The Role of Organizations in Candidate Emergence: How Women's Candidate Training Organizations Shape Women's Ambition and Representation

By

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Dedication

To Annaliese Paulson, who made me laugh during the dissertation's most stressful moments.

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Abstract

What explains variation in women's individual-level ambition and state-level descriptive representation? Candidate recruitment has been shown to increase women's interest in running for political office, ultimately increasing the number of women candidates and elected officials. However, all recruitment is not equal. In fact, the primary actors in candidate recruitment and training – political parties – cannot account for the recent gains in women's representation, given their incentives to support incumbents and tendency to recruit from networks that are disproportionately male. I propose a theory of Organizational Identity Signaling to explain the conditions under which candidate recruitment is successful at increasing women's political ambition and descriptive representation. Organizations send explicit and implicit signals about the kinds of people they work with and the voices and experiences that they center, influencing who seeks an organization out. Therefore, when an organization demonstrates that they understand and can mitigate barriers women face to running for political office, that should impact women's desire to run and ability to do so. Women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs) are a vast network of private-sector political organizations operating in 44 U.S. states who are unified in their goal of increasing women's descriptive representation. These organizations are uniquely positioned to increase women's individual-level ambition and state-level descriptive representation, because they send a signal to women that they center their experiences and substantively address gender-specific barriers to running, shaping who seeks these organizations out and the likelihood of women getting into candidate recruitment networks. However, women are an extremely heterogeneous group, and their experiences and barriers to running are shaped by their many other identities and the strength of their gender identity. Therefore, I expect heterogeneous effects of WCTOs on ambition and descriptive representation, because of women's

other identities, like race and partisanship, and psychological attachments to gender. Overall, this research demonstrates that organizational strategies have a critical impact on who participates, linking the staggered growth of women's organizations to where and why shifts in women's ambition and representation occur.

This mixed-methods project uses 57 interviews with women's and non-gender candidate training organizations, two survey experiments testing how signals sent by these organizations shape women's mobilization and interest in WCTOs (both overall and separately by race), and a statistical test of the effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of women running for and serving in state legislatures (both overall and separately by partisanship). Through this research, I demonstrate, first, that WCTOs take a distinct approach to candidate recruitment, training, and support. They are more likely than Non-Gender Candidate Training Organizations (NGCTOs) to center women's experiences, address women's material barriers to running for office through resource provision, and address women's psychological barriers to running for office through reframing running around making local change. These organizational signals are essential for increasing women's individual-level ambition, both directly increasing interest in running and interest in seeking out candidate training, particularly for women high in gender consciousness. However, there is considerable variation in how women's organizations think about the racial diversity of women's experiences. I further demonstrate that the signals WCTOs send about their commitment to addressing racial diversity shapes which women feel centered in WCTOs, increasing Black women's interest in women's organizations while decreasing white women's feelings of belonging. Finally, I provide evidence that WCTOs are meaningfully shaping women's representation at the state-level, as the founding of a WCTO in the state is associated with increases in the number of women state legislators in following years.

Ultimately, this project demonstrates that the signals organizations send play a critical role in shaping who participates in politics. People predominantly participate through organizations, and so the signals organizations send about who they center shapes who feels like political participation is for someone like them. Studying private-sector candidate training organizations unearths the

complexity of achieving descriptive representation in practice, as who founds these organizations and the kinds of advice they provide, directly influences who is recruited to run and who ultimately serves in government. This has implications both for the causes of women's overall representation in political office in the U.S., and shifts in women's representation across both race and partisanship.

Chapter One: Organizational Identity Signaling and Women's Candidate Training Organizations

Introduction And Statement of the Puzzle

Women and men who run for office may win at similar rates, but there is a sizable gender gap in both the decision to run for office (individual-level ambition) and in where women run and win (state-level descriptive representation) (Sanbonmatsu 2006; Lawless and Fox 2005). In 2023, 32.2% of state legislators are women, a new record, but one that demonstrates the persistence of inequalities in representation (Fossett 2022). In 2020, Nevada became the first state to reach gender parity in its state legislature. That same year, West Virginia's state legislature was only 13.4% women (Center for American Women and Politics 2020). Recent elections have seen historic firsts in the diversity of women serving at the state level. For example, Danica Roem became the first openly transgender state legislator in 2017, and Michele Lujan Grisham became the first Democratic women of color governor in 2018 (Center for American Women and Politics 2021). However, all 50 states lag behind their state populations in terms of the gender and racial diversity of their state legislatures (POLITICO 2021).[1] Descriptive representation matters because identities impact how legislators engage in policy-making (Brown 2014; Swers 2020). Shared demographic characteristics between constituents and legislators can also increase political participation (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006) and the likelihood of contacting a representative (Gay 2002; Mansbridge 1999), particularly for members of historically excluded groups. Women's relative lack of representation in government is particularly striking, as the gender gap in most other forms of political participation has declined tremendously in

[1]See Appendix One for graphic visualizations of the gender and racial breakdowns of state legislatures in the U.S. in 2020.

recent decades (Burns et al. 2018). So what explains variation in women's individual-level ambition and state-level representation, as well as why some states are making bigger advances than others?

Engaging in politics is motivated by wanting to participate, being able to participate, and being asked to participate (Verba et al. 1995). Similarly, women's political ambition is shaped by an interest in running (Schneider et al. 2016; Shames 2017), a belief that a run for office will be successful and benefit one's community (Dowe 2020; Ondercin 2022), and being recruited to run (Sanbonmatsu 2006). But all forms of candidate recruitment are not equal – some asks to run for office are better at convincing someone that a run for office is worthwhile. I argue that candidate recruitment works when an organization can signal that they center and address the specific material and psychological barriers that the person being recruited faces, because of that person's identities. I test this theory about the role of Organizational Identity Signaling by looking at the relationship between women's organizations and women's individual-level ambition and state-level representation. My theory argues first, that women's organizations approach candidate recruitment differently, by directly centering women's experiences and addressing their concerns to running. Second, women will perceive an ask to run from a women's organization differently from an organization not focused on gender, because of the signals that women's organizations send about their ability to address gender barriers to running, and that has implications for women's individual-level ambition and state-level representation. However, third, because the kinds of women developing programming in women's organizations influences the types of women's experiences that are centered, they should not signal an ability to address all women's barriers equally. Therefore, women's other identities (such as race and partisanship), as well as the strength of their psychological attachment to gender (gender consciousness), should shape which women perceive these organizations as spaces for people like them, and run for office as a result.

Previous work has highlighted two primary causes of the gender gap in political ambition. Supply-side explanations focus on individual-level shifts in why women are less likely to want to run for political office (Brooks and Hayes 2019; Pruysers and Blais 2017; Schneider et al. 2016; Shames 2017). Demand-side explanations focus on institution-level arguments for why women are less likely

to be recruited to run for political office (Crowder-Meyer 2013; Niven 1998). My work argues that these behavioral and institutional approaches to the study of political representation are deeply intertwined. Organizations are not identity-neutral spaces. They send signals, both explicit and implicit, about who they want to recruit and whose candidate development they have the expertise to support. These signals influence political ambition and representation, particularly for women, because women's decisions to run for office are shaped by whether they feel meaningfully supported and like their gender-specific barriers to running are being substantively addressed. Ultimately, by combining the behavioral and institutional strains of this literature, I demonstrate the powerful role that private-sector organizations play in the candidate recruitment and training ecosystem, ultimately shaping the complexity of descriptive representation in practice.

This project focuses specifically on women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs), in order to understand if their emergence can help explain the variation in gains in women's ambition and representation. WCTOs are private-sector organizations, including both non-profits and PACs, whose core mission is to increase women's representation through candidate recruitment and training (Kreitzer and Osborn 2020). Scott (2018b) and Hennings (2011) find correlations between the presence of state-level WCTOs and the number of women running for state legislature, connections they don't find for non-gender candidate training organizations (NCTOs). I argue that these organizations are a major factor explaining individual and state-level in where women run and win, because WCTOs signal an ability to meaningfully address gender-based barriers to running, making them spaces that women are more likely to seek out as entrypoints to political candidacy.

WCTOs are organizations that were formed with the explicit goal of getting women to run for office. Therefore, they center gender in their approach to recruiting and training first-time candidates. As a result, these organizations are able to send a credible signal to women potential candidates about their ability to substantively address gender barriers to running, creating an entrypoint to the resources and support that make ambition and descriptive representation possible. Extensive work in political science focuses on the role of organizations as a source of mobilization and political participation (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Verba et al. 1995), and the leverage that political

recruiters use to encourage successful political mobilization (Brady et al. 1999). I combine this literature with the work on Social Identity Theory and group consciousness (Gurin 1985; Miller et al. 1981), to argue that organizations that send signals of an ability to address identity-specific barriers are distinctly effective at increasing participation for underrepresented groups, particularly for members who feel strong identity attachments and an obligation to advance the aims of their group politically.

WCTOs increase the number of women running and winning, by shaping who gets into the networks that support first-time political candidates. They do this by signaling to women that they center and address gender-specific barriers to running, and support potential candidates like them. This is also backed up by their actual programming, because WCTOs are more likely to frame running for office around gender and to center women's experiences in their programming. Overall, I argue that identity-based organizations are essential for understanding the causes of shifts in the diversity of political representation, because they influence who feels like they belong in a political career and because they signal an ability to center experiences and address barriers that are specific to members of a particular underrepresented group.

However, despite their common gender, women are a distinctly heterogeneous group and their lived experiences are diverse across other identities, like race, class, sexuality, and partisanship. Women's experiences are not monolithic, and their barriers to running for office are shaped by their many other identities (Brown and Lemi 2021; Dowe 2020; Phillips 2021; Shames 2017). A key extension of this theory about organizational signaling and its influence on women's abition and descriptive representation is that these organizations should not be homogeneously effective across all groups of women. Building on work about how interest groups tend to center the interests of the majority of their members (Strolovitch 2008), I expect that women's organizations may default to centering white, Democratic, women's experiences rather than the experiences of women less represented in their networks. Therefore, women's racial and partisan identities shape the effectiveness at the signals WCTOs send, and influence who runs for office as a result. Overall, this project furthers our understanding of the private-sector candidate training ecosystem,

as well as how women's political ambition is deeply linked to recruitment from organizations that prioritize addressing gendered barriers to running, both overall and within gender. By looking at the effect of women's organizations on women's individual-level ambition and state-level descriptive representation, I demonstrate the role that shared-identity organizations play in successful candidate recruitment and trends in descriptive representation.

The Roots of Political Ambition

Why does someone decide to run for office? Schlesinger (1966) argued that the answer was political ambition, and that ambition is constrained by individual and structural opportunities. This is not dissimilar from how Verba et al. (1995) describe the motivations behind political participation, in general; people participate because they want to, because they can, and because they're asked. The decision to run for office is a form of political participation, in that some subset of citizens run to express political preferences and achieve political goals. However, running for office is more costly in terms of money and time, and requires higher levels of psychological motivation, than most other political activities. Therefore, while the decision to run for office can be explained by factors that increase or limit the desire to run and the ability to do so, and the role of recruitment in shaping that desire and ability, it is also more difficult to get someone's political ambition to a threshold high enough to run.

Furthermore, the factors that increase the desire to run and the ability to do so are not linear. For example, political efficacy, or the belief that you, personally, are able to participate effectively in politics (Campbell et al. 1954; Converse 1972), is both directly linked to political participation (Abramson and Aldrich 1982) and is part of a positive feedback loop as both the cause and the result of political participation (Finkel 1985; Valentino et al. 2008). Similarly, having access to resources like time and money has been linked directly to political participation (Verba et al. 1995), but having access to the resources needed to run can also operate through being introduced to networks that provide resources and support to candidates, such as political party organizations (Crowder-Meyer 2010; Sanbonmatsu 2006), or other sources of recruitment. Finally, as Bernhard et al. (2020) argues,

factors may impact nascent political ambition (the desire to run) and expressed political ambition (actually running) differently, as factors that influence wanting to run have a greater impact on nascent ambition, while factors that influence ability to run have a greater impact on expressed ambition. Ultimately, for running for office, this means that few people make the decision to run on a whim or in a single moment. Instead, a person's experiences within political organizations have a direct relationship to their interest in running, because organizations influence who feels like they belong within politics and who sees themselves as a political candidate, over a long period of time.

Women experience both the motivations and the feasibility of running for office differently from men, differences that are also shaped by identities like race, sexuality, and class. Women make strategic decisions to run when and where they believe they will be successful (Bledsoe and Herring 1990; Ondercin 2022). Black women, in particular, consider what level of political office will enhance the lives of people in their communities, when deciding where to run (Dowe 2020). Furthermore, women are more likely to make the decision to run relationally. They are more likely to be influenced by parties, organizations, and peers when thinking about running, and they are more likely to express ambition simultaneously, rather than prior to, recruitment (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013). Women are also more motivated to run by goals related to helping their community, rather than personal ambition (Schneider et al. 2016). Again, this literature is emphasizing the critical role of organizations, but also psychological attachments people have to politics, in shaping women's political ambition.

If you believe that you have organizational support, investing in you, understanding your barriers to running, and connecting you with necessary material and psychological support, that makes it easier to believe that you can run and win. This means that wanting to run and being able to do so are deeply intertwined, and both can be shaped by support from political organizations. Women face a number of additional barriers to running, meaning that personal desire to run isn't sufficient to overcome these costs. In contrast, for men, personal ambition may not be the reason they chose to run, but it can be sufficient, because they are more likely to have access to the resources and

networks that can make a run for office possible.[2] I argue that given the greater barriers women face, women are more likely to run when recruited by organizations that signal an ability to center their concerns and meaningfully address the barriers to running they face.

Women's Barriers to Running for Political Office

Women are less likely than men to express an interest in running for office and more likely to discuss the costs of running, even among women and men from similar career backgrounds (Lawless and Fox 2005; Shames 2017). Black and Latina women are even more likely than white women to view the costs of running for office as prohibitive and the benefits of running for office inadequate (Shames 2017). This lack of interest in running, as well as the perception that the costs of running are high and the benefits are low, comes from real experiences. Even if women who run win at similar rates to men, running for office can still be financially, mentally and emotionally draining, because of the additional hurdles women face.

Women historically participated in politics at lower rates as a result of less access to time, money, and support (Burns et al. 2001). However, while the gap in most other forms of political participation has shrunk (Burns et al. 2018), the gender gap in running for office remains. This is particularly surprising, as women's participation in others forms of politics results in a growing pool of potential candidates. However, running for office takes more time and money than wearing a campaign sticker or voting, and so these economic barriers may matter differently for candidates than politically active citizens. Bernhard et al. (2020) demonstrate that whether a woman is the primary breadwinner for their family is a strong predictor of whether she runs or not, regardless of absolute levels of income. Women politicians are also more likely to discuss fundraising as a barrier to running than male politicians (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013), and women of color are even more likely than white women to highlight the need to contribute financially to their families as a reason shaping their decisions to run (Shames 2017). Phillips (2021), in particular, shows how

[2]While also acknowledging that gender is just one of many identities that can shape perceptions of the feasibility of a run for political office.

personal and family obligations can constrain Latina and Asian American women's decisions to run. Scott (2022) shows that Black women raise less than other groups of women, unless they are incumbents, highlighting the role of notoriety and access to elite networks. Overall, it is clear that resources impact both who is able to run and also who perceives running as worthwhile – creating both material and psychological barriers to candidacy.

Politics is historically a white, male domain, influencing who sees themselves as a potential political candidate. The traits associated with leadership paint the picture of someone who is both masculine and white (Eagly and Karau 2002). In the case of politics, there is also a tendency for media to describe politicians using more masculine traits, regardless of the gender of the candidate (Conroy 2015), for voters to view male and female candidates as having different personality traits and issue competencies (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993), and for voters to hold women's qualifications to a higher standard than men's qualifications (Bauer 2020). Black women are subjected to specific race-gender stereotypes that influence how they engage in politics and how they present in political spaces (Harris-Perry 2011), and their appearances are judged according to eurocentric ideas about beauty and professionalism, such that Black women have additional considerations about how to physically present on the campaign trail (Brown and Lemi 2021). Having organizations that center women politicians can be particularly important for increasing women's beliefs that running for office is feasible for people like them, highlighting the relationship between institutional support and political ambition. Sweet-Cushman (2019) finds that female attendees of candidate training programs who identify with role-models at the training report greater increases in political ambition. Sanbonmatsu (2015) argues that candidate training geared specifically towards Black, Latina, and Asian American women can be pivotal to increasing nonwhite women's interest in running for office, because of access to advice and role-models that are specific to the attendee's shared race-gender identities.

Spaces that center women's experiences, and particularly those that think about the diversity of women's experiences, are important because they address real concerns about sexism, racism, and discrimination on the campaign trail. Women are demobilized by information about sexism

and discrimination women face while running (Brooks and Hayes 2019), and are less interested in running for office when presented with negative stereotypes about women being less qualified (Pruysers and Blais 2017). Interviews with both women of color and organizers of women of color candidate trainings highlighted that Black women and Latinas worry about facing greater discrimination on the campaign trail (Sanbonmatsu 2015; Shames 2017). Nonwhite women are also more likely to express concerns related to family privacy and negative media attention when asked about their interest in running for office (Shames 2017). Running for office is already a costly form of participation, but the costs are far greater not only for white women who worry about the sexism they may experience in the public eye, but especially for non-white women who risk opening themselves up to both sexism and racism on the campaign trail.

Overall, the literature on why women do not run for political office highlights the many socioeconomic, structural, and psychological hurdles to running for office; hurdles that are smaller or larger because of their other identities, including race, ethnicity, sexuality, and class. It is nearly impossible to remove those barriers, because they are rooted in patriarchy – as well as the additional forms of racism, transmisogyny, and discrimination faced by particular subgroups of women. However, what remains understudied is tying these individual level factors to the institutions that provide this support. Organizations involved in candidate recruitment connect potential candidates with substantive, material support. They also make decisions (both explicit and implicit) about whose experiences to center within their programming. These factors shape the credibility of different organizations to signal to potential women candidates that they substantively address what it's like to run for office as a woman.

Institutional Support for Women Candidates

Political and social organizations play a critical role in mobilizing people into further political participation (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Verba and Nie 1987; Verba et al. 1995). Organizations build community ties (Putnam 2000), making political participation feel more feasible. Institutions also directly provide the networks, knowledge, and resources that lower barriers to participation

(Verba et al. 1995), and are particularly important for getting underrepresented groups elected (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Ocampo 2018). Essentially, political organizations provide both psychological and material benefits that make participation possible.

Of the forms of political participation, running for office requires some of the highest levels of resources and institutional knowledge. The number of people who know off the top of their head how many signatures you need to get on a ballot or what financial reporting is required to accept political donations is reserved to small networks of people who are already highly politically engaged, and often political elites themselves. And so connections to organizations and networks with political capital are essential to lowering barriers to participation. However, organizations implicitly or explicitly make decisions about whose experiences and voices to center, often defaulting to the interests of the majority of potential members at the expense of members of minority groups (Crenshaw 1989; Ray 2019; Strolovitch 2008). And this tendency to default to the needs of the majority or most advantaged still occurs even as organizations discuss the importance of representing minorities within their group (Strolovitch 2008).

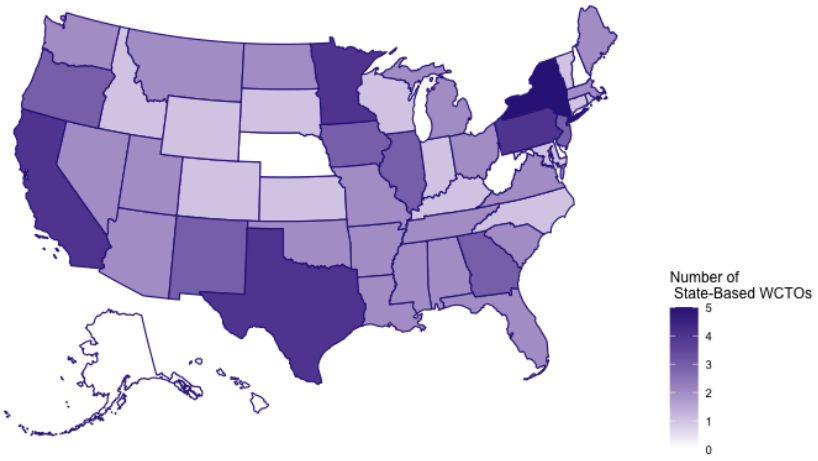
But why the focus on private-sector political organizations as a source of women's candidate recruitment and training? Historically, formal party organizations are one of the most common sources of recruitment and support for local and first-time candidates. They influence who runs for office through recruitment, gate-keeping (i.e. encouraging some people not to run), and campaign activities (i.e. campaign contributions, organizing volunteers and distributing literature) (Crowder-Meyer 2010; Sanbonmatsu 2006). However, states where the party is more involved in candidate recruitment have fewer women political candidates, likely because political parties are incentivized to help incumbents and gate-keep challengers (Sanbonmatsu 2006). This may also be because local party leaders are more likely to be men (Crowder-Meyer 2013; Niven 1998), more likely to recruit people who share their personal characteristics (i.e. men) (Niven 1998), and more likely to recruit from disproportionately male networks (Crowder-Meyer 2013). Women are also less likely to believe that party recruitment will lead to meaningful candidate support (Butler and Preece 2016). In particular, Latinas and Asian American women are even more likely than men from those groups

to be discouraged from running by local recruitment networks, because there are already so few majority-minority districts (Phillips 2021). Overall, the power of formal party organizations in the recruitment of first-time candidates prevents women from running, across race and ethnicity. This is true even though parties have incentives to diversify their candidate pools in order to appeal to a broad voter base, and even though nonwhite and women voters have increasingly sorted into the Democratic Party (Jones 2018; Mason and Wronski 2018). I'm not arguing that parties intentionally avoid diversifying whom they recruit, but that they are incentivized to protect current incumbents and they are relying on their own experiences as successful political elites when determining how and whom to recruit. This tendency to default to the experiences of those who have been successful within the party system shapes the strategies party elites employ to recruit and train first-time candidates.

Private women's organizations have stepped in to fill the gap in women's recruitment, by providing access to similar resources but with an emphasis on meaningful support specifically tailored to women candidates. As can be seen in Figure 1. These organizations operate all across the United States and are actively involved in recruiting and training candidates (Kreitzer and Osborn 2020), just as pan-ethnic/pan-racial women of color organizations and organizations targeting specific groups of women of color are critical for recruiting and mobilizing non-white women (Bejarano and Smooth 2022). These organizations are also growing in number, with the oldest organizations mostly founded in the 1990s, but a large number of groups founded in the last decade (Figure 2). Scott (2018b) and Hennings (2011) tie the presence of state-level women's candidate training organizations to increases in the number of women running for state legislature, impacts they do not find for organizations that do not primarily focus on women.

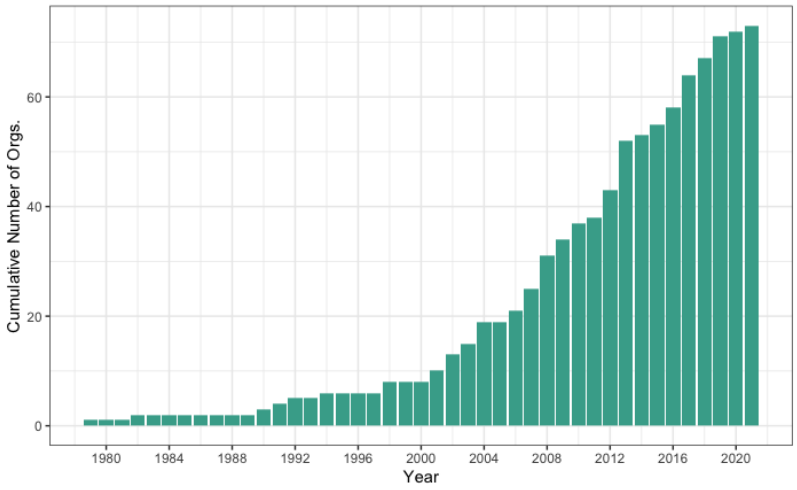
Why might WCTOs be better equipped than both public- and private-sector organizations not focused on gendered recruitment to tackle these barriers? And how effective are women's organizations, many of whom pay lip service to the importance of diverse recruitment (Kreitzer and Osborn 2020), at actually supporting the emergence of non-white women candidates? Using case studies of four women's candidate recruitment organizations, Rozell (2000) shows that these

FIGURE 1. Map of Currently Operating State-Based WCTOs



Note: Figure 1 depicts the location of all women's candidate training organizations that had been founded at the state level as of 2021. Darker shades of purple reflect a greater number of organizations within the state, s.t. that the six states in white have 0 WCTOs, while California, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania and Texas all have 4 or 5. This set of WCTOs reflects the 92 state-based women's organizations in my data. For the purposes of this chart, I included state chapters of national organizations. My interview population of WCTOs excluded state chapters, but included national organizations not included in these data as well.

FIGURE 2. Cumulative Growth in Number of State-Level WCTOs Over Time



Note: Figure 2 depicts the cumulative total number of state-based WCTOs operating in the United States, from 1979-2021. This set of WCTOs reflects the 73 state-based women's organizations within my data for which I was able to identify a founding year. For the purposes of this chart, WCTOs include state-chapters of national organizations, when the year of the state-chapter's founding was available. My interview population of WCTOs excluded state chapters, but included national organizations not included in these data as well. Most of these organizations are confirmed to still be operating, through a search of their website and social media presence. See Appendix One for a graph counting the number of state-based WCTOs founded each year.

organizations use different networks – made up almost exclusively of women members – to find potential women candidates, changing the pipeline of who gets recruited. However, Piscopo (2019) argues that WCTOs focus too heavily on encouragement as a motivator for women's political ambitions and ignore the very real structural barriers keeping women running for political office. This previous work leaves open very critical questions about the role of WCTOs in the candidate recruitment ecosystem, both whether they are having an effect on women's ambition and representation, and if so, why. In the pages that follow, I will expand on my own theory of Organizational Identity Signaling, which argues that WCTOs are successful at increasing women's individual-level ambition and state-level descriptive representation, because they send a credible signal to potential women candidates that they center women's experiences and meaningfully address gendered material and psychological barriers to running for political office.

A Theory of Organizational Identity Signaling

My theory builds on previous work demonstrating that variation in the activities of formal party organizations at the state level cannot explain increases in women's representation (Butler and Preece 2016; Niven 1998) and that a desire to protect incumbents (Sanbonmatsu 2006) and a tendency to recruit from already elite networks (Crowder-Meyer 2013) prevents parties from diversifying their candidate pool. I argue that we should, therefore, look to the growing number of private sector organizations actively working to recruit, train, and support women candidates. In the pages that follow, I will argue that women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs) take a distinct approach to recruiting and training first time political candidates, because of their emphasis on gender and women's experiences. This approach impacts both women's individual-level ambition and state-level descriptive representation, because the signals WCTOs send about their ability to address gender barriers to running shape who seeks these organizations out and the resources they provide. However, the effect of the signals WCTOs send on women's ambition and representation is moderated by which women perceive these organizations as spaces that are "for them," because of their other identities and strength of their gender group identitification.

Because WCTOs are women's organizations, they take a distinctly gendered-approach to recruiting and training first-time candidates. The leadership in women's organizations are more likely to be women in politics or politics-adjacent careers.[3] They are more likely than men in these roles to understand women's experiences in politics, influencing the programming they develop. The differences between WCTOs and NGCTOs (non-gender candidate training organizations) stem from this differential focus on identity.[4] I expect that WCTOs think differently about the recruitment and training of potential candidates, by centering women's experiences and gendered barriers to running. This influences how they mobilize first-time candidates (recruitment), their emphasis on gender and women's experiences in their programming (training), and the material resources they provide (candidate support).

> *Women's organizations take a distinct approach from other candidate training organizations to candidate recruitment and training, because they center women's experiences and gendered barriers to running for political office.*

Organizations send signals to potential participants about whether their organization is a space that is relevant for people like them. And any organization that is doing recruitment, engages in some sort of tactic to appeal to potential members of their organization. I call this **"Organizational Signaling"**, referring to the ways in which organizations make claims about their organization's purpose and core membership. These signals, and how individuals perceive an organization as a result, play a tremendous role in shaping who seeks out a particular organization. This builds on the philosophy behind community organizing, as outlined by Saul Alinsky (1946) when he said that *"the radical recognizes that in order to work with people he must first approach them on a basis of common understanding. It is as simple and essential as learning to talk the language of those with whom one is trying to converse."* However, this isn't unique to community organizing, as all

[3]By leadership I mean not just staff, but board members and major donors who may shape the direction programming takes, as well as trainers and speakers who may influence the topics and examples brought up in programming.

[4]A critical implication of this claim is that other private-sector candidate training organizations focused on identities outside of and within gender should also structure their organization's approach around identity-specific approaches to running for office. This both means that we should expect variation within WCTOs, based on whether they focus on specific subgroups of women with distinct barriers to running, and that NGCTOs focused on identity may operate more like WCTOs than other non-gender candidate training organizations. As a result, I often analyze my data with the NGCTOs focused on identity dropped. I will specify when I do this. NGCTOs consist of partisan organizations, civic organizations, and identity-based organizations focused on groups other than women.

organizations send signals about who their organization caters to. Sometimes this is explicit, by recruiting or appealing to particular groups or building an organization with a particular member in mind. But it can also be implicit, in that people will vary in whether they see an organization's goals and substantive focus as relevant or interesting for someone like them.

This idea of organizational signaling is particularly relevant for identity-based organizations, because the signals they send focus not just on the purpose of the group but the kinds of members they aim to attract. Given the critical centrality of group identity and group membership to how people perceive themselves within politics (Campbell et al. 1960), and the role of identity centrality in shaping political participation (Miller et al. 1981), we can think of most political organizations as doing some amount of **Organizational Identity Signaling.** A person's identities are critical for influencing what types of political organizations they seek out, as well as the effectiveness of organization mobilization on their ambition and participation. And so, ultimately, the types of signals that a political organization sends shape who ends up in elite political networks and who is mobilized to greater political participation (like running for office). In particular, I expect that women perceive WCTOs as more meaningfully interested in supporting people like them, and so women are more likely to seek out WCTOs than NGCTOs, because of the signals that WCTOs send about their ability to center women's experiences and address gendered barriers to running.

Shared group identity shapes women's political attitudes and behavior. Strong gender identification shapes women's political attitudes (Conover 1984, 1988). Furthermore, women role models (Sweet-Cushman 2019) and women politicians (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006) have been shown to influence women's ambition and participation. So these signals are not just heuristics or cognitive shortcuts women use to decide which organizations are most relevant to people like them.[5] Instead, these organizational signals have psychological implications for ambition and ultimately representation, because they influence who feels like they belong and will be supported in politics. Because women's organizations send a signal that they focus on women, this should make women – overall – more likely to believe that this is a space where they belong, and where their experiences

[5]For more information on shortcuts and heuristics in political and psychological decision-making see Lupia and McCubbins (1998) and Kahneman et al. (1982).

as women and concerns about running should be centered. This should matter for individual-level ambition, by shaping who seeks out a WCTO rather than non-gender candidate recruiting and training organizations and is mobilized to run for office as a result. This should also shape women's descriptive representation in aggregate, by shaping who gets supported by these organizations and the resources they provide.

> *WCTOs will be more effective at shaping women's political ambition than NGCTOs, because women will perceive these organizations as more likely to center their experiences and address their barriers to candidacy.*
>
> *The founding of a WCTO in a state should increase women's state-level descriptive representation, relative to states without WCTOs, because they are creating entrypoints to political candidacy that women are more likely to perceive supportive of and relevant to women potential candidates.*

However, women elites who run women's political organizations are not a representative sample of women. Their identities (across race, class, partisanship, sexuality, etc.) likely shape what aspects of women's experiences or potential barriers to running they choose to center within the organization's programming. Since the people running an organization often drive it's programming, elites who have succeeded (to some extent) as women in politics are likely to focus on some barriers to women's candidacies at the expense of others. This builds on work by Strolovitch (2008), which shows the ways in which organizations default to the experiences of the most advantaged in their group. However, I propose a new mechanism, by arguing that this results from the experiences of organizational leadership as women. I also provide a theory for how this shapes candidate recruitment, by looking at the signals WCTOs send about the kinds of gender-barriers and women's experiences they center, and which women feel like they belong within WCTOs as a result.

It is impossible to disentangle gender from women's many other identities (Crenshaw 1989; Young 1994). Women's many identities shape their lived experiences, and therefore, their barriers to becoming political candidates. Women's other identities also shape their perceptions of WCTOs as a space that is for people like them, because of how they perceive women's organizations and because of their relationship to gender as a social category. It's well established that women vary in their gender consciousness – or the centrality of gender to their identity (Gurin 1985). In fact,

many women do not view themselves as part of a cohesive group with other women, across other identities (Klar 2018). So it should both be true that women, overall, are more likely to feel like women's organizations are a more useful avenue than non-gendered organizations for seeking out information about running for office, and that not all women should see women's organizations as a place that is for people like them.

Women who choose to found a WCTO for the purposes of increasing women's representation likely think about women as a cohesive group and gender as a meaningful dimension of politics, because they made the decision to found a women's organization. Because, an organization's programming is the result of the attitudes and actions of its leadership, this should influence how gender operates within all aspects of candidate training programming and the signals a WCTO sends about which women the organization is for. The effectiveness of gender-specific approaches to recruitment and training on women's ambition and representation in government is, therefore, shaped by which women see themselves within women's organizations, because of their relationship to this idea of women as a collective and who is most represented within that conception of womanhood.

> *A gendered approach to candidate recruitment should be more or less successful at shaping women's individual-level political ambition and state-level descriptive representation, based on women's other identities and the strength of the their gender group-identification.*

Outline of Empirical Chapters

In the dissertation that follows, I engage in a mixed-method approach to evaluate the role of the identity-based signals that organizations send in moderating the effectiveness of candidate recruitment. In particular, I will demonstrate that women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs) increase women's individual-level political ambition and state-level descriptive representation, because they take an identity-specific approach that centers women's material and psychological barriers to running, sending a signal to women potential candidates that this is a space for them to learn more about what running for office – as women – would entail. But that who relates to women as a group, because of their other identities and the strength of their gender group-identification, influences who

feels seen and supported by women's organizations, and seeks them out as a result.

This first chapter provided an overview of Organizational Identity Signaling, by discussing the role of identity in organization's candidate recruitment and training strategies, shaping the effectiveness of candidate recruitment. In this chapter, I demonstrated how this dissertation will expand our understanding of the candidate recruitment ecosystem, by focusing on the circumstances under which recruitment is or isn't successful at increasing individual-level ambition and state-level descriptive representation. When organizations send a successful signal that they are interested in supporting members of a particular group and are able to address their distinct concerns about becoming political candidates, then recruitment is more likely to lead to someone taking additional steps towards running for office. Because WCTOs center women's experiences, they are shifting women's interest in running and and their likelihood of doing so. However, the diversity of women's experiences, and trade-offs about which women's experiences are centered, bring up critical questions about how overall representation may reproduce inequalities in representation for subgroups who are not as centered within women's organizations.

The second chapter will provide an in-depth discussion of my interview method, focusing on novel approaches I have developed for conducting and analyzing interviews for the purposes of group comparison (in this case between WCTOs and NGCTOs). This section will focus on how I built a sampling frame and engaged in outreach to maximize representation across my major groups of interest. I will then explain how I developed unique rules for my semi-structured interview method, in order to determine when to maximize flexibility and depth, and when to maximize consistency in question-wording and priming. Finally, I will demonstrate how and why my method of analyzing interview data uses topic counts, to maintain the richness of interview data analysis while also developing metrics for comparing the frequency of topics mentioned by different groups of organizations.

The third chapter provides an overview of information gleaned from interviews with 57 organizations that recruit and train candidates to run for political office. These interviews were conducted with both women's and non-gender organizations, as well as partisan and nonpartisan groups. These

interviews represent a substantial overview of the private-sector candidate recruitment and training space. This chapter highlights the differences in how WCTOs think about recruiting, training, and supporting first-time political candidates, compared to NGCTOs (non-gender candidate training organizations). These interviews provide evidence that women's candidate training organizations are more likely to focus on the decision to run and take a distinct approach to mobilizing potential candidates. Women's candidate trainings also talk more openly about gender barriers to running, centering women and women's experiences in their trainings. However, only a small handful of women's candidate trainings discuss barriers for racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities in their trainings. Finally, these interviews highlight how much more work WCTOs put into candidate support, by connecting program attendees with the resources needed to run, particularly endorsements, elite networks of former electeds, potential staffers and party officials, and ongoing peer and elite mentorship both from organization staff and by building strong alumni communities. This chapter provides the basis for my argument that WCTOs send a gendered-signal about their approach to candidate recruitment and training, which I will then connect to outcomes for women potential candidates.

My fourth chapter provides experimental evidence that the tactics used by WCTOs influence women's ambition and interest in seeking out these organizations, showing the effect of the gendered signals that WCTOs send at the individual-level. A survey experiment was conducted on 1600 women in June of 2022 via Prime Panels, with a large oversample of Black and Hispanic/Latina respondents. This survey experiment demonstrates that the mobilization techniques used by WCTOs do increase women's political ambition, by encouraging women to think about how running for office can make a tangible difference in their local communities. The survey experiment further provides evidence that while the amount of resources provided by a candidate training organization doesn't influence women's ambition or perception of the organization, learning that an organization focuses on women can shape individual-level ambition for women high in gender consciousness. So changing the signal from a candidate organization to be gendered can shape political ambition, for women whose gender is central to their self-concept. This organizational gender signal further

shapes overall women's interest in seeking these organizations out, compared to an organization that does not send a signal that they explicitly focus on women.

My fifth chapter provides experimental evidence that the tactics used by WCTOs differently influence Black and white women's individual-level political ambition, by focusing on how Black and white women perceive signals from WCTOs differently. A survey experiment was conducted on 1700 Black and white women using Dynata in October 2022. This survey experiment tests how variation in a signal of a commitment to racial diversity sent by a women's organization differently shapes Black and white women's interest in seeking the organization out, and whether the effects of my initial experiment are consistent across race but within gender. This chapter tests the impacts of the finding from the interviews that many WCTOs ignore within-group variation in women's experiences and barriers to running, by looking at how signals of the kinds of women an organization focuses on shapes women's perceptions of that organization. This raises critical questions about how people's relationship to a group can influence feelings of belonging and therefore interest in seeking out identity-specific spaces, based on the signals an organization sends.

My sixth chapter uses a difference-in-difference design to test the effect of the founding of a women's candidate training organization in a state on the number of women running for state legislature in the following election. This chapter provides evidence that these organizations have a positive effect on increasing the number of women winning state legislative elections, particularly for women who see themselves within WCTOs and particularly for organizations that engage in more substantive training and candidate support. However, these effects are quite lagged and do not occur immediately after an organization is founded. Time and state fixed-effects account for variance across time and place. This chapter also allows me to further test my expectation that who sees themselves within a women's organization influences which women are most mobilized to run and win as a result, by looking at the results both overall and across partisanship, another dimension of variation in women's relationships to women's organizations.

Finally, my seventh chapter will review the findings from my three empirical chapters, and highlight the implications of my theory of Organizational Identity Signaling. This chapter emphasizes

the critical role that WCTOs play in the candidate recruitment ecosystem, filling in a gap left wide open by formal party organizations. It discusses what it means that this kind of effective recruitment of women candidates is occurring primarily through private-sector organizations, and not through mainstream political party organizations. This chapter also points to next steps for expanding this project, particularly what these organizations tell us about descriptive representation in practice and how women's diverse identities shape their relationships with women's spaces and movements. Given that my theory rests on the role of shared identity in effective candidate recruitment, there are numerous additional avenues for understanding the within-group implications of these organizations on the diversity of women's representation. Overall, my research has implications beyond gender and candidate recruitment, by showing that organizational tactics matter for individual-level attitudes and behaviors, because the signals that organizations send shape who feels like they belong within political spaces and who participates in politics as a result.

Chapter Two: An Overview of The Interview Method

Introduction

The benefit of interview-based research is in the depth of responses you get to your questions; the ability to reframe, clarify, and expand based on the initial answers you get; and the learning gained when you can let your respondents guide you in unexpected but critical directions. Interviews have the potential to both test hypotheses that make generalizable claims, and also facilitate rich interpretation that generates new theory (Martin 2013). But how does one both build the rapport necessary for interview subjects to give the researcher access (Cramer 2016; Fenno 1978; Hall and Beckmann 2012), while also minimizing bias that could impact the reliability and validity of the results (Aberbach and Rockman 2002; Berry 2002; King et al. 1994)? How can we acknowledge the subjectivity of the interviewer and the people being interviewed (MacLean 2012), while also aiming to build generalizable theory? In this chapter, I propose a framework for conducting qualitative interviews that marries the flexibility of the interview method with core considerations to enhance the reliability and validity of one's findings. I do this by starting with the group comparison framework common to hypothesis-testing. What is the variance that the researcher is trying to explain between groups and how can one make methodological choices to minimize threats to inference in making those group comparisons? Additionally, what is the depth of information needed to make accurate group comparisons for the purposes of making claims and how can one maximize the depth of information generated through the interview process?

There are three primary strategies that I took in my qualitative method, allowing me to translate my research question into 57 analyzed and summarized interviews. I started with an interest in how women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs) recruit and train first-time political candidates

differently from non-gender candidate training organizations (NGCTOs). This means that the primary threats to inference are whether differences I found between WCTOs and NGCTOs resulted from the probability of participatig in my sample, providing different answers to questions about their programming for reasons other than actual differences in their approach, and if the data analysis process is biased towards finding group differences rather than merely uncovering them. In the chapter that follows, I will provide examples of how I addressed each of these concerns in my method of sampling, interviewing, and data analysis.

When I was not concerned that there would be a risk in generating different responses across organization types, then I prioritized greater flexibility in my approach, and when I perceived a clear threat to inference, I increased consistency in my method. In particular, I increased the generalizability of my findings by developing and validating a sampling frame and then drawing a stratified random sample that allowed me to minimize the possibility that WCTOs and NGCTOs were differently selected into the interview process. I developed a consistent set of rules for when and how to introduce flexibility to the question phrasing and order. Specifically, I kept questions about gender and identity more consistent in wording and order across interviews, while allowing for greater flexibility in wording and order for broad questions that would not prime thoughts about gender or identity explicitly. Finally, I addressed concerns about the ability to make valid group comparisons through a coding process that counted mentions of topics of interest within an interview, so that I could make valid claims about the relative presence or absence of different topics by organization type while also avoiding concerns that intercoder reliability reduced the nuance of the data collected by my coders. Overall, at each of these three stages of the interview process (creation of the sampling frame, design of the interview, and data analysis), my choices were motivated by the goals of this particular project to compare women's and non-gender organizations, using my study's specific group variation as the guiding principal for my research method.

Increasing Generalizability with an Accurate Sampling Frame

Luker (1985) summarizes the challenge of interviewing when discussing her method from "The

Politics of Motherhood" by saying that it is literally impossible to know how your work would be altered if you spoke to different people. This tends to result in a criticism of interview work around generalizability. How can you know that your findings say something about a population larger than the people you spoke with? More specifically, issues with generalizability emerge if the people who participate in the interviews selected into the sample for a reason that correlates with your outcomes of interest (King et al. 1994).

The ability to generalize from a non-random sample is a concern for many observational designs. When conducting a survey, researchers use weighting to account for non-response, and in a statistical analysis, researchers consider how data access (across space, time, or unit of analysis) impacts what is able to be studied. However, with interviewing, you're often dealing with a small enough sample that random selection may not be worthwhile (King et al. 1994), or you may be dealing with a population where you cannot build a full sampling frame and so need to rely on other methods for establishing who to interview (Lynch 2012).

In my case, I was lucky to be working with a population that has a finite number of organizations that I could reasonably use to build a sampling frame, at least of organizations currently operating in the U.S. during the research period. To determine which organizations to interview, I built a dataset of 94 organizations that currently train candidates to run for political office.[6] I determined that an organization was a candidate training organization if I found a section of their website that specifically described (or linked to) a candidate training program that the organization, itself, had created.[7] I then cross-referenced my list with other sources, including Rutgers University's Center for American Women and Politics' List of Leadership Resources and MSU's Institute for Public Policy and Social Research's Database of Training programs compiled by Jamil Scott, as well as lists of other training organizations from news outlets and other trainings.[8] Finally, at the end of my

[6]See https://sites.lsa.umich.edu/sara-morell/data/ for the full list of organizations.

[7]I also used organization websites to rule out organizations that simply bring in other groups to do their trainings.

[8]It's worth mentioning that both the (Scott 2018a) and (Center for American Women and Politics Center for American Women and Politics) lists include leadership organizations, which I did not include in my list unless it was clear that they had some sort of programming related to running for office. This ruled out organizations that do more general trainings on networking or career advancement. They also include state and local chapters of national organizations, which I grouped together under the national body. I did this to avoid biasing my samples towards the small number of organizations with many chapters. Anecdotally, I can also say from my interviews with the national organizations

interviews, I asked each respondent to list other organizations that they know do this work. I added these organizations to my outreach, and by the end of my interview process, the candidate training organizations that my interview subjects mentioned were all already in my sample, demonstrating the comprehensiveness of this approach.[9]

Among the 94 organizations that ended up in my sampling frame, 57.45% train women and 42.55% train candidates of all genders. In terms of partisan-leaning, 19.15% are right-leaning, 36.17% are left-leaning and 44.68% are nonpartisan. In terms of substantive focus, 17.02% centered identities other than or within gender. In terms of geography, 52.13% were national organizations and 47.87% were state-specific, spanning 24 states in all regions of the United States. When I include the national organizations with state chapters, these organizations cover 44 of 50 U.S. states. I have this information about the demographics of my sample, because I spent considerable time researching these organizations through their websites and social media, and then used this information as the framework for evaluating biases in selection across WCTOs and NGCTOs.

I reached out to the person who, from the organization's website, appeared to most directly oversee the day-to-day design and operation of the organization's candidate training programming. If the organization had a Training Director, I interviewed them. If they did not have a Training Director, I relied on website bios and reached out to at least one person with the following titles (or a related title): Program Director, Political Director, CEO, Founder, or Executive Director. If it was unclear who the best contact was for training-specific information, I would reach out to two people at the organization. I tried to find a direct email, but used a general email address or contact form, if necessary.[10]

I conducted all interviews between August 19th, 2020 and October 8th, 2021. The vast majority

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that have smaller chapters, that they disseminate very similar information across organizations. In contrast, separate organizations that have partnerships with one another had much more agency over the development of the structure and content of their trainings.

[9]Organizations that have a strong online presence are more likely to be relevant to my research, which is why I started with the sampling frame of organizations that I was able to find myself. However, by asking organizations about groups they were aware of, I was able to confirm the quality of the sampling frame and also find smaller, newer, and more group- or location-specific organizations that might not have appeared in a general search. See Heckathorn (1997) for a discussion of how Respondent Driven Sampling can still yield a representative sample, based on observables, if conducted until equilibrium is reached.

[10]You can find all of my outreach materials in Appendix Two.

of my interviews were conducted over Zoom, with one on Bluejeans and one over the phone. In 8 of the Zoom interviews I conducted, at least one participant either called in or switched their video off at some point in the interview, because of issues with internet connectivity.[11] In order to make it easy to schedule all interviews and easily accommodate respondents' availability, I reached out to organizations in groups of six. Each organization received an initial email describing the process and then two follow-up emails and a phone call over a two-week period if I did not hear back. The result of COVID was actually greater consistency in the mode that the interviews were conducted in. Though I have to acknowledge that there was considerable variation in where the respondents were located. Two of the eight people who did not use their cameras gave the interviews from their cars. Some respondents were back in the office, but many were speaking to me from home offices, living rooms, and bedrooms, and there were occasional interruptions from family members, pets, and roommates.

I relied on a stratified random sample, where I reached out to groups of potential respondents, selected based on partisan-leaning and gender/nongender focus. These two variables led to six categories of organization that I reached out to: non-partisan women's organization, non-partisan all-gender organization, right-leaning women's organization, right-leaning all-gender organization, left-leaning women's organization and left-leaning all-gender organization.[12] I also locked down all of my social media and removed references to gender from all academic profiles, so that the organizations I reached out to did not make the decision to participate (or not), because they knew I studied gender. I did this to minimize the likelihood that WCTOs would reach out at higher rates than

[11] All respondents were able to complete the interview, even with the internet issues, but some needed to call in with their phone or turn off video to improve the quality of the connection. This did not change what questions I was able to get answered, and these respondents still, generally, had interviews of similar lengths. But it is possible that these respondents provided less detail, because of the internet issues. Again, this is only an issue if this correlates with organization type. Five of the organizations I spoke with by phone or without video were WCTOs and three were NGCTOs.

[12] I classified an organization as training exclusively women if they said on their website that their organization is geared towards women. I classified an organization as left- or right-leaning if their website either mentioned they were officially Republican or Democratic, if they mentioned a left/right or liberal/conservative slight to their values, or mentioned either a focus on pro- or anti-abortion candidates or big- small-government candidates. I used this method of classification rather than simply checking if they identified as nonpartisan or not because many of these organizations are 501c3 nonprofits. This means they must be nonpartisan for tax purposes, even if most of their attendees vote for a particular political party. While some 501c3 left/right organizations that I interviewed mentioned that their trainings were open to people from all parties, they also emphasized that those individuals must align with the organization's values.

NGCTOs because they expected I wanted to talk about women. I chose this method of outreach to ensure that my initial interviews, who I relied on to suggest other organizations I reach out to, varied across partisan-lean and gender focus. It also ensured that my initial conversations, which were the most formative to developing my interview style and theorizing, were not biased to a particular type of organization by partisanship or gender-focus. This way, I maximized some of the benefits from randomization and minimized threats that my sample was biased in ways that would directly impact the group comparisons inherent in my hypotheses about what WCTOs do differently from NGCTOs.

In the end, of the 94 organizations I reached out to, 57 agreed to speak with me, for a response rate of 60.64% and totaling over 54 hours of interview data.[13] This response rate is particularly high for a project of this type. Of those 57 organizations, 57.9% exclusively train women and 42.1% train individuals of all genders. In terms of partisanship, I classified 40.35% as left-leaning, 15.79% as right-leaning and 43.86% as nonpartisan. In terms of identities, 12.28% focus on identities other than or within gender. In terms of region, 47.37% were national organizations and 52.63% were state-based organizations operating in 16 states spanning all regions of the country. These numbers are very similar to the distributions of the full sample, emphasizing that non-response is unlikely to impact my outcomes, at least on this set of observable characteristics.

A number of candidate training organizations also focus on groups other than women. I spoke with four organizations that exclusively work with racial or ethnic minorities, three organizations that work with historically excluded groups that are not related to race or ethnicity, three organizations that work with potential candidates from a particular career or educational background, and four organizations that exclusively work with potential candidates from a particular age group.[14]

In summary, I used extensive internet research to build a sampling frame that would both

[13] As part of the consent conversation at the beginning of each interview, I agreed to keep the names of the respondents I spoke with and their organizations anonymous. You will see organizations listed as "Organization X" and the respondents listed as Respondent X where X is a number from 1-57. If I spoke with multiple individuals from one organization, they are listed as Respondent Xa and Respondent Xb. Organizations are described in terms of their political leaning, focus on women or not, the region of the country they operate in, and if they focus on a group other than or within gender. The full list of organizations in the sampling frame can be found at https://sites.lsa.umich.edu/sara-morell/data/, but not the full list of organizations in the final sample to maintain confidentiality.

[14] When I mention dropping identity-based organizations from my analyses, I dropped the seven organizations that focused on historically-excluded identities, rather than the organizations that focused on career or age of candidates.

accurately capture the set of organizations currently doing this work, and give me a set of observable characteristics to evaluate the quality of the sample as a subset of the sampling frame. I further validated the quality of the frame by asking respondents which organizations I should speak to, ensuring my list was comprehensive. I then used stratified random sampling to ensure a random subset of organizations were initially reached out to, and relied on both my own outreach to the full sampling frame, as well as connections through my initial contacts to yield a response rate that is both high and relatively representative on observable characteristics. When building an interview sample, Martin (2013) highlights the importance of thinking through how selection into your sample influences the generalizability of your claims. In my case, I was able to rely on the information collected about the sampling frame to address some questions about what groups selected into the sample and what claims I can make as a result. I targeted the building of my sampling frame around information about each organization that would let me know that I had a somewhat representative sample of interviews, in this case across gender-focus, partisan-lean, region of organization, and other identities they focused on. This kind of exhaustive internet research makes sense for interview-based projects that are studying organizations or fixed groups that have public profiles. I also benefited from my interest in speaking with organizations that are interested in sharing their work with academic audiences, as many organiations expressed an interest in my findings and in highlighting the role of their organizations in candidate recruitment. Overall, my method of sampling allows me to make critical claims about the generalizability of my findings and to minimize the likelihood that I find differences between WCTOs and NGCTOs because of who entered into my sample, across these observed characteristics.

Minimizing Bias While Building Rapport

Many researchers who use interview methods emphasize a tension between the desire to build rapport with a specific person and not wanting to introduce bias by altering the structure of the interviews in ways that impact your findings. Cramer (2016) highlights how small choices can have big impacts on how interviewers are perceived by potential research subjects, and how she worked

to make interview subjects feel comfortable and want to speak honestly with her. For example, Cramer (2016) also talks about how she would go traipsing in the mud or pull out photos of her kids – whatever tactic was going to make the subject feel comfortable enough to open up. She's talking to everyday citizens, and in many cases, she's reaching out to people who are going to be skeptical of a university professor wanting to talk politics with them. In contrast, Hall and Beckmann (2012) speak exclusively with elites working in D.C. who are not skeptical of academics, but have busy schedules that mean an interview can be cut off at any moment. So for them, the interview method focused on selecting a question order to ensure the most important topics were definitely covered, and careful, context-specific question-wording that showed they understood the topics of the people they interviewed. These studies are radically different, but they both highlight the care researchers put into thinking about choices made in the interview process and how they influence outcomes. I propose a generalizable approach for thinking about which strategies make the most sense for one's specific project, using choices in question wording and ordering to maximize depth of information but minimize threats to inference across the groups being compared.

Because I interviewed elites, many of whom are used to being interviewed, I chose a more semi-structured approach. I had a prepared list of questions in a specific order, but gave myself the flexibility to ask follow-up questions that increased depth or added clarity. I also asked the questions in the same general order, but would move things around if the respondent brought up a point that I was planning to ask about later or brought up a point that required additional probing. These follow-ups or changes in order were always driven by the interview subject raising a point that I responded to, ensuring that changes in question order weren't priming them with a new topic, but rather responding to what was already top-of-mind.[15] If someone didn't fully answer a question or if I wanted them to expand further, I kept my responses either to general phrases like: "How so?" or "Tell me more about that." or I would ask them to expand on a specific point they had previously made. By using a standard list of questions, I made sure that topics were generally covered in the

[15]For example, if they mentioned an aim of the training in my initial question about how the training is structured, I might say: "Given that you mentioned this aim of the training, I'd like to hear a bit more about your goals for the training and what you're hoping someone will come away with."

same order, thereby avoiding priming gendered and non-gendered organizations differently. However, by having some flexibility, I also allowed for a more conversational tone, where I was reacting and responding to build rapport and add depth to the information gleaned.[16]

I laid out a set of rules in advance for thinking about how and when to deviate from the interview question order. A long-standing finding in social psychology is that making a piece of information more accessible in memory, through priming mentions of that information, can influence substantive evaluations later on by influencing how much weight an individual puts on some information over others (Sherman et al. 1990). In survey research, it has been shown that priming can occur through the order of questions, influencing how respondents answer related questions later on (McFarland 1981). My theory implies group differences between women's and non-gender candidate training organizations, and so I was more consistent with questions that brought up the gender-focus of the organization, but more flexible with general questions about what the organization does, which would not prime gender beyond what is already top-of-mind to the respondent.

I placed the questions that asked about gender and other identity groups towards the end of the interview, so that the only remaining questions were about COVID, changes over time and technical questions about the organization. That way, questions about what topics are covered in the training, what makes a quality candidate, who attends the training, and whether attendees are generally confident were all asked before I made gender salient in their minds. I also intentionally made my questions about gender and other forms of candidate diversity broad, by just asking how gender influences their trainings / how women experience the trainings or what the organization does to diversify the pipeline of people running for office. I purposefully did not ask about either recruitment or the substantive topics of their trainings specifically in relation to gender/race/ethnicity/sexuality and I intentionally did not mention what groups outside of or within gender they should discuss. This left it open to the respondent to focus on different aspects of their trainings and the different groups that came to mind for them, lessening the likelihood that I directed them towards speaking positively about efforts that might not exist or be substantive. It was particularly important to note

[16]A full list of my questions can be found in Appendix Two.

what organizations only brought up gender once I asked about it, or who talked about diversity of party or region of the state, but never mentioned race outright, versus those that talked about gender and/or race early and often in the interview.

I also used consistent positive affirmations across my interviews, to build rapport with all respondents. I did this broadly, by nodding a ton and using verbal cues that I was interested and excited by what they were saying – regardless of content. I also used whatever information I could from my own life to connect with them. For example, when I interviewer said they were from Wisconsin, I mentioned that my partner grew up there. And when someone mentioned they were Jewish, I would be sure to mention that my mom is a cantor. These small moments helped me to connect with a wide range of interview subjects in whatever way I could.

Of course, it is impossible for my presence not to shape how the conversations went. MacLean (2012) advocates for a thorough and nuanced subjectivity, where you consider how your presence should have shaped your findings. My presence as a female researcher led a handful of organizations, particularly those that focus on women, to assume my research was about women's organizations. I noticed this most often when I asked them to recommend other organizations to me (at the end of the interview), and some respondents asked if I was only speaking to women's groups or everyone. I will never be able to know exactly how that impacted what these organizations talked about or differences between women's and non-gender organizations. However, we might expect this to impact some topics (like the salience of discussions about gender barriers) more than other topics (like whether the organization values networking, endorsements, and mentorship), which should be more factual to an organization and less susceptible to variance because of the interviewer.

In addition, participation in a research study discussing their programs likely shaped what the organizations emphasized. I found that many organizations overemphasized their successes and the positive attributes of their process, and were prone to downplaying negatives, particularly around the impact of COVID on how their trainings operated. They were particularly prone to using examples of people they trained who had won and were sometimes reticent to talk about what didn't work or

what they might want to change.[17] Even though I told all interview subjects that my findings would be anonymized, and reminded them of this fact anytime they mentioned they were discussing more sensitive information, the idea of participating in a research study clearly made my respondents want to put their best foot forward. I kept all of this in mind when approaching my findings, by not relying on these organizations to tell me if they are successful. Instead the purpose of these interviews is to understand what candidate trainings do and how women's organizations approach candidate recruitment and training differently, and then to use other (statistical and experimental) methods to determine the impact of these organizations on the individual and aggregate level. Understanding what interviews can and cannot tell you is essential for getting the benefit out of the method (just like any other social scientific method that we use). Overall, by knowing what kinds of questions and answers were most at risk to threats to inferences about differences across WCTOs and NGCTOs, I was able to craft a question-style that maximized the information I gained about how these types of organizations approach candidate recruitment and training.

Accurate Group Comparisons

When Fenno (1978) wrote about the interview method he used in *Home Style*, he emphasized the difficulty in quantifying findings when using the qualitative method. Because of the semi-structured nature of my interviews, and because they were conducted in a Zoom recording rather than on the road in a candidate's home district, I had different questions about variability in interview data. However, his general point still applies. How do you compare across interviews, when people speak for different lengths of time, with different levels of detail, and by focusing on different aspects of their work in response to your questions?

My approach to analyzing my interview data was grounded in a desire to be able to make comparisons between women's and non-gender candidate training organizations. Therefore, I chose a strategy that allows me to evaluate if different topics or themes were more common in my interviews

[17]For example, four different organizations highlighted that Lauren Underwood attended their organization and that they played a role in her success. Lauren Underwood is a Representative from Illinois who was elected in 2018 by defeating a four-term Republican incumbent. She is the youngest Black woman ever elected to Congress.

with WCTOs than with NGCTOs. This decision builds on a strategy from Becker (1958) of assessing the frequency with which respondents bring up affirming evidence, don't bring up affirming evidence, or bring up contrasting evidence. I developed a specific set of interview codes for each aspect of my theory, and had my research assistants code the entire interview for mentions of each topic. This strategy means that I can evaluate whether WCTOs discussed a particular topic **more** than NGCTOs, and I can look at the sections coded by the RAs to determine whether WCTOs discussed a topic in a **different** way than NGCTOs, when they brought it up. This method of analysis is ideal for evaluating variation across groups through interviews, because it provides a way to make claims about the frequency of particular topics as well as broader insights into **how** topics are discussed by your respondents.

In terms of specific topics I coded for, I was looking for evidence related to my primary hypotheses.[18] First, I coded mentions of how the organization approaches recruitment, encouragement, and mobilization. This included topics like how the organizations recruit, whether they encourage people to run or do not see it as their job to focus on the decision to run or not, and how they frame running for office.

Next, I coded for mentions of how identity shapes the organization's approach to candidate training. I had my research assistants code both mentions of gender and mentions of the other historically excluded groups I focused on – i.e. racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities. Specifically, I coded whether the organization mentioned barriers faced by any of these groups in the interview as well as mentions of trainings that tackle some of those barriers and how to navigate them.[19] I also coded whether the organizations had specific fellowships or scholarships for women or other historically excluded groups (across race, ethnicity and sexuality), and whether they mentioned explicit efforts to have staff, board members, trainers, or speakers that were women or from other

[18]Full description of all themes and the exact wording that was used to describe them when training my research assistants can be found in Appendix Two.

[19]I specifically differentiated between content that mentioned diversity or gender broadly and content that focused on barriers and how to navigate or mitigate them. This is particularly important because a few organizations had diversity trainings focused on teaching **all** candidates to consider diversity of experiences while other organizations had targeted trainings addressing the unique experiences of members of particular sub-groups.

historically excluded groups.[20] I also coded for specific mentions of race, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender that could **discourage** members of those groups from running. This included any mention that members of one (or more) of those groups need to change an aspect of their appearance, personality or mode of presentation to appeal to the median voter or specific conceptions of an ideal candidate. I also coded mentions that people should not run for office if they had additional barriers that disproportionately fall on women, like spousal or familial responsibilities.

Finally, I developed a set of interview codes related to what the organizations do to get people within their trainings the support they need to run for political office after the training was complete. This set of codes included mentions of connecting individuals to endorsements, providing additional resources (both monetary and in-kind donations), connecting them to people who could help with their campaigns (volunteers, staff, outside mentors like previous candidates, party officials and other community elites), and access to additional avenues for one-on-one advice and mentorship outside of the trainings themselves (both formally structured and informally provided). This section also included codes related to the efforts by the organization to build a community amongst the attendees, both within and outside of the trainings. These examples of community could either be to provide peer mentorship, help each other out on the campaign trail, lifting each other up during a difficult campaign process or developing candidates willing to work across differences.[21]

Once the interviews were completed, I developed a method for analyzing these codes that would allow me to make consistent comparisons between WCTOs and NGCTOs. I worked with two undergraduate research assistants to transcribe and code the interviews. Because the same research assistants did both transcription and coding, they were familiar with the basic content of the interviews by the time they needed to code them for the presence or absence of different themes. This was particularly important as much of the information that needed to be coded required a basic understanding of terminology related to running for office. I deidentified the Zoom generated transcripts, replacing both the organization's and respondent's names, before giving them to the

[20] If an organization focused on women from particular historically excluded groups, then they would be coded in both sets of topics.

[21] All of these were listed as reasons for creating peer support networks by my interview respondents.

RAs for cleaning, so that they were less likely to know outright whether an organization exclusively trained women or not when they did the transcribing or coding. This was done intentionally to minimize the influence of information about the organization, and whether it trained exclusively women or not, on the direction of the interview codes.[22]

I then unitized the interviews into distinct paragraphs, so that I could have a measure of the different topics included in each person's responses to my questions. Each time I asked the respondent a new question, I counted that as a distinct topic, as well as if the respondent mentioned multiple distinct points in a single answer.[23] I chose this method of unitization at the topic level, because it created a consistent measure of when topics start and end. That helped to solve challenges with intercoder reliability for semi-structured interviews raised by other researchers, because we are coding topics within an interview rather than exact words or sentences. It also created a standard measure of the frequency of a topic in a given interview. It is virtually impossible for different individuals to code the exact same sentences as relevant to a particular theme, even when those small differences would have little impact on the substantive findings of the study. Kurasaki (2000) measures intercoder reliability by randomly selecting lines of text and evaluating if the different coders had the same codes within five lines of that selected set of text, but this tactic is extremely challenging when interviews vary in length and structure. Campbell et al. (2013) advocates for having a more knowledgeable coder pre-highlight the text and measuring intercoder reliability as the agreement across coders on what codes to assign those highlights, but that limits the coded text to sections that the researcher thinks have meaning, missing out on sections the RAs might notice themselves. I developed my own method where I counted the number of total sections of an interview that each coder assigned to each code, and measured intercoder reliability as how consistently the coders counted the amount of presence or absence of a particular topic within an interview. This process ensured that small differences in coding style didn't have big implications for

[22]The success of this tactic was affirmed multiple times because my research assistants consistently assumed all of the organizations focused on women.

[23]This happened the most often when answering multi-part questions, such as listing the three most important qualities in a candidate or all of the different topics they covered in a single training. However, respondents often went on tangents and brought up new topics when speaking. So, for example, if they explained the main purpose of their organization and then switched to talking about how things changed because of COVID, this would be a new topic

the results, because coders could code a sentence or a paragraph within a single unit of an interview and it would still count as one mention of that topic.

This wholly novel method was driven by my desire to compare the tactics used by WCTOs and NGCTOs, because it is a more accurate measure of the overall salience of a particular topic to a respondent, rather than whether they answered a specific question in a specific way. An organization that talks about gender barriers in response to many different questions clearly has barriers for women running more top of mind than someone who mentions those barriers only once, regardless of who is a wordier talker. This analytic technique also gave me a quantifiable measure of the frequency of a topic in an interview, which created a clear process for measuring relative differences across groups.[24]

Both RAs were trained on an initial set of six interviews, which I then used to revise the codes before giving them a final set of ten interviews for intercoder reliability.[25] I then randomly selected 10 interviews to calculate intercoder reliability once the RAs were trained. These 10 interviews accounted for 17.54% of the total sample.[26] The intercoder reliability amongst these ten organizations was .76, using Krippendorff's Alpha.[27] This emphasizes that there was consistent agreement across myself and my two research assistants, even though we varied in our prior exposure to political science and this particular topic. And again, I'm making theoretically motivated decisions about

[24]One important thing to check with this method is that the overall length of the interview doesn't correlate with organization type. In other words, if WCTOs spoke more, they might appear to do more to help their candidates purely because they spoke in more detail than NGCTOs. However, while WCTOs did use more words than NGCTOs, the difference is not statistically significant. Moving from an NGCTO to a WCTO leads to an average of 165.3 more words per interview, with a p-value of .8. Results can be found in Appendix Three.

[25]This initial set of six interviews was chosen non-randomly, as I wanted to make sure they saw a range of organizations both across organization type and difficulty of coding. Three of the training interviews were with organizations that trained exclusively women and three were with organizations that did not train a particular gender. Two organizations were right-leaning, two were left-leaning and two were non-partisan. As a result of the training interviews, I made four changes to the interview codes. I specified that all topics in Category 1 (Elite Networks) must occur in addition to the people, resources and advice already provided within the confines of a standard training session. I revised both topics in Category 2 (Peer Networks), so that 2a pertained to efforts within the training to build community among peers and 2b pertained to efforts outside of the training sessions. I edited Category 6 (Asking People to Run) to be two sub-topics that just coded if the organization does encouragement/recruitment. Finally, I went through and underlined in each interview which traits needed to be coded as either 7a, 7b or 7c.

[26]Among these ten organizations, six exclusively trained women and four did not. Four were nonpartisan and six were left-leaning.

[27]Hayes and Krippendorff (2007) has found Krippendorff's alpha to be the most valid measure of reliability across coders and so I used Krippendorff's alpha is all tests of reliability.

how to approach my interview method, building a process for analyzing the data around my goal of making accurate comparisons between WCTOs and NGCTOs.

Generally speaking, the easiest topics to code were topics that included facts (like a mention of providing endorsements), as long as I provided clear instructions to the RAs about what the concept was and what fell within the boundaries of that concept. For example, there was some initial debate about whether recruiting program participants from women's studies programs or abortion organizations counted as recruiting from "women's spaces," because men can major in Women and Gender Studies and many men are pro-abortion. Additionally, I needed to clarify some political concepts like whether working with the National Federation of Republican/Democratic Women meant working with a formal party organization. However, beyond these clarifications, the fact-based coding about the types of recruitment and programming the organization did was fairly straightforward. It was more difficult to develop consistent coding on topics that required more inference. For example, I initially had my RAs code the gendered-nature of traits used by the interview subjects to describe political candidates. Given the initial difficulty, I underlined the mentioned traits and had them code the trait as masculine, feminine, or not gender-stereotypic. While those codes are included in the calculation of intercoder-reliability, I chose not to prioritize them for analysis, because of the greater difficulties with consistent coding. Similarly, there were greater challenges with what counted as "encouragement" or "mobilization" and so we spent considerable time defining those concepts between the initial training and the eventual coding of the full set of interviews.

Conclusion

Qualitative interviewing provides an incredible opportunity for researchers to capture depth and nuance when making claims about the social world. However, this creates tensions about how to balance this goal with a desire to minimize threats to inference, through consistency and structure. My approach was motivated by who I hoped to talk to (elites who work for political organizations) and the comparisons I hoped to make (between women's and non-gender organizations), and I kept

those factors in mind when developing the sample, conducting the interviews, and analyzing the data. All choices were made to maximize generalizability of the findings, ensure both validity through a positive rapport but also reliability in choices that might impact the outcomes, and a method of analysis that accurately evaluated how present or absent different topics were but also ensured fluidity in where respondents could highlight different answers.

Removing absolutely all variation is not the goal of interview-based methods. Researchers instead make strategic choices about how much flexibility to incorporate into sample generation, the questions they ask, and their methods of data analysis. My goal was to thoughtfully and transparently consider how each of those choices might have impacted my findings. My hope is that future scholars will benefit from the insights I gleaned while collecting this data, in terms of how to get a sample that is reasonably representative, how to balance consistency and flexibility during the interview, and how to analyze the data with a high degree of reliability across coders without loss to the depth of the findings. By using a method that centers threats to inference when making comparisons across groups, I provide a guidance framework for how to account for these trade-offs in qualitative interviews.

Chapter Three: What Women's Candidate Training Organizations Do

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide evidence for my first claim, which is that women's candidate training organizations (WCTOs) approach recruiting, training, and supporting political candidates differently from non-gender candidate training organizations (NGCTOs), because of their gendered organizational identity. This chapter will focus on what women's candidate training organizations actually do, providing insights into one of the largest subgroups of private-sector candidates organizations currently operating in the U.S.. I will provide evidence that WCTOs engage in active recruitment and mobilization that is critical to increasing women's ambition, by focusing on how women are already qualified and how they can make local change. They center women's experiences, by discussing gender barriers to running for political office in their trainings and how to navigate running for office as a woman. However, many of the women who run these organizations are elites themselves or are embedded in current political networks, which shapes their perspectives about women candidates. So we might not expect them to address the diversity of women's experiences within gender, when discussing women's experiences, overall. Finally, they serve as an alternative entry-point to the candidate recruitment pipeline, by connecting women with elites, mentorship, endorsements, and material resources. This is because the experiences of WCTO leadership, as women, give them a concrete understanding of the challenges that women face as candidates. They're aware that women are less likely to see themselves as potential candidates, that women face greater material and psychological barriers to running, and that it's important to create distinct spaces for women, if you want to increase their ambition and representation. Overall, this chapter demonstrates the gendered-nature of WCTOs approach to candidate recruitment, training,

and support, providing evidence for how organizations send identity-specific signals through all aspects of their programming.

Theory

I expect that WCTOs have a fundamentally different approach to the recruitment and training of political candidates than NGCTOs. Because these organizations' primary audience is women and their leadership is predominantly women, they're going to tailor their candidate recruitment, training, and support to what they perceive as necessary to increase gender parity. Women face additional socioeconomic, structural and psychological barriers to running because of their gender (Bernhard et al. 2020; Brooks and Hayes 2019; Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Pruysers and Blais 2017; Schneider et al. 2016), and women are more likely to mention costs rather than benefits to being a political candidate (Shames 2017). So WCTOs' approach should center these gender-specific barriers, through how these organizations recruit, in the content of their trainings, and via the support they provide to candidates afterwards.

Women are less likely to be asked to run for political office (Fox and Lawless 2010), less likely to believe they're qualified to run (Fox and Lawless 2011), and more likely to have their political ambition intertwined with recruitment from an organization (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013). I expect WCTOs to be much more proactive than NGCTOs in using their training sessions as a tool for recruiting and encouraging program attendees to run. I also expect that WCTOs think more about how to use the training sessions as a funnel for getting a large number of potential women candidates into their networks, so that they can work with a subset of individuals who seem particularly motivated, and ready to launch a campaign in the near future.

However, Piscopo (2019) highlights concerns that women's organizations focus too much on encouragement and confidence-building, and so are limited in their ability to substantively address the very real barriers women face. The point that confidence-boosting or positive encouragement alone cannot overcome the very substantive barriers women face is a critical one. Instead, I argue that WCTOs are not doing encouragement in lieu of addressing substantive barriers. Rather WCTOs

addressing women's perceptions that a run for office isn't for people like them by addressing their very real concerns about running for office, such as financing a campaign, balancing a campaign with their personal and career goals, getting connected to the staffers and elites that make running easier, and worries about the additional sexism and scrutiny they're likely to face on the campaign trail. So the focus on recruitment and mobilization will not just be about confidence-building, but rather framing running for office as worth the additional challenges, because of the difference women can make as political candidates on issues that matter to them. Here again, I highlight how organizational approaches have both material and psychological implications, demonstrating the relationship between political institutions and individual behavior.

H1a: WCTOs will be more likely to focus on asking and encouraging participants to run during their candidate training programming than NGCTOs.

Second, I expect WCTOs to be more likely than NGCTOs to think about how they can leverage their resources to provide additional material and emotional support to program attendees who are considering a run for political office, despite the potential additional costs. I expect that WCTOs are more likely than NGCTOs to connect program attendees to endorsements and material campaign resources, like independent expenditures and PAC donations. I also expect WCTOs are more likely than NGCTOs to introduce program attendees to elites who can help with their campaigns, including potential staffers, party elites, and current and former elected officials that provide advice and campaign support. Finally, I expect WCTOs to use their resources and alumnae to create elite and peer mentorship and community, above and beyond what NGCTOs do. This includes ongoing advice from program staff as well as programming to build support systems among program alums.

At first glance, it might seem strange to assume that women's organizations are more likely to provide material resources, given that campaigns are expensive for everyone. However, within the private sector, there are three primary types of organizations. Identity-based groups, which are trying to get members of a particular demographic (or career) group to be more represented in office.

Partisan organizations, which are trying to provide additional entrypoints for first-time candidates into the pre-existing party networks. And civic organizations, or groups that value information provision and good governance so that everyone has access to the information needed to run and the ability to reflect on what ethical leadership entails. Partisan organizations likely get resources for their candidates through pre-existing party networks, while WCTOs are more likely to be running first-time candidates and challengers that may take on within-party incumbents. Civic organizations care more about ensuring everyone has equal access to the information needed to run, rather than supporting particular candidates to succeed. And so identity-based groups (of which WCTOs are the largest category) are the primary private-sector group that cares about specific candidates winning – candidates who have disproportionately less access to the material resources to run – and exist outside of (though sometimes in concert with) pre-existing partisan networks.

H1b: WCTOs will be more likely than NGCTOs to provide at least some program attendees with additional resources and support needed to run, on top of their formal training and programming.

I expect WCTOs to think more about how to address gendered barriers to running through the content of their trainings. WCTOs are likely more aware of the additional challenges women face than NGCTOs, and likely seek to use their trainings to center women's experiences as political candidates. WCTOs' leadership and board members are primarily women elites with prior experiences in politics, lobbying, government, nonprofits, and organizing. This shapes their perspectives about the unique challenges women face as candidates. Furthermore, their program attendees are women who ask questions and raise concerns, creating an iterative process where the programming adapts to match the demand of the people seeking it out. Using case studies of four women's organizations, Rozell (2000) talks about how many women's organizations recruit from their own activist and leadership networks. This helps to explain why gender should be more salient for WCTOs than NGCTOs, even in subtle ways, because the organization is responding both to the ideas their leadership comes up

with and the demands from program attendees. If there are more women in both of these groups in WCTOs than NGCTOs, then we should similarly expect differences in the focus on gender and women's experiences.

H1c: WCTOs will be more likely to center women's barriers and experiences in their programming than NGCTOs.

However, women's experiences are not monolithic and their barriers to running for office are fundamentally shaped by their many other identities. In particular, nonwhite women face numerous additional socioeconomic, structural, and psychological barriers that white women don't experience (Brown and Lemi 2021; Phillips 2021; Scott 2022; Shames 2017). I further expect that while WCTOs may center gender, they may not mention the diversity of women's experience across identities like race and ethnicity. Organizations are inherently racialized and their actions can serve to center the experiences of white people while diminishing the agency of nonwhite individuals (Ray 2019). Crenshaw (1991) specifically points out the ways in which women's movements center white women's experiences and fail to meet the needs of women of color. And Strolovitch (2008) demonstrates that identity-based organizations often prioritize the needs of the majority or more advantaged, while putting less emphasis on issues impacting less advantaged group members. WCTOs are both nonprofits and PACs, which means their leadership and staff, recruitment networks, and theories of candidate training reflect the types of ideology found in traditional, elite, nonprofit and political spaces. However, there are a subset of women's organizations specifically founded to center the experiences of women of color or specific groups of nonwhite women (Bejarano and Smooth 2022). And even among the broader group of WCTOs, many pay lip-service to the importance of diversity Kreitzer and Osborn (2020) and some even have programming focused on specific racial subgroups of women Sanbonmatsu (2015). Yet, overall, while there is likely considerable variation in how these organizations approach the recruitment and training of racially diverse women candidates, driven by differences in the diversity of their leadership, their recruitment

strategies, and the feedback they receive from their attendees, I expect WCTOs to be no more likely than NGCTOs to talk about diversity within the group they're focusing on – across dimensions like race, ethnicity, and sexuality. This is again, because of the ways in which organizations are the result of the experiences of their leadership and the demands of the modal organizational-member.

H1d: WCTOs will be no more or less likely to discuss the barriers and experiences of racial, ethnic, or sexual minorities than NGCTOs.

Results

In general, the formats of candidate trainings are very similar, even if the structures vary. While some programs last an afternoon and others meet monthly for a full year, they all generally talk about the same substantive topics. Most cover advice and strategies related to fundraising, volunteers and door-knocking, developing your narrative, public speaking/speeches/media training, managing a budget, filings and deadlines, and other technical information about how to run. The differences that emerged from my interviews focused on how the organizations approached recruitment and mobilization, how they addressed challenges related to gender, among other identities, within their trainings, and what kinds of candidate support they provided program attendees once the trainings were complete.

Recruiting and Mobilizing Potential Candidates

The first thing I examined was whether WCTOs were more likely than NGCTOs to engage in active recruitment and encouragement to run, as well as whether they approached mobilizing potential candidates to run differently. I found that WCTOs were more likely than NGCTOs to view encouragement as essential to the recruitment process. Overall, 54.5% of women's candidate training organizations and only 33% of non-gender candidate training organizations made at least mention of ways in which they recruit or encourage as part of their trainings. Women's candidate

trainings also mentioned this work more often in the interviews, with an average of 1.15 mentions per interview, compared to only .42 mentions per interview for non-gender organizations (medians were 1 and 0, respectively). Respondent 40, from a left-leaning women's organization on the West Coast provides an example of what this looks like at their organization:

> "But, you know, I think it is sort of understanding that women are not asked as often, so really privileging the ask in terms of our model. And, knowing that that's a big part of the value we contribute. And proactively identifying the, you know the, the recruiting focus. Just tapping someone on the shoulder who may be thought of as a leader and highly regarded, but never once considered running."

But it's not as simple as just asking more women to run. The barriers women face to running go far beyond recruitment, to genuine material and structural concerns. Many WCTOs talk about how they frame running for office as something worthwhile, despite the cost. In particular, there was a recurring focus on the benefits that women could provide for their communities as political candidates. Respondent 40, from a left-leaning women's organization on the West Coast provides an example of what mobilization and encouragement they think works:

> "Ultimately, what really convinces women, in our experience, is when they can come to an understanding of the value that they'll be able to bring to their community... What works in our model is when we're able to, you know, open up the conversations they need to have to understand from people they really, you know, regard highly. That they can make a difference in the legislature on something that matters to them and their community. Rather than, say, you know, go be retired, and you know, be a grandmother, start a new tech startup."

Additionally, many WCTOs talked about the importance of reframing running for office as something that was already built on pre-existing skills. Respondent 45a, who runs a left-leaning and state-based women's candidate training organization in the South, talked in detail during our interview about how they discuss with women the fact that they are already qualified to run, tying community involvement to the decision to run for office:

> "You know, they'll say, 'Well, this is the first time I've done something that really, really where I'm gonna be a public servant.' And we're like, 'No. You've been a public

servant since you were eight years old and organized a Sunday School whatever for the community.'"

Respondent 5, who works for an organization that trains Black women to run for office, highlights how encouragement to run in the training space can make a particular difference for Black women:

"A man will wake up and say: 'Hey. I wanna run for office.' And then he'll run for office and say: 'Hey. I need, I should be President. Because I should.' With women, I think the, you had to ask them three times. And with Black women, and women of color, it was something like you needed to ask seven or eight times... And the feeling of not ready yet can go on forever. Right? Because, you're, you're never ready. We had [name], who's the President of [outside organization], do a training for us. And she, you know, said, in that training. This is the last bootcamp. She's like: 'You know what. You're never going to be ready. So you might as well go ahead and run.'"

In contrast, many of the NGCTOs I spoke with focused on how the purpose of their organization is to provide information, so that everyone has the ability to run, or to improve the civic quality of elections, rather than getting specific people to run and win. Respondent 37, from a non-partisan, non-gender, state-based organization on the East Coast explains:

"We love when our candidates run and win. Like we think that that's great...But we are actually, our focus is not to field winning candidates for office. Our focus is to educate people about what it takes to run a campaign. So, if someone comes through a candidate training program, and they end up running, and running like a campaign that they can be proud of, and losing, that's still a positive outcome in our book. Because they help probably better the body politic and the general conversation in a campaign."

Overall, there were two primary distinctions in how WCTOs and NGCTOs think about recruitment and mobilization. All organizations talk about the importance of providing transparency in what it takes to run. However, WCTOs have a clear representational goal – they want members of a historically underrepresented group to run for office at greater rates. So they spend more time both actively encouraging people to run (recruitment), and thinking about what types of frames are mobilizing for their members (mobilization). Namely, WCTOs focused more on how their program attendees were already qualified or were as qualified as anyone else running, and how their specific, lived experiences make them excellent representatives for their communities. WCTOs and NGCTOs

are also shaped by how their leadership experiences politics, because those are the people designing their trainings, and what their programming attendees appear to need. So if there are more women in leadership and in attendance in WCTOs, then we should expect them to have a more gendered approach to recruitment and mobilization. This also sets-up why we might expect WCTOs to be more effective at increasing women's individual-level ambition and state-level representation, as people are more likely to engage in politics if they have theor own experiences reflected back at them. By connecting running for office to solving tangible programs and helping one's local community, WCTOs are sending a signal that politics is worth the cost for people who face barriers to running.

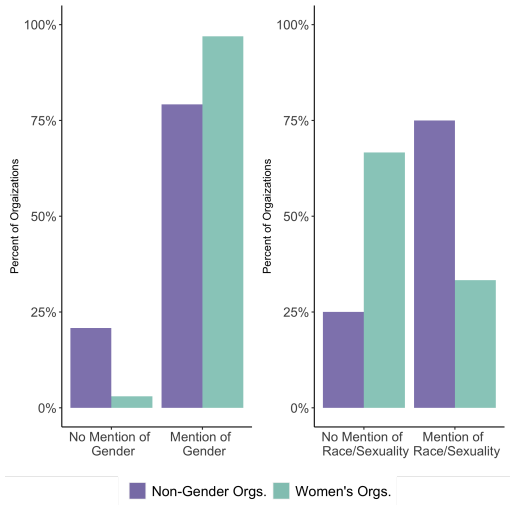
Mentioning Gender (And Other Identities)

I next considered how gender impacted the candidate trainings themselves, and whether WCTOs were more likely to frame candidate trainings more directly around women's experiences as potential political candidates. This helps to provide evidence of the gendered-orgnizational signal that I argue WCTOs send to potential women candidates. WCTOs were more likely to directly address gender barriers to running, but were less likely to mention other identities within women as a group. Of the WCTOs I interviewed, 96.7% spoke at least once about barriers women face to running for office, compared with 79.2% of NGCTOs (Figure 3). They also talked about those barriers more frequently, with an average of 3.64 sections of the interview about gender barriers compared with 2.38 for NGCTOs (medians of 3 and 2 respectively). But WCTOs were far less likely than NGCTOs to talk about barriers related to a person's race, ethnicity, or sexuality. In the interviews, 33% of women's candidate trainings, compared to 75% of non-gender candidate trainings, mentioned additional challenges faced by non-white or non-straight candidates at least once (Figure 3). These numbers become 31.3% and 68.4% when I remove the organizations in my sample focused on training non-white or non-straight candidates.[28] WCTOs spoke an average of .64 times per interview about

[28]See Appendix Four for analyses conducted without right-leaning organizations in the sample. Results highlight that findings focused on efforts to create racial, ethnic, and sexual diversity in content and leadership cannot be explained solely by differences in the number of right-leaning organizations across WCTOs and NGCTOs.

barriers faced by non-white and non-straight candidates, compared with 1.79 mentions per interview for organizations not focused on the gender.[29]

FIGURE 3. Mentions of Barriers Based on Gender and Race/Ethnicity/Sexuality By Organization Type



Note: Figure 3 depicts the percent of organizations that made at least one mention of a barrier women face to running for office and organizations that made at least one mention of a barrier non-white or non-straight candidates face to running for office during the interview period, amongst both Women's and Non-Gender Candidate Training Organizations. Results show that 96.7% WCTOs and 79.2% NGCTOs made at least one mention of gender, while 33% WCTOs and 75% NGCTOs made at least one mention of race, ethnicity, or sexuality.

In terms of actual training sessions, 48.5% of WCTOs and 41.7% of NGCTOs mention having at least one training session that covers topics related to gender, with an average of .82 mentions for women's candidate trainings compared to .58 for non-gender candidate trainings.[30] However, only 9.1% of WCTOs made at least one mention of training sessions focused on barriers faced across race, ethnicity, or sexuality, compared with 33% of non-gender organizations.[31] Overall, a striking 39.4% of the WCTOs I interviewed did not bring up race, ethnicity, or sexuality at any point in my interview, when talking about barriers to running, topics covered in their trainings, or other aspects about how they organize or structure their candidate trainings.

[29]These numbers become .59 and 1.32 when organizations focused on race, ethnicity, or sexuality are removed. Medians are 0 and 1 in both cases.

[30]Median was 0 for both WCTOs and NGCTOs.

[31]When I remove organizations focused on race, ethnicity or sexuality from my sample, 21.1% of non-gender organizations have such trainings.

In terms of specific topics, WCTOs mentioned gender barriers related to access to networks and resources, additional family obligations, sexism or discrimination on the campaign trail, and how those barriers decrease women's confidence. This highlights the relationship between material barriers to being able to run and ambition, or the desire to do so. It also highlights the role of organizations that center women's barriers in addressing the gender gap in political ambition. Respondent 30, from a national, nonpartisan women's candidate training program summarized a number of these barriers:

> "Women don't have access to political networks. They don't have access to, you know, fundraising networks. They don't have access to, just space and time, right. Because women still do disproportionate amounts of child-rearing and housework. And we saw this clearly, with the pandemic, right. So, because of those three things, they are magnified by the fact that women, number four, still have this confidence barrier."

Respondent 32, from a left-leaning women's organization in the South, talked about how financial barriers may differ for non-white women and how they address those challenges within the training space, as part of a larger conversation around fundraising as a woman candidate:

> "We spend a lot of time talking about, in particular, women and women of color, because we know that we're at a financial disadvantage trying to run for office. That donors are still a bit biased when it comes to giving to women, particularly women of color. And so, we do spend some time talking about that, and how, how we can even the playing field, even if we're not raising the same amount of money."

When I followed up to ask about how they talk about those fundraising barriers in the training space, given that those barriers are extremely challenging to overcome, she said:

> "We talk a lot about, you know, races that we've run and women that we've supported. And how, you know, even when we're outspent 10-1 or 20-1, we can still win elections. Because it's not about how much money we're raising, it's about the plan that we're putting in place and executing."

In addition to talking about barriers to running for office across groups, it also matters whether the people *doing* the training reflect the diversity of people that make up this country. We know

that role models matter within the context of candidate training for increasing interest in running (Sweet-Cushman 2019), and for ensuring that a diversity of perspectives are centered in conversations about what being a candidate entails (Sanbonmatsu 2015). I coded mentions of efforts to ensure that the trainers, speakers, and leadership of the organization included women, and intentional efforts to ensure those same individuals were either racially diverse or included sexual minorities. 51.5% of women's candidate training organizations, compared to only 25% of all-gender candidate trainings, made at least one mention of efforts to ensure their programming included women trainers or speakers (Figure 4).[32] This was most common in the form of panels of women who had run for office or served in government, but there were also a number of mentions of the importance of women experts leading sessions on specific topics related to campaigning. Women's candidate training organizations also talked about these efforts an average of .97 times per interview, compared with .38 for all-gender candidate trainings (medians were 1 and 0).

Most often, women's candidate trainings tied the importance of having women experts either to the ways it builds confidence to see people who look like you, or how it means that the conversations are more relevant to the people in the audience. Respondent 31, from a non-partisan women's candidate training in the Western United States talked about how seeing other women experts can make program attendees feel like experts themselves:

> "Because I think, I think it's, especially in [state], especially with the makeup of state and local legislators, or state and local elected officials, it's still predominantly male. So, you sit through tons and tons of meetings that are essentially manels. So, it was uncommon for a lot of, a lot of women to, to see women being held up week after week as expert. And I think that that really helped them feel like they themselves were also experts. There was just a relatability piece."

And Respondent 35, from a national, left-leaning women's candidate training, focuses on how the presence of women speakers allows for more relevant information for women program attendees.

[32]It's worth noting that this is a particularly conservative test, as I only coded times when an organization mentions that they actively seek out women speakers, but many of the women's organizations talked about panels of elected officials where everyone was a woman, but it was not explicitly mentioned as an intentional choice and so we could not confirm they made sure this happened consistently.

These two examples demonstrate that the identities of people in leadership matter both for the experience of feeling like you belong and because it shapes the concrete information that's provided.

> "Our panelists are all women. Right. So, talking, being able to bring those examples and stories. It also creates a space that when folks do have questions around like: 'How does this work with childcare? Or how does this work with eldercare? Or how might this work, if I'm a single woman and trying to date while running for office?'"

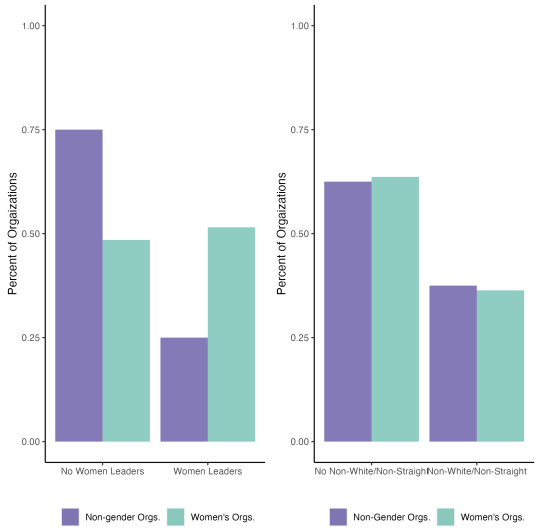
However, overall, there were fewer mentions of proactive efforts to ensure that organization leadership, board-members, trainers and speakers were either non-white or non-straight. As can be seen in Figure 4, 36.4% of women's candidate trainings and 37.5% of all-gender candidate trainings made at least one mention of efforts to diversify their leadership across either race, ethnicity, or sexuality. This was talked about an average of .67 times per interview for women's organizations versus .54 times per interview for all-gender organizations (medians were 0 for both). Again, the importance of this diversity was often tied to being able to speak to the unique experiences of being non-white or non-straight while running for office and how it can make running for office feel more achievable for individuals who have historically been excluded from these opportunities. Respondent 9, who works for a national organization that recruits and trains Black political candidates, discussed why having Black candidates they've endorsed come back and speak matters so much:

> "And I would say that's probably the final part, is the fact that we get so many former endorsed candidates to get involved with the process. To share their experience. And I think, at the end of the day, you can. . . a few people can dream about where they want to be. But at the end of the day, for you to have a full vision, you have to see it as not just a rarity but a regular occurrence."

And Respondent 33, from a national left-leaning candidate training, talked about the disconnect that non-white program attendees might feel if everyone giving them advice is white:

> "We've been also looking at our adjunct trainer pool, and ensuring that our adjunct trainer pool is diverse. And what that means is, right, who's the face of how you're learning that information? And so, you know, are you, if you're BIPOC, and then are we bringing all white trainers, there could be some disconnect."

FIGURE 4. Mentions of Efforts To Increase Diversity of Program Leadership Across Gender and Race/Ethnicity/Sexuality By Organization Type



Note: Figure 4 depicts the percent of organizations that made at least one mention of efforts to ensure program leadership, including staff, trainers, and speakers, were women, and organizations that made at least one mention of efforts to ensure program leadership were either non-white or non-straight. Results show that 51.5% of WCTOs and 25% of NGCTOs made efforts towards women's leadership, while 36.4% of WCTOs and 37.5% NGCTOs made efforts to have racially, ethnically, or sexually diverse program leadership.

Overall, almost every single WCTO I interviewed spoke at length about barriers women face to running and covered a wide range of specific socioeconomic, psychological, and structural challenges. This came up often in the first couple questions, where I asked them to talk about their purpose of their organization and how candidate training works at their organization, highlighting the centrality of women's barriers to WCTOs' organizational approaches. However, that awareness of barriers for "all" women did not always expand to understanding how race, ethnicity and sexuality influence women's experiences of political candidacy and concerns about running. Some organizations, like Respondent 32 from the quote above, went out of their way to acknowledge how barriers may vary for different groups of women. However, other WCTOs who talked about the diversity of women's experiences, brought up diversity within the context of ways to appeal to lots of different kinds of voters, rather than lots of different kinds of candidate experiences. For example, when Respondent 35, from a national, left-leaning women's candidate training, talked about their trainings related to identity, she said they involved:

> "Defining what diversity means. Determining, defining what inclusion means. Defining what intersectionality means. Then, we talk about, we ask folks to evaluate their own identities and which ones they really hold close to them, and talk about how those identities might impact on their campaign. Right. So, if I am a young, bi, woman from Wisconsin, who grew up in, is in the same town, how does that impact my campaign and what that can look like? We also have them think about the communities that they might be representing. Right. Which communities are they already closest to and which ones do they not know about? And what are ways that they can thoughtfully, and with cultural competency, engage with those communities and learn more about those communities, that they aren't members of, in order to be running an inclusive campaign."

In contrast, organizations focused on identities other than gender spoke at length about the importance of centering the specific experiences of those groups. For example, Respondent 23, from a national, nonpartisan, organization focused on immigrant candidates, talks about how they incorporate people's identities into their trainings:

> "So, we begin our training with two activities, one called "My Lived Experience" and the other one called "Your American Experience," which is, it's, it's asking people to center themselves on like, what is their identity and how does that shape their own

> American experience. Their own experience in this country. Right. Their experience of why they want to serve, and what our values are. Right. How everything we've lived shaped who we are and what impact you want to make."

She then later ties those experiences directly to a barrier many immigrant candidates face while running for office, particularly those that are not white or not male:

> "...we specifically address in our two and a half day training what it means to be a new American and the intersections of our identity. Whether we come from an immigrant background or we are the first and only to be running for this elected office, what does it mean to run and experience xenophobia, racism and misogyny on the campaign trail."

Respondent 44, who works for a national, left-leaning, organization that helps design candidate trainings for other organizations, including a number of organizations focused on queer and nonwhite candidates, talked about how they approach the unique challenges faced by queer candidates, who often have to navigate talking about queer culture with voters who don't share their experiences:

> "When we're in the queer space we talked about Grindr. And what does it mean to be in the queer community. And going to these queer-based types of festivals, and events, and parties. And other things that are really genuinely part of the queer community. And how do you be authentically yourself in that space, while also communicating to a voter who has no idea what that space looks like?"

Overall, WCTOs were considerably more likely to center the experiences of women, tying this to building confidence, helping women navigate specific challenges, and building communities and networks that were women-led. However, they often talked about women's experiences as a group, and were less likely to discuss how women's many identities influence running for office. This gap between WCTOS focusing deeply on the experiences of "women" as a group versus talking about variation within women's experiences also applied to how they thought about who spoke with program attendees and served in organization leadership. I argue that these decisions about which women to center matter because they shape the experiences that are reflected back to potential participants, which changes both the type of material support and information provided, and who feels like they belong within political spaces.

Most commonly, the comparison is between organizations that did not mention women's many identities at all and those that talked about unique barriers for particular subgroups of women and how they discussed and addressed those challenges. However, a small handful of WCTOs brought up the experiences of multiply-marginalized members as reasons why members of these groups either shouldn't run or would need to change identity-adjacent aspects of their campaign style in order to appeal to a majority of voters. This included comments about how some people just cannot be good candidates, because of personal/private/family circumstances, as well as comments about how individuals **must** change a fundamental aspect of their appearance or presentation on the campaign trail in ways that specifically targeted non-white or non-straight women. For example, Respondent 18, from a national, left-leaning women's candidate training, talked about the pushback she got, particularly on training sessions focused on altering a person's image or voice:

> "Time was, I could give an image class, and I could tell people: 'First of all, don't ever touch your hair when you're on screen. That is just an absolute no-no in this world.' I could say: 'You need to put on a little bit more makeup. You know, you're very pale. You've got long hair. You've got to put that here behind you. You can't let it, sort of like, crawl down to your cleavage, which is way too low'... And then comes the big backlash, that young women who have a piercing, particularly face piercings. People who have, who have decided they're gonna wear tight jeans. And they're gonna wear a, you know, low cut blouse. We're gonna say: 'Sure. But is it worth $50,000 worth of TV ads I'm gonna have to buy, because you're gonna piss off those women along the way.'...Or, you know, women who are trans, particularly, in many communities, when they start to run, they are not changing their voice. They're not changing how they look. They're wearing nail polish and high heels. And I'm like: 'You know, this is a, this is a roadblock. You need to know that people already go into this thinking that you're, you're trans. And, to tell you the truth, there's not a lot of people who understand that, to the extent that they can accept it.' So, from that perspective, I spend a lot of time first on the image, the voice."

This also came up for Respondent 21, from a non-partisan women's candidate training in the Northeast, who talked about the pushback she received from a Black queer candidate who wanted to talk openly about her identity on the campaign trail:

> "Two years ago we had our first LGBTQ candidate. And, wonderful woman, brilliant...Anyway, so she gets up and she's speaking and she's like: 'As a queer black

> woman.' And I'm like: "Okay, we can all see that you're Black. Why do I care if you're queer?"...I say to her: 'Okay. Explain this, this, this queer thing to me. Why is it so important within the first 10 seconds of you getting up to do anything, everybody has to know you're queer?' So she goes: 'Well, it's very important, because the queer population is a fringe population. And it's never really had any heroes or heroines that are out there advocating for it. So, it's very important for people to know that I represent this fringe population.' So I, so I sit back. Because I'm like: 'Okay. That's a decent answer. However, I don't care who you go to sleep with. And just like I said to you before I'm in it, as your constituent, as your neighbor, because I want to know who you are what you can do for me.'"

I note this tension, because it plays into a challenge many candidates face – the need to gain majority appeal. However, racial, ethnic, sexual, and gender minorities often have lived experiences that run counter to who these organizations perceive as the median voter. Some organizations were very open to engaging with potential candidates in difficult and nuanced conversations about how their identities shape their experiences and challenges as candidates. Other organizations, like the two quoted above, framed these differences as changes that candidates need to make.

How organizations approach training candidates to run for political office shapes who feels seen within the training space and who gets the kinds of material and psychological support they need to address their barriers to running. In particular, how a candidate's identities are discussed within political organizations may shape who seeks out the ongoing support these organizations provide, or may serve to recruit/discourage different attendees based on who leaves the training seeing themselves as a potential candidate. WCTOs were more likely to center gender barriers and women's experiences than NGCTOs, and so we might expect this makes more women feel seen and centered in these spaces, relative to attending an NGCTO. But there is high variance in how much these organizations think about the racial and sexual diversity of their speakers, as well as how they think about what it means to run for office as a non-white and/or non-straight woman. I expect that just as centering gender may serve to increase the ambition of some women, failing to center other identities may decrease the ambition of others. Overall, this has implications for how we think about identity within organizations, as I demonstrate that the identity-focus of an organization influences the information/support provided both across and within particular identity groups, begging the

question of how these signals shape who runs for political office.

Candidate Support Through Resource Provision

I also expected WCTOs to be more likely to connect their program attendees with tangible access to resources, networks, support, and mentorship. This is because they are more likely to see a lack of access as a barrier to their attendees running for office. To measure resource provision, I looked at five main areas. First, I looked for mentions that their organization provides **endorsements**. Second, I looked for mentions that they provide **money or in-kind donations** to candidates, including PAC checks, hosting fundraising events, funding and distributing campaign literature, and volunteer activations. Third, I looked for mentions that they connect program attendees with **political elites** who can help with their campaign, beyond simply inviting attendees to hear people speak in a group training context. This included staffers, former or current electeds, volunteers, or one-on-one follow up meetings with speakers. Fourth, I looked for mentions of informal or formal mentorship. **Informal mentorship** includes any non-systematic but personalized follow-up with program attendees over phone, internet, or in-person. **Formal mentorship** includes any systematic effort to meet one-on-one with either all or some program attendees for the purpose of helping them either decide to run or with their campaign. Finally, I looked at efforts to build connections amongst program attendees either during (**peer community**) or after (**alumni community**) the candidate training, for the purposes of encouragement, advice, or assistance.

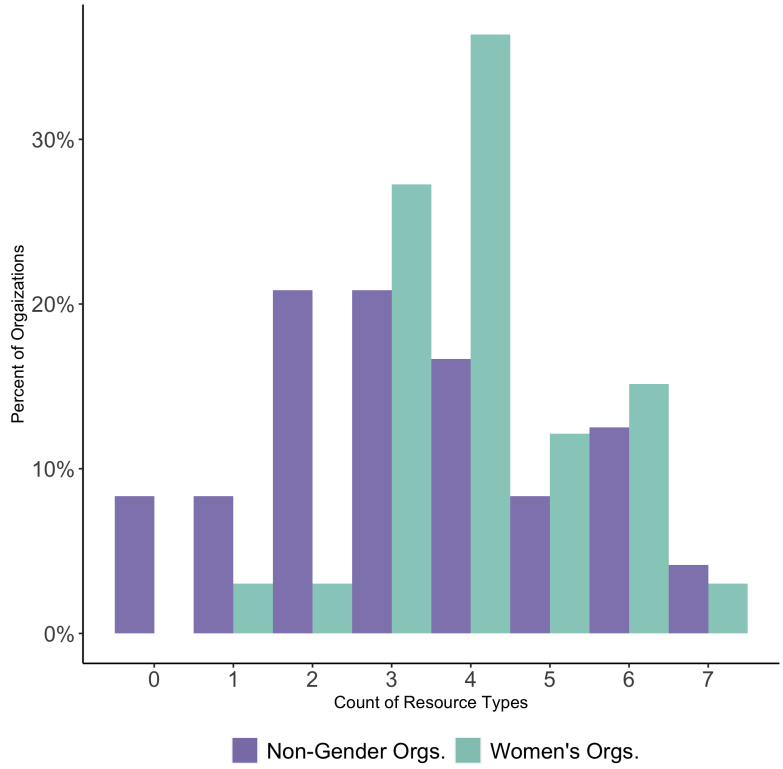
Almost every organization does at least some resource provision; 55/57 organizations I interviewed do at least one of the seven types of resource provision I looked at.[33] However, the WCTOs did an average of 4.1 activities and NGCTOs did an average of 3.25 (Figure 5).[34]. I also found that WCTOs discuss at least one of the 7 forms of candidate support an average of 9.2 times per

[33]This is seven types, because mentorship is two codes, one for informal and the other for formal mentorship, and community is two codes, one for community-building in the training (peer community) and one for community building after the training (alumni community).

[34]Medians were 4 and 3 respectively.

interview, while NGCTOs discuss them an average of 6.1 times per interview[35]

FIGURE 5. Number of Different Types of Resource Provision Organizations Provide Program Attendees By Organization Type



Note: Figure 5 depicts the percent of WCTOs and NGCTOs that do different kinds of candidate support on behalf of their program attendees. Resource Types is a count of seven forms of candidate support, including endorsements, material resources, elite networks, informal mentorship, formal mentorship, peer community, and alumni community. Results show that WCTOs did an average of 4.1 candidiate support activities while NGCTOs did an average of 3.25 activities.

Even bigger differences emerge when I compare the specific types of resource provision that I studied. While 33% of WCTOs and 37.5% of NGCTOs do endorsements, that number drops to 26.3% of NGCTOs not focused on any identity, highlighting that this kind of additional resource support may be generalizable across organizations focused on identity more broadly. WCTOs also talk about their endorsements and their endorsed candidates more, with an average of 1 mention per interview, compared to .75 mentions for non-gender organizations. When I look at differences in how often they talk about the types of money or in-kind donations they provide potential candidates (most

[35]Medians of 8 and 5.5.

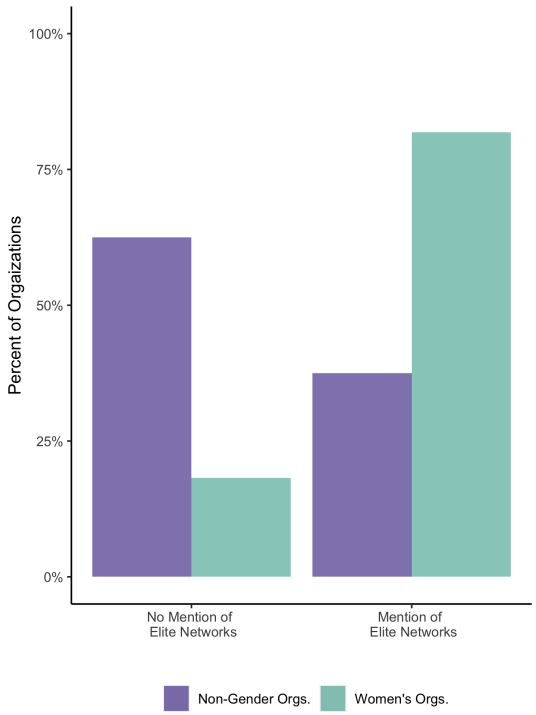
often PAC checks, but sometimes other campaign assistance), I also find that women's candidate trainings mention this more often. 27.3% of women's organizations and only 20.83% of non-gender organizations mentioned that they provide some program attendees who run for office additional campaign resources.

One of the areas where I saw the greatest differences was in providing access to political elites. I found that 81.8% of WCTOs made at least one mention of connecting program attendees with elites, either for one-on-ones or outside of the training itself, compared to only 37.5% of NGCTOs (Figure 6). Some organizations do this in a formal manner, like Organization 20, which provides members of their fellowship with "mentors at a local and national level, who are then gonna tie you into these huge political networks," and Organization 24, who said that "we team each of our participants up with an alum of the program, as, sort of, a mentor." Both of these organizations are large, national, nonpartisan women's networks that have many alumna now running for office that they can introduce program attendees to. But even the state-based women's organizations use their local resources to provide additional people as support. Organization 2, a left-leaning women's organization in the South, talked about how their organization has "developed what we've called SWAT teams around the state. In not all areas, but in major metropolitan areas, where these teams of politically active women will assist an up-and-coming runner with, support for fundraising, for message training."

In contrast, I found that the majority of both WCTOs (54.5%) and NGCTOs (66%) engaged in informal mentorship. This included interview mentions of things like being available for attendees to ask additional questions or check in once the trainings are complete. Women's organizations did talk about this informal mentorship *slightly* more often, with an average of 1.28 mentions per interview, compared to an average of 1 mention for non-gender candidate trainings (but with medians of 1 for both groups). Respondent 41, from one of the longest running non-partisan national women's organizations showcases what this informal mentorship can look like:

> "I'll email our grads. And I'm like, "Okay, I'm coming to DC. Who wants to have breakfast with me? If you have good news, I'd love to see you. If you're floundering, you need to see me." We have those tough conversations with our grads to pivot them. To make sure that they're moving along. Because this can be very isolating work. Running

FIGURE 6. Mentions of Efforts to Substantively Connect Program Attendees with Elite Networks By Organization Type



Note: Figure 6 depicts the percent of organizations that made at least one mention of efforts to connect program attendees with elite networks, including party leadership, potential staffers, and current/former elected officials. Results show that 81.8% WCTOs and 37.5% NGCTOs made efforts to connect program attendees with elites.

> for office can be very, very isolating. And, we just want them to always know that we are there for them."

However, WCTOs were far more likely to mentor systematically rather than ad-hoc or on an as-needed basis. 45.5% of WCTOs made at least one mention in my interviews of some sort of formal process for additional mentorship or guidance, while only 37.5% of NGCTOs did formal support. Furthermore, when I removed non-gender candidate training organizations that focus on identities other than women, that number becomes 31.6%. Respondents 16, from a left-leaning women's candidate training in the Midwest, showcased how consistent formal mentorship can allow candidates to understand how the trainings apply to their unique set of circumstances:

> "Then we take all of that, and we take it out into our one-on-one consulting. And we say:

> “Based on what we’re talking about in this training, how does that apply to a [County] Commissioners race? Right. And maybe with your personal dynamic too.” And we wanna to make sure that whatever plans we’re creating. . . women are not a monolith. Right. And so, we have to make sure that women are supported for the dynamics of their race."

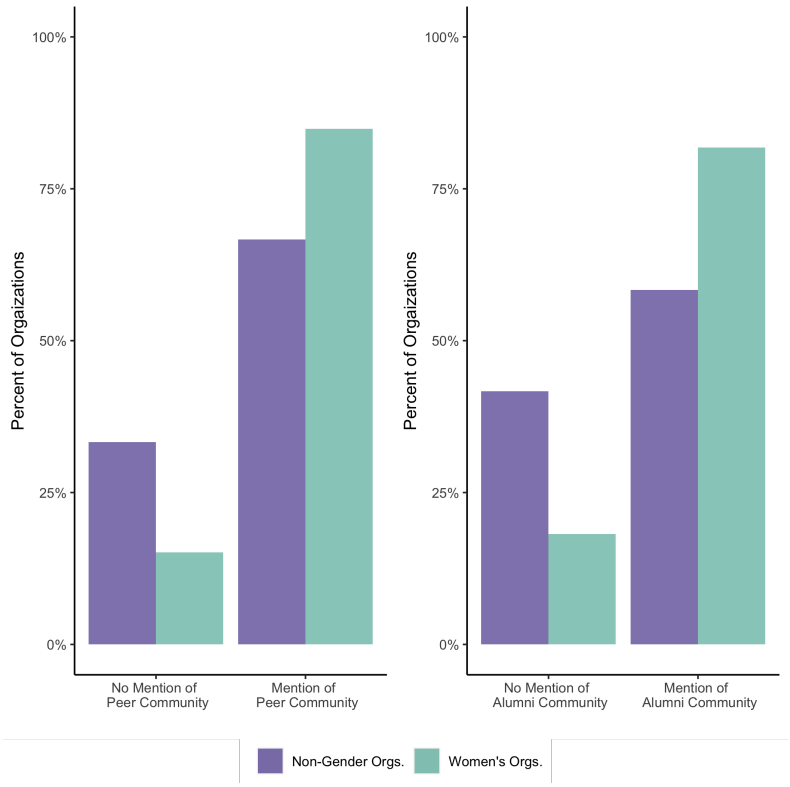
Respondent 12, from a left-leaning women’s organization in the South, provides a clear example of how this formal mentorship can provide a source of support to candidates through Election Day:

> "The way it’s supposed to work is that, like, my boss does candidate consultations and I do campaign manager consultations. That’s a perfect system. Sometimes, like, I have a better relationship with the candidate than she does. And they talk to me. But, it’s a lot of emotional support."

Finally, WCTOs did more to create peer community among their program attendees, both during and after the trainings. 84.8% of WCTOs, compared to 66% of NGCTOs made at least one mention of a way they created peer community within the trainings (Figure 7). WCTOs often talked about how bonding within the trainings led to ongoing support after the training was complete, particularly for those who ran for office. WCTOs were also even more likely to host events to keep their alumni communities connected to both the organization and their fellow program attendees. As can be seen in 7, 81.8% of women’s candidate training organizations, compared to 58.3% of non-gender candidate trainings made at least one mention of ways they create peer community outside of the trainings themselves. Respondent 16, from a left-leaning women’s organization in the Midwest, talks about how this bonding helps women candidates form a network:

> "Being a candidate can be a very lonely experience, even when you’re surrounded by people who really support you, are there because they believe in the same things you believe in. You can be surrounded by this experience and have it still feel really lonely. And so, going and having friendship and connection. Some candidates I’ve seen like, almost form a group text with the women they meet at this training, which is phenomenal. Or their campaign managers meet one another, and they trade notes."

FIGURE 7. Mentions of Efforts to Build Community Among Program Attendees and Alumni By Organization Type



Note: Figure 7 depicts the percent of organizations that made at least one mention of efforts to build peer community either during or after the candidate training program. Results show that 84.8% WCTOs made at least one mention of efforts to build community during the training, compared with 66% NGCTOs. Additionally, 81.8% WCTOs made at least one mention of efforts to build community after the training, compared with 58.3% NGCTOs.

Conclusion

Overall, I found that gender and a focus on women shapes WCTOs approaches to recruitment, training, and candidate support. In terms of recruitment, they were more likely to focus on encouraging attendees to run, with a focus on how they already had the skills to be quality candidates and mobilizing them to think about the local change they can make in their communities. In terms of the trainings, WCTOs were more likely to talk about women's experiences and barriers to running, as well as develop programming that centers or addresses those barriers. However, they were less likely to talk about other identities, such as race, ethnicity, and sexuality, highlighting limitations in the

types of women's experiences that some of these organization speak to. Finally, WCTOs did more than NGCTOs to provide tangible support to their program attendees, but especially in the forms of elite networking, peer community, and formal mentorship. But of course interview data can only tell us what makes women's organizations distinct. It leaves open critical questions about whether these differences in the substance of the support and perceived credibility as organizations interested in helping women has an effect on individual and state-level shifts in women's political ambition.

But what explains why women's organizations are more likely to center women's experiences and yet less likely to focus on the experiences of non-white candidates? I propose two potential mechanisms. The types of experiences that an organization designs its programming around are shaped both by who serves in leadership positions within the organization and who attends the trainings / is recruited to attend the trainings. In future work, I hope to explore how the race and gender demographics of organization elites also shape their approach to candidate training and the types of barriers to running that they center. However, I have some evidence that NGCTOs and WCTOs use different recruitment networks. When I asked the organizations I interviewed how they found people to attend their trainings, 87.9% of WCTOs and 83.3% of NGCTOs recruiting through word of mouth or their own networks. This means that the attendees of these organizations are likely to reproduce the demographic characteristics of their leadership. If WCTOs are run more likely to be run by women, who are more integrated into women's political networks than men, than NGCTOs, then this likely impacts who attends the trainings and whose experiences the trainings are geared towards. I also coded for whether the organizations mentioned active efforts to build relationships with other organizations that focus on either gender or race, in order to expand their networks of potential attendees. 36.4% of WCTOs and 20.8% of NGCTOs mentioned other women's organizations they partnered with to expand their networks, while 30.3% of WCTOs and 50% of NGCTOs mentioned organizations focused on either people of color or specific racial minority groups.[36] So only a small handful of NGCTOs are making conscious efforts to recruit from women's groups not already in their networks and fewer WCTOs are making concious efforts to recruit from

[36]These numbers become 28.1% of WCTOs and 42.1% of NGCTOs when I remove organizations that recruit historically excluded groups that aren't just gender.

organizations that work with people of color. The types of people these organizations cater to and center may help to explain why WCTOs forcus more on women's experiences overall, but are not as likely to think about the diversity of women's experiences across race and ethnicity.

This research into how WCTOs and NGCTOs differ in their approach to candidate recruitment, training, and support has implications for understanding the role of identity in political organizations more broadly. I found that gender influences all aspects of how WCTOs approach mobilizing and preparing potential candidates. I also found that these organizations talked about their approach to candidate training by discussing barriers women face to running and how their organization helps to address those barriers, and that they emphasize the importance of creating spaces where women feel centered and like they belong in politics. This demonstrates the ways in which political ambition is directly intertwined with barriers to running – people don't want to run for office unless they feel it's worth the cost. It also demonstrates the role of identity-based organizations in mitigating those barriers. People's identities shape all aspects of how they experience politics, and gender definitely influences the experiences of potential and actual political candidates. So when an organization signals that it understands the centrality of gender to how many women experience politics, we should expect this matters for who seeks an organization out and participates as a result. This means that the next question is what the organizational identity signals mean for women's individual-level ambition and state-level descriptive representation. In other words, does it matter that WCTOs recruit and train candidates in a gendered way?

Chapter Four: The Effect of WCTOs on Women's Individual-Level Ambition

Introduction

With the previous study, I established that Women's Candidate Training Organizations (WCTOs) approach the recruitment and training of candidates differently from Non-Gender Candidate Training Organizations (NGCTOs), taking a gendered approach that I argue should signal to potential women candidates that this is a recruitment space that will support people like them. In order to demonstrate that this gender-specific organizational approach matters, I will test the relationship between the three key differences that emerged in my interviews and individual-level women's individual-level political ambition. First, **mobilization**, particularly by framing running for office as linked to community involvement and making a local difference, emerged as one of the core tactic WCTOs used to increase women's ambition, in order to frame running for office as worth the costs. Second, **substantial resource provision**, particularly in the form of access to elites, ongoing mentorship and peer community, was far more common from WCTOs and NGCTOs, in order to address the material barriers women face to running. Third, WCTOs were more likely to emphasize **gender community** and substantively addressing gender-specific barriers, in order to signal that these organizations are spaces that understand women's experiences and needs as political candidates. However, one core argument of my theory is that the effectiveness of these gendered signals should vary based on women's other identities and psychological attachments. So I will also test whether the effect of learning about a women's organization on women's political ambition, and its precedents, works differently across race, ethnicity, and the levels of gender consciousness of the respondents.

These three factors demonstrate the core ways that women's organizations have shifted their candidate recruitment, training, and support strategies in order to center what they see as women's

barriers to running for office. While "gender community" is the only explicitly gendered signal (because it focuses on an explicit cue that an organization focuses on women), all three of these strategies are linked to the hurdles women face to political candidacy. Women are more likely to express concern about the financial costs of running for office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Phillips 2021; Shames 2017), and are less likely to be in the types of elite networks that lead to substantive resource support (Crowder-Meyer 2013). Therefore, signals of material support should be particularly impactful for potential women candidates. Similarly, women are less likely to see themselves within the current political leadership (Conroy 2015; Eagly and Karau 2002) and within a framing of politics focused on personal ambition (Schneider et al. 2016) and competition (Kanthak and Woon 2015). And so we should expect that a framing of running for office focused on making a local difference in one's community should also be distinctly mobilizing for women candidates.

The signal an organization sends of its ability to materially and psychologically address an individual's barrier to running is essential to whether that signal is believed. Men already believe that formal political party organizations have the resources and information necessary to support them in a potential run for office. So even if they would be mobilized to run through similar mechanisms, there are already organizations that exist whose versions of these mechanisms (psychological and material candidate support) are built around the strategies that have worked to get men to run for office. Because women are less likely to believe that material and psychological support comes from non-gendered organizations, it is essential to increasing women's ambition that the efforts to recruit are grounded in the specific barriers that they face.[37]

[37]One potential empirical implication of this might be to run the analyses as interactions between resources/mobilization and gendered community. I do not do this for two reasons, one theoretical and one empirical. First of all, I devised these particular approaches to psychological and material support from interviews with WCTOs about what they do differently. So the material and psychological support provided is already gendered, meaning that an interactive effect may not make the same difference that it would on a mechanism that was not grounded in women's barriers to running. Furthermore, running experimental treatments as interactions requires significantly more statistical power. I initially considered the interactive findings in my pre-analysis plan, but decided to present the direct effects, in order to decrease the possibility of Type II error.

Theory

Focusing first at the level of the individual, and then ultimately on their impact at the state legislative level, I argue that emphasizing gender-based recruitment, training, and support matters, because WCTOs send a signal to potential women candidates that they will center their experiences as candidates, and because they are actually able to do so (i.e. because the signal is credible). This should shape both the kinds of organizations that women seek out and, ultimately, their overall interest in running for office, because they feel more confident that they will be supported if they run. This highlights again the relationship between the tactics organizations use and the psychological attachments individuals have to politics. Political participation is more likely when organizations can lower the costs to participation while increasing benefits. Given this theory of organizational signaling, I argue that the strategies used by WCTOs increase women's interest in running for office in three primary ways. When women are motivated to think about the difference they can make in their local communities, it increases their interest in running, because it makes a run for office seem worth the costs. When women are told about ways they can access the actual materials needed to run, this should increase their beliefs that a run for office could be successful. Finally, learning about women's organizations that help women run increases women's political ambition, because this improves the perception that there is a community interested in supporting people like them.

The barriers women face to running both impact the desire to run (nascent political ambition) and the ability to actually do so (expressed political ambition). However, this doesn't mean that we should think of factors that increase women's political ambition as having distinct or separable outcomes. Rather, factors that improve women's material ability to run (i.e. factors that make it easier through either resources or the tackling of gender barriers) also have psychological implications. If you think you are more likely to succeed at your goals, because you have more tools at your disposal to run for office successfully, this should also increase interest in running. Furthermore, very few people make the decision to run in a single moment, but entering into the networks that provide recruitment and support is a key predecessor for furthering one's interest and ability to run for office. Therefore, political ambition consists not just of increases in an interest in running, but shifts in perceptions of

the ability to do so and in interest in seeking out or entering the organizations and networks that lead to running down the line. This is why I focus both on overall political ambition, and the set of precedents that lead to ambition down the line. This includes perceptions that a run for office is possible, interest in seeking out organizations that recruit and train candidates, positive perceptions of these organizations, and interest in participating in organizational networks. I particularly focus on dimensions of ambition's precedents that put individuals within the spaces that lead to political recruitment. This is because when people have positive participatory experiences, they feel more efficacious and seek out further avenues for participation, creating a positive feedback loop (Finkel 1985; Valentino et al. 2008). Many WCTOs also recruit from their organization's bases (Rozell 2000), meaning that entry into these networks is also essential for elite recruitment down the line, a factor known to be particularly important for women's decisions to run (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013).

H2: The strategies used by WCTOs will increase women's political ambition, and its precedents, in the following ways:[38]

H2a: Being mobilized through encouragement to make local change will increase women's political ambition, and its precedents.

H2b: Learning about the resources that organizations provide to potential candidates will increase women's political ambition, and its precedents, relative to organizations that provide information but not resources.

H2c: Learning about organizations that center women candidates will increase women's political ambition, and its precedents, relative to spaces that don't center women.

However, these effects are theorized to be conditional on the strength of other psychological attachments, such as gender consciousness, and other demographic identities, such as race and

[38]Exact phrasing of these hypotheses were adjusted from the pre-analysis plan both for clarity and to account for statistical power of treatments.

ethnicity. I focused on gender consciousness, because women vary considerably in how much they view their gender identity as important, whether they view themselves as part of a shared category with other women, and whether see value in active effort's to advance women's equality (Gurin 1985; Klar 2018). Women who feel highly connected to their gender identity may be more influenced to run for office by an organization that explicitly centers gendered experiences. I also focused on gender consciousness because my theory is grounded in how women perceive women's organizations and their ability to center their needs. Women whose gender is central to their identity should be more impacted by variation in an organization's centering of gender and gendered experiences. I focused on race and ethnicity, because women's movements and feminist ideologies are often implicitly grounded in whiteness in ways that can ignore the unique experiences faced by different groups of non-white women because of both their race and gender (Crenshaw 1989, 1991). From the institutional perspective, all organizations, even those that are nominally race neutral, are embedded in racial systems that uplift white voices and ideologies (Ray 2019). And even identity-based organizations have a tendency to prioritize the interests of the most advantaged members of their groups, both because those individuals are often the most central to elite, organizational networks, and because their experiences are treated as the default (Strolovitch 2008). This was also affirmed by the variation in my own data in how WCTOs discuss and center racial and ethnic variation in women's experiences. This leaves open questions about whether the shift from a non-gender to a women's organization will have less of an effect on Black and Latina women, or, whether they are still more likely to expect an organization that shares their gender identity to understand the barriers they face better than an organization that does not explicitly center women.

H2d: The effect of learning about organizations that center women on women's political ambition, and its precedents, will be greater for women high in gender consciousness.

H2e: The effect of learning about organizations that center women on women's political ambition, and its precedents, will be greater for white women than for Black women or Latinas.

Data and Methods

To test the connection between these factors and women's political ambition, I conducted a survey experiment using Prime Panels on 1,203 Black, Latina and white women respondents in May, 2022.[39] The experiment was a 2x2x2 factorial design.[40] I first manipulated whether respondents were put into a mobilization framework or not (Factor One). Respondents were asked to either write three sentences about what their local government does well that they are very content about (no mobilization) or write three sentences about what their local government does poorly that they would be mobilized to change (mobilization). The intention of this task was to test the effect of thinking about how you could make local change, using language similar to how WCTOs talked about mobilization in my interviews.[41]

After respondents completed the mobilization task, they were randomly assigned one of four conditions which provided information, in the form of a press release, about a candidate training organization operating in their state. The candidate training organization was either a women's organization or a non-gender organization (Factor Two) and either provided information about how to run or provided both information about how to run and support in the form of resources to attendees of their program (Factor Three). The gender of the organization was cued through the name of the organization (either "Women Running and Winning" or "Running and Winning"), whether the program is geared towards "women" or "people," and the gender of the organization's CEO. The support provided by the organization was primed either by one sentence describing the information in the trainings, or two sentences, one focused on the information and the other on the

[39]My sample was all women and was 60.35% white, 24.11% Black, and 17.87% Latina. In terms of education, 24.94% of the sample have a BA or higher, 22.78% have a two-year degree, and 52.12% have a high-school degree or less. The median age was 46. The median income was $30,000 - $39,999 a year. In terms of partisanship, 31.64% of the sample were Republicans, 51.12% of the sample were Democrats, and 17.24% were pure Independents. This is a convenience sample and so not intended to be nationally representative, and yet demographics roughly reflect the demographics of the gender, racial, and ethnic groups I selected for this study. Per Berinsky et al. (2012), online convenience samples are often more representative than in-person or college-student convenience samples, though less representative than national probability samples. This work also demonstrates that many experimental findings replicate using samples of Mechanical Turk workers.

[40]Full description of the treatments and survey questions can be found in Appendix Four.

[41]I chose to use a demotivating condition as the control rather than a neutral condition, because so many neutral conditions about politics will naturally get people fired up or angry, which could confound the results, given the relationship between anger and political motivation found by Valentino et al. (2011).

resources provided to attendees afterwards.

After the respondents received both treatments, I measured their level of political ambition (the dependent variable for this study). I measured political ambition using a battery of thirteen questions that asked directly about their interest in running for office, as well as their perceptions of their qualifications to run, interest in attending a candidate training organization, the relevance of information from a candidate training organization for people like them, and interest in participating on behalf of a candidate endorsed by a candidate training organization.[42] I designed my dependent variable questions to reflect the complex ways that ambition both operates and emerges. For example, I directly asked how interested they were in running for office, but I also asked how interested they were in attending a candidate training or in learning more about what it takes to run for office.

I did this for three primary reasons. First, manipulating interest in running for office directly in an experimental setting is a particularly challenging task. Individuals rarely decide to run for political office in a single instance, and so directly manipulating interest in running is a particularly conservative test of the theory, which focuses more on the role of these organizations in shaping who eventually runs for office. Second, questions measuring a respondent's interest in learning more about running for office or seeking out recruitment spaces have critical implications for future interest, as well as entry into candidate recruitment networks. So those questions provide critical evidence of how WCTOs may shape candidate emergence within the recruitment and training ecosystem. Finally, my interviews illustrated that entry into candidate training organization pipelines is often a result of being in the networks these organizations recruit from, similarly to how the party's networks influence their recruitment patterns, and that even ending up on a mailing list for one of these groups or participating in their political networks could have critical future implications for candidate recruitment. So I also asked about interest in volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about, to capture entry into candidate recruitment networks. Finally, to account for heterogeneous treatment effects of interest, I measured gender consciousness

[42]The Cronbach's Alpha on the thirteen items in my Political Ambition Scale is .90. See Appendix Five for the distribution of responses to the full sample. All hypotheses are tested on both the full scale and on each individual dependent variable, per the pre-analysis plan. Results on individual dependent variables are found in Appendix Five, when not included in the main text.

and race/ethnicity pre-treatment.[43]

Results

Figure 8 shows that respondents in the mobilization condition were statistically significantly higher in political ambition than respondents in the demobilization condition, and that the mobilization condition increased women's political ambition by three percentage points.[44] More specifically, being assigned to reflect on things about your local government you would be motivated to change had a positive and statistically significant effect on 6/13 scale items, including likelihood of running for office, belief that the respondent would win, how qualified the respondent thinks they are, interest in learning more about both candidate trainings and running for office, and the likelihood of donating on behalf of a candidate endorsed by a candidate training organization.[45] In other words, when women are told to think about ways they can make a difference in their local community – something WCTOs very commonly discuss in their trainings – they are more likely to express an interest in running for office as a result.

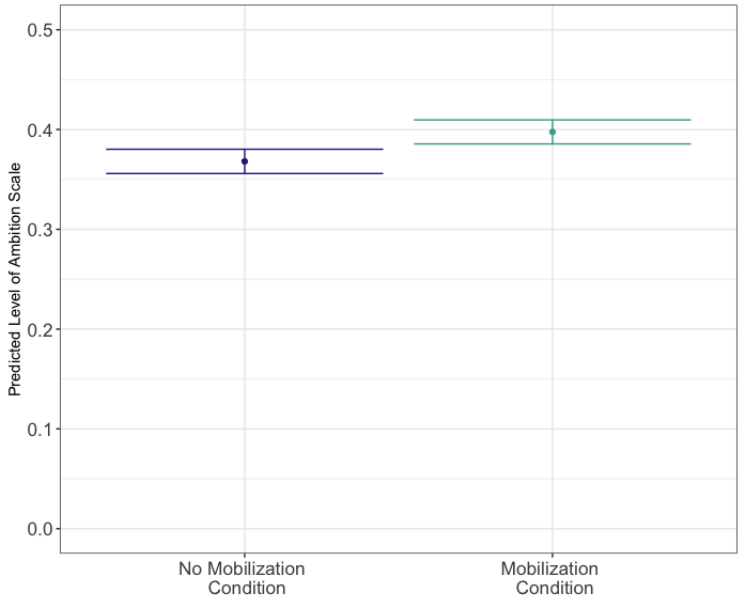
I next looked at the effect of being in the "women's organization" condition compared to being in the "non-gender organization" condition. As can be seen in Appendix Five, being in the women's organization condition did not have a statistically significant effect on the full political ambition scale. Instead, as can be seen in Table 1, it had a statistically significant effect on two scale items

[43]Gender consciousness was measured using three questions asking how much gender impacts your life, how important being a woman is to your identity, and how important you think it is for more women to be elected. Cronbach's alpha is .66 and so all three questions were used in the analysis. As can be seen in Appendix Five, results are robust to the exclusion of the question about electing more women. The median value for gender consciousness in my sample is .67 and women were determined to be high in gender consciousness if they were above the median on this scale.

[44]All results are shown without any demographic or psychological controls, because respondents were randomly assigned to all conditions and balance across treatments is relatively consistent. Results with a parsimonious set of controls, selected because of their relationship with both desire to run for office and minor variations in balance across treatments, can be found in Appendix Five. All graphical results reflect 83.42% confidence intervals, which is the standard confidence level used to generate a 5% type 1 error rate when comparing two sample means. For more information see (Goldstein and Healy 1995; Maghsoodloo and Huang 2010).

[45]Effect of the mobilization condition on each of the dependent variables separately can be found in Appendix Five. Test of the effectiveness of the manipulation, using a manipulation check, can also be found in Appendix Five. The pre-treatment attention check was passed by 91.8% of respondents. The remaining 8.2% who failed the attention check were removed from the study pre-treatment. Of respondents who were randomized into the treatments, 99.75% passed the post-treatment attention check. Results do not change when dropping the three respondents who did not pass the post-treatment attention check.

FIGURE 8. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Women's Political Ambition



Note: Figure 8 shows the effect of being assigned to the Mobilization Condition on women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased women's levels of political ambition by 3 percentage points ($p<.05$), compared to the No Mobilization Condition. Table version of results can be found in Appendix Five.

– desire to volunteer for and desire to donate to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. Therefore, the focus of the organization impacts who wants to support candidates from that organization, which can indirectly increase political ambition in time, but does not have an immediate effect on the desire to run for political office.

Women are not a monolithic group, and so I hypothesized that the relationship between WCTOs and women's political ambition is moderated by the strength of gender consciousness and a respondent's race and ethnicity. As expected, the effect of being in the "women's organization" condition only among respondents who scored above the median in gender consciousness was stronger than the effect among the full sample of women. Figure 9 demonstrates that for women high in gender consciousness, being in the "women's organization" condition has a marginally significant effect on the Political Ambition Scale. The effect was significant for 4/13 scale items, including the two participation measures, a question asking how relevant the organization is to people like them and likelihood of attending the candidate training they read about.[46] While it doesn't have a direct effect on desire to run for office, learning about the support provided to candidates from a women's organization does increase women's interest in seeking out the organization and participating on behalf of its endorsed candidates, which can increase women's ambition down the line, and it increases desire to seek out the organization itself for women high in gender consciousness. This makes sense, given how I've theorized about the role of gendered signals and women's ideas about running for office. However, it also makes sense methodologically. I ran this experiment on an online convenience sample, even though not all women are likely to even take the initial steps of getting into CTO networks. People who are high in gender consciousness are likely also more likely to seek out women's organizations and so may be a more representative sample of the kinds of women these organizations are likely to matter for outside of the lab setting.

I also looked at the effects among white, Black, and Latina women separately. As can be seen in Appendix Five, while the finding that women are more willing to participate on behalf of candidates endorsed by a women's organization holds for both white women's desire to both

[46]See Appendix Five for results on full set of DVs and for results using two-item measure of gender consciousness with question asking about importance of electing women removed.

TABLE 1. Effect of WCTO Condition on Women's Participation for Endorsed Candidates

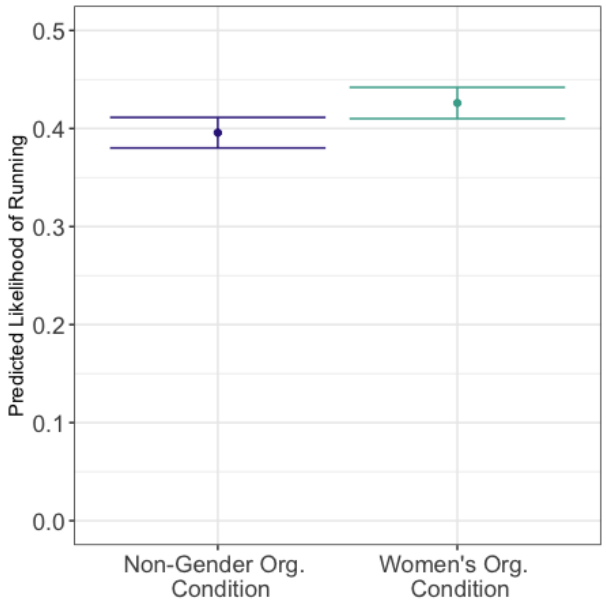
	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.046*	0.042*
	(0.019)	(0.018)
Constant	0.393**	0.400**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.005	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.004
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.321	0.315
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Note: Table 1 depicts the effect of reading about a women's candidate training organization (compared to an non-gender candidate training organization) on women's interest in participating on behalf of an endorsed candidate. Being assigned to the women's organization was associated with a 4.7% increase in desire to volunteer (p<0.05) and a 6.7% increase in desire to donate (p<.05) on behalf of a candidate endorsed by the organization the respondent read about. However, both p-values are greater than p=.0038, which reflects the Bonferroni corrected p-value for multiple hypothesis testing on the 13 individual items in the scale.

donate and volunteer, and Black women's desire to volunteer, the findings do not hold for Latina women. In addition, unlike with the findings about women high in gender consciousness, there are not additional avenues by which the relationship between support from a women's organization and women's political ambition holds for any of the racial or ethnic subgroups of women that I looked at. So this provides initial evidence that white women may be more motivated by women's organizations than nonwhite women, given their preexisting conceptions about these organizations and which women's experiences and barriers they center. However, I didn't actually manipulate anything about the women's organization itself and so am currently making assumptions about how white and nonwhite women in my sample perceived WCTOs. In Chapter Four, I conduct an additional experiment that varies the candidate training organization's commitment to addressing racial and ethnic barriers to running for political office in their trainings. This additional experiment allows me to directly manipulate the mechanism I expect would lead to different perceptions of a WCTO across race, rather than just providing evidence about race as a potential heterogeneous treatment effect.

Finally, I wanted to see the effect of knowing about organizations that provide resources and

FIGURE 9. Effect of WCTO Condition on Women's Political Ambition - Among Gender Conscious



Note: Figure 9 depicts the effect of reading about a women's candidate training organization (compared to an non-gender candidate training organization) on women's political ambition, among women above the median in gender consciousness. Among women high in gender consciousness, being assigned to the women's organization condition was marginally significantly associated with a 3 percentage point increase in the political ambition scale ($p<.1$). Table version of these results can be found in Appendix Five.

support on women's political ambition. However, as can be seen in Table 2, there is no relationship between learning that an organization provides resources in addition to training on women's political ambition.[47] The relationship was not significant amongst any of the dependent variables.

TABLE 2. Effect of Information + Resources Condition on Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Resources Treatment	−0.017
	(0.012)
Constant	0.392**
	(0.009)
Observations	1,202
R^2	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.214 (df = 1200)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 2 depicts the effect of reading about a candidate training organization that provides both information and resources (compared to just information) on women's interest in participating on behalf of an endorsed candidate. Being assigned to read about an organization that provides information and resources is not statistically significantly associated with changes in women's political ambition.

Conclusion

Overall, the purpose of this experiment was to understand how some of the differences between WCTOs and NGCTOs found in my interview data might translate into changes in women's political ambition on the individual level, pointing to an effect of gendered organizational signals (and the substantive tactics that provide credibility to those signals) on women's individual-level political ambition. I found positive and statistically significant effects for being motivated to think about how one can make local community change on women's political ambition. I also found an effect of learning about a women's organization on women's political participation, and on the full women's ambition scale for women who are high in gender consciousness. I did not, however, find an effect

[47]As can be seen in Appendix Five, there are no statistically significant findings across any of the individual dependent variables. There are also no statistically significant effects when interacting the Resources + Information treatment with the Women's Organization treatment, showing that this effect is also not conditional on WCTOs.

for learning about material support – above and beyond learning about the other programming an organization does. It is particularly important to highlight the difficulty of manipulating political ambition within an experimental setting, as this affirms the strength of the tactics WCTOs use, given that I found significant effects in the conservatizing context of the lab experiment. In particular, the mobilization treatment directly increased women's interest in running for political office by 3.2 percentage points and belief that they are qualified to run by 4.7 percentage points. How we frame running for office clearly matters for who thinks that running for office is "for" people like them. And so when we focus running for office on the kinds of issues that people, themselves, want to solve, this can increase interest in running, particularly for historically excluded groups (like women) who may be less likely to believe they can make meaningful change for their communities through political careers.

I also found that learning about women's organizations can increase all women's interest in participating on behalf of women candidates, a factor that could help bring them into the candidate recruitment pipeline. Given the known positive feedback loop between internal political efficacy and participation (Finkel 1985; Valentino et al. 2008), these findings highlight how women's organizations can get women into a political pipeline that may ultimately build into an interest in running for political office. This reflects the reality of pathways to political candidacy, in that organizational signals are unlikely to get someone from uninterested to interested in running for office. But they are effective at providing information about which organizations are likely to have shared values or common goals with an individual. This helps to highlight what signaling can and cannot do. It's not going to create political ambition where there wasn't any previously, but it might create an entrypoint to a bigger pipeline that leads someone to run for office down the line. People's initial experiences in politics and whether they feel like they belong are essential to future participation – we know this from the literature on efficacy (see Abramson and Aldrich (1982); Converse (1972)). So the signals WCTOs send matter because they are creating an entrypoint for people who may not see the party networks that lead to political candidacy as spaces that center women's experiences, values, or barriers.

I also demonstrate a strong effect on early stages of political ambition for women high in gender consciousness. I found marginally significant effects on the political ambition scale as a whole, and statistically significant on specific DVs related to desire to attend a candidate training, perceptions of WCTO's relevance and interest in people like them, and desire to participate on behalf of endorsed candidates.[48] This demonstrates that WCTOs are particularly appealing for women who feel closely connected to their gender identity, increasing the likelihood that these women seek out institutions that support women's runs for political office and ultimately run for office themselves. This provides additional evidence that women's organizations send distinctly gendered signals, because something as small as a name change influences political ambition for women for whom gender matters. Overall, my experimental findings about the specific effect of WCTOs, compared to NGCTOs, demonstrate how critical women-specific spaces are to making women believe that they will receive credible and substantive institutional support.

I found no statistically significant relationship between learning about resources provided by an organization (rather than just information) and women's political ambition. This is particularly notable, given both my interview finding that WCTOs provide considerably more substantive material support, and the prior literature demonstrating that women express more concern about a lack of access to the resources needed to run for political office (Shames 2017). Building on findings by Bernhard et al. (2020), resources may matter more for expressed as opposed to nascent political ambition. In Chapter Six, I look at the aggregate effects of WCTOs on women's political representation at the state legislative level. One way that I will test the effects of greater resources on expressed political ambition is to see if effects are stronger among WCTOs that do more intense resource provision, by looking at WCTOs that are affiliated with a PAC and those organizations that have a longer and more intensive fellowship program. This will allow me to understand whether

[48]Being in the women's organization condition increased desire to attend a training by 6.5 percentage points, perception of the organization's relevance by 5.2 percentage points, and belief the organization would support people like them by 3.7 percentage points, relative to the non-gender organization condition, among women above the median in gender consciousness. However, these findings do not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038. There was also a 7.9 percentage point increase in likelihood of volunteering for a candidate training endorsed candidate, with a p-value of .001, which remains statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038, and a 6.7 percent increase of donating to a CTO endorsed candidate with a p-value of .0049.

the differences between WCTOs and NGCTOs in resource provision have an effect on women's expressed ambition, even if I did not find effects of resource provision on nascent political ambition.

Finally, while I found that white women were statistically significantly more likely to volunteer and donate on behalf of an endorsed candidate from a women's organization, I only found that Black women were statistically significantly more likely to volunteer, and Latinas did not have any statistically significant differences between the NGCTO and WCTO treatments. It is possible that the lack of statistical significance is a result of the smaller samples of Black women and Latinas. However, the coefficients are not in a positive direction. It is also possible that differences in desire to donate have more to do with differences in access to resources, except that the white and Latina subsamples in my data have nearly identical median incomes. Alternatively, it is possible that this is initial evidence in racial and ethnic differences in the effects of women's organizations on women entering the political candidacy pipeline. If the default assumption is that a candidate endorsed by a women's organization is white, we would expect Black women and Latinas to be less likely to report an interest in participating for those candidates, because of a greater interest in supporting candidates that reflect both their race and gender identities and who would be more likely to be running in a district they live in. Party elites, in general, are less likely to perceive minority candidates as electable (Doherty et al. 2019), but Latino candidates are particularly less likely to receive elite support – influencing who runs for office (Ocampo and Ray 2020). This relative lack of support by organizational elites may help to explain a lack of interest in supporting candidates endorsed by women's organizations. In order to expand on these findings, Chapter Four presents results from an additional survey experiment, testing if the effects of feeling supported by a WCTO are conditional on both the race of the woman receiving the cue and how strongly the organization signals a commitment to racial diversity in their recruitment and training.

Chapter Five: The Effect of Racial Diversity on Black and White Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

Introduction

This chapter builds on my previous experimental findings about the role of mobilization and gender community in influencing aspects of women's political ambition. In Chapter Three, I demonstrated that women's organizations were less likely than non-gender organizations to talk about race in their trainings and in the interviews with me and that about, with nearly 40% of WCTOs not mentioning race or ethnicity once during the interview. And yet race inevitably shapes both how candidates experience running for office (Brown and Lemi 2021; Dowe 2020; Scott 2022), and the concerns potential candidates have about running (Phillips 2021; Sanbonmatsu 2015; Shames 2017). Fundamental to the theory of Organizational Identity Signaling, is that the signals organizations send about whose experiences they center influence who seeks an organization and participates in politics as a result. Women, overall, should be more likely to seek out a WCTO than an NGCTO, and would be more likely to run for office because of the support these organizations provide. However, while women from different racial and ethnic backgrounds may share a common gender, women are not a cohesive social group, because of the diversity of their lived experiences (Young 1994). A logical extension of the theory of Organizational Identity Signaling is that the signals sent by WCTOs about the gendered community they provide should not be equally believed by women from different racial and ethnic groups. This is because race shapes women's lived experiences such that they may perceive women's organizations as differently able to understand what they need to run for office. The survey experiment in Chapter Four provided initial evidence of this claim, as

there were some differential effects of the women candidate's treatment for Black women, Latinas, and white women. However, these were heterogeneous treatment effects. In this chapter, I want to understand how women's racial and ethnic identities influence how they perceive recruitment and support from women's candidate training organizations, based on the signals that these organizations send regarding their commitments to racial diversity.

In the pages that follow, I present the findings from an original online survey experiment of 1600 white and Black U.S. women.[49] This experiment demonstrates that whether Black women view a women's organization as interested in supporting people like them is conditional on the signal the organization sends about their commitment's to addressing racial diversity, but that in contrast, racial diversity limits the extent to which white women view a women's organization as "for people like them." Extending the mobilization findings from Chapter Four, this survey experiment further demonstrates that the types of mobilization tactics women's organizations use – specifically focused on making a meaningful local difference – work to mobilize Black and white women alike. Ultimately this chapter demonstrates that the signals sent by women's organizations about their commitments to racial diversity influence which women seek out support from women's organizations, but that once in the door there are universal tactics that can mobilize racially diverse groups of women to run for political office. This affirms the importance of organizational signaling on who seeks an organization out, and who may get mobilized to run for office as a result of who gets in the door in the first place.

[49]While much of my theorizing focuses on the incredible variety of lived experiences for women across many racial and ethnic backgrounds, this experiment focuses solely on comparisons between Black and white women. I chose to focus on Black and white women, because many women's organizations defaulted to white women's experiences in my interviews, making them the logical baseline condition, and because Black women represent the largest group of nonwhite women elected officials in the U.S.

Theory

A clear implication of my argument is that a person's identities, and the strength and centrality of those identities, influence how they perceive the signals sent by candidate training organizations. This should be true both about perceptions of women's organizations overall, and as a result of the signals an organization sends about their commitment to addressing the diversity of experiences within the people they recruit and train. In other words, which groups of women women does a women's organization appear to center should influence which groups of women feel seen within the organization. As explained by Patricia Hill Collins (2002), Black women's experiences are defined by a matrix of intersecting identities, including not just their race and gender, but also their class, sexuality, religion, etc. Work by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991), centered on Black women's race x gender discrimination in the courts, emphasizes that racial and gender identities cannot be disentangled and create distinct experiences and barriers. Even as more and more nonwhite women run for political office, their experiences are still defined by social structures that respond to both their race and gender identities. And yet, Black women have found opportunities for ambition in a system designed to keep them out of the political process (Dowe 2020). Black women's experiences are impossible to disentangle from either their race or their gender. However, Black women's politics are still shaped by gender consciousness, just as their politics are shaped by racial consciousness (Gay and Tate 1998), and in fact, Black women report higher levels of feminist identification than white women (Mansbridge and Tate 1992).

As a result, I expect that Black women, just like white women, may seek out organizations that prioritize women candidate's experiences, compared to an organization that doesn't present any specific expertise in supporting women candidates, because of the centrality of gender to their lived experiences. However, when comparing organizations that vary in their explicit commitments to helping Black or Black women candidates, I expect clear racial variation, with Black women more likely to see those spaces are relevant and supportive and white women less likely to see those spaces as relevant and supportive. This is because of the importance for Black women of having spaces that specifically address their needs (Sanbonmatsu 2015; Bejarano and Smooth 2022), and

how these signals likely shift Black women's perceptions of a women's organization as more or less relevant to women like them. As with the previous experiment, these perceptions should be linked with many of the precedents of political ambition, because getting into the networks necessary to be supported in a run for office is essential to overcoming the specific material and structural barriers that women face. They should also be shaped by how Black and white women relate to the gender and racial identities, because strength of identity matters for the effectiveness of a gendered or racial cue at influencing opinion and behavior. As a result, I propose the following hypotheses:

H3a: Learning about a candidate training organization interested in helping women candidates will increase white women's political ambition and its precedents, relative to learning about a non-gender candidate training organization.

H3b: Learning about a candidate training organization interested in helping women candidates will increase Black women's political ambition and its precedents, relative to learning about a non-gender candidate training organization.

H4a: Learning about a candidate training organization interested in supporting racially diverse candidates will increase Black women's political ambition and its precedents, relative to learning about a candidate training organization not interested in supporting racially diverse candidates.

H4b: Learning about a candidate training organization interested in supporting racially diverse candidates will decrease white women's political ambition and its precedents, relative to learning about a candidate training organization not interested in supporting racially candidates.

H5a: Learning about a candidate training organization interested in supporting racially diverse women candidates will increase Black women's political ambition and its precedents, relative to learning about a candidate training organization not interested in supporting racially diverse women candidates.

H5b: Learning about a candidate training organization interested in supporting white women

candidates will increase white women's political ambition and its precedents, relative to learning about a candidate training organization not interested in supporting white women candidates.

H6a: Learning about a candidate training organization interested in helping women candidates on women's political ambition will be greater for both Black and white women high in gender consciousness.

H6b: Learning about a candidate training organization interested in helping racially diverse women candidates on Black women's ambition will be greater for Black women high in either gender or racial consciousness.

Finally, I am curious if the difference in the effect of the organization goes beyond how the organization presents, to the effects of the tactics these groups use. Specifically, should the mobilization and encouragement approaches used by WCTOs influence Black and women women differently? On the one hand, Black women are particularly motivated to run based on the positive impact that they can have for their communities (Dowe 2020). Social capital and community involvement have been consistently shown to impact Black, and specifically Black women's political participation (Alex-Assensoh and Assensoh 2001; Farris and Holman 2014; Marschall 2016). And yet, the majority of the respondents in the first experiment were white women, and other research emphasizes that Black and white women are motivated to run by different frames (Holman and Schneider 2018). So the question remains about whether Black and white women will respond similarly or differently to the types of mobilization tactics highlighted by women's candidate training organizations in my interviews. Furthermore, in the first experiment the mobilization prime occurred *prior* to the information about the candidate training organization. By placing the mobilization condition after the organizations in this experiment, I am able to see if the effect of the mobilization frame is conditional on the type of organization the mobilization is associated with. This will also provide evidence about whether the signal these organizations send, alone, matters or whether the tactics women's organizations use also matter differently for Black and white women, beyond how the organization itself is perceived.

H7a: Being mobilized to make local political change will increase Black and white women's political ambition, relative to not being mobilized.

H7b: Being mobilized or encouraged to make local change will increase both Black and white women's political ambition more when they have learned about a women's organization interested in getting people to run first, relative to learning about a non-gender organization.

H7c: Being mobilized or encouraged to make local change will increase Black women's political ambition more when they have learned about an women's organization that centers Black women relative to learning about a women's organization that centers white women.

Data and Methods

To test the effect of organizational signals of racial diversity on Black and white women's perceptions of women's organizations and overall political ambition, I preregistered and conducted a survey experiment using Dynata in October, 2022. My sample consisted of 757 Black women and 950 white women, where Black is defined as any respondent who selected Black and white is defined as any respondent who selected only white.[50] Additionally, 39.7% of the sample had a BA or higher, 13.9% have a two-year degree, and 46.4% have a high-school degree or less. The median age was 47. The median income was $40,000 - $49,000. In terms of partisanship, 53.8% of respondents were Democrats, 32.1% were Republicans, and 14.1% were pure Independents.[51]

The experiment involved a 2x2x2 factorial design.[52] Reversing the structure of the previous experiment, in order to ensure strength of the first set of experimental findings in the first experiment weren't a product of treatment order, respondents were first randomly assigned to learn about a

[50]Full question wording, including how race and ethnicity were measured, can be found in Appendix Six. I sampled only white and Black respondents because the treatments vary the white and Black racial composition of an organization's previously endorsed candidates.

[51]This is a convenience sample and so not intended to be nationally representative. However, given the oversampling of Black Americans in this survey, these demographics roughly match demographics of Black and white Americans found in other studies like the American National Election Study.

[52]Full description of experimental treatments can be found in Appendix Six.

Candidate Training Organization launching a new program in their state geared towards getting first time candidates elected. The organization was either a women's organization or not (Factor One), signalled by whether the organization was called Running and Winning or Women Running and Winning; whether the organization had previously endorsed all women or a mix of men and women candidates; and whether the organization devoted particular attention to the challenges women candidates face or that candidates in general face. The organization also either emphasized racial diversity or not (Factor Two), signalled by whether the organization had previously endorsed a mix of Black and white candidates or only white candidates; and whether the organization devoted particular attention to the challenges Black candidates faced. I used organization name, pictures of previously endorsed candidates, and the mention of a training specifically focused on a particularly race/gender subgroup of candidates, in order to reflect ways that people would generally get information about the race and gender cue of the organization. In particular, this reflects both the substantive programming and emphasis on diversity of elites that came up in the interviews discussed in Chapter Three.

In order to demonstrate the racial makeup of previously endorsed candidates, each treatment included pretested photos of four candidates that the candidate training organization had previously endorsed. These photos were varied so that they matched the gender/racial composition of the treatment, either two white men and two white women, four white women, one each of a white man/white woman/Black man/Black woman, or two white women and two Black women.[53] This resulted in four possible candidate training organization treatments, varied across race and gender (white + all gender, Black and white + all gender, white + only women, Black and white + only women).

After they read the press release about the candidate training organization, they were told that

[53]I selected 200 headshots of current state legislators from state legislative websites in Summer 2022. I chose 50 photos each of legislators that were white men, white women, Black men, and Black women. I only selected photos that were a generic headshot with a solid color or blurred background and no identifying information. All 200 photos were pretested using MTurk in two waves of pretests in August 2022. MTurk respondents evaluated photos using five-level Likert scale questions evaluating how much they thought the person in the photo was attractive, likeable, qualified to run, wealthy, and competent. They were then also asked to identify the person in the headshot's gender, race, partisanship, and age. Each respondent saw a subset of five photos and photos received an average of 22 ratings. Using these ratings, I then matched the photos using exact matching to find a subset of photos with similar ratings but that varied on race, gender, and partisanship. Photos were then grouped and tested to confirm there were no statistically significant differences across photo groups.

the organization wants to get people like them to run for office. They were then assigned to either a mobilization or a demobilization condition (Factor Three), where they were asked to write three sentences either about something they would want to change that their local is currently doing poorly. This is a more conservative test of the treatment from the previous experiment, both because it comes after the organization treatment and because both groups are told that this organizations wants people to run for office. This is intended to replicate the original findings but in a more conservative context, while the new treatment about the racial diversity of the candidate training organization is intended to test the effects of appeals from these organizations on Black and white women separately.

The primary dependent variable is the level of political ambition of the respondent, which is measured immediately after respondents received both treatments. I measure political ambition as a thirteen item battery that asks both directly about the respondent's interest in running for political office, as well as their perceptions of their qualifications to run, interest in attending a candidate training organization, the relevance of information from a candidate training organization for people like them, and interest in participating on behalf of a candidate endorsed by a candidate training organization.[54] The questions I used in the Political Ambition Scale are virtually identical to the questions used in the first experiment, but two questions were switched out to increase the number of questions about perceptions of the organization, allowing for a more precise measure of the effect of variation in racial diversity on perceptions of candidate organizations. As with the first experiment, I preregistered and ran all analyses both on the full scale and on each of the individual items. The median on the Political Ambition scale was .34, showing considerable variation in respondent's likelihood of running for office.[55] Additionally, I asked race and gender pre-treatment and respondents were removed if they were not either white or Black women.[56] I also asked about both gender and race-consciousness pre-treatment, in order to test the heterogeneous treatment effect of holding one's race or gender identity as central to one's self-concept.[57] In terms of controls, I

[54]Cronbach's alpha on all thirteen items is .90. See Appendix Six for full question wording.

[55]See Appendix Seven for the distribution of responses to the full scale both overall and separately by race.

[56]10 respondents were dropped from the survey because they identified as white and a race or ethnicity that was neither white nor Black.

[57]See Appendix Six for exact question wording. Cronbach's alpha is .66 for the gender consciousness questions. Race consciousness is measured separately for white and Black respondents, asking three questions about how important being

also asked about respondent's age, number of children, income, education, employment, marital status, and party identification post-treatment. I included two manipulation checks, one about how successful they thought the organization they read about would be at electing Black women, and one about the amount of change needed on the government program they wrote about.

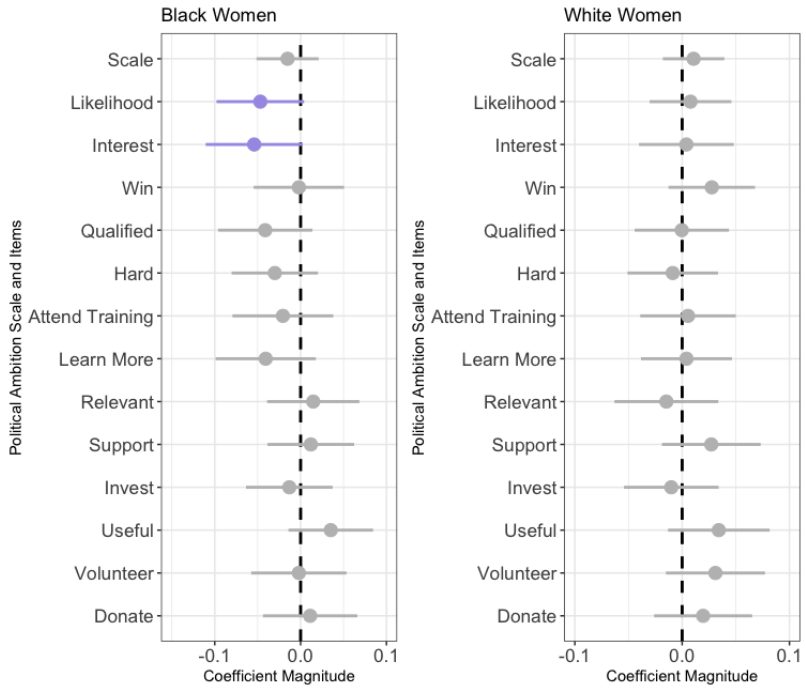
Results

I first looked at the effect of learning about a women's organization, separately, on Black and white women's levels of political ambition and its precedents (Figure 10). This is the combined effect of being assigned to either of the women's organizations conditions (so a women's organization that either signalled some racial diversity in recruitment and training or a women's organization that did not). There was no statistically significant effect of learning about the organization on the Political Ambition scale or on any of the scale items for either Black or white women. In these models, the two gender treatments are combined, meaning that the treatments vary considerably in terms of the racial signal that they send to respondents. The racial treatments may be adding considerable variation to Black and white women's responses, emphasizing the variation that racial cues can play in how Black and white women perceive women's spaces.

Next, I tested the effects of the combined race treatments (both the women's and all-gender organization treatments) on both Black and white women's political ambition. As can be seen in Figure 11, there isn't a significant effect of being assigned to the race treatments and the overall political ambition scale. However, there is a positive and statistically significant effect among three of the 13 scale items. Black women assigned to learn about an organization that puts particular effort towards supporting Black candidates (either a women's or all-gender organization) were 7.1 percentage points higher in belief that the organization was relevant to people like them, 8.1

white or Black is to their experiences. Race consciousness is .43 for white respondents and .662 for Black respondents, which makes some sense given that Black respondents are more likely to be salient of how race impacts their daily life. These questions are also more consistently validated as a measure of Black consciousness, while whiteness is more often used to evaluate racial animus. See Dawson (1994) for a discussion of Black linked fate and Jardina (2019) for a discussion of white identity, in order to understand why strength of racial identity might work differently for Black and white women.

FIGURE 10. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items



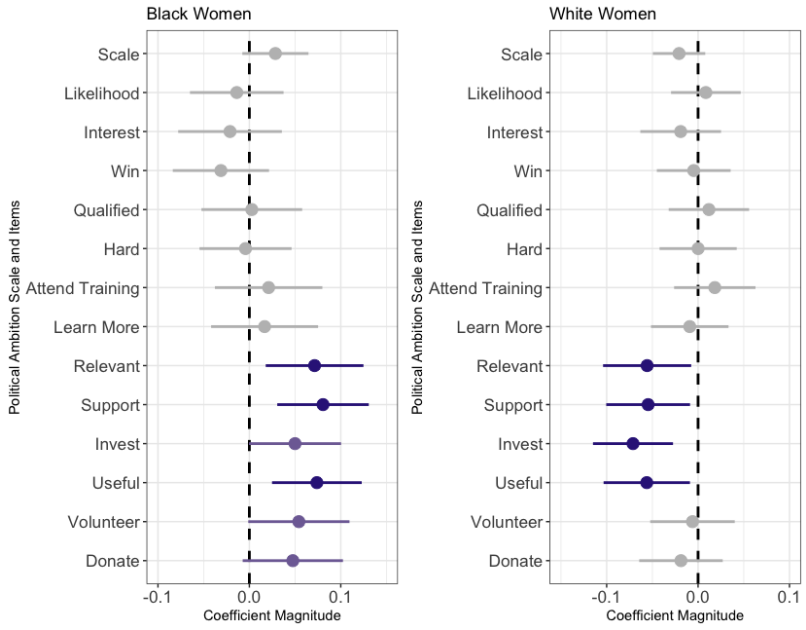
Note: Figure 10 shows the effect of being assigned to either of the women candidate conditions on Black and white women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale, and its scale points, relative to being assigned to either of the non-women's conditions. There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to either of the gender conditions on either Black or white women's overall levels of the Political Ambition Scale. Table version of results can be found in Appendix Seven.

percentage points higher in belief that the organization would support people like them, and 7.4 percentage points higher in belief that the organization would be useful for people like them. The race conditions, unsurprisingly, had the opposite effect on white women. White women were statistically significantly less likely to believe than an organization was relevant to people like them by 5.6 percentage points, would support people like them by 5.5 percentage points, would invest in people like them by 7.1 percentage points, and was useful to people like them by 5.6 percentage points, when the organization signalled a commitment to racial diversity (or by contrast – more likely to believe the organization would support them when the organization predominantly worked with white candidates).[58] It is important to note, per results found in Appendix Seven, the results among

[58]The effects among Black women for Supportive of and Useful for people like them, and among white women for Investing in people like them remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni corrected p-value of .05/13 = .0038.

white women are almost exclusively driven by white Republican women.

FIGURE 11. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items



Note: Figure 11 shows the marginal effect of being assigned to either of the signaling racial diversity conditions on Black and white women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale, and its scale points, relative to being assigned to either of the conditions that do not signal racial diversity. There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to either of the race conditions on either Black or white women's levels of the overall Political Ambition Scale. However, there was a statistically significant increase in Black women's perceptions that the organization is Relevant to (7.1 percentage points), Supportive of (8.1 percentage points), and Useful for (7.4 percentage points) people like them (p>.05). There was a statistically significant decrease in white women's perceptions that the organization is Relevant to (5.6 percentage points), Supportive of (5.5 percentage points), Investing in (7.1 percentage points), and Useful for (5.6 percentage points) people like them (p>.05). Table version of results can be found in Appendix Seven.

However, so much of the theorizing about Black women's relationship to their race and gender identities emphasizes the uniqueness of Black women's combined race-gender identity. Therefore, I tested the effect of reading about an organization that signals support for Black women candidates on Black women respondents, as well as the all-white women candidates condition on white women respondents. As can be seen in Figure 12, when Black women learn about a women's candidate training organization in their state that signals a commitment to racial diversity, they are statistically significantly more likely to perceive the organization as relevant, supportive, and useful, which

is similar to the effect of the grouped racial treatments.[59] Among white women in the women's organization treatment that did not focus on racial diversity, there is a 6.8 percentage point increase in desire to volunteer for organization-endorsed candidates (p=.04) and a 5.5 percentage point increase in desire to donate to organization-endorsed candidates (p=.09).[60] However, it did not influence perceptions of the organization or overall ambition.

I then considered whether Black and white women's perceptions of WCTOs, and their efforts to signal commitments to racial diversity, were moderated by their relationships to their gender and racial identities. As can be seen in Figure 13, gender consciousness does not change the lack of an effect of being in one of the WCTO conditions on women's political ambition. Again, it is possible that the racial cues about the organizations are strong enough that they are creating variation within the WCTO treatments. When I look specifically at the Black women assigned to the racially diverse WCTO condition (Figure 14), there are statistically significant effects on the perceptions of the organization among Black women above the median in both gender and racial consciousness. Interestingly, there are more effects among the Black women in the racially diverse WCTO condition above the median in gender consciousness than those above the median in racial consciousness. Those women above the median in gender consciousness were statistically significantly more likely to believe the organization is relevant to and useful for people like them, and significantly more likely to donate to a CTO endorsed candidate.[61] In contrast, women above the median in racial consciousness were just statistically significantly more likely to believe the organization was useful for people like them (p = .0076).

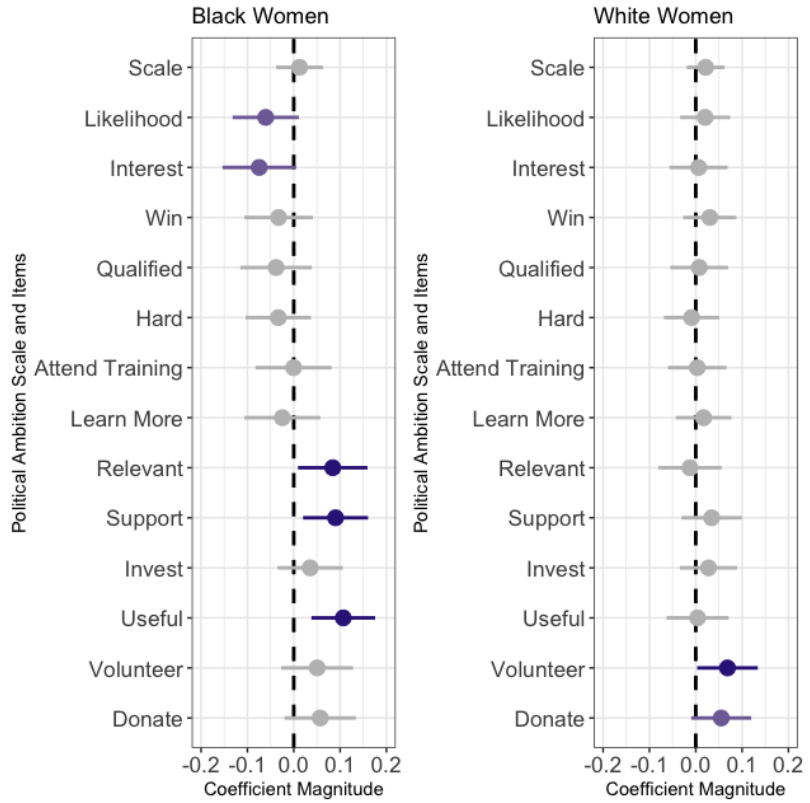
Finally, I was interested in whether the mobilization condition demonstrated statistically significantly different results for Black and white women respondents. The purpose of this test is to see if the techniques used by WCTOs that are not inherently racialized or gendered work

[59]In all analyses where the four treatments are analyzed separately, the white non-gender organization treatment was used as the baseline treatment.

[60]The effects among Black women for Useful for people like them remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni corrected p-value of of .05/13 = .0038, but the remaining effects do not remain statistically significant after the Bonferroni correction.

[61]The belief the organization is useful for people like them remains statistically significant when using a Bonferroni correction of p = .0038.

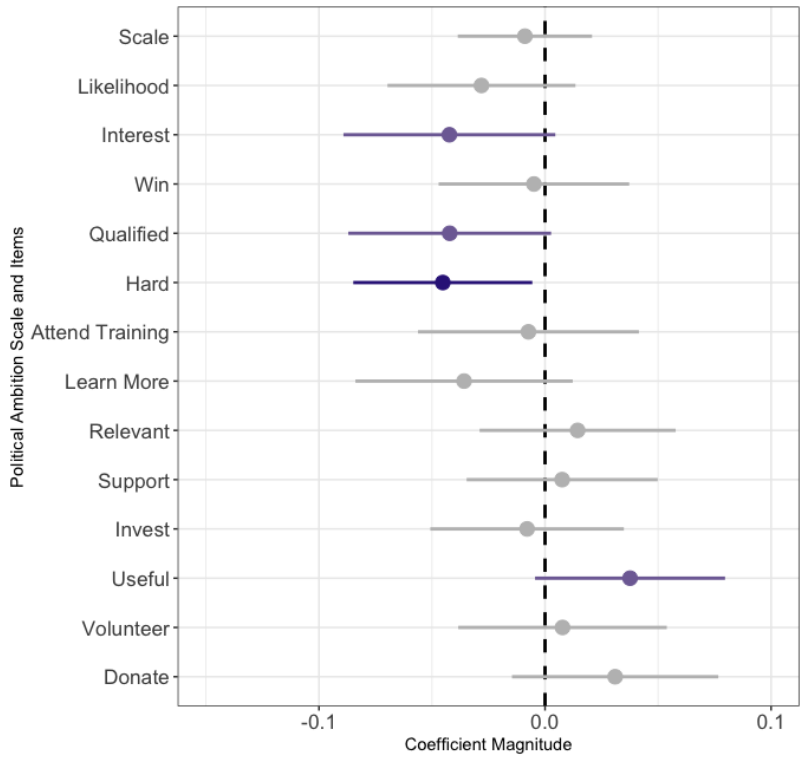
FIGURE 12. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items – Among Black and White Women Separately



Note: Figure 12 shows the marginal effect of being assigned to read about a women's candidate training organization that signals an interest in racial diversity on Black women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to either of the race-gender conditions on either Black or white women's levels of the overall Political Ambition Scale. However, there was a statistically significant increase in Black women's perceptions that the organization is Relevant to (8.4 percentage points), Supportive of (9 percentage points), and Useful for (10.7 percentage points) people like them (p>.05). There was a statistically significant, 6.8 percentage point increase in white women's willingness to volunteer on behalf of candidates endorsed by the organization they read about (p>.05). Table version of results can be found in Appendix Seven.

differently for Black and white women, and whether signals sent by these organizations moderate the effectiveness of the focus on mobilization and making a local difference in politics. In other words, how much are racial differences in the effect of WCTOs driven by the signals from the organizations themselves or the specific tactics they use to mobilize women to run? As can be seen in Figure 15, there is not a statistically significant effect on the Political Ambition Scale in this experiment among either Black or white women. Futhermore, as can be seen in Figure 16 there were not statistically

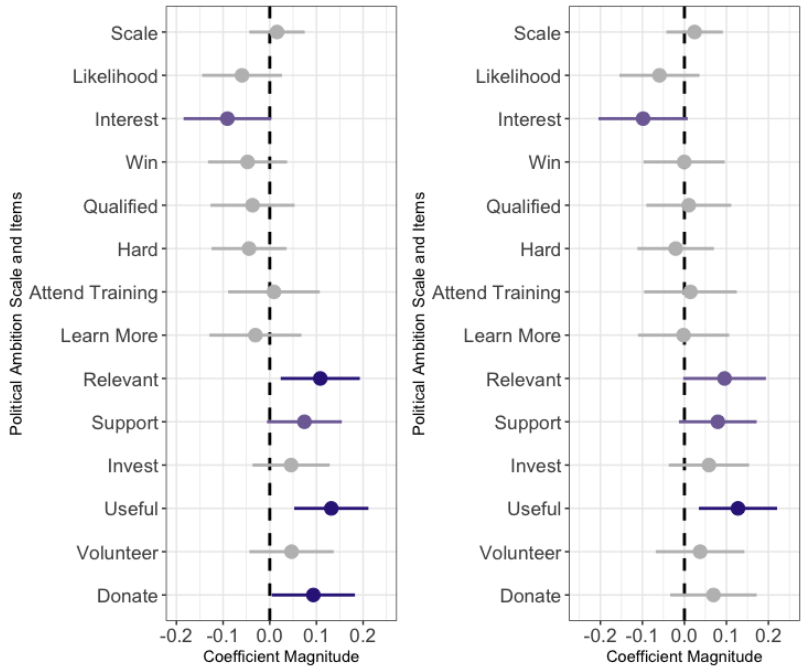
FIGURE 13. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items – Among Gender Consciousness



Note: Figure 13 shows the marginal effect of being assigned to one of the women's candidate training organization conditions on Black and white (combined) women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale, compared with being assigned to read about a non-gender candidate training organization, among women above. There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to either of the WCTO conditions on either women high in gender consciousness' levels of the overall Political Ambition Scale. Table version of results can be found in Appendix Seven.

significant differences on the Political Ambition Scale among either all women when they learned about a WCTO or Black women when they learned about a racially diverse WCTO. However, when we look at the specific scale items, some interesting trends emerge. The mobilization condition had a statistically significant effect on Black women's interest in running and a marginally significant effect on white women's likelihood of running. Given the difficulty of manipulating interest in running in a survey experiment, it is extremely important to emphasize that in two survey experiments, the mobilization tactic that WCTOs use directly increased interest in running for office, highlighting the importance of this reframing about the purpose of being a political candidate on women's interest in

FIGURE 14. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items – Among Gender and Race Conscious Black Women



Note: Figure 14 shows the marginal effect of being assigned to read about a women's candidate training organization that signals an interest in racial diversity on Black women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale, among Black women above the median in either gender or racial consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women high in either gender or racial consciousness' levels of the overall Political Ambition Scale. However, there was a 10.8 percentage point increase in their belief the organization was Relevant to people like them ($p<.05$), a 13.2 percentage point increase in the belief that it was Useful for people like them ($p<.005$), and a 9.3 percentage point increase in desire to donate to a CTO endorsed candidate ($p<.05$) among Black women above the median in gender consciousness. There was also a 12.8 percentage point increase in belief that the organization was Useful for people like them ($p<.01$) for Black women above the median in racial consciousness. The Useful for result among Black women high in gender conciousness holds up to a Bonferroni correction of $p=.0038$. Table version of results can be found in Appendix Seven.

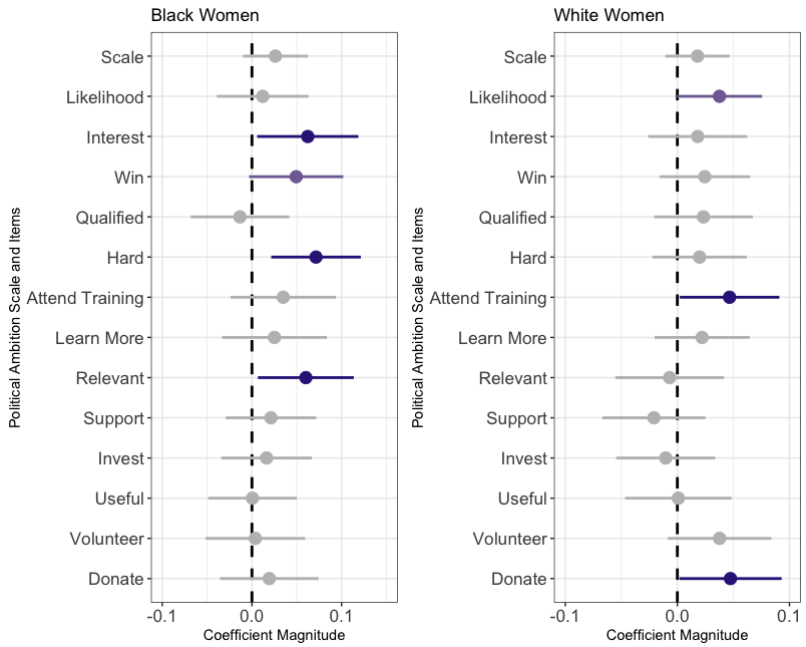
running – across race.

The mobilization condition also statistically significantly increased Black women's beliefs that a run for office wouldn't be too hard and increased their beliefs that the CTO they read about was relevant for people like them. However, it is important to note that none of these findings remain significant, when using a Bonferroni correction of .0038. So overall, there are not noticeable racial differences in the effect of the mobilization condition. While there are not direct effects on the

scale, the condition does lead to some increases in interest in running among both Black and white respondents. Overall, while this points to a weaker effect, I also checked the results among the full sample of respondents, in order to see if the effects were due to lower levels of statistical power.[62] As can be seen in Appendix Seven, there is a marginally significant effect on the full Political Ambition Scale, when I combine both Black and white respondents. Again, this points to the ways in which the tactics used by WCTOs to mobilize women to make local change, may be similarly effective across different racial subgroups of women, even as the more overt signals they send about the racial diversity of their programming and past participants results in significant differences in who sees these organizations as "for" women like them.

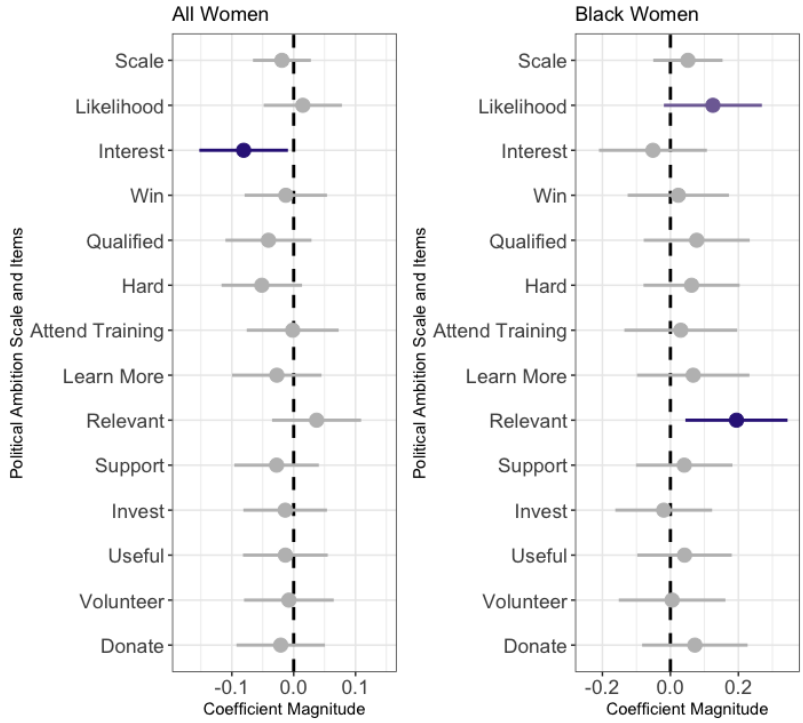
[62]Please note that this was not in the pre-analysis plan and so should be seen as post-treatment theorizing. However, it felt like an important check, given that this experiment had smaller statistical power once I split the sample by race.

FIGURE 15. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items



Note: Figure 15 shows the marginal effect of being assigned to the Mobilization Condition on Black and white (separate) women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale, compared with being assigned to the demobilization condition. There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to the mobilization condition on either Black or white women's overall levels of Political Ambition. However, being in the mobilization condition increased Black women's interest in running for office by 6.2 percentage points ($p<.05$), belief that running for office wouldn't be hard for someone like them by 7.1 percentage points ($p<.01$) and a 6 percentage point increase in the belief that the organization they read about is relevant for someone like them ($p<.05$). It had a marginally significant effect on belief that they would win (increase of 4.9 percentage points and $p = .066$). Being in the mobilization condition increased white women's likelihood of attending a candidate training by 4.7 percentage points ($p<.05$), and likelihood of donating to a CTO endorsed candidate by 4.7 percentage points ($p<.05$). It had a marginally significant effect on likelihood of running, with an increase of 3.8 percentage points and a p-value of .053. Table version of results can be found in Appendix Seven.

FIGURE 16. Effect of Mobilization Condition Interacted with WCTO Conditions on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items



Note: Figure 16 shows the marginal effect of being assigned to the Mobilization Condition on Black and white women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale interacted with being in the WCTO condition (for all women) or the racially diverse WCTO condition (for Black women). There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to the mobilization condition on either Black or white women's overall levels of Political Ambition, based on which CTO condition they were assigned to. However, being in the mobilization condition and learning about a WCTO, decreased women's interest in running for office by 8 percentage points ($p<.05$) and being in the mobilization condition and learning about a racially diverse WCTO increased Black women's perceptions of the organization's relevance by 19 percentage points ($p<.01$). It also had a marginally significant effect on Black women's likelihood that they would run by 12.5 percentage points ($p=.09$). Table version of results can be found in Appendix Seven.

Conclusion

Overall, these findings demonstrate the effect of signals about racial diversity on Black women's perceptions of belonging within women's political institutions. This survey experiment provides evidence that when candidate training organizations vary the signals they send about commitments to racial diversity, that actually sends a stronger signal to both Black and white women about the types of candidates they work with than cues about gender. Given the heterogeneity of women's experiences, it may be that racial cues send a more cohesive signal about the kinds of people an organization works with than gender cues – which can signal even more considerable within-identity diversity than identity-groups that make up smaller subsets of the population. These effects are predominantly among Black women and white Republican women, and move in opposite directions, showing that these signals may lead to tradeoffs in which groups of women see WCTOs as a space that is "for" people like them. In contrast, there were no effects among white Democratic women (Appendix Seven), when comparing across the race conditions, demonstrating that these effects operate through both race and partisanship. Given that Black women face unique challenges to running, creating spaces that center Black women and their lived experiences is essential to increasing the racial diversity of who feels supported by women's organizations and the resources they provide. This builds on work that emphasizes the powerful role of women of color spaces in supporting the mobilization and ambition of nonwhite women (Bejarano and Smooth 2022; Sanbonmatsu 2015).

As with the first experiment, I have noticed a trend about which set of scale items is shaped by each experimental treatment. The mobilization treatment in both this experiment and the experiment in Chapter Four directly and significantly moved questions asking about interest in running for office as well as perceptions that a run for office is feasible for someone like them. The treatments varying information about the gender/race focus of the candidate training organization influence perceptions of the organization, interest in seeking out the organization, and desire to participate on behalf of organization-endorsed candidates. This makes some sense, as mobilization should shape desire to run, while organizational-signals should shape where someone goes, if they are potentially

interested in learning about running. These are both precedents of expressed ambition (or actually running for office), and reflect the ways in which the WCTOs in my interviews talked about about shaping who feels they can run / that a run is worth the costs, and trying to create spaces where women feel like their experiences and concerns about running are centered. In my pre-analysis plan, I stated that I would look at the overall scale and each scale item individually for all treatments, and so will use this as theorizing for future studies. However, in future work, I plan to spend more time considering the dimensions of political ambition, as it is clear that there are different aspects of ambition being shaped by different aspects of a WCTO. The signals WCTOs send shape perceptions of the organization itself and who enters into the candidate space, while the tactics they use to mobilize have more of a direct effect on running itself. Furthermore, these findings emphasize that mobilization tactics work similarly for different subgroups of women (and I even found a stronger effect among Black women) but that organizational signals result in more within-gender variance. This highlights the importance of Organizational Identity Signaling in shaping who might get access to information and resources, because of who feels like they belong in or will be supported by a particular organization.

An important implication of these findings is how the signals WCTOs send create trade-offs between a signal that appeals to Black women and a signal that appeals to white Republican women. Many WCTOs are 501c3 organizations that must remain nonpartisan. In my interviews with these groups, many WCTOs discussed the challenges of being nonpartisan and a women's organization, particularly as "women's issues" are housed within the Democratic party. My findings about white Republican women's negative perceptions of racially diverse organizations, combined with the pressured many nonprofit WCTOs face to remain nonpartisan, may help to explain why WCTOs were less likely to talk about race than organizations not focused on gender. In an effort to appeal to "all" women, across the partisan spectrum, women's organizations may be sending a signal that they are not equipped to address the unique challenges that women of color experience. These kinds of trade-offs demonstrate the very real challenges women's organizations face in achieving descriptive representation in practice, because of the impossibility of addressing the full diversity

of women's experiences all at once. This also builds on previous work about the trade-offs that the Democratic party faces when trying to appeal to both white and non-white voters (Ostfeld 2019). When organizations are interested in appealing to diverse coalitions, across multiple identity dimensions, the signals they send aren't just seen by the target group, but also other groups they want to target. This highlights a core challenge of Organizational Identity Signaling, which is that signals of interest in working with a particular historically-excluded group can appeal to that group while also signaling to another group that the organization is not for them. In the case of WCTOs, I highlight the ways in which women's organizations struggle to appeal to all women, particularly when different groups of women have fundamentally different values and concerns about running for office.

I was surprised by the experimental finding that Black women were marginally significantly *less* interested in running for office in the treatment with Black and white women candidates. This result is marginally significant for Black women when I run the analyses with the two WCTO treatment conditions grouped and statistically significant when I run the analyses for Black women in the racially diverse WCTO condition alone, and the trend continues among Black women high in either gender or racial consciousness. This also runs counter to expectations that perceiving an organization as more relevant to people like you should also correlate with wanting to run for office, rather than simply shaping perceptions of organizational belonging. Given work about the role of anger as a mobilizer, both for overall participation (Valentino et al. 2011, 2008), and specifically Black women's political ambition (Scott 2018b), it's possible that Black women are riled up about seeing a group of entirely white supported candidates and that anger increases their interest in running. Black women already know that they don't look like the modal current elected official and that they're less likely to receive institutional support as a result (Doherty et al. 2019; Scott 2022). Alternatively, it's possible that the negative effect in the racially diverse women candidates condition stems from priming Black women to think about the unique set of barriers they face to running for office. A lot of previous work has emphasized the importance of women-of-color umbrella or subgroup specific organizations as spaces that make running for office feasible for nonwhite women (Bejarano and

Smooth 2022; Sanbonmatsu 2015). In contrast, the majority of formal women's candidate training organizations focus on "all women" rather than a specific group of nonwhite women. The treatments were designed to reflect the reality of how umbrella women's organizations incorporate race into their candidate training. In future work, I am interested in testing the difference in the effect on Black women's political ambition between women's organizations that incorporate racial diversity and Black-women specific candidate training organizations, allowing for a deeper understanding of the importance of spaces that solely center Black women's lived experiences. That will provide more insights into the importance of spaces that signal "multiculturalism" or "racial pluralism" versus women's organizations dedicated to particular racial or ethnic subgroups of women, and the unique challenges they face. Essentially, how does the organizational signal change when a person believes their experiences will be actively centered versus actively included?

Chapter Six: The Effect of the Founding of a WCTO on Women's State-Level Descriptive Representation

Introduction

So far, I've provided evidence that WCTOs influence women's individual-level political ambition, primarily because the signals that WCTOs send shape women's interest in seeking out these particular pathways to political candidacy. However, lab experiments provide insights into individual-level effects. Because we randomly assign respondents in a lab setting, we're removing any risks of selection. In the real world, we cannot randomly send a group of women to a WCTO (or not) and see if attending the organization shapes their likelihood of running and winning. If we design a study that looks at the women who attended these organizations, it is impossible to know if they would have run anyway. Evidence of institutional effects require a comparison case of similar women who didn't attend these organizations. Therefore, it is imperative to run a statistical test of the effect of the founding of a WCTO in a U.S. state on women's likelihood of running for office and serving in government. In other words, does the presense of these institutions meaningfully shape the gender diversity of political representation? Or is their impact limited by issues of selection, or who actually seeks these organizations out in the first place? This question is particularly important because of its implications for descriptive representation. If these organizations are meaningfully shaping how many, or which women, are running and winning, then they are having an effect on the extent of gender representation at the state-legislative level. This test also demonstrates the impact of organizations on individual-behavior, but aggregated up to the level of state-legislative representation, providing evidence to my claim that organizational signals meaningfully shape

people's entry into political candidacy and ultimately the representational make-up of government.

In my interviews, I discovered that how WCTOs recruit people to run varies, in ways that both potential reproduce preexisting networks to candidacy and in ways that may also open up new entry-points to political candidacy. Some organizations rely on word of mouth, which means that people already active in political networks are the most likely to hear about them. But other organizations do make targeted outreach efforts to other organizations to increase the number of people learning about their programming who might not have heard about it otherwise. This leaves open critical questions about whether selection into the organization should influence who runs as a result. Additionally, previous work highlights that women perceive party elites as biased against supporting women candidates (Butler and Preece 2016), demonstrating that organization's tactics influence who seeks out the organization and the resources it provides. My own experiments also affirm this finding. The Organizational Identity Signals sent by CTOs influence who selects into the organization in the first place. For women high in gender consciousness, learning that an organization works with women increases their interest in seeking the organization out. And for Black women, an organization signaling that they have specific programming and past experiences supporting Black women candidates influences whether they perceive the organization as a place that is relevant and supportive for people like them. These prior findings all point to the possibility that WCTOs should be uniquely effective at increasing women's representation, because women – particularly those whose identities are significant for their self-concept or who see examples of women who share their other identities within these organizational spaces – may be more likely to seek out resources from a shared-gender space.

This affirms my theory that the signals sent by an organization about their ability to and interest in centering a person's specific needs, because of their demographic and political identities, shapes the effectiveness of candidate recruitment at increasing diverse ambition. However, even with this evidence that signals from an organization shape who seeks them out, it is still theoretically possible that the people who attend a WCTO or get access to its resources would have sought out other avenues for political candidacy. An association between the founding of a WCTO and the number of

women running for state legislature in following elections should be null if the founding of a WCTO doesn't shape who seeks out a career as a state legislator because of support from these organizations. Time and state fixed effects are also meant to account for factors that would shape decisions to run, beyond those factors that varied both by time and state simultaneously and correlated with the founding of a WCTO.

So why might we expect that other factors, like the overall growth in interest in supporting women candidates, don't correlate perfectly with the founding of WCTOs across the U.S. and overtime? In other words, what descriptive information is there that helps to justify that these organizations aren't founded systematically at the same time as other factors that increase women's candidacies? First of all, WCTOs were founded in U.S. states as far back as 1979 and as recently as 2020 (in my collected data). These organizations are also both the product of individuals within a state wanting to make local change as well as national organizations pushing for the founding of chapters across the U.S.. Therefore, the reasons for their foundings are tremendously varied, a fact that was backed up by my interviews when women would talk about the myriad of reasons that led them to found a WCTO.

Theory

What is the effect of the founding of a WCTO in a U.S. state on the number of women running and winning? If these organizations influence women's mobilization (the decision to run) and candidate support (the ability to run) in ways that actually change who runs and wins, then the founding of a WCTO in a state should increase women's representation as both candidates and elected officials.

H8a: All else equal, the founding of a WCTO in a state will increase the number of women running for state legislature in following elections.

H8b: All else equal, the founding of a WCTO in a state will increase the number of women winning state legislative office in following elections.

However, who relates to women as a group is extremely varied, and women are a particularly

heterogeneous social category, made up of a tremendous diversity of lived experiences and interests (Young 1994). Democratic and Republican women do not see themselves as part of the same group (Klar 2018). Furthermore, following the movement of women's issues into the Democratic party (Mansbridge 1986; Wolbrecht 2000), women's organizations have increasingly been associated with left-leaning and Democratic women (Cooperman and Crowder-Meyer 2020). Similarly, women's organizations are currently more central to Democratic party networks than Republican party networks (Crowder-Meyer and Cooperman 2018), meaning that the pool of Democratic women recruited to run from left-leaning women's organizations may be more likely to be connected to broader Democratic elite networks than Republican women recruited by right-leaning women's organizations. This would also provide further evidence for my claim about how heterogeneity within women as a group shapes the effectiveness of organizational signals by WCTOs at increasing the diversity of women's representation, in this case across partisanship.

H8c: All else equal, the founding of a WCTO in a state will increase the number of women running for and winning state legislative offices, when the political-leaning of the organization and partisanship of the candidate align.

Finally, WCTOs vary tremendously in both the intensity of their programming and their emphasis on material support. Some organizations do zoom webinars on how to run for office, while others select a small cohort of potential candidates and spend a full year doing monthly weekend-long programming that teaches them how to run and connects them to the networks to succeed. Similarly, some organizations emphasize the importance of equal information provision while other organizations connect program attendees with a larger PAC organization that is legally allowed to provide individualized mentorship during a campaign, as well as endorsements and PAC checks. Therefore, I further expect that the effects of these organizations on women's representation are the most apparent among the organizations that engage in the most in-depth programming (fellowship or cohort-model trainings) and that have provide potential candidates with the most

resources (have a PAC). This builds on my claim that the credibility of the organizational signal matters. Organizations that have the temporal and financial reserves to actually help women overcome the barriers they face to running for office should be more effective than organizations that have fewer resources at their disposal.

H8d: All else equal, the founding of a WCTO in a state will increase the number of women running for and winning state legislative offices, when the organization does more material candidate support and substantive candidate training.

Data and Methods

In order to test these hypotheses about the relationship between WCTOs and women's state legislative candidacies and elections, I built an original panel dataset of each state's state legislative elections from 1992-2020. Each row of data is a state-election year pair, listing the number of women candidates who ran for either State House or State Senate that year in that state, as well as the number of women State House or State Senate winners.[63]. This dataset also includes whether a WCTO founded in the state prior to that election. Through my interviews and supplementary internet research, I confirmed either the year a WCTO ran their first programming for potential women candidates, or the year the organization was founded, in cases when I couldn't confirm the first year of candidate-specific programming. I made the assumption that at least some of the organization's first slate of candidates would run for state legislature in the following election, but I run my model to look at all time periods following the election, in order to account for candidates who run immediately and in later years. This decision is supported by comments from my interviews about how candidates often wait for the right seat and how WCTOs will sometimes work for years with a potential woman candidate before they make the decision to run. Whether there is at least

[63]State legislative elections occur either once ever two or four years. 46 states have even year elections and 4 have odd year elections. The four states with odd year elections were grouped with elections in the following year, in order to account for differences in sample size.

one WCTO in a particular state in that election period is a binary variable, rather than a count of WCTOs in the state.[64] In addition to information about the year the WCTO was founded, I used my interviews and supplementary internet searches to collect information about the partisan-lean of the organization (left-leaning, right-leaning, nonpartisan), as well as whether the organization is affiliated with a PAC or has a fellowship program. The PAC structure measure accounts for organizations that can provide considerable material candidate support, and the fellowship program variable accounts for organizations that provide considerable candidate training.

To test the effect of the founding of a WCTO in a state on women's state legislative representation in the following election, I am using a difference-in-differences design. This is a quasi-experimental statistical approach which compares changes over time in a treated and control population (women in states with WCTOs and without in states without). Difference-in-differences designs rely on the parallel trends assumption, which states that in the counterfactual world where treatment did not occur, both treated and control states would have similar patterns in women's representation. Because the foundings of WCTOs in U.S. states occur in different time periods, this analysis relies on two-way fixed effects (in this case state and year) to account for heterogeneous treatment effects. However, in recent studies, numerous statisticians have provided critiques of the use of two-way fixed effects within difference-in-difference designs, because this leads to a comparison of all treated and untreated combinations with each other – rather than specifically comparing treated and untreated states in each year (Callaway et al. 2021; de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille 2020; Goodman-Bacon 2021). Instead, this analysis uses an estimation method developed by Callaway et al. (2021), which accounts for these challenges and also allows for the inclusion of additional controls in the model.

One potential concern that a difference-in-differences design aims to account for is the possibility of selection. It's possible that the lack of true random assignment means the only people who

[64]I focused on the first WCTO founded in a state, given that the biggest organizational shift likely occurs when a state goes from 0 to 1 WCTO. It is hard to theorize about a similar process for WCTOs above 1, as they may be competing with one another for candidates rather than competing with the existing non-gender recruitment apparatus. Additionally, a difference-in-differences design assumes that there isn't selection (Callaway et al. 2021). This is a much stronger assumption with multiple doses, as you have to assume whether a state founds additional WCTOs is not conditional on the founding of the first WCTO.

participate in a women's organization are people who would have been mobilized to run anyway. This possibility means that WCTOs may be providing critical resources but not actually influencing who runs for office, or it could even mean that WCTOs are recruiting and supporting people who would have received that mobilization and support elsewhere. If there are no effects, once accounting for other factors that shape running and the founding of these organizations, this may point to the selection effect. So these organizations may still be making a difference for the people who participate, but not changing who is recruited in the first place. This immediately tests my theory of Organizational Identity Signaling by testing whether the signals organizations send shape **where** potential candidates go to get the institutional support they need or whether the signals organizations sends shape **if** potential candidates get access to the institutional support they need at all, because of the presense of WCTOs.

The other potential concern is that WCTOs are founded in states where other changes are occurring that influence the electoral climate in favor of women candidates. So, for example, if a women's organization is founded in a state because there is a growing presence of women in political-adjacent careers looking for institutional support, then the cause of the increase in women's representation is women in political-adjacent careers and not the founding of the WCTO itself. This concern is addressed first through the use of time and state fixed-effects, which account for variation across U.S. states and across years. Second, all analyses are run both with the time and state fixed-effects, and with a parsimonious set of additional controls that have the potential to vary across both time and state and correlate with the founding of a WCTO and increases in women's representation. This is a particularly conservative test, given the sample size, because it is controlling for variance both across time and state, and also a considerable amount of variance within these state-year pairs.

The models with additional controls include levels of Presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, public support for women candidates, and the percent of lawyers that are women. Presidential support is a proxy for changes in the left- or right- political leaning of the electorate within a state, which could shape the number of women running for office. Women

are more likely to run as Democrats (Palmer and Simon 2001), and WCTOs may be more likely to be founded when there is a clear opening for new seats that are more likely to be filled by women candidates than previously. Presidential support is measured with a rolling average of the percentage of people who voted for a Democratic President in the last three Presidential year elections (Data from MIT Election Data and Science Lab (2017)). The number of open seats is controlled for, because candidate training organizations are almost exclusively recruit and train first-time candidates, who are more likely to run in an open seat election than as a challenger to an incumbent. Women are also more likely to make the strategic decision to run where they think they will win (Ondercin 2022), meaning they run at higher rates in open-seat elections (Palmer and Simon 2001). The number of open-seat elections in a state is operationalized as a count of the number of open seats (Data from (Klarner 2018)).[65] Legislative professionalism is included as a control variable, because women are more deterred than men by running for office by having to be away from home for longer numbers of days (longer legislative sessions) and are better represented in less professionalized legislatures (legislatures with lower pay and less staff) (Sanbonmatsu 2006). More professionalized legislatures also increase party gate-keeping, which can keep new and more diverse candidates out, by prioritizing incumbents (Sanbonmatsu 2006). Legislative professionalism is operationalized via a weighted measure of salary, session length, and legislative expenditures (via data from (Bowen and Greene 2014)). Public support for the idea of a woman in office is a measure of the state's openness to electing women, and is controlled for because candidates and elites are likely to consider gender bias/openness in their decisions about whether and who to run (Scott and Smidt 2023), and because WCTOs are more likely to be founded when there are elites open to the idea of supporting women candidates. This variable is operationalized using state-level weighted estimates of the average response to three GSS survey questions (data from Scott and Smidt (2023)). Finally, data from the American Community Survey was used to get annual estimates of the percent of lawyers in a state that are women, in order to control for the gender balance in politics-adjacent careers. This variable is included because the legal professional is one of the careers that many political candidates come

[65]I use a count variable instead of a percent, because time and state fixed effects are already accounting for variation in the number of seats in a state's state legislature.

from (Lawless and Fox 2005), and so gender parity in these professions likely translates to increases in the pool of potential candidates as well as the pool of elites interested in investing in women's organizations.

The primary results report the average effect of being treated by a WCTO on the number of women running for State House and State Senate (H8a) and the number of women who won (H8b). I will show this through a graph, which reports the effect of the founding of a WCTO in each year since treatment, as well as by reporting the ATT (Average Treatment for Treated) among all treated state-year pairs. The next result will be the effect of the founding of a left-leaning or nonpartisan WCTO on the number of Democratic women running (as both a graph over time and an ATT) and the effect of the founding of a right-leaning WCTO on the number of Republican women running and winning (as both a graph over time and an ATT) (H8c).[66]. The final result is the effect of the founding of a WCTO with a PAC and the founding of a WCTO with a fellowship on the number of women running and winning (H8d). All results are conducted both with time and state fixed-effects, and then with fixed-effects and additional controls. Each of the results also demonstrates the difference between the treated and control states in the periods prior to treatment. While this is not a perfect test of the parallel trends assumption, because it is theoretically possible that the counterfactual trend could operate differently before and after treatment even without the founding of the WCTO, this does show whether there should be some expectation of parallelism between the treated and controlled states. This is particularly affirmed by the use of fixed-effects and controls, which aim to account for variance between the groups.

[66]I include both left-leaning and nonpartisan organizations for Democrats but only right-leaning organizations for Republicans because of findings from my interview data that even the nonpartisan organizations primarily recruit left-leaning women candidates, because of how Republicans perceive women's organizations and because of who leadership within women's spaces tends to be (excepting explicitly right-leaning women's spaces) However, I run multiple versions of these models as robustness checks, looking solely at partisan organizations as well as at all organizations.

Results

For each hypotheses, two results are presented. The first is the ATT or the effect of being in a state treated with a WCTO relative to a state without a WCTO, with time and state fixed effects.[67] The second shows the change pre- and post- treatment for the effect of the founding of a WCTO on women's representation. Since the foundings occur in different years, this graph shows the number of women candidates by years pre- and post-treatment rather than specific years in time.[68] The results will also be presented disaggregated by year (in Appendix Eight), even though these were not initially theorized predictions. This is because the effect of the founding of a WCTO on women's state-level descriptive representation appears to be clustered among particular years of organizations. This brings up important questions that I will discuss as future work.

The first hypothesis is that the founding of a WCTO in a state increases the number of women candidates running in that state in the following election cycles. There was not a statistically significant relationship between the founding of a WCTO and increases in women's representation. The average treatment effect on the treated is 1.17 and it is non-significant (See Appendix Eight for regression table).[69] As can be seen in Figure 17, there is no statistically significant relationship between treatment and women's representation except 24 periods after treatment, which refers only to a small set of organizations. The effect is negative when controls are added on top of time and state fixed effects, further affirming the lack of a relationship.[70]

The second result is a test of the effect on the number of women winners. A statistically significant result would imply that the effect of these organizations moves not through recruitment but candidate support. In other words, that WCTOs shapes either the success of candidates who may have run anyway or the likelihood of successful candidates running, because their effect is on who wins rather than who runs. There is a positive and statistically significant effect, with an increase of about 3.88 additional women winners among the state-years treated with a WCTO (See Appendix Eight for

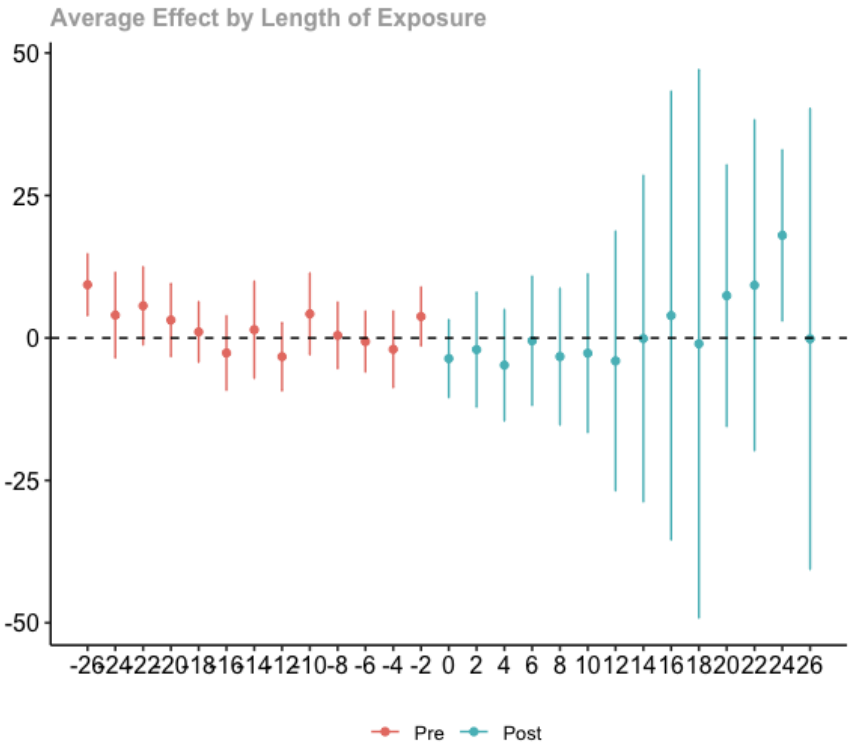
[67] All analyses with additional controls are in the appendices.

[68] It is worth noting that this means that the sample sizes will be small for the periods far away from treatment, as a smaller number organizations were founded in 1992 and in 2020 than in the years in between.

[69] The ATT reflects the number of additional women in the dependent variable in treated states post-treatment.

[70] See Appendix Eight for results with controls.

FIGURE 17. Effect of Founding of WCTOs on Number of Women State Leg. Candidates – Pre- and Post- Treatment

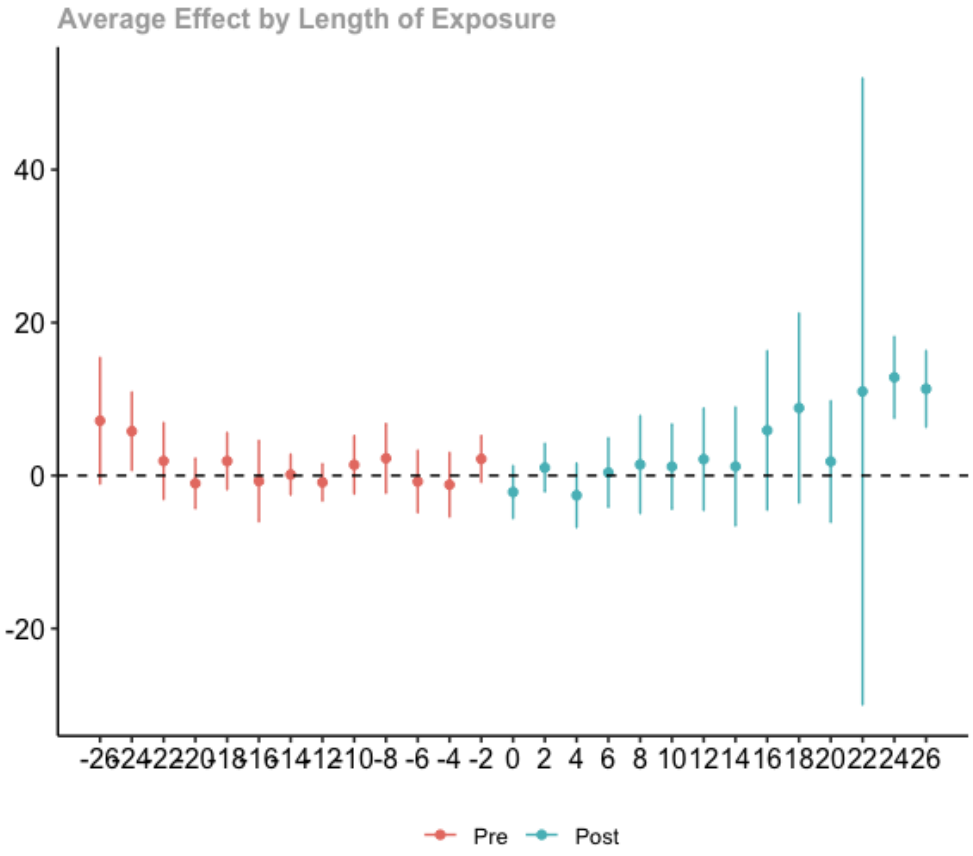


Note: Figure 17 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO compared to being in one of the states not treated with a WCTO, on the number of women state legislative candidates, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Periods prior to treatment demonstrate relatively little difference between the treated and control states, conditional on time and state fixed effects. Number of women state legislative candidates is a count of the number of women candidates running in the general elections for either State House or State Senate either as a Democrat or Republican, or in a nonpartisan election. Results demonstrate that there is no statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of women state legislative candidates.

regression table). As can be seen in Figure 18, this is again driven more by the later periods of time, which may point to a stronger effect once organizations are more established and have built up the resources to support larger and more successful campaigns. Appendix Eight demonstrates that these effects are mostly driven by organizations founded in 1994 and 2014, highlighting that these effects may be the result of a smaller subset of particularly effective groups. These results, however, do not hold when additional controls are added on top of time and state fixed effects (Appendix Eight).

The third hypothesis was that the effect of the founding of a WCTO on women candidates

FIGURE 18. Effect of Founding of WCTOs on Number of Women State Leg. Winners – Pre- and Post- Treatment



Note: Figure 18 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO compared to being in one of the states not treated with a WCTO, on the number of women winners of state legislative elections, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Periods prior to treatment demonstrate relatively little difference between the treated and control states, conditional on time and state fixed effects. Number of women state legislative candidates is a count of the number of women who won general elections for either State House or State Senate either as a Democrat or Republican, or in a nonpartisan election. Results demonstrate that while effects increase over time, there is only a statistically significant effect 24 and 26 years after a WCTO is founded, which reflects a lagged effect among states that have had a WCTO for an extremely long period of time.

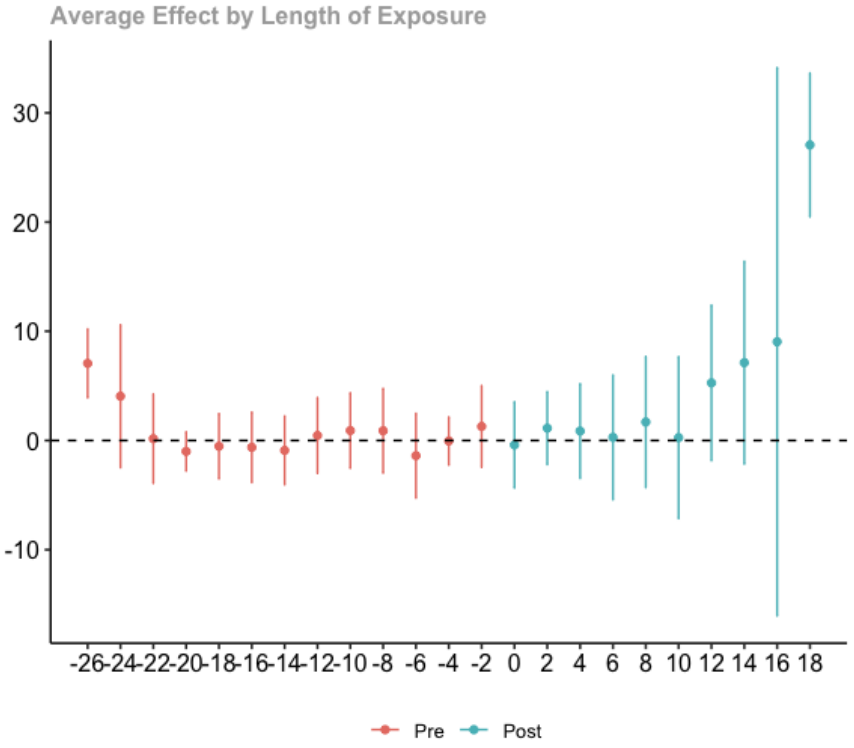
and elected officials would be stronger for Democratic women in states treated with left-leaning organizations and Republican women in states treated with right-leaning organizations. Overall, there was a positive and statistically significant effect of the founding of a left-leaning WCTO on the number of Democratic women winners, resulting in an average increase of 5.23 Democrat women

state legislators among treated states (See Appendix Eight for regression table). As can be seen in Figure 19, these effects are not immediate. Instead, there is a slow increase over time, as organizations are around for longer. These results are primarily driven by organizations founded in 1994 and 2014 and do not remain significant when the full set of controls are added, on top of time and state fixed effects.[71] There is not, however, a statistically significant relationship between right-leaning WCTOs and Republican women. Instead, the effect is statistically significantly negative with time and state fixed effects (See Figure 20) and there is no effect once controls are added (Appendix Eight). Given the aversion to gender consciousness among Republican women and a tendency not to view the world in the gendered lens, these organizations may not have the same impact on their representation in government and overall candidate emergence. This provides evidence for my claim that how women relate to a women's organization is essential for a relationship between the organization's signal and state-level shifts in descriptive representation. Republican women value their gender-identity less and so whether a right-leaning organization is gendered or not should be less impactful for whether they seek it out and get the support they need to run for office.

Additionally, the pre-treatment parallel trends do not hold in the case of Republican women and right-leaning WCTOs. It is possible that the pathways to political candidacies look different for Republican women, meaning that a model specification that focuses on Republican women's representation would be more appropriate in future work. For example, Republican women are less likely to run because of less emphasis on women's representation among Republican elites (Crowder-Meyer and Cooperman 2018; Thomsen and Swers 2017), polarization placing value on more ideologically extreme candidates (Thomsen 2015), and fewer Republican women in the career paths that make up the candidate pool (Crowder-Meyer and Lauderdale 2014; Lawless and Fox 2010).

[71]Results with controls, grouped by year founded and among candidates are in Appendix Eight.

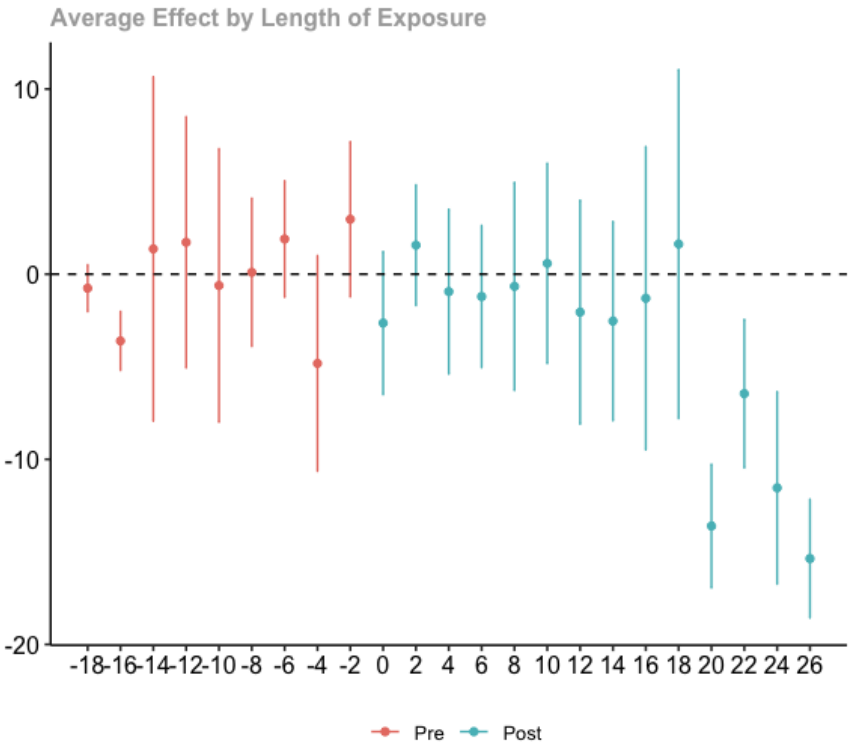
FIGURE 19. Effect of Founding of Left-Leaning WCTOs on Number of Democrat Women State Leg. Winners – Pre- and Post- Treatment



Note: Figure 19 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a left-leaning WCTO compared to being in one of the states not treated with a left-leaning WCTO, on the number of Democrat women winners of state legislative elections, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Periods prior to treatment demonstrate relatively little difference between the treated and control states, conditional on time and state fixed effects. Number of Democrat women state legislative candidates is a count of the number of Democrat women who won general elections for state legislature and a WCTO was coded as left-leaning if it either was Democrat-affiliated or focused on ideologically liberal/left-leaning candidates. Results demonstrate that while effects increase over time, there is only a statistically significant effect 18 years after a WCTO is founded, a particularly lagged effect among states where a Dem WCTO was founded.

The final hypothesis was that the effect of the founding of a WCTO on women candidates and elected officials would be stronger for states that were treated with a WCTO that engages in more material support and substantive training. This was operationalized with measures of whether the organization is linked to a PAC (material support) and whether they run a more intensive fellowship program (substantive training). Given the tremendous variation in how these organizations operate, this is one way to consider the effect of the set of organizations we might expect to have the most

FIGURE 20. Effect of Founding of Right-Leaning WCTOs on Number of Republican Women State Leg. Winners – Pre- and Post- Treatment

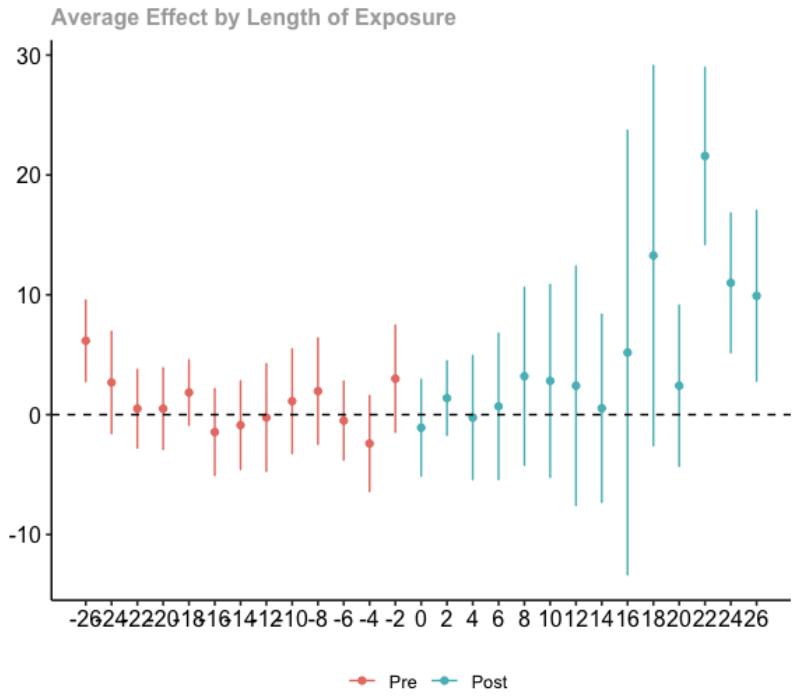


Note: Figure 20 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a right-leaning WCTO compared to being in one of the states not treated with a right-leaning WCTO, on the number of Republican women winners of state legislative elections, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Periods prior to treatment demonstrate that there may be differences between the treated and untreated states, in the opposite direction to treatment. Number of Republican women state legislative candidates is a count of the number of Republican women who won general elections for state legislature and a WCTO was coded as right-leaning if it either was Republican-affiliated or focused on ideologically conservative/right-leaning candidates. Results demonstrate a negative relationship between the founding of a right-leaning WCTO and the number of Republican women winning state legislative elections, 20-26 years after founding.

impact. It also points to the importance of credible signals that are backed up with material and temporal support. The presence of a WCTO with a fellowship program in a state increases the number of women state legislators statistically significantly by 5.22 (See Appendix Eight for regression table). As can be seen in Figure 21, this effect is lagged. Figure 22 demonstrates that organizations with a PAC also lead to a positive and statistically significant increase in the number of women state legislative winners, resulting in an average of 5.37 additional women state legislative winners

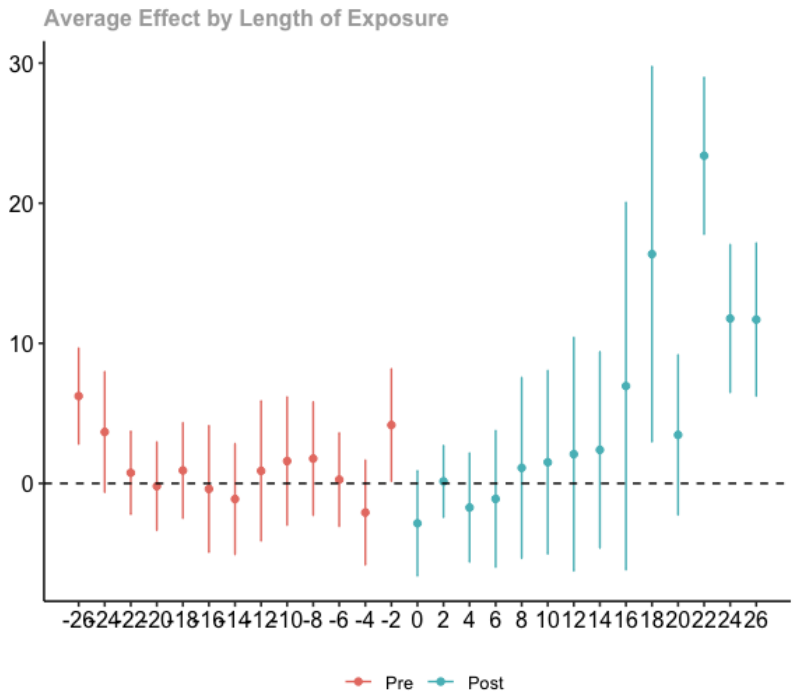
among treated states (See Appendix Eight for regression table). However, again, as can be seen in Appendix Eight, these effects are driven by the models with time and state fixed effects and not by the models with additional controls added to account for variation across both time and states.

FIGURE 21. Effect of Founding of WCTOs with Fellowship Programs on Number of Women State Leg. Winners – Pre- and Post- Treatment



Note: Figure 21 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO with a fellowship program compared to being in one of the states not treated with a WCTO with a fellowship program, on the number of women winners of state legislative elections, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Periods prior to treatment demonstrate relatively little difference between the treated and control states, conditional on time and state fixed effects. An organization is coded as having a fellowship if there is an application process for a lengthy and regular set of trainings with the same group of women over a period of time longer than one weekend. Results demonstrate that there is only a statistically significant effect 22-26 years after a WCTO is founded, a particularly lagged effect.

FIGURE 22. Effect of Founding of WCTOs with PACs on Number of Women State Leg. Winners – Pre- and Post- Treatment



Note: Figure 22 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO with a PAC compared to being in one of the states not treated with a WCTO with a PAC, on the number of women winners of state legislative elections, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Periods prior to treatment demonstrate some difference between the treated and control states, conditional on time and state fixed effects. An organization is coded as having a PAC if they are affiliated with an organization with a PAC that provides support to at least some candidates who go through their training, even if PAC support is not guaranteed to all. Results demonstrate that there is only a statistically significant effect 18, 22, 24, and 26 years after a WCTO is founded, a particularly lagged effect.

Conclusion

Overall, this chapter provides modest evidence of the effect of WCTOs on increases in women's state-level descriptive representation. In particular, while there isn't an effect of WCTOs on women candidates, the founding of a WCTO does increase the number of women winners and women Democratic winners. These results are particularly strong amongst WCTOs that provide considerable financial or temporal resources. Generally speaking, the parallel trends hold in the pre-treatment periods, highlighting that without controls but with time and state fixed effects there are similarities

in the number of women candidates in the treated and untreated states. However, once additional controls are added, the effects go away. This is either because these factors are actually driving women's representation and co-occurring with the founding of WCTOs, or because the statistical power of these analyses is impacted by the additional controls. Either way, this chapter lends initial evidence to the broader impacts of WCTOs on women's representation, particularly for women who are most likely to see themselves within these organizations and particularly when they are able to back up their signals of gendered support with material and temporal resources.

Two additional findings stand out that deserve further discussion – why the effets are only among winners and not candidates, and why there are effects only among Democrats and not Republicans. WCTOs have two primary ways that they can impact women's representation in government. They can shape who makes the decision to run (mobilization) and they can shape who gets the resources needed to be a successful candidate (support). Finding effects only among winners, as well as finding effects for PAC-affiliated and fellowship organizations, demonstrates that these effects may come more from support than mobilization. These organizations aren't shaping the number of women running, but their foundings relate to increases in the number of women winners. So rather than increasing the number of first time candidates, they may instead be helping women already potentially interested in launching their campaigns by providing new women-specific avenues for access to resources and ongoing mentorship. This may mean that the gendered signals sent by WCTOs direct potential women candidates towards their organizations and get women the resources they provide, particularly if these are quality candidates with a high likelihood of winning an election but who may not have thought of other avenues as likely to support someone like them.

The findings primarily Democrats, and a statistically significantly negative effect on the number Republican women winners, further affirm my theory about the role of identity in shaping the effectiveness of these organizations. Who seeks out a women's organization and the support it provides is shaped by who sees gender as fundamental to their self-concept and who believes that a women's organization is interested in and able to help people like them. Given that Republican women are less likely to perceive WCTOs as "for them," it is not surprising that there isn't the same

effect for Republican women. What is surprising is that the effect is negative when we look at the effect of Republican organizations on Republican women, because these organizations are clearly signaling that they understand the unique experiences of Republican women candidates. However, is it possible that Republican women are still less likely to think that they need a women's organization to support them before launching a campaign. If gender isn't important to your self-concept, and other right-leaning organizations also exist in your area, then you might not seek out a Republican **women's** organization specifically. These identity cues aren't just about how similar an organization's signal is to an individual, but how important that signal is when someone is making a decision about what organization to seek out. It's also possible, given that many of these organizations are located in urban areas, that they aren't accessing the places where Republican women are most likely to run and win. Given that the findings are particularly among winners, a Republican women's organization in a major city in a red state may still not be working primarily with candidates likely to win in their districts, if they're working with urban Republicans.

While not in my initial analysis plan, one consistent finding is that the effect is not felt immediately. Instead, there is a slow increase upwards in the number of additional women candidates until there is a positive and statistically significant effect in the later periods. This makes some sense, as there's reason to believe that the effects of WCTOs would not be immediate. The treatment was the first year that a WCTO had programming, meaning that an immediate effect would require women who participate in the first year of the program to run and win less than two years later. Some women wait a few years to run. Some women run at lower levels first and work their way up to state-legislature. Furthermore, as organizations amass more financial reserves and become more integrated into elite political networks, they're more likely to help potential candidates succeed. Finally, as organizations grow, the types of races they can support and the number of candidates they work with also grows. Overall, these delayed effects are not what I hypothesized, but they paint a very realistic picture of how organizations operate.

Additionally, the significant effects were specific to certain years. Women's organizations founded in 1994 and 2014 drove the results on overall women's representation, while Democratic women's

organizations founded in 2002 and 2016 drove the effects among Democratic women (See Appendix Eight). I was hoping that the findings about PACs and fellowships might help to explain these contingencies, but again, those effects are not consistent across all years these organizations are founded. Further research should consider the additional structural factors that might shape why some WCTOs appear to be more successful than others. Is this about the amount of time they've been around? Is this about having a relationship to the state parties to coordinate around similar candidates? Is this about stepping up and filling in for infrastructures that don't exist, and so is actually about operating in states that don't have strong party recruitment ecosystems? Deeper exploration of the conditions under which these organizations might be successful, as well as the strategies and tactics that make women's organizations more effective, would help to explain the why behind some of my more surprising findings.

If my theory of Organizational Identity Signaling is correct, and organizational behavior can influence feelings of belonging within institutions, then there are other dimensions beyond partisanship where we should see contingent effects. In future work, I hope to explore the effect of the founding of a WCTO separately across Asian American women, Black women, Latinas, and white women. My second experiment found that the signals sent by women's organizations differently shape Black and white women's likelihood of perceiving the organization as for "someone like them." In order to understand the aggregate implications of this finding, I am building a dataset of the race and ethnicity of women state legislative candidates. I plan to use this dataset to test the effects of these organizations on women's representation, across racial and ethnic groups. This will help to further understand the role of women's organizations in addressing the diversity of descriptive representation, across multiple dimensions.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

This dissertation provides evidence of the role of private-sector women's candidate training organizations in shaping women's individual-level ambition and state-level descriptive representation, in order to explain variation in where women run and win. I begin by proposing a theory of Organizational Identity Signaling, whereby organizations send implicit and explicit cues to potential members about who their organization is "for." Given that people predominantly participate in politics through groups, these signals influence who seeks political organizations out and participates in politics as a result. In the case of WCTOs, they take a gendered-approach to the recruitment and training of first-time candidates, signaling to potential women candidates that these organizations will address their gender-specific barriers to running. More than NGCTOs, or comparable private-sector but non-gendered organizations, they put a greater emphasis on recruitment – specifically through mobilization to make local change. They also center gender and women's experiences in their trainings. And they focus more on connecting attendees to the material resources and networks needed to run, support that women candidates are less likely to come in with.

This gendered approach, particularly through mobilization to make local change, increases women's overall interest in running. Furthermore, even the signal of learning about a WCTO can increase interest in running for women high in gender consciousness. However, the signals WCTOs send about their commitment to racial diversity also shape Black and white women's perceptions of these organizations, meaning that the choices they make about which women they center also influence who feels like they belong within a women's organization. Finally, the founding of a WCTO in a state has a small and lagged, but consistent, effect on the number of women winning state legislative elections. This is true particularly for Democratic women in states with left-leaning

organizations. This research demonstrates the role of private-sector women's organizations in connecting potential women candidates to the support they need to win, a factor that has been shown to shape earlier stages of political ambition as well. This project demonstrates that organizational behavior directly influences individual psychology, as the signals organizations send shape who feels like they belong within an organization, who seeks that organization out, and who accesses the support and resources an organization provides. In this case, this has profound implications for which women seek out entrypoints to political candidacy, who runs for office, and who serves in government.

One key motivator for this research is the considerable prior evidence that political parties cannot explain increases in the diversity of political candidates, because of their incentives to protect incumbents, appeal to the median voter, and recruit from proximal networks (Crowder-Meyer 2013; Doherty et al. 2019; Sanbonmatsu 2006). By demonstrating that gendered recruitment shapes women's ambition and interest in seeking out candidate training, I provide another explanation for why Butler and Preece (2016) find evidence that women perceive political parties as not interested in meaningfully supporting women candidates. Successful candidate recruitment requires an organization to demonstrate that they understand and center the unique experiences of the person being recruited. It's not enough to provide expertise about how to run for office. Potential women candidates want to know that their concerns about sexism and harassment, about navigating gendered presentation norms, about accessing elite boys-club networks, will be addressed. Elites within political parties have been successful political elites, and so not only are they disproportionately male (Crowder-Meyer 2013; Niven 1998), but they also experience politics as people who have succeeded. Women's organizations were founded because they want to center women's unique experiences. In fact, the leadership in my interviews often spoke about their challenges as women in politics and how they makes them experts at navigating gendered challenges. But to push this point even further, women's experiences also vary. And the women who serve in leadership positions in political organizations have a distinct set of experiences, which shape which women's barriers to running are given attention.

Overall, this work has important implications for thinking about who provides expertise about running for office, and how that shapes the kind of advice they give, and which potential candidates that advice is most useful for. This tells a story about how systems reproduce. People who are successful provide advice and that advice is tailored to the hurdles they faced. Given that expertise and success are often priors to founding any organization, I want to think more about how this perpetuates inequalities in the types of voices that are centered and the advice about how to run for office. Again, this demonstrates how organizations are shaped by individual behavior, and how organizations, in turn, shape future individual behavior, by influencing who is centered in political pipelines. If diversity in organizations is a goal, then the advice given to potential participants must diversify as well. In future work, I hope to collect data on the demographics of the leadership of WCTOs, in order to link the diversity of leadership to the variation I found in the types of strategies WCTOs take. My interviews provided initial evidence that organizations are more likely to address diversity in recruitment and training when they get feedback from either organization leadership or program attendees. So by looking at the diversity of organization leadership, I can speak to the role of people's identities in what kinds of organizational strategies they spearhead.

But what does it mean for descriptive representation that a major source of recruitment of women candidates is coming from private-sector organizations? The United States is unique from many other Western democracies, because of the amount of candidate recruitment, training, and funding, that occurs in the private-sector. Furthermore, the cost of elections and lack of publicly-funded campaigns, mean that candidates are often funded either privately or by outside organizations, such as PACs. And yet, this system has made WCTOs possible. The failure of the major political parties to diversify their candidate pools and the opportunities for private organizations to get involved, increases the diversity of perspectives and funding sources available for candidate recruitment. In many other Western Democracies, the only path to a diverse electorate is through changing the incentives of party elites or advocating for party-level structural changes.

One clear implication of my work is that diversity of representation is better achieved through organizational diversity. Big tent organizations like political parties are ill-equipped to provide advice

to lots of different kinds of candidates, even though these are organizations that seek to represent large swaths of the electorate. However, they're also the organizations working to fill the largest number of seats and to support the largest number of candidates. This makes it difficult to tailor strategies to the diversity of people who might want to run for office. A larger number of smaller organizations, which are tailored to different kinds of candidates, are ultimately better equipped to meaningfully increase the diversity of the candidate pool. Especially because diversifying the political pipeline starts with diversifying the pool of first-time candidates, a more decentralized approach to candidate recruitment is ultimately more effective at recruiting and training diverse candidates at the local and state level.

However, this is not to downplay the downsides to a candidate recruitment ecosystem driven so heavily by private-sector organizations. This also means that a large portion of candidate recruitment, training, and support in the U.S. results from individuals with resources founding organizations. So the individuals with the most access to material resources and interest in shaping politics have the most ability to influence representation. Given that people who have succeeded politically may not be the best people to provide advice about barriers to running for members of historically excluded groups, it should be concerning that only people with ample resources can found political organizations likely to impact the candidate recruitment ecosystem. As long as elections are expensive, there will be material barriers to running for office. And as long as people with resources have an outsized influence on our political system, true descriptive representation is impossible, because this will influence the kinds of people that are recruited to run and win.

My research also has important implications for understanding how efforts to increase descriptive representation operate in practice. I demonstrate in both the survey experiments and statistical analysis that women's organizations do not shape ambition and runs for office among all women equally. How women relate to their gender identity influences whether they see a gendered-cue as relevant to the types of organizations they seek out. The signals WCTOs send about their experience recruiting both Black and white candidates increase Black women's positive perceptions of the organization while decreasing Republican white women's positive perceptions. Similarly, the effects

of these organizations are stronger among Democrats than Republicans, even when I look at partisan women's organizations. This means that the strategies these organizations take, in terms of the set of women's experiences they center, shape which women may seek them out. And who perceives a women's organization as "for" women like them influences who is going to seek out these spaces and the resources they provide.

Ultimately, the theoretical ideal of a fully representative democracy is an ideal and not truly achievable in practice. In terms of descriptive representation, a known correlate of substantive representation, within-group variation is high enough that there will always be some identities that are more represented than others. And yet, given the benefits of a diverse electorate and the normative importance of equity in access to political candidacy, there is an interest in ensuring that members of historically excluded groups are given the support needed to overcome the material and psychological barriers that they face to running. In reality, it is impossible for any one organization to do this for all people – or even for all women, given the diversity of women's experiences. In the case of women's organizations, this means that WCTOs are always making strategic trade-offs about whose experiences to center. This plays out in the examples they use, the former candidates they bring in, and what identity-specific programming (both across and within gender) they develop. In other words, all programmatic decisions create trade-offs about whose voices to center. One core challenge of descriptive representation is the difficulty when determining which groups to prioritize, as well as whether the people who become successful candidates are really representatives of the group they represent (Mansbridge 1999). By looking at identity-specific organizations, I demonstrate the very real trade-offs organizations intentionally and unintentionally make when trying to increase representation for a group. Who is able to run will never be a random sample of who wants to run, which is never a random sample of the population. However, by understanding the strategies that organizations take in terms of who they recruit and how, we are better able to understand the implications of these tradeoffs. Efforts to achieve a more descriptively representative democracy have critical implications for whose voices are centered in policy and policymaking processes, and women's organizations play a critical role as institutions that center women's experiences and

barriers to running. However, which organizations provide recruitment and training, and the types of people they cater to, inevitably shape which members of an identity group get access to the networks and resources needed to be a successful candidate.

This concept of Organizational Identity Signaling is neither unique to candidate recruitment nor unique to gender, but rather has critical implications for how and why people participate in politics more broadly. Most people participate in politics through organizations and make choices about which organizations to participate through, based on where they feel valued and included. If a person doesn't think an organization is going to take their needs into consideration, or that there won't be people who share their interests or values, then they are less likely to seek that institution out. Someone isn't going to participate in a protest, unless they believe the protest shares some of their political interests. People won't go to a government meeting unless they believe they will be heard. However, because so much of politics is based around identities (whether partisan, ideological, or demographic), these signals shape the demographics of who participates. If a person's political values and political voice are shaped by their core identities, then those core identities shape which organizations they seek out. However, organizations that explicitly signal an interest in centering marginalized voices are more likely to feel inclusive for members of those groups. In other words, when a signal of inclusion is more explicit, it's more likely to increase feelings of belonging. This has implications for the women's movement more broadly, in terms of how to be a movement that centers and advocates for gender-based barriers that impact many different sub-groups of women. It has implications for political parties, and how they send signals to different groups about how they will be a big tent that is inclusive of many competing interests. It also has implications for political coalitions, and how organizations make strategic trade-offs about which groups to give voice to, in order to grow their base. Ultimately, my theory of Organizational Identity Signaling is relevant to all political organizations, because of how individual identities shape how people perceive institutions as inclusive or exclusive of their needs.

However, many identities also come into tension with one another. In this project, I demonstrate how signals of racial diversity increase Black women's perceptions of women's organizations as

"for them" while decreasing white Republican women's perceptions of women's organizations as "for them." This reflects the broader tension any organization faces when trying to appeal to multiple groups. For example, it helps to explain why the Democratic party can be the party that a majority of Black people, Latinos, queer people, and women vote for, while also lagging behind in diverse representation across all of those dimensions. Because the Democratic party has to make strategic trade-offs between supporting incumbents, maintaining support in whiter or more moderate districts, and also increasing the diversity of representation. These choices aren't necessarily zero-sum. However, they can come into conflict within individual elections, when a state party has to decide which candidate has the best chance of getting to 50% plus one. These choices are also signals that organizations send to potential members about the relevance of that organization to a person's particular need. Who has previously succeeded as a candidate is also a signal to future potential candidates about who is likely to succeed. And so strategic efforts to increase diversity of representation should build on themselves, just as a lack of diversity reinforces barriers to future diverse representation. In politics, these signals – whether focused on policy issues or the identities of leadership – are deeply intertwined with people's centrally held identities. So this work has implications not just for recruiting diverse candidates, but also for understanding how big tent organizations appeal to and bring in members of different groups, with different needs and priorities. Because of the heterogeneity of women as a group, women's organizations are an excellent case for understanding how big tent organizations make strategic decisions about which subsets of members they appeal to. I hope this research can further our understanding not just of these trade-offs, but how the signals these organizations send shape which individuals seek them out as a result.

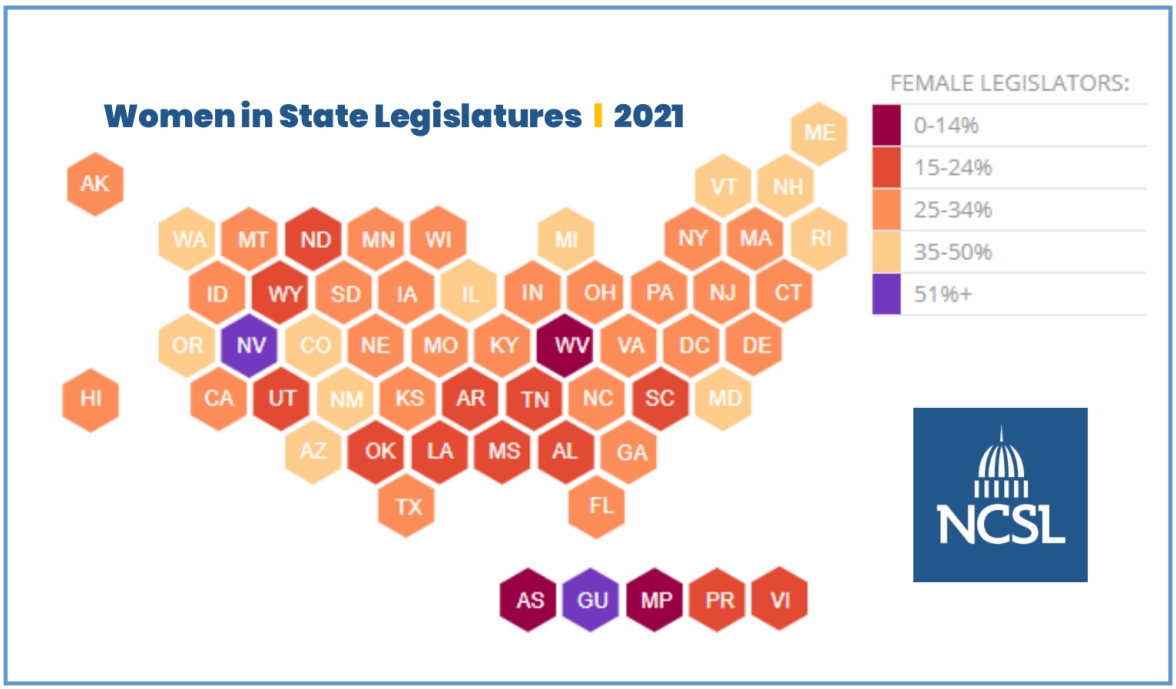
As I move forward with this project, I plan to further demonstrate the effect of Organizational Identity Signaling on who enters candidate recruitment pipelines in a number of different ways. First, I plan to demonstrate this descriptively through interviews with women who attend NGCTOs and WGCTOs, including both women who do and do not run for office. The goal of these interviews is to understand why they sought out the organizations that they did, in order to demonstrate the

salience of signals sent by different CTOs in shaping how women enter the candidate recruitment ecosystem. I expect that women who seek out WCTOs are more likely to list gendered experiences as potential political candidates as a core reason why they sought out a WCTO, while also expecting their other identities – such as race and partisanship — to drive the kind of organization they sought out. Second, I want to understand what barriers to running for office they discuss and how those barriers factored into their decision to seek out organizational support for running for office. I expect that women who seek out WCTOs will be more likely to discuss gendered barriers to running as relevant to their decisions, again within the context of their other identities. To further develop my explanation for why organizations vary in their likelihood of centering racially-diverse women's experiences, I also hope to collect data on the demographics of leadership of WCTOs and pair that with data on the demographics of candidates endorsed by these organizations. The purpose of this analysis is both to provide evidence for my claims that organizational leadership play a role in determining the types of experiences centered in a candidate training. Additionally, this analysis will help to link variation in organizational diversity with the diversity of who seeks an organization out, and makes the decision to run for office as a result. Finally, one important finding from my statistical analysis is that WCTOs have more of an impact on who wins than who runs. It is possible this is because WCTOs are shaping which women get meaningful support, even if they aren't influencing which women run in the first place. To test this claim, I plan to look at variation in the kinds of women running for office before and after the founding of a WCTO. Does the founding of a WCTO shape the demographics of who runs? But also, does the founding of a WCTO shape the electability of women candidates, because of the resources they have access to or the kinds of backgrounds of women who get recruited. These analyses will better get at the mechanisms shaping the effect of WCTOs on women's representation, allowing me to better argue for why these organizations matter for changing the demographics of who serves in government.

Appendix

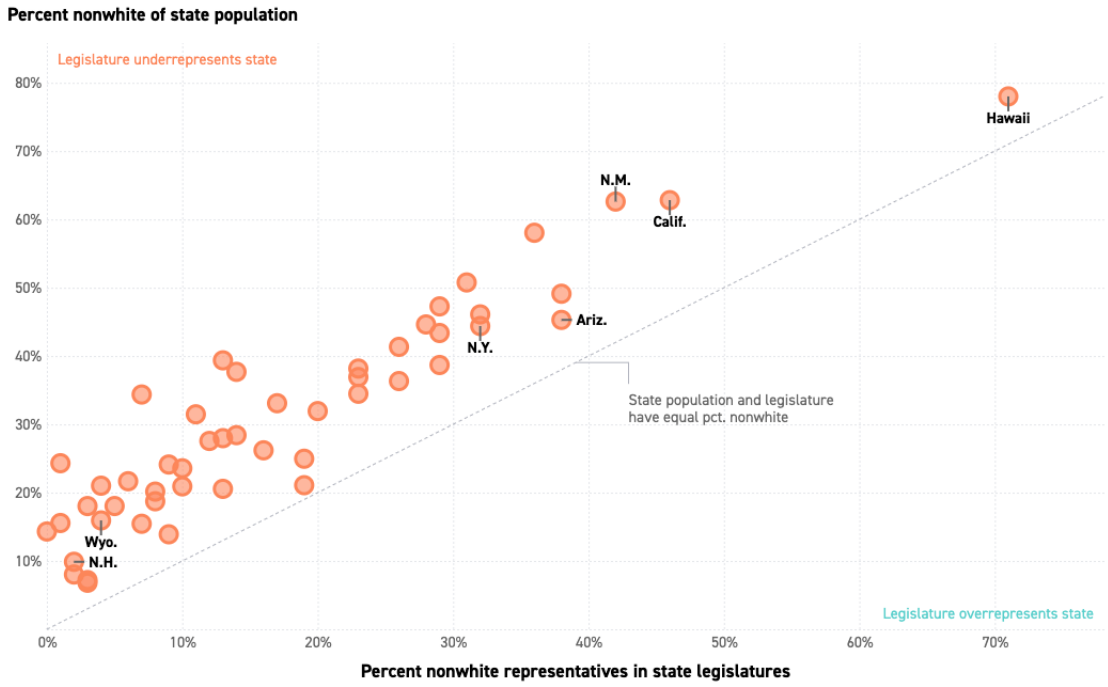
Appendix A1. Information About Women State Legislators and WCTOs

FIGURE 23. Gender Diversity of State Legislatures



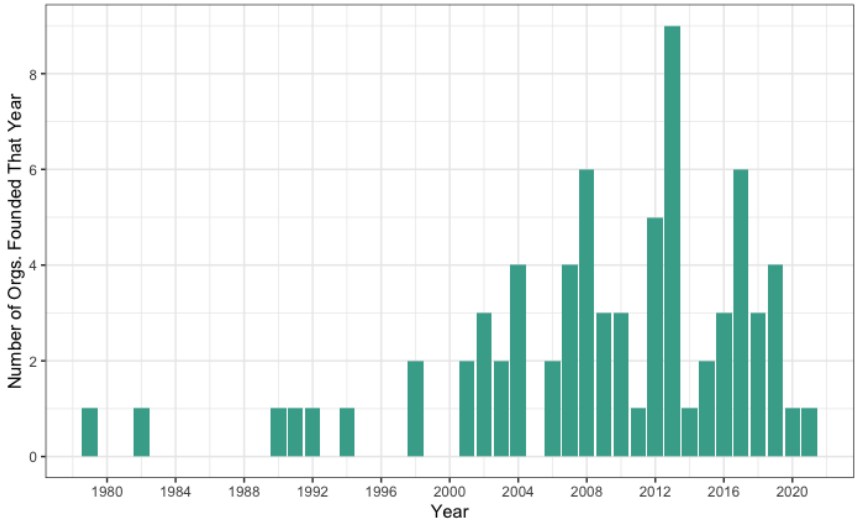
Note: Figure 23 shows the percent of state legislators in each state that were women in 2021. Results demonstrate considerable variation in where women run and win, with Nevada reaching gender parity, while Louisiana, Missouri, Tennessee, and West Virginia lagging at under 15%. Data comes from the National Council of State Legislators.

FIGURE 24. Racial Diversity of State Legislatures Compared to State Population



Note: Figure 24 shows a correlation between the percent of a state's adult population that is non-white and the percent of nonwhite state legislators. Results demonstrate that all 50 states have a smaller percentage of nonwhite state legislators than they do a non-white population in the state. Results come from POLITICO and shows data from 2020.

FIGURE 25. Count of Number of State-Level WCTOs Founded Each Year From 1979-2021



Note: Figure 25 depicts the number of state-based WCTOs founded each year in the United States, from 1979-2021. This set of WCTOs reflects the 73 state-based women's organizations in my data that I was able to identify a founding year for. For the purposes of this chart, WCTOs excludes national organizations. My interview population of WCTOs excluded state chapters, but included national organizations.

Appendix A2. Interview Materials

Initial Outreach Email

Dear [RESPONDENT'S NAME],

I'm writing to ask for your help in participating in an important study conducted through the University of Michigan to better understand how candidate training programs prepare candidates to run for office.

My name is Sara Morell and I'm a graduate student at the University of Michigan. I'm particularly interested to learn more about [CANDIDATE TRAINING PROGRAM], because of [CANDIDATE TRAINING PROGRAM'S] innovative approach to preparing candidates to run for office.

Would you be able to spare an hour of your time via Zoom to speak with me about your program? Your participation is completely voluntary, and you'll be able to skip any questions that you want.

I'll be primarily asking about what occurs during your training program and what your goals are for the attendees. With your help, and through the help of other organizations that have contributed their valuable time and effort to this study, this research will increase our broader knowledge of the purpose and benefits of candidate training programs.

What does your availability look like in the next week or two to speak with me? I'm also happy to answer any questions you might have before the interview either via email at XXXXXXXX@umich.edu, or via phone at XXX-XXX-XXXX.

If you are not the best person to speak with about the candidate training you do, please let me know who to reach out to instead.

Best,
Sara Morell
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Michigan

Follow-Up Voicemail

Hi,

My name is Sara Morell and I'm a PhD student at the University of Michigan. I'm following up about an email I sent about a study I'm doing about candidate training programs. I'm hoping to speak with [RESPONDENT'S NAME] about [CANDIDATE TRAINING PROGRAM'S] efforts to train candidates. The interview would last for about an hour and I am happy to work with your schedule, as this is such an important topic of study. Please give me a call back at XXX-XXX-XXXX or email me at XXXXXXXX@umich.edu if you have any questions and to set up a time to do the interview.

Second Email

Hi [RESPONDENT'S NAME],

I'm following up on my previous email regarding my interest in interviewing you as part of a research study focused on candidate training programs.

I'm really excited about the possibility of speaking with you about [PROGRAM NAME]'s efforts to train candidates to run for political office, as I think it would add a critical perspective to my study. I find it essential to include as many different perspectives as possible on what it is like to train candidates to run for political office.

The interview would last for about an hour of your time and I am more than happy to work with your schedule, given how important I think it is to hear from you.

What does your availability look like in the next week or two to speak with me? Feel free to also call me at 917-355-6304 if you have any questions.

Best,
Sara

Third and Final Email

Dear [RESPONDENT'S NAME],

I wanted to check back in about the possibility of interviewing you as part of a research study about the role of training programs in preparing candidates for political office. Hearing from you about [PROGRAM NAME]'s incredible efforts to train candidates for political office would add an important perspective to my research.

Would you have availability sometime next week to chat? The interview would last about an hour.

I'm happy to answer any questions you might have about what this would entail and I'm more than willing to work around your schedule. You can reach me via email or give me a call at XXX-XXX-XXXX.

Best, Sara

Thank You Email

Dear [RESPONDENT'S NAME],

I wanted to thank you again for taking the time to speak with me about your work at [PROGRAM NAME]. I learned a ton from our conversation and your insights into how candidate training can help prepare people to run for political office were invaluable.

[PUT ANY FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS HERE]

As I mentioned on the call, I'll be happy to share the results of my research with you, once they're available.

Best, Sara

Interview Script
Information I Cover At the Beginning / Consent Form Information

- I expect this interview should last about an hour, given the average response time to these questions, but I'm always happy to chat for longer if you'd like and are able.
- This is for academic purposes. The research will be published in my dissertation, and shown at academic conferences, in academic journal articles and potentially a book project.
- Your participation is 100% voluntary. You may feel free to skip any questions you like or leave at any time.
- I will never use your name or the organization's name directly. Instead, I will either discuss my findings in aggregate or by affiliating quotes with descriptors of your group. (I.e. either "33% of respondents said..." or, "a representative of a large national organization that trains candidates to run for political office said...")
- I am excited to share the results of my research once I have them. However, research takes time and it may be one to two years before I have results to share.
- Are you okay with everything that I just went over?

Questions By Topic

- Introductory Questions

    1. Why don't you start by describing the purpose of your organization to me in your own words.
    2. What is your role in the organization?
    3. Candidate training can mean a lot of different things. Can you tell me, in detail, about the kind of candidate training that your organization does? (Structure of the trainings, frequency, topics covered, etc.)
    4. What would you say your theory is for what makes a candidate training program successful at getting people ready to run for office?
    5. What are your goals for your training program? What are you hoping these trainings will achieve?

- Types of Skills and Traits

    1. Given your expertise in recruiting and training candidates to run for office, I want to ask you about what makes someone the most successful when running for office. What are three qualities you look for in an ideal candidate?
    2. What about personality traits, which personality traits matter the most?
    3. What about skills gained prior to running, which skills matter the most?
    4. What about resources and networks, which resources and social networks matter the most?
    5. If you were to rate, on a scale from 1-5 the impact of personality on a candidate's likelihood of success, where 1 is personality has no impact at all and 5 is personality has incredible impact on a candidate's likelihood of success, where would you rate personality? *(Repeat with skills and resources/networks.)*

- Who Attends / What Do They Get Out of Trainings

1. How would you describe the background and past experiences of an average attendee?
2. From what I can tell, training programs vary a lot in who attends them. Attendees can range from having only just started thinking about running for office to having only declared. Thinking about the average attendee of your program, which of the following comes closest to how you would describe them: [Our average attendee has just started thinking about running for office; Our average attendee plans to run in the future but has not made any formal steps yet; Our average attendees knows when they will run and is making steps towards declaring; Our average attendee has already declared or started campaigning for office]
3. As we just discussed, training attendees come from a wide range of backgrounds and experiences. Would you say that the people who attend your trainings are already certain that they are qualified to run for office or do you think need it reinforced that they are qualified to run for office?
4. How does your training help attendees consider whether they are qualified to run for office (or not)?
5. Have you noticed any particular trends in how women respond to your trainings or how gender influences your trainings?
6. What is your organization trying to do to diversify the pipeline of people running for political office?

- Differences Over Time

    1. How have your trainings evolved over the last five years? What's different in what you do in these trainings in 2020 from what you did in 2015?
    2. How have your trainings changed in response to COVID?

- Organization Demographics

    1. Approximately how many people do you train per year?
    2. How is your organization funded?
    3. How do you recruit the people to attend your trainings?
    4. Do you stay in touch with people after the trainings? How?

- Concluding Thoughts

    1. Is there anything else you think would be important for me to know about the work that your organization does to train candidates to run for office that we didn't get a chance to talk about?
    2. My goal is to speak with people at lots of different organizations that do candidate training. Can you think of any organizations you think it would be particularly important for me to speak with?

Coding Process

All information you see below is the notes that I gave to my two undergraduate RAs to train them on the process for coding these interviews.

- When I code interviews, I read through the interview three times. Here are the steps I take with each of the three read-throughs. You do not need to do my exact process and you should figure out what works for you, but this might give you a sense of the level of specificity.
  - On the first read-through, I highlight things from all codes, but I look primarily for sections of the interview that relate to Elite Networks, Peer Networks and The Party. I also do my first pass on coding the section on gendered language by checking if any of the phrases appear in one of the lists below. Before I do this first read-through, I re-read the sections related to the codes I'm focusing on in this pass through (Elite Networks, Peer Networks and The Party).
  - On the second read-through, I highlight things from all codes, but I look primarily for sections of the interview that relate to Diversity in Organization/Content, Gender in Organization/Content and Recruitment to Trainings. I do my second pass on the section about gendered language, and I use "control f" to confirm that none of the phrases from those units are in the word lists. Before I do this second read-through, I re-read the sections related to the codes I'm focusing on in this pass through (Diversity in Organization/Content, Gender in Organization/Content and Recruitment to Trainings.
  - Finally, on my final read through, I highlight things from all codes, but I look primarily for sections of the interview that relate to Who Can Run and Asking People to Run. I also stop anytime I get to a section that I have already highlighted and reread that section to make sure I agree with the code I gave that section. Before I do this final read-through, I re-read the sections related to the codes I'm focusing on in this pass through (Who Can Run, Asking People to Run).

Notes To Keep In Mind

- For each unit, highlight only the part of the unit that you think is relevant to that interview code. For example, if something is mentioned in only part of one sentence, just highlight that part and not the whole unit.
- Anytime you're unsure of whether something should be coded or unsure what category something should be coded under, make a note to discuss this section as a group. You should keep a separate document of the units you want to discuss as a group and bring them to our weekly meetings. For these sections where you aren't sure, you should still make a decision about how you would code it, or if you would code it or not, as we will calculate reliability across coders before we discuss as a group. (I will also bring ones I thought were unclear or ones where there wasn't consistency to our group meetings).
- If an organization does something as part of their organization that is not related to recruiting, training or developing people who will run for office at some point, don't code it. (For example if they do recruitment with women's organizations for their staff training but not for their candidate training, then you should not code this as an example of recruitment from

women's organizations).

- Only code that an organization "does a thing" if they currently do it. Not if they did it in the past but don't do it anymore OR if they mention they hope to do something in the future. If they have a specific plan to do something in the future, then that should count, but only if it is clear they've already developed the program and it's not hypothetical. (For example, if they're launching a fellowship next year about X or they've added a session in our trainings for next month about Y). Examples, however, can be from the past.
- Use the higher level (numeric) codes for things you think fall into the broader category, but don't relate to any one of the subcategories (letters). These we will always discuss as a group.
- All codes that use the phrase "historically excluded backgrounds" or "historically excluded groups" include people from a specific race or ethnicity, people of color or BIPOC individuals, or LGBTQ+ individuals. These codes do not include ciswomen or partisanship or ideology or any other demographic characteristics. All codes that mention gender are specific both transwomen and ciswomen.
- For the section on coding gendered language, read each unit that you are supposed to code as a masculine-stereotype/feminine-stereotype or neutral and decide if you think it relates to the list of words associated with masculine or feminine stereotypes. If it does, then code it as either masculine or feminine. If it doesn't, code it as neutral. You should code synonyms to the words included as masculine or feminine stereotypes.
- If something overlaps with multiple codes (for example if they put attendees in touch with members of the county party OR they have a training session on the unique experiences of Black women candidates) then the section should be coded as MULTIPLE codes.

Specific Interview Codes

1. **Elite Networks:** Mentions of how the organization is helping (at least some) attendees build out their network and resources to launch a successful campaign. Network is the people that they know, who can help with their campaign. Resources are the materials (money and other physical items) that can help with their campaign. All things in this category must be in addition to the meetings with people and access to advice or physical resources that a person already gets as part of a candidate training.
    (a) **Access to endorsements:** mentions of whether/how the organization does formal endorsements of (at least some) program attendees. An endorsement is when an organization recommends, officially, that their members vote for a particular candidate or set of candidates for political office.
    (b) **Access to resources:** mentions of whether/how the organization provides resources to (at least some) program attendees. Resources consistent of money and other physical items needed to launch a campaign.
    (c) **Access to people:** mentions of whether/how the organization connects some attendees to community elites. A community elite can be any person who can help them get elected, provide advice about getting elected, or help them decide whether to run for office or not. If the organization just teaches people networking skills, then it should not be coded as this category. The organization must provide avenues for connecting with people who can help the attendee run for office, for it to be coded as this category.

(d) **Access to advice and mentorship:** mentions of whether/how the organization provides additional mentorship or advice to (at least some) attendees. Mentorship or advice does not include additional group trainings. Mentorship or advice does include mentorship or advice to members of the person who run's team or attending meetings with the campaign team.

i. **Informal mentorship:** Informal mentorship or advice means ad hoc phone calls, chats or meetings, which are not systematic, either to all people who run or to a specific group of people who run from their trainings. Informal mentorship is also mentorship that comes from the attendees reaching out to the organization or organization leadership for advice or with questions, rather than advice being actively provided to them by the organization.

ii. **Formal mentorship:** Formal mentorship means that the organization has a systematic process for providing ongoing mentorship or advice, either to all people who run or to a specific group of people who run from their trainings. This should be in the form of one-on-one conversations or meetings, rather than group training. Formal mentorship is also mentorship that is actively provided by the organization, in an official capacity, to some or all attendees, rather than individual attendees reaching out for advice or with questions.

2. **Peer Networks:** Mentions of the importance of the community of people in the training space, either within the training itself or amongst attendees after training is complete.

(a) **Benefits Within Trainings:** Mentions of specific, positive benefits to program attendees from the community of people who attend the trainings, that occur within the candidate training sessions.

(b) **Benefits Outside Trainings:** Mentions of specific, positive benefits to program attendees from things the organization does outside of candidate training sessions to build the community of people who attend the trainings.

3. **Diversity in Organization and Content:** Mentions of how the organization approaches providing support to candidates from historically excluded backgrounds.

(a) **Training:** Mentions of trainings related to the experiences of candidates from historically excluded backgrounds.

i. **Unique Identity Experiences:** Mentions of training sessions or programming about the experiences of candidates (or potential candidates) from a particular historically excluded background or the additional barriers to running faced by candidates from a particular historically excluded background.

ii. **What is Diversity:** Mentions of broader training sessions that focus on concepts related to diversity or identity but that do not touch on the unique experiences of candidates (or potential candidates) from a particular historically excluded background or the additional barriers to running that they face.

iii. **Reinforcing Identity Norms:** Mentions of aspects of their trainings that teach candidates from historically excluded backgrounds to change some aspect of their appearance, personality or ways they present themselves on the campaign trail in order to respond to biases against candidates from that background.

(b) **Organizational Structure:** Mentions of things done at the organization level to increase diversity of representation of people from historically excluded backgrounds. This code relates to intentionally hiring staff or trainers from a historically excluded background, or providing attendees with success stories or guest speakers from historically excluded backgrounds.
(c) **Fellowships:** Mentions of specific fellowships OR programs exclusively for attendees from a particular historically excluded background.
(d) **Barriers:** Mentions of specific barriers to running for office or winning elections faced by candidates from historically excluded backgrounds.

4. **Gender in Organization and Content:** Mentions of how the organization approaches providing support to women candidates.

    (a) **Training:** Mentions of trainings related to the experiences of women candidates.

        i. **Unique Gender Experiences:** Mentions of training sessions or programming about the experiences of women candidates (or potential candidates) or the additional barriers to running faced by women running for office.
        ii. **What is Gender:** Mentions of broader training sessions that focus on concepts related to gender but that do not touch on the unique experiences of women candidates (or potential candidates) or the additional barriers to running that they face.
        iii. **Reinforcing Gender Norms:** Mentions of things taught in their trainings that teach women candidates to change some aspect of their appearance, personality or way they present themselves on the campaign trail in order to respond to biases against women candidates.

    (b) **Organizational Structure:** Mentions of things done at the organization level to increase diversity of representation of women. This code relates to intentionally hiring women staff or trainers, or providing attendees with women candidate success stories or inviting women speakers.
    (c) **Fellowships:** Mentions of specific fellowships OR programs exclusively for women attendees.
    (d) **Barriers:** Mentions of specific barriers to running for office or winning elections faced by women candidates.

5. **Who Can Run:** Mentions of the types of things people need to be quality candidates or who makes a good candidate for political office.

    (a) **Anyone can run:** Mentions that anyone can run, that there are not a particular set of traits or qualities that are needed to be a successful candidate, that you can fill in gaps with a good team, or that knowing yourself and your strengths/weaknesses is more important than having a particular set of qualities or factors.
    (b) **Running Not for Everyone:** Mentions that individuals must decide for themselves whether running for office is right for them OR that individuals who participate in the training may realize running isn't right for them.

        i. **Gendered Running Not for Everyone:** Mentions of specific personal cir-

cumstances that are more common among women or related to being a woman/mother/caretaker, that mean that running for office might not be for them.

(c) **Is running teachable:** Mentions of whether people can learn or be taught the traits, skills, resources and networks needed to be a successful candidate.

i. **Teachable:** Mentions that the traits, skills, resources and networks needed to be a successful candidate can be built or learned over time. It is not sufficient for someone to mention practicing a skill in the training. They have to say that some aspect of running for office can be learned or taught or developed.

ii. **Fixed:** Mentions that certain traits, skills, resources or networks needed to be a successful candidate are inherent or are things you just cannot run without. It is not sufficient for someone to mention that you need a specific trait, skill or resource. They have to say that those things are fundamental or that you cannot run without them.

(d) **Candidate backgrounds:** Mentions of the types of backgrounds or past experiences that make someone a quality candidate. This should not just listing the backgrounds of people who attend their trainings but rather backgrounds or experiences that they use to describe potential candidates.

i. **Specific Backgrounds:** References to a specific set of career backgrounds (law, government, prior campaign experience, owning a business) that increase the likelihood that someone has what they need to be a successful candidate.

ii. **Broad Backgrounds:** Mentions that people from a broad range career backgrounds or life experiences (outside of law, government, prior campaign experience, owning a business) can develop the things they need to be successful candidates.

6. **Asking People to Run:** Mentions of how their training program either helps people decide whether to run or not or encourages people to run or not.

(a) Does the Organization Ask People to Run?

i. **Does Ask:** Emphasizes that it is part of the organization's job or mission, or part of (or before or after) their training, to encourage people to run for political office. OR mentions of ways that the organization asks or positively encourages some or all program attendees to run for office.

ii. **Doesn't Ask:** Emphasizes that it is not part of the organization's job or mission, or part of (or before or after) their training, to encourage people to run for political office.

7. **Gendered Language:** Code each of the traits and skills a person needs to be a successful candidate as either masculine, feminine or neutral. Certain units in the interview will be noted as ones that you should code as masculine, feminine or neutral and you should only code those units for this section.

(a) **Masculine-Stereotype Language:** Mentions of traits that relate to leadership ability,

assertiveness, individualism/self-reliance, ambition, being inspiring, being qualified, being tough or being self-confident.

(b) **Feminine-Stereotype Language:** Mentions of traits that relate to being good with people/having people-skills, sensitive to the needs of others, compassionate, warm, consensus-building, caring, hardworking, having integrity/being trustworthy, being willing to ask for help.

(c) **Neutral Language:** Mentions of any trait or skill not covered by masculine or feminine language.

8. **Recruitment to Trainings:** Mentions of how people are recruited to attend their training program or how people find out about their training program.

   (a) **Word of mouth:** Mentions that people learn about their training program by word of mouth. Word of mouth can mean referrals from alums, elected officials, people in the organization's network or advertising the organization does (social media, print media, ads).

   (b) **Relationships with Organizations:** Mentions of building relationships with other organizations to broaden the groups of people who know about their training.

      i. **Gendered organizations:** Mentions of organizations they build relationships with, for the purpose of broadening the groups of people who know about their trainings, that are groups that predominantly focus on women.

      ii. **Diverse organizations:** Mentions of organizations they build relationships with, for the purpose of broadening the groups of people who know about their trainings, that are groups that predominantly focus on historically excluded groups.

   (c) **Application:** Mentions of an application process for determining who will participate in their trainings.

      i. **Gender Requirements:** Mentions that they make sure that their program has at least a minimum number of women attendees.

      ii. **Identity Requirements:** Mentions that they make sure their program has at least a minimum number of attendees from a particular historically excluded background.

9. **The Party:** mentions of the organization's opinion of one of the two major political parties' approach to candidate recruitment, training or relationship-building OR a relationship with one of the two major political parties.

   (a) **Works with the party:** mentions of a formal relationship with either the Democratic or the Republican party (or both). A formal relationship means that the party is involved in some aspect of the organization's recruitment, training or relationship-building for program attendees.

   (b) **Positive opinion:** Mentions of a positive opinion of either the Democratic or Republican parties (or both) that is about how the parties approach recruiting potential candidates, finding potential candidates or preparing potential candidates for political office.

(c) **Negative opinion:** Mentions of a negative opinion of either the Democratic or Republican parties (or both) that is about how the parties approach recruiting potential candidates, finding potential candidates or preparing potential candidates for political office.

(d) **Women's exclusion from party networks:** any mentions that women are more likely to be excluded from, feel excluded from, or be less likely to access party networks.

10. **OTHER:** Mentions of things you think are particularly interesting that aren't covered by the codes. Try to have about 2-3 things here each week. Try to focus on things that you think might influence the number of women running for office, or relate to the benefits of attending one of these programs.

Appendix A3: Additional Checks of Qualitative Analyses

TABLE 3. Correlation Between Number of Words and Organization Type (WCTO vs NGCTO)

	Dependent variable: Organization Type
Word Length	−165.307
	(679.549)
Constant	10,784.120***
	(517.059)
Observations	57
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.017
Residual Std. Error	2,533.062 (df = 55)
	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Table 3 depicts the correlation between the number of words in the interview transcript and whether the organization was a Women's or an Non-Gender Candidate Training Organization. Results show that there is not a statistically significant correlation between the interview length and the type of organization.

TABLE 4. Differences Between WCTOs and NGCTOs in Addressing Racial, Ethnic, and Sexual Equality Through Trainings – Right-Leaning Organizations Excluded

	Women's Candidate Org.			All-Gender Candidate Org.		
	Percent	Mean	Median	Percent	Mean	Median
Diversity - Interview	42.31%	.807	0	77.27%	1.91	1
Diversity - Training	11.54%	.115	0	31.81%	.727	0
Diverse Leadership	46.15%	.846	0	40.9%	.59	0

Note: Table 4 shows the percentage of WCTOs and NGCTOs that made at least one mention of barriers for racial, ethnic, or sexual minorities in the interview (Diversity-Interview), barriers for racial, ethnic and sexual minorities in their trainings (Diversity-Training), and efforts to increase the racial, ethnic and sexual diversity of program leadership, when right-leaning organizations are excluded from analyses. Table 2 also shows the average and median number of mentions per interview. Results indicate that WCTOs are still less likely to mention barriers for racial, ethnic and sexual minorities than NGCTOs, even when right-leaning groups are removed, but are slightly more likely to prioritize diverse leadership.

TABLE 5. Differences Between WCTOs and NGCTOs in Addressing Racial, Ethnic, and Sexual Equality Through Trainings – Right-Leaning Organizations And Organizations Focused on Other Types of Diversity Excluded

	Women's Candidate Org.			All-Gender Candidate Org.		
	Percent	Mean	Median	Percent	Mean	Median
Diversity - Interview	40%	.76	0	70.59%	1.41	1
Diversity - Training	12%	.12	0	17.65%	.294	0
Diverse Leadership	48%	.88	0	23.53%	.41	0

Note: Table 4 shows the percentage of WCTOs and NGCTOs that made at least one mention of barriers for racial, ethnic and sexual minorities in the interview (Diversity-Interview), barriers for racial, ethnic and sexual minorities in their trainings (Diversity-Training), and efforts to increase the racial, ethnic and sexual diversity of program leadership, when right-leaning organizations and organizations focused on non-white and non-straight recruitment are excluded from analyses. Table 3 also shows the average and median number of mentions per interview. Results indicate that WCTOs are less likely than NGCTOs to talk about barriers for non-white and non-straight candidates in both trainings and interviews, but that few NGCTOs and WCTOs not focused on race/ethnicity mention these barriers in their trainings. However, WCTOs are more likely than NGCTOs to mention efforts to have diverse leadership, when comparing WCTOs and NGCTOs that are both not right-leaning and not focused on racial/ethnic/sexual diversity.

Appendix A4. Survey Experiment One – Design

Treatment One: Motivation vs No Motivation

Every local government has things it does well and things it does poorly.

These can include government programs or services, like road maintenance, trash pickup, educating kids, or providing public transportation. They can also include building and maintaining community structures or spaces, like parks, playgrounds, or libraries.

Thinking about your local government, **what would you be motivated to work hard to improve/what do you feel is currently working very well** about what's being provided to your community?
Write three sentences in the space below about something you **would feel motivated to change that your local government is handling really poorly, and what you would do to improve it./ feel confident that your local government is handling really well and why you're content with how it's being handled.**

Treatments Two and Three: Information vs Information and Resources AND Non-Gender vs Women

NEWS RELEASE
For Immediate Release

"RUNNING AND WINNING/WOMEN RUNNING AND WINNING" *Launches Candidate Training Program Across Towns in [STATE]*

Running and Winning/Women Running and Winning launched their first annual run for office training program this week. This candidate training program is a four-hour program, taking place in different towns all throughout [state], that provides **people/women** with all the information needed to launch a local political campaign.

"We're excited about the opportunity to launch **Running and Winning/Women Running and Winning**, because we want to get more people engaged in running for political office at the local level. This program is really geared towards **people/women** interested in making a difference through politics, particularly those who are already parents and volunteers actively involved in their communities. By the time you finish our training, you'll have everything you need to draft a campaign plan and start collecting signatures!" – says **Jason Smith/Jessica Smith, President and CEO of RUNNING AND WINNING/WOMEN RUNNING AND WINNING**

Sessions include trainings about how to fundraise, talking to press, crafting your story as a candidate, and a one-hour panel with current and formal local elected officials. The program takes place on a Saturday afternoon and costs $50 to attend.

In addition to all the information gained, Running and Winning wants to make it easier for people like you to get the resources you need to launch a run for local office. This includes

opportunities to network with current and former elected officials who have gone through the program, assistance with fundraising, ongoing mentorship from experienced staff all the way until Election Day and the opportunity to connect with an alumni community going through similar experiences that will support your campaign.

###

Running and Winning/Women Running and Winning is a 501c3 nonpartisan nonprofit organization that aims to provide people all across [state] with the information needed to run for local political office. Founded in 2018, they provide a range of programming geared towards first time potential candidates.

Dependent Variables

- Interest in Running
    1. How likely is it that you would run for local office, at some point in the future? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not at all likely]
    2. Which best characterizes your attitudes towards ever running for local office? [Very interested in running for office, Interested in running for office, Neither interested nor disinterested, Disinterested in running for office, Very disinterested in running for office]
- Perceptions of Qualifications
    1. If you were to run for local political office, how likely do you think you would be to win? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not at all likely]
    2. How qualified do you think you are to run for local political office? [Extremely qualified, Very qualified, Moderately qualified, Not too qualified, Not at all qualified]
    3. How achievable do you think something like being a political candidate is for someone like you? [Extremely achievable, Very achievable, Moderately achievable, A little achievable, Not at all achievable]
    4. Given that running for local office can require time, money and resources, how difficult do you think a run for office would be for you personally? [Extremely difficult, Very difficult, Moderately difficult, A little difficult, Not at all difficult]
- Interest in Organization
    1. How interested are you in learning more about opportunities to attend a candidate training program, like the one you read about? [Extremely interested, Very interested, Moderately interested, A little interested, Not at all interested]
    2. If you were to run for local political office, how likely would you be to attend an organization like the one you read about? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not likely at all]
    3. How interested are you in learning more about running for political office at some point in the future? [Extremely interested, Very interested, Moderately interested, A little interested, Not at all interested]
- Perceptions of Organizational Support

1. How likely do you think an organization like the one you read about is to support people like you, if they run for local political office? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not likely at all]
2. How likely do you think it is that an organization like the one you read about provides relevant information and resources to people like you, should they run for local political office? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not at all likely]

- Political Participation

1. How likely would you be to volunteer for a candidate who was endorsed by an organization like the one you read about? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not likely at all]
2. How likely would you be to donate to a candidate who was endorsed by an organization like the one you read about? [Extremely likely, Very Likely, Moderately Likely, A little likely, Not likely at all]

Heterogeneous Treatment Effects and Manipulation Checks

- Gender Consciousness (Group Closeness and Perception of Discrimination)

1. How much do you think your gender impacts your life? [A lot, A great deal, A moderate amount, Not very much, Not at all]
2. How important is being a woman to your identity? [Extremely important, very important, Moderately important, not very important, not at all important]
3. How much discrimination do you think women face because of their gender? [A lot, A great deal, Somewhat, Not very much, Not at all]

- Race/Ethnicity

1. Which of the following racial or ethnic groups do you belonging to? Select all that apply. [White, Black, Hispanic/Latino, Asian American/Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, Native American, Other]

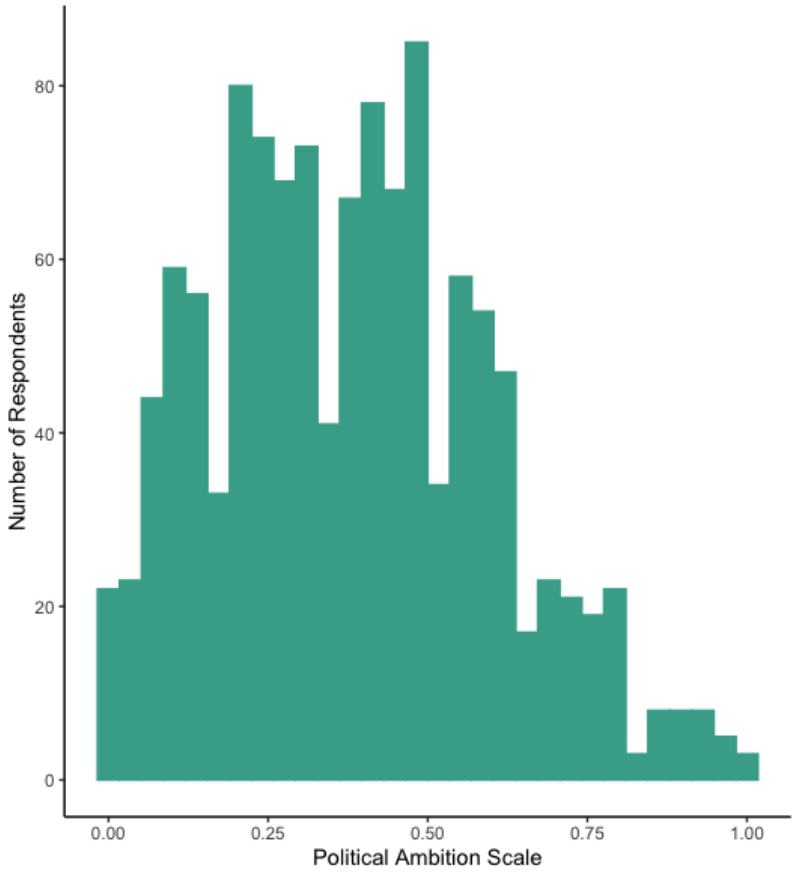
- Manipulation Check

1. How much change do you think is needed on the program or issue in your community that you wrote about? [A lot of change, Considerable change, A moderate amount of change, Not a lot of change, No change at all]

Appendix A5. Survey Experiment One – Results

Distribution of Survey Responses

FIGURE 26. Distribution of Responses to Political Ambition Scale in Experiment One



Note: Figure 26 shows the distribution of responses to the Political Ambition Scale. The Political Ambition Scale is a thirteen-item scale measuring both interest in running for office and the precedents of political ambition, including perceptions of qualifications to run, interest in candidate training, perceptions of candidate training organizations, and interest in participation on behalf of candidate training endorsed candidates. The median response level of the Political Ambition Scale was .3654.

Mobilization Treatment: DVs Combined and Separately

TABLE 6. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Candidacy Scale

	Dependent variable:
	DV - Scale
Mobilization Treatment	0.030*
	(0.012)
Constant	0.368**
	(0.009)
Observations	1,202
R^2	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.004
Residual Std. Error	0.214 (df = 1200)
Note:	+ p<.1; * p<.05; ** p<.01

Note: Table *6 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on the full Political Ambition Scale. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased the Political Ambition Scale by 3 percentage points (p<.05), compared to the No Mobilization Condition.*

TABLE 7. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Treatment	0.032*	0.032+
	(0.016)	(0.018)
Constant	0.175**	0.309**
	(0.012)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.003	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.281	0.320
	+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01	

Note: Table 7 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's interest in running for local political office. Interest is measured as both how interested and how likely they are to run. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased both women's interest in and likelihood of running for political office by 3 percentage points (p<.05 for likelihood and p<.1 for interest), compared to the No Mobilization Condition.

TABLE 8. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Perception of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:			
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Achievable	Not Costly
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mobilization	0.037*	0.047**	0.026	0.012
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.270**	0.285**	0.354**	0.290**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.004	0.006	0.002	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.005	0.001	−0.0005
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.291	0.295	0.319	0.311

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 8 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's perceptions of the qualifications to run for office. Qualifications are measured in terms of belief they would win, whether they think they're qualified, whether a run for political office is achievable, and whether it would (not) be costly for someone like them. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased women's belief they would win by 3.7 percentage points (p<.05) and belief that they're qualified by 4.7 percentage points (p<.01), but did not have a statistically significant effect on perceptions of achievability or cost.

TABLE 9. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Interest in Learning More About Running

	Dependent variable:		
	Learn From Training	Attend Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mobilization	0.044*	0.020	0.048*
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Constant	0.287**	0.580**	0.254**
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.004	0.001	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.00003	0.005
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.327	0.346	0.321

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 9 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's interest in learning more about for office. Interest in Learning More is measured by three questions asking whether they feel they would learn from a candidate training, whether they would attend a candidate training, and whether they want to learn more about running. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased women's belief that they would learn from a training by 4.4 percentage points (p<.05), and desire to learn more about running by 4.8 percentage points (p<.05), but did not have a statistically significant increase on desire to attend a training.

TABLE 10. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Perceptions of Cand. Orgs

	Dependent variable:	
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Treatment	0.014	0.001
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.633**	0.548**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.0005	0.00000
Adjusted R^2	−0.0004	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.314	0.314

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 10 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's perception of candidate training organizations. Perceptions of organizations is a two-item measuring asking the relevance of the organization to a woman's life and belief that a candidate training organization would help people like them. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's perceptions of candidate training organizations.

TABLE 11. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Participating for Other Candidates

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Treatment	0.033+	0.039*
	(0.019)	(0.018)
Constant	0.399**	0.402**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.003	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.003
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.322	0.315

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 11 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's likelihood of participating on behalf of candidate training organization endorsed candidates. Participation is measured using two items asking whether the respondents would volunteer for or donate to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased women's likelihood of volunteering by 3.3 percentage points (p<.1) and likelihood of donating by 3.9 percentage points (p<.05).

Resources Treatment: DVs Separately

TABLE 12. Effect of Information + Resources Condition on Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Resources	−0.001	−0.015
	(0.016)	(0.018)
Constant	0.192***	0.332***
	(0.011)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.00001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.0003
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.281	0.320

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 12 shows the effect of the Information + Resources Condition on women's interest in running for office. Interest is measured using two questions asking a respondent's likelihood of running and interest in running for local political office. The Information+Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with interest in running.

TABLE 13. Effect of Information + Resources Condition on Perception of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:			
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Achievable	Not Costly
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Resources	−0.010	−0.015	−0.015	−0.009
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.293***	0.316***	0.375***	0.301***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.0003	0.001	0.001	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.0002	−0.0003	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.292	0.296	0.319	0.311

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 13 shows the effect of the Information + Resources Condition on women's perceptions of their qualifications to run for office. Qualifications is measured using four questions asking a respondent's beliefs that they would win, belief that they're qualified to run, perception that a run for office is achievable for someone like them, and perceptions of the cost of running. The Information + Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run.

TABLE 14. Effect of Information + Resources Condition on Interest in Learning More About Running

	Dependent variable:		
	Learn From Training	Attend Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Resources	−0.023	−0.027	−0.028
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Constant	0.321***	0.604***	0.292***
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.002	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.0004	0.001	0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.328	0.346	0.321

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 14 shows the effect of the Information + Resources Condition on women's interest in learning more about a run for office. Interest is measured with three questions asking about whether they want to learn more about candidate training, likelihood of attending a candidate training, and desire to learn more about running for office. The Information + Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run.

TABLE 15. Effect of Information + Resources Condition on Perceptions of Cand. Orgs

	Dependent variable:	
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support
	(1)	(2)
Resources	−0.019	−0.023
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.650***	0.560***
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.0001	0.0005
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.314	0.314

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 15 shows the effect of the Information + Resources Condition on women's perceptions of candidate training organizations. Perceptions is measured by asking two questions about whether women think they organization is relevant to people like them, and whether they think the organization would support someone like them. The Information + Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run.

TABLE 16. Effect of Information + Resources Condition on Participating for Other Candidates

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Resources	−0.023	−0.013
	(0.019)	(0.018)
Constant	0.427***	0.428***
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	0.0005	−0.0004
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.322	0.316

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 16 shows the effect of the Information + Resources Condition on women's desire to participate on behalf of candidate training endorsed candidates. Participation is measured by asking two questions asking a respondent's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. The Information + Resources Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run.

Gender Treatment: DVs Both Scaled and Separately

TABLE 17. Effect of WCTO Condition on Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO Condition	0.015
	(0.012)
Constant	0.376**
	(0.009)
Observations	1,202
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.0004
Residual Std. Error	0.214 (df = 1200)

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 17 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's responses to the Political Ambition Scale. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with the Political Ambition Scale.

TABLE 18. Effect of WCTO Condition on Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Condition	−0.016	0.013
	(0.016)	(0.018)
Constant	0.199**	0.318**
	(0.011)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	−0.00004	−0.0004
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.281	0.320

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 18 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's interest in running for local political office. Interest was measured with two questions asking about likelihood of running and interest in running for local political office. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's interest in running for office.

TABLE 19. Effect of WCTO Condition on Perception of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:			
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Achievable	Not Costly
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO Condition	0.013	−0.008	0.014	−0.0004
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.282**	0.312**	0.361**	0.296**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.0005	0.0002	0.0005	0.00000
Adjusted R^2	−0.0003	−0.001	−0.0004	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.292	0.296	0.319	0.311

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 19 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's perceptions of their qualifications to run for office. Qualifications to run is measured using four questions asking a respondent's beliefs that they would win, belief that they're qualified to run, perception that a run for office is achievable for someone like them, and perceptions of the cost of running. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's perceptions of their qualifications to run.

TABLE 20. Effect of WCTO Condition on Interest in Learning More About Running

	Dependent variable:		
	Learn From Training	Attend Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO Condition	0.020	0.023	0.002
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Constant	0.300**	0.578**	0.277**
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.001	0.001	0.00001
Adjusted R^2	0.0001	0.0003	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.328	0.346	0.322

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 20 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's interest in learning more about running for office. Interest is measured with three questions asking about whether they want to learn more about candidate training, likelihood of attending a candidate training, and desire to learn more about running for office. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's interest in learning more about running for office.

TABLE 21. Effect of WCTO Condition on Perceptions of Cand. Orgs

	Dependent variable:	
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Condition	0.025	0.020
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.628**	0.539**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,202	1,202
R^2	0.002	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.0002
Residual Std. Error (df = 1200)	0.314	0.314

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 21 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's perceptions of candidate training organizations. Perceptions is measured by asking two questions about whether women think they organization is relevant to people like them, and whether they think the organization would support someone like them. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with women's perceptions of candidate training organizations.

WCTO Condition Among Gender Conscious: DVs and Separately

TABLE 22. Effect of WCTO Condition on Gender Conscious Respondents

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO Condition	0.030^{+}
	(0.016)
Constant	0.396**
	(0.011)
Observations	761
R^2	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.222 (df = 759)

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 22 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's responses to the Political Ambition Scale, among women high in gender consciousness. The Women's Organization Condition increased support for the Political Ambition Scale by 3 percentage points (p<.1), among women high in gender consciousness.

TABLE 23. Effect of WCTO Condition on Desire to Run – Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Condition	0.001	0.022
	(0.022)	(0.024)
Constant	0.209**	0.339**
	(0.015)	(0.017)
Observations	761	761
R^2	0.00001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.0002
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.299	0.331

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 23 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's interest in running for local political office. Interest was measured with two questions asking about likelihood of running, and interest in running for local political office. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with interest in running, among women high in gender consciousness.

TABLE 24. Effect of WCTO Condition on Perception of Qualifications – Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:			
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Achievable	Not Costly
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO Condition	0.022	−0.002	0.008	−0.010
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.022)
Constant	0.299**	0.332**	0.391**	0.301**
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.016)
Observations	761	761	761	761
R^2	0.001	0.00001	0.0002	0.0003
Adjusted R^2	−0.00003	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.303	0.310	0.331	0.309

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 24 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's perceptions of their qualifications to run for office. Qualifications to run is measured using four questions asking a respondent's beliefs that they would win, belief that they're qualified to run, perception that a run for office is achievable for someone like them, and perceptions of the cost of running. The Women's Organization Condition did not have a statistically significant relationship with perceptions of qualifications to run, among women high in gender consciousness.

TABLE 25. Effect of WCTO Condition on Interest in Learning More – Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:		
	Learn From Training	Attend Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO Condition	0.037	0.065**	0.017
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Constant	0.331**	0.592**	0.305**
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	761	761	761
R^2	0.003	0.009	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.008	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.347	0.343	0.342

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 25 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's interest in learning more about running for office. Interest is measured with three questions asking about whether they want to learn more about candidate training, likelihood of attending a candidate training, and desire to learn more about running for office. The Women's Organization Condition increased interest in attending a candidate training by 6.5 percentage points, among women high in gender consciousness (p<.01), but was not statistically significantly related to the two other items.

TABLE 26. Effect of WCTO Condition on Perceptions of Cand. Orgs – Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Condition	0.052*	0.037+
	(0.022)	(0.023)
Constant	0.650**	0.567**
	(0.016)	(0.016)
Observations	761	761
R^2	0.007	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.308	0.312

+p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 26 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's perceptions of candidate training organizations. Perceptions is measured by asking two questions about whether women think they organization is relevant to people like them and whether they think the organization would support someone like them. The Women's Organization Condition increased perceptions of the candidate training's relevance by 5.2 percentage points (p<.05) and increased beliefs the organization would support people like them by 3.7 percentage points (p<.1).

TABLE 27. Effect of WCTO Condition on Participation for Other Candidates – Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Condition	0.079**	0.067**
	(0.024)	(0.024)
Constant	0.410**	0.418**
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	761	761
R^2	0.014	0.010
Adjusted R^2	0.013	0.009
Residual Std. Error (df = 759)	0.330	0.326

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 27 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on women's desire to participate on behalf of candidate training endorsed candidates. Participation is measured by asking two questions asking a respondent's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. The Women's Organization Condition increased interest in volunteering on behalf of an endorsed candidate by 7.9 percentage points (p<.01) and interest in donating to an endorsed candidate by 6.7 percentage points (p<.01).

Results from Chapter Four with Parsimonious Controls

TABLE 28. Effect of Mobilization on Political Ambition Scale

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Mobilization	0.020^{+}
	(0.012)
Party ID (Strong Dem = 1)	0.045^{**}
	(0.017)
White	-0.077^{**}
	(0.013)
Education	0.102^{**}
	(0.025)
Income	0.007^{**}
	(0.002)
Constant	0.316^{**}
	(0.019)
Observations	1,200
R^2	0.087
Adjusted R^2	0.083
Residual Std. Error	0.205 (df = 1194)

+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 28 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on women's responses to the Political Ambition Scale, with the inclusion of demographic controls. Controls were selected based on balance across treatment and include party identification, whiteness, education, and income. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition increased the Political Ambition Scale by 2 percentage points (p<.1).

TABLE 29. Effect of Women's Org. on Participation for Other Cands.

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.046*	0.042*
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Party ID (Strong Dem = 1)	0.052*	0.071**
	(0.026)	(0.026)
White	−0.051**	−0.047*
	(0.020)	(0.019)
Education	0.110**	0.026
	(0.039)	(0.038)
Income	0.006*	0.008**
	(0.003)	(0.003)
Constant	0.316**	0.336**
	(0.029)	(0.029)
Observations	1,200	1,200
R^2	0.035	0.031
Adjusted R^2	0.031	0.027
Residual Std. Error (df = 1194)	0.317	0.311

+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 29 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on interest in volunteering and donating on behalf of candidate training endorsed candidates, with the inclusion of demographic controls. Controls were selected based on balance across treatment and include party identification, whiteness, education, and income. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition increased both women's desire to volunteer by 4.6 percentage points (p<.05) and interest in donating by 4.2 percentage points (p<.05).

TABLE 30. Effect of Information+Resources on Political Ambition Scale

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Resources	-0.020^{+}
	(0.012)
Party ID (Strong Dem = 1)	0.047^{**}
	(0.017)
White	-0.078^{**}
	(0.013)
Education	0.104^{**}
	(0.025)
Income	0.007^{**}
	(0.002)
Constant	0.334^{**}
	(0.019)
Observations	1,200
R^2	0.087
Adjusted R^2	0.083
Residual Std. Error	0.205 (df = 1194)
	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 30 shows the effect of the Information+Resources Condition on the Political Ambition Scale, with the inclusion of demographic controls. Controls were selected based on balance across treatment and include party identification, whiteness, education, and income. Being assigned to the Information+Resources condition decreased interest in running for office by 2 percentage points (p<.1).

TABLE 31. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Respondents

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Women's Org.	0.029^{+}
	(0.015)
Party ID (Strong Dem = 1)	0.036
	(0.022)
White	-0.092^{**}
	(0.016)
Education	0.121^{**}
	(0.032)
Income	0.009^{**}
	(0.002)
Constant	0.323^{**}
	(0.025)
Observations	761
R^2	0.117
Adjusted R^2	0.111
Residual Std. Error	0.210 (df = 755)
	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 31 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on the Political Ambition Scale, among women high in gender consciousness, with the inclusion of demographic controls. Controls were selected based on balance across treatment and include party identification, whiteness, education, and income. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 2.9 percentage point increase in the Run for Office Scale, among women high in gender consciousness, when accounting for demographic controls (p<.1).

Manipulation Check

The manipulation check asked respondents how much change the wanted to make on the programs and services they wrote about in the mobilization condition. As can be seen in Table 32, respondents in the mobilization condition were statistically significantly more likely to want to change the programs and services they wrote about, highlighting the effectiveness of the manipulation.

TABLE 32. Effect of Mobilization Treatment on Manipulation Check

	Dependent variable:
	Manipulation Check
Mobilization	0.528**
	(0.046)
Constant	0.150**
	(0.034)
Observations	1,202
R^2	0.100
Adjusted R^2	0.099
Residual Std. Error	0.475 (df = 1200)

+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 32 shows the effect of the Mobilization Condition on the manipulation check. The manipulation check asked respondents how much they wanted to change the issues that they wrote about in the Mobilization Condition. Being assigned to the Mobilization Condition had a strong and statistically significant correlation with desire to change the issues written about in the treatment, highlighting the effectiveness of the treatment design (p=0.0).

Alternative Measure of Gender Consciousness

There continues to be a positive and statistically significant relationship between the Women's Organization condition and the Political Ambition Scale, among women high in gender consciousness, when using the alternative two-item measure of gender consciousness. The two-item measure also leads to the same four statistically significant dependent variables, centered around believing WCTOs help women like them and desire to participate on behalf of endorsed candidates. However, using the two-item measure also results in a statistically significant effect of the Women's Org. condition on interest in attending a candidate training and belief that the respondent could learn from trainings provided by the organization they read about. Results below.

TABLE 33. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Respondents – Alt. Measure

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Women's Org.	0.036^{+}
	(0.017)
Constant	0.392^{**}
	(0.012)
Observations	701
R^2	0.006
Adjusted R^2	0.005
Residual Std. Error	0.226 (df = 699)

Note:
$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 33 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on the Political Ambition Scale, among women high in gender consciousness (using the two-item measure). Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 3.6 percentage point increase in the Run for Office Scale, among women high in gender consciousness, when accounting for demographic controls (p<.1).

TABLE 34. Effect of Women's Org. on Gender Conscious Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Org. Relevance	Org. Support	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Women's Org.	0.044^{+}	0.042^{+}	0.086***	0.070**
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Constant	0.649**	0.563**	0.407**	0.418**
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	701	701	701	701
R^2	0.005	0.004	0.016	0.011
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.003	0.015	0.010
Residual Std. Error (df = 699)	0.316	0.319	0.332	0.327

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 34 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on belief that WCTOs are relevant for and supportive of people like them, and desire to volunteer and donate on behalf of their candidates, among women high in gender consciousness (using an alternative measure). Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 4.4 percentage point increase in seeing the organization as relevant (p<.1), a 4.2 percentage point increase in thinking the organization supports people like them (p<.1), an 8.6 percentage point increase in desire to volunteer (p<.001) and a 7 percentage point increase in desire to donate (p<.01).

TABLE 35. Effect of Women's Org on Gender Conscious Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn From Training	Attend Training
	(1)	(2)
Women's Org.	0.050^{+}	0.070**
	(0.027)	(0.026)
Constant	0.327**	0.588**
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Observations	701	701
R^2	0.005	0.010
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.009
Residual Std. Error (df = 699)	0.351	0.343

$^{+}$p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Table 35 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on interest in learning about running and interest in learning from a candidate training organization, among women high in gender consciousness (using an alternative measure). Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 5 percentage point increase in desire to learn from a candidate training (p<.1) and a 7 percentage point increase in desire to attend a candidate training (p<.01).

WCTO Treatment: Effects on Participation Separately by Race

TABLE 36. Effect of Women's Org on Participation for Other Candidates – Volunteering

	Dependent variable:		
	Volunteer		
	White Women	Black Women	Latinas
Women's Org.	0.053*	0.081*	−0.031
	(0.024)	(0.038)	(0.044)
Constant	0.367***	0.416***	0.476***
	(0.017)	(0.027)	(0.031)
Observations	725	290	215
R^2	0.007	0.016	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.005	0.012	−0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.320 (df = 723)	0.320 (df = 288)	0.322 (df = 213)

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Note: Table 36 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on volunteering for a candidate endorsed by a CTO, separately among white women, Black women, and Latinas. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 5 percentage point increase for white women, an 8 percentage point increase for Black women (both p<.05) and a negative and non-statistically significant change in desire to volunteer for a CTO endorsed candidate for Latinas.

TABLE 37. Effect of Women's Org on Participation for Other Candidates – Donating

	Dependent variable:		
	Donate		
	White Women	Black Women	Latinas
Women's Org.	0.042^{+}	0.027	0.064
	(0.023)	(0.038)	(0.042)
Constant	0.378^{**}	0.445^{**}	0.433^{**}
	(0.016)	(0.028)	(0.030)
Observations	725	290	215
R^2	0.004	0.002	0.011
Adjusted R^2	0.003	−0.002	0.006
Residual Std. Error	0.312 (df = 723)	0.322 (df = 288)	0.310 (df = 213)

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Table 37 shows the effect of the Women's Organization Condition on donating to a candidate endorsed by a CTO, separately among white women, Black women, and Latinas. Being assigned to the Women's Organization Condition resulted in a 4 percentage point increase among white women (p<.1), while there was not a statistically significant relationship between the treatment and desire to donate for Black women or Latinas, even though the effects were in the correct direction.

Appendix A6: Survey Experiment Two – Design

TREATMENT ONE: WHITE ALL-GENDER CANDIDATES



[RUNNING AND WINNING] has had incredible success electing [people] who are running for office for the very first time, including their incredible slate of endorsed local and state candidates from 2020. They're expanding their candidate training program to [state] and are interested in working with [people] who are interested in running for office for the first time.

[RUNNING AND WINNING] provides trainings about how to raise money, talking to media, getting out the vote, and QA panels with current and formal local elected officials. They also provide opportunities to network with current and former elected officials, access to endorsements, ongoing mentorship from experienced staff and opportunities to connect with a community of passionate and supportive alumni.

As part of the training, they devote considerable attention to specific challenges **[candidates]** face with a session dedicated to how potential candidates can navigate these barriers.

TREATMENT TWO: WHITE WOMEN CANDIDATES



[WOMEN RUNNING AND WINNING] has had incredible success electing [women] who are running for office for the very first time, including their incredible slate of endorsed local and state candidates from 2020. They're expanding their candidate training program to [state] and are interested in working with [women] who are interested in running for office for the first time.

[WOMEN RUNNING AND WINNING] provides trainings about how to raise money, talking to media, getting out the vote, and QA panels with current and formal local elected officials. They also provide opportunities to network with current and former elected officials, access to endorsements, ongoing mentorship from experienced staff and opportunities to connect with a community of passionate and supportive alumni.

As part of the training, they devote considerable attention to specific challenges **[women candidates]** face with a session dedicated to how potential candidates can navigate these barriers.

TREATMENT THREE: BLACK AND WHITE ALL-GENDER CANDIDATES



[RUNNING AND WINNING] has had incredible success electing [people] who are running for office for the very first time, including their incredible slate of endorsed local and state candidates from 2020. They're expanding their candidate training program to [state] and are interested in working with [people] who are interested in running for office for the first time.

[RUNNING AND WINNING] provides trainings about how to raise money, talking to media, getting out the vote, and QA panels with current and formal local elected officials. They also provide opportunities to network with current and former elected officials, access to endorsements, ongoing mentorship from experienced staff and opportunities to connect with a community of passionate and supportive alumni.

As part of the training, they devote considerable attention to specific challenges **[Black candidates]** face with a session dedicated to how potential candidates can navigate these barriers.

TREATMENT FOUR: BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN CANDIDATES



[WOMEN RUNNING AND WINNING] has had incredible success electing [women] who are running for office for the very first time, including their incredible slate of endorsed local and state candidates from 2020. They're expanding their candidate training program to [state] and are interested in working with [people] who are interested in running for office for the first time.

[WOMEN RUNNING AND WINNING] provides trainings about how to raise money, talking to media, getting out the vote, and QA panels with current and formal local elected officials. They also provide opportunities to network with current and former elected officials, access to endorsements, ongoing mentorship from experienced staff and opportunities to connect with a community of passionate and supportive alumni.

As part of the training, they devote considerable attention to specific challenges **[Black women candidates]** face with a session dedicated to how potential candidates can navigate these barriers.

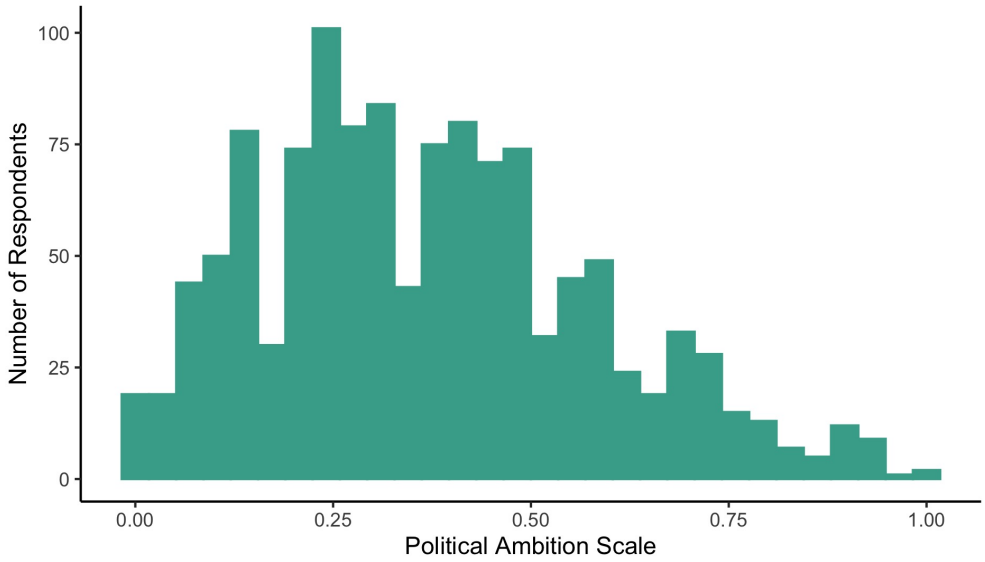
- Prior to treatment and after consenting to participate, respondents will be asked:
  - Demographic information including standard ANES measures of race and ethnicity, gender, birth year, and state they live in.
  - Gender closeness
    * How much do you think your gender impacts your life?
    * How important is being a woman to your identity?
    * How much discrimination do you think women face solely because of their gender?
  - Based on whether respondents identified as Black or white or both, respondents were showed a set of three questions evaluating closeness to their Black/white racial identity.
    * How much do you think being Black/white impacts your life?
    * How important is being Black/white to your identity?
    * How much discrimination do you think Black/white people face solely because of their race?
  - Pre-treatment Attention Check
    * What is your favorite color? To confirm that you are paying attention, regardless of the answers below, select "puce" from the list of colors provided.
- Respondents were then randomized into one of four treatments which can be seen in full in Appendix One.
- Respondents then received the following Dependent Variables
  - How likely is it that you would run for local office, at some point in the future?
  - Which best characterizes your attitudes towards ever running for local office?
  - If you were to run for local political office, how likely do you think you would be to win?
  - How qualified do you think you are to run for local political office?
  - How hard do you think being a political candidate would be for someone like you?
  - How interested are you in learning more about opportunities to attend a candidate training program, like the one you read about?
  - How interested are you in learning more about the possibility of running for political office?
  - How relevant would the information and resources from the organization you read about be to someone like you, if they ran for local political office?
  - How supportive do you think the organization you read about would be to someone like you, if they ran for local political office?
  - How strongly would the organization you read about invest in someone like you, if they ran for local political office?
  - How useful would the organization you read about be, if you decided to run for local political office?
  - How likely would you be to volunteer for a candidate who was endorsed by an organization like the one you read about?
  - How likely would you be to donate to a candidate who was endorsed by an organization like the one you read about?

- Post-treatment Manipulation Checks
  - How successful do you think the organization you read about would be at getting Black women candidates elected?
  - How much change do you think is needed on the program or issue in your community that you wrote about?
- Demographic information including age, marital status, number of children, employment, weekly hours worked, income, education, the standard 3-item measure of party identification and ideology.

Appendix A7: Survey Experiment Two – Results

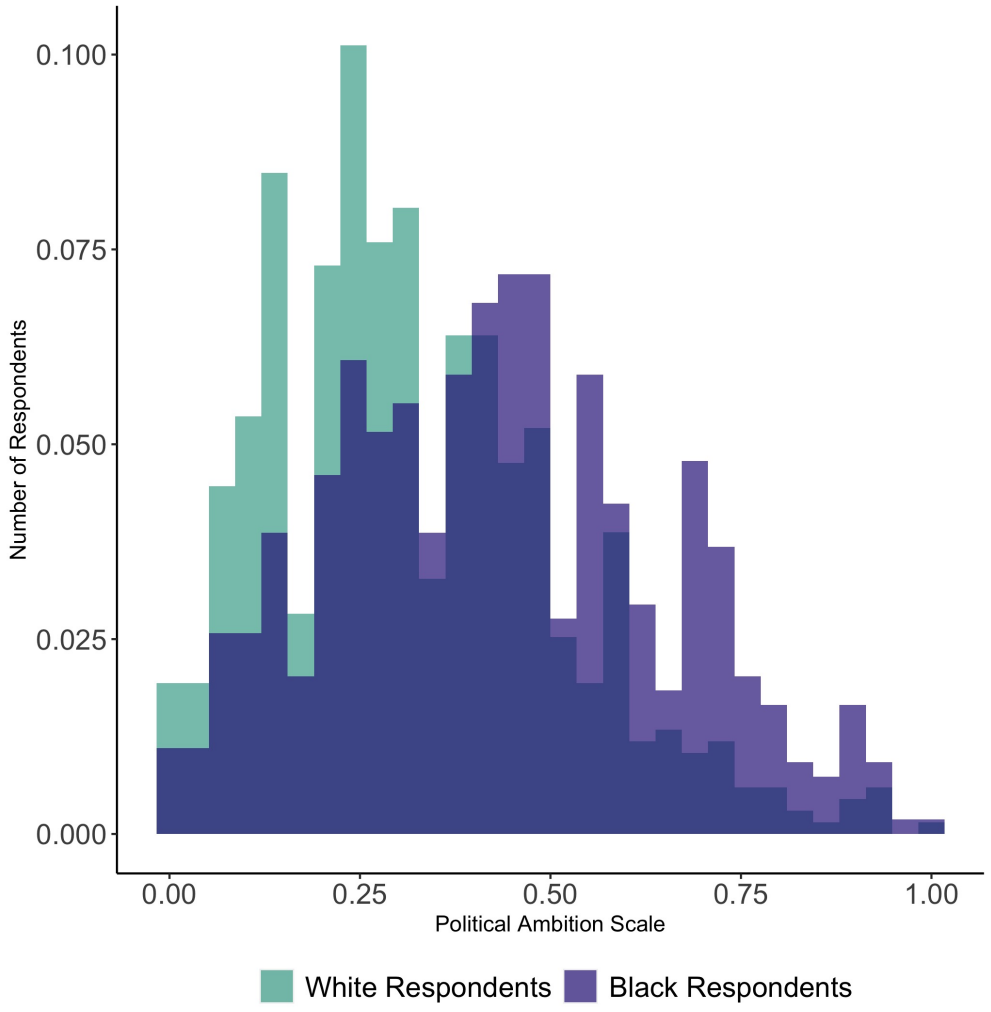
Distribution of Political Ambition Scale

FIGURE 27. Distribution of Responses to Political Ambition Scale in Experiment Two



Note: Figure 27 shows the distribution of responses to the Political Ambition Scale. The median response level of the Political Ambition Scale was .3462.

FIGURE 28. Distribution of Responses to Political Ambition Scale in Experiment Two – Separately By Race



Note: Figure 28 shows the distribution of responses to the Political Ambition Scale, separately for Black and white respondents separately. The median response level of the Political Ambition Scale was .4231 among Black respondents and .2885 among white respondents.

Relationship Between Treatments and Manipulation Checks

The first manipulation check asked respondents how successful they thought the organization they read about would be at getting Black women candidates elected. As can be seen in Table 38, respondents in the racially diverse WTCO condition (the one that mentioned specific programming for Black women) were statistically significantly more likely to believe the organization would successfully elect Black women, with an increase of 6.6 percentage points.

TABLE 38. Effect of First Manipulation Check

	Dependent variable:
	Electing Black Women
WCTO	0.022
	(0.023)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.004
	(0.024)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.066**
	(0.023)
Constant	0.536**
	(0.016)
Observations	1,220
R^2	0.009
Adjusted R^2	0.007
Residual Std. Error	0.287 (df = 1216)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Note: Table 38 shows the effect of being in each of the experimental conditions on respondents beliefs that the organization they read about would successfully elect Black women. Results indicate that being in the racially-diverse WCTO condition increased respondents beliefs the organization would elect Black women by 6.6 percentage points (p<.01), relative to the all-white CTO condition.

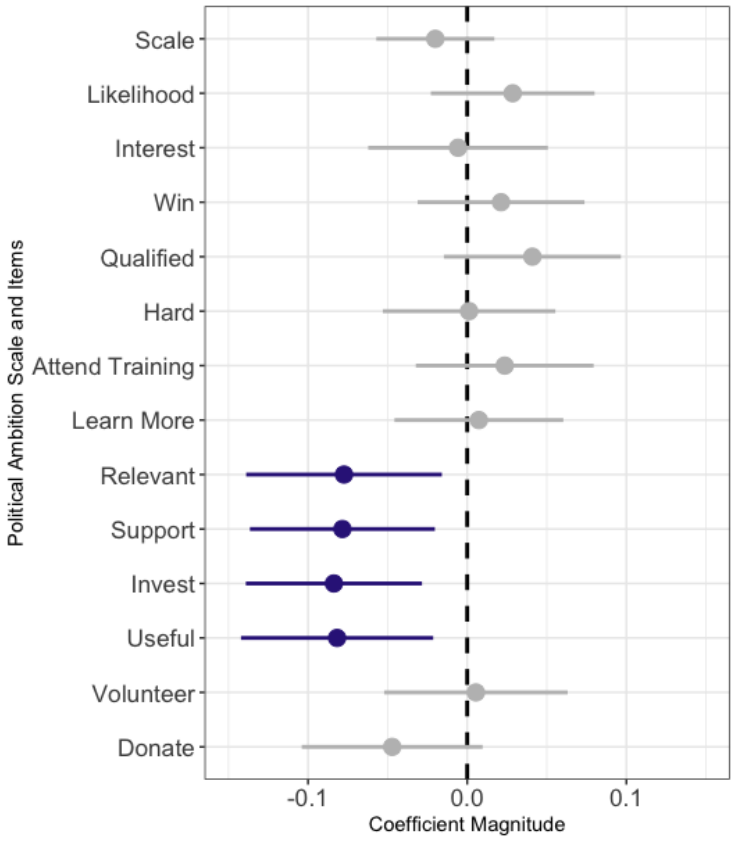
The second manipulation check asked respondents how much change they thought was needed on the issue they wrote about in the manipulation condition. As can be seen in Table 39, respondents in the Mobilization condition were statistically significantly more likely to want a lot of change on the issue they wrote about, with an increase of 13.7 percentage points.

TABLE 39. Effect of Second Manipulation Check

	Dependent variable:
	Motivated to Change
Mobilization Condition	0.137**
	(0.017)
Constant	0.553**
	(0.012)
Observations	1,220
R^2	0.050
Adjusted R^2	0.050
Residual Std. Error	0.298 (df = 1218)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

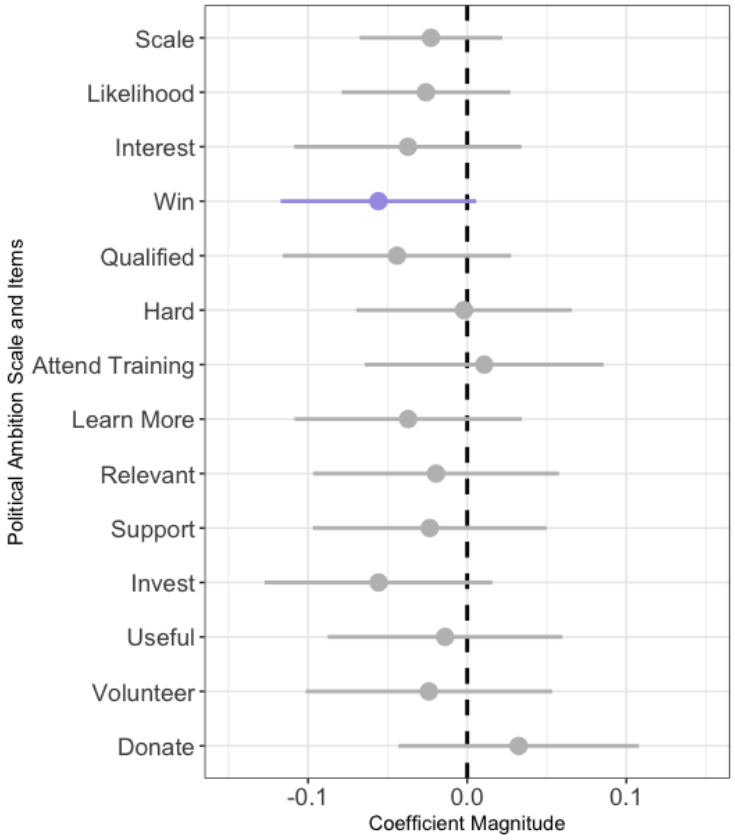
Note: Table 39 shows the effect of being in the Mobilization Condition on respondent's beliefs that the issue they wrote about needed to be changed. Results indicate that being in the Mobilization Condition correlated with an increase in respondents beliefs the issue they wrote about needed change by 13.7 percentage points (p<.01).

FIGURE 29. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items – Among Republican White Women



Note: Figure 29 shows the marginal effect of being assigned to either of the racially diversity candidate organization conditions on Republican white women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale, and its scale points, relative to being assigned to either of the all-white candidate organization conditions. There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to either of the race conditions on Republican white women's overall levels of the Political Ambition Scale. However, there were statistically significant decreases in belief that the organization was relevant for (7 percentage points at p<.05), supportive of (7.8 percentage points at p<.01), likely to invest in (8.4 percentage points at p<.005), and useful for (8.2 percentage points at p<.01) people like them. Likely to invest holds up with a Bonferroni correction of p<.0038.

FIGURE 30. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Political Ambition Scale and Scale Items – Among Democratic White Women



Note: Figure 30 shows the marginal effect of being assigned to either of the racially diversity candidate organization conditions on Democrat white women's levels of the Political Ambition Scale, and its scale points, relative to being assigned to either of the all-white candidate organization conditions. There was no statistically significant effect of being assigned to either of the race conditions on Democrat white women's overall levels of the Political Ambition Scale.

WCTO Treatments: Results Among Black Women

TABLE 40. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Black Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO Conditions	−0.015
	(0.018)
Constant	0.440**
	(0.013)
Observations	543
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.215 (df = 541)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 40 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on Black women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the WCTO conditions on Black women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 41. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Black Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	−0.047+	−0.054+
	(0.026)	(0.029)
Constant	0.257**	0.379**
	(0.019)	(0.021)
Observations	550	551
R^2	0.006	0.006
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.005
Residual Std. Error	0.305 (df = 548)	0.338 (df = 549)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 41 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on Black women's likelihood of running for office in the future and interest in running for office. Being in one of the WCTO conditions decreased Black women's reported likelihood of running by 4.7 percentage points (p<.05) and interest in running by 5.4 percentage points (p<.05).

TABLE 42. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Black Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO Conditions	−0.002	−0.041	−0.030
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.026)
Constant	0.342**	0.362**	0.338**
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.018)
Observations	550	550	551
R^2	0.00001	0.004	0.002
Adjusted R^2	−0.002	0.002	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.315 (df = 548)	0.328 (df = 548)	0.301 (df = 549)
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 42 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on Black women's beliefs they would win if they ran, perception that they're qualified to run, and belief that running for office would not be hard for someone like them. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 43. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Black Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	−0.021	−0.041
	(0.030)	(0.030)
Constant	0.400**	0.360**
	(0.022)	(0.021)
Observations	551	551
R^2	0.001	0.003
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 549)	0.351	0.349
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 43 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on Black women's desire to learn from the candidate training organization they read about or to learn more about running for office. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 44. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Black Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO Conditions	0.015	0.012	−0.013	0.035
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Constant	0.603**	0.580**	0.512**	0.645**
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Observations	550	550	548	545
R^2	0.001	0.0004	0.0005	0.004
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.321 (df = 548)	0.302 (df = 548)	0.301 (df = 546)	0.294 (df = 543)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 44 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on Black women's perceptions that the candidate training organization they read about is relevant for, supportive of, invested in, and useful for, people like them. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 45. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Black Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	−0.002	0.011
	(0.028)	(0.028)
Constant	0.479**	0.454**
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Observations	550	550
R^2	0.00001	0.0003
Adjusted R^2	−0.002	−0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 548)	0.332	0.329
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 45 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on Black women's interest in volunteering for or donating to a person endorsed by the candidate training organization that they read about. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on Black women's responses to these scale items.

WCTO Treatments: Results Among White Women

TABLE 46. Effect of WCTO Conditions on White Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO Conditions	0.011
	(0.015)
Constant	0.317**
	(0.010)
Observations	666
R^2	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.189 (df = 664)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 46 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on white women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the WCTO conditions on white women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 47. Effect of WCTO Conditions on White Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	0.008	0.004
	(0.019)	(0.023)
Constant	0.125**	0.216**
	(0.014)	(0.016)
Observations	669	670
R^2	0.0002	0.00005
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.251 (df = 667)	0.292 (df = 668)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 47 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on white women's likelihood of running for office in the future and interest in running for office. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 48. Effect of WCTO Conditions on White Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO Conditions	0.028	−0.0003	−0.009
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Constant	0.181**	0.263**	0.247**
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	669	669	669
R^2	0.003	0.00000	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	0.001	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 667)	0.266	0.290	0.278
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 48 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on white women's beliefs they would win if they ran, perception that they're qualified to run, and belief that running for office would not be hard for someone like them. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 49. Effect of WCTO Conditions on White Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	0.005	0.004
	(0.023)	(0.022)
Constant	0.214**	0.181**
	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	670	669
R^2	0.0001	0.0001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.294 (df = 668)	0.280 (df = 667)
Note:		+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 49 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on white women's desire to learn from the candidate training organization they read about or to learn more about running for office. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 50. Effect of WCTO Conditions on White Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO Conditions	−0.015	0.027	−0.010	0.034
	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.024)
Constant	0.555**	0.502**	0.393**	0.592**
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Observations	669	671	668	666
R^2	0.001	0.002	0.0003	0.003
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	0.001	−0.001	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.319 (df = 667)	0.304 (df = 669)	0.291 (df = 666)	0.312 (df = 664)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 50 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on white women's perceptions that the candidate training organization they read about is relevant for, supportive of, invested in, and useful for, people like them. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 51. Effect of WCTO Conditions on White Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	0.031	0.020
	(0.024)	(0.023)
Constant	0.332**	0.328**
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	669	669
R^2	0.003	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.001	−0.0004
Residual Std. Error (df = 667)	0.305	0.301
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 51 shows the effect of the WCTO Conditions on white women's interest in volunteering for or donating to a person endorsed by the candidate training organization that they read about. Being in one of the WCTO conditions did not have a statistically significant effect on white women's responses to these scale items.

Racially Diverse CTO Treatments: Results Among Black Women

TABLE 52. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Black Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Racially Diverse CTO	0.028
	(0.018)
Constant	0.419**
	(0.013)
Observations	543
R^2	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.215 (df = 541)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 52 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 53. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Black Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.014	−0.021
	(0.026)	(0.029)
Constant	0.239**	0.361**
	(0.018)	(0.020)
Observations	550	551
R^2	0.001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.306 (df = 548)	0.339 (df = 549)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 53 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's reported likelihood of running for office in the future and interest in running for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's likelihood of or interest in running for office.

TABLE 54. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Black Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.031	0.003	−0.004
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.026)
Constant	0.355**	0.340**	0.324**
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Observations	550	550	551
R^2	0.002	0.00002	0.00005
Adjusted R^2	0.001	−0.002	−0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.314 (df = 548)	0.329 (df = 548)	0.301 (df = 549)
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 54 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's perceptions that they would win if they ran for office, that they're qualified to run for office, and that running for office would not be hard for someone like them. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 55. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Black Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.021	0.017
	(0.030)	(0.030)
Constant	0.379**	0.331**
	(0.021)	(0.021)
Observations	551	551
R^2	0.001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 549)	0.351	0.350
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 55 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's desire to learn more from a the candidate training organization they read about or to learn more about running for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 56. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Black Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.071**	0.081**	0.050+	0.074**
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Constant	0.577**	0.548**	0.482**	0.628**
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.017)
Observations	550	550	548	545
R^2	0.012	0.018	0.007	0.016
Adjusted R^2	0.011	0.016	0.005	0.014
Residual Std. Error	0.319 (df = 548)	0.299 (df = 548)	0.300 (df = 546)	0.292 (df = 543)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 56 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's beliefs that the organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for people like them. Black women assigned to one of the racially-diverse CTO were statistically significantly more likely to think the organization they read about was Relevant to (7.1 percentage points and p<.01), Supportive of (8.1 percentage points and p<.005), and Useful for (7.4 percentage points) people like them (p>.005). Both the supportive of and useful for items remain significant when using a Bonferroni correction of .0038. Belief the organization is likely to invest in people like them is significant with a p-value of .052.

TABLE 57. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on Black Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.054+	0.048+
	(0.028)	(0.028)
Constant	0.453**	0.437**
	(0.019)	(0.019)
Observations	550	550
R^2	0.007	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.005	0.003
Residual Std. Error (df = 548)	0.331	0.328
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 57 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on Black women's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. Black women assigned to one of the racially-diverse CTO were marginally significantly more likely to volunteer for (5.4 percentage points and p = .056) and donate to (4.8 percentage points and p = .09) a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about.

Racially Diverse CTO Treatments: Results Among White Women

TABLE 58. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on White Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.021
	(0.015)
Constant	0.333**
	(0.010)
Observations	666
R^2	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.189 (df = 664)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 58 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 59. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on White Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.009	−0.019
	(0.019)	(0.023)
Constant	0.125**	0.227**
	(0.014)	(0.016)
Observations	669	670
R^2	0.0003	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.0004
Residual Std. Error	0.251 (df = 667)	0.291 (df = 668)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 59 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's reported likelihood of running for office in the future and interest in running for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's likelihood of or interest in running for office.

TABLE 60. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on White Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.005	0.012	0.0001
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Constant	0.197**	0.257**	0.242**
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	669	669	669
R^2	0.0001	0.0004	0.000
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 667)	0.266	0.290	0.278
Note:		+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 60 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's perceptions that they would win if they ran for office, that they're qualified to run for office, and that running for office would not be hard for someone like them. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 61. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on White Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.018	−0.009
	(0.023)	(0.022)
Constant	0.208**	0.188**
	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	670	669
R^2	0.001	0.0003
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.294 (df = 668)	0.280 (df = 667)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 61 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's desire to learn more from a the candidate training organization they read about or to learn more about running for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 62. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on White Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.056*	−0.055*	−0.071**	−0.056*
	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.024)
Constant	0.575**	0.543**	0.423**	0.637**
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Observations	669	671	668	666
R^2	0.008	0.008	0.015	0.008
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.007	0.014	0.007
Residual Std. Error	0.318 (df = 667)	0.303 (df = 669)	0.289 (df = 666)	0.311 (df = 664)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 62 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's beliefs that the organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for people like them. White women assigned to one of the racially-diverse CTO were statistically significantly less likely to think the organization they read about was Relevant to (5.6 percentage points and p<.05), Supportive of (5.5 percentage points and p<.05), and likely to Invest in (7.1 percentage points) people like them (p<.005) and Useful for (5.6 percentage points and p<.05) people like them. However, only "likely to invest in people like you" remains statistically significant with a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 63. Effect of Racially Diverse CTO Conditions on White Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.006	−0.019
	(0.024)	(0.023)
Constant	0.351**	0.347**
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	669	669
R^2	0.0001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 667)	0.305	0.301
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 63 shows the effect of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the candidate training organization they read about. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse CTO conditions on white women's responses to these scale items.

Racially Diverse WCTO Treatment: Results Among Black Women

TABLE 64. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on Black Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO	0.013
	(0.025)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.060*
	(0.027)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.012
	(0.026)
Constant	0.412**
	(0.018)
Observations	543
R^2	0.011
Adjusted R^2	0.005
Residual Std. Error	0.214 (df = 539)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 64 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on Black women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on Black women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 65. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on Black Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	−0.005	−0.006
	(0.036)	(0.040)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.033	0.032
	(0.038)	(0.042)
Racially Diverse WCTO	−0.061+	−0.075+
	(0.036)	(0.040)
Constant	0.241**	0.364**
	(0.026)	(0.028)
Observations	550	551
R^2	0.012	0.013
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.007
Residual Std. Error	0.305 (df = 546)	0.338 (df = 547)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 65 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on Black women's levels of likelihood of and interest in running for political office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 66. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on Black Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO	−0.001	−0.031	−0.051
	(0.037)	(0.039)	(0.035)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.030	0.014	−0.027
	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.037)
Racially Diverse WCTO	−0.033	−0.038	−0.033
	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.036)
Constant	0.356**	0.356**	0.350**
	(0.026)	(0.028)	(0.025)
Observations	550	550	551
R^2	0.002	0.004	0.004
Adjusted R^2	−0.003	−0.001	−0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.315 (df = 546)	0.329 (df = 546)	0.301 (df = 547)
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 66 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on Black women's perceptions that they would win, if they ran for office, that they are qualified to run for office, and that running for office is not hard for someone like them. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 67. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on Black Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.029	0.007
	(0.041)	(0.041)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.077+	0.070
	(0.043)	(0.043)
Racially Diverse WCTO	−0.0003	−0.025
	(0.042)	(0.042)
Constant	0.364**	0.327**
	(0.029)	(0.029)
Observations	551	551
R^2	0.007	0.009
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.004
Residual Std. Error (df = 547)	0.351	0.349
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 67 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on Black women's interest in learning from the candidate training organization they read about and interest in learning more about running for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 68. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on Black Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO	0.043	0.053	0.023	0.043
	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.034)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.104**	0.127**	0.091*	0.084*
	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.036)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.084*	0.090*	0.035	0.107**
	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.035)
Constant	0.555**	0.521**	0.470**	0.606**
	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Observations	550	550	548	545
R^2	0.015	0.024	0.012	0.019
Adjusted R^2	0.010	0.018	0.006	0.014
Residual Std. Error	0.320 (df = 546)	0.299 (df = 546)	0.300 (df = 544)	0.292 (df = 541)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 68 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on Black women's beliefs that the organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for people like them. Black women assigned to the racially-diverse WCTO were statistically significantly more likely to think the organization they read about was Relevant to (8.4 percentage points and p<.05), Supportive of (9.0 percentage points and p<.05), and Useful for (10.7 percentage points and p<.005) people like them. However, only "likely to invest in people like you" remains significant with a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 69. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on Black Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.038	0.049
	(0.039)	(0.038)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.099*	0.090*
	(0.041)	(0.040)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.050	0.057
	(0.040)	(0.039)
Constant	0.433**	0.412**
	(0.028)	(0.027)
Observations	550	550
R^2	0.011	0.009
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.004
Residual Std. Error (df = 546)	0.331	0.328
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 69 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on Black women's likelihood of volunteering or donating on behalf of a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on Black women's responses to these scale items.

Racially Diverse WCTO Treatment: Results Among White Women

TABLE 70. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on White Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO	0.021
	(0.021)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.011
	(0.021)
Racially Diverse WCTO	−0.010
	(0.021)
Constant	0.323**
	(0.015)
Observations	666
R^2	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.0001
Residual Std. Error	0.189 (df = 662)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 70 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on white women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on white women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 71. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on White Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.020	0.006
	(0.028)	(0.032)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.021	−0.017
	(0.028)	(0.032)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.016	−0.015
	(0.027)	(0.032)
Constant	0.114**	0.224**
	(0.020)	(0.023)
Observations	669	670
R^2	0.001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.003	−0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.252 (df = 665)	0.292 (df = 666)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 71 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on white women's levels of likelihood of and interest in running for political office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 72. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on White Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO	0.030	0.007	−0.009
	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.031)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.002	0.020	−0.00004
	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.031)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.023	0.012	−0.009
	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.030)
Constant	0.182**	0.253**	0.247**
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Observations	669	669	669
R^2	0.003	0.001	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	−0.002	−0.004	−0.004
Residual Std. Error (df = 665)	0.266	0.290	0.279
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 72 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on white women's perceptions that they would win, if they ran for office, that they are qualified to run for office, and that running for office is not hard for someone like them. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 73. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on White Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.003	0.017
	(0.032)	(0.031)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.016	0.004
	(0.032)	(0.031)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.023	−0.005
	(0.032)	(0.030)
Constant	0.206**	0.179**
	(0.023)	(0.022)
Observations	670	669
R^2	0.001	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.003	−0.004
Residual Std. Error	0.294 (df = 666)	0.280 (df = 665)
Note:		+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 73 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on white women's interest in learning from the candidate training organization they read about and interest in learning more about running for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 74. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on White Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO	−0.012	0.034	0.027	0.004
	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.034)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.054	−0.048	−0.034	−0.088*
	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.034)
Racially Diverse WCTO	−0.070*	−0.027	−0.080*	−0.022
	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.034)
Constant	0.581**	0.526**	0.410**	0.636**
	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.024)
Observations	669	671	668	666
R^2	0.008	0.010	0.019	0.014
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.006	0.015	0.009
Residual Std. Error	0.319 (df = 665)	0.303 (df = 667)	0.288 (df = 664)	0.311 (df = 662)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 74 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on white women's beliefs that the organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for people like them. White women assigned to the racially-diverse WCTO were statistically significantly less likely to think the organization they read about was Relevant to (7.0 percentage points and p<.05) and likely to Invest In (8.0 percentage points and p<.05) people like them. However, these values do not remain statistically significant with a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 75. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO Condition on White Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.068*	0.055+
	(0.033)	(0.033)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.031	0.017
	(0.034)	(0.033)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.025	0.002
	(0.033)	(0.033)
Constant	0.316**	0.319**
	(0.024)	(0.023)
Observations	669	669
R^2	0.006	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 665)	0.305	0.301
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 75 shows the effect of the racially-diverse WCTO condition on white women's likelihood of volunteering or donating on behalf of a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the racially-diverse WCTO conditions on white women's responses to these scale items.

WCTO Treatments: Results Among Gender Conscious

TABLE 76. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Women's Political Ambition Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO Conditions	−0.009
	(0.015)
Constant	0.409**
	(0.011)
Observations	781
R^2	0.0004
Adjusted R^2	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.212 (df = 779)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 76 shows the effect of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 77. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Women's Desire to Run Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	−0.028	−0.042+
	(0.021)	(0.024)
Constant	0.208**	0.334**
	(0.015)	(0.017)
Observations	788	789
R^2	0.002	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.297 (df = 786)	0.335 (df = 787)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 77 shows the effect of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's likelihood of and interest in running for political office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 78. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Women's Perceptions of Qualifications Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO Conditions	−0.005	−0.042^{+}	−0.045*
	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.020)
Constant	0.284**	0.345**	0.284**
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	788	789	789
R^2	0.0001	0.004	0.006
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	0.003	0.005
Residual Std. Error	0.302 (df = 786)	0.321 (df = 787)	0.284 (df = 787)
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 78 shows the effect of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's perceptions that they would win, if they ran for office, that they are qualified to run for office, and that running for office is not hard for someone like them. Black and white women above the median in gender consciousness were 4.5 percentage points lower in their belief that running for office is not hard for someone like them, when assigned to learn about a women's candidate training organization (p<.05), but this finding does not remain significant when applying a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 79. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Women's Interest in Learning About Running Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	−0.007	−0.036
	(0.025)	(0.025)
Constant	0.339**	0.313**
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Observations	789	788
R^2	0.0001	0.003
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.350 (df = 787)	0.344 (df = 786)
Note:		+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 79 shows the effect of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's interest in learning from the candidate training organization they read about and interest in learning more about running for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 80. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Women's Perceptions of WCTOs Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO Conditions	0.014	0.008	−0.008	0.038^{+}
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.021)
Constant	0.624**	0.583**	0.482**	0.655**
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	789	789	786	783
R^2	0.001	0.0002	0.0002	0.004
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.311 (df = 787)	0.303 (df = 787)	0.306 (df = 784)	0.300 (df = 781)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 80 shows the effect of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's beliefs that the organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for people like them. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 81. Effect of WCTO Conditions on Women's Participation Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
WCTO Conditions	0.008	0.031
	(0.024)	(0.023)
Constant	0.451**	0.419**
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	789	788
R^2	0.0001	0.002
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.330 (df = 787)	0.327 (df = 786)
Note:		+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 81 shows the effect of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's likelihood of volunteering or donating on behalf of a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about. There was no statistically significant effect of being in one of the WCTO conditions on Black and white women's responses to these scale items.

Racially Diverse WCTO Treatment: Results Among Gender Conscious Black Women

TABLE 82. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Political Ambition Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO	0.039
	(0.031)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.067*
	(0.031)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.016
	(0.030)
Constant	0.412**
	(0.022)
Observations	414
R^2	0.013
Adjusted R^2	0.006
Residual Std. Error	0.218 (df = 410)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 82 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's overall Political Ambition, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness.

TABLE 83. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Desire to Run Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.010	−0.005
	(0.044)	(0.048)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.036	0.022
	(0.044)	(0.048)
Racially Diverse WCTO	−0.059	−0.091^{+}
	(0.044)	(0.048)
Constant	0.235**	0.377**
	(0.031)	(0.034)
Observations	420	421
R^2	0.012	0.015
Adjusted R^2	0.005	0.008
Residual Std. Error	0.316 (df = 416)	0.348 (df = 417)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 83 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's likelihood of and interest in running for office, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's responses to these scale items, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness.

TABLE 84. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Perceptions of Qualifications Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO	−0.006	0.002	−0.069^{+}
	(0.043)	(0.046)	(0.041)
Racially Diverse CTO	−0.038	0.051	−0.016
	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.041)
Racially Diverse WCTO	−0.048	−0.037	−0.044
	(0.043)	(0.046)	(0.041)
Constant	0.355**	0.331**	0.333**
	(0.031)	(0.033)	(0.029)
Observations	420	420	421
R^2	0.004	0.009	0.008
Adjusted R^2	−0.003	0.002	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.313 (df = 416)	0.333 (df = 416)	0.298 (df = 417)
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 84 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's beliefs they would win if they ran for office, that they're qualified to run for office, and that running for office isn't hard for someone like them, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's responses to these scale items, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness.

TABLE 85. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Interest in Learning About Running Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.069	0.025
	(0.050)	(0.051)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.084^{+}	0.073
	(0.051)	(0.051)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.009	−0.031
	(0.050)	(0.050)
Constant	0.360^{**}	0.346^{**}
	(0.036)	(0.036)
Observations	421	420
R^2	0.010	0.011
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.004
Residual Std. Error	0.364 (df = 417)	0.364 (df = 416)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 85 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's interest in learning more from a candidate training or learning more about running for office, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's responses to these scale items, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness.

TABLE 86. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Perceptions of WCTOs Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO	0.123**	0.086*	0.058	0.077+
	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.043)	(0.041)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.124**	0.143**	0.102*	0.097*
	(0.044)	(0.041)	(0.043)	(0.041)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.108*	0.074+	0.046	0.132**
	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.041)
Constant	0.551**	0.539**	0.468**	0.606**
	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.029)
Observations	420	420	418	416
R^2	0.026	0.029	0.014	0.027
Adjusted R^2	0.019	0.022	0.007	0.020
Residual Std. Error	0.313 (df = 416)	0.296 (df = 416)	0.305 (df = 414)	0.292 (df = 412)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 86 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's perceptions that the candidate training organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for, people like them, among Black women above the median in gender consciousness. Black women who were above the median in gender consciousness, in the racially diverse WCTO condition, were 10.8 percentage points more likely to think the organization was relevant for people like them (p<.05) and 13.2 percentage points more likely to think the organization is useful for people like them (p<.005). Black women's beliefs the organization will be more likely to invest in people like them remains statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of p<.0038.

TABLE 87. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Participation Among Gender Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.068	0.098*
	(0.046)	(0.046)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.107*	0.108*
	(0.046)	(0.046)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.047	0.093*
	(0.046)	(0.045)
Constant	0.451**	0.402**
	(0.033)	(0.033)
Observations	420	420
R^2	0.013	0.017
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.010
Residual Std. Error (df = 416)	0.334	0.329
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 87 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's interest in volunteering for and donating to a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about, among Black women among the median in gender consciousness. Black women who were above the median in gender consciousness, in the racially diverse WCTO condition, were 9.8 percentage points more likely to donate to a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about (p<.05). However, this does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of p<.0038.

Racially Diverse WCTO Treatment: Results Among Racially Conscious Black Women

TABLE 88. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Political Ambition Among Racially Conscious

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
WCTO	0.029
	(0.034)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.075*
	(0.036)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.024
	(0.034)
Constant	0.407**
	(0.025)
Observations	331
R^2	0.014
Adjusted R^2	0.005
Residual Std. Error	0.219 (df = 327)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 88 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's overall Political Ambition, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness.

TABLE 89. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Desire to Run Among Racially Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.011	−0.027
	(0.049)	(0.054)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.032	0.034
	(0.050)	(0.056)
Racially Diverse WCTO	−0.059	−0.098^{+}
	(0.049)	(0.054)
Constant	0.233**	0.383**
	(0.036)	(0.040)
Observations	338	339
R^2	0.012	0.020
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.011
Residual Std. Error	0.312 (df = 334)	0.349 (df = 335)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 89 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's likelihood of and interest in running for office, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's responses to these scale items, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness.

TABLE 90. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Perceptions of Qualifications Among Racially Conscious

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
WCTO	0.021	−0.003	−0.064
	(0.049)	(0.052)	(0.047)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.002	0.074	−0.029
	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.048)
WCTO Conditions	−0.001	0.010	−0.021
	(0.049)	(0.052)	(0.047)
Constant	0.327**	0.297**	0.317**
	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.035)
Observations	338	338	339
R^2	0.001	0.009	0.006
Adjusted R^2	−0.008	−0.0004	−0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.317 (df = 334)	0.331 (df = 334)	0.300 (df = 335)
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 90 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's beliefs they would win if they ran for office, that they're qualified to run for office, and that running for office isn't hard for someone like them, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's responses to these scale items, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness.

TABLE 91. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Interest in Learning About Running Among Racially Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.065	0.033
	(0.056)	(0.055)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.093	0.091
	(0.059)	(0.057)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.014	−0.002
	(0.056)	(0.055)
Constant	0.357**	0.320**
	(0.042)	(0.041)
Observations	339	338
R^2	0.010	0.011
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.363 (df = 335)	0.356 (df = 334)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 91 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's interest in learning more from a candidate training or learning more about running for office, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's responses to these scale items, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness.

TABLE 92. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Perceptions of WCTOs Among Racially Conscious

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WCTO	0.101*	0.077	0.053	0.042
	(0.050)	(0.047)	(0.049)	(0.047)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.130*	0.131**	0.119*	0.096+
	(0.052)	(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.049)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.096+	0.080+	0.058	0.128**
	(0.050)	(0.047)	(0.049)	(0.047)
Constant	0.557**	0.540**	0.463**	0.611**
	(0.037)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.035)
Observations	338	338	336	333
R^2	0.021	0.021	0.017	0.025
Adjusted R^2	0.012	0.013	0.008	0.016
Residual Std. Error	0.323 (df = 334)	0.303 (df = 334)	0.313 (df = 332)	0.303 (df = 329)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 92 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's perceptions that the candidate training organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for, people like them, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness. Black women who were above the median in racial consciousness, in the racially diverse WCTO condition, were 12.8 percentage points higher in their belief that the organization they read about is useful for people like them (p<.01). However, this result does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of p<.0038.

TABLE 93. Effect of Racially Diverse WCTO on Black Women's Participation Among Racially Conscious

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
WCTO	0.051	0.056
	(0.054)	(0.052)
Racially Diverse CTO	0.087	0.080
	(0.056)	(0.054)
Racially Diverse WCTO	0.037	0.069
	(0.054)	(0.052)
Constant	0.460**	0.420**
	(0.040)	(0.039)
Observations	338	338
R^2	0.008	0.008
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 334)	0.346	0.337
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 93 shows the effect of the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's interest in volunteering for and donating to a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about, among Black women among the median in racial consciousness. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the racially diverse WCTO condition on Black women's responses to these scale items, among Black women above the median in racial consciousness.

Mobilization Treatment: Results Among Black and White Women Combined

TABLE 94. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Mobilization Condition	0.021^{+}
	(0.012)
Constant	0.361^{**}
	(0.009)
Observations	1,215
R^2	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.208 (df = 1213)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 94 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black and white women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. Black and white women in the mobilization condition were marginally significantly higher in the levels of the Political Ambition scale (2.1 percentage points and p<.1).

TABLE 95. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.025	0.037^{*}
	(0.016)	(0.018)
Constant	0.163^{**}	0.260^{**}
	(0.011)	(0.013)
Observations	1,225	1,227
R^2	0.002	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.003
Residual Std. Error	0.282 (df = 1223)	0.320 (df = 1225)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 95 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black and white women's likelihood of and interest in running for office. Women in the mobilization condition were 3.7 percentage points higher in their interest in running for office (p<.05). However, this result does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 96. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mobilization Condition	0.034*	0.007	0.041*
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.017)
Constant	0.243**	0.295**	0.257**
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Observations	1,225	1,225	1,226
R^2	0.003	0.0001	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.003	−0.001	0.004
Residual Std. Error	0.297 (df = 1223)	0.310 (df = 1223)	0.291 (df = 1224)
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 96 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black and white women's beliefs they would win if they ran for office, their belief that they're qualified to run, and whether they think it would be hard to run for office. Women in the mobilization condition were 3.4 percentage points higher in their belief that running for office wouldn't be hard for someone like them (p<.05) and 4.1 percentage points higher in their beliefs running for office would not be hard for someone like them (p<.05). However, this result does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 97. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.040*	0.022
	(0.019)	(0.018)
Constant	0.275**	0.242**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,227	1,226
R^2	0.004	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.0003
Residual Std. Error	0.331 (df = 1225)	0.322 (df = 1224)
Note:		+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 97 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black and white women's interest in learning about candidate training or learning more about running for political office. Women in the mobilization condition were 4.0 percentage points higher in their desire to learn more about candidate training (p<.05). However, this result does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 98. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mobilization Condition	0.024	−0.002	0.001	0.001
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Constant	0.564**	0.547**	0.440**	0.633**
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Observations	1,225	1,227	1,222	1,217
R^2	0.001	0.00001	0.00000	0.00000
Adjusted R^2	0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.321 (df = 1223)	0.305 (df = 1225)	0.301 (df = 1220)	0.305 (df = 1215)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 98 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black and white women's perceptions that the organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for people like them. There was no statistically significant difference for women in the mobilization condition on these scale items.

TABLE 99. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.022	0.035+
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Constant	0.395**	0.375**
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	1,225	1,225
R^2	0.001	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.0004	0.002
Residual Std. Error (df = 1223)	0.323	0.319
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 99 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black and white women's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about. There was not a statistically significant effect of the mobilization condition on women's responses to these scale items.

Mobilization Treatment: Results Among Black Women

TABLE 100. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Black Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Mobilization Condition	0.026
	(0.018)
Constant	0.419**
	(0.013)
Observations	543
R^2	0.004
Adjusted R^2	0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.215 (df = 541)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 100 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the mobilization condition on Black women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 101. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Black Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.012	0.062*
	(0.026)	(0.029)
Constant	0.226**	0.320**
	(0.018)	(0.020)
Observations	550	551
R^2	0.0004	0.008
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	0.007
Residual Std. Error	0.306 (df = 548)	0.338 (df = 549)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 101 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black women's likelihood of and interest in running for office. Black women in the mobilization condition were 6.2 percentage points higher in their interest in running (p<.05). However, this result does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 102. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Black Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mobilization Condition	0.049^{+}	−0.013	0.071**
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.025)
Constant	0.316**	0.348**	0.286**
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.018)
Observations	550	550	551
R^2	0.006	0.0004	0.014
Adjusted R^2	0.004	−0.001	0.012
Residual Std. Error	0.314 (df = 548)	0.329 (df = 548)	0.299 (df = 549)
Note:			+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 102 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black women's beliefs they would win if they ran for office, their belief that they're qualified to run, and whether they think it would be hard to run for office. Black women in the mobilization condition were 7.1 percentage points higher in their belief that running for office wouldn't be hard for someone like them (p<.01). However, this result does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 103. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Black Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.035	0.025
	(0.030)	(0.030)
Constant	0.372**	0.326**
	(0.021)	(0.021)
Observations	551	551
R^2	0.002	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.001	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 549)	0.351	0.350
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 103 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black women's interest in learning about candidate training or learning more about running for political office. There was not a statistically significant effect of the mobilization condition on Black women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 104. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Black Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mobilization Condition	0.060*	0.021	0.016	0.001
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Constant	0.580**	0.576**	0.497**	0.663**
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Observations	550	550	548	545
R^2	0.009	0.001	0.001	0.00000
Adjusted R^2	0.007	−0.001	−0.001	−0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.320 (df = 548)	0.302 (df = 548)	0.301 (df = 546)	0.294 (df = 543)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 104 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black women's perceptions that the organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for people like them. Black women in the mobilization condition were 6.0 percentage points higher in their belief that the organization they read about is relevant for people like them (p<.05). However, this result does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 105. Effect of Mobilization Condition on Black Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.004	0.019
	(0.028)	(0.028)
Constant	0.476**	0.450**
	(0.020)	(0.020)
Observations	550	550
R^2	0.00003	0.001
Adjusted R^2	−0.002	−0.001
Residual Std. Error (df = 548)	0.332	0.328
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 105 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on Black women's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about. There was not a statistically significant effect of the mobilization condition on Black women's responses to these scale items.

Mobilization Treatment: Results Among White Women

TABLE 106. Effect of Mobilization Condition on White Women's Political Ambition

	Dependent variable:
	Political Ambition Scale
Mobilization Condition	0.018
	(0.015)
Constant	0.314**
	(0.010)
Observations	666
R^2	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.189 (df = 664)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 106 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on white women's levels of the full Political Ambition Scale. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the mobilization condition on white women's overall Political Ambition.

TABLE 107. Effect of Mobilization Condition on White Women's Desire to Run

	Dependent variable:	
	Likely to Run	Interest in Running
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.038+	0.018
	(0.019)	(0.023)
Constant	0.110**	0.209**
	(0.014)	(0.016)
Observations	669	670
R^2	0.006	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.004	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.251 (df = 667)	0.291 (df = 668)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 107 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on white women's likelihood of and interest in running for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the mobilization condition on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 108. Effect of Mobilization Condition on White Women's Perceptions of Qualifications

	Dependent variable:		
	Would Win	Is Qualified	Not Hard
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mobilization Condition	0.024	0.023	0.020
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Constant	0.183**	0.251**	0.232**
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	669	669	669
R^2	0.002	0.002	0.001
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.0001	−0.0002
Residual Std. Error (df = 667)	0.266	0.290	0.278
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01		

Table 102 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on white women's beliefs they would win if they ran for office, their belief that they're qualified to run, and whether they think it would be hard to run for office. There was no statistically significant effect of being in the mobilization condition on white women's responses to these scale items.

TABLE 109. Effect of Mobilization Condition on White Women's on Interest in Learning About Running

	Dependent variable:	
	Learn from Training	Learn More
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.047*	0.022
	(0.023)	(0.022)
Constant	0.193**	0.172**
	(0.016)	(0.015)
Observations	670	669
R^2	0.006	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.005	0.0001
Residual Std. Error	0.293 (df = 668)	0.280 (df = 667)
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 109 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on white women's interest in learning about candidate training or learning more about running for political office. White women in the mobilization condition were 4.7 percentage points higher in their interest in learning more about candidate training (p<.05). However, this does not remain significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

TABLE 110. Effect of Mobilization Condition on White Women's Perceptions of WCTOs

	Dependent variable:			
	Relevant	Supportive	Invest in You	Useful
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mobilization Condition	−0.007	−0.021	−0.010	0.001
	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.024)
Constant	0.551**	0.526**	0.393**	0.609**
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Observations	669	671	668	666
R^2	0.0001	0.001	0.0003	0.00000
Adjusted R^2	−0.001	−0.0003	−0.001	−0.002
Residual Std. Error	0.319 (df = 667)	0.304 (df = 669)	0.291 (df = 666)	0.312 (df = 664)
Note:				+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

Table 110 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on white women's perceptions that the organization they read about is relevant to, supportive of, likely to invest in, and useful for people like them. There was not a statistically significant effect of the mobilization condition on white women's responses to these scale items.

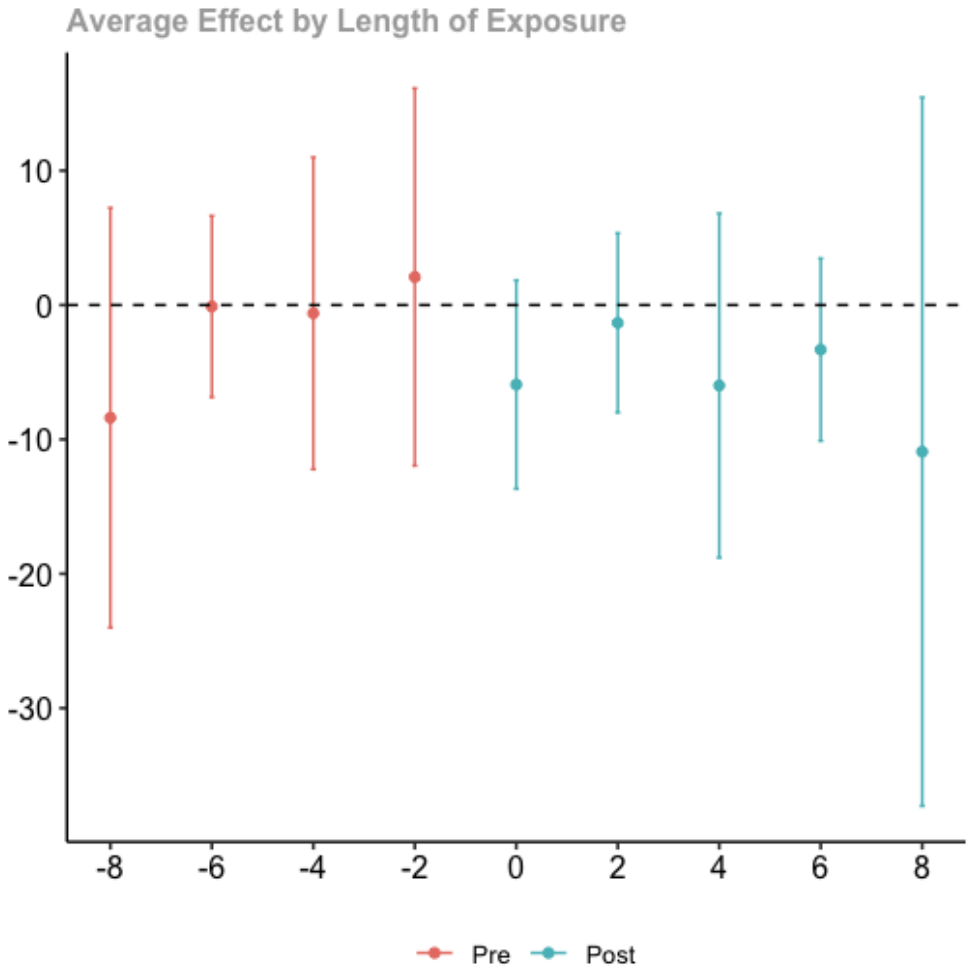
TABLE 111. Effect of Mobilization Condition on White Women's Participation

	Dependent variable:	
	Volunteer	Donate
	(1)	(2)
Mobilization Condition	0.038	0.047*
	(0.024)	(0.023)
Constant	0.328**	0.313**
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Observations	669	669
R^2	0.004	0.006
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.005
Residual Std. Error (df = 667)	0.304	0.301
Note:	+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01	

Table 111 shows the effect of the mobilization condition on white women's likelihood of volunteering for or donating to a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about. White women in the mobilization condition were 4.7 percentage points higher in their likelihood of donating to a candidate endorsed by the organization they read about (p<.05). However, this does not remain statistically significant when using a Bonferroni-corrected p-value of .0038.

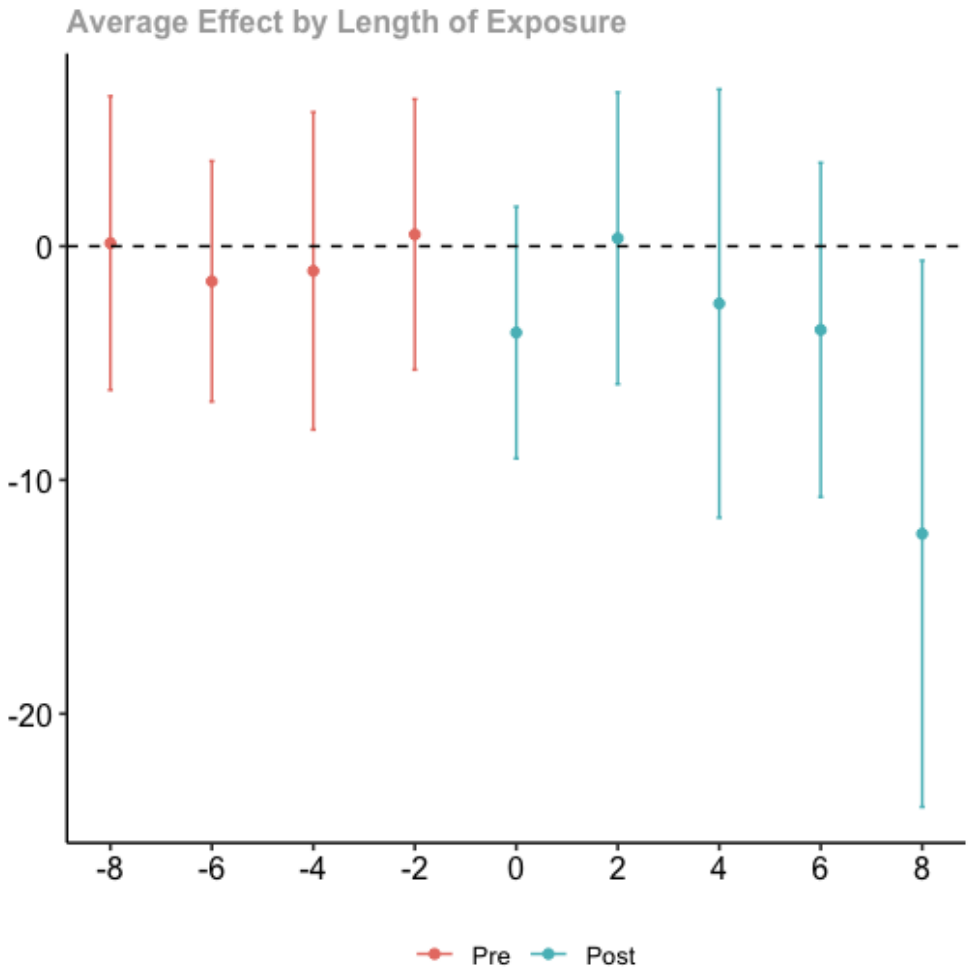
Appendix A8: Additional Diff-in-Diff Analyses

FIGURE 31. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Women's State Legislative Representation



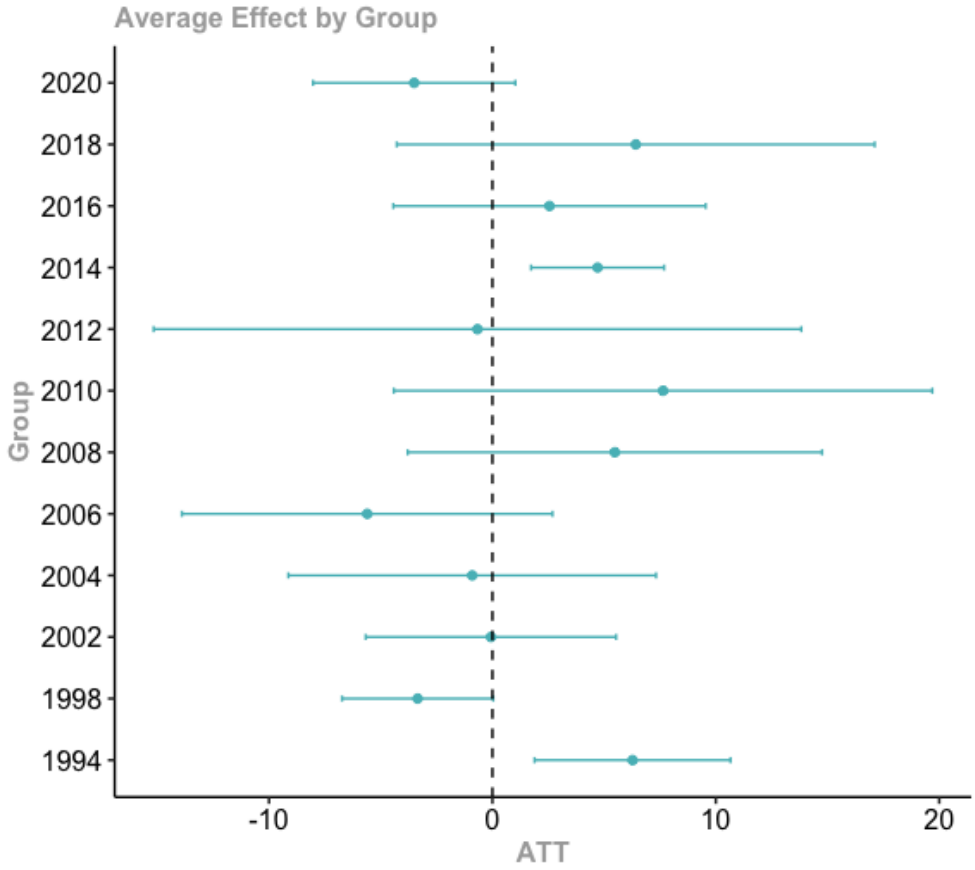
Note: Figure 31 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of women state legislative candidates, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic Presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, support for women in office, and the percent of lawyers in the state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is no statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of women state legislative candidates, once controls are added.

FIGURE 32. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Women's State Legislative Representation with Controls



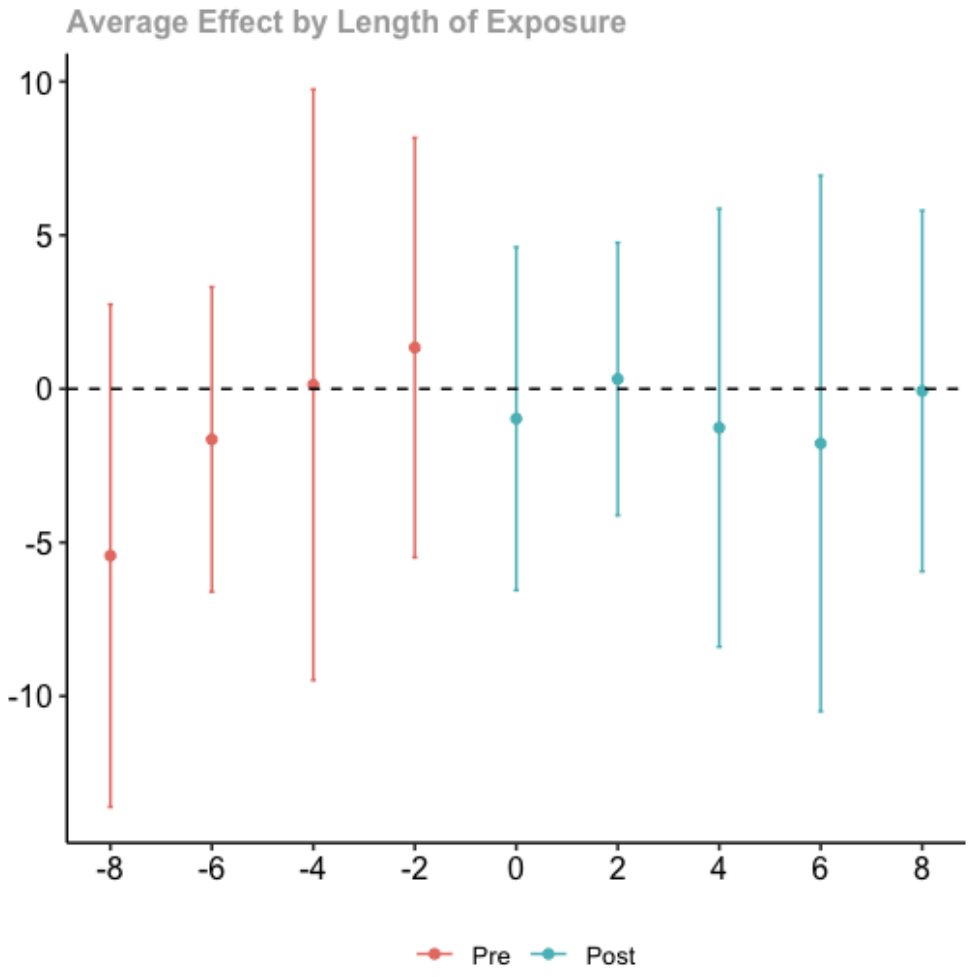
Note: Figure 32 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic Presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, support for women in office, and the percent of lawyers in the state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a negative and statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of women state legislators 8 years after founding, once controls are added.

FIGURE 33. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Women's State Legislative Representation By Year Org. Founded



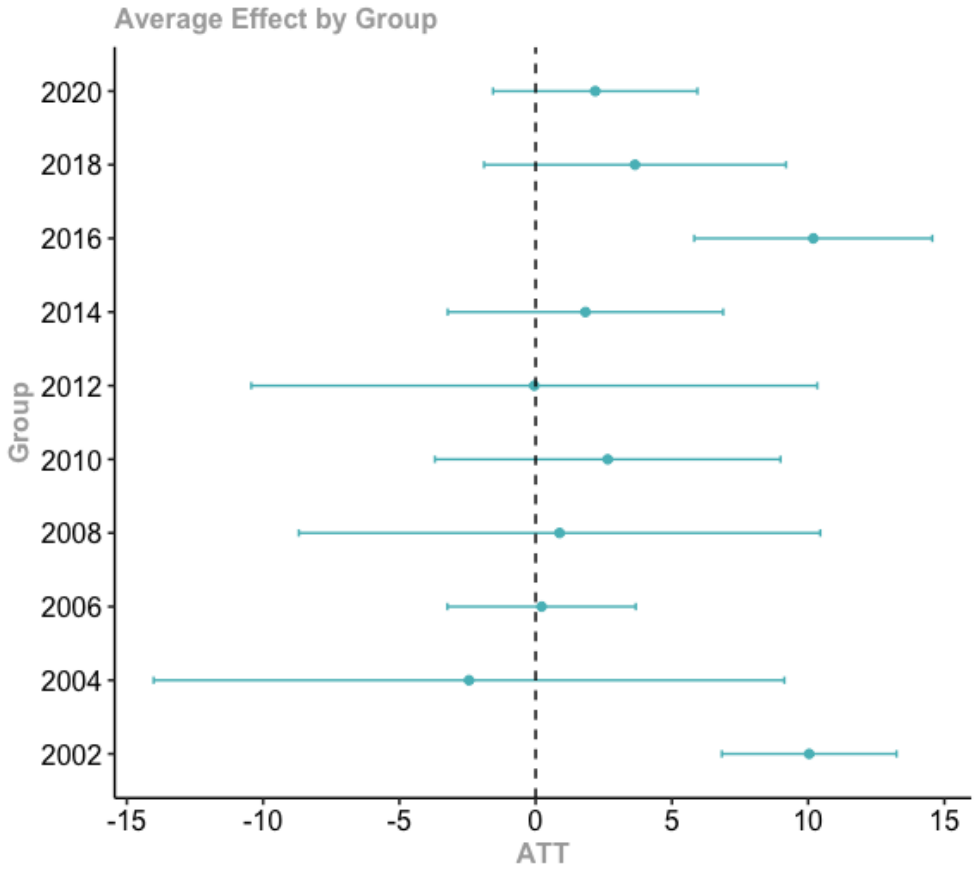
Note: Figure 33 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of women state legislators, grouped by the year the WCTO was founded. Each year represents the effect of the WCTOs founded in that year on the number of women state legislators in their state in following elections. Results demonstrate that organizations founded in 1994 and 2014 have a positive and statistically significant effect on the number of women state legislators, once accounting for time and state fixed-effects.

FIGURE 34. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Democratic Women's State Legislative Representation with Controls



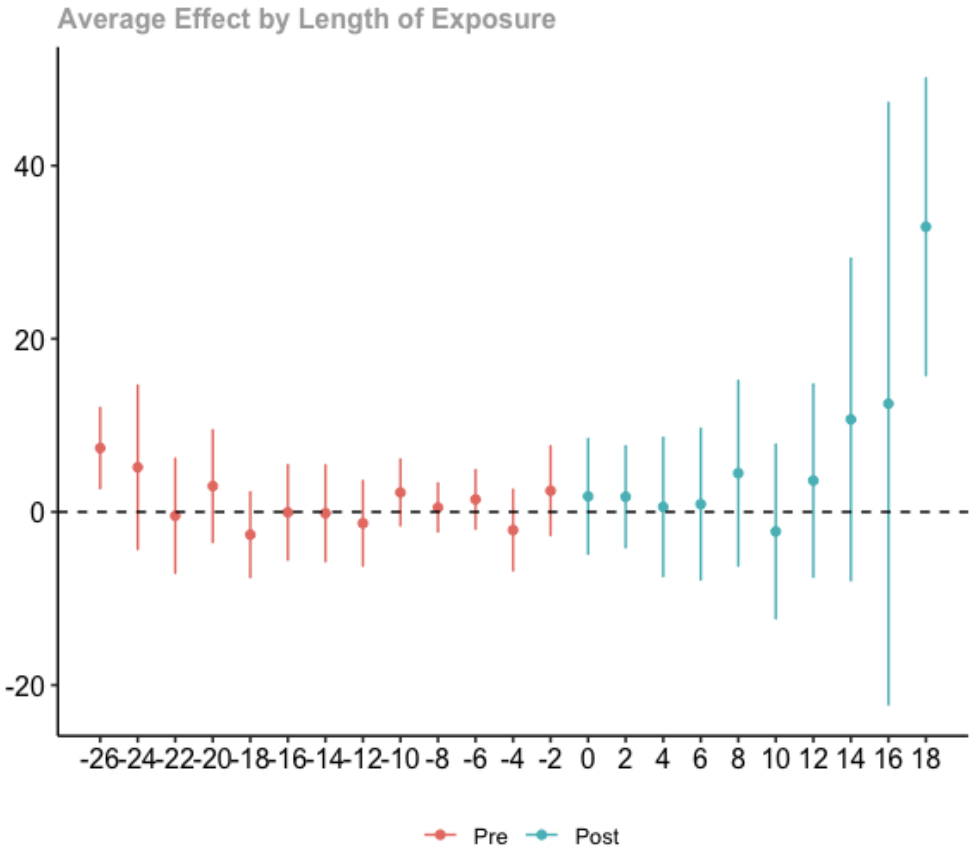
Note: Figure 34 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of Democratic women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic Presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, support for women in office, and the percent of lawyers in the state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is not a statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of Democratic women state legislators, once controls are added.

FIGURE 35. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Democratic Women's State Legislative Representation Grouped By Year Org. Founded



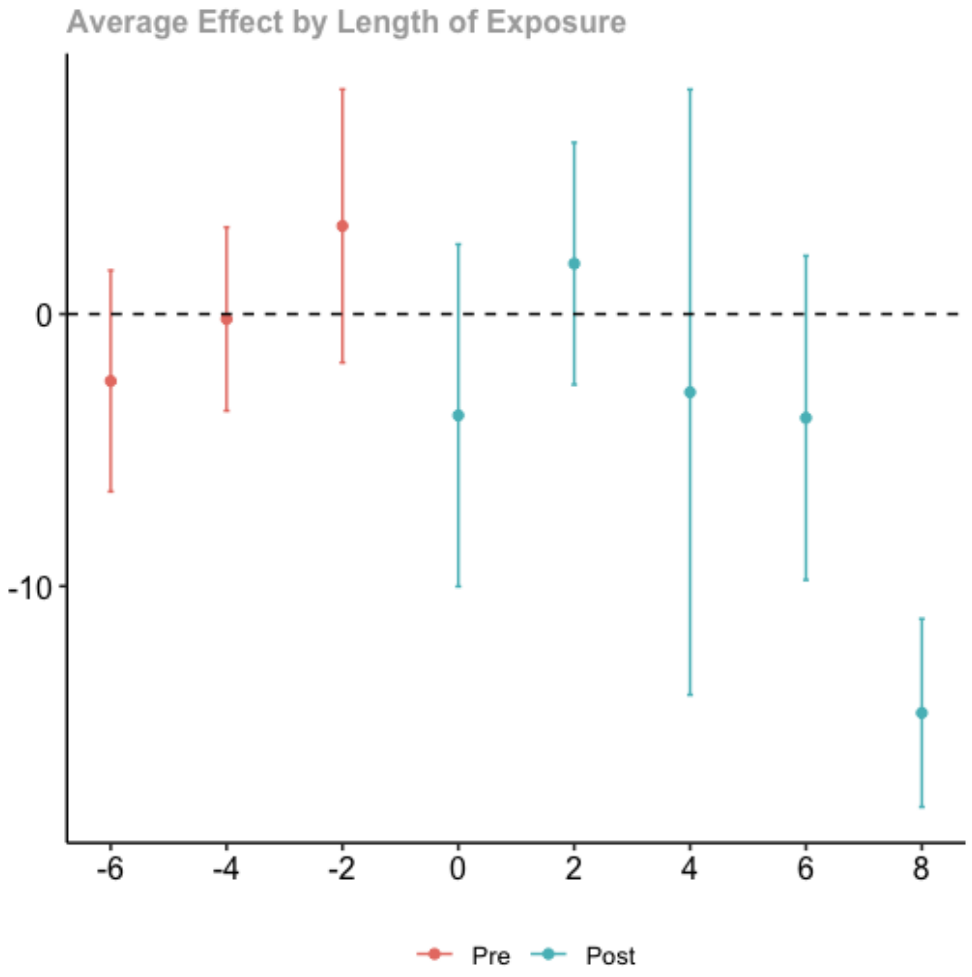
Note: Figure 35 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of Democratic women state legislators, grouped by the year the WCTO was founded. Each year represents the effect of the WCTOs founded in that year on the number of Democratic women state legislators in their state in following elections. Results demonstrate that organizations founded in 2002 and 2016 have a positive and statistically significant effect on the number of women state legislators, once accounting for time and state fixed-effects.

FIGURE 36. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Democratic Women's State Legislative Candidates



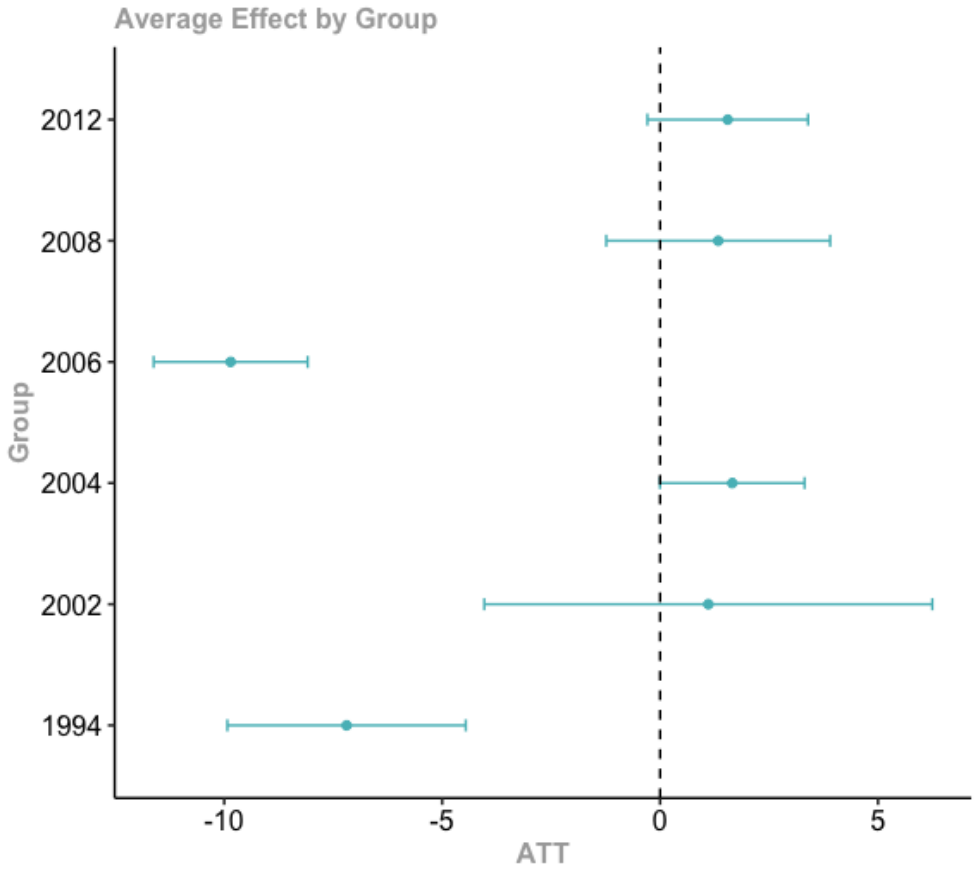
Note: Figure 36 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a left-leaning WCTO, on the number of Democratic women state legislative candidates, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes state and time fixed effects. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a positive and statistically significant effect of the founding of a left-leaning WCTO on the number of Democratic women state legislative candidates, but only 18 years after treatment.

FIGURE 37. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Republican Women's State Legislative Representation with Controls



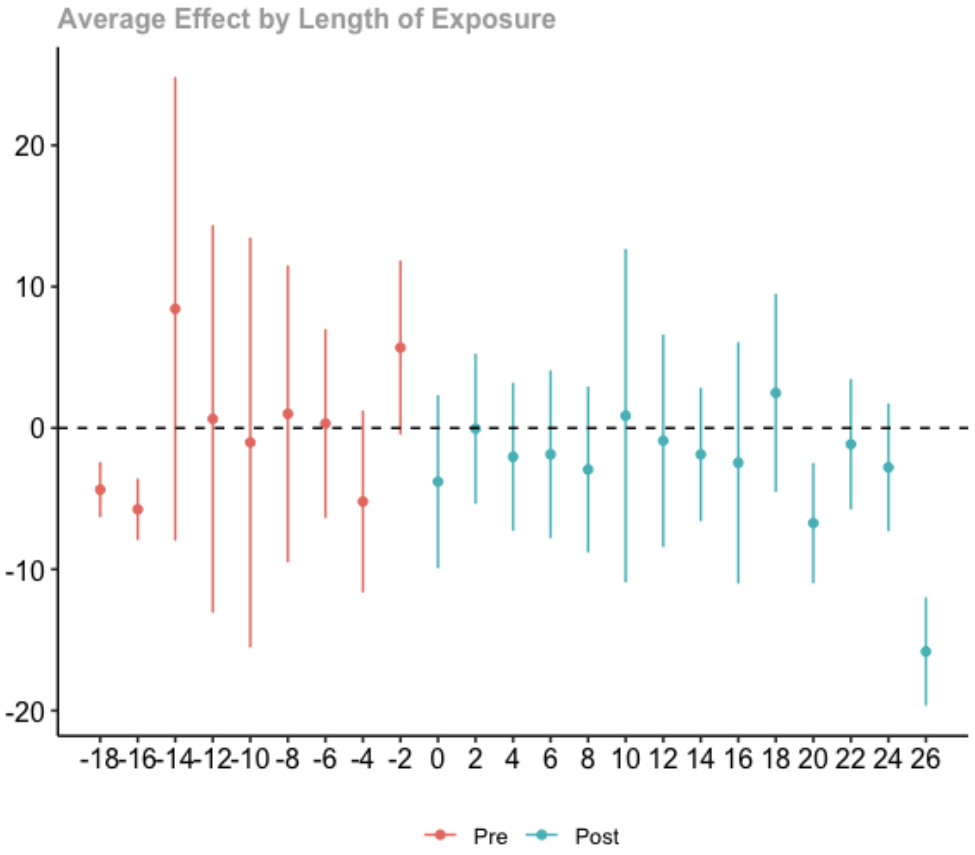
Note: Figure 37 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of Republican women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic Presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, support for women in office, and the percent of lawyers in the state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a negative and statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of Republican women state legislators 8 years after treatment, once controls are added.

FIGURE 38. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Republican Women's State Legislative Representation Grouped By Year Org. Founded



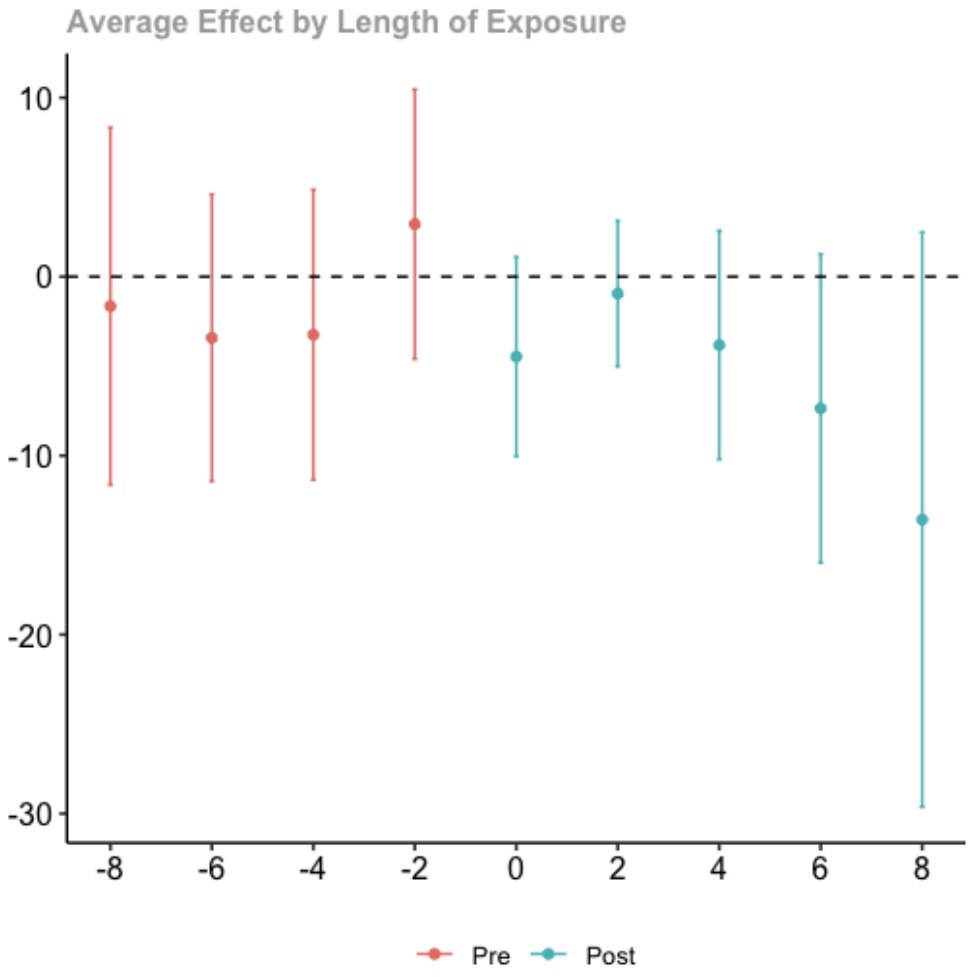
Note: Figure 38 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of Republican women state legislators, grouped by the year the WCTO was founded. Each year represents the effect of the WCTOs founded in that year on the number of Republican women state legislators in their state in following elections. Results demonstrate that organizations founded in 1994 and 2006 have a negative and statistically significant effect on the number of women state legislators, once accounting for time and state fixed-effects.

FIGURE 39. Effect of Founding of WCTO on Republican Women's State Legislative Candidates



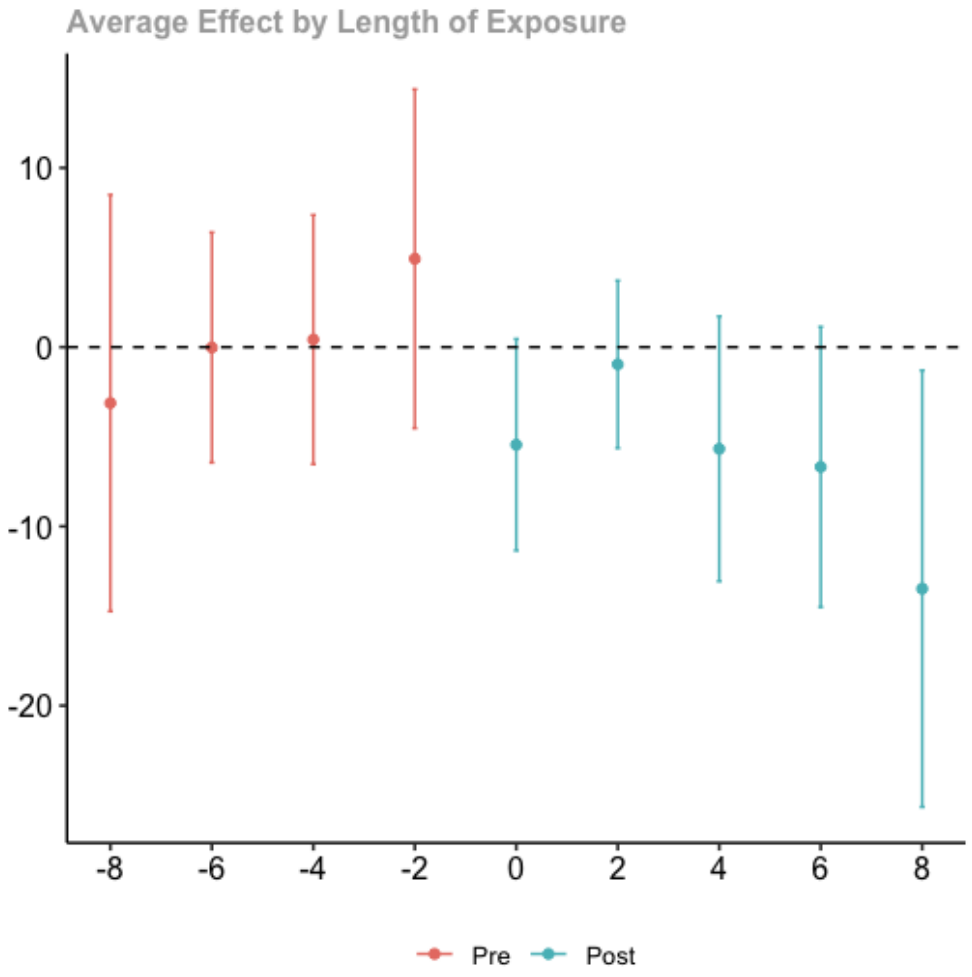
Note: Figure 39 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a right-leaning WCTO, on the number of Republican women state legislative candidates, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes state and time fixed effects. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a negative and statistically significant effect of the founding of a right-leaning WCTO on the number of Republican women state legislative candidates, but only 25 years after treatment.

FIGURE 40. Effect of Founding of WCTO with Fellowship on Women's State Legislators – with Controls



Note: Figure 40 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO with a fellowship program, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic Presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, support for women in office, and the percent of lawyers in the state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is not a statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO with a fellowship on the number of women state legislators, once controls are added.

FIGURE 41. Effect of Founding of WCTO with PAC on Women's State Legislative Candidates – with Controls



Note: Figure 41 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO with a PAC, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic Presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, support for women in office, and the percent of lawyers in the state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a negative and statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO with a PAC on the number of women state legislators 8 years after treatment, once controls are added.

TABLE 112. Effect of WCTO Founding on Women State Legislative Candidates

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	1.1682	8.4669	-15.4266 17.763
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-26	9.3333	1.9768	4.2566 14.4101 *
-24	4.0000	3.0888	-3.9324 11.9324
-22	5.6333	2.7576	-1.4487 12.7154
-20	3.1429	2.4760	-3.2160 9.5017
-18	1.0556	2.1690	-4.5148 6.6259
-16	-2.6389	2.4195	-8.8526 3.5748
-14	1.4412	3.4149	-7.3289 10.2113
-12	-3.2937	2.5615	-9.8720 3.2847
-10	4.2179	2.7824	-2.9278 11.3637
-8	0.4479	2.0617	-4.8470 5.7428
-6	-0.6354	2.1563	-6.1732 4.9024
-4	-2.0000	2.6058	-8.6921 4.6921
-2	3.7576	2.2872	-2.1163 9.6315
0	-3.6225	2.5437	-10.1551 2.9100
2	-2.0505	3.6766	-11.4925 7.3915
4	-4.7778	3.8301	-14.6140 5.0584
6	-0.5057	4.6151	-12.3580 11.3465
8	-3.2716	4.7112	-15.3706 8.8274
10	-2.6733	5.4671	-16.7137 11.3671
12	-4.0379	8.7030	-26.3884 18.3127
14	-0.1078	11.5365	-29.7353 29.5196
16	3.9231	15.2530	-35.2489 43.0950
18	-1.0208	19.4205	-50.8958 48.8541
20	7.4167	10.0076	-18.2843 33.1176
22	9.2500	11.9844	-21.5277 40.0277
24	18.0000	5.1891	4.6736 31.3264 *
26	-0.1667	16.0203	-41.3094 40.9760
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 112 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of women state legislative candidates, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes state and time fixed effects. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a positive and statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of women state legislative candidates, but only 24 years after treatment.

TABLE 113. Effect of WCTO Founding on Women State Legislative Candidates with Controls

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	-5.4947	3.2518	-11.8682 0.8787*
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-8	-8.3896	6.5092	-23.5906 6.8115
-6	-0.1118	2.5807	-6.1385 5.9150
-4	-0.6170	4.5984	-11.3557 10.1216
-2	2.0827	5.9500	-11.8124 15.9778
0	-5.9197	3.5316	-14.1671 2.3276
2	-1.3283	2.8273	-7.9309 5.2743
4	-5.9891	5.1627	-18.0456 6.0675
6	-3.3212	2.7493	-9.7416 3.0991
8	-10.9153	10.8158	-36.1734 14.3428
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 113 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of women state legislative candidates, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, public support for women candidates, and the percent of lawyers in a state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is not a statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of women state legislative candidates, once controls are added.

TABLE 114. Effect of WCTO Founding on Women State Legislative Winners

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	3.8815	1.6872	0.5747 7.1884 *
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-26	7.1667	2.7181	-0.0916 14.4250
-24	5.7917	2.0386	0.3480 11.2354 *
-22	1.9000	1.9867	-3.4051 7.2051
-20	-1.0238	1.1708	-4.1502 2.1026
-18	1.8889	1.4918	-2.0946 5.8724
-16	-0.7222	2.0798	-6.2759 4.8315
-14	0.1275	1.0400	-2.6497 2.9046
-12	-0.8968	0.9044	-3.3118 1.5181
-10	1.4038	1.5188	-2.6519 5.4595
-8	2.2500	1.7297	-2.3689 6.8689
-6	-0.7813	1.5053	-4.8009 3.2384
-4	-1.1970	1.5527	-5.3433 2.9493
-2	2.1717	1.1350	-0.8591 5.2025
0	-2.1618	1.4217	-5.9582 1.6346
2	1.0303	1.2185	-2.2235 4.2841
4	-2.5889	1.6254	-6.9292 1.7514
6	0.3908	1.7209	-4.2046 4.9862
8	1.4383	2.1602	-4.3302 7.2067
10	1.1667	2.0641	-4.3452 6.6786
12	2.1364	2.5292	-4.6175 8.8902
14	1.1863	2.6644	-5.9286 8.3011
16	5.9103	4.0867	-5.0026 16.8231
18	8.8333	4.9008	-4.2536 21.9202
20	1.8333	2.8828	-5.8649 9.5315
22	11.0000	9.3898	-14.0741 36.0741
24	12.8333	1.9768	7.5546 18.1121 *
26	11.3333	2.3063	5.1748 17.4919 *
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 114 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes state and time fixed effects. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a positive and statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of women state legislators, but only 24-25 years after treatment.

TABLE 115. Effect of WCTO Founding on Women State Legislative Winners with Controls

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	-4.3379	2.7462	-9.7205 1.0446
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-8	0.1326	2.6816	-6.2074 6.4726
-6	-1.5019	2.4222	-7.2286 4.2247
-4	-1.0584	2.6577	-7.3420 5.2252
-2	0.5033	2.4104	-5.1956 6.2022
0	-3.6954	2.3747	-9.3098 1.9190
2	0.3404	2.8899	-6.4920 7.1728
4	-2.4532	3.8723	-11.6084 6.7021
6	-3.5789	2.9174	-10.4765 3.3187
8	-12.3027	5.3606	-24.9765 0.3712
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 115 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, public support for women candidates, and the percent of lawyers in a state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is not a statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO on the number of women state legislators, once controls are added.

TABLE 116. Effect of Left-Leaning WCTO Founding on Dem Women State Legislative Winners

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	5.2344	2.2344	0.8551 9.6136*
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-26	7.0625	1.2046	3.9113 10.2137 *
-24	4.0547	2.3926	-2.2042 10.3136
-22	0.1667	1.4569	-3.6444 3.9778
-20	-1.0000	0.6486	-2.6968 0.6968
-18	-0.5240	1.1547	-3.5447 2.4967
-16	-0.6250	1.1776	-3.7055 2.4555
-14	-0.9062	1.1675	-3.9605 2.1480
-12	0.4592	1.3843	-3.1620 4.0805
-10	0.9100	1.3253	-2.5568 4.3768
-8	0.8918	1.2921	-2.4883 4.2719
-6	-1.3918	1.4118	-5.0850 2.3014
-4	-0.0481	0.8014	-2.1445 2.0484
-2	1.2837	1.3519	-2.2529 4.8202
0	-0.4038	1.5063	-4.3443 3.5366
2	1.1325	1.2524	-2.1438 4.4088
4	0.8646	1.6365	-3.4164 5.1456
6	0.2868	2.1276	-5.2788 5.8524
8	1.6917	2.2575	-4.2138 7.5971
10	0.2644	2.8376	-7.1587 7.6875
12	5.2784	2.6234	-1.5842 12.1410
14	7.1250	4.0231	-3.3993 17.6493
16	9.0417	9.0745	-14.6969 32.7802
18	27.0625	2.4961	20.5328 33.5922 *
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control:	Anticipation	Estimation Methods:	
Never Treated	Periods: 0	Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 116 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a left-leaning WCTO, on the number of Democratic women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes state and time fixed effects. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a positive and statistically significant effect of the founding of a left-leaning WCTO on the number of Democratic women state legislators, but only 18 years after treatment.

TABLE 117. Effect of Left-Leaning WCTO Founding on Dem Women State Legislative Winners with Controls

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	-0.7528	1.9904	-4.654 3.1483
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-8	-5.4302	3.5734	-13.6100 2.7496
-6	-1.6441	2.1665	-6.6035 3.3153
-4	0.1336	4.2002	-9.4811 9.7483
-2	1.3422	2.9832	-5.4865 8.1709
0	-0.9715	2.4397	-6.5561 4.6132
2	0.3206	1.9390	-4.1180 4.7591
4	-1.2657	3.1151	-8.3966 5.8651
6	-1.7781	3.8088	-10.4968 6.9406
8	-0.0695	2.5657	-5.9426 5.8036
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 117 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a left-leaning WCTO, on the number of Democratic women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, public support for women candidates, and the percent of lawyers in a state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a left-leaning WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is not a statistically significant effect of the founding of a left-leaning WCTO on the number of Democratic women state legislators, once controls are added.

TABLE 118. Effect of Right-Leaning WCTO Founding on Rep Women State Legislative Winners

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	-3.8956	1.4829	-6.8021 -0.9891 *
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-18	-0.7576	0.5255	-2.0076 0.4924
-16	-3.6061	0.6739	-5.2090 -2.0031 *
-14	1.3636	3.6269	-7.2633 9.9906
-12	1.7212	2.5720	-4.3967 7.8391
-10	-0.6111	3.0089	-7.7681 6.5459
-8	0.0985	1.7169	-3.9853 4.1822
-6	1.8977	1.4101	-1.4564 5.2518
-4	-4.8220	2.2214	-10.1057 0.4618
-2	2.9659	1.7344	-1.1595 7.0913
0	-2.6397	1.5389	-6.3001 1.0207
2	1.5657	1.3890	-1.7382 4.8695
4	-0.9428	1.7661	-5.1437 3.2582
6	-1.2088	1.6008	-5.0165 2.5989
8	-0.6599	2.3245	-6.1891 4.8693
10	0.5795	2.2341	-4.7346 5.8937
12	-2.0530	2.6036	-8.2460 4.1399
14	-2.5333	2.1643	-7.6814 2.6147
16	-1.3030	4.0098	-10.8408 8.2347
18	1.6263	3.4208	-6.5106 9.7632
20	-13.6061	1.3941	-16.9221 -10.2900 *
22	-6.4545	1.7522	-10.6223 -2.2868 *
24	-11.5455	2.3158	-17.0539 -6.0370 *
26	-15.3636	1.4540	-18.8222 -11.9051 *
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control:	Anticipation	Estimation Methods:	
Never Treated	Periods: 0	Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 118 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a right-leaning WCTO, on the number of Republican women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes state and time fixed effects. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a right-leaning WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a negative and statistically significant effect of the founding of a right-leaning WCTO on the number of Republican women state legislators, but only 20-26 years after treatment.

TABLE 119. Effect of Right-Leaning WCTO Founding on Rep Women State Legislative Winners with Controls

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	-4.6433	2.1547	-8.8664 -0.4203 *
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-6	-2.4597	1.8044	-6.6015 1.6820
-4	-0.1836	1.5113	-3.6527 3.2855
-2	3.2365	2.3285	-2.1084 8.5813
0	-3.7242	2.6518	-9.8111 2.3627
2	1.8536	1.8888	-2.4820 6.1891
4	-2.8719	3.2190	-10.2608 4.5169
6	-3.8169	2.4836	-9.5178 1.8840
8	-14.6571	1.4340	-17.9488 -11.3655 *
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control:	Anticipation	Estimation Methods:	
Never Treated	Periods: 0	Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 119 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a right-leaning WCTO, on the number of Republican women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, public support for women candidates, and the percent of lawyers in a state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a right-leaning WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a negative and statistically significant effect of the founding of a right-leaning WCTO on the number of Republican women state legislators 8 years after treatment, once controls are added.

TABLE 120. Effect of WCTO with Fellowship Founding on Women State Legislative Winners

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	5.2216	1.7008	1.8881 8.5551*
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-26	6.1667	1.5650	2.0027 10.3306 *
-24	2.6875	1.7065	-1.8531 7.2281
-22	0.5000	1.2492	-2.8238 3.8238
-20	0.5069	1.2690	-2.8694 3.8833
-18	1.8462	1.0089	-0.8382 4.5305
-16	-1.4510	1.3428	-5.0238 2.1218
-14	-0.8696	1.2647	-4.2346 2.4954
-12	-0.2404	1.6854	-4.7247 4.2439
-10	1.1265	1.6624	-3.2967 5.5498
-8	1.9626	1.7776	-2.7671 6.6924
-6	-0.4914	1.2387	-3.7872 2.8044
-4	-2.4052	1.4783	-6.3385 1.5282
-2	3.0000	1.8873	-2.0217 8.0217
0	-1.0861	1.5252	-5.1443 2.9721
2	1.3839	1.1807	-1.7575 4.5253
4	-0.2386	1.9971	-5.5523 5.0751
6	0.6865	2.2091	-5.1912 6.5642
8	3.2037	2.7387	-4.0832 10.4906
10	2.8186	2.7787	-4.5748 10.2121
12	2.4167	3.8807	-7.9089 12.7422
14	0.5357	3.1165	-7.7564 8.8278
16	5.1875	7.0424	-13.5502 23.9252
18	13.2778	6.5619	-4.1816 30.7371
20	2.4167	2.5431	-4.3497 9.1831
22	21.5833	2.7799	14.1869 28.9798 *
24	11.0000	2.3475	4.7541 17.2459 *
26	9.9167	2.9652	2.0271 17.8062 *
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 120 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO with a fellowship program, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes state and time fixed effects. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a positive and statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO with a fellowship program on the number of women state legislators, but only 22-26 years after treatment.

TABLE 121. Effect of WCTO with Fellowship Founding on Women State Legislative Winners with Controls

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	-7.8281	3.7597	-15.197 -0.4592 *
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-8	-3.2329	9.8809	-26.5610 20.0952
-6	-4.2458	7.6702	-22.3546 13.8630
-4	-3.8403	3.3672	-11.7901 4.1095
-2	3.4958	5.6060	-9.7396 16.7312
0	-4.5840	4.8919	-16.1335 6.9655
2	-2.8495	2.8475	-9.5722 3.8731
4	-7.4438	3.9724	-16.8223 1.9347
6	-11.6914	7.5609	-29.5423 6.1595
8	-12.5721	10.2713	-36.8219 11.6777
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 121 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO with a fellowship program, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, public support for women candidates, and the percent of lawyers in a state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO with a fellowship program was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is not a statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO with a fellowship program on the number of women state legislators, once controls are added.

TABLE 122. Effect of WCTO with PAC Founding on Women State Legislative Winners

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	5.3702	1.3352	2.7533 7.987 *
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-26	6.2308	1.3686	2.7080 9.7535 *
-24	3.6703	1.8407	-1.0677 8.4084
-22	0.7582	1.1884	-2.3009 3.8174
-20	-0.1966	1.0462	-2.8897 2.4965
-18	0.9231	1.1317	-1.9900 3.8361
-16	-0.3964	1.7222	-4.8295 4.0366
-14	-1.1174	1.6101	-5.2620 3.0272
-12	0.8930	1.8054	-3.7542 5.5402
-10	1.5938	1.7446	-2.8969 6.0846
-8	1.7692	1.6878	-2.5754 6.1138
-6	0.2692	1.2591	-2.9717 3.5101
-4	-2.0797	1.3779	-5.6264 1.4671
-2	4.1648	1.5381	0.2057 8.1239 *
0	-2.8488	1.5242	-6.7722 1.0746
2	0.1429	0.9368	-2.2686 2.5543
4	-1.7238	1.4243	-5.3899 1.9424
6	-1.1049	1.7147	-5.5187 3.3089
8	1.1077	2.3576	-4.9610 7.1764
10	1.5085	2.7703	-5.6224 8.6395
12	2.0865	3.1031	-5.9011 10.0742
14	2.3923	2.6696	-4.4796 9.2642
16	6.9487	4.8397	-5.5090 19.4064
18	16.3654	4.9226	3.6941 29.0367 *
20	3.4615	2.1757	-2.1388 9.0619
22	23.3846	2.1669	17.8069 28.9623 *
24	11.7692	2.0792	6.4173 17.1211 *
26	11.6923	2.2458	5.9113 17.4733 *
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 122 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO with a PAC, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes state and time fixed effects. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO with a PAC was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a positive and statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO with a PAC on the number of women state legislators, but only 18 and 22-26 years after treatment.

TABLE 123. Effect of WCTO with PAC Founding on Women State Legislative Winners – with Controls

	Overall ATT	St. Error	[95% Conf. Int.]
	-6.4492	2.2949	-10.9472 -1.9512 *
Dynamic Effects:			
Event time	Estimate	Std. Error	[95% Simult. Conf. Band]
-8	-3.1212	5.1435	-15.3784 9.1361
-6	-0.0216	2.9034	-6.9406 6.8973
-4	0.4202	2.9908	-6.7072 7.5476
-2	4.9275	3.6695	-3.8171 13.6721
0	-5.4482	2.5648	-11.5603 0.6638
2	-0.9627	2.1387	-6.0595 4.1340
4	-5.6739	3.1433	-13.1647 1.8169
6	-6.6847	3.4374	-14.8763 1.5069
8	-13.4765	3.7939	-22.5175 -4.4354 *
Signif. codes: '*' confidence band does not cover 0			
Control: Never Treated	Anticipation Periods: 0	Estimation Methods: Outcome Regression	

Note: Table 123 shows the effect of being in one of the states treated with a WCTO with a PAC, on the number of women state legislators, in the periods before and after the founding of the WCTO. This model includes not just state and time fixed effects, but also controls for Democratic presidential support, the number of open seats, legislative professionalism, public support for women candidates, and the percent of lawyers in a state that are women. Each period represents the difference between treated and controlled states X years before and after a WCTO with a PAC was founded in their state. Results demonstrate that there is a negative and statistically significant effect of the founding of a WCTO with a PAC on the number of women state legislators 8 years after treatment, once controls are added.

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