemblywoman who I spoke with discussed how it was all too common that when there is an open seat women are rarely asked to run for it and that when a woman vacates a seat in the Assembly a good majority of the time the seat is filled by a man. This same woman felt that the men within the Assembly and the Republican Party as a whole within the State tend to be "self-serving", meaning that they tend to only look out for the men in the party and don't care much about the women.

Another woman emphasized the idea that politics is heavily male dominated and is pretty much a "boys club" which women are not welcome in. She talked about how she constantly sees open seats where a woman could very easily win being filled by men time after time again. This particular woman's comment about politics being a "boy's club" supports other literature from Lawless and Fox. As Lawless and Fox discussed it tends to be the party leaders who act as gatekeepers grooming candidates to win seats within the party. Lawless and Fox pointed out that both these gatekeepers tend to be men and also that the preferred candidates of the gatekeepers is typically men (Lawless & Fox 2005 83-84). These findings by Lawless and Fox as well as my discussion with this woman highlight the masculinity nature of politics and how it usually does resemble a "boys club" (Lawless & Fox 2005 89).

Speaking to the idea of politics being a boy's club was another woman's answer to my question which asked her what made her decide to run for office and if anything influenced her

decision to run. This particular woman was a member of the Assembly but prior to that she served for her hometown counties Legislature. In 1975 a member of the Legislature asked her husband to run for an open seat. Her husband told the man that his wife would be better fit to fill the seat since she was the active one of the two, always being involved in their local community. The man who was on the Legislature responded by saying something along the lines of there has never been a woman on the Legislature and there will never be because it is not a place for a woman. This is what motivated this Assemblywoman to run for a seat on her local Legislature.

This woman then went on to tell me once she won her race on the night of her inauguration the same man that said the Legislature was not a place for a woman approached her and told her not to get too comfortable because the next time she was going to be up for reelection she would not win her race. She spoke of all the ways her colleagues on the Legislature worked to ensure she was not treated fairly during her time serving the local community. When she was running to be the chair of the Legislature the men in the group changed the rules so that she was not allowed to be the chair. This woman's story shows just how unwelcoming men in politics can be to women as well as how they do not actively seek out women to run for office, in fact at times they discourage it.

All of the women who I interviewed agreed that there is not enough being done to seek out Republican women candidates within the State to run for office. When I asked each of them if they were aware of any organization within the Republican Party that seeks out women to run for office and helps fund their campaigns, like EMILY'S List does for Democratic women all of them said that there is no organization similar to this within the Republican Party on the state level. One of the women talked to me about how she gets invited to fundraisers put on by the Democratic Party and other organizations that support Democratic women. Because she

supports a women's right to choose as well as other pro women legislation she is invited to these events that are typically for Democratic women. What is unfortunate though, is she can't receive any money from these groups because she is a Republican.

This woman highlighted all of the efforts that the Democratic Party makes to encourage women to run. She talked about groups like EMILY'S List for Democratic women that help fund women's campaigns and train them to be good leaders and hold public office. She said she thought it was a shame how the Republican Party does not make these efforts to recruit women the same way the Democratic Party does.

All of the women agreed that it would be beneficial for something similar to EMILY'S List to be put in place in order to support more Republican women candidates. One of the women who I interviewed is in the process of running a campaign for Congress. This member of the Assembly emphasized the vast differences of support from the Republicans at the federal level compared to those at the state level. This representative mentioned how she feels more welcome in Congress than she does here in the New York State Legislature, as well as how she has already received much more help and support for her Congressional campaign than she ever has for her state campaigns. After conducting interviews a common theme emerged which was the Republican Party in New York State does not seem to recognize the lack of Republican women's representation within the State and is making no efforts to address the problem.

The women interviewed unanimously agreed that there is more that needs to be done to actively support and recruit Republican women. As discussed in the literature this is an essential step towards getting women candidates to run for political office. Carroll and Sanbonmatsu discussed the importance of this. They found that 55.9 percent of the women legislators said they had never thought about running for office until someone suggested it to them. Women are

thus less likely to be “self-starters” for their own campaign (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 20013: 49). Carroll and Sanbonmatsu also pointed out that high-ranking party members as well as party leaders were the most influential on a women’s decision to run for office. Relationships with outside organizations also proved to be beneficial for women while making the decision to run for office (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 56). Lawless and Fox also found that women are less likely to think that they are qualified to run or will make a good candidate than men are (Lawless & Fox 2005 98). These findings prove that women need more encouragement to run for office especially from party members and leaders as well as outside organizations.

All of the six women did mention how they made their own efforts to encourage other women to run for office. One of them mentioned how she goes to elementary and high schools within her district to talk to children about the importance in being involved in politics as well as their potential to one day run for elected office. Another mentioned how she goes to her college where she received her undergraduate degree and talks with groups on campus such as the Women’s Republican Organization on campus. She told me she talks to them about her pathway to office as well as how they can one day pursue a career in politics if they wish to.

Discussion

As talked about in the literature, Lawless and Fox in specific found that women’s decision to run for political office is often linked back to their political socialization as children. Lawless and Fox found that men were more likely than women to have been exposed to politics as children. Men were also more likely to be encouraged to run for some form of student government than women were by parents, siblings, coaches, aunts and uncles, religious leaders,

grandparents and religious leaders. The only group of people who were more likely to encourage women to run for student government was teachers.

My first hypothesis that women don't seek political office because when they were young their parents and or teachers never talked to them about it and they were never involved in leadership positions as a student proved to be poorly supported after I conducted all six interviews. As shown in my results section, four out of the six women who I interviewed did not show any signs of supporting this theory. These four women were all involved in one form or another of student government, and they talked about how it helped begin their career as a leader thus bringing them to their career as an elected representative. The two remaining women showed mixed and total support for this hypothesis.

The two women who did not completely disagree with the hypothesis both had similar responses when I asked them about how they got started in politics as well as what sparked their interest to run such as involvement in other organizations. One of the women did say she participated in student government, but it did not spark her interest to run. The second woman was never involved in activities such as class council and student government growing up so this is not what inspired her to run for political office either. In fact both of these women were encouraged later on in life to pursue a career in politics, it was not socialization through student government at a young age that lead them to where they are now.

While four of the six women I interviewed did not support my first hypothesis, I do not think that what Lawless and Fox found was completely inaccurate. These women who I talked with may have been politically socialized from a young age. Lawless and Fox point out that when young women did receive support and encouragement from their parents and other influences in their life they were more likely to consider running in the future (Lawless & Fox

2013: 7-8). Currently women are drastically underrepresented in state legislatures across the country so I think it would not be accurate to completely rule out political socialization from a young age as being a contributing factor to women's decision to run for office. I believe that these four women who did not support my hypothesis may have been more influenced by their parents as well as other figures in their life from a young age to be active in student government and politics. These women then would have been more likely to pursue a career in politics.

While this hypothesis was not fully supported, I think it is important to note that when women are encouraged from a young age to participate in activities such as student government they are more likely to pursue a political career. If anything these four women who did not support my hypothesis highlighted the importance of political socialization of both male and females from a young age. The one woman who was not involved in any form of student government is an example of how when women are not involved in these types of organizations they are not likely to consider running for political office.

The woman who showed mixed support for the hypothesis can be seen as an example of someone who was involved in student government but was still not inspired to run for office in the future until someone suggested it to her. As Lawless and Fox point out there are low numbers of women who participate in student government compared to men so while this woman was involved she may have been surrounded by mainly men in these clubs and organizations and therefore socialized to think that things like student government and politics was mainly for men. This can also link back to the idea that politics tends to be a "boys only club". Politics today remains to be a highly masculinized field and women tend to be seen as intruders and outcasts (Duerst-Lahti 2005; Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 47; Lawless & Fox

2005: 84). It is all too common today that men are the majority of Legislators nationwide with women serving as the small majority of Legislators.

The widely accepted reality that politics is a “boys only club” needs to change in order for more women to seek involvement in political office. Men act as the gatekeepers to entry in many instances, which can at times make it challenging for women to get involved. Starting from a young age political socialization of both male and females can help alleviate this conception of what politics should look like. If more women are involved in activities such as student government from a young age they will be more likely to grow up thinking that they could make a career out of something similar when they are older. Women will also grow up seeing politics as something that is for both sexes, not just men making them more likely to be “self-starters” in their own political campaigns and not need their peers to encourage them to run. Also women will be more confident in their own abilities and stop seeing themselves as not being qualified to run for and hold elected office.

As discussed in the literature and shown in my interviews with women in the Legislature, it is becoming harder and harder for moderate Republicans to thrive in Legislatures. Much of the literature points to the idea that Republican moderates do not fare well in elections, therefore the party is less likely to support these candidates when they are running for office. As King, Matland and Sanbonmatsu all discussed in their writing, women, especially Republican women tend to be more moderate than men do. This relates back to my hypothesis that women, who may agree with most Republican ideals, may still be deterred from running in the Republican Party because of the stance the party has on women’s health issues because one they are most likely moderate candidates and will not have the essential support from their party to

successfully win their race, and two they may feel put off and not welcome in their own party because they have certain beliefs related to women's health that their party disagrees with.

Party support plays an essential role in getting elected to office, for women in particular because they rely on that support from party officials since they aren't usually self-starters for their own campaigns for numerous reasons such as not feeling qualified enough to run for office. Moderate Republican's tend to have a much more difficult time in getting this support from Party officials because of the strict conservative views these top officials hold. The higher-ups in the Party are not as likely to agree with the moderate women's stances on controversial issues such as abortion (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 84). Therefore the top Party officials for the Republican Party are less likely to lend support for moderate Republican women because of their difference in views on these controversial issues.

Both of the women who said that they do support a women's right to choose to have an abortion or not talked about how they can see how Republican women may be deterred from running in the party due to the stances it takes on women's issues such as this. As mentioned in the results section the one Assemblywoman told me in her interview how her colleagues wouldn't even look at her or speak to her because of her votes on abortion. As Carroll and Sanbonmatsu discuss in their literature, women tend to care more about abortion than men do but it is the men who serve as gatekeepers for the party and are less likely to support women's stances on abortion (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 84).

These women's comments on how rare it is to find someone within the Republican Party who supports women's right to choose in terms of abortion speaks to how the Republican Party has shifted its views to the far right. As discussed in the literature moderate Republican women are in a sense "vanishing species" (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 78). The four women who did

not feel the same way as the two women who agreed with my second hypothesis are an example of how the main women in the Republican Party are strictly conservative. The story of the one woman who brought up her colleague in my interview with her who supports abortion rights saying that she might as well join the Democratic Party shows the low level of tolerance and unwelcoming environment for moderate Republican women in the Party.

Looking at the political climate of our nation as a whole it is clear that the shift of the Republican Party to the far right is making it virtually impossible to survive as a moderate within the Republican Party. This is important to note because as discussed it is women who are more likely to be moderate than men are, and if the Party does not welcome these moderate women they will cease to exist within the Party. Unless more women realign their own views and become strictly conservative the number of women within the Republican Party will remain minuscule.

Also, state legislatures are seen as a starting place for a politician's career and pathway to Congress or other forms of higher elected office. Only one of the women I interviewed had plans to run for Congress, she was actually in the process of launching her campaign. The tolerance for moderate Republicans is not any more welcoming than it is in the New York State Legislature. This particular woman who is running for Congress is extremely conservative. She talked about how party leaders in Congress welcomed her and were excited that she was running. If a moderate Republican woman was running for Congress, I doubt that she would receive the same treatment. The two moderate women I interviewed did not express any interest in running for Congress and it could be because they do not feel welcome at that level of government, especially since it is most likely even more polarized than it is on the state level.

If moderates continue to be deterred from running in the Republican Party it is women not men who will suffer the most. If more moderate women do not run for office, the political climate in the United States may continue to grow more polarized which could contribute to the increasing amount of gridlock we see in Congress as well as endless debated over issues such as abortion and funding for programs like Planned Parenthood that provide funding for abortions, birth control and other women's health services.

Organizations such as EMILY'S List have been proven to be effective tools for getting more Democratic women to run for political office. Because of the cost of running for office as well as the lack of interest amongst women to run for political office, organizations such as EMILY'S List play a vital role in getting more women to run for and win seats in public office. The lack of organizations similar to EMILY'S List within the Republican Party has been suggested as a reason why more Republican women do not run for office. It has been proven that women need more encouragement to run for public office, and the Democratic Party has done a good job in terms of providing women with that encouragement. It has been proven to be effective since the number of Democratic women in state legislatures has been steadily increasing over time. Republican women in state legislatures appear to be stalled in terms of their representation and in some cases decreasing in numbers each year.

As discussed in the results section, all of the women who I talked with agreed that it is an issue that there are not groups similar to the groups within the Democratic Party actively seeking out Republican women to run for office. The lack of these organizations to support Republican women furthers the idea that the Republican Party is not very welcoming to women. Politics remains a highly masculinized field and the members of the Republican Party do not seem to be concerned that more women are not members of the Party. The only way a woman can make it

in the Republican Party in today's world of politics is to be extremely conservative. It seems as if the men in the Republican Party only welcome women if their views align with theirs, but still little is being done on the state level to include these women.

The question raised in my interviews whether or not Republican women felt pressure to wait until their children were older to run for political office did not fully support my hypothesis that Republican women would be more likely to feel this way. With that being said, New York is a more moderate state than other states for example down south, which can tend to be more conservative. A lot of the literature does find that it is the case that Republican women are more likely to wait until their kids are grown to run for office. Because of location and common beliefs New Yorkers hold, this could be why the women I interviewed did not necessarily agree with this hypothesis because it is not something that is as common in New York as it is in say a Southern state.

In Carroll and Sanbonmatsu's findings a lot of the women who they interviewed talked about how Republican women are more likely to put their families first and their careers second. One of the women they interviewed supported this claim saying, "I think they are more oriented to the family [in] the old traditional...[way] of our families come first..." (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 71). Another woman Carroll and Sanbonmatsu interviewed who was Republican talked about how it would have been hard for her to leave her children at a young age saying, "I decided to do this when my kids were about three and six, but I put it off until they graduated high school" another woman talked about how she felt she was the "primary parent" who had the primary responsibilities for the kids, household and the husband (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013: 47).

These findings from Carroll and Sanbonmatsu support the responses from the one woman who showed total support for my third hypothesis. This particular woman talked about how she felt like she could not abandon her children at such a young age while they were growing up. She talked about how she felt like the absence of a mother figure would be more harmful to them than the absence of a father figure would have been. Other literature talks about how the Party tends to prefer more traditional women's roles in the home placing an importance on stay at home mothers who take care of their children. The Party has hinted that mothers who send their children to daycare in pursue of their own career are possibly neglecting their own children and not doing what is best for them (Wolbrecht 2000: 3; Sanbonmatsu 2004; Elder & Greene 2012: Ch. 3). It is also true that women still play a main role in maintaining the home and still do a majority of the housework. On average women spend a total of two hours and nine minutes a day on various household chores and duties a day while men spend around one hour and twenty two minutes a day on the same activities (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2015). This woman's answers therefore aligns with much of the literature that has been written on the Republican Party's importance of women assuming traditional household roles while the men go out and make a living for the family.

The five other women who showed no support for this hypothesis all talked about how they thought this was an issue for any parent not just Republican mothers. With that being said two of the five women did not have any kids so they have not yet experienced what it is like to balance a child and a demanding career such as the one they hold now. As I pointed out New York tends to me a more liberal state meaning that women may not be expected to stay at home with the kids as much and sacrifice their careers so the men can go to work. Pointing to the statistic from the Bureau of Labor Statistics though it is true more women are still spending more

time on household chores and duties than men are as mentioned above which can also speak to the point of the five Republican women who said it is not a party problem rather a problem for all mothers with young children.

Some of the women who I interviewed who felt that managing family life as well as a career is challenging for all women not just Republican women are not wrong. It is challenging to juggle a job, kids and a family for all women and men as well. What is true though is that women tend to support legislation such as paid family leave more than men do. With a lack of women in state legislatures, it is harder for legislation like paid family leave to gain momentum and support. The women in the Republican Party also may not support this legislation as much because they tend to be very conservative. The lack of moderate Republican women reflects on the level of importance this type of legislation is valued at within the Republican Party. If there were more moderate women within the Republican Party these social issues such as the need for paid family leave may be addressed more because these moderate women tend to place more value on them than the current members of the Party do. Passing this legislation would make it easier for both men and women to be able to manage their jobs and family life, but especially for women since we know they tend to be the ones to sacrifice their careers to take care of their young children.

One finding that was not specifically related to any of my initial hypotheses was that the Republican women within both the Assembly and the Senate that I interviewed demonstrated a lack of solidarity amongst one another. The women did not seem to support one another at all, they all talked about how their men colleagues were a tight knit group but it was not that way for them. As such a small group I imagined that they would support one another and work as a team to make the environment for women in the Legislature more welcoming. This was not the case;

instead in multiple interviews I conducted the women talked about one another in negative ways. Even if they didn't all see eye to eye on certain policy issues one would think they would build up a support network since there is so few of them in the Legislature. Women do not feel welcome in politics, and I realized that women in a sense could be making it worse for themselves by not getting along with one another.

It is important to have women's voice and viewpoints present in politics. This is important for a few reasons, first because women have made great gains in today's society and there is no reason they shouldn't be able to be equal to men in this field of work. Additionally, women tend to legislate differently than men do while in office. Women tend to push legislation covering women's issues more than men do, they tend to stay in contact with their constituents more than men legislatures and also they tend to be more moderate than men are in legislatures (Carroll 2001). Democratic women appear to be increasing in numbers while Republican women are not. It is important that we work to uncover why Republican women aren't running for political office so that our state legislatures can become more diverse as well as more representative of the people whom are being served by these elected officials.

Conclusion

Republican women in New York State are extremely underrepresented. After conducting interviews with six of the ten women members of the Republican Party in the New York State Legislature I can conclude that there are not enough efforts being made by the Republican Party to create a welcoming environment for these women along with making sure more women in general want to join and be apart of the Party. All of the women I interviewed talked to me

about how they think more needs to be done in terms of recruitment for women as well as making the women feel included once they arrive in Albany to serve as Legislators.

The current agenda the Party promotes which includes strict beliefs related to women's health, family life and traditional family values are some of the main reasons women are not running for office in the Republican Party. You can no longer be a moderate within the Republican Party without facing scrutiny from your colleagues as well as constituents. The lack of moderates within the Party appears to only be hurting women, as they tend to be more moderate than men are in the first place.

If I were to continue my work on this issue I believe that it would be beneficial for me to continue conducting interviews. First I would interview the four women in the Party who I was not able to speak to this time. After I think it would be interesting to speak to men in the Republican Party as well as the leaders of the Party in New York State. I also think it would be interesting to speak to Democratic women in New York State and test the claims the literature makes about the Democratic Party being more welcoming to women as well as making more efforts than the Republican Party to recruit women. I think it would be important to get all of these viewpoints of different figures in the New York State Legislature in order to get a full scope of the entire situation.

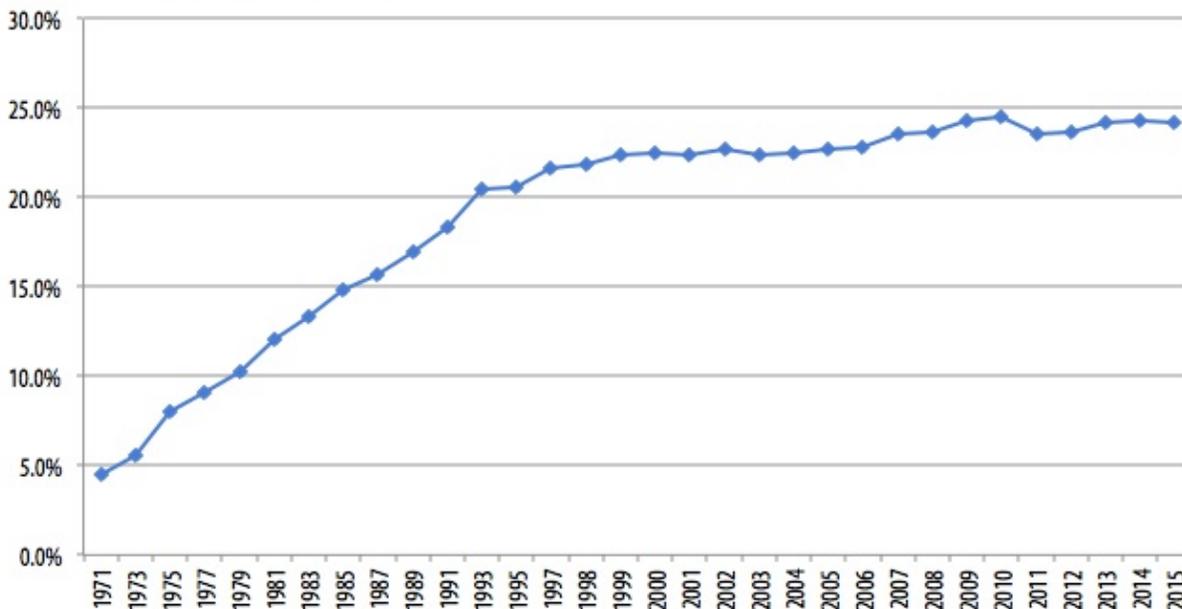
I think that there is hope for women in the Republican Party if and only if the Party recognizes the current issue it is facing in terms of underrepresentation of women within the Party. Becoming more accepting to moderates within the Party would allow a greater pool of Republican women to run for office without fearing that they will not be welcomed in the Party unless they are strictly conservative in all aspects, both socially and fiscally. More women in the Republican Party can allow for different views and leadership styles to be brought to the Party

that will be beneficial on the state level, but also to the nation as a whole. If the proper steps are taken to socialize more women from a younger age to be interested in running for office one day, as well as an increase in recruitment groups for Republican women coupled with a greater tolerance for moderates in the Party there can be hope for Republican women in the New York State Legislature, and one day it will no longer be seen as a the GOP: Gentlemen Only Party.

Appendices

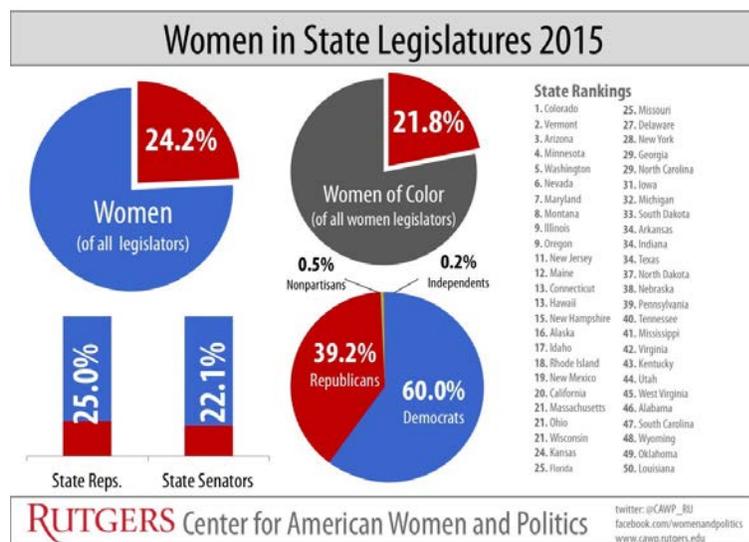
Appendix A: Women in State Legislatures, 1971-Present

Women in State Legislatures, 1971-Present



(Center for American Women and Politics 2015).

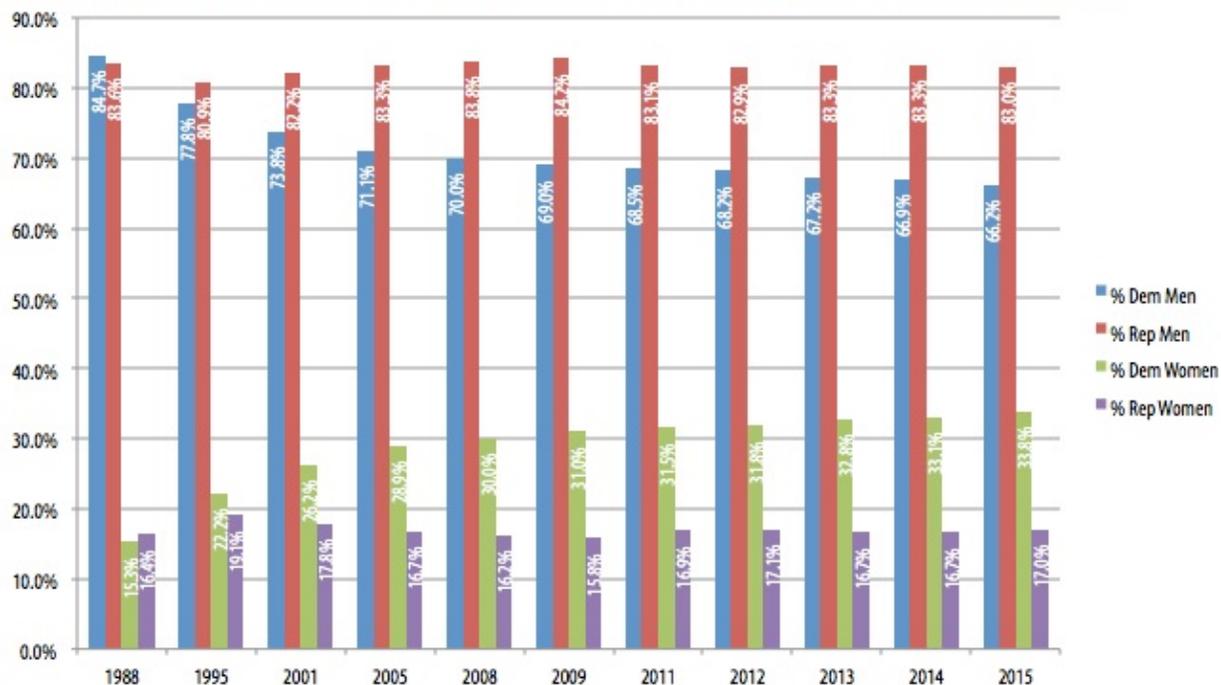
Appendix B: Women in State Legislatures 2015



(Center for American Women and Politics 2015).

Appendix C: Percentages of Men and Women in State legislative Party Caucuses Nationwide, 1988-Present

Percentages of Men and Women in State Legislative Party Caucuses Nationwide, 1988-Present



(Center for American Women and Politics 2015).

Appendix D

Interview Questions for Republican Women in the NYS Legislature

1. What made you want to decide to run for office? Was this something you always wanted to pursue? Did anyone influence your decision to run?
2. Do you think that Republican women are less likely to run for office because of the strong family values the party holds? Meaning, women within the party feel pressure to put their families first and their career second?
3. What age were you when you first ran for office? Did you have any young children at the time? Or if you had children were they grown up?

4. Do you think Republican women feel pressure to wait to run for office until their kids are grown?
5. Are there any efforts being made within your party to recruit women to run for office when there are open seats?
6. If not do you think this is something that should be implemented?
7. Have you ever voted in favor of a bill supporting women's rights that has caused you issues within your party?
8. Do you think there is a "women problem" within the Republican Party in terms of lack of representation? Have you witnessed any efforts being made to fix this?
9. Do you have any final thoughts and or suggestions on what- if anything- needs to be done in regards to the lack of women within the Republican Party?

Bibliography

- Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2015). American Time Use Survey. October 26, 2015. <http://www.bls.gov/TUS/CHARTS/HOUSEHOLD.HTM>. March 23, 2016.
- Carroll, Susan J. (Ed.). (2001). *The Impact of Women in Public Office*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Carroll, Susan J. and Sanbonmatsu, Kira. (2013). *More Women Can Run: Gender Pathways to the State Legislatures*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Center for American Women and Politics. (2015). Flat lines and Forecasting Women's State Legislative Representation. *New Brunswick, NJ, Center for American Women and Politics, National Information Bank for Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University*.
- Cox, E.M. (1996) *Women State and Territorial Legislators, 1895-1995: A State-by-State Analysis, with Rosters of 6,000 Women*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co.
- Duerst-Lahti, G. (2005). Institutional Gendering: Theoretical Insights into the Environment of Women Officeholders. In S. Thomas & C. Wilcox (Eds.), *Woman and Elective Office: Past, Present and Future* (2nd ed.) (pp. 230-243) New York: Oxford University Press.
- Elder, Laurel. (2008). Whither Republican Women: The Growing Partisan Gap Among Women in Congress. *Forum-A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, 6.
- Elder, Laurel and Greene, Steven. (2012). *The Politics of Parenthood: Causes and Consequences of the Politicization and Polarization of the American Family*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Elder, Laurel. (2014). Constraining party dynamics: A three decade analysis of the representation of Democratic versus Republican women state legislatures. *The Social Science Journal* (2014), <http://dx.doi.org.10.1016/j.soscij.2014.05.004>
- Elder, Laurel. (2012). The Partisan Gap Among Women State Legislatures. *Journal of Women Politics & Policy*, 33, 65-85
- Fox, Richard L., & Lawless, Jennifer, L. (2010) *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, Richard L., & Lawless, Jennifer L., (2013). Girls Just Wanna Not Run: The Gender Gap in Young Americans' Political Ambition. *Washington, DC, American University, School of Public Affairs*.
- Fox, Richard L., & Lawless Jennifer L., (2005) *It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Freeman, Jo. (1987). Whom You Know Versus Whom You Represent: Feminist Influence in the Democratic and Republican Parties. In M.F. Katzenstein & C.M. Mueller (Eds.), *The Women's Movements if the United States and Western Europe: Consciousness, Political Opportunity, and Public Policy* (pp. 215-244). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Freeman, Jo. (1999). Sex, Race, Religion, and Partisan Realignment. In P.E. Scheele (Ed.), *We Get What We Vote For... Or Do We? The Impact of Elections on Governing* (pp. 167-190). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Johnson, M. & Carroll, S. (1978). *Profile of Women Holding Office II*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for the American Women and Politics.
<http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/research/reports/ProfileWomenOfficeII.pdf>.
- King, D.C. & Matland, R.E. (2003). Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican Candidate. *American Politics Research*, 31, 595-612.
- Melich, Tanya. (1996) *The Republican War Against Women: An Insiders Report from Behind the Lines*. New York: Bantam Books.
- National Conference of State Legislatures. (2015). Women In State Legislatures For 2015.
<http://www.ncsl.org/legislators-staff/legislators/womens-legislative-network/women-in-state-legislatures-for-2015.aspx>. March 23, 2016.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. (2002). Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State Legislatures. *The Journal of Politics*, 64(3), 791–809. Retrieved from
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1520113>
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. (2004). *Democrats/Republicans and the Politics of Women's Place*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. & Dolan, Kathleen. (2009). Do Gender Stereotypes Transcend Party? *Political Research Quarterly*, 62, 485-494.
- Snowe, Olympia. (2009). We Didn't Have to Lose Arlen Specter. *New York Times* [Opinion-editorial]. April 28.
- Wolbrecht, Christina. 2000. *The Politics of Women's Rights*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

