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Personal Roots of Representation: Applying Burden's Model to Female

Leaders in State Legislatures

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Departmental Honors Thesis

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Abstract

The role of women in politics is not a new concern in the United States. However, the number of women being elected into leadership positions at all levels of government is growing. Reasons for women's political drive and ambition stem from various aspects of their life. Barry Burden believes that the roots of personal representation like a representative's religion, education, and home life are important factors that drive politicians in their careers. Burden's model can be used to understand why women in leadership roles are motivated in a certain way to represent and respond to constituents. Specifically, this research studies women who are leaders in state legislatures, in both the Republican and Democratic parties. This case study analysis focuses on representatives from Arizona, Oregon, Illinois, Louisiana, and Maine because of the different political cultures each state has. Information on the legislators will come from certified campaign websites, personal websites, and Project Vote Smart. All of these sources combined will help with the understanding and analysis of Burden's model of roots or representation, as it is applied to these female legislators. The goal of this research is to analyze the application and limitations of Burden's model and to gain a better understanding of whether gender does make a difference with state legislative leaders.

Chapter I: Introduction

Female participation in politics has been a constant concern for many decades. One should know that this started when females received the right to vote in 1920 with the 19th Amendment. From there, the revolution of equality took off in the direction of gender and race. Today, statistics show that women make up between 11.1% and 41.0% of the governing body in state legislatures (“Center for American Women and Politics”).

One important question political scientists try to understand is why some states have less female representation in the state legislatures than others. It is certainly a challenge, because there are many factors that affect this outcome. One factor that this paper will be looking at is political culture, which gives people a certain outlook on politics, while incorporating organizations that help females get elected is needed for this type of research. Plus, women often have a separate set of needs and obligations, such as the need to be a mother and caregiver, which distances them from the involvement in government.

The literature on representation is almost overwhelming, where everyone believes they have a new understanding on what it means to represent and how people are represented. On the surface, political representation is defined as making the voices and opinions of the public present during the policy making process. The political actors, advocates, and leaders are speaking on behalf of the constituents. Dovi (2014) states that “political representation is a kind of political assistance.” This definition alone does not account for the complexity of representing in American politics. There are four components when talking about representation, a party that is representing, a party that is represented, something that is being represented, and the context of the representation (Dovi 2014).

Recently, Barry Burden defined representation in a new study that incorporates both quantitative and qualitative research methods. He defines representation based off of Pikiin's descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation is defined as the extent to which a representative resembles those being represented. This assesses the representative by the accuracy of the resemblance between the representative and the represented. On the other hand, substantive representation is described as the action taken on the behalf of those represented. This assesses a representative by the extent to which policy outcomes advanced by a representative serve the best interests of their constituents (Burden 2007).

In the past two decades, women have been appointed and elected into some of the highest positions in the executive and legislative branches. This historical stepping stone has opened a new window of opportunity for researchers. Political scientists try to understand and predict what drives legislators to sponsor, vote, and stand on certain issues.

Some people believe that congressmen and congresswomen have completely different agendas. Congresswomen's policy agendas are based upon topics that important to women including abortion, sexual assault, and child care. Women legislators have changed the Congress overall, especially with their leadership roles, policy agendas, and sponsorships of bills. There has also been progress women have made in leadership roles. Once women are given the opportunity to make significant impacts in the legislative body, they often will work towards a common goal all women share, which is protecting the rights of women and children and giving women more opportunities.

This is certainly an important topic, because women like Nancy Pelosi, Michelle Bachman, Condoleezza Rice, and Hilary Clinton became powerful through politics. These

female leaders paved the pathway for future women to succeed. More women leaders such as these individuals should be present in politics, especially starting at the state level.

Studies on women are especially important, because there are several different ways researchers are trying to describe, quantify, and develop theories that make men separate from women. It is hoped that the political culture is shifting into a more progressive way for the citizens, as well as the people who are being elected into office. The higher the presence of organizations that endorse females to be a part of government in a state, the more likely it is that women will participate in state politics, which changes the political culture.

Burden's model of personal roots of representation has not been applied to women's legislative behavior yet. This concept is a new perspective and explanation of women's policy agendas. What drives women legislators into sponsoring bills and voting for bills in a certain way? Do women have a different outlook than men who are in the state legislatures? Research is needed to show whether women are different than men at the state level. That is where one can research, apply, and critique Burden's model.

This is an important topic, because not been a lot of research about women in the state legislatures. Often, Congress members will begin their political career at the state level. After working at the state level for some time, legislators may move on to U.S Congress if elected. If political scientists can understand why women do what they do at a more local level, then it will be easier to analyze the larger levels of government they move onto. Once one level of government can be analyzed, the concepts can be applied elsewhere.

The research presented will apply Burden's idea of personal roots of representation. Burden's model states that it is the roots of representation, for example, religion, education, life experiences, home life, etc. that drive individuals' legislative behavior. Policy agendas are based

upon how legislators personally feel on a particular topic. Studying individual state legislators will help political scientists see what drives that person into thinking, voting, and sponsoring a certain way. Burden's model will be analyzed with recommendations and suggestions to follow, to produce even more research on personal roots of representation.

The main research question of this thesis will be, "Does Burden's roots of participation model explain women state legislators' committee?" Burden's model will be examined in an analytical case study of ten women state legislative leaders from five different states, including Illinois, Arizona, Louisiana, Oregon, and Maine. Information regarding biographical, information from each legislator will be collected. The data from each female state legislator will be interpreted and analyzed through this model.

A case study analysis will work best for this research project, because it is an in-depth study of female legislatures. Ten women in leadership positions in five different state legislatures including, Illinois, Arizona, Louisiana, Oregon, and Maine will be sampled for this case study. The number of women studied may increase or decrease depending on the amount of information gathered on each individual. Studying these women will give one a better idea of why, how, and what drove each woman to a political career. Even though this is a small n, an analysis will add more depth and context to the models that are being tested.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Women in legislative positions have evolved throughout the last fifty years or so in American history. In the past two decades, women have been appointed and elected into some of the highest positions in the executive and legislative branches. It is evident that women in the more progressive states like Arizona and Illinois have a distinct place in the legislatures, what some would call the “progressive states.” However, the southern states are the complete opposite. A very low percentage of women are involved in politics in the southern states like Louisiana. These states are stuck in the social norm, or what some political scientists would call the traditionalistic outlook on politics.

Two realms of thought were discovered in the research process. The first is a historical background, looking at and analyzing the significant events that took place in American history that politically socialized women, making it more acceptable for women to participate in state government. This is a concept similar to looking at the Civil Rights moment and stating what the important factor was in bringing racial equality in the United States. Secondly, there were models; previous research done that can be applied to the concept of women becoming more socialized into state politics.

The leadership of women has evolved over time as participants, candidates, and leaders in the political world. Han talks about the history of women and politics, at the starting point, in detail. Women did not seek legislative positions until the 1960s and 1970s, when the women’s movement was affecting the United States. The women seeking positions wanted to change the policies that pertained to them (Han 83-84). There is a specific theme to women’s goals in political leadership role that deals with women’s, family, and children issues. Since the political

movement of women, the number of women serving in state legislatures has increased at a very slow rate (Han 2007, 86).

Han's book is a broad overview of what women have done and are continuing to push for in politics as leaders. Using this book will help me in the very beginning of my thesis when explaining the importance of women as political leaders. Yet, there is too much information regarding all branches of government, and my research is aiming towards Congress, so this book would not be appropriate for all parts of my research.

Han's research can be applied to the research of how women became involved in the state legislatures. However, there are some limitations, because the concepts Han talks about are very broad over a vast number of years in American history. Plus, there are a few of cases that are mentioned, nothing too general about women overall. However, there are important cases Han looks at, such as the impact Nancy Pelosi made for women not only in politics, but for women all over the United States, as she became the first woman to be Speaker of the House (Han 2007, 92-93).

Swers states that adding women into governmental bodies increases the chances of issues important to women being talked about on the floor and in committees (Swers 2002, 129). She also finds that the diversity of women, whether they are Republicans or Democrats, is just as important as males having different concerns than women (Swers 2002, 126-127). There is a large support for women, children, and family issues when women sponsor or cosponsor a bill for one of those particular issues. Adding women into governmental bodies increases the chances of issues important to women being talked about on the floor and in committees.

Since the publication of Swers's book, women have advocated for a number of other issues at the state and national levels. Perhaps this is merely because of their roots from their

family or region. This may be scholarly research, but it seems that this research does not include recent political developments, meaning there are new findings in political science about women being involved in state politics. Also, Swers' research is repetitive; it falls into a major category in political science that is essentially overdone when it comes to researching a topic. The problem with repetition is that new findings are not as acknowledged. There needs to be an expansion of women studies in order for research findings to be significant and helpful to other researchers.

In the United States, women gradually made their voices heard through the Civil Rights movement and beyond. This historical movement made the debate known that women wanted to represent constituents in the state legislatures. Women are stated to be divided in society, a bind that was and still is hard to break. However, women in legislative positions are seen as responsible (Rosenthal 2002, 62-64). A way to look at responsibility is leadership. The women who were chosen in this study have previously been a leader or they are currently holding a leadership position as a legislator.

It is also important to note that women politicians bond with other women in their state, which makes an impact on how others perceive women in a legislative position (Rosenthal 2002, 66-67). Women certainly have different agendas than men, according to the bills they sponsor, support, and vote for in the U.S. House of Representatives. In the United States, women gradually made their voices heard through the Civil Rights movement and beyond; cultural movements shape the thought processes of Americans. Lots of research is available to the public about how women conduct themselves in the House of Representatives. My hope is to use parts of this concept, including the relation to the culture and women's behavior, but in state legislators or the U.S. Senate.

Hopefully, other women will be inspired by the examples of women in state legislative positions, increasing the number of women in elected positions. It seems that the culture shapes how Americans perceive women in state legislatures, the idea set by Elazar (1972) with his idea of political culture.

The books mentioned above are the foundation of the involvement of women, the historical background, in state legislatures, but to fully expand the analysis and recommendations for states with a lower percentage of women involved, models can be used. There is a model that has been constructed, and it has been used to see how the environmental movement occurred in America. There is a pre-movement which is where the social movement is trying very hard to make an initial move. In the early movement, people are not aware of the particular movement, so those involved are spreading the word (Gale 1986, 206-209). In the later stages, like the established and mature movements, individuals involved have to want to make an impact, because there will be significant struggles to keep people informed and motivated to support the movement (Gale 1986, 222).

His model can be applied to how women became involved in state politics. In fact, when looking at the states that have a smaller amount of women politicians, the model can be used to see exactly where the states are in terms of letting women have a more predominant role in state politics. With that said, this model can also be used to understand where the more progressive states went after, for example, the established movement stage. More research on the current status of each state will be needed in order to make this model successfully implemented into recommendations for motivating women to become more involved with politics.

Lastly, it is known that people in society are not generally aware of women's involvement in state politics. Perhaps the reason women representation is so low is because those

individuals in those states do not necessarily understand gender-related political knowledge (Sanbonmatsu 2003, 369-370). A lack of knowledge is difficult to measure, but this is a factor when trying to gather conclusions as to why women have not participated as much in the political arena as men. Perhaps in the findings, I will conclude that men will have the same outcome as women in a similar study.

The personal lives of women have effects on their representation in state and national governmental bodies, whether it is their stance on birth control, sexual assault, or other numerous public policy debates, like the author had stated. Every region in the U.S. may or may not have a specific ideology, so that is where the personal experiences of each congresswoman come into play. My research is going to use the model of how women use personal roots in their decisions on policy issues, based on the committees they are currently serving on, which is a relatively fresh and new idea on why women think the way they do in state and national governmental bodies (Burden 2007).

Burden's model in *Personal Roots of Representation* challenges the normal explanations of legislative preferences to challenges standard explanations of legislative preferences to underline the essential role of the personal lives, which effect the legislators' behavior. He believes that the personal lives that guide legislators to make decisions in their own lives transfers into their political lives also. Three cases studies of tobacco regulation, vouchers and school choice, and religion and bioethics are examined. In the conclusions, Burden finds that personal factors are more significant when the legislators are more proactive than reactive. He uses both quantitative and qualitative evidence to prove that the personal lives of policymakers is more influential than partisanship and constituency (Burden 2007).

The political socialization of women is becoming more like rampant as gender roles are diminishing in certain areas in the United States. The attitudes and behavior of women are distinct from the goals of the men involved in politics, their counter-part. In my research, I will prove that women have become more politically socialized in governmental bodies because of their personal roots and regional influence. The culture surrounding women influences their political ideology, as well as sponsorship of particular bills (Conway 2005).

What this newly conducted research does is add a new perspective to the old question on participation. This is especially important when trying to explain the reasons legislators, specifically women, become involved in certain organizations and committees. My research will add more than just another research topic to the gender and politics portion in political science, but also a new means of researching and analyzing leadership and participation at the state level. In fact, this research could be used in future research looking at all levels of government, making giving my research some external validity, as well as repeatable.

Chapter III: Methodology

This is an original case study methodology that is derived from the model made by Barry Burden on personal roots or representation. In this model, Burden gives new perspective on understanding participation and decision-making in legislatures. He specifically studied legislative decision making in tobacco industry, school vouchers, and religion. What this model specifically shows is that values, experiences, and interest become significant when legislators are proactive. Lastly, the influence of personal life is more significant than partisanship or constituency. I will use this as the basis to explain what committees women participate in at the state level (Burden 2007).

Elazar states that there are three subcultures, individualistic, moralistic and traditionalistic, that define the United States. These political cultures are based on where individuals' ancestors came from when immigrating. Each American's opinions are based upon the political culture in the area they grew up, according to Elazar's political culture model (Johnson 1976). The concept Elazar presents may or may not be relevant in 2014. This will be the foundation as to why I chose the states: Illinois, Maine, Louisiana, Oregon, and Arizona. The political culture is a part of Burden's work, and it is important to have all different types of people who have experienced vastly different things in their lives compared to other women that I am studying.

Political cultures refer to what people believe about the government, as well as how people should act towards the government. People's political cultures are comprised of their attitudes, values, and beliefs about their government and leaders in government. Elazar specifically defines political culture as, "the particular pattern of orientation to political action in

which each political system is imbedded” (Elazar 1972). Since ten different women were chosen for this thesis, they are all going to bring a different attitude and belief from their personal lives, as well as their political culture beliefs that Elazar has established in every state.

In this research, ten different women leaders will be studied in a case study analysis, which were chosen from five different states: Illinois, Maine, Louisiana, Oregon, and Arizona. As mentioned above, Elazar’s political culture plays a role in this study, since each state was chose based on the political culture of each region these five states are from. Each state is said to have regional differences, according to Elazar’s model on political culture (Johnson 1976). This will become the basis for the research analyzed in this case study. Elazar gives a foundation for Burden’s study, which is case specific, and that is another reason that the women who were chose for this case study were chose. There were very specific guidelines, such as leadership experience, that was deemed at important in this case study.

Leadership experience in this case study was based off of high leadership roles in the state, such as speaker of the house, president pro tempore, majority leader, minority leader, and caucus leader, to name a few. However, if a legislator did not have a high leadership position such as those listed, chairs of committees were considered leadership roles as a substitute. Reasoning for this definition of leadership is based on the lack of the number of women leaders in the state legislatures. If there is a small number of women participating in the state legislatures, it would make sense that there is an even smaller percentage of those women who are active leaders in their state legislatures.

The reason that there was such a small number of women studied in this case study is because it is difficult to find women leaders in state legislatures. Analyzing such a small number

of women leaders in the state legislatures shows validity, because not many women are participating in government. Women's participating in any governmental body is still very low at about 18%, according to the Center for American Women and Politics. If women are not participating in government as much as men, then the chances that these women are also leaders are very low, as well.

Of those ten women who were chosen for this case study, four are Representatives, while the remaining six are Senators. I tried my best for there to be an equal number of Representatives and Senators. Also, I studied five Republican women and five Democratic women, and again, this was to have an equal balance, or a more equally represented number of women in both political parties.

To gather information on each woman leader who is studied in this research, their personal websites used for campaigning were used as a foundation for biographical information. There, personal information, such as where each member of state legislatures was born, went to school and marital status can be found. On the legislator's websites, personal statements, as well as a place to donate to campaign funding is present. Personal websites are a great starting place, but there are also the state websites that have information regarding each legislator's district, bill sponsorship, and political history. Project Vote Smart was another website used to gather biographical information, as well as previous leadership roles, professional experience, and organizational involvement.

The three aspects that will be analyzed in this thesis are education, business and finance, and organization affiliation, based off of the information gathered through the websites mentioned above. In this case study, ultimately committee involvement is being studied through education, business and finance, and organizational affiliation. Through this comparison and

contrastive analysis, I will draw conclusions based on what is researched and founded in the biographies of these women to identify if it does indeed fit Burden's model on personal roots of representation.

An in depth analysis gives researchers a better idea of what to expect if this research was duplicated at a later time in history. Those researches could translate this case study to develop other case studies that analyze other types of government, like the federal government. I hope that the methods of this case study can be translated and used in other cases studies on not just women in state legislatures, but in other levels and branches of government. Men and political participation is another research topic that can be analyzed through this methodology, as well.

Chapter IV: Analysis

Comparing Female Leaders' Backgrounds

Representative Barbara Currie in the Illinois House was born on May 3, 1940 in La Crosse, Wisconsin. Her late husband was David. Stephen and Margaret are her two grown children. Also, Rep Currie has four grandchildren. Currently, Rep Currie lives in Chicago and represents those who live in the 25th district of Illinois¹. She was first elected on November 7, 1978 in the Democratic Party, and the most recent election she won was March 18, 2014. As leadership is a major factor in this study, Representative Currie was chosen, since she is the current Democratic Majority Leader, and she has been serving in that position since 1997².

On the other political party in the same state, there is Senator Christine Radogno. She was born on December 21, 1952 in Oak Park, IL. Senator Radogno lives in La Grange with her husband, Nunzio. She has three children³. Senator Radogno was first elected on November 5, 1996, and she recently won re-election on November 6, 2012. As a leader, Senator Radogno holds the position of Minority Leader in the Senate. In fact, she is the first woman to serve in this leadership position in the history of the state of Illinois⁴.

Kathleen Chase, a Republican Representative from Maine was born on November 11, 1950 in York Maine. She lives in Wells, Maine with her husband. Rep Chase has two children. In 2006, she was first elected to serve as a Representative of Maine, and she was most recently re-elected in 2012. An election in 2014 is the next time she will be running for re-election⁵. Her

¹ Found on <http://www.ilga.gov/house/rep.asp?MemberID=906>

² Found on https://votesmart.org/candidate/6313/barbara-currie#.U2kLa_ldXyQ

³ Found on <http://www.ilga.gov/senate/Senator.asp?MemberID=1873>

⁴ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/9515/christine-radogno#.U2kL9vldXyQ>

⁵ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/biography/57565/kathleen-chase#.U2kMlvldXyQ>

leadership role used for this thesis is Ranking Minority Member of Appropriations and Financial Affairs Committee⁶.

Also, from Maine is Linda Valentino, a Democratic Senator. She was born in 1956 in Maine. Currently, she lives in Saco, Maine with her husband. Senator Valentino has three children. Before becoming a Senator, Valentino was a State Representative for Maine from 2004 until 2012, in which year she was first elected as a Senator. An upcoming 2014 election is when she will run for the position again⁷. Senator Valentino's leadership includes previous Deputy Mayor of Saco City Council from 1979 until 1985 and Commissioner of Maine Liquor and Lottery Commission, as of right now⁸. Those were the two most relevant leadership roles used to establish her credibility.

Moving onto Louisiana, Yvonne Dorsey, and a Democratic Senator was born on August 19, 1952 in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and she resides in the same area. She has a husband and two children. Before becoming a state Senator, Dorsey was a Representative from 1993 until 2007, where she had a leadership role as the Speaker Pro Tempore in the House from 2005 until 2007⁹. She was first elected as Senator on November 17, 2007, where she also has a leadership role as she chairs the Local and Municipal Affairs Committee. Her next re-election date is set for 2015¹⁰.

Lela Alston, a Democratic Arizona State Representative was born on June 26, 1942 in Phoenix, AZ, and she still resides there. She is a divorcee with two children who are grown. Previously, Representative Alston was a senator in Arizona from 1977 until 1995. As a

⁶ Found on <http://www.maine.gov/legis/house/hsebios/chaskd.htm>

⁷ Found on <https://votesmart.org/candidate/biography/36627/linda-valentino#.U2kNIvldXyQ>

⁸ Found on <http://mainesenate.org/meet-your-senators/senator-valentino/>

⁹ Found on <http://senate.la.gov/Dorsey/biography.asp>

¹⁰ Found on https://votesmart.org/candidate/4550/yvonne-dorsey-colomb#.U2kNh_IdXyQ

Representative, Alston was elected in 2010 for the first time and was re-elected two years later¹¹. She is hoping for another re-election later in 2014. Her leadership role was a previous position from when she was a party whip and Democratic Leader in the Arizona House¹².

Senator Michele Reagan is Republican, who is also from Arizona. She was born in a different geographical location in Rockford, Illinois. Currently, she is living in Scottsdale, Arizona. She has one stepchild. Senator Reagan was an Arizona state Representative from 2002 until 2010, when she was elected state Senator for the first time. Her last re-election was in 2012. In an upcoming 2014 election, she is seeking a higher office, as Senator Reagan is running for Secretary of State¹³. Her leadership positions include Vice Chair for Commerce Energy and Military Committee and Chair of the Elections Committee as Senator. She previously held the Chair position of the Economic Development and Jobs Creation Committee, as well¹⁴.

In Oregon, Tina Kotek is a Democratic Representative. She was born on September 30, 1966 in York, Pennsylvania. Now, she lives in Portland, Oregon with her partner. In 2004, she was first elected, and has been re-elected every time she has run for state Representative¹⁵. Of the women studied in this thesis, she has the highest leadership position of Speaker of the House, next to Representative Currie, who is the Majority Leader of the House and Senator Radogno who is the Minority Leader of the Senate¹⁶.

Jackie Winters, another legislator, more specifically a Republican Senator from Oregon, was born in Topeka, Kansas on April 19, 1937. She lives in Salem Oregon. She is widowed. She

¹¹ Found on http://www.azleg.gov/MembersPage.asp?Member_ID=103&Legislature=50&Session_ID=102

¹² Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/123722/lala-alston#.U2kN8vldXyQ>

¹³ Found on <https://votesmart.org/candidate/28505/michele-reagan#.U2kOTPldXyQ>

¹⁴ Found on http://www.azleg.gov/MembersPage.asp?Member_ID=8&Legislature=50&Session_ID=102

¹⁵ Found on https://votesmart.org/candidate/46559/tina-kotek#.U2kOr_ldXyQ

¹⁶ Found on <https://www.oregonlegislature.gov/kotek/Pages/biography.aspx>

has four children and two stepchildren. Senator Winters was a state Representative from 1998 until 2002, and in that year she was elected as state senator for her district¹⁷. In the last election cycle, 2010, she was re-elected as state Senator, and the next re-election cycle is later in May of 2014. Currently, her leadership role includes Deputy Leader of the Senate. She also owns and operates her own restaurant, Jackie's Ribs¹⁸.

Comparing Education

Every legislator chosen for this analysis has some type of degree from a college or university. From Illinois, Rep Barbara Currie received her bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago, as well as a master's in political science at the University of Chicago¹⁹. Also from Illinois, Senator Christine Radogno received a master's in social work from Loyola University in Chicago²⁰.

Kathleen D. Chase, a representative from Maine, received an associate's in liberal arts from the University of Southern Maine²¹. Linda Valentino, a senator from Maine, received an associate's degree in political science from the University of Maine²².

From Louisiana, Senator Yvonne Dorsey received a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Louisiana, and she is currently working on her master's in political science at the same university. Another senator from Louisiana, Sherri Buffington attended Louisiana State University, and it is unclear what degree she received from this university.

¹⁷ Found on <https://www.oregonlegislature.gov/winters/Pages/biography.aspx>

¹⁸ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/biography/10832/jackie-winters#.U2kPQfldXyQ>

¹⁹ Found on https://votesmart.org/candidate/6313/barbara-currie#.U2kLa_ldXyQ

²⁰ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/9515/christine-radogno#.U2kL9vldXyQ>

²¹ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/9515/christine-radogno#.U2kL9vldXyQ>

²² Found on <https://votesmart.org/candidate/biography/36627/linda-valentino#.U2kNIvldXyQ>

Lela Alston, the representative from Arizona, received her bachelor's degree in home economics education from the University of Arizona, as well as a master's in child development and family relations from Arizona State University. Senator Michele Reagan, also from Arizona, received a bachelor's degree in political science from Arizona State University.

From Oregon, Senator Jackie Winters studied intergovernmental relations at Oregon University. Representative Tina Kotek, also from Oregon, received her master's degree in international studies from the University of Washington.

Female Leaders & Organizations

Representative Currie is a board member of the American Civil Liberties Union, a member of the Conference of Women Legislators, Emily's List National Organization of Women, Independent Voters of Illinois, and an advisory board member of the Harriett Harris Center Women's Christian Association. Senator Christine Radogno was previously involved with the Village of LaGrange, where she was a trustee from 1989 until 1999. Representative Kathleen Chase is involved with Senior Needs Committee of Wells, Wells Rotary Club, and Wells Chamber of Commerce. Senator Linda Valentino is member of the National Association of Legal Assistants and York County Board of Realtors. Senator Yvonne Dorsey is a member of the Mount Zion Baptist Church and the NAACP. Senator Sherri Buffington is a member of the Shreveport Chamber of Commerce, DeSoto Parish Chamber of Commerce, Southern Hills Business Association, Leadership Shreveport, as well as a member of the Grove Baptist Church and Women in the Outdoors. Representative Alston is board member of the New Life Society. Senator Michele Regan is a member of the Arizona Small Business Association, National Federation of Independent Business, Valley Presbyterian Church, and the Scottsdale Republican

Forum. Representative Tina Kotek is a member of Healthy Kids Learn Better Coalition, and ONE VOICE for Child Care Coalition. Senator Jackie Winters is a member of the Board of Directors of Yatima Group Fund, the Board of Directors of Salem Chamber of Commerce, and the South Salem Rotary Club.

Female Leaders and Business and Finance Experience

Starting with Illinois, Representative Currie believes in raising the minimum wage in the state, which shows that there is something she sees there that can help businesses to pay their employees more. While Senator Radogno believes in debt responsibility, meaning people would have to pay back their loans and not take too much money out of the bank, which can hurt businesses in the end.

In Maine, Representative Chase is a very avid business owner, as she is involved with Chases' Convenience Store and Chase and Hamlyn Mineral Extraction. Previously, she was a tax assessor, showing that she has expertise in the area of finance. Since 1976, Senator Valentino has been a stock broker, showing that she can juggle being a legislator and emerged in business. As a state Representative, she served on the Taxation Committee.

In Louisiana, Senator Dorsey is a part of the Revenue and Fiscal Affairs, and that is the extent of her reach in the business and finance world. On the other hand, Senator Buffington is part of the Southern Hills Business Association, showing that she cares for the businesses in her area. Also, she is currently a managing partner of a family owned rental business, showing that she has expertise in the field of business and finance.

Unlike Senator Buffington, Representative Alston has no experience in the business and finance world. However, Senator Reagan is a member of the Arizona Small Business

Association and National Federation of the Independent Business, showing that her involvement in these organizations have been for making the financial and business situation better in her eyes.

Lastly, in Oregon, Speaker Kotek has no former involvement in the business and finance world. Senator Winters makes up for Speaker Kotek's lack of business experience, since she owns and operates a business of her own called Jackie's Ribs.

Chapter V: Conclusion

This research aims to explore whether personal factors appear to be related to the committees on which women state leaders serve. The results of the case study analysis were mixed. Representative Currie is on the Revenue and Finance Committee, the Income Tax Subcommittee, and she is the chair of the Rules Committee.²³ Her education does not have a direct linkage as to why she is sitting on these certain committees. One minute linkage one could make is that since she has a political science degree, she has to understand the importance of the Rules Committee in a legislature. There is also not a direct link on the organizations she participates in that would lead researchers to believe that this helps with committee selection, because most of the committees Representative Currie is a part of are gender or city related. Her little involvement in business and finance does not help link why she is on a certain committee. Burden's model for personal roots of representation did not apply to committee section, as this was the research question for this thesis.

Senator Radogno is on the Whole Committee and the Executive Committee.²⁴ Much like Representative Currie, Senator Radogno's committee placement is not affected by her education, considering neither committee deals with social work. The only known organization Senator Radogno participated in was the Village of LaGrange where she was a trustee. This does not show a direct link between organization involvement and committee selection. Although Senator Radogno believes in debt responsibility, this was not enough to see a link between her business and finance background and a committee seat. Burden's model did not apply to committee selection for Senator Radogno either.

²³ Found on https://votesmart.org/candidate/6313/barbara-currie#.U2kLa_ldXyQ

²⁴ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/9515/christine-radogno#.U2kL9vldXyQ>

In Maine, Representative Chase sits as a ranking minority member of the Appropriations and Financial Affairs Committee.²⁵ Her education does not influence this committee selection, since she only received an associate's degree in liberal arts. However, her participation in business and finance does have a linkage between her personal experiences allowing her to sit on a certain committee. However, Representative Chase's organization involvement does not show a link in why she is on the Appropriations and Financial Affairs Committee. Unlike the previous female legislators, one of the three aspects analyzed in this thesis found that Representative Chase's personal life aligned with committee selection due to her involvement in business and finance previous to leadership in Maine's state legislature.

Another legislator from Maine, Senator Valentino, sits on the Judiciary Committee where she is the chair, as well as the Transportation Committee.²⁶ Her educational background somewhat links her personal roots to her committee selection, solely based on her political science studies in college. We do not know whether or not she studied law that would lead her to become a member of the Judiciary Committee. Senator Valentino's involvement in business and finance does not have a link, much like the other women in this study, because she is not on a finance or tax committee in Maine's state senate. Being a member of the National Association of Legal Assistants could lead one to believe that she became involved with the Judiciary Committee. Personal roots of representation fit Senator Valentino's personal life only in the organization aspect that was analyzed.

Louisiana's own Senator Dorsey serves on many committees, including Health and Welfare Committee, Joint Legislative Committee, Judiciary Committee, Local and Municipal

²⁵ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/biography/57565/kathleen-chase#.U2kMlvldXyQ>

²⁶ Found on <https://votesmart.org/candidate/biography/36627/linda-valentino#.U2kNlvldXyQ>

Affairs Committee, where she is the chair, Revenue and Fiscal Affairs Committee, Select Women and Children Committee.²⁷ Her degree in political science does not directly link her personal roots to her committee involvement. Senator Dorsey's involvement in business does not show committee involvement either, considering the Fiscal Affairs Committee is the only business involvement she does have. Finally, her participation in organizations does not link to committee selection either. Barry Burden's model, once again, does not fit with Senator Dorsey's personal roots.

Senator Sherri Buffington sits on several committees like Senator Dorsey, which are Budget Committee, Environmental Quality Committee, Finance Committee, Health and Welfare Committee, Selected Homeland Security Committee, which she is the chair of, and Select Women and Children Committee, which she is the vice chair of.²⁸ Since it is not known what Senator Buffington studied in college, we cannot make a connection with her committee involvement. Senator Buffington has a direct link to her business involvement and committee involvement based on being a managing partner of a family owned rental business and involvement in the Finance and Budget Committees. Her organizational involvement does have a direct link, considering she is involved with the Southern Hills Business Association, which could lead one to believe that is why she is involved in the Finance and Budget Committees. Burden's model has proved to work well in Senator Buffington's case nicely, showing that business and finance and organization involvement are important aspects.

Representative Alston from Arizona is on the Appropriations Committee, Financial Institutions Committee, Higher Education and Workforce Development Committee, and Joint

²⁷ Found on https://votesmart.org/candidate/4550/yvonne-dorsey-colomb#.U2kNh_IdXyQ

²⁸ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/biography/35537/sherri-buffington#.U3UnvldXyQ>

Legislative Budget Committee.²⁹ Her education links her personal life to her committee involvement, as she sits on the Higher Education and Workforce Development Committee. However, there is not link to her business and finance involvement and committee involvement, considering she does not have previous experience with business or finance, other than her committee seat for the Joint Legislative Budget Committee. Representative Alston's organization involvement does not have a link to personal roots to committee selection. Two of the three aspects analyzed in this thesis showed that the personal roots model worked very well for Representative Alston's personal life.

Senator Reagan, also from Arizona, is the vice chair for the Commerce Energy and Military Committee, as well the chair of the Elections Committee, and a member of the Finance Committee.³⁰ Her education does not give a reason as to why she is on these committees. The combination of Senator Reagan's organization and business involvement shows a direct linkage to the reason she is on the Finance Committee. She is a part of the Small Business Association and National Federation of Independent Business. Like her Arizona legislative counterpart, Senator Reagan shows to of the three aspects that link her personal live to committee selection.

In Oregon, Speaker Kotek is a co-chair to the Legislative Administration Committee and Legislative Counsel Committee.³¹ Her degree in religious studies and international studies do not show a direct link to committee selection. Speaker Kotek's lack of involvement in business and finance do not matter in this case, because she is not on a committee that deals with business or finance. Lastly, her organization involvement may help the children and the health of the children, but there is no reason to believe that her organization involvement is going to affect her

²⁹ Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/123722/lela-alston#.U2kN8vldXyQ>

³⁰ Found on <https://votesmart.org/candidate/28505/michele-reagan#.U2kOTPldXyQ>

³¹ Found on https://votesmart.org/candidate/46559/tina-kotek#.U2kOr_ldXyQ

committee selection. All of Speaker Kotek's personal roots did not show a link to committee selection.

The last legislator, Senator Winters from Oregon, sits as the co-chair of the Public Safety Committee and a member of the Ways and Means Committee.³² Her college degree in intergovernmental relations may reflect her decision to be a member of the Ways and Means Committee, but one cannot conclude that this is the only reason she is on this committee. It is also true that her business and finance involvement may be interesting, but it does not show a direct link to committee involvement. The membership in organizations does not have a link to committee selection, either. Like her Oregon counterpart, Burden's model does not fit into Senator Winters' committee selection.

Though Burden's model does not fit most of the time for this particular thesis, the research created is, in fact, notable research. Anything that is researched can be used to benefit other researchers in the future. The problem that occurred in this research was simply the definition of leadership, as well the personal lives of each legislator. Researchers have to take into account other factors such as party.

Limitations such as the information might not be accurate or missing on Project Vote Smart. For example, Senator Buffington's place of birth and current town are missing on her Project Vote Smart page. In fact there was some vague information on her state website as well. It is important that researchers can have access to biographical and personal information, since face to face interviews, as well as observational research is no longer possible.

³² Found on <http://votesmart.org/candidate/biography/10832/jackie-winters#.U2kPQfldXyQ>

Another interesting finding that may have affected the results relates to the women who have moved from one state to another. Perhaps the women that were chosen from this were not representative of the political culture for each of their states. A question that arises with this difficulty is how can I measure the differences in political culture from one female legislator to the next based on the basic information I have? Perhaps this could be another research topic looking at the changes of political culture, as well as the movement of people from one political culture to another. What are the effects on participation in cases such as this?

Problems included not defining leader in a way that would be necessary to understand the females a lot better, for example, some of the women were leaders previously or in a smaller section, such as a committee chair or a township. This may have caused some flaws in the conclusions that were drawn in this case study analysis. Long term experience as a leader may be the solution to this, however, we see that females are not as involved as men in politics, so the chances of females becoming leaders is very low, so that is why I had to use such an obscure way of measuring leadership for women at the state level.

The number of leaders, especially females, is so low, and this is why women in this case study had to have very obscure and almost non leader roles that researches do not normally think about in a "typical" leadership role. Future research could look at the show horse and race horse principles in female leadership. Yet again, this would cause a great deal of find the women who are actually in an important leadership role. Perhaps I need to make an index that tells exactly the factors I chose to have a female leader in my studies in the future.

Also, the fact that I look at both the House and Senate may have had an effect on the outcome of this study. Usually, researchers focus on one chamber or the other. As mentioned

before, I looked at both the House and the Senate in state legislature across the United States, because there is such low representation and an even lower leadership level in females across the board. If I had to do this thesis over again, I would have not changed the women I chose, simply because of the issue of finding female leaders in the state legislatures. Also, this makes for great comparisons when looking at two different chambers.

If time was not a factor I could have looked at bill sponsorship in addition to the committee. Perhaps this could be a master thesis topic that I could accomplish in the future, as I will be attending graduate school following my graduation at Eastern.

There could be other case studies similar to the one I conducted for my undergraduate thesis projects, such as ones that are done on women with long term leadership in the house. Another study of this same topic but in the house could be done. The idea of my research is to create a layer that could add more layers to the story about women leadership and how it has progressed. Adding layers is adding more to the story. I feel as though if you do not know the story that is being written in history about women then you will not be able to use this research to benefit society as a whole. We have to personally know, in the sense that I have use project vote smart to analyze these people without actually knowing who they are Since women like Hilary Clinton, Condoleezza Rice, and Sarah Palin made an impact on the female role in government, women are striving to serve as they gave served, and if this continues, then women will be able to have more leadership in all levels of government.

Future implications of Burden's model include doing something on age and gender playing a role in the personal roots of representation. Perhaps different generations have something different and more personal that they can give to the local, state, and federal

governments that no one else can. However, it will have to be several decades to do a study like this, since it seems as though there are only a couple of generations that are present in the. Burden's model could also be applied to men with a case study like the one I developed, because to do something on age, gender, and personal roots of representation. Is there a generational difference among to women who were involved in a case study? Maybe there could even be regression data outputs conducted based on this notion of there being a generational difference based on the roots of representation.

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