



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Youth on the Margins and Girls on the Edge:
A study of youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in
political organisational participation in the UK

Katherine A. Smith

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Politics and International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Sheffield

June 2020

Abstract

In recent years, there have been a number of reasons for negativity surrounding youth political participation in the UK; from the portrayal of young people as a ‘snowflake generation’ to concerns surrounding a ‘crisis in democracy’ regarding rates of youth participation. However, there are also many more reasons for optimism, with growing youth participation in a range of political organisations in the UK, including within political parties, environmental and feminist groups. While any improvements in youth political participation should be celebrated; indeed participatory equality “is at the core of the democratic ideal” (Marien et al, 2010: 189); it is important that research pays attention to both youth-derived inequalities and to inequalities *among* young people. Previous research indicates that young people experience inequalities in political organisations, derived both from their youth, and from other axes of inequality. This study analyses both youth-derived inequalities and gender-derived inequalities in UK political organisational participation. Using a sequential mixed-methods approach of 28 qualitative interviews with young people who participate in political organisations and a quantitative analysis of survey data (N=3,018 for the UK, with booster sample for ages 18–34), this study sheds light on an under-researched area of political participatory inequalities of both youth and gender, with specific focus upon political organisations. Its focus upon the demand-side characteristics of individuals and the supply-side features of political organisations, aims to elucidate processes that underpin both youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities. This thesis argues that youth, while not often recognised as such, is a distinct axis of inequality which influences political organisational participation. Nevertheless, young people are not a homogenous group and political organisational participation is also unevenly distributed along gendered lines. Therefore, any studies of youth inequalities in political participation must consider not only youth-derived age-based inequalities, but also further axes of inequality among young people.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, this research would not have been possible without the research participants who kindly gave their time to share their insights, thoughts and personal experiences, and to everyone who assisted in the 'snowballing' process. I am very grateful to you all.

I am deeply grateful to my primary supervisor, Professor Maria Grasso, for her invaluable academic and pastoral advice. Thank you for your constant encouragement, motivation and positivity which has been so important in helping me throughout the PhD process. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my secondary supervisor, Dr Liam Stanley, for his valuable and constructive suggestions since the beginning of the project, and his advice on the academic journey. In the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Sheffield, the support of the wider department has assisted my research greatly. I am fortunate to be part of an incredible community of early career researchers whose support has been such a big part of this process. Thank you to everyone for your friendship, encouragement and support.

This research forms part of the Horizon 2020 funded research project EURYKA, who provided the funding for this project. I have really enjoyed the opportunity to work with colleagues across the whole consortium of nine universities, which has been an informative experience. Thank you to colleagues for your ideas, support and encouragement throughout the project.

A special thank you to colleagues in the Political Studies Association (PSA) specialist group on Young People's Politics. Working together on this research group has not only expanded my knowledge and networks, but regularly demonstrated how an accessible academic environment can be achieved. Thank you to you all.

Finally, and most importantly, to Javi and my family for your constant support throughout the whole process. You will be glad to know that the thesis has been completed.

Contents

List of Tables	5
List of Figures	6
Chapter 1: Introduction	7
1.1 Context of the Study	8
1.2 Research Questions	14
1.3 Findings and Original Contributions	15
1.4 Structure of the Thesis	19
Chapter 2: Literature Review	22
2.1 Defining Concepts	22
2.2 The Demand and Supply Model	26
2.3 The Role of Inequalities	29
2.4 Conclusion	46
Chapter 3: Methodology	48
3.1 Rationale for Mixed Methods Research	48
3.2 Qualitative Interview Methods	52
3.3 Quantitative Data Analysis	65
3.4 Conclusion	71
Chapter 4: Descriptive Cross-Repertoire Inequalities in Youth and Gendered Political Organisational Participation	73
4.1 Introduction	73
4.2 Descriptive Cross-Repertoire Youth Inequalities	74
4.3 Descriptive Cross-Repertoire Gender Inequalities Among Young People	81
4.4 Conclusion	86

Chapter 5: Explanatory Inequalities in Youth Political Organisational Participation	89
5.1 Young People’s Experiences of the Organisation: The Supply Side	90
5.2 Characteristics of Young People participating in Political Organisations: The Demand Side	103
5.3 Responses to Youth-Derived Inequalities in Political Organisational Participation	109
5.4 Conclusion	114
Chapter 6: Explanatory Gender-Derived Inequalities in Youth Political Organisational Participation	118
6.1 Gendered Experiences of the Organisation: The Supply Side	119
6.2 Gendered Characteristics of Young People Participating in Political Organisations: The Demand Side	134
6.3 Responses to Gendered and Youth-Derived Inequalities in Political Organisational Participation	140
6.4 Conclusion	147
Chapter 7: Quantitative Analysis of Youth-Derived and Gendered Inequalities in Political Organisational Participation	151
7.1 Introduction	151
7.2 Hypotheses and their Derivation from Sequential Mixed Methods Research Design	152
7.3 Findings	156
7.4 Conclusion	174
Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion	179
8.1 Returning to the Research Questions: Summary and Data Integration	179
8.2 Major Findings and Links to Wider Implications	196
8.3 Original Contributions of this Study	207
8.4 Suggestions for Future Research	209
Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet	212
Appendix B: Informed Consent Form for Participants	214
Reference List	215

List of Tables

Table 3.1	Political Organisations in Interview Participant Sample Recruitment	56
Table 3.2	Interview Participants' Demographic Characteristics	58
Table 3.3	Concepts, Variables and Corresponding Questions from EURYKA Survey	67
Table 7.1	Internal Political Efficacy by Age Group among Members of Political Organisations	157
Table 7.2	Internal Political Efficacy by Age Group among Members of the Total Population	158
Table 7.3	Internal Political Efficacy by Gender among Young Members of Political Organisations	160
Table 7.4	Speaking about Politics with Family in Childhood by Gender among the Population of Young People (18–34)	161
Table 7.5	Speaking about Politics with Family in Childhood by Gender among Young Members of Political Organisations (18–34)	162
Table 7.6	Political Organisation Meeting Attendance by Age Group among the General Population and Members of Political Organisations	163
Table 7.7	Political Organisation Meeting Attendance by Gender among Young Members of Political Organisations (18–34)	165
Table 7.8	Political Organisation and Form of Participation by Age Group	166
Table 7.9	Political Organisational and Form of Participation by Gender among Respondents aged 18–34	168
Table 7.10	Logistic Regression of Environmental Organisation Membership	171
Table 7.11	Logistic Regression of Political Party Membership	171
Table 7.12	Logistic Regression of Environmental Organisation Volunteering	172
Table 7.13	Logistic Regression of Political Party Volunteering	173

List of Figures

Figure 5.1	The Supply Side: Processes of Youth Marginalisation in Political Organisations	102
Figure 5.2	The Interaction of the Demand and the Supply Side: Processes of Gendered Youth Marginalisation in Political Organisations	108
Figure 6.1	The Supply Side: Processes of Gendered Youth Marginalisation in Political Organisations	133
Figure 6.2	The Interaction of the Demand and the Supply Side: Processes of Gendered Youth Marginalisation in Political Organisations	139
Figure 8.1	Reinforcing Forms of Marginalisation on the Supply Side, relating to Youth and Gender	192
Figure 8.2	The Interaction of Demand-side and Supply-side Themes of Marginalisation, Relating to Youth and Gender	193

1. Introduction

The study of any form of inequality in political participation, while intuitively an issue of social justice, is fundamental to the effective functioning of democratic systems: as Marien et al (2010) outline, equality “is at the core of the democratic ideal” (2010: 189). Nevertheless, this requires attention to (in)equalities according to multiple attributes (or axes) of inequality, including the inclusion of young people¹ and gendered participants across a range of different forms of political participation, since both axes of inequality have been associated with disadvantages in political participation, and often subsequently lower rates of participation (Furlong and Cartmel, 2012; Earl, 2018; Gordon and Taft, 2011; Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010; Morales, 2009). Furthermore, the present UK context provides significant motivation to study youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political participation, as this chapter will outline, including until relatively recently having some of the highest rates of political membership decline (Faucher, 2015) and some of the lowest rates of youth political participation in Europe (Kitanova, 2019), both compared to other countries and in terms of the gap between young people and older people (Sloam, 2016). However, more recently, the UK has shown signs of greater increases in youth political organisational participation, in a trend contrary to many other developed democracies (Pickard, 2017). This study focusses specifically on participation within political organisations and the inequalities in participation in these spaces which derive from characteristics of youth and gender, using both recent qualitative interview data and quantitative survey data from the United Kingdom.

While age-based, youth-derived inequalities are not widely acknowledged (Earl, 2018), this study provides examples of numerous ways in which young people experience marginalisation from political organisations. Furthermore, through exploring accounts of gender-based marginalisation, it shows how experiences of inequality are not distributed equally *among* young people. This study, therefore, makes the case that both an understanding of youth as a distinct axis of inequality, and of how this interacts with further axes of inequality, are important to research of inequalities in political participation. The aim of this chapter is firstly to place the study in its context, both in international debates surrounding inequalities in youth participation, and in the specific context of the UK.

¹ In this study, young people are defined as people between the age of 18–34. For an in-depth exploration of youth as a contested concept, see Chapter 2 (Literature Review).

Following this, it states the research questions and hypotheses of the study, before outlining the key findings and overall structure of the thesis.

1.1 Context of the Study

“The Youth of Today”: Changing Perspectives on Young People

Since the popularisation of the term ‘millennial generation’ in the United Kingdom in the early 2010s– a term largely recognised to have been coined in the USA by Strauss and Howe (1992) to refer to people due to come of age around the turn of the millennium– there has been a high degree of pejorative representation of young people in the public sphere, with characterisations as lazy or a ‘snowflake generation’ (Fisher, 2019), and at times stigmatised for the growing rates of mental health issues (Haslam-Ormerod, 2019). High profile examples include comments about young people’s failure to achieve home ownership– as a marker of adulthood– due to purchasing ‘too much avocado on toast’ (Levin, 2017), as well as the British Army’s infamous 2019 recruitment campaign which referred to young people as ‘phone zombies’, ‘selfie addicts’ and ‘me me me millennials’ (Mettler, 2019). Nevertheless, the stigmatisation of young people is not an entirely new phenomenon, with young people the subject of moral panics since the emergence of a youth culture in the mid twentieth century, with such panics referring to youth culture, violence and behaviour, which was routinely reproduced in the media sphere (Toivonen, 2013). While historically not a new phenomenon, a new wave of stigmatisation has arguably emerged since the economic crisis of 2008 and the subsequent post-2010 programme of UK Government austerity; implications of the struggling economy and cuts to public services on young people’s behaviour and values in response to their lesser employment prospects, slower workplace progression, higher education fees, high cost of living and worsening mental health, are among a range of subjects on which millennials have been criticised (Fisher, 2019). Furthermore, young women face no better representation in the public sphere than young people more generally; a recent study using political claims analysis found that young women rarely speak in the traditional press about their own political interests, and that press coverage mostly relates to discussion surrounding young women’s bodies, either in terms of their health or of sexual assault (Smith and Holecz, 2020).

Empirical evidence on young people’s standard of living would nevertheless suggest that stereotypes associated with young people are unwarranted, and that young people have

become increasingly materially disadvantaged over the period since the economic crisis of 2008; a recent report by the Resolution Foundation in 2017 found that in the UK, inequality in standard of living (according to non-housing expenditure) diverged between groups aged 25–34 and 44–64 from a position of relative equality in 2001, to a position in 2014 whereby 25–34s spent 15% less on non-housing items than 55–64s (Hirsch et al, 2017). With regards to gender, evidence indicates that gender equality has been significantly impacted by the global economic crisis (UN, 2012) with women most heavily affected by the UK Government’s post-2010 programme of austerity (MacDonald, 2018). The impact of austerity on UK policy for young people has also been assessed by an integrated study from the EURYKA research project which crossnationally compared national policies influencing the participation and inclusion of young people across Europe. This report indicated that the UK performed less favourably to other countries in the areas of education inclusion, youth housing and youth employment, citing especially UK Government policies of increasing higher education tuition fees and reduced rates of minimum wage and out of work benefits for under 25s compared to older age groups (EURYKA, 2017).

While perspectives on young people are certainly context-dependent, historical moral panics remind us that youth stigmatisation is nothing new, and recent examples demonstrate somewhat unfair or arbitrary attributions of blame to a group who are increasingly disadvantaged. Indeed, as this chapter will next explore, in the context of concerns surrounding a ‘crisis’ in democracy and the attribution of blame to youth for their participation decline, there are a broader set of factors at work.

A ‘Crisis in Democracy’?

Until relatively recently, academics and policy makers alike were broadly concerned with discussing the existence of a ‘crisis of democracy’ in young people’s participation in politics (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007) particularly in relation to conventional electoral repertoires (Fieldhouse et al, 2007), or indeed with developing counterarguments to these claims. Much scholarship reflected the widely cited thesis of Robert Putnam (2000) of a long-term decline in political organisation participation whereby mass-membership organisations are characterised as having been transformed into professionalised groups, more interested in donations than in active volunteering, as people retreat from associational life (Marien et al, 2010). Furthermore, the 2001 general election in the UK was a turning point in the recognition of low levels of political participation (in electoral terms); an overall turnout of

59.4% and an approximate turnout of 40% among 18–24s (House of Commons, 2017) was recognised as an 80-year low; indeed the propensity of young age groups to state that they would be unwilling to vote had been cited in the Crick Report to government (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998) which recommended the introduction of citizenship education in UK schools. In relation to political parties, there had been a long-standing concern for the rate of party membership decline on a European level, with the UK one among many countries experiencing a sharp decline, amounting to a 68% decrease in party membership between 1998–2008 (Faucher, 2015). Data over this period of decline also indicated that party memberships continued to have a higher age profile than the general population, thus indicating low rates of youth participation (Scarrow and Gezgor, 2018) and providing evidence for a subsequent concern about low rates of youth political party participation among scholars; indeed Sloam’s (2013) study indicated that across 15 European countries, only 3.4% of young people worked for a political party or action group. A similarly stark trend of decline was observed within UK trade unions, with a negative impact of labour market changes in the 1980s and 1990s upon trade union membership (Checchi and Visser, 2005); consequently membership for younger age groups dropped significantly in subsequent years, with trade union membership for 20–24 year olds halving between 1995–2018 (BEIS, 2019).

Nevertheless, as each of these strands of the ‘crisis’ indicates, while trends among younger age groups were certainly more pronounced, there are close links between trends in youth participation and population-wide trends (for example in lower electoral turnout or in lower rates of organisational membership). This would suggest that these are much bigger than issues solely associated with youth. Just as Putnam (2000) made the case that the decline in associational participation stemmed from long term change to society whereby individuals are increasingly disconnected from social networks and democratic institutions, scholars have identified the role of bigger societal-wide processes that can be linked to declined rates of political participation. Stoker (2011), for example, outlines the role of ‘anti-politics’—consistently negative views about politics manifested in a sense of powerlessness and distrust in the political process—in the decline in political participation. Others have cited this long-term decline in political trust as a separate factor in its own right in posing a risk to sustaining democratic systems (Chevalier, 2019). Colin Hay’s (2007) text *Why we hate politics* outlines the phenomenon of depoliticisation which links strongly to debates about declining political participation. Depoliticisation is a process whereby political issues formerly the subject of

scrutiny and deliberation in government and the public sphere are demoted across spheres of increasingly less democratic influence (ibid). With fewer political issues available for contestation, a lower sense of external political efficacy and a greater distrust in politics would be expected. Hay also makes a link between depoliticisation and (among many processes) the international growth of the neoliberal economic paradigm, with reference to how neoliberalism has to a large extent depoliticised economic decision making among governments (Hay, 2007). While no one theory can fully explain the dynamics underlying any trend of decline in political participation, a variety of explanations point to the role of much broader societal trends than any analysis would suggest which simply analyses declining youth participation through a blaming lens.

An Optimistic Turn?

However, in recent years increasing evidence to counter previous notions of a decline in youth political participation has diverted discussion away from notions of a ‘crisis of democracy’ (Furlong and Cartmel, 2012) in the UK. While indeed overall levels of political trust remain low (Ipsos MORI, 2019), events such as the increased participation of younger age groups in the UK general election of 2017– coined as ‘youthquake 2017’ (Sloam and Henn, 2019)– and trends of increased engagement in political organisations such as political parties and environmental movements have recently presented a more optimistic picture of political participation among young people, as well as among the general population. Firstly, the 2017 general election is recognised to have produced an increase in participation among younger voters; while turnout rates according to age are contested (BES, 2018), Sloam and Henn (2019) make the case that a ‘youthquake’ indeed took place, citing an 15% increase among 18–24 turnout between the 2015 and 2017 general elections, and a large role of left-wing support among young voters (ibid). In recent years, political parties in the UK have also witnessed an upsurge in membership, in particular for young members (Rainsford, 2017), bucking the crossnational European trend of youth party membership decline. This has been attributed to factors including the role of party-based movements such as Momentum (Pickard, 2017). The relationship between young people and trade unions has also witnessed a change, if not a full reversal of decline, with recent figures showing an upturn in trade union memberships for younger age groups (BEIS, 2019) as well as high-profile campaigns such as the UK trade union UNISON naming 2019 ‘The Year of Young Workers’ (UNISON, 2019). While not all political organisations release membership figures, other examples which indicate increases in organisational participation on issues commonly associated with

youth include a range of women's organisations emerging from fourth wave feminism, and the emergence of environmental organisations with large youth memberships such as Extinction Rebellion.

Recent surges, while arguably attributable to grievances on salient youth issues including the environment, precarity, austerity and generational inequalities, have also crucially coincided with key internal changes within political organisations in the UK. For the Labour Party, increases in youth membership coincided with a change to Labour Party policy enacted in 2014 by the then leader Ed Miliband. This policy change allowed for members of the public to sign up as registered or affiliated supporters of the organisation (as a reduced more preliminary commitment than full membership) and receive voting rights in the party leadership election. In the subsequent year, this culminated in the near tripling (Mason, 2015) of people eligible to vote in the Labour leadership contest which occurred following Labour's defeat in the 2015 general election. The subsequent election of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Labour Party with 59.5% of votes in the first round, was a highly unexpected disruption to the status quo, and was attributed in part to the party having previously misjudged the political views of young people in the UK (Mason, 2015). While Corbyn stood down following Labour's defeat in the 2019 general election after four years of leadership, arguably his time as leader largely impacted upon the party, including an influence upon relatively higher rates of party membership among young people.

While precise membership data on the proportion of young people participating across the wide range of different UK political organisations may be challenging to gather, the events of the past five years have certainly sought to shift the terms of the debate, in particular reversing any perception of young people as lacking or absent from political participation, more generally, as well as within political organisations, more specifically. Nevertheless, news stories regarding participation within political organisations over this period have not all been positive, and recent high-profile events have reminded us of the inequalities within in political organisation spaces.

Inequalities Among Young People

While undeniably there has been an optimistic turn in the literature, relating to young people's political organisational participation, as well as youth political participation more generally, it is important that any analysis should recognise that young people are not a

homogenous group and that they will experience inequalities in their political participation along multiple axes of inequality (Elliot et al, 2017). Gender inequalities, as one such axis of inequality, is a theme which has increasingly come to light in recent high-profile scandals. These have reminded us of the inequalities that exist and persist within political organisations in the UK, with numerous examples each adding further to evidence of their basis in the structure and culture of organisations, rather than as isolated incidents. While reports within UK political parties relating to anti-Semitism and islamophobia are indicative of an ongoing marginalisation of groups on the basis of racism and religion more broadly within a wide range of political organisations, equally high-profile scandals regarding incidents of sexual harassment occurred within all established political parties in the UK in the period between 2012–2019. Since a large majority of the survivors were female, this indicates the existence of both marginalisation and violence against women. In the wake of the #metoo movement, several senior and high-profile members of the UK Conservative Party were accused of sexual harassment within party-political contexts, leading to an introduction of a binding code of conduct for members including measures against sexual harassment. Many incidents of sexual harassment in the Labour Party, both reported publicly and published anonymously through the ‘LabourToo’ project were also revealed in this period, leading to a renewed sexual harassment policy in 2019 with the introduction of independent specialists to their complaints procedure. While high profile scandals regarding development and human rights organisations, have rightly focussed upon the abuse from employees of people in the global south, other examples have included internal sexual harassment allegations within Save the Children in the UK (Ratcliffe, 2018) and alleged workplace bullying targeting women and other marginalised groups within UK Amnesty International (BBC, 2019). These examples indicate how a culture of accepting gender inequality as well as gendered violence are pervasive within many organisations, affecting staff as well as activists. Furthermore, in recognition of the challenges faced in reporting sexual harassment and gender-based violence in social movement organisations, The Salvage research project has sought to collect anonymous accounts of sexual violence experienced by female, non-binary and trans people within activist organisations in the UK. Its first report, published in 2016, details accounts of such experiences in (among many) anti-capitalist, feminist, queer politics, environmental and animal rights organisations in the UK (Salvage, 2016).

As this study will explore, theoretically there are a number of contributing factors to the existence and persistence of gender inequalities in participation in political organisations, of

which harassment and violence provides us with only a partial picture. Nevertheless, the near-simultaneous occurrence of improvements in youth participation in political organisations and the revelations regarding political organisations in the wake of the #metoo movement provide an impetus for studying differentials in gendered participation in political organisations in the UK.

Contextual Summary

This introductory chapter has outlined a number of contextual circumstances and debates which provide both reasons to be optimistic and indeed pessimistic about inequalities in young people's political participation. Nevertheless, this context provides the motivation for this study; debates surrounding the optimistic turn— while appearing to contradict previous notions of a 'crisis in democracy' or the pejorative characterisation of young people in the public sphere— provide impetus to study in greater detail how young people participate in political organisations. Nevertheless, a recognition of recent events relating to inequality of treatment within political organisations also provides a motivation to study these inequalities, in particular inequalities derived from youth and gender.

1.2 Research Questions

This study identifies the following research questions for the study of youth-derived and gendered inequalities in political organisational participation. These overarching main research questions have some sub-questions which correspond to qualitative and quantitative approaches to the question.

1. What is the nature of descriptive inter-repertoire participatory inequalities, according to youth and gender?
 - i. What are the rates of political organisational participation by age and gender?
 - ii. What can be learnt from young people's accounts of their choices of political action repertoires, and their choice to participate in a political organisation?

2. What is the nature of inequalities experienced inside of political organisations, according to youth and gender?
 - i. What factors underlie young people's experiences of youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities?

- ii. Is there evidence of these factors which can be generalised to the population?
3. What are the responses to inequalities inside of political organisations, according to youth and gender?
4. By comparing experiences of youth-derived inequalities and gendered inequalities among young people, what difference does gender make for young people's inequality in political organisations?

Following this study's qualitative analysis, a number of hypotheses are identified for testing using quantitative data analysis, in Chapter 7 of this study. These are derived from the qualitative findings to the above research questions, as part of this study's mixed methods sequential research design, and will serve to test and hence strengthen some of the study's qualitative findings.

1.3 Findings and Original Contributions

While this study of youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political organisational participation has a number of empirical findings, this section will list its key empirical contributions, before outlining the different original contributions made by this thesis.

1.3.1 Major Findings

This study outlines different ways in which youth-derived, age-based inequalities are experienced by young people in their political organisational participation. Relating to multiple dynamics of marginalisation outlined in the literature (Taft, 2015; Pitkin, 1972; Hart, 1992; Rudman and Phelan, 2008) these forms of youth marginalisation (Thompson, 2005) demonstrate the importance of recognising youth as a distinct axis of inequality (Earl, 2018). Furthermore, this study outlines examples of how gendered young participants experience marginalisation from political organisations, which relate to a number of existing themes in the literature (Childs, 2008; Mendez and Osborn, 2010; Krook, 2018). These findings build upon the previous findings in relation to youth, to demonstrate that while young people

experience distinctive inequalities, that inequalities are unevenly distributed *among* young people, including– as demonstrated by these findings– along gendered lines.

It is also significant that themes of youth-derived marginalisation were expressed by young people in UK political organisations, within in a national context that is understood to have bucked the trend in terms of youth participation in political organisations among developed democracies (Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017). That these processes are taking place within a context with relatively greater youth political organisational participation, gives some indication as to how entrenched some of the social norms, which disadvantage young people, are, within political organisations.

Both these sets of findings (in relation to youth and gender) show how features of the supply side (relating to attributes of political organisations) are overlapping and linked, through connections made in young people’s experiences, with *prima facie* less severe forms of marginalisation reinforcing *prima facie* more severe forms. Furthermore, such supply-side attributes of political organisations also interact with demand-side attributes of young people (Klandermans, 2004; Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave, 2018): these findings show how neither the demand side nor the supply side is separable from the other.

In relation to descriptive inequalities in political organisational participation, this study finds that young people’s conceptions of their participation indicate an ‘active’ (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017), flexible (Juris and Pleyers, 2009) and critical (Norris, 2009) approach to political participation, which responds to shifting political opportunities. Quantitatively, it finds that youth political organisational participation is often comparable, and by some measures higher than older age groups’ participation. In relation to gender, the findings of this study indicate that the participation of young gendered participants differs to young male participants with regards to the ‘type’ of political organisation (Morales, 2009)–whether ‘old’ or ‘new’– and the ‘form’ of political participation (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010)– whether ‘private’ or ‘collective’. The quantitative findings of this study also indicate that gendered preferences for the form of participation and the type of political organisation may be contingent on one another.

The descriptive findings of this study in relation to youth political organisational participation also have implications for the UK context. That young people describe their political

participation, including their political organisational participation, as responding to changing political opportunities (e.g. the expansion of electoral choice or party leadership, opportunities to register as supporters, or the creation of new political organisations), this entails that should political opportunities contract or reverse (such as in a situation where political parties' ideological positions shift to the centre or that opportunities to participate in newly created social movement organisations contract) that there could well be a reversal of the processes described by Pickard (2017) and Rainsford (2017) whereby UK youth have bucked the trend of decline in political organisational participation among developed democracies, and moved towards political parties and SMOs in the wake of Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the Labour party, and the prevalence of organisations such as Momentum.

Finally, this study's exploration of responses to inequalities in political organisations finds that many young people have a strong and profound wish to promote inclusivity, through intersectional understandings of these issues and through reference to specific activist practices to improve them. For gendered participants, responses indicate more negative themes of the impact of marginalisation. However, in discussions regarding specific activist practices, practices to improve gender inequality are widely discussed, while practices to promote youth inclusion are not, reflecting that youth-derived inequalities often go unrecognised (Earl, 2018).

1.3.2 Original Contributions of this Thesis

The original contributions of this study are categorised under four headings: the topic of study, additional empirical contributions, the methodological approach, and the theoretical contribution. This summary of the original contributions is expanded upon further in this study's conclusion— Chapter 8, Section 8.3.

Topic of Study

While there are a small number of existing studies on young women and political participation (Taft, 2011; Gordon, 2008; Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006; Briggs, 2008), to the knowledge of the author there are no studies addressing youth and gender in UK political organisations. While some studies of youth and gender exist with a focus on the US and Latin America (Gordon, 2007; Taft, 2011), this study addresses this gap in the UK context through studying gender and youth inequalities in UK political organisations.

Additional Empirical Contributions

In addition to addressing an original topic of study within the context of UK political organisations, this study makes empirical contributions beyond the overall topic of study. Its focus on ‘ordinary’ political organisation members rather than the political elite addresses a gap highlighted by Childs and Murray (2014) with regards to a lack of research on ordinary members with regards to gender and politics. Secondly, the empirical findings of this study in relation to sexual harassment, including the dynamics of how it takes place and how it creates barriers to gendered political participation for young gendered participants, are original empirical findings to the study of young, ordinary members of UK political organisations. The limited existing research on sexual harassment in politics focusses on the elite level (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011) and while a small number of studies include the analysis of ordinary members in a small number of national contexts (e.g. Tshoaedi, 2017 in the South African context) there are no studies to the knowledge of the author that address sexual harassment in politics among young ordinary members of UK political organisations.

Methodological Approach to the Topic

While there are other studies of young women and political participation in the UK context (albeit not in political organisations) (e.g. Briggs, 2008), to the knowledge of the author there are no research that studies this topic using a mixed qualitative and quantitative method approach, which is therefore able to include both the experiences of young gendered participants and the analysis of broader trends using a large dataset. This is a combination of analyses that this study achieves with regards to young women’s political participation.

Theoretical Contribution

This study applies Klandermans’ demand and supply framework (2004) to political organisations. While other studies of Klandermans’ (e.g. Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave, 2018) refer to the interaction of demand and supply, the interaction of features *within* the supply side has not, to the knowledge of the author, been previously theorised as such. This study shows the interaction of features of the supply side by building a model of how features of youth-derived and gender-derived marginalisation reinforce each other, with *prima facie* ‘more severe’ forms of marginalisation reinforced by *prima facie* ‘less severe’ forms of marginalisation.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2

This chapter positions this study within the context of the broader descriptive and explanatory literature surrounding youth political participation and gendered political participation, as well as relevant literature surrounding inequalities and political organisations. It begins by outlining these literatures using Klandermans' (2004) demand and supply model as a frame of analysis. It highlights a deficit in the literature regarding the study of inequalities in political participation at the intersection of youth and gender and the use of mixed methods studies to address this; despite the presence of a few high-quality studies in this area, the literature remains under-developed. This chapter outlines a range of literature relevant to this study and also highlights a deficit in the literature with regards to studies on political participation at the intersection of youth and gender, either focussing on political organisations or using a mixed methods approach. Through exploration of different literatures relevant to this study, it also proposes the need to combine features of the youth participation literature and gender and participation literature, due to the separated nature of these literatures, and in order to inform studies on participation at the intersection of youth and gender.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 outlines this study's methodological underpinnings, including its ontological and epistemological assumptions and the rationale for and design of the mixed methods qualitative and quantitative approach employed. It outlines the sequential design of this study's mixed methods approach. It also identifies how concepts of youth-derived and gendered inequalities were firstly operationalised in research design, and later carried out using the methods of qualitative interviewing and quantitative data analysis. It finally outlines this study's approach to data integration, in order to provide a holistic response to this study's overarching research questions.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 explores descriptive inequalities in political participation, firstly, deriving from youth, and secondly, deriving from gender. Based upon qualitative interviews conducted with

young people aged 18–34 who have participated in political organisations² in Sheffield³, it addresses the question of descriptive inequalities in political participation, among young participants of political organisations. As such, it addresses questions of repertoire choice (including their choices to participate in political organisations), their conceptions surrounding ways of doing politics, and more generally how youth participation and gendered participation can be characterised as distinctive to other groups' participation. This chapter outlines this study's qualitative findings surrounding descriptive participatory inequalities which are later tested quantitatively in Chapter 7.

Chapter 5

This chapter explores young people's experiences and understandings of youth-derived (age-based and generation-based) inequalities in political organisations, using data from qualitative interviews conducted with young people aged between 18–34 who are active within political organisations. In this chapter, youth-derived inequalities are addressed from an explanatory perspective, according to demand-side attributes of young people (e.g. factors such as the young person's level of resources, knowledge, their values or their grievances) and supply-side attributes of political organisations (e.g. factors such as the organisations' membership composition or its culture). Finally, the chapter looks also at young people's responses to youth-derived inequalities in political organisational participation. This chapter outlines this study's qualitative findings in relation to explanatory factors for youth-derived inequalities in political organisational participation, which form the basis of some further quantitative testing in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 explores gendered inequalities among young people, using data from qualitative interviews conducted with young people aged 18–34 within political organisations in Sheffield. Structuring its analysis in a similar format to Chapter 5, the chapter addresses gendered inequalities in political organisational participation firstly from an explanatory perspective, in relation to demand-side attributes of individuals and supply-side attributes of political organisations. Secondly, the chapter outlines the responses of young people to

² Descriptions of and justifications for the range of political organisations sampled are outlined in Chapter 3 (Methodology)

³ For a justification of the choice of Sheffield as the case study city for a UK study, see Chapter 3 (Methodology)

youth-derived and gendered inequalities in political organisational participation. Some of the explanatory qualitative findings of this chapter also form the basis of hypotheses tested in this study's quantitative analysis in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

This chapter analyses quantitatively some of the descriptive and explanatory factors relating to youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political participation. This chapter firstly outlines how its twelve hypotheses are derived from this study's qualitative findings from Chapters 4, 5 and 6. It then tests the generalisability of these findings to different populations of interest, including the general population, the population of young people or the population of the people who participate in political organisations. This chapter uses methods of data crosstabulation, comparisons of proportions and logistic regression models in order to test these hypotheses which relate to youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political organisational participation.

Chapter 8

The final chapter of this thesis concludes this study by drawing together the findings from Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 through a purposive data integration process which links qualitative and quantitative findings of this study. It also seeks to make relevant comparisons and contrasts between gender-derived inequalities and youth-derived inequalities in order to contribute broader analytical points to the broader topic of inequalities in political organisational participation, as well as to provide insight into the narrower topic of the intersection between youth and gender. Through this process, it returns to the research questions of this study and provides a holistic response to each of these questions. Furthermore, it outlines the original contributions of the study, summarises its major findings and outlines its broader implications to the literature and to wider implications which extend outside of academia. Finally, it outlines suggestions for future research which derive from this study.

2. Literature Review

The questions of youth-derived and gendered inequalities in political organisations, as an under-researched area with both empirical and theoretical gaps, requires a synthesis of literature from across social movement studies, youth studies and the study of gender and politics. This review will situate this research within these literatures, and highlight their relevance for the study of youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political organisational participation. This review demonstrates that despite a small number of high-quality studies which address youth and gender inequalities in political participation together, that literature on political participation at the intersection of youth and gender remains under-developed. This review therefore suggests the need for further integration of youth political participation literature and gender and participation literature, as well as more empirical studies, in order to bridge this gap.

2.1 Defining Concepts

Beginning with the definitions central to this study, this section outlines definitions of key concepts of youth, inequality, gender, political organisations, and political participation.

I turn firstly to the definition of ‘youth’ and ‘young people’. Studies from across youth sociological studies and social movements studies, as well as policy actors, have applied these terms in a variety of ways; age definitions range significantly and have been extended widely in both directions as young as 8 in some studies (Barcelona and Quinn, 2011) and as high as 40 in others (United Nations, 2012) whereby these variations reflect differing academic and policy contexts. While youth is a socially constructed notion, derived in part from the division between childhood and adulthood stemming from the industrial context (Males, 1999; Lesko 2001), young people are also described as a group with distinct interests who experience distinctive inequalities (Earl, 2018). Furthermore, studies of social movements make a distinction between age and generation as separate concepts with different impacts on political participation. Age, as an analytical tool, refers to the effects of living at any particular age within the life cycle, whereas generation, by contrast, refers to cohorts of people born within a specific time frame whose behaviour is influenced by their socialisation within the social conditions of their formative years (Wyn and Woodman,

2006), as well as their propensity to certain resources (for example, due to economic cycles—see for example, Kwon et al, 2009). Moreover, in recent decades, notions of an ‘emerging adulthood’ have centred around the prevalence of more delayed transitions to adulthood over time, citing the delaying of milestones such as marriage, gaining full time employment or a permanent contract of employment, having children and buying a home as justification for an extension of the definition of youth to include people in their late 20s and early 30s (Arnett, 2004). While there may be a *prima facie* sense that multiple conceptions of youth present problems to empirical research, not all understandings of youth as a concept are mutually exclusive. Indeed, many add to our understandings of the focus of study. This study defines young people as people between 18–34: an age range which recognises a wider extension of the definition of youth. Theoretically, it also recognises young people as a group with distinctive interests, i.e. political interests which are distinctive to young people (which do not apply to older age groups).

In defining concepts, while the term ‘inequality’ refers not only to broader discussions surrounding justice, and different versions of equality, as an ambiguous term (Goodwin, 2007), be it “equality of opportunity, equality of treatment or equality of resources” (ibid: 421), but also with how to conceptualise multiple forms of inequality and their combinations. Silver (2007) describes the extent of inequality and social exclusion as moving constantly on a ‘multi-dimensional continuum’, whereby an individual can be excluded in some elements and included in others, or indeed excluded on multiple levels, and McCall (2005) highlights how the study of inequality involves multiple dimensions of social relations. American civil rights scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw’s (1989) notion of intersectionality, which was developed in the context of her black feminist analysis, describes how people facing multiple disadvantages at the intersection of two or more axes of inequality face qualitatively distinct (rather than simply additive) experiences of disadvantage. This study takes an approach which analyses multiple axes of inequality with regards to analysing the impacts of gender-derived inequalities and youth-derived inequalities as well as their combination.

While defining concepts it should be noted that this study takes an inclusive definition with regards to gender. Gender is a contested concept (Hawkesworth, 1997), referring not only to a category of self-defined gender-identity, but also to the socially constructed social meanings of perceived differences constructed from the concept of biological sex, which influence relationships of power within society (Scott, 1986), enacted through processes,

“ranging from early childhood socialization to gender images in the media and practices in the workplace” (Prügl and Meyer, 1999: 6). Despite the recognition of gender binaries as social constructs, much scholarship has continued to analyse gender inequalities in terms of a comparison between men and women (e.g. Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019). However, others have argued for the inclusion of non-binary gender identities into sociological research design, in order to create data which challenges “categories of sex, sexuality, and gender and build new complex, cross-cutting constructs into research designs” (Lorber, 1996: 143). While some debate continues within feminist scholarship as to the importance of biological sex – largely between second- and third-wave feminist viewpoints (e.g. Conaghan, 2018)– this study interprets gender as individuals’ self-definition with any gender identity, or indeed identity as non-gendered, in order not to exclude non-binary gender identities from this analysis. With regards to terminology, at the intersection of gender and youth, participants can be described using a number of terms, from ‘girls’ (Taft, 2011), ‘young women’ as well as ‘young gendered participants’. Since the approach of this study is to compare the experiences of those participants who are likely to be subject to gendered inequalities and those that are not, the grouping of young women and young non-binary people for this analysis, often entails descriptions of ‘young women and non-binary people’, or the equivalent term ‘young gendered participants’. It is the view of the author that an inclusive and flexible approach to describing gendered terms is required in order to allow for the description of different participants in ways akin to their self-defined gender identity, and to give accurate descriptions of different groups of participants’ gender identities.

The concept of political organisations can be understood as defined in Laura Morales’s definition in her 2009 text *Joining Political Organisations: Institutions, Mobilisation and Participation in Western Democracies*:

“political associations... those formally organised groups that seek collective goods (whether pure public goods or another type of collective goods) and which have their main goal to influence political decision-making processes, either by trying to influence the selection of governmental personnel or their activities, to include issues on the agenda, or to change the values and preferences that guide the decision-making process” (Morales, 2009: 25).

As Morales highlights, this allows for the inclusion of both traditional and new forms of political organisation (Morales, 2009). While she highlights that her definition is similar to

previous definitions of interest groups, she notes the importance of the inclusion of political parties to this broader concept of political organisations (ibid). Indeed, this definition allows for the inclusion of political parties, trade unions, social movement organisations (SMOs) and in some cases locally organised community groups with such foci. As the literature will show, a broad inclusive definition of political organisation is necessary for both the study of youth participation and of gendered participation, due to a broader conceptions of what is political and the wider forms of participation researched in both youth and gendered participation studies (Bakker and de Vresse, 2011; Randall, 2014). As also outlined by Morales (2009), the study of the political organisation therefore focusses on the meso (group) level of political participation, situated between and interacting with the micro level (individuals who interact with organisations), and above it the macro (national level) context, with which it also interacts. While *Joining Political Organisations* focusses specifically on political organisational membership, there is a recognition that participation within political organisations encompasses a much wider set of activities than obtaining membership; indeed while participation within political organisations is often conceived as a distinct form of political participation in its own right (especially with regards to political party or trade union participation), individuals within political organisations in fact participate in a range of activities including voting, participating in protest, attending meetings, door-knocking and online participation. With this in mind, this chapter turns now to how different forms of political participation are classified in the literature.

The concept of political participation is defined by Brady as “action of ordinary citizens directed towards influencing some political outcomes” (Brady, 1999: 737). There are a number of ways in which these various forms of participation have been sub-divided and conceptualised, many of which with some normative connotation. Grasso (2016:18) makes the distinction between “‘Conventional’, ‘traditional’ or ‘elite-directed’” forms of participation which include voting, contacting a politician, holding a membership or working within an ‘old’ political organisation e.g. political party or trade union, and “‘Unconventional’, ‘new’ or ‘elite challenging’” repertoires which include signing a petition, boycotting, attending a demonstration, occupations, strike action, and working or membership of newer forms of political organisation such e.g. environmental or human rights. Other typologies include a third category of ‘new’ repertoires, which have been “reconceptualised to include the resultant ‘new forms of engagement’ that have emerged, such as online petitions, internet discussion groups and ‘cyber-activism’” (Grasso, 2016: 7).

As outlined, due to the plurality of conceptualisations of political participation, we cannot draw too distinct a line around such conceptualisations of repertoires of political participation: this chapter has noted how organisational participation can draw from across all repertoires outlined.

2.2 The Demand & Supply Model

Descriptive questions on participatory behaviour lead naturally to questions regarding explanations for participation, or indeed the differential participation of groups in society, derived from youth or gender. Probably the most comprehensive and useful typology for understanding the reasons for citizens' participation with politics is Klandermans' (2004) demand and supply model of participation, which originates from the social movements' literature. Demand side factors are those which concern the characteristics of citizens and society and therefore their potential to engage politically, also characterised as 'input factors' (Newton, 2012). Supply side factors, by contrast, are the structured opportunities which are afforded to potential participants in acts of political participation from within the political system itself (Klandermans, 2004). This model entails that both 'demand' and 'supply' factors are considered in an analysis of political participation. This thesis places specific focus on participation within political organisations, which as this chapter will show, is a feature of the 'supply' side of this model. Nevertheless, it should be noted that demand and supply factors and their interaction remain important to this analysis as a whole.

2.2.1 Demand Side Factors

Demand-side explanations for political participation include resource-based hypotheses and grievance theories. Beginning with grievance theories, despite being dismissed in recent decades in favour of resource-based models and political process theory, this literature cites grievances as the primary motivating factor for mobilisation. Grievance theories hypothesise that inequality has a positive relationship with political participation, with individual grievances catalysing greater political participation (Useem, 1998). Indeed, there has been a recent re-emergence of grievance theories in light of anti-austerity protests in Europe, as studied also by Grasso and Giugni (2016). Resource-based hypotheses, by contrast, are a dominant approach in explaining political participation since the 1970s (Smets and Van Ham, 2013; Grasso and Giugni, 2016). This set of theories argues that political participation is an

action influenced by the availability to individuals of sufficient resources (and their effective allocation) to ensure they are able to participate (Aslanidis, 2012). While the link between economic capital is perhaps the most intuitive, with lower resources reducing the ability of individuals to participate in politics, these relate both to economic, social and other forms of capital.

In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) offers a social-capital-based explanation for the decline in political participation in the United States. Putnam argues that with fewer closer ties to those around us, citizens are more individualised and feel like they have less of a stake in collective notions of society and are consequently less politicised (Putnam, 2000). Such resource-based hypotheses inevitably have consequences for societal inequalities: Putnam (1993) also makes the case in his text *The Prosperous Community* that declines in social capital over the twentieth century, in particular a decline in social capital among the working classes compared to a century ago, have led to severely reduced social capital and consequently reduced socialisation of younger generations into forms of political participation. Almond and Verba's (1963) classic text recognises the importance to political participation of particular citizens' attributes and educational capital, including citizens' skills, knowledge and sense of obligation to participate effectively. In turn, this viewpoint has strong implications for the relevance of education in the process of mobilisation. Trends such as reduced newspaper readership (Tien-Tsung and Lu, 2008) and reduced interest in politics in the UK arguably reflect such a factors, a notion reflected in the Crick Report to government (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998). Indeed, education also has an impact on rates of political participation. While Franklin (2004) initially hypothesised that improvements in education would increase voter turnout, he notes how turnout began to decline in the 1960s, alongside expansions in the rates of secondary and tertiary education in the UK; a problem he terms the 'Puzzle of Voter Turnout'. Nevertheless, a further consideration is that education may play a mediating role (Grasso, 2013) whereby it interacts with supply-side considerations such as political opportunities structures. This chapter next turns to outline, using political and social movements theory, how supply-side factors affect political participation.

2.2.2 Supply Side Factors

Supply-side influences on political participation are the structured opportunities to participate in political activity which are on offer to citizens. Supply-side explanations reflect long-standing approaches to understanding social movement mobilisation such as political process theory, which explains participation in terms of the structure of political opportunities accessible by citizens (McAdam, 1982), and the extent to which these are considered ‘open’ or ‘closed’. Indeed, as one example, the strongest predictor of participating politically is to receive a direct invitation to participate (Passy, 2001; Earl and Elliot, 2015). The extent to which the supply side is open or closed is however, dependent on a number of factors across different contexts. For example, Grasso and Bessant’s (2018) edited collection addresses the role of surveillance and the criminalisation of youth dissent across a range of contexts, upon the restriction of youth political participation. Furthermore, a lack of opportunities, or closed supply side, has been offered as an explanation for poor levels of trust in government and democracy and a possible explanation for an ‘anti-political’ culture (Stoker, 2011). Indeed, one further conceptualisation of this collective sense of disempowerment may stem from what is described as the reduced power of politicians to enact policies of their choosing, but rather to steer politics within a ‘crowded political environment’ of interest groups, international and supranational organisations (Norton, 2003). This is also reflected in Hay’s (2007) concept of depoliticisation whereby issues which were formerly the subject of deliberation by political actors have in recent decades been demoted across spheres of increasingly less democratic influence (Hay, 2007).

Scholars (Norris, 2002; Faucher, 2015) argue that the importance of supply-side factors has been overlooked due to the privileging of the individual citizen as the unit of analysis for our understanding of political participation. Scholars have highlighted and theorised the notion of alienation of citizens from political institutions, including political parties and the voting system (Schwartz, 1973), citing issues such as partisan convergence and a lack of substantive policy choice between candidates and political parties as barriers to participation. While this arguably changed after (approximately) the 2017 UK general election, with shifts in both the positions of the Labour and Conservative parties in the UK at that point, Franklin’s (2004) argument regarding the competitiveness of elections emphasises the importance of past elections, in particular in one’s formative years (when first eligible to vote) which determines

political participation habits over a lifetime. Indeed, an important feature of any wealth or deficit in political opportunities is the design of political institutions, in particular their accessibility to diverse groups of citizens. Therefore, the structure and culture of political organisations (political parties, trade unions, SMOs, community level groups) are a substantial and important feature of supply-side considerations with regards to political participation. For example, this has been reflected in the development of studies in feminist institutionalism (Lovenduski, 2011), and of youth alienation from political activism (Earl et al, 2017).

2.3 The Role of Inequalities

This section describes how the role of inequalities have been conceptualised in the literature, in relation to a number of relevant factors, namely political organisations, the political participation of young people, gendered political participation, and finally, the political participation of young women.

2.3.1 Inequalities Within Political Organisations

Indeed, there are specific motivations for the study of political organisations in relation to questions of youth-derived and gendered inequalities in participation. While no one theory can fully describe the complex nature of political organisations and their operating, the role of power and change are important issues and require some exploration with regards to organisational participatory inequalities. The study of organisations and power relations within them originates within classical Sociology. Indeed, Weber's notion of a rational legal authority within organisations served the function of overcoming issues of corruption and unfairness, yet he also recognises how multiple forms of authority may function within organisations, including that of traditional authority which derives from patriarchal power relations (Weber, 1978). Since societal institutions are reflected in organisational participatory opportunities, poor conceptualisations of how institutions adapt and change have often remained challenging within institutionalist literature (Lovenduski, 2011), with negative implications for inequalities. Concepts such as institutional 'layering' where new practices can be negotiated alongside others which remain in place (Krook and MacKay, 2011) have contributed to an improved understanding of how change can take place (other than through exogenous shocks).

Nevertheless, there is a recognition that while organisations need to be responsive to change to survive, that organisational conservatism plays a certain role in stability and minimising risk, conceptualised as ‘Dynamic Conservatism’ (Ansell, Boin and Farjoun, 2015). Morales (2009) highlights how organisations can create “virtuous or vicious dynamics” (Morales, 2009: 212) with regards to participatory inequalities, however other studies highlight how a true appreciation of organisational dynamics requires a deeper look beyond the surface. Sara Ahmed’s (2012) ethnographic study *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*, highlights the issue (albeit with a focus on universities as institutions) that even when organisations are externally committed to diversity in terms of their media messages, that this can often serve an important public relations function, which in fact works counter to achieving true inclusion of diverse groups within the organisation; maintaining the public image of diversity is prioritised over accepting or heeding any accusations of discriminatory events or practices. While Ahmed’s (2012) study focusses largely upon ethnic and racial inequalities, her 2017 text *Living a Feminist Life* presents how feminists become estranged from organisations through highlighting equality issues, the dismissal of such ideas, and consequently leading to their labelling as ‘feminist killjoys’ (Ahmed, 2017).

This study will attempt to draw upon this range of existing organisational literature in relation to youth-derived and gendered inequalities in these spaces. However, it will next explore the extensive literatures on youth-derived inequalities in political participation and gendered inequalities in political participation.

2.3.2 Youth-Derived Inequalities in Political Participation

The inequalities in political participation relating to young people relate both to descriptive and explanatory questions, as well as normative questions regarding the implications of describing youth-derived differences in participation.

Describing Youth-Derived Differences in Participation

Beginning with the descriptive question, there is a consensus within the literature that there is some degree of a participatory shift or transformation among young people, when comparing to older groups (Ekstrom and Sveningsson, 2019). Different scholars have placed different emphases on how this shift in political repertoire, or indeed broader shift in political

behaviour, is described. Norris (2009) characterises changing political behaviour over time with the ‘growth of critical citizens’ who are increasingly critical of democratic processes (Norris, 2009). She also however describes youth participation as having shifted towards more cause-orientated politics (Norris, 2003; Sloam, 2013). Similarly, Henn et al’s (2018) paper describes youth participation as reflecting Inglehart’s (1971) thesis of postmaterialist values, a characteristic highlighted by Ehsan and Sloam (2018) as important to young people’s voting patterns in the 2016 EU referendum. Others have characterised the major shift for young people with a clearer emphasis on participation repertoire (Van Deth, 2014; Fox, 2014; Grasso, 2016). Dalton (2009) highlights a shift away from ‘conventional’ repertoires towards ‘alternative’ forms of participation such as protest among younger citizens, which is evidenced by Sloam’s (2014) study, which using data from the world values survey on youth civic participation, finds that rates of youth protest were 185% of the UK average for all age groups. Scholars have highlighted the importance of online participation to young people (Ekstrom and Sveningsson, 2019), while others note the rise of more active forms of volunteering participation among young people (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017); as Flanagan and Levine (2010) highlight, younger generations are more likely to participate in volunteering than those ‘coming of age’ in the 1970s. The reinvention of politics by young people is indeed an idea which continues to develop further conceptualisations. Pickard and Bessant (2017) outline in their recent edited collection the different ways in which young people are currently ‘regenerating’ political participation across multiple repertoires, whereas Pickard herself develops further a concept of young people doing “DIO” (do it ourselves) politics, across multiple different repertoires (Pickard, 2019: 2). The idea of adopting multiple repertoires is discussed by Giugni and Grasso (2019) who argue that despite a ‘substitution thesis of specialisation’ in the literature whereby individuals shift their participation from conventional to unconventional repertoires, that in the UK there is a high degree of crossover between individuals taking part in protest as well as institutional forms of politics. Juris and Pleyers (2009) outline in their study of youth global justice activism how young people undertake ‘alter-activism’ which is characterised by an “emphasis on lived experiences and processes” (Juris and Pleyers, 2009: 57). Furthermore, young people’s choices between different political action repertoires has been likened to a ‘toolbox’ of choices (Bowman, 2014).

In contrast to such notions of change and reinvention, until relatively recently, academics and policy makers alike were broadly concerned with discussing the existence of a ‘crisis of

democracy' in young people's participation in conventional participation. (Furlong and Cartmel, 2012). However, notions of regeneration or reinvention certainly go against any notion of young people as apathetic. Marsh, O'Toole and Jones (2007) develop a strong argument that any decline in formal youth political participation is founded in a sense of exclusion or alienation from the current political system, rather than relating necessarily to attributes of individuals themselves. Furthermore, many scholars do not accept the reinvention of young people's politics has led to the abandonment of 'conventional' repertoires of voting and party membership by young people. Sloam and Henn (2019) analyse the 2017 UK general election as an important juncture for youth electoral participation, citing the fact that turnout among younger voters was the highest for over 25 years and the role of left-wing cosmopolitanism among young people, as important counterbalances to the idea of young people abandoning elections. Indeed, they state that young people are "not innately anti-election" (Sloam and Henn, 2019: 121). Furthermore, other scholars cite the re-emergence of youth participation in political organisations in recent years, including the role of young people in increased membership of UK political parties (Rainsford, 2017) and the role of young people in party-based movements such as Momentum, an organisation which emerged from the campaign to elect Jeremy Corbyn as a left-wing leader of the Labour Party in 2015 (Pickard, 2017).

While it is clear that there are many ways in which young people 'do' politics differently, due to clear differentials across a number of political participation repertoires, the literature highlights elements of continuity and change. Indeed, the role of young people in political organisations, in the wider context of a shift away from 'conventional' repertoires is an important area of study. This chapter turns next to youth-derived inequalities relating to the *explanatory* question of why young people participate. These feed into previously outlined concepts of generation and age, and demand and supply.

Explanatory Factors: Generational Inequalities in Political Participation

Beginning with generational inequalities, which are predominantly situated at the demand side, resource-based hypotheses indicate the need for certain resources or capital in order to participate politically (McCarthy and Zald, 1973). It is recognised that this differs not only between individuals but by generation; a recent study indicates that young people in Europe are most likely to be living in poverty than any other age group (Milanese, 2020). With on average lower resources than previous generations across Western countries, it could well be

argued that young people have fewer resources to participate. This is reflected in many of the metrics used to develop Arnett's theory of a delayed emerging adulthood (2004), whereby milestones such as home ownership and holding permanent employment are decreasingly met in recent decades by younger generations. In relation to political participation, Sloam (2007: 551) notes how at its most extreme, there are young people who are left behind on a range of such milestones, becoming "socially excluded– trapped in a 'cycle of disadvantage'". Indeed, Franklin notes how young people's lack of social capital– the embeddedness of citizens within social networks that bring economic and cultural resources– could be linked to a generational effect bringing about a decline in social capital and cleavage politics in society over time (as outlined by Putnam, 2000). This, in turn, leads to fewer young people becoming politically socialised into groups such as political parties (Franklin, 2004), thus negatively affecting the socialisation and habit-formation into politics of a whole generation.

However, generational hypotheses of youth inequalities in political participation, in the large part relate to aspects of the environment and context of a generation's *socialisation* into politics– often at the time of their 'coming of age'– elements of the supply side of political participation. Indeed, wider process of socialisation, while a contested concept encompass adaptation to the political environment (Allen, 1989), childhood learning and psychological development (Renshon, 1992) and the effects of interacting with others upon political behaviour (Hooghe and Stolle, 2003). Following a political socialisation approach, Grasso (2014) argues that generations' political behaviours are influenced by events and dominant repertoires of participation that take place during their 'coming of age'. They outline the impact of the socialisation of young people who came of age in the environment of the 1968 wave of student protests, showing evidence that this had a positive impact on their political participation across their lifetime. Furthermore, contexts could be understood as more specific to particular repertoires of participation e.g. voting at elections. Franklin (2004) argues, alongside his notion of the importance of election contexts, that voting habits are set in people's first three elections, thus developing the argument that undesirable election contexts, in particular uncompetitive ones, are likely to affect younger generations' voting behaviour across their entire lifetime, thus creating generational inequalities in contexts of partisan convergence (Franklin, 2004). While an analysis of generations is an important factor to understanding youth-derived inequalities in participation, an analysis of age effects also has a distinctive contribution to understanding youth-derived inequalities in political participation.

Explanatory Factors: Age Inequalities in Political Participation on the Demand Side

One routinely cited age-effect used to explain inequalities in youth participation is the lifecycle hypothesis. This explains political participation as an act which begins for a citizen once they have reached full maturity (Park, 1995). It explains low rates of youth participation as derived from their being of an age where one has not yet become fully politically mature. In contrast to the lifecycle hypothesis, literature on biographical availability suggests that the character of youth enables higher rates of participation, and particularly in protest (Schussman and Soule, 2005). This theory suggests that due to younger people having less developed careers, being more likely to be in education and more likely to be unmarried with fewer commitments, that this enables them to have greater availability and take more of the risks associated with participation (Schussman and Soule, 2005), with an impact on their ability to commit to participatory acts such as protest. Biographical availability, while likely varying widely among young people, intuitively appears to explain higher levels of student activism, for example.

Furthermore, Taft (2015) recognises how other demand-side attributes including higher levels of confidence and experience among adults compared to youth can contribute to young people's lower likelihood to participate. However, a closer analysis of some of these demand-side notions of reaching full political maturity, as outlined by the lifecycle effect, appears to suggest some degree of a 'deficit model' towards youth participation. A 'deficit model' (Osler and Starkey, 2003) is the notion that young people are somehow incomplete members of society due to their younger age who "have to be taught how to correctly engage with politics" (Earl, Maher and Elliot, 2017: 3); a notion to be cautioned against as it denies youth agency in their own participation (ibid). As Marsh, O'Toole and Jones (2007: 116) highlight, "there is a marked tendency to view young people's participation in governance networks or political institutions as forms of political apprenticeship, rather than a means of articulating their interests or concerns". Indeed, this analysis would suggest that it is not that it is not that young people do not have sufficient maturity to participate, but that the structure of political opportunities for young people could be designed around this perceived notion.

Explanatory Factors: Age Inequalities in Political Participation on the Supply Side

Age-effects on the supply side are a lesser-discussed factor of youth-derived inequalities in political participation. Earl (2018) makes the case that youth subordination within social

movements is akin to similar processes that have occurred over history for women and ethnic minorities, stemming from a characterisation of a group as ‘lesser-than’ the rest of society. In fact, and as Earl (2018) highlights, youth inequalities are not always experienced in isolation and intersect with experiences of racism, sexism, ableism, classism and homophobia, both within society as well as in collective spaces such as political organisations. Indeed, ageism in political organisations seems an intuitively important inequality consideration, in view of the often-collective nature of participation in political organisations since they are “organised *groups* that seek collective goods” (Morales, 2009: 25). Taft (2011) ties such experiences of ageism to Checkoway’s (1996) notion of ‘adultism’, a “social hierarchy which consistently places adults above youth and children” (Taft, 2011: 186). Indeed, Gordon and Taft (2011) describe age-based exclusion from social movements, and Gordon (2007) outlines adult adolescent activists’ experiences of ageism in SMOs in the US, as well as their reactions to these experiences in the form of activist strategies. This area of social movements’ literature ties in with areas of youth studies and youth work practice literature on anti-discriminatory practice.

Thompson (2005) describes in the range of processes of oppression experienced by people, including marginalisation, whereby groups are pushed to the margins of a space, group closure, whereby people are entirely excluded due to the construction of an ‘us and them’ mentality, stereotyping, based on oversimplified and untrue generalised conceptions relating to categories of people and the associated notion of stigmatisation (Thompson, 2005). Some of these processes of marginalisation are also outlined by Taft (2011: 186) who discusses adults’ dismissal of youth knowledge “assuming that their inexperience and age means they have little to offer”; a process also recognised by Marsh, O’Toole and Jones (2007: 118) who highlight that “young people are rarely acknowledged as expert citizens— even in relation to issues which do affect them”. Furthermore, Taft’s (2015) study on child-voice programmes describes how age-based equality within inter-generational activism spaces is challenging to achieve, with many of such spaces not offering sufficient space for youth voice. Indeed, this specific area of study concerned with age-inequalities on the supply side within political organisations requires further exploration. While this chapter has aimed to provide a summary of literature relating to youth-derived inequalities in political participation, while outlining the inequalities faced by youth in general, it cannot fall into the trap of claiming the existence of a homogenous group called ‘young people’. As this study places specific emphasis on gender as well as youth, with a view to shedding light on the experiences at the

intersection of both attributes, it will next assess the existing literature relating to gendered inequalities in political participation.

2.3.3 Gendered Inequalities in Political Participation

Much like studies in young people's political participation, literature relating to politics and gender, women and feminism, seeks to answer a core set of questions including descriptive questions on *gender differences in participation*, and explanatory questions of *why gender influences participation*, including demand and supply side effects.

Describing Gender Differences in Participation

Beginning with the descriptive question, the starting point for many studies, is often the research of Durverger (1955) on *The Political Role of Women*; a study which highlighted the lower rates of participation of women in electoral participation in the mid-twentieth century. However, while these studies risk simplifying the debate with a starting point of a generalised lower likelihood of women to participate in politics (Pfanzelt and Speies, 2019), much of the literature does go on to dispel these myths, particularly by bringing up to date the findings of to the present era. Indeed, the gender voting gap is understood to have equalised or indeed reversed for electoral participation, at least within first order elections, although second order elections continue to lag behind (Kostelka et al, 2019). Regarding protest participation, the literature paints a mixed picture with regards to gender. While some argue that women are particularly attracted to protest forms of participation (Pfanzelt and Spies 2019) and others argue that non-institutionalised forms of political participation such as protest decrease gender inequalities in participation (Marien et al, 2010), Inglehart and Norris (2003) find a crossnational persistence of a gender gap in protest participation of 8.6%. In relation to other 'unconventional' repertoires of consumer boycotting and signing a petition, Grasso (2016) finds in her crossnational study of Western European countries that there is a positive effect for being male between on both boycotting and signing a petition between 1981–1999, although the effects are not significant for 2002–2006.

Turning finally to political organisations, there is clear evidence of gender differentials in organisational participation. As Marien et al (2010: 200) summarise “one of the most striking and enduring findings in political participation research is the unequal nature of institutionalised political participation”, which they relate gender as well as other forms of

inequality. Nevertheless, the pertinent question appears to relate to how these inequalities are characterised. Inglehart and Norris (2003) note in general that in industrial societies, men appear to have a slightly higher rate of participation in political organisations than women. However, when deconstructed into different categories of political organisation, Inglehart and Norris (2003) show a negative gender gap of -24% for political parties and -16% in peace movement, for example, yet a positive gender gap of +4% in favour of women for human rights of organisations. Morales (2009) cites a British audit of political parties from 2000 which confirms the persistence of gender gaps in political party participation into the twenty-first century, and Grasso's (2016) study of Western Europe also confirms that men are crossnationally more likely to join political parties, with the exception of France.

Indeed, scholars have attempted to develop clearer conceptualisations of how gendered inequalities in political participation should be understood. Arnold (1995) argues that gendered participants have a preference for organisational structures with fewer hierarchies. Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) develop a conceptualisation of the 'private' and the 'collective' in their empirical study which analyses the nature of gender differentials in political participation. 'Private' forms of political participation, such as voting, donating money and boycotting, were more prevalent among women according to their study, whereas 'collective' forms of political action including attending a rally or a meeting of a political organisation, were more prevalent among men (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010). A notion of gender's relation to the degree of privacy in political participation can be seen as relevant across multiple repertoires; for example Bode (2017: 587) finds in relation to online political participation, that where gender differences exist that "these are most likely among the most visible political behaviors, suggesting that women may strategically engage in less visible or less-likely-to-offend political behaviors". In relation to political organisations, Morales (2009) makes the distinction between 'old' more traditional political organisations, such as political parties and trade unions, and 'new' political organisations which relate to newer social movements, such as human rights and the environment. Her study highlights how men are more likely to join 'old' political organisations yet the gender gap is in fact reversed with regards to 'new' political organisations, where women are more likely to join (Morales, 2009). These conceptualisations of patterns relating to gender inequalities will be explored further as this chapter turns now to the explanatory question of why gender influences participation, to which to relevant demand and supply side arguments will again be attributed.

Explanatory Factors: How Gender Influences Participation on the Demand Side

Considering that demand-side factors relate to attributes of those who participate (Klandermans, 2004), they therefore concern attributes of gendered participants in this equation, and include considerations of largely resource-based factors such as gaps in political interest, political knowledge, educational and financial resources, personal confidence and time. However, attributes of individuals are inevitably shaped by early childhood socialisation, a process for which studies have demonstrated a variety of gendered impacts, including the impact of parent-child discussions about politics. While Jennings (1983) finds that children, regardless of gender, tend to speak to their fathers more about politics, he also finds that in general parent-child discussions most often take place between same-sex pairings. Overall, gendered patterns of discussions about politics indicate that “women discuss politics less often with friends and family” (Hahn, 1997: 73) and that parents “speak with their sons about political matters more often than with daughters” (Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019: 38). These studies suggest the role of socialisation in developing gender inequalities in participation.

Turning to political interest, Inglehart and Norris (2003: 107) make reference to a “long standing gender gap” in political interest, which numerous studies have confirmed; Verba et al’s (1997) study of the USA shows that the gender gap in political interest at the time of their study in the late 1990s. Inglehart and Norris’s (2003) text also shows a gap of -5% in total and of -3% for postindustrial societies, in 2001. Nevertheless, political interest metrics have faced some criticism with regards to their assumptions. Galligan (2014) notes how data on lower political interest among women is based upon higher ‘don’t know’ responses in large scale surveys, which indicates that this may well be a question of women having lower personal confidence with regards to responding to questions (indeed, confidence is an issues which extends beyond methodological considerations to a demand-side factor in its own right, as this chapter will show). Similarly, and akin to the patterns for political interest, authors also study the effect of gendered differentials in political knowledge upon political participation; a gap which was predicted to be approximately -10% in the USA (Dow, 2009). Much like political interest, there is criticism that this data may well present a measurement issue (Bode, 2014) whereby men provide much fewer ‘don’t know’ answers (Fraile, 2014). Nevertheless, some studies do take a more rigorous approach to controlling for gendered differences in context; Fraile’s (2014) study goes on to find that even with controls for

gendered differentials resources and access to opportunities, there still remains a gendered gap in political knowledge in Europe.

By contrast, Mendez and Osborn's (2010) study indicates that in the context of political discussion, there is a gender gap in perceptions of political knowledge, whereby people, even regardless of their own gender, tend to view women as less knowledgeable about politics than men, regardless of the level of knowledge demonstrated. Other demand-side factors that are evoked in explaining the reasons for gendered differentials in participation include inequalities in resources. Indeed, the extent of resource differentials is explored by Pfanzelt and Spies (2019), who discuss how although educational gaps have largely reduced in the global north, that gendered income gaps still persist, despite improvement over recent decades, with negative implications for women's political participation. Time as a resource is also highlighted as a gendered factor, due to the continued gendered roles of child rearing responsibilities for women (Hooghe and Stolle, 2004). Socialisation is also a major factor in determining individual confidence, which has been shown to have an impact upon one's propensity to participate, whether that is via one's beliefs in their own capacity to participate initially, or indeed to persevere in overcoming barriers faced to participation. Indeed, Fox and Lawless (2005) find that a personal 'sense of efficacy' is an important factor in explaining participation. As has been outlined, the interaction of demand and supply side factors play crucial roles in explanations of political participation. The role of confidence in collective contexts, such as political organisations, is a good example of this interaction and an important interaction to consider.

Explanatory Factors: How Gender Influences Participation on the Supply Side

Turning now to the supply-side explanations of gendered inequalities in political participation, which concern the barriers to participate which are in place within the political system. This chapter will assess such explanations, and more, in order describe the supply-side influences on gender inequality. Morales (2009: 78) notes how in general gender can be a barrier to involvement in politics as it has "traditionally been regarded as a man's thing". Similarly, Verba, Nie and Kim (1978) in Morales (2009: 78) state that "[women] care [about politics] but are held back by rules or norms or lack of opportunity". The influence of male culture as a factor restricting gendered political participation in organisations has been outlined by studies (Norris, 1997; Lowndes, 2000) and the structure and cultural barriers to women's political participation have been described in a number of contexts crossnationally;

Freeman (1987) outlined the role of a more 'closed' US Republican Party whereby decisions were made in less-public spaces, contrasted to a culture in the Democratic Party that was more receptive to women's rights lobbying, led to the two parties' divergence on women's rights at the end of the twentieth century.

Furthermore, scholars refer to structural or cultural barriers for women, which are reinforced by gender norms. A major feature of this is the recently developed literature of Feminist Institutionalism, for which Krook and Mackay's (2011) edited collection of works tries to bring together multiple perspectives, which combine gender and politics, and different forms of New Institutional literature. Lovenduski (2011: vii.) argues in this text that "good institutionalists should realise the importance of gender relations to the configuration of institutions". Common to most feminist institutionalist accounts of gendered inequalities in participation is the role of gender stereotypes. There is a recognition that these stereotypes largely affect women negatively (see for example Krook and Mackay, 2011; Rudman and Phelan, 2008; Kenny 2011, among many). However, others have noted some cases where gendered stereotypes can be evoked to the benefit of the participation of some women in some particular scenarios although crucially not to the broader benefit of women's political participation in the long run (see e.g. Valdini, 2019). A key feature of analysis in the study of women's participation within organisations is the role of a 'masculinised culture', or one based upon masculine gender stereotypes, within organisations (Lowndes, 2000; Norris, 1997). Indeed, the notion of being 'male as norm' and the consequent need to explain female behaviour (Galligan, 2014) underlies many of the factors which gendered institutionalist literature outlines and which place barriers to the political participation of women. At its most extreme, Krook (2018) describes how this can extend to violent cultural issues including the prevalence of sexual harassment in political institutions. Her study addresses this issue among political parties at the elite level, arguing that sexual harassment is a cultural issue related to power (rather than desire) whereby gender, as well as age inequalities play a major role. The consequences of masculinised organisational culture in general is far reaching and influences gendered interactions from the level of party elites down to the level of what may appear trivial personal interactions (Kenny, 2011; Mackay et al, 2014), which have a negative impact on the participation of women (and indeed anyone whose behaviour is not consistent with such stereotypes). Decision-making as often combative rather than consensual in its nature (McKay, 2011) are cultural (and often structural) features which value stereotypically male characteristics and devalue stereotypically female characteristics. Schneider et al,

(2016: 515) find that “women’s lack of interest in conflict and power related activity mediates the relationship between gender and political ambition” thus indicating that a desire to participate is restricted by the existence of activity which relates to conflict and power. Furthermore, while adhering to masculine stereotypes could appear a *prima facie* option for women facing such barriers, in fact it is noted that they commonly face a ‘backlash effect’ (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) for breaking gendered stereotypes. In particular, female agency can receive a negative response, for example where assertive speech is judged harshly (Carli, 1990).

Other accounts of gendered experiences in political organisations include women’s experiences of complete rejection of their presence within participation contexts (Valdini, 2019). Indeed, the backlash effect has been outlined in relation to a range of scenarios and is an important process for the maintaining gender stereotypes (Rudman and Phelan, 2008). In her text *The Inclusion Calculation*, Valdini (2019) also recognises how women’s participation within political parties, and in particular within political candidate selection, is restricted by the role of gendered stereotypes. However, she argues that at certain points where the status quo breaks, in particular following a scandal or loss of trust in a party, that women’s gendered stereotypes as ‘honest’, ‘communal’ and having an ‘affinity for democracy’, which stem in part from an idealised vision of a ‘mother’, become more valuable to the organisation (Valdini, 2019). Valdini (2019) cautions that women’s participation in these scenarios be celebrated, but rather that it should be viewed as a tool used by male gatekeepers of the organisation. The notion that citizens hold gendered beliefs with regards to the ideal of a good political leader are cited by Valdini (2019: 55) who uses survey data to demonstrate that normally “none of the traditionally feminine traits— other than honesty— were named as most desired characteristics of legislators”. This problem for female candidate selection is described by Kenny (2011: 32) as “a tension between selectability and electability”. This issue is outlined in a recent report by Culhane and Olchawski (2018: 7) for the Fawcett Society, which summarises the wide range of gendered participation inequalities including the “ongoing and explicit resistance to the inclusion of women in politics”. An interesting feature of this report is that although some experiences of a gendered ‘electorate bias’ are outlined, especially in socially conservative areas of the UK, these were much rarer than the role of negative experiences of candidate selection processes within local parties, in the restriction of women’s participation (ibid). While arguably the focus on candidate selection within the literature is a limitation— one recognised by scholars such as Kenny

(2011)– the findings which relate largely to the gendered culture and structure of political parties, can also inform studies of wider forms of political participation within political organisations. Kenny’s (2011) text offers insights from a case study of candidate selection for Scottish parliament in a local Labour party. It highlights key features of gendered barriers to candidacy from the accounts of party members, including the propensity of the party leadership to ignore the breaking of formal party rules by male candidates, the function of ‘male loyalty’ to male member candidate preferences, the perception of gendered quotas in the selection process as being counter to the ‘democratic’ nature of the process and the re-framing of gendered prejudice as a non-gendered issues (Kenny, 2011).

The multitude of processes of disadvantage which are outlined within the gendered institutionalist literature can be traced back to discussions of descriptive and substantive representation (Murray, 2014; Childs, 2008) and to models of ‘feminisation’ of the political party (which although one form of political organisation, can be applied to political organisations more generally). Descriptive representation, the notion of representing groups through the physical presence in a space (whether than be a meeting or within a legislature) such as women representing women, is contrasted to substantive representation, a concept of the effective representation of one’s political interests (Pitkin,1972). These concepts have been especially applied to academic debate surrounding the makeup of institutions such as parliaments (Murray, 2014) but can also be applied to spaces occupied by ordinary members of political organisations. Murray (2014: 523) describes how some research has sought to reduce the importance attributed to the importance of descriptive representation, as a concept, by “disassociate[ing] descriptive and substantive representation, arguing that women’s bodies are neither a guaranteed nor an exclusive conduit for feminist minds”. However, she also argues the continued evidence of women needing female representatives (ibid). Indeed, there are other models which argue the importance of presence for female participation, including the role of role modelling (Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006). In her theory of the ‘feminisation’ of political parties, Childs (2008) outlines the processes whereby political parties adapt to female participation and more thoroughly welcome and integrate female participation. Childs (2008) makes a distinction between a ‘first dimension’ whereby women become integrated as members and elites, and a ‘second dimension’ whereby women’s issues become integrated into the organisation’s policy agenda. A similar suggestion, that descriptive representation comes prior to substantive representation, is made by Wolbrecht (2000: 5) who contrasts merely “symbolic actions, such as speeches and appointments” made

by US political parties in the mid-twentieth century, to a more substantive supporting of women's rights. As discussed, the focus on the candidate selection process and upon political office-holders is a limitation of the current literature; as Childs and Murray (2014: 75) highlight "as a community of scholars we often lack comprehensive and systematic empirical data about women's participation both as ordinary party members [and] as party activists". Furthermore, while there is a broad acceptance of the notion of multiple disadvantage, there is little exploration of the experiences of young women within the feminist institutionalism literature. Nevertheless, this provides an opportunity to explore the experiences of young women's participation in political organisations, including those experiences of young women ordinary members and party activists, which is something that this study will examine more closely.

2.3.4 Young Women and Political Participation

Finally, this chapter turns to literature relating to young women, a group of people affected both by youth-derived and gendered inequalities in political participation. Taft (2011) describes how the voices of 'girls' in social movements are rarely heard and that related scholarship is underdeveloped. Similarly, Gordon (2008: 34) outlines how the low level of understanding of young women's experiences of political participation in part stems from the ways in which studies of young people tend to "generalize from young boys' or young men's experiences". While there is indeed a much narrower pool of literature to draw from, this also provides a motivation to study young women's participation further. Elliot et al (2017: 288) describe young women as a group with distinctive interests: "young women may have political interests, needs and concerns— such as sexist school dress codes and academic tracking— that differ from the concerns of adult women and young men". This description evokes Crenshaw's (1989) notion of intersectionality whereby people facing multiple disadvantage at the intersection of two or more axes of inequality face qualitatively distinct (rather than simply additive) experiences of disadvantage. Additionally, the study of young women's political participation reveals gendered experiences at early stages of the biography, an important area of study given the role of early socialisation to gender inequality in political participation.

In relation to descriptive inequalities, research indicates that young women indicate different preferences towards participation from a young age. A study by Pfanzelt and Spies (2019) in

Germany found that young women are attracted to non-institutionalised and protest-orientated forms of participation, which contrasts to young men's preference institutionalised settings and forms of expressive participation. Hooghe and Stolle's (2004) paper also studies gendered participation preference differentials between 14-year olds. It finds that at the age of fourteen, differences in the amount of participation preferred are not present among gendered lines, but that qualitative differences have already emerged, with girls more attracted to social movements and boys to more radical and confrontational actions (Hooghe and Stolle, 2004). The results of these studies indicate that young women may have a lower preference towards political organisational participation than young men. Literature also indicates that young women have a narrower conception of politics, more likely related to the role of politicians (Taft, 2006), which may have consequences for their participation. Nevertheless, Briggs' (2008) study which undertakes in-depth interviews with young women, provides insights into young women's interest in politics and political issues. This study reminds us that although we may be able to view *descriptive* inequalities in young women's participation, that we must recognise that this is in part the result of a narrow definition of what should count as 'the political' within society, and that we must not accept a narrower definition of 'the political' according to what is most often labelled as such, namely 'formal' or 'conventional' repertoires of political participation. As she outlines, "it is pertinent to remind ourselves of the feminist mantra that 'the personal is political'...there needs to be a movement away from a focus upon traditional definitions of what constitutes politics to a wider/all-encompassing definition that will enable the lifestyles and concerns of these young women to be addressed as politically relevant" (Briggs, 2008: 589). Therefore, even to studies such as this thesis, which includes analysis of formal participatory repertoires, studies of young women's political participation remind us that one should not seek to reproduce the idea of formal repertoires as the core of definition of political participation. Political participation, therefore, should be defined in terms of a broad range of repertoires (Briggs, 2008), and where analysing one component part (for example this study's focus on political organisational participation) it is important to be cautious not to judge certain repertoires as more important, especially due to their 'formal' or 'conventional' status.

Concerning *why young women participate*, the literature covers demand and supply side factors relating to young women's participation. Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) explain how young women are socialised towards gendered ideas such as a nurturing role within families or tendencies toward less aggressive acts, which affect their participation from an early age.

Furthermore, socialisation into gender norms also operates through families to discourage participation, with young women also experiencing more opposition from family to their activism, especially where there is perceived risk associated with it (Gordon, 2008) as well as previously discussed trends surrounding the propensity of parents to discuss politics with children according to gender (Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019). The impact of childhood socialisation or “the impressionable years” (Prior, 2010: 748) is recognised to have relationships with indicators such as political interest and knowledge (ibid), and consequently upon future political participation (Bode, 2017). On the supply side, young women, like all groups, will be less likely to participate in a system which appears closed to them, and young women, or girls, face exclusion from political organisations and movements (Taft, 2011). Campbell and Wolbrecht (2006) explore the impact of role-modelling in the political system. They find that the presence of female candidates in news coverage has a positive role modelling effect on adolescent girls’ likelihood of being politically active, thus demonstrating that the visibility or lack of visibility of women in politics affects participation of young women via psychological effects relating to inclusion or exclusion (Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006). A similar logic lies in Elliot et al’s (2017) paper on effective recruitment to political movements which argues that organisations should appeal to specific intersectional identities in order to promote their involvement. In relation to young women, they state “if movements have any interest in attracting such young people, they have to make it apparent to them that they belong” (Elliot et al, 2017: 288).

Indeed, negative attitudes of other people (often those inside of political organisations) are likely to negatively affect young women’s political participation, with a tendency for young women to be more severely subject to the ‘deficit model’ that devalues young people (Earl et al, 2017). Indeed, they cite that young women are likely to come across activist identities that place less value on girls’ identities (Taft, 2011). In their study of political parties for the Fawcett Society, Culhane and Olchawski (2018) make reference to the structure and culture of organisations and its impact upon young women. They summarise that “party organisation and culture can inhibit women from participating and progressing, particularly at the early stages” (Culhane and Olchawski, 2018). This finding suggests that unequal treatment in women’s youth has negative implications not only for young women, but that this can hold back women throughout the lifetime of their participation in the organisation.

As this chapter has outlined, there is limited literature on young women's participation in politics. In order to develop the literature on demand-side determinants further, features of the gender and participation literature on the role of confidence, political knowledge and political interest, and from youth literature on the role of resources including finances and availability, would be useful themes to explore, as well as exploration of factors that are distinctive to young women (which may not affect older women and young men). Much like with the demand-side determinants of young women's participation, the supply-side literature relating to young women's participation is limited and could well be developed through exploration of the supply side factors from the youth literature, including how the deficit models may affect young women more severely, and the role of processes such as marginalisation. Furthermore, the contributions of the gender and participation and feminist institutionalist literature raises the question of how the functioning of institutions affect young women more specifically.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to bring together relevant features of youth politics and gender and politics literature, in order to synthesise theory appropriate to the study of participatory inequalities of youth, gender and among the more specific identity of young gendered participants. It has also placed these studies within the context of social movements theory, specifically using the framework of Klandermans' (2004) the demand and supply model, in order to condense the range of factors from the literature which influence inequalities in participation in politics, more specifically, in political organisations, and both *descriptively* and in an *explanatory* sense. Combining the insights of two existing inequality-related literatures in order to provide insights as to the gendered and youth-derived inequalities in young women's participation is not a simple task. Nevertheless, common to both literatures is a strong emphasis on the often-exclusionary nature of the supply side. This provides a strong motivation for the focus on gendered and youth participation in political organisations— an important feature of the supply side of politics— as a space discussed within both literatures. Furthermore, in contexts where the micro-level (individuals) interacts with the meso-level (political organisations), we are likely to see the interaction between demand-side inequalities (person characteristic) and supply-side (system characteristic) inequalities in political participation.

Insights from the gender and politics literature and the youth political participation literature indicate a likely multiple disadvantage faced by young women when participating in political organisations. However, relevant theory relating to inequalities (Crenshaw, 1989) would suggest that political participatory inequalities situated at different intersections are also likely to be qualitatively distinct in nature. To date, while the existing studies on young women's political participation are high in quality (e.g. Taft, 2011; Briggs, 2008; Gordon, 2008; Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006; Elliot et al, 2017), the subject of young women's political participation has been researched by very few studies. Additionally, to the knowledge of the researcher, there are no identifiable studies on the subject of political participation at the intersection of youth and gender in the UK which use a mixed methods quantitative and qualitative approach to research. Furthermore, there are no such identifiable studies which focus on political organisations specifically. This review has therefore highlighted how literature at the intersection of youth and gender requires further development and integration, as well as more empirical studies, in order to fill existing gaps. This study will attempt to add further to this developing literature, both in terms of its focus of study and its application of mixed methods to this topic.

3. Methodology

This thesis aims to describe and explain the nature of youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in participation in political organisations in the UK. This methodology chapter outlines how this study's research questions are addressed through empirical research using mixed qualitative and quantitative research methods. It begins by outlining the study's rationale for use of a mixed methods research design, before describing how the processes of qualitative interviews and quantitative data analysis have been applied to the research questions.

3.1 Rationale for Mixed Methods Research

This section will explore theory relating mixed methods research, including its basis in a pragmatist approach to research, and an exploration of questions surrounding its ontological and epistemological positions. Mixed methods research involves the combining of quantitative and qualitative research methods in research design (Anguera et al, 2018). This study uses mixed methods on the basis of a pragmatist approach to research; which can be understood as a “paradigm of choices” (Morgan, 2013: 8) whereby “researchers follow a pragmatic path by consistently asking, What difference would it make to do your research one way rather than another?” (ibid). There is considerable debate as to the ontological and epistemological foundations of a pragmatist approach, however as Clark (2014) highlights, this is largely due to the fact that scholars of pragmatism suggest leaving behind debates over paradigm, or what has been termed ‘the paradigm war’ (Gage, 1989). Indeed, such debates continue to this day between the interpretivist school of thought– associated with qualitative methods and a ‘bottom-up’ inductive approach that prioritises the voices and experiences of research participants– and the positivist (or post-positivist) school of thought– associated with quantitative methods and a ‘top-down’ deductive approach to research through hypothesis testing (Furlong and Marsh, 2010). However, some pragmatist scholars have considered more thoroughly the epistemological and ontological foundations of the pragmatic approach, developing models such as ‘the reality cycle’ (Maarouf, 2019): a model whereby there is an ontological assumption of one external reality yet combined with many perceptions of this reality in the minds of social actors. According to this approach, perceptions are nevertheless dependent on reality, and influence behaviour. Behaviours, in turn, interact over time and form new contexts, and changing contexts can change reality (Maarouf, 2019: 13). As an empirical piece of research, this study recognises the existence of

a 'real' world, yet also a further parallel reality of perceptions, both of which interact, and can be studied through empirical enquiry. Epistemologically, it recognises the problems associated with capturing both realities, and therefore adopts appropriate quantitative and qualitative methods, with a view to minimising the weaknesses of both approaches through the combination of data, therefore "provid[ing] a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone" (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007: 5). There is also a fit between the mixed methods approach and the theory adopted by this study; the analysis of both demand-side and supply-side factors in political participation (Klandermans, 2004), and their interaction, form the basic theoretical framework of this thesis. The pragmatist, mixed methods approach to research is highly appropriate to this theoretical approach since understanding the demand side and supply side and their interactions requires insights into both conceptions of individual agency and external structures imposed on the individual. The ontological position of research has implications for agency and structure (Reed, 1997), therefore, a pragmatist study which recognises both external realities and a parallel world of perceptions is a highly appropriate since it aims to capture both individual a conceptions and the nature of a reality external to these perceptions.

A mixed methods approach to research has a number of advantages, including that it can be used to capture both breadth and depth (Greener, 2011) thus widening the level of understanding achieved by the researcher (Olsen, 2004). Furthermore, understanding of research questions can be expanded through the triangulation of findings, thus increasing validity of evidence (McKim, 2017). There are nevertheless drawbacks to the approach, including the requirement for greater time and resources to conduct research (Klassen et al, 2012), and the challenges of triangulation where integrating different forms of data (Moran-Ellis et al, 2006). As Bryman (2006) found in his study of 232 mixed methods papers, only 14% of mixed methods studies properly integrated quantitative and qualitative findings. This was an observation he made of mixed methods research more generally and that Bryman criticised heavily: "*here are my quantitative findings and here are my qualitative findings, would you mind, please Mr. and Mrs. Reader to work out yourself what the overall meaning of this is?... do the mixing for me.*" (Bryman, quoted in Leech, 2010: 263-264). A defining feature of a pragmatic approach according to Morgan (2013) is the link between purposes and procedures, or more simply put, between research questions and research methods. In order to ensure effective integration of data, this study will therefore outline clearly its overarching research questions, which are sub-divided into quantitative research questions/hypotheses and

qualitative research questions; a process outlined by Teddlie and Tashakkon (2009); thus presenting overarching research questions as key points for data integration. In this study, data is also integrated through a sequential research design whereby many of the quantitative hypotheses are derived from the findings of qualitative interviews, thus testing the generalisability to the population of findings for which it is appropriate for generalisability to be sought. As outlined by Farquhar et al (2011) a sequential research design is one of many approaches to mixed methods research, which also include concurrent research designs whereby quantitative and qualitative research occur simultaneously and integrated research designs whereby there is a multi-directional interaction between qualitative and quantitative designs. Johnson et al (2007) also highlight how different mixed methods research designs place differing levels of status upon either the quantitative or the qualitative elements of the research design, outlining three consequent categories of design 'qualitative dominant', 'equal status' and 'quantitative dominant'. The emphasis placed on the qualitative findings in the development of quantitative hypotheses, as well as the amount of planned qualitative analysis compared to the amount of planned quantitative analysis, indicates the 'qualitative dominant' nature of this study. Nevertheless, its pragmatic approach values both findings equally insofar as they offer differing perspectives on overarching research questions.

This study also uses a process described by Moran-Ellis et al (2006) as 'following a thread'. It resembles this due to its position within a larger-scale European collaborative and crossnational project conducted with researchers across different country teams. I was one member of the UK country team in the EU Horizon 2020 scheme funded EURYKA Project. This broader research project was concerned with the question of inequalities in young people's participation in Europe, and consisted of ten separate work packages, each applying a range of established and innovative methods, both qualitative and quantitative. Furthermore, it involved working with eight other university teams from France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland, Greece, Switzerland and Sweden, in order to develop data that could be employed for crossnational analysis between different European countries. During my participation in this project, I designed my own research project for my PhD studies, which occurred within the context of, and as part of, a broader research project which I worked on. Moran-Ellis et al (2006) describe an example of 'following a thread' as such:

“In our project, we used multiple methods in one investigation to generate several datasets, which include quantitative, interview, narrative, visual (maps, photos) and multimedia (video) data. We positioned all the datasets alongside each other conceptually, and started with an initial analysis of each within the relevant paradigm parameters to identify key themes and analytic questions requiring further exploration. Based on the literature and the original research questions, we picked an analytic question or theme in one dataset and followed it across the others (the thread) to create a constellation of findings which can be used to generate a multi-faceted picture of the phenomenon” (Moran-Ellis et al, 2006: 54).

The position of this study within a project which was structured in a similar way, to collect many different datasets on the same theme allowed for a similar approach; a qualitative interview dataset (for which the UK data was personally collected by myself, the researcher) which I analysed, leading to the development of quantitative hypotheses, which I then tested through quantitative data analysis using quantitative methods, using data from a collectively-designed crossnational survey. Moreover, it should be noted that ‘following a thread’ using different datasets does not prevent a sequential design, with the analysis of one dataset determining the consequent analysis of another dataset in this case.

As the reflections on my research design through this chapter will demonstrate, the position of my PhD project within a crossnational project– a position which is unusual for PhDs within British social sciences– entailed both opportunities and restrictions on my research design. Among these, for example, the opportunity to contribute ideas of quantitative survey questions prior to data collection is one which is not commonly available to PhD researchers. Nevertheless, the broad categories of political organisations used for the sampling of interviewees for this study were decided collectively within the consortium of researchers on the project. However, it should be noted that I chose the specific organisations sampled for my research within the UK. This was a process that involved thorough consideration of the appropriateness of the selected organisations to my research questions, including the inclusion of a range of types of political organisation– ‘old’ and ‘new’ (Morales, 2009)– as well as organisations where young people are participating in the UK context.

This section has summarised the mixed methods, pragmatist approach to this research. It has explored its epistemological underpinnings and the appropriateness of this approach to research questions and the theoretical framework of this thesis. This chapter next turns to

qualitative research methods: the first method adopted by this study in its sequential research design.

3.2 Qualitative Interview Methods

Interview methods are one of the most widely used type of qualitative research methods in the social sciences, recognised by social researchers as a powerful research technique which “provides such a rich understanding of human nature and human experience” (Freeman in Roulston, 2013: 297). Interviews enable for the elicitation of personal accounts of social actors which contain key information on their own constructions of their world and how they explain it (Blaikie, 2007). Further benefits of qualitative interviews include their ability to overcome the problems of capturing complexity in social science (Converse, 1986) through the opportunities for the researcher to ask questions to gather complex accounts and ask for clarification and expansion where needed. This thus allows for the ability to gather direct accounts of social actors which is beneficial for research surrounding contested concepts in the social sciences, enabling the agency of social actors in defining their own concepts, thus overcoming issues in quantitative research such as the reification of abstract concepts (Olsen, 2004). This is particularly beneficial for the study of gender, whereby participants are able to give more detailed accounts of their gender identity than would be possible through survey research, to explain how they conceive its relationship to their participation, and also have the agency to describe personal gender identity in the level of detail to which they are comfortable.

A potential drawback of qualitative interviews is what is described by quantitative-orientated researchers as a risk of interviewer ‘bias’ (Rapley, 2013) and what is understood by qualitative-orientated researchers as the role of positionality or ‘interviewer effects’ in the interview process (Fielding and Thomas, 2008), for which my own experiences surrounding positionality are explored later in this chapter. Although stemming from different approaches to research design, these describe a process whereby the pre-existing attributes of the researcher (such as their ideas or how they present to other people) may influence the interview process and data. This may influence the process from the early stages of research design through the wording of questions, during the interview process such as through social interactions, and in the practice of interviewing and in any assumptions made by the researcher in analysing the data. Practices to counter this risk include careful consideration of the wording of interview questions, attention to how interview questions are delivered, and

reflection upon the practices of the interviewer e.g. the extent to which the interviewer should interject during interviewees' accounts of their experiences with any supplementary questions (Fielding and Thomas, 2008). Inevitably, there is some degree of balance between attention to positionality or 'bias' and creating the non-formal environment that is required for the interviewee to feel comfortable to share their experiences. Indeed, the opportunity to meet personally and develop trust and rapport with an interviewee, is a highly important part of the interview process, which is necessary in order to gather high quality subjective data (Ryan and Dundon, 2008), in particular in situations where the collection of interview data may be impacted on by power imbalances between the interviewer and interviewee, such as in the case of younger or more vulnerable people. In particular, because there is an ongoing debate and a lack of consensus regarding the nature and causes of young people's political organisational participation, more attention should be paid to young people's own complex conceptions of their participation, in order to reveal the processes by which political participation takes place.

More specifically, this study uses a form of in-depth interviewing which focusses on the broader biography of the participant whereby the interviewer asks the interviewee to give accounts of their experiences across their whole life history. Despite the relatively low age of interview participants, this process is important to this study in order to gather data on young people's subjective understanding of their personal paths to participation, and to understand features of their primary and secondary socialisation to political participation. Life history approaches are broadly defined as a "retrospective account by the individual of his [or her] life in whole or part, in written or oral form, that has been elicited or prompted by another person" (Watson and Watson-Franke, 1985: 2). These are beneficial to a detailed and contextualised understanding of individuals' political participation due to their focus on the temporal dimension, which allows for events to be understood in relation to the whole (Lewis, 2008). Della Porta (2014: 228) describes how in-depth interviews are beneficial for both analysis of the micro-level and meso-level of political participation whereby life history approaches enable activists to "reconstruct the micro-dynamics of political participation" while also capturing how movements mobilise at the meso-level. Beginning by means of an opening question where a participant is asked to give their life history with regards to the salient topic (Rosenthal, 1993), biographical interviews reveal young people's constructions of their personal circumstances and situation, by giving them the opportunity to give an open-ended narrative of their experiences, including explaining their personal beliefs and meanings

they associate with their paths to participation, their experiences within political spaces, and their experiences of inequality. The remaining features of a biographical interview include a schedule of topics or an unstructured set of questions which are used to initiate follow up interview questions which closely resemble a conversation. This enables the researcher to draw upon experiences and interpretations gathered in the first, unstructured personal narrative and to cover any gaps in theoretically relevant themes that were not covered in the initial narrative (Rosenthal, 1993). In terms of the degree of structure, the interviews conducted are semi-structured in their design, with some features of structured interviews such as the role of pre-written interview questions, yet incorporating features of the unstructured interview; the interview guide is more flexible (Della Porta, 2014) and the interviewer may choose to ask different follow up questions whereby the interview can at times resemble a conversation (Lamont, 2015).

Due to the position of this study within the context of the EURYKA research project, the interviews for this study were conducted simultaneously to other interviews with young people active in political organisations, across eight other European countries. Benefits of working as part of a consortium included accessing collective interview training including practice interviews with actor-participants and accessing advice from experienced qualitative interviewers. Other implications of this approach were that some interview questions were standardised crossnationally with the purpose of creating a crossnational dataset of interview data. This did not prevent me from ensuring that all interview questions written for the purpose of this study were included. However, this did lead to lengthy interviews, with some extending over a two-hour period. In practice, the interview data analysed within this study comes from a combination of crossnationally written questions and those written individually by myself, as the researcher.

Further to the aforementioned considerations of positionality or ‘bias’, the process of developing interview questions also needs careful consideration of a number of other factors, including any assumptions implicit in interview questions, the extent to which questions are open or closed, the order of questions and interviewer interventions each of which has a bearing on the data gathered (Della Porta, 2014). My own process of developing research questions involved paying attention to relevant themes surrounding inequalities in participation raised by participants, and, based upon these emerging themes, developing the interview in order to prompt any further experiences on these themes from future

interviewees. The interview questions that I personally wrote and included in the schedule, while focussed upon the theme of youth inequalities in political participation, were nevertheless not entirely fixed. As themes emerged throughout the interviews, questions were edited to reflect the direction of the research. This process was very effective in eliciting further experiences of some of the themes of analysis including experiences of political organisational meetings and gendered experiences of organisational spaces. While I initially had concerns about introducing bias by asking about specific experiences of inequality (e.g. relating to gender or youth), these concerns were allayed by the level of enthusiasm and extent of agreement expressed by many of the participants with regards to these questions, many of whom indicated that they had previously reflected upon such dynamics with regards to their political organisational participation. Furthermore, I found that where interviewees did not have experiences with regards to particular questions, for example in the case of some male participants with regards to the question “does gender influence your participation?” many of these participants nonetheless felt comfortable to simply say that they did not have any particular experiences with regards to this. The iterative bottom-up process of adding interview questions based on the experiences of participants led to the a more specific focus of this study upon gendered and youth-derived inequalities in political organisations, from the broader starting point of young people’s inequalities in political organisational participation.

In total, 28 qualitative interviews were conducted with young people 18–34 who have experiences of participation in political organisations, in the city of Sheffield. With regards to the number of interviews, while there is no simplistic guiding principle as to how many qualitative interviews are sufficient for a study such as this (Mason, 2010), an important principle is that the number of interviews should be sufficient to collect data relevant to research questions and to achieve a reasonable degree of saturation: an experience whereby new themes are consistently not found in additional interviews (Saunders et al, 2010). It was my experience that after 28 interviews, themes did reach a level of saturation which was consistent with my approach and research questions. Sheffield, as a case study city for the purpose of these interviews was selected for a number of reasons. In order to elicit the experiences of political organisational participation among young people, it is necessary for a sufficient degree of political activism to take place in the city of choice, in contrast to smaller cities or towns, where the subject of research may not be available to the researcher. Furthermore, it is necessary that there is a reasonably large population of young people in the city of choice; in Sheffield the population of people aged 20–29 is above the English average

(ONS, 2016). In addition to the convenience and access that I was able to obtain in their home city, Sheffield is a large-to-medium sized city in the United Kingdom– the sixth largest city in the UK (ONS, 2016). Participant recruitment was conducted initially via contact and communication with political organisations themselves. As outlined, in order to ensure participants’ experiences were across diverse organisations, seven different organisations were selected to provide a range of political organisations with regards to both ‘old’ and ‘new’ types of political organisations (Morales, 2009), as well as across issues, and the left-right spectrum with regards to political parties. Furthermore, it was important that organisations were appropriately selected in the sense that there is a level of youth participation within them, relevant to the UK context. Interview participants comprise of mostly ordinary members of political organisations, although some have undertaken positions of responsibility within their respective groups. This is beneficial, in view of Childs and Murray’s (2014) view as to the lack of research on ordinary (party) members, rather than of elites, in research of gendered political participation. Furthermore, participants’ experiences represent a range of degrees of participation intensity.

Table 3.1: Political Organisations in Interview Participant Sample Recruitment

Political Organisation of Initial Recruitment (anonymised)	‘Type’ of Political Organisation	No. of Participants Recruited from Organisation
Left Wing Political Party	Old	4
Right Wing Political Party	Old	4
Trade Union	Old	4
Left libertarian Organisation	New	4
Feminist Organisation	New	4
Student Organisation	New	4
Grassroots Solidarity Initiative	New	4
Total	3 ‘old’/ 4 ‘new’	28

As outlined in Table 3.1, these organisations included a left-wing political party, a right-wing political party, a trade union, a left-libertarian organisation, a feminist organisation, a student political organisation and a grassroots solidarity initiative. In total this consisted of three forms of ‘old’ political organisation and four types of ‘new’ political organisation

(Morales, 2009). Participant recruitment involved contacting the political organisation with a view to the organisation making referrals of their members to take part in the interviews on a voluntary basis, followed by snowball sampling through those already interviewed in order to recruit further interviewees. While these seven organisations formed the basis of the sampling strategy to ensure experiences across a variety of political organisations were gathered, in practice, a large proportion of participants had a history of participation across multiple groups. This applied to participants recruited through all political organisations with the exception of those from the category of ‘right wing political party’. The fact that for many participants there was a history across multiple groups entailed that the interviews were able to gather experiences from effectively many more than the seven political organisations involved in the recruitment process. For the purpose of analysis and the write up of the qualitative chapters, this entailed the need to be precise about which type of organisation any particular participant’s experience was linked to. To this end, where experiences are described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the type of organisation is noted. Furthermore, where quotes do not relate to any specific organisation (for example, if the participant describes their experiences of gendered participation across multiple organisations) then no specific note of organisation type is made.

Furthermore, in recognition of the importance and complexity of non-participation to the study of youth political participation (O’Toole, 2003; Marsh et al, 2007), the sampling of participants also takes account of processes of disengagement from political organisations, in order that the analysis does not solely focus upon participants who are active and have chosen to remain within political organisations rather than leaving. Despite finding challenges in recruiting participants who had disengaged from the seven organisations which were purposively sampled (since indeed, it is likely that that political organisations might prefer not to refer those people who have chosen to leave their organisations), in total, across the seven organisations, I was able to interview four participants who had disengaged.

Furthermore, since the life histories of many participants revealed histories of participation across multiple organisations, additionally many more experiences of disengagement from political organisations were gathered from these interviews. A further challenge of the interviews was ensuring gender balance in the participants, since at the beginning of the process of carrying out interviews, many more of the participants were male than female or non-binary. Demographic information on the participants was collected in order to record and monitor as far as possible that young people from different educational backgrounds and

occupations were included in the qualitative sample, as well as biographical factors such as whether they had children, their gender and their age (in order to ensure a range of ages within the 18–34 band).

Table 3.2: Interview Participants’ Demographic Characteristics

Age bands and no. of participants	Gender	Highest Qualification	Occupation	Partner	Children
18 to 20: 5	Female: 11	A level or equivalent: 9	Student: 11	Yes: 16	Yes: 1
21 to 25: 9	Male: 16	Undergrad degree or equivalent: 8	Student part-time employed: 4	No: 12	No: 27
26 to 30: 10	Non-Binary: 1	Masters’ degree or equivalent: 11	Unemployed: 2		
31 to 34: 4		PhD or equivalent: 0	Part-time employed: 0		
			Full-time employed: 10		
			Self-employed: 1		

With regards to the gender gap in participants, a high proportion of male interviewees early on, prompted me to ask specifically for non-male participants through the process of snowball sampling. Furthermore, where political organisations agreed to circulate a call for participants to their memberships, I was able to frame the call specifically with an aim to balancing the gender divide in my sample. In the end, as outlined in Table 3.2, 12 of the interview participants were female or non-binary whereas 16 of the participants were male. To some extent this gender divide reflects theories of gendered participation in political organisations, whereby female participants are often said to experience lower confidence (Fox and Lawless, 2005) and are shown in some studies to have lower overall rates of participation in political organisations (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Nevertheless, since gendered experiences of inequality were of importance to the study, ensuring sufficient opportunity for the gathering of gendered experiences in political organisations was an important sampling consideration. While the gender divide outlined in Table 3.2 is not precisely equal, the measures I undertook to ensure greater representation of female and non-binary participants in the sample were indeed effective in mitigating this gap to a large extent. The age distribution (among 18–34 year olds) is roughly symmetrical with fewer

interview participants at the lower and upper ends of the range and a greater number of participants between the ages of 21 and 30. This distribution broadly reflects that a high proportion of young people in Sheffield are of typical student age, with a ‘bulge’ observed in the population for the 20–24 age group and a smaller albeit significant bulge observed for the 25–29 age group (Sheffield City Council, 2018). Sampling of interviews was aided through my existing networks including friends and PhD colleagues at the University of Sheffield. As a student at the university, I was also able to contact University societies through the University email system as a way to reach out to young participants in the political parties sampled that have associated student societies. While there is a reasonably high proportion of student participants (15 of 28 participants), the sample reflects the importance of both universities in Sheffield for the youth population of the city.

As I have outlined, this sampling method involved a combination of approaches, which partially comprised of a convenience sample since in addition to contacting political organisations for referrals, it was not possible to recruit all interviewees through this method and snowball sampling, at least initially. Thus, as outlined, some political organisation members were recruited through existing contacts. While convenience sampling is understood as less analytically strong (Rapley, 2013), even if in my case it was purposeful in the extent to which political organisation members were recruited, Rapley (2013) describes how convenience sampling can be effective for early stages of the interview process whereby the phenomena of study are being explored, with a view to a more purposeful approach later in the sampling process. This reflects the approach that I took during this study whereby “the iterative relationship between sampling and analysis” (Rapley, 2013: 49) entailed the need for a more specific sampling method (mostly via the snowballing method) towards the end of the interview process.

The interviews were conducted between April and October 2018 in spaces chosen by the interview participants, although I also ensured to offer options of cafes or a room in the Department of Politics at the University of Sheffield. The vast majority of interviews were conducted at coffee shops in the city, as the preferred location for interviewees. Despite the frequent issue of background noise in such spaces, which was mitigated to some extent via sourcing a clip-on mic for use with the voice recorder device, coffee shops served as appropriate locations for interviews due to their informality and the fact that they were not an academic space; I was aware that for some participants, especially students, being

interviewed in an academic space may be less comfortable since participants may have experiences of having their knowledge assessed in such environments, or may even have had negative experiences. Indeed, it was important for interviewees to understand that their own reflections on their experiences were of primary importance to the interviews, rather than any misconceptions of ‘correct answers’ to the interview questions. At the beginning of the interview process, I also paid close attention to gaining the trust of the interviewees. In addition to ensuring that participants understood the contents of the participant information sheet and informed consent form (in Appendix A and Appendix B respectively), I was clear to explain to participants how the data would be analysed and of the process of anonymisation. I also made it clear to participants to get in touch should they have any further questions following the interview or if they wanted to withdraw any of their data. While fortunately for the study, no participant did withdraw their data, a small number did get in touch regarding extra precautions for the anonymity of their data and to make requests to read the transcript once compiled, which I was able to arrange for participants. Further details regarding data rights were sent to all existing participants following the implementation of the GDPR legislation in May 2018.

From the design stage of the study and on an ongoing basis throughout the interview process, it was important to remain aware of my positionality as a researcher. Interactions with the interviewees also contributed to my understanding of my positionality with regards to how I was perceived by participants, and how this may affect the interview data collected. While inevitably my positionality as a researcher is a product of multiple intersecting attributes including my social class, ethnicity, gender, among many, I identify three characteristics in particular which most strongly influenced my positionality in this study. Firstly, as a ‘young woman’, I was aware that as an interviewer, gender has an impact upon the process. As Herod (1993: 306) outlines “interviewing as research practice cannot be conceived as taking place in a gender vacuum”. While the precise effects of gender upon interview data is widely debated (West and Blom, 2017), some authors have argued that female interviewers may be less likely to be conceived as threatening to the participant (Axinn, 1989). Furthermore, in relation to the interviews I conducted with other young women, my experience of interacting with participants in the interviews indicated that that experiences of gender inequalities were more likely to be shared due to my positionality as a young woman. Indeed, as some authors claim, having a shared gender contributes to greater trust between the researcher and participant (Finch, 1984). Similarly, it is my reflection on the interview process that my

presenting as a ‘young person’ entailed that experiences of youth-derived inequalities were more readily shared during the interview process. Nevertheless, other scholars express doubt on the extent to which a shared identity is ever achieved given the multiplicity of different intersecting identities among people in the real world (Malyutina, 2014). Furthermore, while my positionality may have positively influenced the interview data in relation to youth and gender derived inequalities, it also entails that participants may have been less likely to have shared experiences relating to other axes of inequality such as, for example, those of ethnic minority groups, due to my positionality as a white person, which could therefore have been a potential limitation of my positionality as a researcher. The second characteristic with particular influence on my positionality in this study was my status as a ‘student’ in the University, another feature of similarity between myself and some of the interviewees, with common knowledge and understandings of the university environment which may contribute to building trust. Thirdly, as a researcher of political participation, participants make the (correct) assumption that I am someone who is interested in politics (broadly defined), which extended in a very small minority of cases to questions after the interview as whether I am politically active in political organisations myself. In these cases, I was clear to the interviewees that I am not presently active in any political organisation. Indeed, in addition to being fully transparent regarding this, I felt this was important to clarify as there is a risk that giving any incorrect sense of being an ‘insider’ within any political organisation, as another consideration which may have an effect on the research process (Sherry, 2012) could in fact contribute to lesser trust between myself and the participants. I was able to make the judgement that for many participants I had succeeded in developing relationships of trust when I received feedback, both verbally in person and by email, following the interview, that participants had enjoyed the process of being interviewed and that it had helped them reflect upon their own political participation. Finally, positionality can also influence the process of analysing interview data, and there is the potential for it to add bias to the data analysis process. To this end, in the process of analysing data, I was conscious of the need to consider the wider context of anything that the participant stated– especially in the case of long sections of speech– to ensure that accurate meaning and context were attributed.

After interviews were completed, transcriptions of the qualitative interviews were undertaken. Due, in part, to the length of many of the interviews undertaken which in part stemmed from the questions collected crossnationally for the EURYKA project, some transcriptions were undertaken by a professional transcription company, with the explicit

consent of participants and using non-disclosure agreements for confidentiality, and some were undertaken by myself, the researcher. There were benefits and drawbacks to such an approach; to some extent it was necessary to use a professional transcriber due to the additional work and time constraints of working on a wider project as part of my PhD, which included working on a number of different research work packages relating to young people's political participation, including data collection and analysis, according to deadlines set by the project. Nevertheless, there were also drawbacks, as I felt I had a head start with understanding the content and themes of those interviews that I transcribed myself, and needed to do additional work to reach this stage with the transcriptions that were done professionally.

Following the transcription, interview data was analysed via a process of thematic analysis, "a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). I began the process by reading and re-reading interview transcripts, which was particularly important in cases where some time had passed since the interviews. Both during and following this process, I began to identify themes or 'codes' within the data surrounding inequalities in political organisational participation. Themes within the data were firstly broadly defined, and over time as a greater number of transcripts were analysed, became more detailed. Further processes that I undertook during qualitative analysis included creating life history diagrams for each participant, to aid my understanding of the key themes that emerged and (where relevant) link these to stages in the life cycle. Indeed, a focus upon individual cases was not an insignificant part of the analysis, as it assisted me in understanding latent themes in the data, according to different types of case, for example according to gender or whether predominant experiences of the participant was in a 'new' or 'old' political organisation. Nevertheless, the largest portion of my analysis consisted of the overarching themes in the interview data, recorded as 'codes' in my analysis and recorded in grid format in order to enable me to view cross-sections of data according to themes/codes across different cases. In my analysis and write-up, it was important that the major themes that I described reflected broader patterns within the interview data. However, the process of identifying themes cannot be defined quantitatively, as Braun and Clarke (2006: 82) outline, "Ideally, there will be a number of instances of the theme across the data set, but more instances do not necessarily mean the theme itself is more crucial. As this is qualitative analysis, there is no hard-and-fast answer to the question of what proportion of your data set needs to display evidence of the theme for it to be considered a theme". Indeed, the

importance of a pattern or theme was determined by its salience to the topic of inequalities in youth political organisational participation, i.e. “whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question” (ibid: 82). As these themes developed, it was important to continually remain engaged with the literature and to link themes back to literature and within the theoretical framework of demand and supply, throughout the process, which included the writing up process. At several stages in this process, it was necessary to revisit transcripts at later stages of the process. As Braun and Clarke (2006: 86) outline: “analysis involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts of the data that you are analysing, and the analysis of the data that you are producing”. The analysis also benefitted from feedback offered from my presentation of early chapter drafts at academic conferences including the Political Studies (PSA) International Conference in Nottingham (April 2019), the European Sociological Association (ESA) conference in Manchester (August 2019) and at the EURYKA project’s International Conference at Monte Verita, Switzerland (May 2019). Feedback from colleagues at these events prompted me to construct further codes within the dataset, and encouraged me to explore themes within different ‘levels’ of the data such as at the latent level (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

During the analysis and write up of the data it was necessary to make challenging decisions with regards to how to present the data. Firstly, while it is a benefit of qualitative interviews that participants’ own conceptions of their gender identity are captured, when analysing overarching themes by gender, there remained compromises in terms of grouping gendered accounts. For this purpose, this study groups the experiences of self-identifying female and non-binary respondents, as those who are more likely to be the subject of gender inequalities in their political organisational participation, although there remain disadvantages to such an approach in that differences in the experiences of different gender identities are not explored in greater detail. Furthermore, the qualitative findings chapters of this study are separated according to the analysis of inequalities that are youth-derived among young people, and those that are gender-derived among young people. While it is not always possible to draw a distinct line between those experiences which are derived from youth and those that are derived from gender, for example in the case of a young gendered participant’s experiences owing to the multiple axes of inequality associated with the participant. While it should be recognised that this is not a straight-forward process, through paying attention to how participants framed their experiences, as well as to whether themes were more closely linked

to the experiences of gendered participants, I was able to make judgements with regards to the separation of the analysis into these two chapters. Nevertheless, it remains a limitation of any study which analyses the experiences of participants with complex intersectional identities, with a view to understanding the themes associated with different axes of inequality.

Furthermore, in presenting this study's qualitative data in quote format, I have also paid attention to anonymising names and other identifying features of interview participants. Edwards (2019) outlines that a range of pseudonym conventions exist in qualitative research, which have altered over time. My method combined two different approaches to selecting pseudonyms: firstly, I assigned a letter of the alphabet to each participant interviewed. I then selected a name beginning with that letter, with the exception of some letters such as Q, for which the following letter was allocated, paying attention to retaining some of the characteristics of name (for example, its gender). However, it should be noted that the assignment of a letter of the alphabet to an interview participant did not always allow that all the names be characteristically very close to the participants' true name. Nevertheless, it was my judgement in some cases that this arbitrary choice of a pseudonym's first letter and subsequent pseudonym choice was overall beneficial, so as to not unintentionally identify any interview participant, should any future readers of this research have knowledge of people active in political organisations in the city.

Finally, in relation to the formatting of the write up, it should be emphasised that quotes in this study's qualitative chapters are attributed to participants in one of two formats, either pseudonym + (description of organisation which the quote refers to) or simply with a pseudonym and no description. As outlined previously in this chapter, many of the interview participants have histories of participation across multiple political organisations, which entails the need to clarify specifically on a case by case basis which 'type' of political organisation the experience, and specifically the quote, refers to. Furthermore, and intuitively, in some cases where participant experiences refer to forms of participation outside political organisations, or broadly across different 'types' of political organisations, only the pseudonym is included. Having outlined the rationale, design and process behind the method of qualitative interviewing for this study, this chapter next turns to the second part of this study's sequential mixed methods research design: the quantitative data analysis.

3.3 Quantitative Data Analysis

This section will outline the process of quantitative data analysis, specific descriptions of the data used, along with a rationale for the data selection and any assumptions made. The main advantages of analysing quantitative data from large-N surveys is the ability to generate results that are generalisable to the population (Kerlinger and Lee, 2000) with high levels of external validity; a large number of cases provides a greater level of certainty that findings are not a result of chance (John, 2010) while being subject to the same logical tests reduces the likelihood of selection bias. Furthermore, the distance of the researcher allays to some extent problems of 'bias' or positionality described in qualitative research, enabling a greater degree of objectivity. Nevertheless, quantitative researchers must ensure to minimise the effects of potential biases throughout the research process, from the early stage of survey design, through to bias in the analysis process, with a view to achieving an objective approach to research (Smith and Noble, 2014).

While there are drawbacks to quantitative methods, including limitations to operationalising key concepts through survey design (Simmons, 2008) which are required for scientific measurement (Hoyle et al, 2002), these were to a large extent mitigated by careful consideration of how to operationalise concepts. I participated in this process, as part of the team of researchers who designed the survey as part of the EURYKA project. While at the time of the survey design, the specific hypotheses to be tested had not yet been established, since these emerged from qualitative analysis (which occurred afterwards), I was aware of key concepts that would form the basis of the study including participation in political organisations, gender and youth. With the purpose of accurately operationalising concepts, I contributed to discussions including the inclusion of a non-binary responses in the gender variable and to the inclusion of different forms of participation in political organisations other than membership, to reflect the fact that some political organisations do not have a membership model of participation (Clarence et al, 2005) in order to ensure that these concepts were operationalised as closely as possible to how they are observed in the real world. Furthermore, all survey questions were designed by the research team with careful consideration to the operationalisation of concepts and considering the phrasing and ordering of questions (Simmons, 2008). It should be noted that due to the sequence of the research design, i.e. that the design of the survey questions was completed in advance of the qualitative interviews, that it was not possible to test precisely all qualitative findings via the

subsequent quantitative methods. Nevertheless, my contributions to the survey questions ensured that I had the best chance of having the data to test these findings. For example, for the qualitative themes of sexual harassment and the devaluing of contributions (both youth-derived and gendered), it was not possible to test these quantitatively, as these topics had not been included in the original survey design, completed prior to my qualitative data collection.

A methodological note should also be made at this stage with regards to the operationalisation of gender and youth. For gender, it should be clarified that for the purpose of comparative analysis, this study has grouped the gender response category ‘female’ with the non-binary response variable ‘do not identify as female or male’, in order to distinguish between those respondents who on average are more likely to experience gender inequalities (i.e. female and non-binary respondents) and those who are less likely (male respondents). This comparison does not seek to treat female and non-binary categories as equivalent, nor to ignore the differences in experiences of gendered inequalities of female and non-binary people. Indeed, this is a limitation of this study, as N=23 non-binary UK respondents is not sufficient for statistical analysis. However, this remains an important area for further research and a limitation of this study. Regarding the operationalisation of youth, it should be noted that while there is an important distinction in youth studies between age effects: the effect of age and position in the lifecycle upon political participation (Van Deth, 1990; Park, 1995; Schussman and Soule, 2005) and generation (or cohort) effects: the attitudinal and behavioural differences between generations resulting from differences in political contexts and events in the time periods of socialisation (Wyn and Woodman, 2006; Inglehart, 1990), this study does not attempt to isolate age and generation effects through quantitative measures (as also expressed by others, see for example Grasso, 2013). Indeed, isolating age and generational effects requires more extensive data and modelling (Grasso, 2014) and is beyond the scope of this study.

The data used for this study comes from first wave of the EURYKA panel survey (EURYKA, 2018). This was a crossnational survey with data collected across 9 European countries. However, only data for the UK is analysed by this study; for the UK there are N=3,018 observations. A major advantage of this survey design is the fact that it has a large booster sample for young respondents between the ages of 18–34. Furthermore, the survey sampling also gathers data across all age groups from 18–24 to 65+, thus allowing the researcher to conduct analysis across age groups while also enabling them to analyse data in

greater detail, as this study does through analysing patterns in participation among 18–34s. Table 3.3 summarises each of the variables used in the analysis and the survey questions they derive from, for which the questions leading to the dependent variables will be described in greater detail.

Table 3.3: Concepts, Variables and Corresponding Questions from EURYKA Survey

Concept	Variable	Variable Type	Survey Question ⁴
Age/ Youth	Year of Birth	Independent	“Please state your date of birth”
Gender	Gender	Independent	“How do you describe yourself?”
Confidence	Internal Political Efficacy	Dependent	“To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? <i>I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics</i> ”
Discussing politics in childhood	How often politics was discussed in childhood	Dependent	“When you were growing up, how often, did your family talk about politics?”
Political Organisational Meetings	When last attended meeting of political organisation (part of ‘political participation in the last 12 months’)	Dependent	“There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you last done the following? <i>Attended a meeting of a political organisation / party or action group</i> ”
Political Organisational Participation: Volunteering and Membership	Membership or volunteering for a political organisation	Dependent	“Please look carefully at the following list of organisations. For each of them, please tell which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?”

There are a number of demand and supply side factors highlighted in the qualitative interview data, which the quantitative analysis of this thesis aims to test against the population, or indeed the population of people who are members of political organisations. Firstly, the concept of confidence is operationalised using the internal political efficacy variable ‘internal political efficacy’, which measures respondents’ agreement with the statement “I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics” on a five-point scale between “strongly agree”

⁴ All survey questions, sub-questions and categories of response cited in this chapter are from the EURYKA survey (EURYKA, 2018).

and “strongly disagree”. Similarly, to capture a demand-side feature relating to how often parents discussed politics with people when they were growing up, a further theme of the qualitative analysis, this concept was operationalised using the variable relating to ‘how often politics was discussed in childhood’, which uses the survey question “When you were growing up, how often did your family talk about politics?”. On the survey, this question has seven responses ranging from “at least once per week” to “less than once per year”. For the purpose of the analysis of this variable by gender among the population of youth, the responses of this variable were re-coded into a smaller number of categories (4) in order to increase the number of cases in each category and aid with clearer comparison of proportions between male and female and non-binary respondents in each category. Thirdly, the supply-side concept of political organisation meetings was measured using a portion of a variable relating to political participation in the last 12 months. In the survey, this is a matrix of questions asking how recently (on a five-point scale) the respondent has taken part in a range of forms of political action: “There are different ways of trying to improve things or help prevent things from going wrong. When have you last done the following?”. The relevant response which this study is interested in is “Attended a meeting of a political organisation / party or action group”. While the quantitative section of this study is concerned with measuring attendance of political organisation meetings as a measure of political participation, this study’s use of this variable attempts to feed back into qualitative findings regarding the supply-side nature of political organisational meetings, using rates of participation by age group and gender to shed light upon varying degrees of inclusion or exclusion from these spaces, according to different characteristics.

Regarding the measurement of overall rates of political organisational participation, according to rates of membership and rates of volunteering, the main variable from the EURYKA survey which forms the basis of this analysis related to participation in political organisations. This variable includes a matrix of questions pertaining to participation in political organisations, whereby the respondent is asked in relation to a list of different categories political organisation (e.g. political party, trade union, human rights organisation). It is worded “Please look carefully at the following list of organisations. For each of them, please tell which, if any, you belong to and which, if any, you are currently doing unpaid work for?”. Among a range of replies, the respondent selects whether they are a member and whether they volunteer for any of these organisations. Each respondent may select multiple forms of participation for each category of political organisation, thus creating dummy

variables for each option based on participation or non-participation. Within the ‘participation in political organisations’ variable, this study uses the category of ‘Political Party’ as the comparative example category for ‘old’ forms of political organisation and the category ‘Environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation’ as the comparative example category for a ‘new’ form of political organisation. These are selected due to the prominence of environmental organisations and political parties on recent youth organisational participation in the UK. The ‘participation in political organisations’ variable is additionally used to measure the population of respondents who are members of political organisations, for the analysis of variables relating to ‘internal political efficacy’, ‘how often politics was discussed in childhood’ and ‘political participation in the last 12 months’.

In selecting which of the organisations listed to include, it was important to strike a balance between taking an inclusive approach to measurement whereby as many theoretically relevant forms of political organisation are included, thus reflecting the broad definition of political participation required for the study of youth due to broader conceptions of the political (Bakker and de Vresse, 2011), and ensuring that each organisation measured can realistically be considered a *political* organisation, as defined by Morales (2009: 25) as organised groups “*which have their main goal to influence political decision-making processes, either by trying to influence the selection of governmental personnel or their activities, to include issues on the agenda, or to change the values and preferences that guide the decision-making process*” and therefore so as not to over-estimate the population of respondents who are members of political organisations. To this end, while the author recognises that community-level organisations can have political objectives— indeed for the case of this study’s qualitative analysis it was possible to select a community level ‘grassroots solidarity’ organisation since the author was able to gain specific information about the organisation in order to establish the political nature of its activities— without specific information to which the survey respondents refer, alongside contextual knowledge of the non-political nature (i.e. no aim to influence political decision making process directly or indirectly) of many community level organisations in the U.K. context, it was necessary to exclude certain groups from this measurement. These were “Social solidarity networks (such as food banks, social medical centers, exchange networks, time banks)”, “Youth or student organisation”, “Church or religious organisation”, “Humanitarian or charity organisation” and “Community, cultural, sports organisation”. By contrast, all other response organisations were included in the measure: “Political party”, “Labour / trade union”, “Development /

human rights organisation”, “Civil rights / civil liberties organisation”, “Environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation”, “Women’s / feminist organisation”, “Lesbian, gay and / or transgender (LGBT) rights organisation”, “Peace / anti-war organisation”, “Occupy / anti-austerity or anti-cuts organisation”, “Anti-capitalist, Global Justice, or anti-globalisation organisation”, “Anti-racist or migrant rights organisation”, “Anti-migrant organisation” and “Disability rights organisation”.

This study uses the STATA 15 programme for its quantitative data analysis and uses a combination of cross-tabulations, tests for comparisons of proportions and regression methods for this analysis. This analysis tests a set of hypotheses that derive from this study’s qualitative analysis, whose generalisability to the general population, population of young people, or population of political organisation members, it is relevant to test. It analyses the relevant dependent variables outlined according to age using a sample of the data across all age groups. Furthermore, to analyse gendered differences according to these dependent variables it uses the booster sample for young people aged 18–34 in order to analyse in greater depth the gender related patterns among young people, which are analysed further using a PR-test comparison of proportions, to test the equality of proportions among gendered patterns. Thirdly, in recognition that a number of independent variables influence rates of participation other than age and gender, a logistic regression model is built for four different forms of participation of interest to this study. These are the previously mentioned comparative example categories of: political party membership, political party volunteering, environmental organisation membership and environmental organisation volunteering.

For these models, control variables are introduced, with a theoretical link to rates of political participation, including education (Schussman and Soule, 2005), social class (whose ongoing importance to rates of political participation in Europe has been shown empirically by Caínzos and Voces, 2010), political interest (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010), holding left wing values (Van Deth, 1990) and employment status (Brady, Verba and Schlozman, 1995). The four logistic regression models outlined are designed to provide a comparison of age and gender related effects upon different forms of political participation. This occurs in two dimensions, on the level of intensity and of the public-facing nature of participation (membership vs. volunteering) and on the type of political organisation (‘new’ vs. ‘old’). Finally, both through this study’s sequential design and through purposive integration of findings in Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion, the quantitative findings of this study will

also be triangulated with this study's qualitative findings, in order to provide more integrated and holistic responses to this study's overarching research questions.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed summary of this study's mixed methods design comprising of qualitative interviews with young people who participate in political organisations and quantitative analysis of survey data which pertains to young people's political participation, in order to study youth and gender derived inequalities in political organisational participation in the UK. It has also outlined the research approach of pragmatism and its positioning that looks beyond the confines of paradigm and prioritises the link between purposes and procedures using a combination of top down quantitative and bottom up qualitative approaches to data collection. Finally, it has outlined the rationale behind the design of both portions of the sequential research approach: qualitative interviews and quantitative data analysis. The use of a mixed methods pragmatist approach is consistent with a theoretical framework of this study– Klandermans' (2004) Demand and Supply Framework– and the consideration of both demand side and supply side factors requires the analysis of individual agency on the micro-level of the individual and of structure at the meso level of the organisation (as well as at and macro level with regards to context at the national level).

While mixed methods approaches have been critiqued by Bryman (2006) in terms of a poor level of data integration that places the onus on the reader to combine qualitative and quantitative findings (Bryman, 2006; Leech, 2010), this study outlines a clearer data integration strategy: in addition to the fact that data is integrated through the sequential research design whereby the top-down quantitative hypotheses are derived from the bottom-up analysis of qualitative interview data, this study will return thematically to each research question in the final chapter in order to summarise the relationship between qualitative and quantitative findings in relation to each theme. Having outlined the research methodology of this study, the next chapter (Chapter 4: Descriptive Cross-Repertoire Inequalities in Youth and Gendered Political Organisational Participation) begins the outlining of this study's qualitative findings.

Links to Later Chapters

This chapter has outlined the methodological considerations of this study and its mixed methods sequential research design. Its discussions of qualitative methods relate to findings outlined in Chapter 4 in relation to descriptive inequalities derived from youth and gender, in relation to explanatory inequalities derived from youth in Chapter 5, and in relation to explanatory inequalities derived from gender in Chapter 6. Its discussions surrounding quantitative methods relate to the findings in Chapter 7. Finally, the data integration between qualitative and quantitative findings is undertaken thematically according to research question, in Chapter 8.

4. Descriptive Cross-Repertoire Inequalities in Youth and Gendered Political Organisational Participation

4.1 Introduction

Through analysing 28 interviews conducted with young people aged 18–34 in Sheffield who have participated in political organisations (across a range of ‘old’ and ‘new’ types), this chapter summarises the experiences of young participants in political organisations in relation to descriptive inequalities in political participation in the UK. The focus on this chapter is therefore upon the inequalities across political repertoires, including in conceptions of repertoire choice (including their choices to participate in political organisations), and more generally how young people’s political participation and gendered political participation can be characterised as distinctive to other groups’. These questions have been addressed by many previous studies in relation to youth (e.g. Dalton, 2009; Pickard and Bessant, 2017; Pickard, 2019; Norris, 2003) and gender (Gilligan, 1982; Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010; Hooghe and Stolle, 2004). The descriptive inequalities which are discussed in this chapter derive from youth and gender. The description of inequalities as youth-derived allows for the encompassing of both age-based and generation-based inequalities, since when analysing such experiences of inequality from participant experiences, conceptions do not consistently draw the distinct line between age and generation that exists in the literature.

In relation to youth-derived descriptive inequalities, this chapter finds that, in the experiences of young people who have participated in political organisations, conceptions of their own participation demonstrate an ‘active’ approach to political participation (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017) that is flexible, in response to changing political opportunities in their contexts of their participation. In relation to gender-derived descriptive inequalities, among gendered participants in political organisations, there are conceptions that gendered participation differs, with young gendered participants displaying a level of discomfort with political organisations, conceptions surrounding ‘safety’ in participation, the role of gender stereotypes in the characterisation of gendered participation (Valdini, 2019) and greater degrees of experiences of gendered participation among ‘new’ political organisations (Morales, 2009).

The fact that young people adopt a flexible approach to political participation in response to changing political opportunities has implications for the study of youth political participation; we must not assume that young people's participation tends to take place simply within unconventional or 'new' repertoires, but rather recognise the changing value of different political action repertoires over time, according to shifting contexts of political opportunity. Nevertheless, the findings indicate that, for both youth-derived and gender-derived descriptive inequalities, both the 'type' of political organisation and the form of participation within that organisation, matter.

4.2 Descriptive Cross-Repertoire Youth Inequalities

Existing literature has highlighted the ways in which young people's political participation is seen to differ from those of older age groups. This section therefore focusses on the ways in which young people 'do' politics in a *descriptive* sense, including their conceptions of their choice to participate in a political organisation, their perspectives on different political action repertoires, and how their participation can be characterised more generally. As outlined in the literature, and salient to this study, repertoires of young people's political participation are understood to have moved towards greater participation in political organisations in the UK in recent years, in particular within political parties such as the Labour Party, as well as SMOs around issues such as feminism, the environment and influencing party politics (Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017). This however has taken place in the context of a longer-term change, albeit conceived differently by various scholars, whereby young people are understood to have altered, shifted or even reinvented their ways of doing politics (Dalton, 2009; Norris, 2003; Henn et al, 2018; Pickard and Bessant, 2017). The interviews' semi-structured style, in addition to interview questions regarding interviewees' rationale for joining organisations across their life histories, elicited responses which summarised many views regarding their relative cross-repertoire preferences. This analysis focusses on a sample of young people who have participated in political organisations. It finds that young people's participation, where this lies within political organisational participation or outside of political organisations, reflects an 'active' conception of politics that is flexible to political opportunities and comprises of a broad political 'toolbox', similar to the analogy used by Bowman (2014).

The experiences of young people elicited from these interviews include many experiences of joining political organisations in recent years, which reflects recent studies which have outlined how young people's participation in political organisations has increased in recent years (Pickard 2017; Rainsford, 2017). While joining political organisations recently may not be remarkable in itself given the young age of interviewees and the comparably recent nature of their secondary socialisation into political organisations, the context of their joining in many cases points to situational factors relating to the context of recent years. For example, all members of a left-libertarian organisation interviewed gave a similar account of having joined the organisation following a local grassroots movement occurring at a specific point in time, which naturally evolved into the creation of the organisation. Similarly, some young people interviewed, report engaging in a trade union in a context of increased industrial action, and most participants of a feminist organisation cite that they were interested in joining due to the organisation being new, which for some brought a more fresh, genuine, approach:

“I thought that you know well here's a [organisation] that have actually got.... It's more genuine, I believe it more, I believe that these people are doing it because they want to do it, there's no agenda here... and you know, why wouldn't you join” Abigail⁵

However, above all, there were a particularly high number of experiences of joining political parties across this period, with several having joined political party organisations since 2010, despite expressing that they had not wished to previously, and despite some maintaining a critique of political party participation, more generally. Yash, for example, explains how his joining of a political party was in response to a belief that the political party had become the best approach for achieving certain political outcomes. Orla, by contrast explains how she joined a political party in order to be part of a political organisation that could bring about a different government. However, both participants conceptualise joining— at least in part— as a means to achieving political outcomes:

“I wasn't enthused by any political parties really. Like I joined the [political party] in 2013 but I didn't care too much for it. I cared for, I had friends who were convincing me it was a good thing to do and be involved with and that we could win things from it. I thought it was

⁵ Names of interview participants have been anonymised. See Chapter 3 (Methodology) for a more detailed account of the anonymisation process.

the best of the options, but it wasn't driving me forward" Yash (discussing participation in a political party)

"There was a view that you need to be involved with this because this might not happen. And if it doesn't happen and if they don't get in you have got another five years of these and I can't stand that idea. So that kind of pushed me into it" Orla (discussing participation in a political party)

As the above quotes demonstrate, these participants' experiences, rather than indicating a clear enthusiasm for political parties, instead take a more nuanced perspective which recognises political parties as important sites to achieving their political priorities, sometimes with hesitancy or despite critique. Participants' accounts of joining political parties highlight the opportunity presented by parties as having a clear link to their position in the mechanisms of democracy and government. Furthermore, some participants expressed how their experience of joining political parties in this period was linked to the increasing expansion of substantive electoral choice, leading to a new desire to participate:

"A lot of my organising and a lot of my political work has been outside of party politics. But 2017 was the first time I actually went door knocking for [a party], so yeah, I guess 2017 was like the different one in terms of me actually getting involved or like feeling vested enough in the [political] party leadership to say I am going to go out and canvass this." Jasmin (discussing participation in a political party)

"Then my second general election was very different. I knew my vote was actually going to count for something... also I was out door-knocking on that day..." Willow (discussing participation in a political party)

While the expansion of political opportunities in the form of electoral choice (whose importance to political participation is widely cited e.g. Fieldhouse et al, 2017; Faucher, 2015) is certainly a notable theme of descriptions of beginning participation in a political party for some of the participants, it is important that this is not overstated. One participant, for example, expressed that he didn't see an expansion of electoral choice on the right wing of the political spectrum:

“Absolutely there is a lack of choice because if you are someone who is more right-thinking, I don't see an alternative... I suppose on the left side you can vote Labour or Greens or Scotland SNP there is no alternative on the other side of the spectrum I think anyway”

Michael

These insights nevertheless indicate that young people's participation in political organisations occurred in the context of some degree of expansion in political opportunity including mobilising events, the creation of new organisations and especially expansion of choice in the party political and electoral sphere (Fieldhouse et al, 2017). It indicates that, albeit with a degree of criticality (Norris, 2009), young people embraced these participatory opportunities in order to pursue clear political ends. Although political organisational participation has indeed attracted a fair deal of scepticism from interviewees, it would be an overstatement to claim that critical conceptions of participation were unique to their views of political parties or indeed political organisations. To put these insights into a wider context, participants also discussed the wider (extra-organisational) forms of political participation they had taken part in throughout their life histories and offered insights into their broader repertoire preferences more generally. What emerges from these insights is indeed that a scepticism for political action repertoires is not confined to political organisations. While some participants are enthusiastic for their chosen modes of participation, many more young people maintain a critical view of a range of repertoires, including of what are described as 'unconventional' repertoires, including of online participation, political consumerism and protest participation:

“I think, basically, protests do like serve a purpose and are important, but it can't be the only thing, you know... but like we definitely were talking about how like there's no kind of longer term strategy or sort of like, it kind of almost, just becomes just about that confrontation or like just about being out on the street for whatever purpose. And I think that can be useful but like I think more needs to happen” Karolina

“You can't live outside of capitalism. Whether you're wearing Nike shoes or you've got a smart phone, doesn't mean that you don't condemn sweatshops in Asia or something like that, it's just that it's hard to live outside of society... it's almost pointless and it's just virtue signalling, right, because unless you match that with a comprehensive programme of dealing with this all

on a structural issue... that as you do as consumers doesn't have, you know, it's got a limited impact at best, right" Unwin

Karolina's view here highlights her critique of protest participation as insufficient alone and that it needs to form part of a broader long-term strategy. Similarly, Unwin's critique of political consumerism also highlights that he conceives it as insufficient without addressing issues on a structural level. Both views suggest the need for broader organised collective strategies, contrasted to the ineffective nature of individualised action, reflecting viewpoints that collective action is much more difficult to achieve in increasingly individualist societies (Della Porta and Tarrow, 2005). Views of electoral participation (voting) and the electoral system were also nuanced, and views were divided among the participants.

While Abigail's viewpoint that "*I never understood why young people didn't want to vote*" was reflected in a significant minority of the sample, most are much more critical (despite the fact that almost all of the participants stated that they regularly vote). Karolina outlines how "*you have to do damage control*" in voting for the least-worst candidate in many elections, expressing how this heavily reduces any desire to participate, reflecting the importance of substantive electoral choice on participation (Fieldhouse et al, 2017; Faucher, 2015). Others had even greater criticism: "*I consider democracy to be like an everyday practice. Voting, I worry is a way sometimes of people like opting out of politics the rest of the time*" Rachel. Rachel's statement on democracy as an everyday practice also reflects the view of Juris and Pleyers (2009: 57) to youth 'alter-activism' whereby politics is viewed is characterised by an "emphasis on lived experiences and processes".

Since the views of interviewees indicate that critiques of political action repertoires are not confined to political organisations, and hence they are not directed at political organisations alone, these conceptions of political action repertoires may be indicative of the broader trend, outlined by Pippa Norris (1999), as the 'growth of critical citizens', whereby increasingly educated citizens are more critical of democratic processes. Indeed, taking a 'critical' approach would arguably be expected if we followed this line of argument. Considering more carefully the different themes emerging, a fairer characterisation would be that young people are flexibly using the range of political participation tools at their disposal as part of what others have describes as young people's metaphorical "political tool box" (Bowman, 2014: 16) in order to meet their political objectives in light of changing political opportunity

structures, which is reflected in the way that they use multiple modes or repertoires of participation, both inside of political organisational participation, and outside of organisational participation. Indeed, while there is a view that institutional and unconventional forms of activism are moved between rather than done interchangeably by individuals, “the substitution thesis of specialization” (Giugni and Grasso, 2019: 78), Giugni and Grasso find that institutional and ‘unconventional’ participation are likely to influence each other; with a high degree of cross-participation in the UK between ‘unconventional’ and institutional politics (Giugni and Grasso, 2019). In this study, participants from most organisations, with the exception of the right-wing political party, typically had mobilised a range of political action repertoires across their life histories. This flexibility of approach is reflected in some of the more creative examples of participation expressed by participants, extending to youth-led and youth-created organisations mobilising a range of actions and themes around very broadly conceived political issues:

“[It] was basically a forum, right, where the young people could go to if they kind of wanted to get more involved in a general sense and get more involved in the community and what we could do is in that forum, you can have that opportunities to activism, opportunities to create stuff, opportunities to do organizing, volunteering, maybe even jobs and stuff” Dominic (discussing participation in an SMO)

Nevertheless, participants have highlighted how any desire to apply innovative approaches naturally comes up against barriers within organisational structures, which as the literature indicates, often prioritise stability and aim to minimise risk (Ansell et al, 2015). This is reflected in the frustrations of some participants in situations where they are particularly enthusiastic to bring about change, and where they face somewhat conservative organisational practices:

“I remember my first few meetings, people behind me were saying ‘oh that’s just not how it’s done’, well change it!” Rebecca (discussing participation in a political party)

“They’re people who’ve been going to the same meetings for so many years, they organise the door knocking sessions, they keep doing the same things over and over again expecting a different result, which is frustrating, but I think that puts so many people off going to [party]”

branch meetings as well because it hasn't changed in so many years. How we door knock hasn't changed" Yash (discussing participation in a political party)

A final theme which characterised young people's participation both inside of political organisations, as well as outside of political organisations is the notion of participation as active practice, consistent with the notion of a rise of active volunteering participation among young people (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017). All the participants had volunteered for their respective political organisations previously, many on a regular basis. As alluded to by Rachel above in her critique of voting repertoires, participation in democracy is conceived by many to be an everyday practice (Juris and Pleyers, 2009). One interviewee, for example, explained how her participation was motivated by a wish to not be "*hypocritical*" in her actions (Orla, Political Party). Yash also describes how:

"I think active participation in democracy is much more important, especially to me, but to wider society as well, I think. Our voting system is so flawed that we're never really going to ensue much change from it, we're always chasing the lesser bad option" Yash

"My politics is very much an influencing factor and in things that I choose to do, the way that I live my life, the way that I interact with people, approach relationships, so I got a job with the [name of employer] because that was in keeping with my beliefs" Jasmin

This section has analysed young people's ways of doing politics among this study's sample of political organisation participants. Ways of doing politics— according to their own experiences of political participation— can be characterised as an active, everyday practice, which is flexible, using a broad political 'toolbox', and importantly responsive to changing political opportunities. While reflective of much existing literature (Pickard, 2017; Juris and Pleyers, 2009; Norris, 2009; Bowman, 2014; Giugni and Grasso, 2019), it also builds upon this to illuminate how changing contexts of political opportunity can shift the value of different participatory repertoires over time.

While it can indeed be inferred that many participants have a preference for active participation and for politics to be an ongoing everyday practice, it should not be deduced as a generalisable notion, since, by the defined approach of the sampling methods, this research has selected people who have a preference for political participation, since only those who

presently participate or have participated previously were selected. Furthermore, as Unwin states above in his critique of political consumerism above, there is some disagreement with everyday active participation as an effective method of political action where this amounts to individualised actions alone (particularly if as consumers, through the market) which discount structural barriers to change. Nevertheless, if not restricted to activism within the market, there are noticeable voices which express political action as an active process which fits into genuine and authentic approaches to living their lives (Pleyers, 2009). These findings provide added weight to theories of young people reinventing politics through creative practices (Pickard, 2019; Pickard and Bessant, 2017). As recognised by these authors, this also incorporates ways in which young people participate within political organisations. Nevertheless, young people remain ‘critical citizens’ (Norris, 2009) regarding their choice of political participation, whether this is inside of or outside of political organisations. Furthermore, the temporal location of political organisation recruitment across the last 10 years coupled with young people’s mobilisation rationales around changing political opportunities indicate that political organisations have played an increasing role for the interviewees’ political participation in recent years (Rainsford, 2017; Pickard, 2017). While it has been outlined that these findings cannot be considered generalisable notions, the findings of this section nevertheless motivate a later investigation in this study’s sequential mixed methods research design, as to whether quantitatively, certain portions of these findings could be generalisable, which is explored in Chapter 6. The outlined youth mobilisation into political organisations in recent years motivates an analysis of whether there is a generalisable trend in young people participating in political organisations to a greater extent. Secondly, the characterisation of young people’s participation as ‘active’ in nature motivates an analysis as to whether young people participate more in ‘active’ forms of political participation.

4.3 Descriptive Cross-Repertoire Gender Inequalities Among Young People

The previous section outlined how youth participation can be characterised descriptively. Similarly, this section is concerned with descriptive cross-repertoire gender inequalities among young people. These are concerned with the conceptions of participation, the choice of repertoires (including choices to participate in political organisations) and more generally, the characterisations of political participation among the sub-sample of young women and non-binary participants. As previously outlined, studies of gender and politics have

frequently addressed the issue of descriptive differences in gendered participation (Gilligan, 1982; Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010; Morales, 2009), but rarely with the focus upon young participants (with some exceptions e.g. Hooghe and Stolle, 2004; Briggs, 2008). The findings of the previous section drew upon the experiences of young people regardless of gender, and of course apply also to gendered participants. However, this section attempts to outline where there are distinctive characteristics of gendered participation and of young people's experiences that cite gender as a factor.

Gender and Repertoire Choice

An initial emerging theme of gendered participants' experiences within political organisations relates to a characteristic of their accounts of gendered participation. Many of the female and non-binary participants' generalised accounts of their participation in political organisations express a sense of discomfort when recounting experiences relating to inequalities within political organisational spaces. Rather than focussing on the content of the experiences relating to such discomfort, which will be later explored in Chapter 6 in accounts of explanatory inequalities, a more generalised theme of discomfort can certainly be observed across gendered participants. This theme could link to a range of existing themes in the literature including the descriptive view of gendered participants as less likely to take part in political organisational participation (Inglehart and Norris, 2003) as well as some explanatory factors discussed in Chapter 6, relating to gendered marginalisation on the supply-side (Krook, 2018; Mendez and Ozborn, 2010). In accounts of such feelings, the specific problem or substance of the inequality is not always discussed, and gendered participants can resort to generalised explanations, such as people they were advised to, or had a sense to, 'stay away' from:

“But you just know there are people you should just stay away from like even young members as well. I just don't think, I don't know if there is a correlation between the type of people who get involved with politics and if they have had contact with girls before in their lives”
female participant

This theme— while as yet relating to undefined processes in gendered participation in political organisations— is suggestive of a general problem for young gendered participants in political organisations and a general disinclination towards political organisations. Reflecting back on some of the methodological challenges of recruiting interviewees (as outlined in Chapter 3), I

had much greater challenges in recruiting non-male interviewees for this research project than I did for male participants. While a combined strategy of targeted snowball sampling and paying attention to the wording in my calls for participants to state a particular need for gendered participants, assisted in narrowing the gender gap to some extent, in the end despite these efforts, of 28 participants in total, 12 (42.9%) were female or non-binary, and 16 were male (57.1%). This struggle to recruit gendered participants, along with contributions to the literature which indicate a gendered preference for private forms of activism among women, in contrast to the collective nature of many political organisational spaces (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010) may indicate a gendered influence on repertoire choice, to the detriment of political organisational participation.

A related theme to this repertoire-based gender distinction is the idea of ‘safety’ in gendered participation, both among political organisational members and where activism involved interaction with the general public. Young people’s experiences indicate that gender plays a role with regards to this broad theme of safety, which links into discussions of the private and the collective (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010). As also captured in a later section of this analysis which focusses on harassment in political organisations, gendered participants expressed a number of example of times where they felt unsafe within political organisation contexts *“I wasn’t going to [organisational] meetings by the end because I didn’t want to be there because of this man”* (female interviewee), as well as in social contexts with other members of their political organisation. Furthermore, in relation to interactions with the general public there are indications that safety plays a role in participants’ experiences of carrying out different tasks. Some of the young women interviewed reflected on the nature of the public and private in their accounts of their participation. In the following example, Karolina reflects upon safety considerations within her organisation when conducting door knocking exercises as part of their organisation:

“So, and we’ve tried to do that, in terms of like when we go to meet specific people, we’ll try to be aware of like, OK, make sure we have like a man and a woman or like, or have more women like leading on it. But then, on the other hand, like so for this [member of the community], like he’s kind of like this older man, you know, we don’t know him, like the main [member of staff], he’ll just like rock up to his house and knock on his door and have a chat. But like I don’t really feel comfortable doing that or I’d be like, definitely need like another person there” Karolina (discussing participation in an SMO)

These experiences also suggest that while political organisational participation may be viewed as a repertoire in itself, that there are many types of action repertoire within young people's experiences of political organisations, suggesting that gender may have an influence on how participation is enacted within political organisations, rather than a clear gendered distinction between within/outside of political organisations.

The Role of 'Positive' Gendered Stereotypes

Young people's accounts of gendered participation also revealed ways in which gendered stereotypes played a role in political organisational participation (Kenny, 2011; Valdini, 2019). Influencing the accounts of men and women, the following experiences reveal a number of different ways in which stereotypes play a role in how gendered participation is characterised. As scholars of gender and politics outline, gendered norms and stereotypes are in almost all cases detrimental to gendered political participation (Kenny, 2011; Valdini, 2019). Nevertheless, this remained a feature of the conceptions and understandings of gendered participation of even some gendered interview participants. A feature of some accounts is a characterisation of gendered participation which could well be considered problematic: a notion of gendered participation as more 'caring' in nature. This is reflected in the account of Sarah, a participant in an SMO:

"I think women have a different understanding of politics and of helping people. And I think it impacts in the sense that I think there is a feminine touch around how we are doing things [Interviewer: a more caring style?] Yes, I would say more caring" Sarah

In her account, Sarah evoked stereotypes, albeit positive ones, relating to gender. The literature indicates that women benefit from the attribution of positive stereotypes in political participation in very few participation contexts— and usually only in cases where gendered stereotypes as 'honest' and 'communal' are more valuable to political organisations in times where the status quo has broken, for example following a high profile scandal (Valdini, 2019). The role of gendered stereotypes is also a feature of a reflection of Karolina, who discusses the role of positive gender stereotypes in assisting her participation in terms of helping members of the community:

“You’re speaking to someone who’s in a really like shitty or kind of like vulnerable situation. And I think, I don’t know, especially if it’s a woman, that it’s like, I think it’s easier to have like a woman that you’re speaking to versus just like some dude who shows up and it’s like ‘tell me about your problem’” Karolina (discussing participation in an SMO)

Nevertheless, participant experiences indicate that conceptions of gendered participation as ‘caring’, while on the surface a positive gender stereotype, can have problematic consequences for gendered participants, for example upon the distribution of labour in organisations. In Isaac’s account of his experiences of a political party, he discusses the issue of having fewer female members, describing a female member as follows:

“She was absolutely fantastic. She was basically the ‘Mum’ of the [organisation]” Isaac (discussing participation in a political party).

His account, while including discussions which indicated that he is broadly supportive of specific programmes to improve gendered representation within his organisation, is nevertheless indicative of the problematic nature of caring roles that gendered participants can commonly end up enacting within political organisation spaces, since in describing the female member as the ‘Mum’ of the organisation, he alludes to her taking on, or being presumed to take on, a caring role within the group. Indeed, it has been noted that positive stereotypes of women as ‘honest’ and ‘communal’ (which have mostly negative consequences for gendered political participation) stem in part from the idealised (and problematic) idea of a ‘mother’ (Valdini, 2019).

Gender and ‘Type’ of Political Organisation

A final feature of descriptive gendered cross-repertoire inequalities from young people’s accounts of their participation is a pattern within the data with regards to the ‘type’ of political organisation that young people’s experiences relate to. As Chapter 3 reflected upon, a high proportion of young people interviewed had histories of participation across multiple political organisations, which for some extended across different organisation ‘types’ i.e. whether they are classified as ‘old’ or ‘new’ (Morales, 2009). However, on closer analysis of these patterns within young people’s experiences, gendered participants experiences were linked more closely to ‘new’ political organisations. By contrast, male participants’ experiences reflected participation in ‘old’ political organisations to a greater extent. As

Morales (2009) outlines, gendered participation is influenced by the ‘type’ of political organisation. This pattern, much as other descriptive patterns within gendered accounts of political organisation participation, cannot make any claims to generalisability in relation to a quantitative relationship between type of organisation and gender. It nevertheless provides motivation for quantitative analysis at a later point in this study.

Summarising Gendered Descriptive Inequalities

Descriptively, this section has outlined how gendered participation of young people within political organisations displays accounts of discomfort within political organisation spaces, experiences that relate to safety and its relationship to participation repertoires (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010), and the role of gendered stereotypes upon political organisational participation (Kenny, 2011; Valdini, 2019). It has also revealed some patterns of gendered participation in the interview data. While this chapter does not claim to make claims regarding such patterns which are generalisable to any population, these patterns nevertheless motivate later quantitative analysis in Chapter 6 of this study. Specifically, this will be in relation to the relationship between gender and overall rates of political organisational participation (Inglehart and Norris, 2003), the relationship between gender and different forms of action repertoire within political organisations– whether more private or more collective (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010)– and the relationship between gender and participation in ‘new’ and ‘old’ political organisations (Morales, 2009).

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the descriptive differences or inequalities in the political participation, according to youth and gender, among this study’s sample of 28 young people who participate (or have previously participated) in political organisations. In relation to youth-derived descriptive inequalities, this chapter has found that the temporal location of young people’s choice to join political organisations in the past 10 years is, often within young people’s accounts of their reasons for joining, conceptualised as specific to the political context of recent years, including events and ways in which political opportunities opened up over this period. This adds support to the idea that young people have moved towards political organisations in the UK in recent years (Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017). Of course, accounts of participants cannot make any generalisable claims about whether young people are moving towards greater participation in political organisations in the population as

a whole. Descriptively, this study has also found that participants' accounts of their participation suggest an 'active' characterisation of these young people's participation, (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017) that is flexible (Juris and Pleyers, 2009) and responsive to changing political opportunities. In relation to gender-derived descriptive inequalities, this chapter has identified, firstly in relation to repertoire choice, that gendered participants' accounts that indicate some themes of disinclination towards political organisations, reflective of the patterns of gendered 'private' activism (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010). These experiences link also to accounts of participants that relate to safety in political organisation, suggesting also a role of the 'collective' and the 'private' in forms of participation within political organisations. Furthermore, the role of gendered stereotypes in the characterisation of gendered participation (Kenny, 2011; Valdini, 2019) was also discussed, as well as the link between gendered participants and accounts of participation experiences in 'new' political organisations, reflecting Morales' (2009) description of a gendered divide between 'old' and 'new' political organisations.

This chapter finds, in common with both youth-derived and gender-derived descriptive inequalities in political participation, the notion that the type of political organisation and the form of action undertaken, matter. Furthermore, the fact that young people with experience of participation in political organisations, overall, take a flexible approach to political action repertoire in response to changing political opportunities has implications for future study, in recognising the changing degree of opportunity associated with different action repertoires in different contexts over time. For the UK context, the implications of this finding are that any recent improvement in political organisational participation in the UK (Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017) is not necessarily a situation that can be taken for granted. In the future, if political opportunities contract (such as in a situation where political parties' ideological positions all shift to the centre or that opportunities to participate in newly created social movement organisations contract), that there could well be a reversal in the relatively high rates of UK youth political organisational participation.

Links to Later Chapters

This chapter has described a number of findings which motivate questions as to whether themes are generalisable to the population. Firstly, the temporal and contextual location of young people's joining political organisations in recent years motivates a quantitative analysis of whether there is a generalisable trend of young people making a considerable

contribution to political organisational participation in the UK. Secondly, the characterisation of young people's participation as 'active' motivates a quantitative analysis regarding whether young people participate more in 'active' forms of political organisational participation. In relation to gender, findings relating to forms of more 'collective' or 'private' actions within political organisations and between 'old' and 'new' forms of political organisations. These proposed quantitative analyses which derive from the findings of this chapter will be explored in Chapter 7.

5. Explanatory Inequalities in Youth Political Organisational Participation

This chapter explores the overarching theme of youth-derived (age-based and generation-based) inequalities in political organisational participation, from the same sample of qualitative interviews conducted with young activists (aged 18–34) in Sheffield who have participated in political organisations. The participants comprise of mostly ordinary members of political organisations, although some have undertaken positions of responsibility within their respective groups. Previous authors have discussed wide ranging explanatory factors on the supply side which influence young people’s political participation (Marsh et al, 2007; Taft, 2011; Sloam, 2007; Franklin, 2004). This study assesses young people’s own conceptions and experiences of their activism histories, with a focus upon interview findings surrounding explanatory demand- and supply-side factors which influence inequalities experienced by young people inside of political organisations. Lastly, it outlines key themes in young people’s *responses* to these youth-derived inequalities.

This chapter outlines numerous ways in which young people experience marginalisation from political organisations. These findings demonstrate how it is important to recognise age-based youth inequalities– as a distinct axis of inequality (Earl, 2018)– upon political organisational participation. The findings of this chapter map out how supply-side characteristics of political organisations, which relate to youth marginalisation (Thompson, 2005; Earl et al 2017; Earl, 2018), including: the descriptive representation of young people in organisational spaces (Pitkin, 1972; Murray 2014), the devaluing of youth contributions, tokenism (Arnstein, 1969; Hart, 1992; Kara, 2007; Bess et al, 2009) and backlash and discouragement (Rudman and Phelan, 2008), overlap in young people’s experiences, and indicate how such processes serve to reinforce each other, as well as how demand-side characteristics of youth marginalisation interact with features of the supply side. Finally, it outlines how in response to such inequalities, a theme of young people promoting inclusivity in political organisations across multiple intersecting axes of inequalities, provides some examples of hope within these findings.

5.1 Young People's Experiences of the Organisation: The Supply Side

This section highlights emerging themes from the interviews highlighting various ways, both latent and manifest within activists' accounts of their experiences, that features of organisations may impact upon young people's marginalisation from such organisational spaces. It should be noted at this point that young people's accounts of marginalisation, as a finding of this study, does not make claims that marginalisation is a theme of all young participants' experiences. Rather, it represents a strong theme amongst many of the young people interviewed. Many participants indicate experiences of, or processes that suggest, youth subordination from spaces such as the treatment of young people as lesser than older people (Earl 2018) or that reflect the notion of a 'youth deficit model' (Osler and Starkey, 2003): the idea that young people are as yet "incomplete members of society who have to be taught how to correctly engage with politics" (Earl, Maher and Elliot, 2017: 3).

These can be summarised under four main themes. Firstly, 'youth representation in political organisations', which analyses participants' experiences of low levels of youth descriptive representation in political organisational spaces (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014), a theme which extends across numerical representation and issues of organisational culture. Secondly, the theme of 'devaluing contributions' is outlined— as addressed in part by Taft (2015)— whereby young people experience that their contributions, or potential contributions, to political organisations are under-valued by those (usually older) people in positions of responsibility within a political organisation. Thirdly, the theme of 'youth tokenism' (Kara, 2007; Bess et al, 2009; Arnstein, 1969), whereby unsubstantive participatory opportunities are offered to young people in a manner which values the symbolism of their participation. Finally, the theme of 'discouragement and backlash' (Rudman and Phelan, 2008), whereby young people's experiences of being discouraged to participate, or at worst experience a backlash to their participation, is discussed. As the analysis of these themes will show, young people's accounts of these processes also indicate how these processes, link, overlap or reinforce each other: further processes that this section will explore.

Youth Representation in Political Organisations: The Domination of Spaces by Older People.

“If someone came up to me who was young and enthusiastic and wanted to get involved in the [political party] and said how do I get involved, the last thing I’m going to tell them to do would be to go to a [meeting] because it’s going to suck all the enthusiasm out of them”

Unwin (discussing participation in a political party)

One of the emerging themes from the interviews concerning barriers to political organisational participation was the marginalisation that many young people felt from organisational spaces, which was particularly acute within meeting spaces. According to participants’ accounts this is due, in part, to the dominance of older age groups in the space and the consequences of this to the structure and culture of the meeting environments. Previous research has discussed concepts of descriptive and substantive representation (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014) as well as how organisational culture can have an impact upon the exclusion of groups, leading to their underrepresentation (Norris, 1997; Kenny, 2011; Lowndes, 2000). However, this has not previously been applied to the study of *youth* political organisational participation. Furthermore, the experiences of young people indicate that this is an issue within ‘old’ political organisations, especially traditional political parties, rather than ‘new’ organisations, which may reflect factors such as the hierarchical nature of some ‘old’ political organisations (Piccio, 2016) which are generally less favoured by underrepresented groups (e.g. for women, Arnold, 1995). At its most basic level, interview participants describe experiences of being by far numerically outnumbered by older age groups hence revealing a low level of descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014) of young people in these spaces:

“Even though I am 33, I am the youngest person in my branch who is actually going to meetings, and there is members, but we don’t always get a good turnout” Fazel (discussing participation in a political party)

“For a long time, I have been the one young [member] and you feel a bit out of place sometimes” Neil (discussing participation in a political party)

Interviews also include explanations for the qualitative nature of the marginalisation the participants experienced as a result. Firstly, some participants express frustration that young

people are less able or ‘allowed’ to contribute verbally within such spaces, or that that they felt ‘spoken to’ in such spaces within political organisations:

“The other factor is often age, as well, I think. You get a lot more, especially older men, who, if it’s a, like if it’s a talk and there’s a question panel event, they’ll put their hand up and give a statement, which isn’t really a question, or just generally talking over people and not getting that everyone is allowed to contribute and often has more insightful contributions because they haven’t been to the same meetings before, two years in a row” Yash (discussing participation in a political party)

“I don’t think I really fitted in, I don’t mind listening to what anyone’s got to say but only went to a couple of those meetings because I felt again a bit like this is not really my people... I think I was just very much the young woman and I was sort of being spoken to” Abigail (discussing participation in a trade union)

Participants’ accounts which are critical of youth representation in meeting spaces hint towards problems with the wider cultural aspects (as applied previously to other axes of inequality e.g. Kenny, 2011, Norris, 1997) of meeting spaces relating to the dominance of procedural aspects including motions and minutes, which participants expressed frustration towards. As Fazel and Orla outline, the focus on procedure has been a frustrating experience for them:

“There is a guy, I think he has been a rep, he is retired. You know he is capable of producing very long detailed minutes and like will take up a lot of time just going through something that in my head feels like I don’t get how this is relevant, but it is a difficult thing” Fazel (discussing participation in a political party)

“They tend to be ‘we have got this motion’, and ‘this is going to happen’, there doesn’t seem to be any real discussion about whether to not it’s a good idea. But I think it’s also because things aren’t really debated in them in a wide sense because there is no... it either passes or it doesn’t. And I think when you have that kind of system it means that without, it’s not about coming up with a solution to a problem, it’s just about do you agree with this particular statement or not” Orla (discussing participation in a political party)

As the previous quote demonstrates, frustrations surrounding the dominance of procedure are framed by participants as linked to a lack of substantive political debate within such meeting spaces, as also demonstrated by another participant's explanation: *"They're all just like boring and they never really have any debates. They kind of just talk about the administration"* Vic (discussing participation in a political party)

Some participants express a desire to organise meetings with content that they consider more interesting, including bringing in speakers and debating important salient political issues within their parties. However, others appear to be entirely off put by the format of meetings:

"I'd look at the minutes and I can imagine...like I think most of the meetings had under ten people there, when I'd look, because I would try to read the minutes or like, then try to kind of be involved, but yes, I'd look and I'd be like, oh jeez, this looks dry" Vic (discussing participation in a political party)

As outlined, young people's marginalisation from meeting spaces was linked more closely to experiences of participation in 'old' political organisations, which may stem from the more rigid hierarchies in older political organisations (Piccio, 2016) which are less favoured by underrepresented groups (Arnold, 1995). Indeed, the interviews suggested that there is no substantial thematic link between these experiences of meeting spaces and participation in 'new' political organisations. One participant, who also previously participated in political party meetings also made the direct comparison to some SMO meetings that she had attended, and reflected upon the differences:

"I think meetings are just they are administrative tasks half the time, it could be done by email. And it's a lot of, it's so formalised and it feels like it's not a proper discussion meeting. Whereas the [SMO] meetings that I have been to, I have only been to two, but they were more like discussions and everyone talks and have a speaker and talk about this and talk about that" Orla (discussing participation in political party and SMO)

Participants' accounts of meetings within 'new' political organisations, such as SMOs, attracted far fewer critiques and dominated much less of discussions with these participants. Indeed, accounts of these meetings indicate fewer of the procedural rigidities indicated in parties' meetings and point to somewhat flatter hierarchies:

“I think [the SMO] is a weird thing, in that it feels like you’re very involved, even if you don’t have any kind of position. Where you can just go to a meeting and be given something to do and go away and do it” Yash (discussing participation in an SMO)

Furthermore, a distinction should be made between older political parties situated on the socioeconomic spectrum, and political parties whose focus is on postmaterialist values which have formed more recently, arguably in the category of ‘new’ political organisations. Inglehart’s postmaterialist thesis (1971) argues that political values have shifted away from traditional materialist concerns, towards more ‘individualised’ concerns, (e.g. feminism and the environment), whose prevalence among young people and importance to young people’s political participation has been studied by Henn et al (2018) and Ehsan and Sloam (2018). It has been shown that ‘new’ political organisations associated with postmaterialist issues are more likely to have less hierarchical organisational organising structures than ‘old’ political organisations (Arnold, 1995; Piccio, 2016). Participants in one example of these ‘new’ political parties had a much different account of these meetings, whereby the focus was much more upon debate, eliciting both praise and criticism among participants:

“It’s just nice to go along and chat to other people who are like minded and get their views on stuff. Because I don’t claim to be an expert in anything, I am quite regularly wrong in things or I will quite regularly change my mind over things. So it’s good to go and talk to people and debate things” Anna (discussing participation in a ‘new’ party)

“I found it quite demotivating because there was no agenda and it was a bit like sitting and chatting” Zara (discussing participation in a ‘new’ party)

The accounts of young people indicate that young people experience marginalisation from meeting spaces, both in the sense of their numerical marginalisation or poor descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014), and in their sense of exclusion from the wider culture and procedural nature of political organisational meetings. The interviews elicited a greater degree of discussion surrounding youth-derived marginalisation from organisational meeting spaces within traditional political parties than with any other form of political organisation. While the prevalence of postmaterialist values in young people (Ehsan and Sloam, 2018; Henn et al, 2018) is consistent with ‘new’ political organisational spaces being accessible to young people, as well as parties with postmaterialist foci, the richness of the

data surrounding young people's sense of marginalisation from traditional political party meeting spaces indicates that traditional political parties may not have responded sufficiently on the supply side to meet the needs of those who seek to join them. Theoretically, the differences between 'old' and 'new' organisations are steeped in degrees of hierarchy (Piccio, 2016; Arnold, 1995), and stem from the age of the organisation which may well be reflected in the rigidity of procedure that has been experienced by many of the interviewees when participating within traditional political parties. A limitation of this comparison is the lack of participant experiences regarding union meetings. Of the four interviewees who were sampled as union participants, only two were active in meetings; the other two had only been active in strike action. Furthermore, there were much fewer participants in the wider sample who held union membership as an additional form of participation to another political organisation.

Devaluing Contributions

A second theme relating to the nature of the political organisation on the supply side, is the devaluing of young people's contributions or indeed potential contributions to political organisations. The age-based value attributed to young people's contributions to political organisations is in part (with reference to dialogue and speech acts) discussed by Taft (2015). As she outlines "the ideal of egalitarian intergenerational collaboration is incredibly difficult to implement given the broader social context of age-based inequality" (Taft, 2015: 460). This section summarises the ways in which participants' have experienced their contributions as devalued by organisations: one of the processes which reinforces a sense of marginalisation of young people from political organisations. This expands the analysis of the devaluing of contributions beyond what has been analysed by Taft (2015), to include broader acts of how young people contribute to political organisations, e.g. volunteering, election campaigning. Young people's accounts indicate that this is not purely related to having lower experience in activism as a consequence of lower age, and that perceptions of their age played a role in the distribution of tasks and the extent to which their contributions were valued. In terms of participating in voluntary activities for a political organisation, one young person interviewed highlighted how they felt their age entailed that they were excluded from the more strategic tasks and only allowed to 'the hard bit':

“I would even say age has been a thing. Just being young you don't get taken seriously you are just a helper. So, when we were campaigning for councillors and MPs they would be like OK you go and post these leaflets. You were never part of their, ‘oh what streets shall we do?’, ‘what should we be publishing?’ I could have helped loads with that but they wouldn't ask....I would be on my feet all day posting leaflets, I would be on the street giving people leaflets having people shout in my face and I would be what am I doing this for I am just helping them out so they don't have to do the hard bit” Tess (discussing participation in a political party)

Tess's frustration regarding the distribution of tasks within the organisation is also reflected in an account of Yash, who makes a similar connection between youth and being allocated less strategic tasks:

“Yes, and you feel like, if they really cared, they wouldn't just ask you to deliver tons of leaflets because you're younger, but they'd actually want to work on getting younger people involved themselves. And they'll look at the fact that they have a problem with retaining young members, but, yes” Yash (discussing participation in a political party)

As the quotes above demonstrate, as well as an analysis which highlight an inequality in volunteering tasks, there is sense of frustration present in young people's experiences, as well a clear feeling that their work is not appreciated. One stage further to having less strategic input and undertaking more 'hard' voluntary tasks, is the total rejection of young people's voluntary input, which was highlighted by Willow in the context of SMO participation:

“Age actually is a big one. I had a meeting recently where me and a lot of my friends who are of a similar age met with a lot of older people and they were incredibly condescending and really patronising. And they were there because they had to be, we weren't. We were there to help them and we were essentially told we don't want your help, go away, we know more than you. And I think age was a big factor there” Willow (discussing participation in an SMO)

Willow's account here not only is an account of devaluing young people's time and input, but of accompanying experiences of rudeness and indeed rejection. Overall, as participants' experiences outlined highlight, the devaluing of young people's knowledge and abilities within political organisational contexts not only serves to undermine the potential contribution that young people can make towards political organisations– to the detriment of the organisations–

but importantly adds to young people's sense of marginalisation and of having a reduced stake in these spaces. The interviews also indicate that this theme is linked to experiences in both 'old' and 'new' political organisations, demonstrating that these experiences can be found within a range of political organisations. This chapter will next assess a third theme on the supply side, of youth tokenism within political organisations.

Tokenism

Tokenism, an often-cited process within applied studies of youth participatory programmes (for example, see Kara, 2007; Bess et al, 2009), is a process whereby young people's participation is treated by other members of the organisation in a manner which values the symbolism of young people's participation with little concern towards substantive input or opportunity— nevertheless enabling the organisation to have an external appearance of inclusivity to young people, or indeed people of other underrepresented groups. It has been included in several typologies of youth participation including Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation where it is equated to process of placation, consultation and informing, and Hart's (1992) adaptation of Arnstein's (1969) model which characterises tokenism as a form of 'nonparticipation'. While manifested in different ways in the experiences of young activists, experiences of tokenism were recognised by young people in different fora and are a further extension of the broader theme of young people's marginalisation from political organisations. One participant highlighted how in an interaction between a politician in his party and a crowd, he was singled out as a young working-class person:

“He once came to an event and just randomly dived into the crowd and shook my hand, probably because I looked like, ah look, it's a working class... young person, yes” Liam (discussing participation in a political party)

While tokenism doesn't always serve to restrict young people's participation per se— in fact positions such as youth officer roles may well increase the options for young people to participate in political organisations— there is nevertheless the sense which is recognised in young people's experiences that they were asked to participate for the symbolic value of their young age:

“She called me up saying ‘look you said you were coming to the AGM, would you..’ – I went to an emergency meeting before that so I knew them before– ‘but would you like to be a youth officer we are trying to get more young people involved so have a bit of fresh blood into the executive’. And they have just not let me go since, I can't leave” Neil (discussing participation in a political party)

While Youth Officer roles, as Neil’s experiences above demonstrate to some extent, can lead to further opportunities for organisational involvement, the strategic use of Youth Officer is framed by another participant as a way of offering what appears an opportunity without any substance. Yash highlights what he conceives a common experience where young people attend political party meetings for the first time:

“Either they just get ignored and no one talks to them or they’re immediately told, OK, you’re now the youth officer of the branch, with no training or anything, and just go out and do that and get more young people to come” Yash (discussing participation in a political party)

In describing Youth Officer roles here as lacking training, Yash is expressing here how young people who would be less able to execute the role without training are being offered a much less substantial participation opportunity in his hypothetical example. His account also hints that the contributions of young people in Youth Officer roles are often devalued, as has been outlined previously. As all the experiences outlined have indicated, experiences of tokenism (Arnstein, 1969; Hart, 1992), especially in relation to ‘youth officer’ roles are linked to the lack of young people (and hence poor representation of young people) in key organisational spaces, in particular within the meetings of political parties. This once again raises the question of whether this theme is linked to the characteristics of ‘new’ and ‘old’ political organisations. This section finally analyses themes of discouragement and backlash with respect to youth participation in political organisations.

Discouragement and Backlash

While the themes so far outlined have shown examples of young people’s experiences of marginalisation on the supply side (due to features of political organisations), some of the themes have been latent to young people’s verbalisation of their experiences and there has often been a degree of nuance and sometimes confusion, much like in any form of

discrimination, as to whether their youth has played a role in their experience. Nevertheless, this final theme presented here demonstrates (increasingly) clear and direct expressions of marginalisation. This section outlines the theme of direct discouragement and backlash, whereby young people explain their experiences of direct discouragement to their participation and negative backlash effects— “Backlash effects are defined as social and economic reprisals for behaving counterstereotypically” (Rudman and Phelan, 2008: 61)— a concept which is more commonly applied in gender and politics studies to the incidents where gendered participants receive reprisals for behaviours that are stereotypically considered ‘male’ such as speaking assertively (Rudman and Phelan, 2008; Valdini, 2019). This concept can, however, be applied across multiple axes of inequality, including to age.

Rebecca, a young person who participates in a political party, explained how during party meetings she was often discouraged from speaking out and making suggestions, a process which continued for a number of years:

“A lot of people try to make me quiet by saying ‘don’t say something this time, say it next time’. Well I’ve been waiting 2 years not to say it and I’ve got 4 years now so why not”
Rebecca (discussing participation in a political party)

The notion of being ‘asked to wait’ was also raised by Sarah, a participant in an SMO, who in this quote reflects upon wider society and political movements. In this case, Sarah’s response was to a direct follow-up question from the interviewer regarding whether young people are treated as ‘lesser’ within political movements (Earl, 2018; Gordon, 2008; Bessant and Grasso, 2018). She highlights how she believes the problem has existed for previous generations of young people as well as the present one, that she believes young people were treated perhaps worse in the past, but that the salient issue for this generation in her view is to challenge this:

“Yes, I think there is that because they have seen that being done to them. Because their parents have told them ‘you have to wait’ and they see that we are not willing to wait. And I think this is a problem... I think it has definitely got better. But I think we need to take it further, I think there is an attempt to shut the young generation up, there has always been that ‘I am older I am wiser I know better’. But I don't think we should be OK with letting it happen just because it happened in the past” Sarah

While discouragement and backlash are thematically similar processes, the more features of backlash can be more shock-inducing to the reader. As Yash outlines, in the context of SMO participation, young people can face dismissal and a characterisation as childish in response to their participation:

“It intersects with age, where there is a dismissal, like a belief that you’re, I don’t know, petulant, as well as anything else, just because you’re asking for things” Yash (discussing participation in an SMO)

Similarly, Rebecca, a participant in a political party, recalled being confronted by other members on questions of fact regarding their previous communications. This young person recalls being addressed using the following language: *“sometimes you’ve just got to accept that you are wrong, you are silly, you are ridiculous”*. Indeed, the level of contextual detail recalled by this young person with regards to the language and tone of this event, and her conceptualisation of the event, elicits experiences of infantilisation and belittlement, as well as a strong backlash (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) to her presence in the space. Finally, backlash against young people’s presence and participation within political organisations, while mostly recalled on an individual basis from individual interviews, can also be experienced on a group-level, as Unwin recalls from his participation within a political party youth branch, was experienced by the youth branch as a sense of ‘antipathy’ towards young people:

“I have a sense that it’s true for the wider party, it has complete antipathy towards young people, quite a lot. And especially to young people independently organising of existing party mechanisms and infrastructure...I found that, particularly [in the party youth branch] reaching out to other organs of the party, trying to get either funding support or even having them send us literature, or organising getting speakers to come in and stuff like that, we were mostly met with at best disinterest and at most cynicism and antipathy” Unwin (discussing participation in a political party)

Ranging from accounts of active discouragement of participation to the dismissal of young people and direct insults in some cases, accounts of discouragement and backlash (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) towards young people’s participation within political organisations show some of the most direct and sometimes shocking accounts of processes of youth

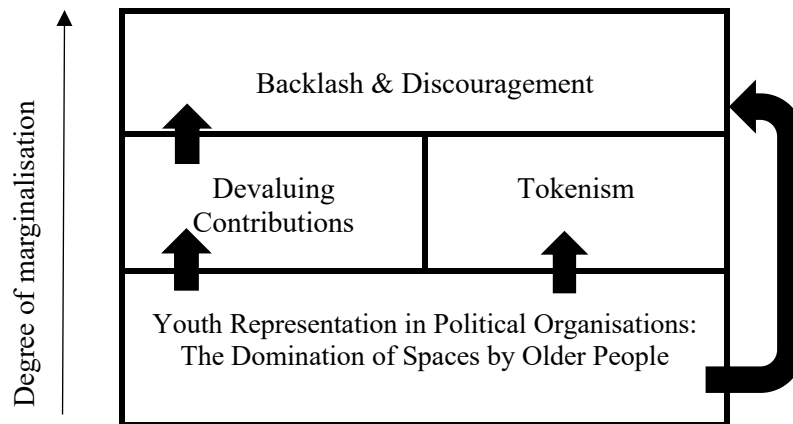
subordination (Earl, 2018) and of the degree of youth marginalisation (Thompson, 2005) on the supply side. Previous accounts of the devaluing of young people's contributions have also indicated an overlap in experiences between this and experiences of discouragement and backlash. This section will next summarise the supply side themes outlined, including their relationship to the broader literature.

Summarising the Supply Side

Young people's experiences of inequalities in political organisational participation on the supply side point to a number of processes whereby young people become marginalised from political organisations (Thompson, 2005), which illustrate the importance of supply-side processes to youth inequalities in political organisations. Of these processes, it is firstly notable that in particular relation to youth representation and the issue of tokenism (Hart, 1992; Arnstein, 1969), that these experiences are primarily linked to experiences within political parties, thus raising the question of whether experiences are linked to the character of organisations, the degree of hierarchy and indeed 'new' or 'old' political organisations.

Furthermore, the vast majority of the substance of most elicited experiences point to age effects, stemming from the differential treatment of young people, including some examples of youth subordination (Earl, 2018) and of the youth deficit model (Earl et al, 2017; Osler and Starkey, 2003)– although it should be noted that arguably some features of political organisations which arguably could stem from generational changes; for example, the dominance of older members in political organisational spaces, could well be a consequence of reducing rates of political organisational recruitment over time and consequently ageing memberships (Scarrow and Gezgor, 2018), although this is a more tangential factor to the findings. Third, young people's accounts of their experiences indicate a process whereby these factors of youth supply-side marginalisation (Thompson, 2005) reinforce each other. With respect to the above, Figure 5.1 provides a visual illustration of how problems which appear as *prima facie* less problematic such as the higher representation of older people in political organisation spaces can then lead to other processes which reflect an even greater degree of marginalisation further down the line.

Figure 5.1: The Supply Side: Processes of Youth Marginalisation in Political Organisations



For example, tokenism (Hart, 1992; Arnstein, 1969) is understood to come about, in participants' views, in part due to a lack of young people's descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1972) in political organisational spaces, leading to young people entering older-dominated spaces being 'automatically' asked to fill youth officer roles. The devaluing of youth contributions (which has in part been discussed by Taft, 2015) are also understood by participants to be reinforced by the nature of youth representation in political organisations, as older people dominating positions of responsibility/power in organisations can lead to some of the dynamics outlined by young people, including not be 'allowed' to contribute to more strategic roles in political campaigning, and for youth contributions to be dismissed in condescending language. In turn, the devaluing of youth contributions is associated with the processes of backlash and discouragement in young people's experiences (Rudman and Phelan, 2008). The notion of being 'asked to wait' in order to contribute is a form of discouragement to participate, but also stems from a devaluing of those contributions within the organisation. Finally, backlash and discouragement (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) are also reinforced by age dynamics in political spaces. Examples given by participants such as being treated as 'petulant' for asking for something, or being infantilised as 'silly' or 'ridiculous', are examples whereby the authority of the older person in the organisation enables them to enact such a backlash. This chapter will next analyse the responses of young people who participated in interviews to the processes of marginalisation outlined.

5.2 Characteristics of Young People Participating in Political Organisations: The Demand Side

Having already analysed features of the supply side which relate to features of political organisations, this chapter will next focus upon the attributes of the individual on the demand side (Klandermans, 2004)– i.e. attributes of young people which influence their participation in political organisations. Firstly, this section will address the theme of ‘low/unstable networks’ which analyses experiences from young people’s life histories which relate to their levels of embeddedness in personal or social networks. Secondly, it will address the theme of ‘low confidence’, which addresses experiences of low confidence among young people in relation to activist experiences. As this analysis will show, these findings can be understood to interact with features of the supply side, whereby these (demand-side) attributes of young people influence their interaction with (supply-side) political organisation spaces, which in turn, has further impacts upon (demand-side) attributes of young people.

Low or Unstable Networks

Features of young people’s life histories and the development of their activism over time elicit themes which suggest that young people’s personal or social networks, a resource-based demand side feature which theory states increases propensity to participate politically (Putnam 2000; 1993)⁶, via methods such as increased invitations to participate (Schussman and Soule, 2005), can be understood as low or generally unstable at lower ends of the life cycle. Participants’ experiences of their early socialisation indicate very low roles for families or social peer groups in secondary school or earlier in the development of social networks for political organisational participation, suggesting low evidence for the importance of families and childhood peer groups in developing networks for political organisational socialisation and some support for Putnam’s ‘bowling alone’ thesis (Putnam, 2000). While family ties can play a role in political participation, (which can be demonstrated through the importance of discussing politics with family members in this sample of participants, as well as the fact that many participants developed political views which are ‘nearby’ to their parents on the left-right political spectrum) the overwhelming majority of participants did not have a family member who was active in a political organisation. Peer groups up to the age of 18 also

⁶ The role of networks, and the associated theory of social capital, as a demand-side factor influencing inequalities in political participation is discussed more extensively in the Literature Review (Chapter 2).

played a very limited role in developing networks with regards to political participation. During childhood and adolescence, most participants did not have highly political circles of friends, or indeed in most cases nor any peers with particularly political views. In some examples, participants described anti-political viewpoints among their friends during the teen years, or a sense of political apathy among their friends. As Karolina describes, “[*My friends*] were sort of, in the very cliché way, like not very politicised or like interested in politics”. For these young people, leaving secondary school, in many cases in order to attend university, was a juncture point which enabled them to find opportunities for political participation, as well as friendships with people with more political viewpoints or greater political involvement. For participants, educational and employment landmarks, including starting sixth form, an undergraduate university course, entering a job, or beginning a postgraduate course, provided the new context and/or friendship groups to enable transitions, or juncture points in which they experienced new opportunities to participate in political organisations, often matching existing interest through exposure to new social networks:

“When I started university at freshers, there was a stall...so from that, I got involved in the society, went to some meetings, met new people, thought okay, this was good. Then I went to some meetings and this man...came along and he introduced me to the party, and introduced me to the party and eventually I joined” Chris

However, in some cases these juncture points, in the small number of cases when the young person was politically active prior to the age of 18, led to a consequent restricted access to the their previous existing social networks which has been so important to their previous participation (Schussman and Soule, 2005; Putnam, 2000; 1993) whereby the young person experienced a loss of their original organisation of participation, leading to periods of instability or indeed non-participation. This finding suggests a different relationship between education and participation than much of the literature, contrasting to the biographical availability hypothesis, which highlights that young people in education are more likely to participate due to fewer commitments and greater availability for participation (Schussman and Soule, 2005). Tessa, for example, explains a sense that she would not be accepted in the student organisation of her political party, explaining that her active participation in the organisation came to an end when she moved cities and was unable to be in the party’s regional organisation associated with her previous home town. Rachel’s experiences are similar in the sense of not wanting to participate in political groups which she encountered at

university, but the temporary end to her participation at this point in time is conceptualised differently by this participant, as a result of finding fewer opportunities for independent organising at university than she had previously:

“I am still part of the [political party], but when I moved to university I couldn't be in [the home region group] anymore which is the group I was in. But I am still in [the youth wing] but not in a group anymore, I was going to join the [student wing] ... but I just don't think I would be accepted there”. Tessa

“It's probably worth noting that whilst I was at University, I didn't do politics at all. I didn't find a group that represented... I think I'd been in this very independently minded group and everything I found in [the University city] was like a party, it was like, I'm not going to join a party, I want to organise my own stuff” Rachel

Nevertheless, social and geographical mobility at juncture points (often in the education system) serve as positive or negative factors upon the networks of young people (Schussman and Soule, 2005; Putnam, 2000) and their consequent political organisational participation. An important characteristic is that participants appeared to take some time to become embedded into new social networks and therefore experience low or unstable networks. Joining university, for example, was a frequent point in young people's life histories for joining political organisations for the first time. Occasionally, joining political organisations was a straight-forward and smooth process for young people. Nevertheless, in a number of cases, young people experienced a period of adjustment or a need to search further to find an organisation where they were comfortable, or felt that they were suited to, before finally choosing an organisation or settling on the first one. In many cases, failed attempts to participate in a political organisation, whether lengthy or short, took place before the young person felt that they had found 'their group'. This demonstrates the importance of a developed social network and of associated factors, such as invitations to participate, to political participation more generally (Schussman and Soule, 2005). The experiences of interview participants indicate that young people in the sample of interviewees had a low level of embeddedness in the social networks associated with political organisations. While some gain social networks at university, for many their networks are unstable, with some losing these social networks after university, for example. Whether a feature of a wider changing society as suggested by Putnam (2000)– as the low role of parents and family

networks seems to suggest– or indeed relating to youth as a period in the lifecycle, low or unstable levels of embeddedness in networks are suggested in many participants’ accounts of their early socialisation and activist histories.

A second demand-side feature of young people’s accounts of their active histories and political organisational participation is the theme of low confidence, which this chapter will next explore.

Low Confidence

Some participants in the study expressed a latent sense of having a low sense of personal confidence, relating to their activism, which was framed by participants as a feature of being young. While the impact of low confidence upon political participation is explored to a greater extent within the gender and participation literature (e.g. by Fox and Lawless, 2005), these accounts provide a reason to explore confidence as a factor influencing youth participation. While for young people, low confidence has clear links to having lower levels of experience in participation, the framing of youth as a reason for low confidence by participants and the conception of previous experience as highly important to political participation ties into concepts characteristic of a youth deficit model (Osler and Starkey, 2003; Earl et al, 2017). This is reflected in the account of Sarah, who expresses a degree of self-consciousness surrounding her age on her appointment to a position of responsibility in her political organisation:

“Well at first it’s quite scary because I thought oh my gosh, I am so young, when I [got the position of responsibility] I was 18 it’s like ohhh” Sarah (discussing participation in an SMO)

Some of the participants’ experiences also indicate that this sense of a lack of confidence, can be reinforced by comparisons of their own capabilities to those of others, either on an individual basis or as experienced within the culture of groups. Sarah, for example, explains how in her circumstances, her lower sense of self-belief stems from the fact that others surrounding her look to be so capable. While she is initially unclear about whether this stems from age, she goes on to cite her youth and lack of experience as a reason for her feelings:

“I am aware of the fact that I am surrounded by really brilliant people who can do things in a wonderful way, and they can think about things in a way that I could never have thought of. And I think I am willing to listen. I am not sure if it’s about my age or anything, but I do think it’s about my age. I think I got there really scared and thinking how am I ever going to do anything? I am so young” Sarah (discussing participation in an SMO)

By contrast Ed’s experience, indicates that his relative lack of experience was somewhat collectively recognised in the distribution of tasks and responsibilities within his activist group, expressing also that he does not agree with the way in which this may merge into activist group culture:

“I didn’t actually do all that much. I think that often happens with younger people who get involved, it’s harder to... often it’s easier if you’re older and more experienced to ... it’s not a good culture to be in, it’s not the ideal way to be” Ed (discussing participation in an SMO)

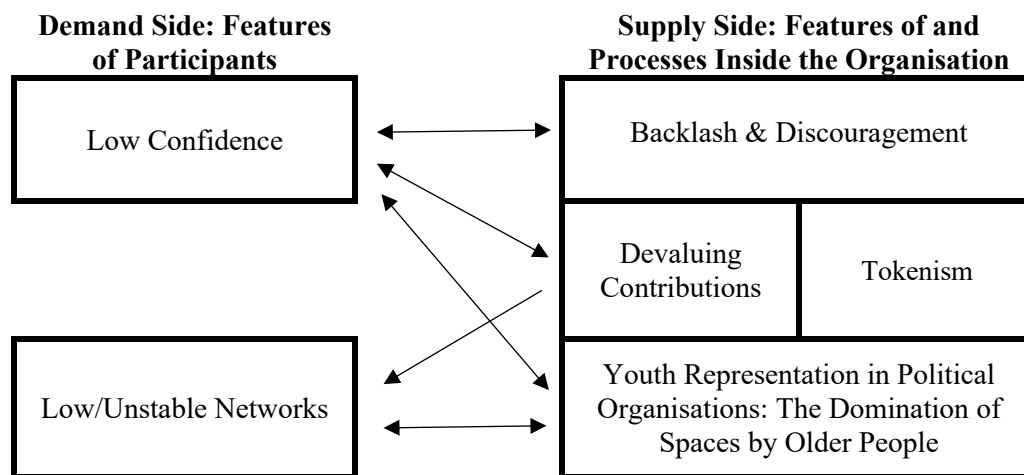
Lower levels of confidence, a demand side feature of participants, perhaps as a consequence of conceptions of the importance of age or experience to political organisational participation, is a characteristic of young people’s accounts of their participation in political organisations. In part reflecting notions of a youth deficit model (Osler and Starkey, 2003; Earl et al, 2017), lower levels of confidence can be understood as a negative influencing factor upon political participation, much as similar analyses have suggested in studies of gender inequalities and political participation (Fox and Lawless, 2005). As Brown (2016: 12) highlights “young activists don’t just pop up fully formed and informed”. While lower confidence elicited from qualitative interview data cannot be understood as a generalisable finding, it may be complemented by subsequent quantitative exploration and thus levels of confidence among young people will be explored in Chapter 7. This chapter will next summarise the importance of the outlined demand-side attributes, as well as discussing processes whereby they interact with the processes of marginalisation which have been outlined on the supply side.

Summarising the Demand Side

Overall, demand-side processes place the emphasis on the role of the individual, as derived from their experiences and early socialisation. Features of young people on the demand side impact young people’s experiences of participation and non-participation. Two themes— networks (Schussman and Soule, 2005) and confidence (Fox and Lawless, 2005)— which

have emerged from participant interviews, indicate processes which can have a negative impact on young people’s participation. While this is not anywhere near an exhaustive list—indeed theoretically there are likely to be many more demand-side characteristics of youth influencing political participation, both potentially discouraging and encouraging participation—this chapter has outlined those themes and processes which relate to themes of marginalisation which this study focusses upon. Figure 5.2 outlines how these demand-side themes can be linked to features of the supply side, thus demonstrating how the interaction of demand- and supply-side factors contributes to the ongoing marginalisation of young people in political organisations.

Figure 5.2: The Interaction of the Demand and the Supply Side: Processes of Gendered Youth Marginalisation in Political Organisations



Beginning with confidence (Fox and Lawless, 2005), young people’s accounts of processes of backlash and discouragement (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) and the devaluing of their contributions to political organisations (Taft, 2015) in section 5.1 demonstrate clearly how these experiences can bring about lower confidence in individuals. Furthermore, we can see theoretically that the direction of association could also be reversed, whereby lower confidence may feed back into processes whereby young people’s contributions are devalued or that their contributions are dismissed or discouraged. Secondly, lower or unstable networks (Schussman and Soule, 2005), while linked theoretically to overall rates of political participation, can also be linked to the supply-side processes which were outlined in Figure 5.1. Lower or unstable networks, and hence a lower embeddedness in social networks can be linked to the lower representation of young people in political organisational spaces such as

meetings. Moreover, a lack of exposure to the networks of people who attend meetings may also reinforce low levels of network developed-ness. Secondly, the experiences young people expressed regarding the devaluing of their contributions to political organisations, whether that be via the restriction of their volunteering to non-strategic roles, or whereby young people's ideas are dismissed, suggest how dismissing young people's contributions restricts their development of social networks within the activist sphere.

This section has summarised demand-side (Klandermans, 2004) attributes that emerge from young people's experiences of political organisational participation. It has also outlined how demand-side factors interact with the supply-side factors (Van Stekelenburg et al, 2018) outlined in section 5.1. The interaction of demand-side and supply-side factors reveals a process whereby these themes may serve to reinforce each other with a consequence of further reinforcing young people's marginalisation from political spaces. This chapter next turns to analysing young people's responses to such experiences of inequality in political organisations.

5.3 Responses to Youth-Derived Inequalities in Political Organisational Participation: Young People Promoting Inclusivity in Practice

Young people's responses to the youth-derived experiences of inequality in political organisations are not uniform, just as young people themselves, and the sample of interviewees, are not a homogenous group. This section nevertheless summarises a major theme among young people's responses to experiences of inequality in political organisations: young people promoting inclusivity in practice. It explains how young people conceive of inequalities as intersectional and wish to promote specific activism practices to reduce marginalisation from political organisations. While this links to previous research on young people and postmaterialist values (Henn et al, 2018; Ehsan and Sloam, 2018; Inglehart, 1971), this finding demonstrates a specific application of these values in the context of political organisational spaces. Nevertheless, while many participants gave clear personal accounts of how their youth had contributed to marginalisation from political organisation spaces when discussing specific activism practices to reduce marginalisation, it was more common to discuss measures to include other axes of inequality (including gender, ethnicity, disability) than any other measures to promote the greater inclusion of young

people, demonstrating the lesser level of societal of youth as an axes of inequality (Earl, 2018).

It was common among the young people interviewed that the concept of inequalities was broadly framed in their accounts of marginalisation from political spaces; experiences of marginalisation due to characteristics of youth were commonly understood by the participants as intersecting with multiple axes of inequality, as outlined in a range of studies on intersectionality (Earl et al, 2017; Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005; Weldon, 2008), therefore framing responses to youth inequality as part of a broader range of responses to intersecting inequalities and the notion of ‘inclusivity’ more generally. While this study cannot do justice to covering all axes of inequalities, some of these responses will be explored in more detail. Furthermore, it was common within the interviews for young people to raise the issue of inequalities affecting people other than themselves (a non-disabled young person discussing disability, for example). It is not my intention to overstate this, as many of the interviewees experience, these problems are highly entrenched dynamics within organisations, placing barriers to participation in the way of numerous underrepresented groups. Nevertheless, there appears to be a strong theme among interviewees, of young people who are observing and critiquing such inequalities and proposing practical steps to encourage more inclusive activism environments. Many young people are quite critical of political organisations which lack inclusivity for young people, people of multiple axes of inequality, as well as anyone who may be considered an ‘outsider’. As Yash critiques in his reflection of activism practice across multiple groups:

“Looking back as an activist now, I think the habits and tactics activists use build them up, like not intentionally, but just having a group chat or having a Facebook group where, people who feel familiar with it and people who are already involved in it will participate. But if you’re added to a group chat of a campaigning organisation and you don’t know anyone, you’re not going to get involved. People build friendships through those things as well and the more and more that happens, the more and more new people feel like they can’t get involved, a clique does develop. The clique then, I think from inside the clique, you worry why other people aren’t getting involved from the outside. You feel like you’re the only ones committed to [the organisation]”. Yash

In addition to ways in which young people frame and critique the issue of inequalities, young people express a wish to promote specific activism practices in order to reduce marginalisation from political organisational spaces. The specific mention of such practices was more commonly elicited from the accounts of young people who were on average on the younger end of the 18–34 age range, whose experiences in political organisations, often in the university context, had brought about a critique of current practices but also an awareness of possible ways to reduce marginalisation in organisational spaces.

“So I’m kind of one of these people now who’s saying we need to make sure that we don’t go back to the days where people don’t feel included...so that’s why I’m determined to stay on as long as possible to try and get that more open and inclusive environment which has been lacking sometimes in the movement” Amy (discussing participation in an SMO)

As Amy explains in her above account, she conceives herself as one of a group of people who are trying to promote inclusivity in practice in her organisation. Her explanation that she is trying to stay in a position of responsibility in her group for as long as possible in order to do this, reflects, as she explains in her interview, that there are many others within her organisation whose views or participation practices do not reflect the same sentiments. Other participants reflect upon some of the practices they think should take place, or that they have implemented in their organisations:

“I also think that you have to be so attentive to the people that you’re organising with. Think about where they’re coming from, really respect them and listen to them and take them seriously. Unfortunately, a lot of people don’t or they’re a little bit selective about who they do and don’t want to take seriously”. Willow (speaking about participation across multiple organisations)

Willow’s suggestion of being attentive to others in an organisation makes direct reference to experiences of differentials in the extent to which contributions are valued or devalued depending on who is making them (as explored in the literature in relation to gender by Mendez and Osborn, 2010). While this suggestion may appear an intuitive rule to good organising, its inclusion in this suggestion is indicative that in their experience this has commonly not taken place. Another simple practice which Yash suggested in order to make

people feel welcome and to promote the inclusion and valuing of contributions by all in an organisation was:

“So, like making sure you welcome people in, making sure you go round and introduce everyone, because, and asking for contributions. So, if I’m chairing a meeting, I will start by getting everyone to introduce themselves, so name, pronouns and a fun fact or favourite colour or anything else, to just, I know icebreakers are terrible”. Yash (discussing participation across multiple organisations)

Others, rather than implementing measures, reflected on the limitations and hurdles faced in trying to promote inclusivity. Vic, for example, reflects upon how in political organisation he has witnessed non-diverse groups of people (broadly defined) try to promote the inclusion of others, based purely on the knowledge of those in the room and without seeking out the views of those from outside of their immediate group:

“It’s a real issue, we have debates about it. But, at the end of the day, when you’re a group of white people saying, how do we reach out to like people of ethnic minority? It’s kind of like, well you’re not going to find the answer in that room”. Vic (discussing participation across multiple organisations)

While the responses of young people interviewed can by no means be framed as a solution to embedded inequalities, the fact that many wish to promote these practices is a substantial finding in its own right, which builds upon studies that recognise the postmaterialist values of young people (e.g. Henn et al, 2018; Ehsan and Sloam, 2018) by demonstrating its specific application to some political organisational environments. A final way in which the promoting of inclusivity is expressed is through the notion of acting yourself as a role model to other young people, and from other diverse backgrounds, which Campbell and Wolbrecht (2006) term ‘the role model effect’:

“I recognise that by doing the politics, even if it’s tough for me, it makes it more accessible for more people my age, my gender, my everything, to be in politics, so it’s worth it” Rebecca (discussing participation in a political party)

Rebecca continues on to say that making politics more accessible to other young people is achievable through the breaking down of stigmas:

“I think I do it [continue to participate] because I feel if I can break stigma down about people my age, especially young neuro-divergent women like me... then brilliant. Let’s do it. Oh I’m not what you expect? Great, stop expecting things”. Rebecca

Her quote expresses, like other young people have made reference to in their interviews, how there is a backlash (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) that she faces for her participation and hence a cost to the young person for acting as a role model to others. The determination expressed, however, indicates that it is a cost she is willing to take. Rebecca’s explanation that role modelling plays a role (Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006) as a specific measure to promote inclusion in political spaces is nevertheless a rare example among the participants of a measure expressed to promote (among a range of axes) *youth* inclusion. Why measures to promote youth inclusion are so less often discussed by participants, compared to measures to promote inclusivity of gender, ethnicity and disability, remains a point for discussion. Arguably, the marginalisation of youth has not entered the mainstream of discussions surrounding inclusivity and inclusion practices in political organisations, since processes of youth subordination in society are less recognised than other axes of inequality (Earl, 2018). However, this remains a point for further research.

Overall, the framing of the issue of youth inequalities as an intersectional issue (Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005; Weldon, 2008; Earl et al, 2017) by many participants, in addition to the wishes to promote inclusive activism practices, and indeed to act as role models, indicates examples of hopeful and positive response to experiences of inequality in political organisations. In implementing ideas to promote inclusive practice, young people’s accounts indicate how they continue to come up against the processes of backlash (Rudman and Phelan, 2008), discouragement and other processes of marginalisation that this chapter has outlined, hence placing barriers to these inclusive practices. Nevertheless, these accounts do suggest that the present generation of young people indicate an increasing will for more substantial change.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed youth-derived inequalities in political organisational participation, elicited from the experiences of young participants with experiences of participation in political organisations. It has addressed explanatory inequalities relating to both features of organisations (the supply side) and features of young people (the demand side). Secondly, it has explored young people's reactions to inequalities, in that despite experiences of marginalisation, many wish to promote inclusivity in political organisations, across multiple axes of inequality.

This chapter has outlined multiple ways in which young people experience marginalisation from political organisational participation. These findings provide important examples of how youth, although not often recognised as such (Earl, 2018), is a distinct axis of inequality. These were outlined, in terms of a set of supply-side features of political organisations which emerged from experiences of youth-derived marginalisation (Thompson, 2005) from political organisations. Young people's accounts of low levels of youth descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014) in political organisation spaces, in particular in the meetings of 'old' organisations of political parties, demonstrate not only a sense of marginalisation on the level of numerical (or descriptive) representation but also at a cultural level, within such spaces. A second theme derived from young people's experiences in sense that young people's contributions to political organisations, are under-valued by those (usually older) people within positions of responsibility in these spaces, as discussed in part by Taft (2015) but applied to a wider range of political actions in this case. Thirdly, participants shared experiences of 'tokenism' within political organisations (Arnstein, 1969; Hart, 1992), a process whereby young people are offered 'placating' participation opportunities that often value the symbolism of young people's participation rather than providing substantive opportunity. A link between low levels of youth representation in political organisation spaces and instances of tokenism whereby young people are arbitrarily asked to carry out 'youth officer' roles can be made, linked to young people's experiences of participating in political parties. Finally, a fourth theme of discouragement and backlash (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) was outlined, summarising young people's experiences of direct discouragement and backlash effects to their participation, revealing some of the most shock-inducing accounts of young people's marginalisation from political organisations. This section mapped features of young people's accounts linking these four aspects of the supply

side, demonstrating how processes with a comparably less severe degree of marginalisation, such as poor representation in organisational spaces, can in turn reinforce more severe processes including backlash and discouragement of young people's participation.

Turning next to the second half of Klandermans' (2004) model, this chapter then moved on to outlining demand-side attributes of young people that contribute to their marginalisation from political organisations, emerging from young people's accounts of their own life histories of political participation. This chapter highlighted low or unstable networks among participants (Schussman and Soule, 2005; Putnam, 2000), as well as accounts of low confidence (Brown, 2016; Fox and Lawless, 2005) among young people in their experiences of political organisation participation, derived both from a sense of having a young age and having lower levels of experience. Both theoretically and via accounts of young people's experiences, this chapter has mapped out links between demand-side features of young people and supply-side features of political organisations, demonstrating a further example in the context of political organisations, of the interaction of demand and supply (Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave, 2018). It has noted how these processes can operate in both directions and serve to reinforce youth-derived participatory inequalities in political organisations. A demonstrative example of this is how young people's experiences of having their contributions devalued may lead to reduced personal confidence, but low confidence may only serve to reinforce further devaluing of their contributions.

The findings of this chapter with regards to the processes of marginalisation experienced by young people, as well as how they are reinforced by other features of the supply side, and through interactions between the demand side and the supply side, have important implications for the UK context. The UK is a country which is understood to have bucked a trend of political organisation participation decline among developed democracies (Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017). The fact that these forms of marginalisation were expressed in young people's experiences, even in a context where youth participation in such spaces is comparably higher than in other nations, speaks to the degree to which these processes of youth marginalisation, and the set of social norms which reinforce them, are entrenched in the context of UK political organisations.

Finally, this chapter has described young people's responses to youth-derived inequalities in political organisational participation. It has described how participants frame inequalities as

intersectional (Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005; Weldon, 2008; Earl et al, 2017), with youth-derived inequalities intersecting with multiple other axes of inequality (e.g. gender, ethnicity and disability). These findings add more to literature on young people and postmaterialist values (Henn et al, 2018; Ehsan and Sloam, 2018; Inglehart, 1971), with many young people raising issues of inequality faced by groups to which they personally are not a part of. Furthermore, participants, in particular those at the younger end of the 18–34 age range, discussed practical activist strategies to promote greater inclusivity in political organisational spaces, demonstrating a hopeful and positive response to experiences of inequality. However, young people discussed very few examples of measures to promote *youth* inclusion in political organisations, arguably demonstrating the lower level of awareness of youth as an axes of inequality (Earl, 2018) and the consequent position of youth-derived inequalities at the margins of broader debates surrounding inclusivity.

Links to Later Chapters

This chapter has stated that young people are not a homogenous group. Just as this chapter's findings have outlined, youth-derived inequalities, while relating to a distinctive form of inequality, are inseparable from other axes of inequality. While it would be beyond the scope of this study to explore young people's experiences of inequality among multiple such lines, this study does pay particular attention to gender inequalities among young people's participation in political organisation, a theme that Chapter 6 will consider in greater detail.

This chapter has outlined findings which motivate further quantitative-orientated hypotheses regarding whether themes generalisable to the population. Firstly, findings from the explanatory factors of youth-derived inequalities, in particular the link between experiences of marginalisation in terms of youth representation in political organisation spaces and experiences of tokenism, and participation in political parties– a form of 'old' political organisation– motivates a quantitative analysis of whether an organisation's character as 'old' or 'new' influences young people's propensity to participate. Two further points within this chapter's explanatory factors which can be appropriately measured through survey data and motivate questions of generalisability to the population. The supply-side feature of youth representation in political organisation spaces, in particular meetings, suggests further exploration of whether young people in the wider population are less likely to attend political organisation meetings. Also, the demand-side feature of low confidence suggests further quantitative analysis as to the generalisability of this theme to the population. These proposed

quantitative analyses derived from the qualitative findings of this chapter will be explored further in Chapter 7.

6. Explanatory Gender-Derived Inequalities in Youth Political Organisational Participation

This chapter explores further the experiences of young people who were interviewed about their experiences of inequalities in political organisational participation. In relation to explanatory factors influencing inequalities in political organisational participation, it tackles the questions of gender-derived inequalities in youth political organisational participation. With a specific focus on the experiences of gendered young people, as well as accounts from young men that cite gender as a factor in their experiences, this chapter outlines distinctive characteristics of gendered inequalities in participation among young people in political organisations. Much existing research studies the ways in which gendered participants experience marginalisation from political organisations (e.g. Murray, 2011; Krook and MacKay, 2011; Valdini, 2019; Verba Nie and Kim, 1978; Norris, 1997; Lovenduski, 2011). This study adds to this previous research by analysing the experiences of *young* gendered participants. Furthermore, it also fills an existing deficit in the literature highlighted by Childs and Murray (2014) with regards to the focus on ordinary members of political organisations rather than organisational elites. As all the 28 interviewees in the sample are within the sample definition of ‘youth’, we cannot separate gendered experiences from experiences of youth. Nevertheless, this chapter will build upon the previous, and highlight themes from participant interviews and experiences of interviewees relating to explanatory factors of youth and gender-derived patterns of inequalities in political organisational participation.

As this study has outlined in Chapter 3, the analytical grouping of female and non-binary participants’ experiences for the purpose of this gendered analysis seeks to distinguish between participants who are more likely to experience gendered inequalities (female and non-binary participants) and those less likely to (male participants); it does not seek to treat female and non-binary participants as equivalent nor does it seek to deny that experiences of inequality will be qualitatively different. This chapter analyses the explanatory demand-side and supply-side factors (Klandermans, 2004) which, in young people’s experiences, influence gendered inequalities experienced inside of political organisations, before outlining key themes in gendered participants’ responses to these inequalities.

This chapter provides important examples of the ways in which young gendered participants are marginalised from political organisational participation. These demonstrate how young

people's experiences of political organisational participation are unequal, with youth inequalities intersecting with gender, as a further axis of inequality. The chapter's findings map out the following attributes relating to gendered marginalisation in political organisations on the supply side: gendered representation in political organisation spaces, gendered devaluing of contributions and harassment. These factors not only reinforce each other, but also interact with demand-side themes of low confidence and gendered early childhood socialisation. Secondly, it outlines the responses and reactions of gendered participants to such inequalities, including themes relating to the gendered role of mental wellbeing, leaving or disengaging from political organisations and promoting inclusion in political organisations.

6.1 Gendered Experiences of the Organisation: The Supply Side

This section highlights themes from interviews which contribute to our understanding of the supply-side features of organisations that impact upon gendered young participants' marginalisation from political organisational spaces. These experiences reveal some similar patterns to themes of youth-derived disadvantage within political organisations, yet importantly, reveal an additional (or indeed qualitatively distinctive) gendered dimension to these processes of marginalisation. These can be summarised under three main themes. First, 'gendered representation in political organisations' explores the low descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1972; Murray 2014) of gendered participants in political organisational spaces. Secondly, 'the gendered devaluing of contributions' (as explored in relation to knowledge by Mendez and Osborn, 2010) explores how gender impacts upon the value that political organisations attribute to contributions. Thirdly, the theme of 'harassment' explores how incidents of sexual harassment serve to marginalise gendered participants from political organisational spaces (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011), both through direct experiences and indirectly through knowledge of their occurrence.

Gendered Representation in Political Organisations: The Domination of Spaces by Men and Older Men

What emerged from discussions with activists about their gendered participation in political organisational spaces has very similar characteristics in terms of the processes outlined in relation to the dominance of space by older people in Chapter 5. Much like those experiences, women and non-binary people express experiences of men dominating spaces, often

combining this intersection of youth and gender by expressing the combination of gender and youth related inequalities. At the most basic level, the dominance of men in political organisations is understood as a case of being numerically more male, and older male, and lacking diversity in terms of gender and age, reflecting the notion of low levels of descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1974; Murray, 2014). As Karolina describes, she has often been taken back to find herself the only woman in meetings:

“It is definitely more male, I don’t know why really, but yes, I found myself in meetings where I’m like the only woman” Karolina (discussing participation in an SMO)

The numerical dominance of older men is also linked to feelings of being further on the margins of political organisation spaces as a young woman. As Rachel outlines from her experiences across multiple organisations:

“The conclusion I came to at the end of last week, was that I, the way that I am in like political spaces, comes from a place of feeling on the margins. So, like I was a young woman in a space that was dominated by older men” Rachel (discussing participation across multiple organisations)

Furthermore, with regards to age as a feature of this inequality and marginalisation, young people’s conceptions commonly treat power dynamics from age as a scale concept, with even older members of the groups defined as ‘youth’: the “27 year old men” described by Tess being described as having relative overall power (derived from both age and gender) than the young women who was aged approximately 18 years old at the time of this experience:

“The leadership isn’t a woman it’s a man so it’s a white old man, I am just like OK that’s fine, but you are all men, I think there is definitely a gender problem. I was the only woman on the executive at home and it was like these old 27-year-old men who were trying to push, I was like ‘why are you still here? Like, go’” Tess (discussing participation in a political party)

While in these conceptions, so far, men are largely the subject of conceptions regarding gendered treatment, some of the male participants also reflected upon the male dominance of their political organisations. To an interview question on how gender affects participation, a significant minority of male participants did not wish to make a comment or did not have any

specific points to contribute. However, to a large extent, the understandings of those that did comment focussed upon the numerical dominance of men in their organisations. To one participant, the lack of women in his party even was a disadvantage from a position of his own self-interest:

“I think obviously it does because we have got less women, in the entire, and that does need... it was a women that got me in and we have a female campaign manager in [constituency] but it’s a shame because I would like a bit more women. Admittedly some of that is... pretty much every elder [party member] said oh I met my wife in the [youth wing]. Damn, I am not getting that chance!” Neil (discussing participation in a political party).

“If you ask female [party members], it is a huge problem across the country about diversity in general, that has always been a problem for us” Isaac (discussing participation in a political party).

Beyond notions of numerical dominance of men within political organisations, participants’ experiences also point strongly to the notion of ‘male’ or ‘macho’ culture being prevalent within many political organisations (Norris, 1997; Kenny, 2011; Lowndes, 2000) influencing among many processes, the group dynamics and ways of doing politics, reinforced by a lack of reflection by men in the group:

“I mean, there is always, I think in a lot of the left groups I have been involved in, there is a very sort of macho culture. Unions, they are very male-dominated and the kind of more radical groups that I have been involved in the sort of smashy, smashy macho culture is very prevalent” Jasmin (discussing participation across multiple organisations)

“So, it was very entrenched in the group dynamics because I think before... Well it was just always mostly a male group and most of them weren’t self-reflective of the structures and dynamics they’d set up basically” Willow (discussing participation in an SMO)

“I did go to like [Union meetings] sort of, they used to put on kind of these lunches, these well dinners like all you can eat at the Chinese and they’d sort of talk about politics and stuff but it tended to be a lot of sort of ‘christie’ hippy male. ‘Christie’ hippy male teachers there like that just sort of were very like very hard... like Corbyn type, your Corbyn types which didn’t

really....I don't think I really fitted in, I don't mind listening to what anyone's got to say but only went to a couple of those meetings because I felt again a bit like this is not really my people" Abigail (discussing participation in a Union)

Willow gives an interesting account of interacting with this male-dominated culture for the first time, including a struggle with how to interact with it, and a more generalised confusion as to what was taking place, reflecting on both the numerical and cultural dominance of men in this situation:

"Another thing is that there are so many men and I came from a girls school so I just wasn't used to what men are like in big groups and how they socialise and it was very alien to me... Yes, I think definitely like for me this was just a totally new, I think quite clearly gendered way of socialising and interacting that I just had never come across before and was a little bit confused and overwhelmed by it. I didn't realise at the time these were people making friends and that was how they made friends, to me I wasn't sure what was going on...it didn't feel like making friends to me, it felt like a bit of an interview... or maybe not quite like that but like I had to, you know, be like good enough or interesting enough. It was very intense, and I wasn't sure what to do. I think I gravitated towards the few women that were there because I was like I feel like I know how to talk to you better" Willow (describing participation in an SMO)

Returning again to the theme of age power dynamics as a scale concept, with older members of young people within this study's category of 'youth' being conceptualised as being subject to fewer inequalities or a lesser degree of marginalisation, Rachel outlines on reflecting upon an SMO which she participated in in her early youth, that the prevalence of a 'macho' culture was a problem, one that she on reflection believes now as a relatively older young woman that she would be able to recognise and cope with better:

"So, there was some off-putting like nerdy banter about big ideas, like I said, and I know a couple of people stopped going because they just thought it was like macho posturing type stuff in the group.... So that behaviour was like something that, I don't think I recognise as much back then as now I would... I actually think that kind of posturing stuff like really got in the way, really, really got in the way" Rachel

In some of the understandings of young people interviewed, connections were made between a lack of gendered descriptive representation in political organisations and the level of substantive representation of gendered interests (Pitkin, 1972). While, in these conceptions, the importance of a substantive representation for gendered interests is undoubtedly important to the interviewees, some interviewees highlighted how they felt while identifying as feminists or agreeing with feminist ideas were commonplace within their organisations, that this was inconsistent with the gendered treatment of organisational members through the behaviour of male members of their organisations. As Rebecca reflects upon within more social interactions between party members, describing certain members she has come across:

“The ones who wear a ‘this is what a feminist looks like’ t-shirt whilst they’re trying to shag you because they think they deserve it because they’re wearing that t-shirt. And you sit there and you’re like ‘I don’t think you’ve got it babe, don’t think you’ve got it’” Rebecca (discussing participation in a political party)

Similarly Willow outlines experiences across a number of different organisations in the student movement, of coming across men whose policy positions are inconsistent with their behaviour:

“I think so much of my problems throughout student politics, it’s not fair to pin it on one particular group, have been due to, yes, like gendered treatment, especially from men that say they’re feminists and then don’t live up to that or they think all you’ve got to do is say it and agree with a few points and then you don’t need to look at your behaviour or how you treat people at all” Willow (discussing participation across multiple organisations)

Both these participants make clear manifest conceptualisations of this conceptual distinction, and highlight how a focus on substantive policy can sometimes act as a barrier to understandings of greater gendered inclusivity on a descriptive and cultural level within organisations. These conceptions of young people demonstrate an understanding of substantive gender policy within organisations as preceding the conditions for gendered participants’ inclusion in political organisational spaces. These understandings differ to, and present somewhat a reversal of what Childs (2008) describes in relation to gender inclusion in political parties as the ‘first dimension’ of feminisation whereby women are integrated as (ordinary and elite) members, and the ‘second dimension’ whereby women’s policy issues

become integrated. These experiences of young people demonstrate, in the least, that processes of improving gendered representation may not happen in such a clear order; substantive representation may precede true descriptive inclusion in many cases. This is reflected in Willow's understanding of the importance of these "barriers within how groups actually organise":

"People talk a lot about the structural barriers to getting stuff done, and the barriers within society to achieving meaningful change, and they're really important. I don't deny that they exist. But I think a big thing people don't look at is the barriers within how groups actually organise and what particular personalities or combinations of personalities can do to actually be successful" Willow (discussing participation across multiple organisations)

Willow's account also challenges some of the approaches to studying inequalities which focus solely on wider structural inequalities in societies, without focussing upon the barriers existing within groups themselves. For example, Welch's (1977) study, which focusses on structural factors' impacts on gendered participation mentions more directly discriminative acts as a final thought. Interestingly, Rebecca also discusses how a progressive ideology and policy position of her party can sometimes act as a barrier, in preventing higher standards in gendered dynamics:

"But I think a lot of our issues are because we see ourselves as a progressive party, we don't hold ourselves to a high enough standard" Rebecca (discussing participation in a political party).

Whether descriptively (Pitkin, 1972) or culturally (Norris, 1997), poor gender representation in political organisation is a strong theme of respondents' accounts of gendered participation. The male dominance of spaces, either numerically or culturally, is understood by participants offering accounts of this (largely non-male youth) to contribute to young people being off-put from attending spaces and many uncomfortable interactions or more subtle feelings of not being included: overall a sense of marginalisation from political organisational participation spaces.

The Gendered Devaluing of Contributions

Another theme emerging from participants accounts of their participation is the gendered devaluing of contributions. One way in which participants describe the differential value placed on their contributions is through the extent to which gendered knowledge or skill is attributed as less valuable, leading to a greater need to ‘prove oneself’ within an organisation. Perez (2019) outlines a range of successful female figures from across history whose work has been attributed to male colleagues, demonstrating the scale of this issue. As outlined in Chapter 5, the devaluing of contributions is also a theme attributed to youth, indicating that young gendered participants experience this theme across multiple axes of inequality. In Tess’s experience which she recounts below, she describes how in a local position of responsibility as ‘secretary’ she was allocated specific roles, which male figures would ignore, with a preconception that men could ‘handle it’, reflecting what Kenny (2011) outlines regarding the role of the rules in gendered participation and the propensity of organisations to ignore male participants’ bypassing of process. Tess’s reflections also indicate how these processes contributed to her eventually ending her participation:

“I was the secretary and people wouldn't go through me they would go through one of the boys.... Councillors, people from the unions, they would go through the people who they knew ... we put in procedures. I was the secretary I was going to handle things like that. But people wouldn't follow it they would just do their own thing, they would go to the boys because they would think they would handle it. It makes no sense. I am the secretary I am meant to be in the loop about things. And I can do my job..., I just never really got a chance to, kind of. It's just annoying, I was really annoyed actually, the more I think about it the more I am remembering why I stopped getting involved with it” Tess (discussing participation in a political party)

Another respondent draws upon similar themes in her account of participation in a trade union organisation, indicating her understanding of the difference between youth-derived inequality and the intersection of gender and age inequalities:

“I think in the Trade Union Movement, people would take you seriously like if you prove yourself. So, like, and that like young people, I think it's a misogynistic thing, I think it's gendered. Like that it was, I mean I do think that young men in the Trade Union movement

are also not taken that seriously, but I don't think that they have to prove themselves in the same way." Rachel (discussing participation within a trade union organisation).

Rachel's account makes this clear distinction between the extent to which youth alone plays a role and how gender and youth play an additional role, entailing that young women have to prove themselves even more, on top of the extent to which young men need to prove themselves within such spaces. A similar conception of how gendered contributions are valued to a lesser extent is outlined by Rebecca, who explains a scenario in which she regularly worked alongside a man in her political party participation. Reflecting that *"I first found frustrations there that if I succeeded, it was [Chris] who got the credit. And if I did twice the work, I got half the credit"* Rebecca (discussing participation in a political party). This notion of gendered credit attribution is also reflected in the extent to which gendered verbal contributions within political organisational spaces are devalued. Mendez and Osborn's (2010) study finds a gender gap in perceptions of political knowledge; that people view women as less knowledgeable than men about politics, despite the level of knowledge demonstrated. Abigail describes her experiences of making a verbal contribution in a political organisation space, which was only taken seriously when repeated by a male in the space, contributing to a more generalised fear of speaking in such spaces, due to her past experiences of her contributions being devalued:

"There's been times when I've sort of said something...but like, when my sort of partner or my like a male who's said it, has been taken seriously. Or like I'm sort of like, I feel like I'm sort of like the little parrot on the shoulder sort of saying the ideas for somebody else to say...I don't know I think a lot of women have probably, well I don't want to speak on behalf of a lot of women, but I think a lot of women are just afraid of being gunned down and humiliated and not listened to you know or like called hysterical actually" Abigail (discussing participation across a range of organisations)

What Abigail's experience indicates ties in with a feature of such gendered devaluing of contributions, the of the notion of a gendered hierarchy with regards to verbal contributions within such spaces, impacting upon discursive spaces within political organisations, whether that be in formal meetings or in semi-formalised social spaces with other members of these organisations. As Amy outlines: *"Yeah [gender] it definitely has an impact, and an impact on*

how we discuss”. She also discusses how she understands the process of men repeating women’s ideas serves to ‘stop people’ but that she conceives it as an unconscious process:

“There are individual voices who do try to stop people. It’s very much a thing of, it’s really annoying, loads of politics people say this, women anyway. You’ll say something and then like a man will say the same thing, and it’s like I just said that, you didn’t need to say that. So, most of it is things where I don’t think men realise they are doing it” Amy (discussing her participation in an SMO).

Many other accounts repeat similar experiences of their verbal contributions being dismissed or ‘spoken over’. As Abigail conceives the issue, it is heightened due to being young:

“Probably yeah because I think I was just very much the young woman and I was sort of being spoken to”. The numerous accounts of experiences conceived as gendered by this study’s young participants reinforce that conceptions of this as a gendered issue are widespread:

“Having sort of men speak over you, dominant male voices who shut down conversation or would try to explain things to you, so I think that is a significant influence, like an impacting factor. So, gender is always there” Jasmin (discussing participation generally across different organisations)

“So, I went to that meeting with him and I think, yes, it was all talking about politics and a bit about him. I think my main memory is he was just quite dismissive, quite keen to talk to the other people there who were involved and not really keen to talk to me, and when he did, he liked to show what he knew but not in a way that was kind of like ‘hey, maybe your friend is interesting’, but in a way that was like ‘hey, I know this, you don’t” Willow (discussing participation in an SMO)

Zara’s account indicates an experience closely linked with a notion of gendered discursive hierarchies, she describes how she conceives that this commonly is an issue when speaking about feminism, describing how she came across negativity or dismissal on these issues specifically:

“Because whenever you talk to people about being a feminist or feminism, I think you come up against quite a lot of like scepticism, negativity, like people saying well what about this, well obviously you’re wrong about this” Zara (discussing participation across different organisations)

The consequences of such accounts of dismissal of knowledge (Mendez and Osborn, 2010), negativity or being ‘spoken over’ are also reflected in participants’ accounts. Karolina indicates how there is an impact upon her willingness to speak in political organisational spaces. After having discussed the gendered devaluing of contributions, she went on to state:

“I definitely feel like, I’m not going to speak unless I really know like something that I want to say and it’s going to like contribute to the discussion. And then if I don’t have that fully formed in my head, then I probably won’t say anything” Karolina (discussing participation in an SMO).

Karolina’s account, among many others, demonstrates a link between the role of gendered representation (Murray, 2014; Pitkin, 1972) and the gendered devaluing of contributions (Perez, 2019; Mendez and Osborn, 2010), as many of such experiences of gendered discursive hierarchies often take place in collective often male-dominated spaces. Karolina’s account also shows how this can also serve to reinforce lower gendered participation in collective spaces. We can also see how the devaluing of gendered contributions and in particular gendered discursive hierarchies, can also overlap with themes of harassment and bullying in political organisations (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017). Rebecca’s experiences in a political party and Rachel’s experiences in a trade union organisation both indicate how the undermining of speech acts can act as processes that underpin more serious accounts of bullying. Rebecca’s experience *“Even in public meetings, all the time, he’d undermine me, and like mock me”*, forms part of a broader account whereby she explains that an older man bullied her over a period of time. The undermining of her contributions to public meetings, indicate that this was used as part of a wider process of bullying that she recounts her experiences of. Rachel’s experiences in a trade union recall her conceptions of gendered experiences where she was silenced as a young woman, pointing to broader processes of bullying and infantilisation:

“So, like there were specific incidences in the Trade Union Movement where I was like targeted and told like, shut up, you don’t know what you’re saying, because I was a young woman, by older men” Rachel (discussing participation in a trade union)

While linking closely to experiences whereby gendered contributions are devalued, harassment is nevertheless a broader and distinctive theme of the supply side which will be explored in greater detail.

Harassment

Harassment in political organisations, in particular relating to sexual harassment, was a theme which many young participants, both male and female, highlighted as a factor which influenced the extent to which they wished to participate in political organisations.

Experiences of sexual harassment, whether personal or through recounting what they had heard and witnessed from other activists during their participation are included in this section. While some participants did indicate personal experiences of this theme, since these are highly likely to include identifying information with regards to the participants, special attention has been paid to ensure that no precise details of personal experiences of harassment towards participants have been included. Few existing studies examine the impact of sexual harassment upon political participation. Krook (2018; 2017) examines the impact of the revelations of the #metoo movement upon political parties, but with a focus upon accusations at the elite level. This study builds upon this by examining harassment at lower levels of the hierarchy in political organisations.

In recounting an experience of women disclosing incidents of sexual harassment on an online forum within her political organisation, Amy gives an account which suggests that the previously discussed ‘gendered discursive hierarchies’ play a role in the silencing of harassment claims. She explains how men on the organisation’s online forum tried to silence those who were making harassment claims, which indicates a link between these two themes:

“And then there’s the whole thing about sexual harassment in politics, and there were quite a lot of women in the forum who said ‘this is something I’ve personally experienced’, or ‘this is something we need to change’, and there were some men who tried to silence them, and say ‘you need to think about what you’re saying’... And they tried to weaponise [using examples such as the Welsh minister who committed suicide after sexual harassment claims

against him] and they said 'no we're going to speak out about it more. Although it's terrible what happened... we still have to talk out about it'. And we need an environment where we're able to do that" Amy (discussing participation in an SMO).

More broadly speaking, gendered experiences of participation in political organisations, elicited responses from young women surrounding incidents of sexual harassment in their own organisations. Rebecca, for example, outlined how she felt uncomfortable around another member of her organisation, highlighting that others had also had similar experiences: *"Multiple woman I know say how inappropriately he stares at women's bodies"*. Whereas, Orla also highlights how an example of a local party member who was accused of sexual harassment, and how this was dealt with by the organisation itself, contributed to her disengagement from activities in the organisation.

"I think I was very disengaged by their support of [him], which was very much not even to consider whether or not the allegations were true it was just 'we feel so sorry for him. It's awful for him. He is having a really hard time. His doctors said its really stressful for him and he shouldn't see anyone because it's too difficult. And we feel really sorry for him and this is really awful and blah blah blah'. And I was just like 'I can't even, I don't even know what to say'." Orla (discussing participation in a political party)

Orla's account reflects how responses by parties to sexual harassment are described by Krook (2018) whereby perpetrators are protected over victims. More generally, such accounts regarding political organisational responses to allegations of sexual harassment appear to allude to similar themes as Ahmed (2012) does in her account of organisational responses to reports of incidents relating to inequalities. While Ahmed's work there is a focus upon incidents of racism within institutions, the pattern identified remains highly similar: a process of hastily denying any claims that the incident took place in order not to reduce the organisation's positive identity in terms of diversity and inclusion. While the accounts of young activists within political organisations, who are witnessing such processes from outside of the specific situations in question, are not sufficient to understand organisations' precise motivations for their responses to allegations of harassment, what can nevertheless be observed are patterns within responses. A feature of responses to claims of harassment is participants' observation of effective or consistent lack of organisational rule enforcement, which in examples outlined by participants, relate to incidents ranging from the responses of

everyday members to hearing accusations, to the official responses of senior people in political organisations to allegations. In relation to Amy's previously cited example of allegations of sexual harassment being dismissed on an organisation's online forum, she discusses how the issue should be resolved through better enforcement of the code of ethics, which is a national document for the organisation. Rules, however, are understood to operate differently to some people than for others (Kenny, 2011), a reference made by Rebecca to the fact that some men have escaped the enforcement of rules following accusations of sexual harassment, while she conceives that she regularly receives notice when her behaviour is seen to not be within the organisation's rules.

"He was accused of sexual assault and sexual harassment and instead of being expelled or got rid of, they took a lenient take on him... You know, we need to take a harder line. We need to have rules and actually stick to those rules... there are rules for some people but not for others" Rebecca (discussing participation in a political party).

Rebecca's experience here alludes to the role of rules, which once again reflects Kenny's (2011) account of organisational rules being applied differently to men and women in political organisations. Kenny's (2011) study also makes reference to the role of 'male loyalty' in reinforcing such processes. In one of the accounts referring to the most severe case of harassment, one participant described how, he conceived that, in an incident within a political organisation which is not his own and was revealed in the press, a political organisation had knowingly covered up an allegation of rape against a senior member of the organisation. In this, the role of personal loyalty played a role, with the accused's friends playing a role in the process following the allegation:

"[It] basically covered up rape. It was tried to be shushed down, and it turns out that [the accused] was [a senior member of the organisation], and there was an internal dispute panel within the organisation, rather than going to the police (because that would have made too much sense) and they interviewed the woman who made this claim, but this panel was basically made up of [the accused's] friends" Chris (discusses knowledge of a political organisation that is not his own)

While allegations of sexual harassment including rape form some of the most high-profile and most clear examples of harassment within political organisations, what is emphasised by

many of the participants is that experiences of harassment are blended in with experiences of social awkwardness and of ‘receiving bad vibes’ from men. In these experiences, participants struggle to pin down exactly what is happening, and are often left with a sense of confusion as to what is going on, accompanied by a sense of discomfort which some of participants, while still uncertain and questioning themselves, conceive to be associated with dynamics such as sexual harassment.

“I just don't think they were used to young women being involved. They would be weird. And I know there was loads of sexual harassment claims in [the youth branch] and no one does anything about it ...I did feel uncomfortable at times. And I would have to be communicating as well with old men and I would feel weird about it, I don't know why but I just would” Tess (discussing participation in a political party)

“I get vibes from people... I know it sounds really weird, but I can kind of tell that they speak to women differently than they speak to men. I think it's a problem in all movements though, it's not specifically a [org name] problem” Amy (discussing participation across multiple political organisations)

When reflecting upon this sense of social awkwardness within political organisations, participants not only made associations between a sense of social awkwardness and of harassment, but also to how feelings of discomfort and awkwardness were reinforced by the male-dominated nature of organisations, thus demonstrating further thematic links between these features of the supply side:

“There was a lot of...if there was a male guest they would be really weird with me and [her]..Yes, they are a bit awkward with girls, maybe they are in this place where they have got a bit of power because they are like in a role and they think they are all really good men and everyone needs to bow down to them” Tess (discussing participation in a political party)

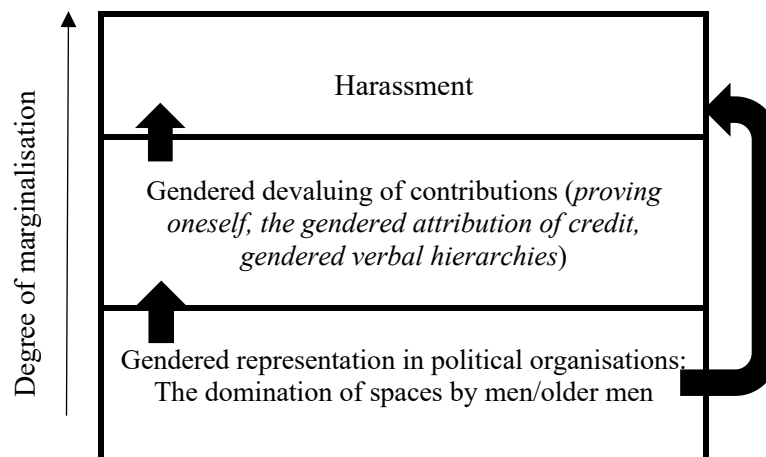
Accounts of harassment demonstrate some of the most severe direct and indirect accounts of marginalisation from political organisational spaces, and the accounts of young people interviewed indicate that such experiences are highly gendered. Links between experiences of harassment can be made to previously outlined processes of the gendered devaluing of contributions and of gender representation in political organisation spaces. While there are

very few existing studies on the role of harassment on political participation, these findings build upon existing studies at the elite level (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011) by exploring experiences at the level of the ordinary organisational member, through examining experiences of youth specifically, and through analysing how such themes reinforce each other and contribute to gendered marginalisation on the supply side.

Summarising the Supply Side

Overall, attributes of the supply side demonstrate that many political organisations are not adapted to the needs of young gendered participants. Some of the supply-side themes indeed mirror themes derived from youth that were outlined in Chapter 5. However, it is important to note that these are additional and qualitatively distinct processes that gendered young participants experience as well as inequalities derived from youth. The themes outlined on the supply side, gendered representation in political organisations, gendered devaluing of contributions and harassment, are interlinked with some processes reinforcing others. Figure 6.1 outlines the links between these features on the supply side.

Figure 6.1 The Supply Side: Processes of Gendered Youth Marginalisation in Political Organisations



Gendered representation in political organisations is a structural issue with consequences for the descriptive representation of gendered participants (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014), but also for the ‘male’ or ‘macho’ culture of the organisation (Norris, 1997; Lowndes, 2000). The gendered domination of spaces is not only linked in the conceptions of participants with processes of ‘gendered devaluing of contributions’ (Perez, 2019)– i.e. needing to prove

oneself more, the gendered attribution of credit, gendered verbal hierarchies including the devaluing of knowledge (Mendez and Osborn, 2010)– but also to processes of harassment within organisations (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011), which are upheld by environments where rule-breaking plays a gendered role and male loyalty can prevail over equality (Kenny, 2011). Furthermore, processes within the ‘gendered devaluing of contributions’, in particular gendered verbal hierarchies, are also understood by participants to uphold the gendered and age-based experiences of harassment, through processes such as silencing and dismissal. The following section will explore features of the demand side, i.e. features of activists themselves, and explore how these contribute to youth and gender-derived inequalities in political organisations.

6.2 Gendered Characteristics of Young People Participating in Political Organisations: The Demand Side

This section outlines some of the gendered emerging themes on the demand side from interviews with young people. The demand side (Klandermans, 2004) pertains to features of the young people themselves rather than features of the organisation, and hence these accounts stem largely from self-reflections and accounts of their personal histories. It firstly assesses the gendered role of confidence in political organisational participation, before analysing the role of early childhood socialisation surrounding discussing politics in the household.

Low Confidence

Accounts of gendered political participation in the interviews undertaken demonstrate that young women largely have relatively low levels of personal confidence, and that low confidence has an impact on participation within political organisations. In relation to gendered participation, Fox and Lawless (2005) outline how gendered participants experience lower levels of confidence which impacts upon their political parties. This study builds upon this, by showing how this is also the case in the experiences of young gendered activists. The fact that low confidence is also attributed to youth, in young people’s experiences outlined in Chapter 5, also demonstrates how young gendered participants experience this disadvantage across two axes of inequality. While accounts demonstrate varying degrees of awareness as to how this is gendered, the combination of more manifest accounts and latent patterns, show a picture of confidence and its impacts.

Some accounts indicate low levels of self confidence in engagement with political organisations, especially for the first time, as Zara discusses in the context of her first meeting with a political party: *“That was like my first experience of meeting with them as a group, which was like a big deal to me, to go on my own to something”*. In the case of Willow, low confidence when starting university while attempting to begin participation in activist organisations on campus was affected by a pre-existing lack of confidence. A relationship with a boyfriend who had ‘primed’ them to feel like their interest in politics was only due to the boyfriend’s influence was identified as a factor by Willow:

“So, I came to Uni already from a point where I felt like I didn’t really know enough, or I was going to show myself up as being less informed or wrong. I had a lot of worries that...I had a lot of worry about the fact that I didn’t know these things because I already felt, because of how I’d been primed I guess, that I was going to show myself up as not being legit” Willow

Willow’s description of a fear of *‘show[ing] myself up as not being legit’* indicates a sense of ‘imposter syndrome’ linked to low confidence which was also reflected in the accounts of others. *“‘Imposter syndrome’ is the condition that makes people doubt their expertise, despite their credentials; it makes people sit and second-guess themselves while others, though slower to reach the solution or find a contribution, put their hand up first”* (Shepherd, 2018: 51) and it is experienced more by women than men (ibid). Similar self-conceptions are demonstrated by Abigail, as she discusses in relation to her participation across multiple groups including a trade union organisation:

“I think I sort of felt a bit like there were always people more clued up and that could speak more elegantly than I could if called to do so. You know but I think that’s part of my personality though, I’m quite a shy person. I’d rather let somebody else do the talking anyway, that’s why I think marches sort of suit me because I’m not, you know I wouldn’t be a public speaker or anything...And I think yeah there’s sort of that moments of being imposter... sort of feeling like you might get rumbled and somebody might say oh have you thought of this or you know kind of twist your words or something” Abigail

Abigail's account demonstrates a more latent description of gendered low confidence, in referring to her low confidence as a feature of her personality. However, it also links her low confidence to feelings of being an imposter (Shepherd, 2018) and to the reactions of other people, such as how they might 'twist your words'. In linking three concepts of confidence, being an imposter and of public speaking, it also speaks to a link between confidence and previously outlined 'gendered discursive hierarchies' within organisations. Amy's experiences as a participant in a political party and an SMO also demonstrate similar feelings of anxiety surrounding making verbal contributions, which she attributes to personal anxiety. Amy responds here to a question here about whether gender affects her participation, prompting her to discuss this topic, although she shows uncertainty as to whether she considers this a gendered attribute:

"The other thing is, I don't think its necessarily to do with me being a woman, but I am quite anxious about speaking in public. Like as in in meetings, like speaking out on certain things. Like with the smaller exec meetings, I'm ok, but with the bigger meetings, the general meetings, I'm always like oo [discomfort] what if I say something stupid. I'm not sure if that's something to do with my gender. It might be, subconsciously, but it's how I am" Amy

What these accounts indicate is that while some young people may frame this as a consequence of their own personality (a demand-side attribute) and others discuss the cause of the problem to be a feature of the organisation (a supply-side attribute), or indeed many may evoke both explanations at different points in their accounts, what is clear is that confidence and gendered discursive hierarchies interact with each other. Karolina's account of attending SMO meetings demonstrates how her feelings of low confidence relate to the nature of discussion within the meetings, as well as to feelings about herself. Regarding meetings she outlines: *"Sometimes in meetings, like this discussion just kind of goes ahead and I'm kind of like, oh. I mean I think I do participate like fairly often, but I would say like, I don't know, not that often actually"*, while then linking the issue to attributes of herself:

"I think I've always been someone who's struggled with like being confident to speak in different situations and I definitely feel like, I'm not going to speak unless I really know like something that I want to say and it's going to like contribute to the discussion. And then if I don't have that fully formed in my head, then I probably won't say anything" Karolina

Other interviewees also made the link between personal confidence and gendered discursive hierarchies, with some demonstrating their awareness of the personal need to overcome a structural problem. As Rebecca demonstrates in relation to her participation in a political party:

“I’m still trying to learn to say sorry less, and I think every woman can learn that, because you don’t realise how much you say sorry until you actually how much you say sorry. And you’ve got nothing to apologise for. Be yourself” Rebecca

While gendered accounts relating to confidence and political organisations generally indicate how low confidence interacts with the context of the political organisation, some participants do more rarely indicate other experiences in which participation can bring about positive improvements to personal confidence. In response to a question of how she had developed as an activist Karolina responded that: *“I’ve definitely like gained more confidence and more, yes, like it’s just taken different forms, I think”* (discussing participation predominantly within SMOs), indicating that over time participation in political organisations can bring about improvements in confidence, although this would seem to hinge upon having positive experiences during this. As Sarah’s example demonstrates well when she recounts her feelings on it being suggested that she run for a position of responsibility within a political organisation:

“One of my friends texted me and said I think you should run for a position. And at first, I thought she is crazy... but because they had sent me the link, I thought I might as well just read what was sent...It definitely gave me encouragement that my friend thought that I would be a good candidate. But I think what gave me the most encouragement was to see how many of my friends were willing to get involved for me to actually win. A few of them showed up to the debate, so many of them helped me campaigning, putting posters up. Seeing that they actually thought I would make a good [name of position] was really encouraging” Sarah (discussing participation in an SMO).

The concept of confidence has previously been outlined as playing a role in gendered political participation; Fox and Lawless (2005) argue that a gendered sense of ‘personal efficacy’ can have an impact upon likelihood of political participation. The findings of this chapter demonstrate further examples of this phenomenon, also extending it further to include

the experiences of young gendered participants. There is also scope here for further quantitative analysis of gendered participants in political organisations, at a later stage of this study, in Chapter 7.

The Gendered Role of Early Childhood Socialisation

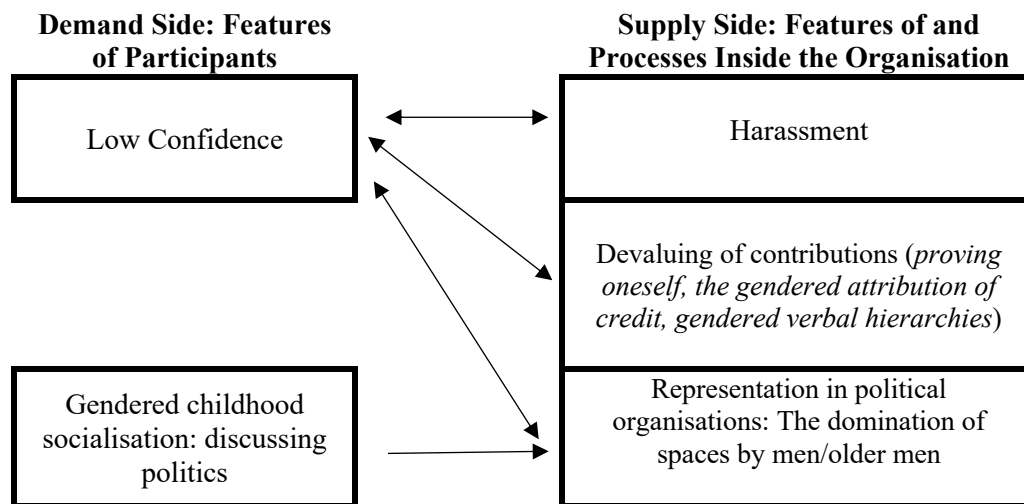
In relation to demand-side attributes (Klandermans, 2004), I next analyse the gendered impact upon participants of early childhood socialisation, specifically in relation to gendered patterns in whether politics was discussed in the household when growing up (Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019). Interviews with participants asked about politics in the household while they were growing up, revealing that, while there were few participants whose direct family members were active within political organisations, for the vast majority of the participants, however, politics was discussed in the household with at least one parent, often stemming from discussions surrounding the news and events occurring at the time. On closer inspection of latent gendered patterns, however there is a gendered dynamic with regards to discussions about politics in the household. Of the sample of young people who are active in political organisations, all but one of the self-identifying young women interviewed said that they discussed politics to some extent in the household growing up, whereas the picture for self-identifying young men is significantly more mixed. Many more of the young men either stated that politics was discussed to a limited extent or not at all in the household. Since the logic behind the sampling of this research entails that each young person interviewed is active in a political organisation or has been in the past, this suggests that within this sample, discussions about politics at a young age played a bigger role in developing politically active women than politically active men. Indeed, the literature with regards to speaking to children about politics suggests that parents speak to boys more about politics to their sons than their daughters (Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019). In determining gendered participation, the literature also emphasises the gendered role of political knowledge and political interest upon political participation, indicating that women have typically lower rates of political knowledge (Fraile, 2014) and political interest (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). This feature of the qualitative interview data suggests that the opportunity to learn about politics from a young age is an important factor in the early childhood socialisation of gendered participants in the sample of interviewees. Since the data displays a differing pattern to the literature regarding the extent to which gender influences whether one has the experience of being spoken to by a parent about politics, this motivates a quantitative exploration of the extent to which politics was

discussed, among participants in political organisations on the one hand, and in the general population on the other.

Summarising the Demand Side

Demand-side attributes of the individual are understood to influence political participation (Klandermans, 2004) and hence have merited exploration with regards to gendered participation among youth political organisational participation. This study has outlined two distinctive features of the demand side: the gendered role of confidence and the gendered role of early childhood political socialisation, in particular patterns of speaking to parents about politics. As this study has previously made reference to, these are purely the themes that emerge from these interviews and are likely to be among many demand-side attributes that contribute to the gendered marginalisation of young people. Figure 6.2 outlines how confidence and childhood socialisation are themes that can be linked with gendered features of the supply side, demonstrating how supply and demand factors interact.

Figure 6.2 The Interaction of the Demand and the Supply Side: Processes of Gendered Youth Marginalisation in Political Organisations



Low confidence (as explored by Fox and Lawless, 2005) can be linked to all three outlined features of the supply side. Firstly, low confidence can be understood to contribute to a lower wish to attend collective political organisational spaces, contributing to the numerical and

cultural male dominance of such spaces (Murray, 2014; Norris, 1997). However, as the experiences of participants have shown, coming across such a male dominated space can further reduce the confidence of those young gendered participants who would wish to take part. Secondly, participants' experiences have indicated that low confidence can contribute to the devaluing of gendered contributions, and that this may in turn contribute to lower confidence, through processes whereby contributions are not attributed credit (e.g. as explored previously by Mendez and Osborn, 2010) or where 'gendered discursive hierarchies' come into play. Thirdly, while this study would not wish to claim that low confidence would directly cause experiences of harassment, young people's accounts have demonstrated that where young people express direct experiences of harassment that they are unsure of how to tackle the situation. Furthermore, such experiences indicate a clear negative impact back onto personal confidence. The role of gendered socialisation can also broadly be linked to features of the supply side. The gendered role of discussing politics in childhood within the sample of participants suggests a gendered link between talking about politics in the family in childhood and gendered participation, thus impacting upon gendered representation in political organisation spaces.

The interaction of demand and supply factors shows how aspects of the individual interact with aspects of the organisation in the gendered processes of marginalisation of young people from political organisational participation, with demand and supply features reinforcing each other. This chapter next analyses young people's responses to experiences of gendered inequality in political organisations.

6.3 Responses to Gendered and Youth-Derived Inequalities in Political Organisational Participation

The semi-structured qualitative interviews undertaken enabled in-depth discussion about not only the gendered inequalities experienced by young people who participated, but also to explore their responses to these inequalities. What emerged are three broad themes of responses and reactions to gendered inequalities in political organisational participation: mental wellbeing, leaving or disengaging, and promoting inclusivity.

Mental Wellbeing

Analysing experiences relating to mental wellbeing reveal activists' accounts of strain on mental health that is both linked to gendered inequality concerns within political organisations, and by far conceived as a clearer issue in the understandings of young people within the sub-sample of self-defining women and non-binary people. While some studies highlight the positive impact that activism can have upon mental wellbeing, even upon underrepresented groups (e.g. MacDonnell et al, 2015; Hope et al, 2018), the findings of this study indicate that— contrary to contexts where empowerment is sought through self-organising with others experiencing the same inequalities— that young gendered participants in this study who participated in mixed-gender groups described experiences where their mental wellbeing suffered as a consequence of their participation. Indeed, while mental health and wellbeing is a theme discussed by all gender identities in the sample of interviewees, there is a distinct gender divide. While in the sub-sample of female and non-binary interviewees mental wellbeing is discussed entirely in terms of negative mental health strain and the associated theme of 'activism burnout' (as discussed by Pines, 1994) whereby intensive participation in an organisation leads to negative mental health consequences, leading to a period of disengagement. By contrast, young men interviewed engaged in much more mixed and nuanced discussions surrounding mental health and wellbeing, with some discussion around negative impacts and activism burnout, but also a number of interesting examples whereby activism has brought about positive mental health consequences, including examples whereby activism is conceived to have a positive impact upon mental wellbeing through bringing meaning to one's life or by allaying an underlying sense of anxiety about the world.

The gendered divisions can be linked back to themes of gendered marginalisation from political organisations (Murray, 2014; Mendez and Osborn, 2010; Krook, 2018) and as also summarised in this study's supply-side themes, which link to the accounts of participants in relation to mental wellbeing. As outlined by Willow, mental health burnout in this example is linked not only to the intensity of the activism undertaken, but also to the masculine-culture 'pub-based' environments and the distribution of work: themes which have previously been described by participants as features of multiple factors contributing to gendered inequalities in political organisational participation.

“So, after the [political action] I was exhausted. It was a very unpleasant experience by and large and I was very overworked, very tired, and my mental health was in a very bad place... My relationship with [the organisation], I would argue most people’s relationship with it, was not a sustainable one. I don’t think the group was set up in a way where it was sustainable for a lot of people to be involved in it, particularly people with mental health problems who had very valid welfare concerns or who didn’t enjoy socialising in these sort of pub-based environments. And also people who didn’t enjoy meetings that dragged on for three hours and the workload being unfairly distributed” Willow (discussing participation in an SMO).

Other participants discussed mental health in terms of how political participation in political organisations has affected them over time as a person. As Rebecca describes, negative impact on mental health is one of these long-term impacts of political party participation for her: *“Participating in politics has changed me as a person, it’s made me more patient, more chronically exhausted. It heavily affected my mental health”*. Rebecca

On discussing the negative impact on mental wellbeing in terms of its personal impact on people, some participants framed their current experience of mental wellbeing in political organisations as a process of managing and balancing their mental wellbeing, on the one hand, and the negative mental health impact of their participation, on the other. As Rachel describes, having experienced ‘activism burnout’ (Pines, 1994) in the past, and despite managing this balance, she can conceive of a time in the future where she might experience such a burnout again:

“I can imagine a time when I’ll burnout again and have a break... I mean it’s had a really negative impact a lot of times, on my health, I’m really aware of that. I think that it continues to like have some negative impact on my health and I kind of, like I feel like my life is a constant balancing of like what I want to do and the impact it has on me and the stuff that isn’t about that” Rachel (discussing participation across multiple organisations)

Karolina also recognises a need to manage wellbeing, describing how, unlike Rachel, she has gained an understanding to recognise contexts in which she may risk her health, while emphasising the role of the space and situation in this process:

“[If] there was particular issues that just weren’t sort of healthy, I think that would definitely... I definitely am... not someone who will sort of do things at the risk of my own health and wellbeing, or at least I’ll try not to do that” Karolina

As a reaction to inequalities within political organisations, rather than active response, gendered accounts of the impacts of participation upon mental wellbeing of interviewees paint a somewhat unhelpful picture. Accounts include participants’ conceptions of links to their participation in political organisations. Different accounts demonstrate varying levels of agency with regards to the level of control participants feel they have regarding their future participation and the consequences for their mental wellbeing, with some viewing a detrimental impact as an inevitable feature of participation, and others discussing how they will adapt their participation and develop coping strategies to prevent a detrimental impact in the future. These accounts run counter to some literature which highlights the positive mental wellbeing impacts of political participation (e.g. MacDonnell et al, 2015; Hope et al, 2018), but through the links made in young gendered participants’ accounts, in fact draws more upon themes of marginalisation, as outlined in this chapter’s supply-side analysis, and as analysed in the literature (e.g. Murray, 2014; Mendez and Osborn, 2010; Krook, 2018) to explain these negative mental wellbeing impacts. The next theme emerging in relation to the responses and reactions to gendered inequalities is the question of whether people leave or disengage from political organisations as a consequence of these gendered and youth-derived inequalities.

Leaving or Disengaging

In relation to the responses and reactions of interviewees, a noticeably gendered theme emerging from the sub-sample of women and non-binary young people, was discussions surrounding leaving or disengaging from political organisations as a consequence of inequalities inside of the organisation, which provides a potential explanation for the gender gap in political organisational participation (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). This is not to suggest that leaving or disengaging is a more highly common response than remaining in an organisation among gendered participants— since these accounts can make no claim to generalisability— rather, that this is a prevalent theme among gendered participants. Leaving or disengaging from organisations is a theme which has already been touched upon in relation to mental wellbeing, where participants have discussed the need to balance their mental health with their participation by disengaging or reducing their participation if

necessary. Similarly, to accounts of mental wellbeing, leaving or disengaging can be linked to supply-side factors discussed in this chapter, and as discussed in the literature (Murray, 2014; Mendez and Osborn, 2010; Krook, 2018). Indeed, there was a gendered theme in responses to want to leave or disengage as a result of cases of sexual harassment in political organisations. As Orla describes in relation to a case of sexual harassment in her local constituency party, the fact that someone in a position of responsibility could harass women and largely escape criticism within her local group, she identified as a reason for her wishing to disengage from the organisation for a period: *“I think I am possibly less active now because of these things”*. As discussed by Krook (2018: 71) sexual harassment is “associated with lower organisational commitment” among survivors, although arguably this may extend to other gendered participants who see that it has taken place.

Other participants addressed their wish to disengage was as a result of harassment (more broadly defined). For example, young women discussed how if their role in a political organisation has any public profile, such as holding public office, that being on the receiving end of insults and intense scrutiny can make them want to end their participation. Furthermore, as participants discussed in relation to their mental wellbeing, they may make a conscious effort to disengage in order to self-protect and prevent exposure to negative experiences. Willow outlines a similar response with regards to coming across ‘male’ or “sexist” spaces:

“I just know that if I go into a space and I see that it’s, I don’t know, particularly sexist or particularly ableist or unwelcoming, I feel now it’s not my job to change that, I’ll just go and find or create another space” Willow

Overall, the response of leaving or disengaging in most cases appear to stem from self-protection or from an aversion to the political organisation which has derived from the negative experience of marginalisation (Murray, 2014; Mendez and Osborn, 2010; Krook, 2018). Nevertheless, not all responses are negative in terms of their impact on political participation, and as discussed in the previous chapter, the promotion of inclusivity inside of political organisations in order to counter inequalities, is an issue which many participants are very keen to bring about.

Promoting Inclusivity

A notable reaction to inequalities in political organisations, as derived from gender, much like discussions in the previous chapter relating to youth-derived inequalities, is the promotion of inclusivity, which reflects a growing postmaterialist values in young people (e.g. Henn et al, 2018; Ehsan and Sloam, 2018). Much like in the previous chapter, when discussing gender inclusivity measures, many respondents framed their responses through the lens of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005; Weldon, 2008; Earl et al, 2017), thus recognising that the promotion of gender equality inside of political organisations is inseparable from the promotion of inclusivity in terms of a broad range of issues that intersect with gender. However, a distinctive difference from comparing the conceptions of participants in relation to youth-derived inequalities, is that participants are far more familiar with, and able to conceive and verbalise the need for more gendered inclusivity in political organisations and measures to improve gendered representation, than with youth-derived inequalities which may reflect the lower recognition of youth as an axes of inequality in wider society (Earl, 2018). Participants from the sub-sample of young women and non-binary people expressed experiences of wishing to bring about inclusive spaces to counter gendered inequalities. As Amy discusses in relation to a previously outlined example within an SMO, whereby women were heavily criticised by male members for making allegations of sexual harassment through an online organisational forum. This led to her wishing to promote a more gender-inclusive environment that would not restrict such discussions:

“They said ‘no we’re going to speak out about it more. Although it’s terrible what happened... we still have to talk out about it’. And we need an environment where we’re able to do that, so that definitely had an impact on me deciding to go to be on the committee”
Amy (discussing participation in an SMO).

Some other participants also reflected how their response was a personal reaction to take up space, demonstrating features of role modelling. Rachel’s account below of her participation in an SMO also indicates how both youth and gender influence her reaction; while the exclusion of her gender from political organisations motivates her wish to take up space, she recognises the relative advantage of her relatively older age (at the older age of the 18–34 age group, within a space of predominantly younger members) and feeling the need to temper her response in recognition of her relative power as a somewhat older person in this space:

“So, some of the reaction to that is like, you know, very like outward, like I’m taking up space, I’m going to talk, I’ve got ideas, I’m going to say stuff. I’m going to organise everything, I’m going to lead. And then now, I find myself in a position of relative like power. So, in [my organisation], I’m one of the older people. So, like trying to transfer that across to being what’s, I guess, an elder...I guess I almost come across probably as like, you know, the kind of people I was resisting against. And now I’m working, as I said, last week, you know, now I’m just trying to like work out how to change my engagement very reflectively, to reflect more my position” Rachel (discussing participation in an SMO)

Other participants have highlighted how some groups have promoted specific measures to counter gender inequalities in political organisational spaces, that relate to this study’s themes of harassment and gendered discursive hierarchies. As these young women outline, these measures go some of the way towards countering these inequalities:

“I think the groups that I have been in, have been quite good at being able to try and readdress some of these issues by having, so having specific rules saying, okay, a man cannot speak first when the discussion is opened up for example or having specific days where we do consent workshops and we discuss gender imbalances. I mean, that doesn’t say that these problems aren’t there. We live in a patriarchal society. It is inescapable, but I think a lot of good work has been done” Jasmin (discussing participation across multiple organisations)

“I will say that a lot of the men in, not always, but like a lot of men in [name of organisation], I do find to be like very, again, self-aware and very sort of like, like they’ll say like, oh I want to say this but I don’t want to like take up too much time or like, you know, they’re kind of very aware of not like dominating the conversation and everything” Karolina (discussing participation in an SMO)

Furthermore, a broad recognition of gendered inequalities in political organisations was verbalised by many young male participants, demonstrating that some young men’s processes of self-reflection in order to build a more gender-inclusive environment, but also demonstrating that ideas surrounding measures to counter gendered inequalities, in contrast to youth-derived inequalities, are more widespread and in the mainstream. As Ed and Yash highlight, alluding to notions of gendered verbal hierarchies:

“I try and like keep in mind of like contributions and meetings and stuff” Ed (discussing participation in an SMO)

“So just in terms of trying to be mindful of who I am, what positions I have. I think as well...It’s not a gender free society or a gender free [movement], you might say...I think it’s something I try to keep in check, yes” Yash (discussing participation across multiple organisations including SMOs)

This section has summarised some of the responses and reactions of gendered participants to gendered inequalities in political organisations, including impacts upon mental wellbeing, leaving or disengaging, and the wish to promote inclusivity. While gendered patterns in mental wellbeing and accounts of leaving or disengaging from political organisations, describe some of the less hopeful consequences of gendered inequalities in political organisations, the theme of promoting inclusivity, as also discussed in Chapter 5, is also prevalent in relation to discussions surrounding promoting gender inclusivity, and again reflects the prevalence of postmaterialist values among young people (Henn et al, 2018; Ehsan and Sloam, 2018; Inglehart, 1971). Indeed, while Chapter 5 showed that specific measures to prevent youth-derived exclusion from political organisational spaces were rarely discussed, here, research participants were more familiar with specific activist practices that could serve to assist gendered inclusion, which they aimed to encourage in their political participation. The difference in level of awareness with regards to these two different axes in inequality could well reflect differences in recognition of different axes of inequalities in discussions surrounding inclusion (Earl, 2008).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed gendered inequalities in the experiences of young people interviewed who have experience of participation in political organisations. It has outlined important examples of how young gendered participants experience marginalisation from political organisational spaces, demonstrating how the experience of young people are unequal; while youth is a distinct axis of inequality, it intersects with further axis of inequality—such as gender— leading to further dynamics of disadvantage. This chapter has addressed explanatory inequalities in the demand-side attributes of gendered participants and the supply-side features (Klandermans, 2004) of political organisations, that contribute to

gendered marginalisation from political organisational spaces, as well as the responses and reactions of gendered participants to experiences of inequality in political organisations. Many existing studies have highlighted how gender influences marginalisation from political organisational participation (Murray, 2011; Krook and MacKay, 2011; Valdini, 2019; Verba Nie and Kim, 1978; Norris, 1997; Lovenduski, 2011). However, this chapter has contributed further to this existing research by analysing experiences of *young* gendered participants, and by analysing the experiences of ordinary members of political organisations, as opposed to those at the elite level.

In terms of explanatory factors for gendered inequalities in political organisational participation, this chapter outlined themes on the supply side. A theme of gendered representation included experiences of poor gendered descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014) in political organisational spaces, of a ‘macho’ culture (Norris, 1997; Lowndes, 2000) within such spaces and experiences whereby participants felt excluded despite the incorporation of women’s rights or gender policies into the organisation’s policy position, contrary to the direction of ‘feminisation’ in organisations outlined by Childs (2008). Secondly, this section outlined how gendered participants experienced the devaluing of their contributions or potential contributions to political organisations, including having to ‘prove’ oneself as well as clear gendered hierarchies in debate and discussions in political organisational spaces: gendered discursive hierarchies, which drew upon previous theory of devaluing gendered contributions (Perez, 2019) and knowledge (Mendez and Osborn, 2010). Finally, the theme of harassment was outlined, describing direct and indirect accounts of how young gendered participants experiences some of the most severe forms of marginalisation from political organisation spaces, a theme discussed previously by Krook (2018) in relation to political parties at the elite level. Among young people’s accounts of where complaints were made in response to experiences of harassment, accounts of political organisations’ responses reflect similar themes to Ahmed (2012) in her study of organisations responses to inequality, whereby claims are denied in order to maintain a positive image of the organisations.

This section mapped how each of the three supply-side themed outlined linked to and reinforce each other. Just as in Chapter 5, the more severe processes of marginalisation– such as harassment– are often reinforced by less severe processes, such as the poor representation of young women in political organisation spaces. On the demand side, this chapter outlined

two main themes, the gendered role of low confidence on political organisational participation, consistent with previous studies such as Fox and Lawless (2005), and the role of gendered socialisation, in particular experiences of speaking with politics while growing up (Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019). This chapter has also outlined a number of processes whereby these demand-side attributes interact with features of the supply side.

Finally, this chapter outlined the responses and reactions of gendered participants to gender inequalities in political organisational participation. It revealed the gendered role of activism within political organisations on mental wellbeing and upon leaving or disengaging from political organisations, which linked back to themes within this chapter's analysis of the supply side and to what has been outlined in the supply-side literature (Norris, 1997; Murray, 2014; Krook, 2018) which may have implications for studies on gender gaps in political organisational participation (Norris and Inglehart, 2003). Young gendered participants also indicate accounts of promoting inclusivity in political organisational spaces: a more hopeful finding of this study that reflects the prevalence of postmaterialist values among young people (Inglehart, 1971; Ehsan and Sloam, 2018; Henn et al, 2018). In contrast to youth-derived inequalities, participants are aware of many more measures to promote gender inclusion than for youth inclusion, which may reflect the more central position of gender in debates surrounding inclusivity (Earl, 2018).

Links to Later Chapters

As this study has outlined, where appropriate to the findings and possible with available survey data, some of the key aspects from the qualitative findings will aim to be analysed from a quantitative perspective in Chapter 7 of this study. Furthermore, explanatory findings relating to the role of meetings, confidence and discussions with family about politics while growing up motivate further quantitative exploration of how generalisable such patterns are to the wider population.

This chapter has also made some comparisons to Chapter 5, which focussed upon youth-derived explanatory inequalities in political organisational participation. However, in order to answer the research question, *“By comparing the experiences of youth-derived inequalities and gendered inequalities among young people, what difference does gender make for young people's experiences of, and responses to, inequality in political organisations?”* a more

through comprehensive analysis will be made in Chapter 8 where this study's quantitative and qualitative findings will be integrated and triangulated.

7. Quantitative Analysis of Youth-Derived and Gendered Inequalities in Political Organisational Participation

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to test quantitatively a set of hypotheses around the common themes of youth- and gender-derived inequalities in political organisational participation. Each of these hypotheses stem from the findings of this study's qualitative analysis of 28 interviews with young people aged 18–34 and the position of these findings within existing literature, and relate to *descriptive* and *explanatory* factors in youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political organisational participation. This chapter uses data from the EURYKA project survey (EURYKA, 2018), with N=3,018 observations for the UK, and a large booster sample for young respondents between the ages of 18–34, thus allowing a cross-age group analysis as well as an ability to analyse in-depth gendered patterns in participation among young respondents. The hypotheses developed for this chapter draw upon qualitative findings, or relationships closely associated with these qualitative findings from Chapters 4, 5 and 6, for which it is appropriate to test the generalisability to either the general population, among the population of survey respondents who participate in political organisations, or among the population of young people. They are derived from qualitative findings on the *descriptive* forms of inequalities, and *explanatory* inequalities relating to both the demand side (relating to aspects of participants themselves) and the supply side (relating to aspects of the political organisation). Furthermore, these hypotheses relate to participatory inequalities derived from youth and gender, with the view that results bring together a comprehensive and detailed set of findings on youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities and furthermore provide insights into the specific intersection of youth and gender inequalities in political organisational participation in the UK.

This chapter finds evidence of youth- and gender-derived inequalities across a number of *explanatory* demand- and supply-side factors which influence political organisational participation, as well as among descriptive forms of inequality. These findings indicate that at the intersection of youth and gender, participation is unequal as a result of multiple intersecting inequalities derived from these, with implications of multiple disadvantage for young women and non-binary people. Furthermore, *descriptively*, it finds that for both youth and gender, no generalised hypotheses regarding rates of participation can hold true alone,

with distinctive patterns of political organisational participation according to youth and gender, found to be dependent upon the form of action and the type of political organisation.

7.2 Hypotheses and their Derivation from Sequential Mixed Methods Research Design

Hypothesis 1 (H1) stems from a demand-side theme of low confidence outlined in Chapter 5 on youth-derived inequalities in political organisational participation. Experiences of young people as lower in confidence stem from having had limited experience in political organisational participation, which in some cases was reinforced by dynamics within the organisation itself. Therefore, it would be expected that younger members of political organisations would have lower levels of confidence than older members of political organisations. Hypothesis 2 (H2) stems from a similar demand-side observation– yet relating to gendered experiences among youth– in Chapter 6 on explanatory factors in youth and gendered inequalities in political organisational participation. In Chapter 6, gendered experiences of lower confidence, both latent and manifest in participants’ accounts, often cite dynamics within the organisation. Gendered experiences of lower confidence also reflect gender and participation literature which outlines the role of lower confidence on political participation (Fox and Lawless, 2005). Since low confidence is reflected in both youth-derived and gendered accounts, these hypotheses (H1 and H2) also reflect an expectation at the intersection of youth and gender, that those people experiencing both youth-derived and gendered inequalities experience multiple disadvantage in levels of confidence.

H1: Younger members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than older members of political organisations

H2: Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than young male members of political organisations

Hypothesis 3 (H3) and Hypothesis 4 (H4) relate to the demand-side theme of early childhood socialisation in Chapter 6, specifically to gendered patterns of whether politics was discussed in the household while growing up. While among the sub-sample of young male participants, there were very differing experiences as to whether politics was discussed in the home, among the sub-sample of young women and non-binary people, all but one participants described how politics was discussed in the household (at least to some extent) while

growing up. In analysing this theme, this observation was contrasted to previous findings in the USA from existing literature whereby parents were shown to talk to their sons more than their daughters more about politics (Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019), prompting the analytical point that talking about politics while growing up may play a bigger role for developing politically active women than men. H3 therefore tests gendered inequalities in speaking about politics in the general population of young people. H4 then tests whether there is a contrasting relationship between gender and whether politics was spoken about in the household while growing up for young people who are members of political organisations. These hypotheses (H3 and H4) therefore serve to test the distinction between being inside or outside of a political organisation on the role of gendered socialisation in talking about politics growing up.

H3: In the general population, there will be gender inequalities regarding whether politics was regularly discussed with the family in childhood, with a higher incidence among the sub-sample of young men.

H4: For members of political organisations, the pattern of gender inequality will be reversed regarding whether politics was regularly discussed with the family in childhood, with a lower incidence among the sub-sample of young men.

Hypothesis 5 (H5) and Hypothesis 6 (H6) relate to supply-side themes in Chapter 5 and 6 of experiences of political organisations' meetings. A theme of youth-derived inequalities in political organisation meetings was that numerically, meetings were understood to have few young people in attendance and that this was conceived as part of a wider problem whereby the age composition of meetings was viewed as off-putting due to the consequent structure and culture of these spaces. H5 therefore tests whether this theme is also a generalisable finding to the population of people who are members of political organisations. H6 tests whether a theme of gendered experiences in Chapter 6— that meetings are experienced as 'male' in terms of their numerical composition and culture— is generalisable to the population. Since the idea of meetings as an inaccessible feature if the supply side is common to both youth-derived and gendered experiences, these hypotheses (H5 and H6) also reflect an expectation that at the intersection of youth and gender, although youth-derived and gender-derived experiences may be qualitatively different, those people experiencing both

youth-derived and gendered inequalities will be also multiply disadvantaged on a quantitative level, in terms of their inclusion/exclusion from political organisation meeting spaces.

H5: Young members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of political organisations than older members of political organisations.

H6: Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of a political organisation than young men.

Hypotheses 7–9 relate to *descriptive* rates of political organisational participation for young people. Hypothesis 7 (H7) tests younger people’s overall rates of participation compared those of older people. This stems from this study’s qualitative findings that many young people have joined political organisations since 2010 in response to shifting political opportunities. This is also reflected in existing literature which highlights the increased role of young people within political organisations in recent years (Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017). This hypothesis posits that young people’s rates of political organisational participation has in fact overtaken the rate for older people. Hypothesis 8 (H8) tests young people’s rates of participation in ‘new’ vs. ‘old’ forms of political organisations. It draws upon this study’s findings that many of the themes of youth marginalisation on the supply side (in particular age dynamics in political organisational spaces) link more closely with young people’s experiences of participation within ‘old’ forms of political organisation. It therefore seeks to test whether there is a generalisable impact of this upon overall levels of youth participation, when compared to ‘new’ forms of political organisation. Hypothesis 9 (H9) seeks to test whether younger people participate more in ‘active’ forms of actions within political organisations, than older people. It derives from a qualitative finding of this study of young people’s participation as an active, ongoing, and sometimes every day, practice. It also derives from a notion in the literature of the rise of active volunteering participation among young people (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017).

H7: Younger people will be more likely to participate in political organisations than older people.

H8: Younger people will be more likely to participate in ‘newer’ political organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) than ‘older’ political organisations (e.g. political parties).

H9: Younger people will be more likely to engage in more active and intensive action repertoires such as volunteering than older people.

Finally, Hypotheses 10–12 test *descriptive* gendered impacts of various factors on political organisational participation of young people. Specifically, Hypothesis 10 (H10) derives from this study's range of qualitative findings regarding gendered inequalities in political organisations. This links to studies which observe a gender gap in political organisational participation (Norris and Inglehart, 2003). It therefore seeks to test a more generalisable hypothesis of the impact of gender upon political organisational participation among young people. Hypothesis 11 (H11) derives from this study's qualitative finding that gendered political organisational participation is linked more closely to 'new' political organisations and that experiences of gendered inequalities link more closely to experiences of 'old' political organisations than 'new' types of political organisation. In the existing literature, Morales (2009) outlines how this gendered division between 'new' and 'old' organisations exists in her data from western democracies, which this hypothesis seeks to test within the population of young people. Hypothesis 12 (H12) derives from this study's qualitative observation of the role of safety and of the 'private' and the 'collective' in gendered political organisational participation (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010).

H10: Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in political organisations than young men

H11: Younger women and non-binary people will be more likely to participate in 'new' political organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) than 'old' political organisations (e.g. political parties).

H12: Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in the more intensive 'collective' action repertoires of volunteering than the more 'private' action of membership.

Overall, H1–12 seek to test the generalisability of either qualitative findings of this study, or relationships closely associated with these qualitative findings, in order to draw together a more detailed and comprehensive set of findings regarding youth-derived and gendered

inequalities in political organisational participation in the UK. This section has also outlined the links of these hypotheses to different elements of the youth and gender literature regarding inequalities in political participation. Specifically these are linked to literature *describing* youth-derived inequalities (Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017; Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017) and gender-derived inequalities (Morales, 2009; Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010; Inglehart and Norris, 2003), as well as to those demand-side and supply-side (Klandermans, 2004) *explanatory* factors for inequalities in political organisational participation, relating to youth and gender (Fox and Lawless, 2005; Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019).

7.3 Findings

Turning firstly to Hypotheses 1 and 2, the demand-side attribute of personal confidence is considered both theoretically and within this study's qualitative findings, as a contributing factor to inequalities in political participation. To operationalise the concept of confidence within quantitative research, the concept of 'internal political efficacy' is used as an appropriate proxy, not only due to its proximate meaning, but since internal political efficacy pertains to the political context of such a personal feeling. The survey question from which this data derives is '*to what extent do you agree with the following statement?*'⁷. From this question, survey respondents are asked to state whether they 'strongly disagree', 'disagree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'agree' or 'strongly agree' with the statement '*I consider myself to be well-qualified to participate in politics*'. For the purpose of this analysis, the response categories of 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree', and the categories of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' have been grouped together. Since H1 "*Younger members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than older members of political organisations*" is concerned with confidence according to age in the population of people who participate in political organisations, this study firstly considers a cross-tabulation of internal political efficacy according to age group among survey respondents who are political organisation members.

⁷ All survey questions, sub-questions and categories of response cited in this chapter are from the EURYKA survey (EURYKA, 2018).

Table 7.1: Internal Political Efficacy by Age Group Among Members of Political Organisations

Internal political efficacy: I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	Age group				
	18 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 49	50 to 64	65+
Disagree or strongly disagree	32.4%	16.3%	13.1%	13.4%	10.7%
Neither agree nor disagree	24.6%	40.9%	33.8%	15.2%	24.8%
Agree or strongly agree	43.1%	42.8%	53.1%	71.5%	64.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 7.1 indicates clear age differentials in levels of internal political efficacy (or confidence) among members of political organisations. It is notable that overall the proportion of respondents who stated ‘strongly disagree’ or ‘disagree’ was generally low, which is to be expected among people who are members of political organisations. Nevertheless, Table 7.1 indicates that this differs across age groups. Firstly, there is a relatively high proportion (32.4%) of 18–24-year-old respondents (the lower half of those defined as young people by this study) who stated either ‘strongly disagree’ or ‘disagree’ with regards to their own qualification to participate in politics. Turning to responses which indicate respondents ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ that they are well qualified to participate in politics, the proportion of respondents stating either of these responses are lowest in the categories of youth: 43.1% for 18–24s and 42.8% for 25–34s. For older age groups, the proportion of respondents stating ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ is higher, rising as high as 71.5% in the 50–64 age group. This data provides support to H1 that “*Younger members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than older members of political organisations*”.

However, another method can be designed to test this further. The quantitative investigation of confidence has so far stemmed from the concept of confidence as an attribute of individuals which they bring to political organisations (i.e. the impact of the demand side on the supply side). However, Chapter 5 also showed how individuals’ interaction with organisations can have further impacts upon confidence (i.e. the impact of the supply side on the demand side), indicating an interacting process between demand and supply. Therefore, to disentangle this somewhat, I attempt to isolate the supply-side impact (of being inside an

organisation) from the demand-side impact. Table 7.2 is a crosstabulation of internal political efficacy by age group among the total population. A comparison of Table 7.1 and Table 7.2 can indicate what impact being on the inside of a political organisation has on personal confidence, across age groups.

Table 7.2: Internal Political Efficacy by Age Group among Members of the Total Population

Internal political efficacy: I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	Age group				
	18 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 49	50 to 64	65+
Disagree or strongly disagree	39.2%	34.0%	34.5%	25.9%	23.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	25.3%	32.1%	26.2%	23.3%	29.6%
Agree or strongly agree	35.5%	34.0%	39.4%	50.7%	47.4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

While overall, one would expect to see a reasonable boost in terms of higher rates of internal political efficacy among members of political organisations than in the total population, a simple comparison of Table 7.1 and Table 7.2 indicates that for younger age categories, there is not as high a boost. For 18–24 respondents stating ‘strongly disagree’ or ‘disagree’ regarding their sense of being qualified to participate in politics, between the total population (39.2%) and members of political organisations (32.4%), there is a difference of 6.8%. This indicates that among political organisation members there was a proportion of 6.8% more 18–24-year-old respondents stating that they disagreed or strongly disagreed that they were qualified to participate in politics in the general population, compared to among members of political organisations the same age. Similarly, among respondents stating that they ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ with their qualification to participate in politics among 18–24s, there was a difference of -7.6% between the total population and members of political organisations. This indicates that the proportion of political organisation members who ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ with their qualification to participate in politics is higher by a proportion of 7.6%, compared to the general population of 18–24s. For 25–34s, while those stating ‘disagree’ or ‘strongly disagree’ is low (16.3%) among members of political organisations, there is only a boost of 8.8% for those inside of political organisations who ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’, compared to the general population. While some level of boost in internal political efficacy would be expected for members of political organisations compared to the total population–

indeed there is a form of selection bias in that people who join political organisations often have higher confidence—the boost for younger age categories of being in a political organisations is comparably low relative to the difference in levels of confidence between members of political organisations and the total population, among older age groups.

A comparison of Table 7.1 and Table 7.2 also indicates that not only are there much higher rates of internal political efficacy among older age groups, both among the total population and among members of political organisations, but that there is much stronger boost in internal political efficacy among older age categories, from being a member of a political organisation. By contrast, for the age categories of 50–64 and 65+, those stating that they ‘disagree’ or ‘strongly disagree’ with regards to their qualification to participate in politics, were 12.5% and 12.3% respectively lower among members of political organisations. And highest in magnitude, among 50–64s and the 65+ age category who state that they ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ with regards to their qualification to participate in politics, there were boosts of 20.8% and 17.1% respectively for members of political organisations, compared with the general population.

Overall, this data therefore indicates that not only does confidence increase with age for members of political organisations, that there is a more consistent and higher ‘boost’ of being a member of a political organisation compared with the total population, among older age groups than for younger age groups. This difference suggests that political organisations through some process bring more internal political efficacy/confidence to older age groups than younger age groups. With the data from Table 7.1 and Table 7.2, there is a good level of evidence for H1 that “*Younger members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than older members of political organisations*”.

Table 7.3 highlights relevant data to address H2, that “*Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than young male members of political organisations*”. It considers internal political efficacy according to gender among the population of young people aged 18–34. It also displays the results of a statistical test for a comparison of proportions which tests the equality of proportions in large-N datasets. This is used to determine whether proportions are statistically different to each other: in this case the differences in levels of internal political efficacy between male and female and non-binary respondents in the population of young people.

Table 7.3: Internal Political Efficacy by Gender among Young Members of Political Organisations

Internal political efficacy: I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics	Male	Female & non-binary	Pr(T > t)
Strongly disagree	3.9%	8.1%	0.0760*
Disagree	11.0%	19.3%	0.0294**
Neither agree nor disagree	22.9%	23.3%	0.9868
Agree	39.4%	34.9%	0.3841
Strongly agree	22.8%	14.4%	0.0392**
Total	100%	100%	-

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 7.3 offers strong evidence for H2. Looking at the difference in internal political efficacy between male vs. female/non-binary members of political organisations, there are consistently higher proportions of female/ non-binary respondents who state ‘strongly disagree’ or ‘disagree’, and consistently higher proportions of male respondents who state ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ regarding whether they feel qualified to participate in politics. In short, in each category of response, male members of political organisations indicate higher levels of confidence. Nor is this gendered difference marginal, with more than double the proportion of female and non-binary respondents stating ‘strongly disagree’ than male respondents, and 14.4% of female and non-binary respondents stating ‘strongly agree’ compared to 22.8% of male respondents. In terms of the statistical significance of these differences, the comparisons of proportions tests indicate significance in categories of response other than ‘agree’ where the gender differential is smaller and ‘neither agree nor disagree’ which offers little insight into either confidence or lack of confidence and is therefore of little interest to this analysis. The gendered difference in proportions for those stating that they ‘strongly disagree’ that they are well qualified to participate is statistically significant to $p < 0.01$, whereas for those stating ‘disagree’ the gendered difference in proportions is significant to $p < 0.05$. For those stating they ‘strongly agree’ that they are well qualified to participate in politics, the gendered difference is also significant to $p < 0.05$.

Overall, the consistency of these results and the statistical significance of gendered difference in 3 of 4 relevant categories of responses provides a good level of evidence to reject a null hypothesis of no association, in favour of H2, that “*Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than young male members of political organisations*”. Turning next to H3, that “*In the general population, there will be gender inequalities regarding whether politics was regularly discussed with the family in childhood, with a higher incidence among the sub-sample of young men*”, Table 7.4 outlines how often survey respondents report to have spoken with their family about politics growing up, in the general population. It outlines this data by gender and includes a comparison of proportions to test the equality or indeed difference of proportions between male and female & non-binary respondents.

Table 7.4: Speaking about Politics with Family in Childhood by Gender among the Population of Young People (18–34)

When you were growing up, how often did your family talk about politics?	Male	Female & non-binary	Pr(T > t)
Less than yearly	15.9%	23.7%	0.000***
At least yearly	36.8%	35.6%	0.4294
At least monthly	24.4%	20.2%	0.0464**
At least weekly	22.9%	20.6%	0.2145
Total	100%	100%	-

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 7.4 broadly reflects H3 in the sense that, among the categories ‘at least weekly’, ‘at least monthly’ and ‘at least yearly’, there was a greater proportion of male than female and non-binary responses. Furthermore, 23.7% of female and non-binary respondents stated that they spoke about politics ‘less than yearly’ while growing up, compared to 15.9% of male respondents. This gendered difference in proportions is statistically significant to $p < 0.01$. While not all of the stated differences in proportions are statistically significant, the gendered difference in respondents stating ‘at least monthly’ is significant to $p < 0.05$. Overall, the

differences in proportions between male and female & non-binary respondents in the population of young people indicates that, even for the present generation of youth, there were gendered differences in the extent to which families discussed politics with their children while growing up. This study therefore rejects any null hypothesis of no association in favour of H3. This study next seeks to contrast the role of speaking about politics in the family among the general population of youth, to its role within the population of young people who are members of political organisations. Table 7.5, in a similar way to Table 7.4, displays data regarding whether politics was discussed within the family growing up according to gender, with comparison of proportion tests for equality/ differences in proportions.

Table 7.5: Speaking about Politics with Family in Childhood by Gender among Young Members of Political Organisations (18–34)

When you were growing up, how often did your family talk about politics?	Male	Female & non-binary	Pr(T > t)
Less than yearly	9.5%	15.2%	0.0533*
At least yearly	35.8%	33.1%	0.2759
At least monthly	29.6%	18.4%	0.0145**
At least weekly	25.0%	33.4%	0.0363**
Total	100%	100%	–

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 7.5 displays an interesting pattern of gendered differences in responses. For all categories of responses other than ‘at least weekly’ there are similar patterns of gendered differentials to in Table 7.4: for ‘less than yearly’ there is a higher proportion of responses for female and non-binary respondents (significant to $p < 0.10$), for ‘at least monthly’ there are higher responses for male respondents (significant to $p < 0.05$) and for ‘at least yearly’ there is a smaller gendered difference albeit still with a greater proportion of male respondents, although this is not statistically significant. While these broadly reflect the gendered patterns of responses for the general population of youth, there is an interesting reverse in the trend of responses for ‘at least weekly’; 33.4% of female or non-binary respondents selected this category of response, compared to 25.0% of male respondents. This difference is also

statistically significant to $p < 0.05$, indicating a gendered reversal of the patterns among those who discuss politics ‘at least weekly’ among young members of political organisations. The fact that this pattern is only reversed for one category entails that one cannot reject any null hypothesis in favour of H4 “*For members of political organisations, the pattern of gender inequality will be reversed regarding whether politics was regularly discussed with the family in childhood, with a lower incidence among the sub-sample of young men*” entirely. However, what this analysis does reveal is that for young people in political organisations there is a reversal of a gendered pattern, regarding having spoken about politics as a child, among those who spoke about it very regularly with their families.

Turning next to Hypothesis 5 relating to the supply-side: “*Young members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of political organisations than older members of political organisations*”, Table 7.6 outlines the proportion of each age group of political organisation members who have attended a meeting of a political organisation in the past 12 months. This is also compared to the proportion of each age group in the general population who have attended a meeting of a political organisation in the same time frame.

Table 7.6: Political Organisation Meeting Attendance by Age Group among the General Population and Members of Political Organisations

Attended a meeting of a political organisation in the past 12 months	Age group				
	18 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 49	50 to 64	65+
The general population	3.8%	5.1%	3.6%	4.8%	5.0%
Members of political organisations	3.8%	18.8%	15.9%	14.2%	16.7%

The pattern of responses for members of political organisations is that most responses are within 5 percentiles of each other (between 14.2% and 18.8%, with no clear relationship to age) for each age category except 18–24, where meeting attendance is much lower, at 3.8%. While this data indicates that meeting attendance among political organisation members is low overall, it shows that it is particularly low among the 18–24 age group. While one could assert that lower levels of 18–24 meeting attendance may stem from factors outside of the

supply side (the organisation), for example as a generational behavioural change in the propensity to attend organisational meetings or in the greater biographical availability of older age groups, data of meeting attendance among members of political organisations can be contrasted to political organisational meeting attendance among the general population by age group. A simple comparison of these rates of meeting attendance indicates much less variation between 18–24s and the rest of the population; for all age groups meeting attendance is between 3.6% and 5%). Indeed, by comparing closely rates of meeting attendance (within the past 12 months) between the general population and members of political organisations, it is clear that there is an expected boost between rates of meeting attendance in the general population and political organisation members (as one would expect a member to be more likely to attend than an arbitrary member of the public) among most age groups except 18–24s. While the 3.8% meeting attendance among both political organisation members and the general population must indicate that some people attend meetings as a non-member or, more likely, of organisations without a membership model, the fact that there is no boost for 18–24s between the general population and political organisation members for meeting attendance in the past 12 months suggests that there are factor(s) which hold back meeting attendance of 18–24s who are members of political organisations. Since an age-based pattern of meeting attendance among members of political organisations is not observed across all age-categories, and certainly not for the upper-half of this study's age range for youth (25–34s), H5 *Young members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of political organisations than older members of political organisations*", cannot be accepted in its entirety. The data has revealed, nevertheless, that there is evidence of youth-based inequalities in political organisation meeting attendance.

H6, that "*Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of a political organisation than young men*" tests gendered effects upon meeting attendance in political organisations. In Table 7.7, a test for the equality/difference in the proportion of attendance between young men and young female & non-binary people is carried out, to determine the statistical significance of gendered differences in this variable. Looking firstly at the proportions of male and female & non-binary attendance of meetings, there is a clear gendered pattern, whereby higher proportions of young men responded in each of the three categories 'in the past 12 months', 'in the past 5 years' and 'at some point in my life', and higher proportions of young female and non-binary responded in the categories pertaining to never having attended. The proportion of responses in each of these categories

therefore indicate a lower propensity of young female and non-binary people to attend meetings of political organisations, than young men. Turning to the statistical significance of these relationships, there is stronger significance for gendered differences in negative responses i.e. those that state a stronger preference for not attending; the strongest significance $p=0.0293$ is for ‘never and I would never see myself doing this in the future’. there is also a statistically significant gendered difference in the response ‘never, but I could see myself doing this in the future’. Nevertheless, gendered differences in responses that state a stronger preference for attending also provide evidence for H6; 16.9% of young male respondents stated that they had attended a meeting of a political organisation ‘in the past 12 months’, compared to 10.2% of young female and non-binary respondents, a difference in proportions significant to $p=0.0523$.

Table 7.7: Political Organisation Meeting Attendance by Gender among Young Members of Political Organisations (18–34)

Attended a meeting of a political organisation	Male	Female & non-binary	Pr(T > t)
In the past 12 months	16.9%	10.2%	0.0523*
In the previous 5 years (not in the past 12 months)	22.8%	17.9%	0.2131
At some previous point in my life (not in the past 5 years)	16.1%	9.9%	0.0476**
Never, but I could see myself doing this in the future	27.4%	38.1%	0.0469**
Never and I would never see myself doing this in the future	16.8%	23.9%	0.0293**
Total	100%	100%	–

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

While the gendered difference in proportions is not significant for ‘in the past 5 years’, there is a statistically significant difference in the rate of having ever attended a meeting of a political organisation with $p < 0.05$. Overall, while more pronounced among responses that reflect a low propensity to attend political organisation meetings, there is nevertheless strong evidence across responses to reflect the relationship outlined in H6. This study therefore rejects any null hypothesis of no association in favour of H6, that “*Young women and non-*

binary members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of a political organisation than young men”.

This chapter next turns to addressing H7–9 which relate to rates of political organisational participation by age. They explore different factors which impact upon *descriptive* inequalities in youth political organisational participation. Table 7.8 is a cross-tabulation of rates of political organisational participation by age group, according to whether the participation form is membership or volunteering, and the type of organisation; two examples of ‘old’ forms of political organisation (political party and trade union) and two examples of ‘new’ political organisation (environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation and Women’s or feminist organisation) are included, for the purpose of comparison between ‘old’ and ‘new’ political organisations.

Table 7.8: Political Organisation and Form of Participation by Age Group

Political organisation & form of participation	Age group					Mean
	18 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 49	50 to 64	65 +	
Political party <i>Membership</i>	4.4%	4.6%	3.5%	5.5%	9.0%	5.5%
<i>Volunteering</i>	4.4%	2.3%	3.5%	2.1%	1.7%	2.7%
Trade union <i>Membership</i>	4.4%	7.4%	9.8%	10.2%	6.8%	8.2%
<i>Volunteering</i>	3.5%	1.1%	1.6%	0.4%	0.0%	1.1%
Environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation <i>Membership</i>	8.0%	2.3%	2.3%	2.6%	6.8%	4.1%
<i>Volunteering</i>	8.9%	2.3%	3.5%	0.9%	0.9%	2.7%
Women’s or feminist organisation <i>Membership</i>	7.1%	3.4%	0.8%	0.4%	0.4%	1.8%
<i>Volunteering</i>	5.3%	5.1%	1.2%	0.4%	0.85%	2.1%

What is clear from the data at first glance, relating to H7 ‘*Younger people will be more likely to participate in political organisations than older people*’, is that participation is not consistently higher in younger age categories of 18–24 and 25–34 than in older age groups. For example, a 4.4% rate of political party membership among 18–24s and a 4.6% rates

among 24–34s can be contrasted with rates of 5.5% political party membership among 50–64s and 9.0% among 65+. This is especially the case within the membership of ‘older’ more traditional type organisations of political party and trade unions. While youth rates of membership in these organisations are not unsubstantial, the data shows higher rates of membership than those of youth across two of the three older age categories in both cases. Similarly, rates of membership of trade unions rise in each older age group with the exception of 65+, a pattern which is to be expected given that retirement is likely to entail leaving this form of organisation. These observations therefore offer limited evidence at this stage for H7 as a generalised hypothesis.

To contrast, age-related patterns in participation resemble the division between ‘old’ and ‘new’ political organisations outlined in H8 ‘*Younger people will be more likely to participate in ‘newer’ political organisations than ‘older’ political organisations*’; the data shows much higher rates of membership of women’s or feminist organisations in younger age categories, 7.1% among 18–24s and 3.4% among 25–34s compared with a membership of less than 1% across all older age groups, and high rates of environmental organisation membership, at 8.0% within the 18–24 age category, indicating initially strong evidence for H8. Finally, in relation to H9 “*Younger people will be more likely to engage in more active and intensive action repertoires such as volunteering than older people*”, there is a much more consistent age-related trend, with younger age groups having consistently higher rates of volunteering than older age groups across all political organisations, with the exception of 25–34s within political parties. For example, volunteering stands at 3.5% among 18–24s in trade unions, compared to 0.4% for 50–64s, despite lower membership rates among youth than older age groups. Furthermore, volunteering for an environmental organisation stands at 8.9% among 18–24s (a figure higher than environmental membership for 18–24s indicating volunteering of non-members or organisations without a membership model) compared to rates of volunteering of 0.9% among the 50–64 and 65+ age groups. This provides strong evidence for H9. However, due to the existence of other factors outside of the current analysis which also impact upon rates of political participation, each of hypotheses 7–9 will be tested further at a later stage of this chapter, with greater rigour of significance testing and control variables. Having seen an overview of the data with regards to age-related trends in political organisational participation, this chapter next addresses gender-related hypotheses 10–12 through analysis of the youth booster sample of this dataset.

Table 7.9 is a crosstabulation of rates of political organisational participation by gender within the sample of respondents aged 18–34, according to membership and volunteering. Like in Table 7.8, two examples of ‘old’ forms of political organisation (political party and trade union) and two examples of ‘new’ political organisation (environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation and Women’s or feminist organisation) are included for the purpose of comparison.

Table 7.9: Political Organisation and Form of Participation by Gender among respondents aged 18–34

Political organisation & form of participation	Gender		
	Male	Female & non-binary	Pr(T > t)
Political party <i>Membership</i>	6.0%	4.4%	0.073*
<i>Volunteering</i>	6.7%	3.4%	0.000***
Trade union <i>Membership</i>	6.4%	7.0%	0.914
<i>Volunteering</i>	5.6%	3.4%	0.012**
Environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation <i>Membership</i>	5.3%	5.0%	0.573
<i>Volunteering</i>	7.0%	6.1%	0.435
Women’s or feminist organisation <i>Membership</i>	3.1%	4.9%	0.020**
<i>Volunteering</i>	5.8%	5.0%	0.479

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

At first glance, we can see that in relation to H10 “*Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in political organisations than young men*” there is no distinct gender-related pattern with younger women and non-binary respondents’ participation in terms of membership, with higher rates of membership in some organisations and lower in others. Where female and non-binary membership is higher, in some cases there is a more obvious theoretical basis for this, such as in the case of women’s or feminist organisations, where indeed a higher rate of participation among young women and non-binary is statistically significant to $P < 0.05$. However, in the case of trade unions, the greater level of membership among young women and non-binary respondents (7.0%) than young men (6.4%) has a less clear basis in theory, albeit the difference not statistically significant. It

is noticeable also that where female and non-binary membership is lower, we see a higher gender gap in membership of political parties than environmental organisations. Overall, these differences indicate more complex trends and provides little evidence for H10 of a generalised lower likelihood of younger women and non-binary people to participate in political organisations than younger men. However, turning to the eleventh hypothesis “*Younger women and non-binary people will be more likely to participate in ‘new’ political organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) than ‘old’ political organisations (e.g. political parties)*”, the data shows that young women and non-binary people, when comparing their rates of participation cross-organisationally (‘old’ vs. ‘new’), that in terms of membership, that while gender differentials for membership may be lower in ‘new’ political organisations, that young women and non-binary people display no overall increased propensity to become members of ‘new’ organisations than ‘old’ organisations; membership for young women and non-binary people is 4.9% and 5.0% in ‘new’ political organisations and 4.4.% and 7.0% in ‘old’ political organisations.

However, with regards to volunteering, there are more clearly higher rates of participation in volunteering by female and non-binary people in newer political organisations than there is in ‘old’ political organisations; the rate of volunteering among young women and non-binary people is 6.1% and 5.0% in the two examples of ‘new’ political organisations, compared to 3.4% in both examples of ‘old’ political organisations. Furthermore, when comparing male to female participation and the associated comparison of proportions, it is notable that gender differentials are significant in the case of political parties for membership ($p < 0.10$) and volunteering ($p < 0.01$) and in trade union volunteering ($p < 0.05$), whereas no gender differentials, as indicated by the comparison of proportions, were significant in the case of the two ‘new’ political organisations, other than in the case where younger women were more likely to participate (“Women’s or Feminist Organisation”). Certainly, in terms of their active participation in volunteering, there is evidence here for H11, that women and non-binary people are more likely to participate in newer forms of political organisation, but this seems to depend on the form of participation.

Finally, with regards to the twelfth hypothesis that “*Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in the more intensive ‘collective’ action repertoires of volunteering than the more ‘private’ action of membership*”, the data in Table 7.9 shows a similarly interesting inter-relationship between the type of organisation and the form of

action. While the rates of volunteering by gender show higher rates of volunteering for men than for women and non-binary people across all organisations shown; the rate of volunteering for young men in political parties for example, is 6.7%, compared to 3.4% for young women and non-binary people (a greater proportion of young male volunteering is even in the case of “Women’s or Feminist Organisation”). However, when we compare volunteering to membership among only women and non-binary people– which is the comparison that H12 makes– volunteering is only lower than membership in the case of the ‘old’ type political organisations of political parties and trade unions, yet it is higher than membership in ‘new’ political organisations. This offers some support for H12, but also suggests, just as differentials in the rates of participation across different types of organisation (old vs. new) were largely contingent upon the form of action (membership vs. volunteering), that indeed differences between membership and volunteering for women and non-binary people may well be contingent upon the type of organisation (‘old’ vs. ‘new’). This could well entail that levels of more ‘collective’ forms of participation for younger women and non-binary people are mediated by the organisational structure, upon factors such as the degree of hierarchy. However, this potential relationship should be explored further.

This study next carries out a set of four logistic regression models in order to further test H7–12. As discussed, there are a number of other factors which impact upon *descriptive inequalities* in political participation, which entail that this chapter’s analysis of rates of political organisational participation thus far cannot be sufficient. Therefore, these models include the theoretically relevant control variables of education (Schussman and Soule, 2005) which in this model is a dummy variable for higher education, social class (Caínzos and Voces, 2010) which is a dummy variable for professional class, employment (Brady, Verba and Schlozman, 1995) which is a dummy for full time employment, and political interest (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010): a dummy for being interested in politics, in addition to the independent variables of interest gender (dummy for female and non-binary) and age. The four dependent variables for comparison are membership of political parties, membership of environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisations, volunteering in political parties and volunteering within environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisations. Tables 7.10 to 7.13 show the four logistic regressions models for the four dependent variables of environmental organisation membership, environmental organisation volunteering, political party membership and political party volunteering, respectively. The subsequent analysis involves the analysis of the results of these logistic regressions to add additional evidence for

H7–12. In particular, a comparison of these four different regression models allows for a comparison of results according the theoretical distinctions outlined in these hypotheses, namely the comparison of membership participation to volunteering participation, and ‘new’ organisation participation to ‘old’ organisation participation.

Table 7.10: Logistic Regression of Environmental Organisation Membership

Membership of environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation	Coefficient. (B)	Significance
Female & non-binary	-0.090	
Higher education	0.862	**
Professional class	-0.114	
Age	-0.003	
Full time employment	-0.726	*
Political interest	0.746	
Left wing	0.113	
Constant	-3.969	***
Pseudo r-squared	0.038	N 1013

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 7.11: Logistic Regression of Political Party Membership

Membership of political parties	Coefficient. (B)	Significance
Female & non-binary	-0.214	
Higher education	0.336	
Professional class	-0.157	
Age	0.010	
Full time employment	-0.303	
Political interest	2.805	***
Left wing	0.680	*
Constant	-6.350	***
Pseudo r-squared	0.081	N 1013

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Returning firstly to H7 “*Younger people will be more likely to participate in political organisations than older people*”, when observing the results of the four logistic regressions it is notable that in two of the four regression models, a higher age is negatively associated with rates of participation (and is statistically significant), entailing that younger people are more likely to participate in two of the four models. While this lends some evidence to H7, a more detailed analysis would once again suggest the rejection of H7 as a generalised hypothesis, in favour of a more nuanced interpretation. In fact, the negative relationship

between a higher age and participation is only statistically significant in the two models which pertain to volunteering in political organisations. Therefore, in combination with the very limited evidence for H7 presented in Table 7.8 earlier in this chapter, this study rejects H7 as a generalised hypothesis. Furthermore, in the two statistically significant models outlined (for volunteering in environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation $B = -0.051$ and $p < 0.01$ and for volunteering in political parties $B = -0.028$ and $p < 0.05$), while the greater significance and magnitude of this negative relationship between age and participation within environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisations volunteering than political party volunteering lends some degree of evidence to H8 – that “*younger people will be more likely to participate in ‘newer’ political organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) than ‘older’ political organisations (e.g. political parties)*” – the lack of consistently significant findings in the logistic regression models with regards to the relationship between age and participation in ‘new’ political organisations this casts doubt on H8. Therefore, despite initially promising evidence in the patterns of data in Table 7.8 earlier in this chapter, a lack of consistently statistically significant findings entails the rejection of H8. In contrast, the statistical significance of the both the models which relate to volunteering actions, as summarised in Table 7.12 and Table 7.13, in combination with the evidence outlined in Table 7.8 earlier in this chapter provides a good level of evidence for H9. This study therefore rejects any hypothesis of no association in favour of H9, that “*younger people will be more likely to engage in more active and intensive action repertoires such as volunteering than older people*”.

Table 7.12: Logistic Regression of Environmental Organisation Volunteering

Volunteering in environment, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation	Coefficient. (B)	Significance
Female & non-binary	-0.074	
Higher education	0.229	
Professional class	0.232	
Age	-0.051	***
Full time employment	-0.404	
Political interest	1.074	*
Left wing	0.352	
Constant	-2.712	***
Pseudo r-squared	0.081	N 1013

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 7.13: Logistic Regression of Political Party Volunteering

Volunteering in political parties	Coefficient. (B)	Significance
Female & non-binary	-0.750	*
Higher education	0.231	
Professional class	-0.695	
Age	-0.028	**
Full time employment	-0.156	
Political interest	1.496	**
Left wing	0.310	
Constant	-3.177	***
Pseudo r-squared	0.061	N 1013

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Turning to the impacts of gender upon political organisational participation, and firstly to H10 that “*Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in political organisations than young men*”. Although, being female or non-binary has a negative relationship with political organisational participation in all four of the logistic regression models, as indicated by negative B coefficients, the relationship between gender and participation is only significant at $p < 0.10$ in the political party volunteering model. This is furthermore the only model in which age and gender both have a statistically significant effect. Looking closely at the model for political party volunteering in Table 7.13, while having a younger age is associated with higher rates of participation in this model, gender has a negative mediating effect, with identifying as female or non-binary associated with lower rates of participation. Nevertheless, the lack of consistent statistical significance of gender (Female & Non-binary in the model) in addition to the limited evidence for H10 in Table 7.9 earlier in this chapter, does not provide sufficient evidence to accept H10, and it is therefore rejected as a generalised hypothesis. Moreover, the comparison of models with regards to age and gender lends further evidence to initial findings from this chapter that lower rates of volunteering and in participation within ‘old’ forms of political participation being contingent upon one another. Breaking this down into more detail, and turning to H11, that “*Younger women and non-binary people will be more likely to participate in ‘newer’ political organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) than ‘older’ political organisations (e.g. political parties)*”, while we can see a difference in the magnitude of the gender coefficients between membership of environmental organisation ($B = -0.090$) and political party ($B = -0.214$), neither model has significant results for gender. For volunteering, we also see a

smaller magnitude (negative) coefficient for gender in environmental organisations ($B=-0.074$) than for gender in political party volunteering ($B=-0.75$). Nevertheless, only within political party volunteering is this relationship significant at $p<0.10$. As discussed, this is also the only category in which age and gender are both significant to some degree.

Considering finally H12, that “*Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in the more intensive ‘collective’ action repertoires of volunteering than the more ‘private’ action of membership*”, relationships between gender and participation in ‘new’ political organisations, as exemplified in Tables 7.10 and 7.12 in relation to environmental organisation membership and volunteering, while negative, are not statistically significant. However, there is a statistically significant (negative) relationship between both gender and age and participation in the logistic regression model pertaining to political party volunteering (Table 7.13) –an example of an ‘old’ political organisation– ($B=-0.750$). These findings (relating to H11 and H12) lend further evidence to previous analysis in this chapter in Table 7.9, which stated that for younger women and non-binary people, there is both a propensity for lower rates of participation in ‘old’ forms of political organisation and lower rates of participation in more ‘collective’ forms of volunteering action, but that each factor was contingent on the presence of the other. In the findings of the logistic regression models for political organisational participation, the significance of the findings also requires the presence of both conditions (‘old’ organisation and volunteering participation), thus suggesting that these are contingent on one another. Therefore, while individually, H11 and H12 are rejected, the combination of the two hypotheses– the relationship between gender and political organisational participation, type of organisation and form of participation– is a statistically significant relationship in these findings, which is of interest to this study.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore factors of *descriptive* and *explanatory* inequalities in political organisational participation, according to youth and gender. It has analysed youth-derived inequalities in specific demand-side and supply-side attributes which influence political participation, as well as upon *descriptive inequalities* rates of political organisational participation, from a survey of $N=3,018$ responses in the UK and a booster sample for youth responses. This chapter has tested hypotheses which derive from this study’s qualitative findings and their position within the literature. The evidence in favour of H1 “*Younger*

members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than older members of political organisations” and H2 *“Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than young male members of political organisations”* indicates that there is multiple disadvantage at the intersection of gender and youth in terms of the personal confidence of participants in political organisations. In relation to age, it has also shown how age differentials in confidence are impacted by both the demand-side individual and the supply-side organisation. These findings on personal confidence are consistent with gender research (Fox and Lawless, 2005) but also extend this further by analysing how both gender and youth are contributing factors to lower levels of confidence, findings that are reflected in both the qualitative and quantitative findings of this study. By contrast, quantitative evidence regarding the role of speaking about politics with family while growing up is slightly less clear. While the survey data indicates evidence for H3 *“In the general population, there will be gender inequalities regarding whether politics was regularly discussed with the family in childhood, with a higher incidence among the sub-sample of young men”*, which is consistent with the findings of previous research on gender and discussing politics with children (Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019), the reverse pattern hypothesised for members of political organisations in H4, *“for members of political organisations, the pattern of gender inequality will be reversed regarding whether politics was regularly discussed with the family in childhood, with a lower incidence among the sub-sample of young men”*, was rejected in its current form. It nevertheless revealed that the pattern of gender inequality is indeed reversed in the case of political organisation members who state, ‘at least weekly’, contributing and shedding more light upon to the picture outlined in the qualitative finding regarding gender and having spoken to family about politics while growing up.

Furthermore, this chapter explored gender and youth derived inequalities in attending meetings of political organisations; it revealed that while there was not sufficient evidence for the hypothesis *“Young members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of political organisations than older members of political organisations”* in its full form, that age inequalities in meeting attendance were clear for the 18–25 age group. Furthermore, the strong evidence for H6 *“Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of a political organisation than young men”* entails that for meeting attendance, young women and non-binary people also face multiple inequalities.

Turning next to the rejection of both generalised *descriptive* hypotheses H7 “*Younger people will be more likely to participate in political organisations than older people*” and H10 “*Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in political organisations than young men*”, the rejection of these hypotheses confirms that one cannot make statements of any generalised positive relationship between youth and political organisational participation or indeed of any generalised negative relationship between gender and political organisational participation; in fact more nuanced patterns of participation are displayed. While many studies have recognised that these relationships are complex and nuanced, it is a caution against any sweeping statements in the literature, such as to a ‘crisis in democracy’ (Furlong and Cartmel, 2012), or indeed to any over-statement or under-statement of youth or gendered participation in political organisations.

Indeed, these more nuanced patterns were explored by testing H8 and H9 for youth and H11 and H12 for gender. For youth, the rejection of H8, “*Younger people will be more likely to participate in ‘newer’ political organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) than ‘older’ political organisations (e.g. political parties)*”, due to a lack of statistical significance in the findings, along with the good level of evidence in favour of H9, “*Younger people will be more likely to engage in more active and intensive action repertoires such as volunteering than older people*”, indicated that the clearest pattern for youth participation was indeed the distinction outlined in H9 relating to young people’s participation in ‘active’ forms of participation in political organisations, such as volunteering. To relate this back to theory and the UK context, the data reflects previously discussed notions of young people’s participation as following a model of ‘engaged citizenship’ (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017). And while recent trends of UK youth organisational participation have indicated some high-profile examples of increases in membership, it is nevertheless upon more active forms of participation (volunteering as opposed to membership) where evidence of age-related differences are shown in this data.

In contrast to this more clear-cut pattern of participation among young people’s participation in political organisations, the findings for gender were again more complex. While both H11 “*Younger women and non-binary people will be more likely to participate in ‘new’ political organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) than ‘old’ political organisations (e.g. political parties)*” and H12, “*Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in the more intensive ‘collective’ action repertoires of volunteering than the more*

'private' action of membership" were rejected, on closer analysis, where there was presence of both conditions in the case of political parties ('old' political organisation) and volunteering participation ('collective' form of participation) there was a statistically significant negative relationship between gender and participation. What these findings indicate is that a negative relationship between gender and participation is contingent on both the form of participation and the type of organisation. It demonstrates that there is a role in understanding the political participation of young women and non-binary people, of both the findings of this study's qualitative analysis as well as relationships highlighted in the literature between gender and 'new' political organisations (Morales, 2009) and between gender and more 'private' forms of activism by Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010).

Overall, this chapter has found evidence of youth-derived and gendered inequalities in political organisational participation, entailing multiple disadvantage for young women and non-binary people. These findings serve to contribute towards filling a gap in existing literature on young women's and non-binary people's political participation. Although it is not possible to state generalised trends about the overall rates of political organisational participation among young people or according to gender, these more nuanced patterns demonstrate the role of volunteering participation for youth and the role of type of organisation in combination with the form of action for gender. Substantively, when combining youth and gender, this means that while (younger) age has a positive association with political party volunteering, gender has the opposite negative association. It is therefore possible to see that while young people in general are more likely to volunteer in political organisations, women and non-binary people are less likely than men to volunteer, and the type of organisation plays a role for this with regards to gender. Overall, different patterns of political organisational participation for young people (in general) and for younger women and non-binary people remind that both inequalities between youth and older age groups, and inequalities among young people are associated with distinct and different patterns of political behaviour, and that both should be considered for a holistic picture of young people's participation in UK political organisations.

Links to Later Chapters

This chapter has outlined how its hypotheses are derived from the qualitative findings of previous chapters in this study. These quantitative findings must however be presented alongside and integrated with these corresponding qualitative findings, a process which takes place in Chapter 8.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the findings of this study, to summarise its main findings and implications, and to make suggestions for further research. This study has sought to analyse youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political organisational participation. It has addressed this from multiple angles with regards to descriptive inequalities, explanatory factors for inequalities, and responses to inequalities. It has approached the research questions through combining quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. As outlined in Chapter 3, data integration is an often-neglected feature of mixed methods studies (Bryman, 2006). Therefore, this study adopts a clear data integration strategy whereby its overarching research questions (with sub questions corresponding to quantitative and qualitative approaches to these questions) are revisited in order to combine the qualitative and quantitative insights. Furthermore, the somewhat separate analysis of youth and gendered processes of inequality and marginalisation also requires a second kind of data integration; where relevant similarities or differences between these different axes of inequalities are present, this chapter will also make relevant comparisons and contrasts between gender-derived and youth-derived inequalities in political organisational participation, in order to contribute broader analytical points to the wider topic of inequalities in political organisational participation, as well as to provide insight into the narrower topic of the intersection between youth and gender, answering the research question *“By comparing experiences of youth-derived inequalities and gendered inequalities among young people, what difference does gender make for young people’s inequality in political organisations?”*. This concluding chapter firstly returns to this study’s research questions to draw together its findings and discuss their connection to the literature. Secondly, it summarises the major findings of the study and links these to wider implications. Finally, it outlines implications for future research.

8.1 Returning to the Research Questions: Summary and Data Integration

This section returns to the research questions of this study to address each question in turn, in order to integrate the qualitative and quantitative features of this study, as well as where appropriate, drawing together the findings of youth-derived inequalities and gender-derived inequalities through relevant comparisons and contrasts.

1. What is the nature of descriptive inter-repertoire participatory inequalities, according to youth and gender?
 - iii. What are the rates of political organisational participation by age and gender?
 - iv. What can be learnt from young people's accounts of their choices of political action repertoires, and their choice to participate in a political organisation?

2. What is the nature of inequalities experienced inside of political organisations, according to youth and gender?
 - iii. What factors underlie young people's experiences of youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities?
 - iv. Is there evidence of these factors which can be generalised to the population?

3. What are the responses to inequalities inside of political organisations, according to youth and gender?

4. By comparing experiences of youth-derived inequalities and gendered inequalities among young people, what difference does gender make for young people's inequality in political organisations?

8.1.1 Research Question 1: What is the nature of descriptive inter-repertoire participatory inequalities, according to youth and gender?

With the purpose of exploring youth-derived and gendered processes in descriptive inequalities in political organisational participation, this overarching research question had the qualitative sub-question "What can be learnt from young people's accounts of their choices of political action repertoires, and their choice to participate in a political organisation?" and the quantitative sub-question "What are the rates of political organisational participation by age and gender?"

Youth Descriptive Inequalities

Turning firstly to youth-derived descriptive inequalities, this study's qualitative analysis found that in young people's accounts of joining of political organisations, their motivations linked to the context of new political opportunities for political organisational participation in

the past 10 years. Young people's joining of political organisations in recent years is a theme explored by authors (such as Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017) who describe a reversal of previously poor rates of political party membership in the UK, with specific reference to youth branches and young people's role in the growth of organisations such as Momentum and the Labour Party. Such a perspective ties into the broader debate surrounding a 'crisis in democracy' in young people's political participation (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007) and suggests the reversal of previous trends of decline in youth organisational participation. These findings built upon existing studies by showing how young people's repertoire choices are responsive to changes in political opportunities over time.

This study sought to test the extent of the current role of young people in political organisational participation quantitatively through analysing a generalised hypothesis "*Younger people will be more likely to participate in political organisations than older people*". This study's quantitative analysis found that on closer inspection, the relationship between age and political organisational participation was much more complex than the simple relationship outlined in this hypothesis; there was no overall higher rate of youth political organisational participation across all measures. Despite some evidence of young people participating more, such as that higher rates of participation were observed in examples of 'new' political organisations (Morales, 2009), and the study's regression analysis indicating that there was a statistically significant negative relationship between age and participation (therefore indicating that young people participate more) in two of the four models, these were the models pertaining to volunteering in political organisations (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017). Evidence therefore suggests neither a full-on youth takeover of political organisations nor a continuation of any 'crisis' in participation; while there is evidence to confirm that younger people play a significant role in some forms of political organisational participation, there is no generalised overall higher rate of participation among young people.

Returning to the qualitative analysis, young people's accounts present critical conceptions of political organisational participation, but this is also the case in discussions surrounding participation in other political action repertoires. A common point among many of young people's accounts is the active approach taken to their political organisational participation. This links to broader debates in the literature of young people's participation which recognise the rise of more active forms of volunteering participation among young people (Shea and

Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017). This study sought to test quantitatively whether young people's political organisational participation can be characterised as 'active' by testing the hypothesis "*Younger people will be more likely to engage in more active and intensive action repertoires such as volunteering than older people*". In relation to this hypothesis, this study's quantitative analysis found a much more consistent age-related trend; through crosstabulations of participation by age and through logistic regression analysis, a greater participation of young people in volunteering for political organisations was consistently found. This analysis therefore revealed strong evidence to back up the qualitative observation of young people's political organisational participation as commonly 'active' in its approach.

Gendered Descriptive Inequalities

Turning next to descriptive inequalities in gendered participation, gendered participants' accounts of their political organisational participation revealed a number of characteristics. Firstly, the question of whether young gendered participants were generally less likely to participate in political organisations was derived from observations within this study's qualitative analysis. A theme of gendered discomfort in relation to political organisational participation as well as, methodologically, a challenge in identifying female participants for interview, motivated the testing of the hypothesis "*Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in political organisations than young men*". This also links to features of the literature which highlight how gendered participants are lower across many examples of political organisations (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). It also links to broader debates relating to high profile examples of gendered inequalities in political organisations revealed during the #metoo movement, including cases of harassment in political parties (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011) and social movement organisations. This study's quantitative analysis, much like with regards to youth, rejected this generalised hypothesis; suggesting a more complex than simplistic relationship between gender and political organisational participation.

The qualitative analysis also revealed some evidence that gendered participation in political organisations is influenced by the 'type' of political organisation, a theme explored by Morales (2009). Furthermore, themes relating to the 'private' and 'collective' came into play, with themes surrounding safety featuring within this study's qualitative analysis, linking to the typology of gendered participation presented by Coffé and Bozendahl in their (2010) study. These two qualitative themes motivated a quantitative analysis of the following two

hypotheses: “*Younger women and non-binary people will be more likely to participate in ‘new’ political organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) than ‘old’ political organisations (e.g. political parties)*” and “*Younger women and non-binary people will be less likely to participate in the more intensive ‘collective’ action repertoires of volunteering than the more ‘private’ action of membership*”. This study’s quantitative analysis found that while neither hypothesis held independently that the form of participation may be contingent on the form of organisation; in the logistic regression model corresponding to an ‘old’ political organisation and a ‘collective’ form of participation, there was a statistically significant negative relationship between gender and participation. What these findings reveal is that even more so than with youth participation in political organisations, there are no accurate simplistic generalised characterisations of gendered political organisational participation among young people. Nevertheless, there is some quantitative evidence of a role of the type of participation– whether collective or private (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010)– and the types of organisation– whether old or new (Morales, 2009)– upon gendered youth political organisational participation.

8.1.2 Research Question 2: What is the nature of inequalities experienced inside of political organisations, according to youth and gender?

With the purpose of exploring the explanatory factors underlying inequalities in political organisational participation, this overarching research question has the qualitative sub-question of “What factors underlie young people’s experiences of youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities?” and the quantitative sub-question “Is there evidence of these factors which can be generalised to the population?”. This section will begin by outlining the outlined themes of explanatory inequalities by youth and gender, before summarising what these explanatory factors reveal about processes of marginalisation more generally within political organisations.

8.1.2.1 Themes in Youth-Derived Explanatory Inequalities in Political Organisational Participation

Youth Representation in Political Organisations: The Domination of Spaces by Older People
Linking to some of the most fundamental debates surrounding equality of participation, the notion of descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014) of different groups within

political organisational spaces is central to an analysis of the inclusion or marginalisation of young people. This theme revealed a sense of exclusion from political organisation spaces in young people's accounts, in particular from meetings, both in terms of numerical descriptive representation, but also a sense of cultural exclusion: "*I don't think I really fitted in*" Abigail, (discussing participation in a union meeting), which is explored more widely in the literature (Norris, 1997; Lowndes, 2000; Kenny, 2011). These experiences were particularly pronounced in experiences of participation in 'old' political organisations (Morales, 2009), such as political parties and trade unions.

This qualitative finding motivated a quantitative analysis of political organisation meeting attendance by age, testing the hypothesis "*Young members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of political organisations than older members of political organisations*". The findings show that among members of political organisations, considerably fewer 18–24s had attended a meeting of a political organisation in the past 12 months (3.8%) than any other age groups (whose rates of having attended all fell between 14–19% amongst all other age groups). While this does not provide an exact confirmation of the hypothesis since the 25–34 age group did not display the same numerical exclusion in the quantitative analysis as the 18–24 age group, it does present findings which confirm this pattern of numerical exclusion for the youngest half of this study's definition of youth, and provide a specific example of youth marginalisation (Thompson, 2005) from political organisations. The combined qualitative and quantitative findings indicate that young people are indeed numerically excluded from political organisational meeting spaces, but suggest that this pattern is clearer among under 25s.

Devaluing of Young People's Contributions

This study has outlined how young people's accounts of their contributions, or indeed potential contributions being devalued by (usually older) people within positions of responsibility in political organisations demonstrate some of the clearest examples of the idea of a 'youth deficit model' (Osler and Starkey, 2003; Earl, Maher and Elliot, 2017), the idea that young people are 'incomplete members of society'. In this context it is the assumption that young people are unable to provide effective contributions, or would provide inferior contributions, to political organisations than older people. Even when tied to arguments surrounding previous experience, there is reason to highlight this as a process of marginalisation; as some research participants highlighted, young people have unique

insights and skills that are of value. As Marsh et al (2007) highlight, young people are not often recognised as ‘expert citizens’ in their own right. Furthermore, there is no reason to suggest that experience in more strategic organising could be gained through working alongside those with more experience.

Youth Tokenism

This study has outlined how young people’s experiences highlight that they are sometimes encouraged to take on roles in political organisations that amount to tokenistic gestures that value the symbolism rather than the substance of participation (for further examples of the application of tokenism to youth studies see Kara, 2007; Bess et al, 2009). In particular, this amounted to being asked to undertake ‘youth officer’ roles and was linked more prevalently with experiences in ‘old’ types of political organisations. This study has outlined how these experiences link to youth participation theory most commonly cited in youth studies or applied informal education literature, particularly Hart’s (1992) ladder of participation which characterises tokenism as a form of ‘nonparticipation’. As highlighted by the account of one of the participants, this finding represents a common pitfall in attempts to include young people in political organisations. It highlights the need for substantive participation opportunities in any attempt to effectively improve young people’s participation in political organisational spaces.

Backlash and Discouragement of Young People

This study has shown experiences of whereby young people face direct discouragement of their participation or indeed a backlash to their participation in political organisations. This theme demonstrates some of the most severe accounts of youth marginalisation in this study. This theme also demonstrates some of the clearest accounts of youth marginalisation in this study. This theme also demonstrates some of the clearest accounts of youth subordination (Earl, 2018): experiences whereby young people are considered ‘lesser than’ those older than them and hence lower down the hierarchy of importance, and of youth marginalisation (Thompson, 2005). Theory surrounding backlash effects are more commonly applied to studies of gender and politics (e.g. Rudman and Phelan, 2008). This finding builds upon this by demonstrating how it is a valid and applicable concept to the study of youth marginalisation.

Low Confidence Among Young People

In relation to the demand-side attributes of young people, this study has outlined a theme of low confidence in relation to political organisational participation among young people (Brown, 2016). The relationship between confidence and participation is more commonly applied to studies of gender and politics (Fox and Lawless, 2005) but also demonstrates a useful application of such literature to the study of youth-derived inequalities. This study's quantitative analysis tested the hypothesis "*Younger members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than older members of political organisations*". It found evidence of lower confidence (measured by internal political efficacy) among younger participants of political organisations. It also contrasted confidence according to age between the population of political organisation members and the general population, demonstrating the impact of organisational membership on confidence by age. This comparison demonstrated that while there was an expected boost in confidence (according to internal political efficacy) for older members of political organisations, there is no equivalent consistent boost in confidence for organisational membership among young age groups. Overall, these qualitative and quantitative findings demonstrate evidence of lower confidence among young people in political organisations. Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that lower confidence can be linked to involvement in political organisations.

Undeveloped or Unstable Networks Among Young People

Also, in relation to a demand-side attribute, this study has highlighted a theme of undeveloped or unstable social networks among young people, a concept explored by Schussman and Soule (2005) in relation to invitations to participate, and whose importance to associational participation, in reference to the associated concept of social capital, is highlighted by Putnam (2000). This is revealed through a relatively low role for friends and family while growing up (before the age of 18) in mobilisation to political organisations as well as the role of educational junctures in both opening up and closing participation opportunities for young people. Having more unstable social networks indicates a lower level of embeddedness. Furthermore, there is a role of junctures, in opening up or closing participation opportunities, with in some cases positive impacts on political participation but also often producing negative and disruptive impacts on consistent political participation among participants.

8.1.2.2 Themes in Gender-Derived Explanatory Inequalities in Political Organisational Participation

Gendered Representation in Political Organisations: The Domination of Spaces by Men and Older Men

This study has also outlined how gendered young participants also experience as sense of gendered exclusion from political organisational spaces. Its qualitative findings outlined how this is manifested in experiences of poor numerical representation or indeed descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1972; Murray, 2014) and culturally in the experience of a ‘macho culture’ in such spaces (Norris, 1997; Murray, 2011). Furthermore, in a reversal of a process outlined by Childs (2008), some gendered participants note experiences of participation whereby some substantive representation has been somewhat achieved in terms of the integration of feminist policy into an organisation’s policy agenda, but where descriptive representation and the inclusion of gendered participants is in their view insufficient. The numerical level of this gendered exclusion was further explored in the quantitative analysis of this study, testing the hypothesis “*Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be less likely to attend meetings of a political organisation than young men*”. Analysis of the extent to which gender influenced political organisation meeting attendance among young members of political organisations indicated that with the exception of the category of response whereby respondents stated that had attended in the previous 5 years (but not in the past 12 months), there were statistically significant results in all categories of response which demonstrates a higher incidence of male participation in all categories of response pertaining to having previously attended a political organisation meeting and a higher proportion of female or non-binary responses in all categories of response pertaining to never having attended a political organisation meeting. The combined qualitative and quantitative findings confirm dynamics of gendered exclusion from political organisational spaces and suggest therefore that young gendered participants experience exclusion in terms of descriptive representation across two separate axes of inequality: gender and youth.

The Gendered Devaluing of Contributions

In a theme which mirrors young people’s experiences of their contributions being devalued, this study outlined how young participants’ accounts of their participation reveal specific gendered dynamics in this process of marginalisation. This included accounts whereby young

women describe how they were not taken seriously or were not given fair credit for their work in their political organisation. This has been explored in the literature with regards to perceptions of a gender gap in knowledge (Mendez and Osborn, 2010) and more broadly in relation to gendered contributions across history (Perez, 2019). In most gendered accounts of political organisational participation, participants discussed how their verbal contributions were lesser than those of men or that male voices dominated political organisation spaces to the extent that conversation was shut down. These experiences are indicative of unspoken gendered hierarchies in verbal interactions in political organisation spaces. In the accounts of interviewees, this not only resulted in young gendered participants contributing less in these spaces, but also to a sense that their voice had lesser value. Borrowing from the youth participation literature in this case, in the view of Graham and Fitzgerald (2010), “participation...involves not only being able to speak, but also having one’s identity, status and opinion recognized as worthy of respect” (in Taft, 2015: 462). These experiences of gendered marginalisation in terms of contributions, especially in verbal contributions, is therefore another process through which young gendered participants are pushed further to the margins of political organisation spaces, and these findings have built upon previous applications to political discussion (e.g. Mendez and Osborn, 2010) to apply the devaluing of contributions to other forms of political organisational activity i.e. to volunteering and campaigning.

Harassment

This study found a theme of harassment in gendered accounts of political organisational participation. Predominantly relating to sexual harassment, these accounts are relevant to wider debates surrounding sexual harassment in society, and more specifically to allegations which arose in all major UK political parties, as well as a range of social movement organisations, as part of the #metoo movement. These debates also tie into parts of the gender and politics literature which describe the gendered role of organisational rules, with rule-breaking by men often tolerated and of rules failing to protect gendered participants (Kenny, 2011). As some of the most severe processes of marginalisation within this entire study, evidence of a role of sexual harassment in the experiences of young gendered participants indicates that some political organisations are far from overcoming the problems of gendered marginalisation and violence which these recent scandals revealed.

Gendered Low Confidence

On the demand side, this study presented experiences of low confidence among participants, which in their own conceptions was linked to their gender (Fox and Lawless, 2005). This was also present in accounts of anxiety and a sense of an ‘imposter syndrome’ (Shepherd, 2018) at times among participants, with regards to their political organisational participation. This study sought to analyse quantitatively this finding through testing the hypothesis “*Young women and non-binary members of political organisations will be more likely to have lower levels of confidence than young male members of political organisations*”. This quantitative analysis found evidence for this relationship between gender and confidence, demonstrated by the statistical significance of gendered differences in rates of confidence (measured by internal political efficacy) as well as the consistency of results with regards to higher levels of confidence among male members of political organisations and the lower levels of confidence among female and non-binary participants. Since low confidence is a theme of youth-derived inequalities and gendered inequalities, it is again notable that young gendered participants experience low confidence across two separate axes of inequality. Nevertheless, experiences of gendered low confidence are qualitatively different to those derived from youth. Overall, the issue of low confidence among young gendered participations of political organisations is a complex and multi-faceted inequality which undoubtedly contributes to wider processes whereby young gendered participants are marginalised and pushed further to the edges of political organisational spaces.

The Gendered Role of Early Childhood Socialisation

On the demand side, this study also noted the role of early childhood socialisation, in particular the role of gendered patterns in the extent to which politics was discussed in the household while growing up, whereby there were many more accounts of gendered participants discussing politics while growing up. This linked to features of the literature which highlight what initially appears to be a contrasting pattern; previous research in the US indicates that parents speak to sons more than daughters about politics (Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019). This motivated the quantitative analysis of a variable pertaining to the extent to which politics was discussed in childhood. This quantitative analysis tested the two hypotheses “*In the general population, there will be gender inequalities regarding whether politics was regularly discussed with the family in childhood, with a higher incidence among the sub-sample of young men*” and “*for members of political organisations, the pattern of gender inequality will be reversed regarding whether politics*

was regularly discussed with the family in childhood, with a lower incidence among the subsample of young men". This study's quantitative analysis found evidence to confirm the pattern of the first hypothesis with regards to gender inequalities in the general population. With regards to the second, while there was not sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis, a pattern was observed among young members of political organisations whereby female and non-binary respondents were more likely to have discussed politics at least weekly with family while growing up, a difference that was statistically significant. The combination of these quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that gender inequalities in terms of discussing politics in childhood exist in the broader population, but that where parents do discuss politics regularly with daughters that this may be a mediating factor in reducing gender inequalities, with a relatively high incidence of having discussed politics very regularly in childhood among gendered members of political organisations.

8.1.2.3 Processes of Marginalisation in Political Organisations

The outlined sets of gender-derived and youth-derived themes can be understood as component parts of wider processes of marginalisation from political organisations. This section outlines what the findings reveal about these broader processes.

Reinforcing Forms of Marginalisation on the Supply Side

The overlapping nature of different experiences of marginalisation on the supply side (Klandermans, 2004) reveal how forms of marginalisation (Thompson, 2005) link to each other and reinforce other forms of marginalisation. Figure 8.1 below illustrates how these supply-side forms of marginalisation reinforce each other. Arrows on the diagrams indicate the ways in which participants' accounts of marginalisation make links between these different forms. The direction of these links indicate that forms that are *prima facie* lower in the degree (or severity) of marginalisation reinforce other forms of higher degrees (or severity) of marginalisation, within political organisation spaces. Relevant to debates surrounding reducing inequalities in political organisations, this finding indicates that approaches to promoting inclusivity should seek to address different forms of marginalisation at different levels in order to be effective. By contrast, an approach which addresses one level of marginalisation without others would be undermined by the fact that these forms of marginalisation reinforce each other.

The Interaction of Demand and Supply

This study's analysis of demand and supply side factors relating to youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities has also revealed how both attributes of individuals (demand-side attributes) and attributes of political organisations (supply-side attributes) contribute to inequalities in political organisations, through the interaction of demand and supply (Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave, 2018), thus providing a new application of how demand and supply interact, to the example of marginalisation in political organisations. The links between these different demand-side and supply-side attributes are outlined below in Figure 8.2. While some studies of inequalities pay particular attention to either the demand side or the supply side of political participation, this study emphasises how these cannot be entirely separated, with forms of marginalisation on the supply side reinforcing features of inequality on the demand side, and vice versa.

The Role of External Images of Organisational Inclusion

Finally, in relation to the broader processes of marginalisation within political organisations, the experiences of participants— in particular in relation to gendered sexual harassment (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011)— reveal some of the more “vicious dynamics” of political organisations (Morales, 2009: 212) with regards to inequalities. Participants' accounts reveal how complaints processes do not always protect those that they are designed to protect, as well as how political organisations can prioritise the reputation of the organisation or indeed the reputation of accused individuals over taking complaints seriously. As this study has outlined, this draws upon some features of Ahmed's (2012) study *On Being Included*. This study draws upon examples of racism in organisational settings to demonstrate how organisations who are externally committed to improving diversity can in fact commonly prioritise an externally facing image of diversity and inclusion, and thus dismiss accusations of discriminatory events or practices with a view to preventing reputational damage. Wishing to maintain an image of inclusivity in a political organisation can therefore paradoxically serve the further marginalisation of groups across different axes of inequality within these spaces.

Figure 8.1: Reinforcing Forms of Marginalisation on the Supply Side, Relating to Youth and Gender

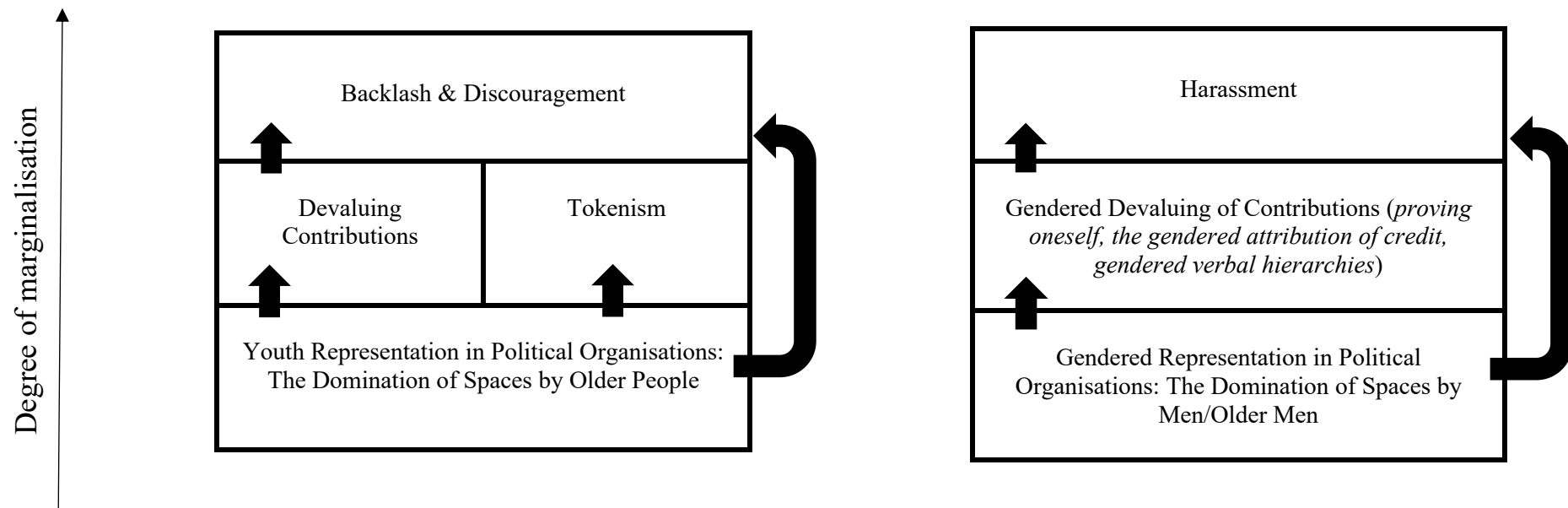
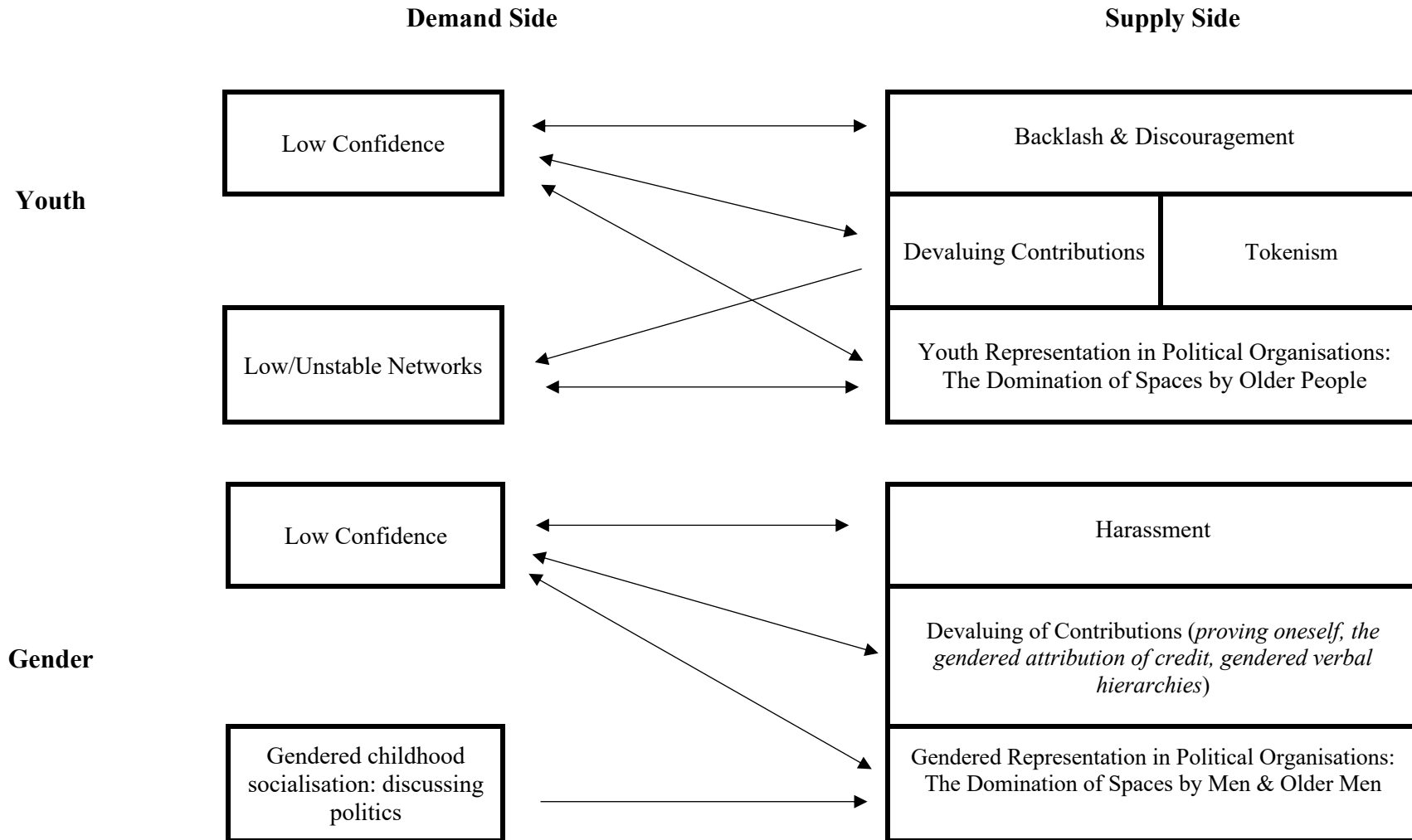


Figure 8.2: The Interaction of Demand-side and Supply-side Themes of Marginalisation, Relating to Youth and Gender



8.1.3 Research Question 3: What are the responses to inequalities inside of political organisations, according to youth and gender?

This study also sought to analyse qualitatively the range of responses and reactions that participants had to their experiences of inequality in political organisations. This section outlines firstly the theme of young people promoting inclusivity in political organisations, before outlining some of the more specific gendered responses and reactions to inequalities in political organisations among young people.

Young people promoting inclusivity in political organisations

One of the more hopeful findings of this study is of young people's promotion of inclusivity practices in response to inequalities in political organisation. Most common among experiences of younger participants' interviewed, these responses included a framing of inequality as a broad, intersectional issue. This theme adds further to analyses of postmaterialist values among young people (Inglehart, 1971; Henn et al, 2018; Ehsan and Sloam, 2018). Explanations and critiques surrounding the integration of (or indeed in some cases failure of some organisations to integrate) specific activist practices in order to promote inclusion in their political organisations. While young people commonly described their own personal experiences of youth-derived inequalities, it was very rare for the activist practices discussed to address the issue of youth-derived inequalities. While a discussion of many measures to promote the inclusion of many different axes of inequality demonstrates an intersectional understanding of inequality and exclusion, the absence of youth inclusion measures in these discussions may well reflect how youth-based inequalities and broader processes of youth subordination are not as well recognised (Earl, 2018), and are hence not at the forefront of broader debates surrounding inclusion.

The theme of promoting inclusivity was present in the experiences of young people regardless of gender. Nevertheless, gendered participants' accounts described several examples of their attempts to enact processes to improve gender inclusivity in political organisations, and indeed of measures taken by political organisations to promote gender inclusion. The fact that these discussions surrounding gender inclusion were far more widespread reveals that, in contrast to youth, gender has a more central role in broader debates surrounding inclusion.

Gendered Responses to Political Organisational Inequalities

In addition to the theme of promoting inclusivity, this study found specific gendered responses or reactions to inequalities in political organisational participation. This study found that there were particular experiences of negative impact on mental wellbeing among gendered accounts of political organisational participation, contrary to applications in the literature which argue that political participation can have a positive impact on mental health among underrepresented groups (e.g. MacDonnell et al, 2015; Hope et al, 2018). It also found a theme of leaving or disengaging from political organisations across the accounts of female and non-binary participants, in relation to the inequalities faced in political organisation spaces. These themes reveal some of the gendered negative impacts of processes of inequality on young women and non-binary people.

8.1.4 Research Question 4: By comparing experiences of youth-derived inequalities and gendered inequalities among young people, what difference does gender make for young people's inequality in political organisations?

The final research question of this study asks what difference gender makes for young gendered participants, in relation to both *explanatory* and *descriptive* inequalities.

In a relation to *explanatory* factors, this study has analysed young participants' experiences of different forms and processes of inequality and marginalisation relating to inequalities derived from both youth and gender. Hence, there is an intuitive sense in which gendered young participants' experiences multiple forms of inequality. Specifically relating to experiences of inequality which are mirrored across gender and youth, young gendered participants are likely to experience multiple disadvantage in terms of low levels of confidence, their numerical exclusion from political organisational spaces and in the devaluing of their contributions, or potential contributions, to political organisations.

Nevertheless, as elicited in the accounts of gendered participants, gender leads to qualitatively distinct experiences; both in terms of how these inequalities are experienced, but also in the form of totally separate dynamics in gendered inequalities in political organisational participation. These include the role of gendered early socialisation in relation to discussing politics in the household on the demand side (Jennings, 1983; Hahn, 1997; Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019) and the role of sexual harassment (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017;

Allen, 2011) in gendered accounts of marginalisation on the supply side. Overall, these findings demonstrate how young people's experiences of inequality in political organisations is unequally distributed along gendered lines.

In relation to *descriptive* factors, this study has outlined how youth participation can be characterised as 'active' and flexible to changes in political opportunities. Furthermore, it has outlined how gendered participation is characterised as being influenced to some extent by the role of safety and of the 'private' and the 'collective' (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010). As was demonstrated in Chapter 7 of this study, these can have contrasting effects; an 'active' (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017) approach to politics was demonstrated quantitatively in that young people are more likely to take part in volunteering activities in their political organisational participation. To contrast, the significance of some of the findings with regards to gender (namely the political party volunteering model in Table 7.13), indicate a negative role of gender in volunteering participation, which the results indicate are contingent on the 'type' of organisation. While this certainly does not indicate that young men are active participants and young gendered participants are not, it does however indicate that while having a younger age has a positive and statistically significant association with volunteering across both models, that young women and non-binary people are less likely to volunteer. However, the data indicates that they are more likely to look to the type of political organisation in their decision to volunteer. Indeed, the characterisation as 'active' (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017) is not the direct opposite of a characterisation of any preference for 'private' political organisational participation (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010) – and indeed volunteering was a proxy for both 'collective' and 'active' participation, but does not serve to conflate the two separate concepts. Above all, what these findings indicate is that gender places more constraints on young people's participation, the qualitative nature of which should be explored further. However, on a quantitative level, it appears that gender does have a negative impact upon some rates of political organisational participation.

8.2 Major Findings and Implications

Having summarised and integrated different data results from this study, this chapter next summarises the main headline findings of this study, before summarising its implication for literature, and to wider implications surrounding youth and gendered political participation.

8.2.1 Major Findings

This study outlines numerous ways in which youth-derived, age-based inequalities (Earl, 2018) are experienced in political organisations, demonstrating negative impacts upon political organisational participation. Youth-derived forms of marginalisation (Thompson, 2005) include poor youth descriptive representation in political organisations (the domination of spaces by older people) (Murray 2014; Taft, 2015; Pitkin, 1972), the devaluing of youth contributions (Taft, 2015), tokenism (Arnstein, 1969; Hart, 1992) and backlash and discouragement (Rudman and Phelan, 2008). These are important findings in the UK context; since the UK is a country which is understood to have bucked the trend among developed democracies of decline in terms of youth political organisational participation (Pickard, 2017; Rainsford, 2017), it is significant that these themes of youth-derived marginalised were expressed by young people in this context, and speaks to the extent to which social norms which place barriers to youth participation, are entrenched within UK political organisations.

This study also outlines ways in which gender-derived inequalities are experienced in political organisations, including through poor gender representation in political organisations (the dominance of spaces by men and older men) (Childs, 2008; Pitkin, 1972), the gendered devaluing of contributions (Mendez and Osborn, 2010; Perez, 2019) and direct and indirect experiences of harassment (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011).

These findings demonstrate the importance of recognising youth age-based inequalities as a distinct axis of inequality (Earl, 2018), with impacts upon political organisational participation, but also show how young people's experiences are unequal, through gendered forms of marginalisation from political organisational spaces among young people's experiences, thus demonstrating the importance of considering how youth interacts with further axes of inequality. These findings therefore show that gender makes a difference to young people's participation. While the ways in which gender impacts upon inequalities experienced in political organisations can sometimes be understood in the sense of multiple inequalities, whereby some forms of marginalisation are mirrored across gender-derived and youth-derived forms of marginalisation (such as in confidence and descriptive representation), gender, however, also leads to qualitatively different experiences of inequality (Crenshaw, 1989; Weldon, 2008) both in how such inequalities are experienced

and in the sense of totally separate gendered dynamics in political organisational participation, such as the theme of harassment, which this study explores.

Both these outlined sets of themes of marginalisation (youth-derived and gender-derived), which relate to the supply side (as attributes of political organisations), demonstrate how supply-side forms of marginalisation can be understood— through the connections made in young people’s experiences— as overlapping and linked to each other, with forms of marginalisation which are lower in severity reinforcing more severe forms of marginalisation. For example, the descriptive representation of young women and non-binary people (as a *prima facie* relatively less severe form of marginalisation) links to the devaluing of their verbal contributions to political organisational spaces, which in turn serves to devalue gendered voices in complaints made in cases of gendered harassment. Furthermore, this research also finds that for both youth-derived and gendered forms of marginalisation, that supply-side forms interact with features of the demand side. Theory recognises how “demand [and] supply... account for instances of participation” (Klandermans, 2004: 347) and how demand and supply may interact with each other (Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave, 2018). This study applies this theory to political organisations and reveals how attributes of organisations and attributes of individuals also reinforce each other; its findings indicate how neither the demand side or the supply side is separable from the other in the broader study of inequalities in political organisational participation.

In relation to descriptive inequalities in political organisational participation, this research finds that young people’s understandings and conceptions of political organisational participation show that their choices to join political organisations is part of an active (Shea and Harris, 2006; Earl et al, 2017), flexible (Juris and Pleyers, 2009) and critical approach (Norris, 2009) to participation. In addition, this study also describes how a flexible and active youth participation also responds to changing contexts of political opportunities; participants indicate that they joined political organisations with the purpose of achieving particular outcomes in relation to the political context. That young people adopt a flexible approach to political participation, responsive to shifts in political opportunity, has important implications for studies of youth political participation; as scholars we cannot simply characterise young people’s political participation as shifting to ‘unconventional’ or ‘new’ repertoires, but rather it should be recognised that young people’s participation responds to the changing value of different political action repertoires over time. This also has implications for the UK context;

while Pickard (2017) and Rainsford (2017) describe how UK youth have bucked the trend among developed democracies of political organisational decline, citing the role of Jeremy Corbyn and Momentum, this is not a static situation for UK youth participation, and is likely to change should shifts in political opportunities take place again. That young people describe their political participation, including their political organisational participation, as responding to changing political opportunities (e.g. the expansion of electoral choice or party leadership, opportunities to register as supporters, or the creation of new political organisations), this entails that should political opportunities contract or reverse (such as in a situation where all political parties' ideological positions shift to the centre or that opportunities to participate in newly created social movement organisations contract) that there could well be a reversal of the processes.

This study also finds that youth participation in political organisations, in relation to rates of participation, is in many cases comparable to that of older age groups, and in some cases is *higher*, such as in the case of volunteering participation, which demonstrates the 'active' characterisation of young people's political organisational participation. In relation to gendered descriptive inequalities, this study finds that the participation of young women in political organisations, while also responsive to differing contexts of political opportunities, also differs from young male participants' participation with regards to the 'type' of political organisation (whether 'old' or 'new') and the 'form' of participation (whether 'private' or 'collective'). The dynamics have been explored by previous studies on gender, including by Morales (2009) with regards to the 'type' of organisation, and by Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) in relation to the 'private' and the 'collective', but not previously in relation to young women. The quantitative findings of this study indicate that these may be contingent on one another, whereby preferences for the form of action are contingent on the type of organisation: gender has a significant negative association with participation in the case of volunteering (collective) action in a political party ('old' political organisation), but no statistically significant relationship in either the (private) action of membership in ('old') political parties or within the (collective) form of action in a ('new') environmental organisation, alone.

Finally, a major theme of young people's responses to experiences of inequality in political organisation is a more hopeful finding of this study, that young people wish to promote inclusivity, firstly through intersectional understandings and conceptions of inequality and

secondly, through reference to specific activist practices which they enact or hope to enact within political organisations in the future. While linking to previous research on British young people and the prevalence of postmaterialist values (Henn et al, 2018; Ehsan and Sloam, 2018; Inglehart, 1971), this finding goes beyond such broader understanding to demonstrate how despite marginalisation, young people seek to learn about solutions to improve inclusivity in their organisations. Nevertheless, the findings also reveal a lack of discussions surrounding measures to improve young people's inclusion in political organisations, which indicates that youth-derived inequalities are still often not recognised (Earl, 2018) and therefore not understood as part of inclusion strategies in the mainstream. While activist strategies for the promotion gender inclusivity are widely discussed by participants, young gendered participants still experience a range of more negative responses to experiences inequalities in political organisation, including negative mental health implications and leaving or disengaging from political organisations. It is a major finding of this study that young people wish to promote inclusivity in response to their experiences of marginalisation. However, the findings in relation to the responses of young gendered participants also indicate more negative themes of the impacts of marginalisation within political organisations.

8.2.1 Implications for Literature

As a study that draws together a range of different theories, the findings of this research naturally relate back a number of different literatures. Furthermore, they build upon areas in which these literatures overlap. This section outlines the implications of this research to the growing albeit limited area of literature on youth and gender politics literature, to youth politics literature, to gender and politics literature and to broader literature relating to inequalities literature.

Youth and Gender Politics Literature

This study firstly identified the need for more empirical and theoretical research at the intersection of youth and gender– the specific study of young gendered participants or young women and non-binary people; despite the existence of some high quality studies in relation to the political participation of young women (Hooghe and Stolle, 2004; Taft, 2011; Elliot et al, 2017, Pfanzelt and Spies, 2019; Briggs, 2008), the literature remains under-developed. In combining youth-derived and gender-derived experiences, and answering the research

question “*By comparing experiences of youth-derived inequalities and gendered inequalities among young people, what difference does gender make for young people’s inequality in political organisations?*” it has contributed further to this literature, specifically in relation to gendered youth participation in political organisations. It has found how gendered participants among young people experience multiple inequalities in relation to political organisational participation, as well as qualitatively distinct experiences associated with these inequalities.

Furthermore, while no analysis should treat different axes of inequality as equivalent— since each brings about qualitatively distinctive experiences— many themes of youth marginalisation in this study are related to theory which is more widely discussed in the gender literature, including backlash effects (Rudman and Phelan, 2008), the role of confidence (Fox and Lawless, 2005) and of conceptualisations of representation in political organisational spaces (Murray, 2014; Childs, 2008). Furthermore, a theme of gendered marginalisation in this study relates to theory more commonly applied to studies of youth participation; the importance of substantive voice in contributions (Graham and Fitzgerald, 2010). This analysis therefore demonstrates how these separate literatures relating to youth and gender can learn from each other, suggesting the benefit of further integration of these literatures in relation to the study of political participation at the intersection of youth and gender.

Youth Politics Literature

Firstly, while at times young people’s accounts of age-based marginalisation were not entirely separable from considerations of generation-based marginalisation, these findings contribute to a growing literature in youth subordination and age-based marginalisation from political participation (Gordon, 2007; Gordon and Taft, 2011; Taft, 2015; Earl, 2018; Elliot et al, 2017). In particular the processes of reinforcement between different forms of youth marginalisation on the supply side demonstrate the interconnectedness of the different ways that young people are marginalised from political organisational spaces and provide further examples of the youth deficit model (Osler and Starkey, 2003) in practice.

Second, these findings contribute to literature relating to young people’s descriptive preferences of political action repertoire. While there may well be preferences among young people towards particular repertoires of participation— most notably literature which suggests

a shift away from ‘conventional’ repertoires towards alternative repertoires such as protest (Dalton, 2009) or towards cause-oriented politics (Norris, 2003)– the findings of this study indicate that these are not simple preferences. Indeed, young people’s reflection on their choices to participate in political organisations, as well as their choices to participate across other action repertoires, reflects the extent to which young people perceive their ability to achieve specific outcomes through their participation, which is related to shifting political contexts and the extent to which they perceive political opportunities to be opening up or closing in these different repertoires of political participation. Therefore, young people’s choices of political action repertoires, while perhaps reflecting generational preferences, are nevertheless not a static state of affairs; in the academic study of youth political participation, we must not assume that young people’s participation tends to take place simply within ‘unconventional’ or ‘new’ repertoires, but rather recognise the changing value of different political action repertoires over time, according to shifting contexts of political opportunity.

Gender and Politics Literature

The findings of this study in relation to gendered forms of, contribute to literature relating to Gender and Politics, and to Feminist institutionalism (Childs, 2008; Krook and Mackay, 2011; Campbell and Childs, 2014). Firstly, the processes whereby forms of gendered marginalisation relate to each other, assist in the developing the understanding of how different forms of supply-side marginalisation reinforce each other.

Second, this study relates back to research surrounding direct and indirect experiences of gendered violence (sexual harassment) in political organisations, and positions these experiences as reinforced by other less severe processes of marginalisation in political organisations. As an area of gendered inequalities which has been discussed more so in the public sphere in relation to allegations in the wake of the #metoo movement, than in the gender and politics literature (although notably has been explored by Krook, 2017; 2018), the qualitative theme of gendered harassment as a form of gendered marginalisation, and the consequences on the political participation of those who it affects, is a theme which deserves more extensive research.

Thirdly, in relation to discussions surrounding descriptive and substantive representation (Murray, 2014) and the processes whereby organisations adapt towards the inclusion of women, this study finds that young people’s experiences do not reflect the direction of

‘feminisation’ outlined by Childs (2008) in her study of political parties. Rather than the integration of women into the membership and the elite of the organisation (descriptive representation) preceding the integration of feminist or women’s rights issues into the policy of the organisation (substantive representation), the accounts of young gendered participants in this study indicates a number of experiences to the reverse, whereby young gendered activists felt excluded from political organisational membership (descriptive representation), despite the presence of male figures who professed to be feminists or of an organisation with a women’s rights agenda (substantive representation).

Broader Inequalities Literature

The findings of this study have particular implications for the study of inequality and of inclusivity. The links between and interrelatedness of supply-side factors with regards to both youth and gendered inequalities not only has implications for their specific literatures, but also to the study of the dynamics of organisations. Morales refers to the organisation’s “virtuous or vicious dynamics” (2009: 212) and the findings of this study contribute further to understanding of these dynamics in practice. The processes of marginalisation whereby groups are excluded in this study reflect many of the dynamics outlined in the work of Ahmed (2012; 2017). In particular, the ways in which inclusivity is mobilised as a public relations tool which in fact serves counter to achieving the inclusion of diverse groups in an organisation (Ahmed, 2012) is reflected in this study; this study elicits examples from political organisations whereby direct and indirect experiences of political organisations’ reputation being prioritised above the proper consideration of complaints in the organisation with regards to sexual harassment (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011). Finally, the findings of this study demonstrate different positions of different axes of inequality in debates surrounding inclusivity. It has found that while among young people’s responses to inequalities in political organisational participation there was a wish to improve inclusivity in political organisations through the promotion of specific activist practices, that youth inclusivity and measures to improve youth-derived inequalities are not central to debates surrounding inclusivity, which may reflect how the notion of youth as an axes of inequality is not a widely understood concept (Earl, 2018).

8.2.2 Wider Implications

The findings of this study also have a range of links to and implications for broader discussions that extend outside of academic debate. These wider implications can be divided into debates about young people, debates relating to gender and debates surrounding inclusivity more generally.

Wider implications for Debates About Young People

As this study's introduction outlined, young people have been the subject of a broad debate in the UK and internationally, spanning across the academic, governmental and media spheres with regards to a concern surrounding a 'crisis in democracy' (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007) in relation to youth participation in politics, especially in relation to 'formal' repertoires of participation including voting and organisational/associational membership. Many studies have sought to counter these broader concerns through exploring the alternative repertoires in which young people participate (Dalton, 2009; Pickard, 2019; Ekstrom and Sveningsson, 2019) and some have explored the growing role of political organisational membership among young people in the UK (Rainsford 2017; Pickard 2017). However, this study contributes further to this debate by demonstrating quantitatively the extent to which young people do participate in political organisations– in terms of membership and especially in terms of volunteering– and therefore contributing further to those voices which argue against any ongoing 'crisis in democracy' in young people's participation, even in relation to 'formal' repertoires of political organisational participation, including that of political party participation. Furthermore, by contributing qualitative insights into how young people conceive their motivations for repertoire choice, this study has indicated how choices to participate inside of (as well as outside of) political organisations are dependent upon changing contexts of political opportunities.

In relation to the 'crisis in democracy' debate, the implications of this finding are that contrary to accounts which seek to blame young people for any low rates of UK political participation or to evoke explanations amounting to a youth deficit model (Osler and Starkey, 2003; Earl et al, 2017), even where lower rates of youth participation in formal repertoires are observed (or have been in the past) that this reflects a response to the extent to which young people conceive any repertoire to enable them to bring about their preferred political outcomes, in response to shifting contexts of political opportunity. The findings therefore not

only provide evidence against notions of a ‘crisis of democracy’ but also serve to explain that where low rates of youth participation have been observed that this represents an understandable response to a lack of choice or opportunity, rather than to any ‘crisis in democracy’.

Secondly, in relation to wider implications for debates about young people, this study has implications for the broader sense in which young people– in an example of a recent moral panic– are regularly pejoratively represented in the public sphere, as ‘snowflakes’ (Fisher, 2019), for the strain on their mental health (Haslam-Ormerod, 2019) or for their failure to achieve classic markers of adulthood such as home ownership (Levin, 2017). The findings of this study with regards to the forms of youth marginalisation on the supply side (and their links to and interactions with demand-side features of young people) demonstrate that although youth-derived inequalities are not at the forefront of societal awareness surrounding inclusivity (Earl, 2018) that young people in fact come across wide ranging forms of marginalisation in their participation. Furthermore, in addition to structural barriers that young people face, the fact that young people are so readily represented pejoratively in relation to situations of their own disadvantage suggests the role of youth subordination (Earl, 2018) or of a youth deficit model (Osler and Starkey, 2003; Earl et al, 2017) in how young people are viewed by wider society. Indeed, the range of reinforcing youth-derived forms of marginalisation that this study has outlined would suggest that are far from a generation of ‘snowflakes’ and that those who participate often do so in the face of many barriers. Furthermore, the range of additional gendered barriers indicate that marginalisation is also even more severe for young women.

Wider Implications Relating to Gender

This study has also outlined the broader context of concern for gender inequality in the wake of the #metoo movement, both in terms of wider society, and in relation to participation in political organisations; among all UK political parties high profile scandals relating accusations of sexual harassment occurred between 2012–2019 and a number of accusations of sexual harassment occurred within UK social movement organisations (Salvage, 2016). While some political organisations have made changes to reporting processes for sexual harassment, this scandal has revealed this as a much broader problem (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017). The findings of this study have shown qualitative accounts of participants in relation to direct and indirect experiences of sexual harassment in political organisations, which have

been linked to and shown to be reinforced by other (less severe) forms of gendered marginalisation. A wider implication is that since different forms of gendered marginalisation are reinforced by each other, that approaches to promoting gender inclusivity cannot effectively address any one form of marginalisation alone without addressing others, since different forms reinforce each other. Therefore, political organisations seeking to redress what was revealed in the #metoo movement by addressing the circumstances in which sexual harassment was able to take place, should look to address marginalisation at multiple different levels: therefore not only seeking to prevent sexual harassment, but to promote gendered representation in political organisation spaces and the valuing of gendered voices and contributions too.

Additional to such discussions surrounding sexual harassment in UK politics, this study has implications, more generally, for political organisations and the inclusion of young women. The range of barriers to political participation that this study has outlined represent a range of problems within political organisations that must be overcome if we are to reasonably expect young women to participate and feel fully included in these spaces. It does not reflect well on these organisations that after decades of progress on gender equalities in the UK, that progress has been so slow that young women, many with even the advantage of being well-educated, can still experience this sense of exclusion; the implications for those with less education, or experiencing inequalities across further axes of inequality are, indeed, worse.

Wider Implications Relating to Inclusivity

As this study has outlined, there are wider implications surrounding inclusivity as well as equality and diversity practices across a range of organisation, from civil society organisations to the workplace (as described by Ahmed, 2012). Not only, as outlined here in relation to gender inclusivity, should organisations seek to address the different level in which groups are marginalised from spaces in order to take account of their interrelated and overlapping nature. But furthermore, organisations wishing to achieve inclusivity of underrepresented groups should pay attention to further factors that this study has outlined.

Firstly, the low levels of recognition that certain axes of inequality are given in debates surrounding inclusivity, namely, the low level of recognition afforded to youth-derived processes of marginalisation (Earl, 2018)– is problematic. Secondly, the detrimental role of seeking to protect an external image of diversity and inclusivity at the expense of redressing

incidences relating to the abuse of power in organisations is also a highly problematic process— one identified by Ahmed (2012)— that this study has provided further empirical examples of in the context of political organisations.

8.3 Original Contributions of this Study

The original contributions of this study can be summarised under four headings: the topic of study, additional empirical contributions, the methodological approach and its theoretical contribution.

Topic of Study

As this research has outlined, the study of gendered youth participation is an under-researched area, which contributes to the lack of attention in the literature to that fact that inequalities are unevenly distributed along gendered lines, among young people. Despite the existence of a few high-quality studies on young women and political participation (e.g. Taft, 2011; Gordon, 2008; Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006; Briggs, 2008) there are however no studies addressing youth and gender in UK political organisations. While the study of young women in social movement organisations has been addressed by Gordon (2007) and Taft (2011) in the context of the US and Latin America, to the knowledge of the author, no such studies exist which address youth *and* gender inequalities in political organisational participation, specific to the UK context. This study therefore addresses this gap in the literature by researching descriptive and explanatory inequalities among gendered young participants in UK political organisations, via eliciting the experiences of young gendered participants and analysing survey data in relation to these inequalities.

Additional Empirical Contributions

In addition to the empirical contribution made in relation to the study of youth and gender in UK political organisations, this study makes some important empirical contributions, beyond this overall topic of study. Firstly, by focussing on ordinary political organisations members, rather than elites, this study contributes to filling a gap highlighted by Childs and Murray (2014) with regards to a lack of research of ordinary members on gender and political participation. This study of the ‘ordinary’ rather than the elite level also enabled elicitation of an important original contribution in terms of the findings that the study elicits, among the themes of marginalisation outlined. Namely, empirical findings of sexual harassment in

politics among young, ordinary members of UK political organisations. Much research on sexual harassment focusses on spaces such as the workplace (e.g. McLaughlin et al 2012; Chaudhuri, 2008) and university campuses (e.g. Bennett, 2009; Mackinnon, 2016). Within studies of politics, most research addresses sexual harassment at the elite level of parliamentarians or political office-seekers or upon incidences perpetrated by men at the elite level (Krook, 2018; Krook, 2017; Allen, 2011). While there are some (albeit very few) studies in a small number of national contexts that *include* discussion of sexual harassment among ordinary members of political organisations (e.g. Tshoedi, 2017 in the South African context), there are no studies to the knowledge of the author that address sexual harassment in politics among young, ordinary members of UK political organisations. This study draws upon anonymised indirect accounts and some anonymised accounts of direct experiences, and this original contribution reveals the dynamics of how these experiences have negative impacts upon participation and also how this form of marginalisation can be reinforced by other features of the supply side, by *prima facie* ‘less severe’ forms of marginalisation in political organisations.

Methodological Approach to the Topic

This study also makes an original contribution by addressing the topic of youth and gendered inequalities in UK political organisations using a mixed methods quantitative and qualitative approach. While other studies in the UK context have addressed the topic of young women’s political participation (albeit not in political organisations) such as Briggs (2008), no studies have addressed this using a mixed methods qualitative and quantitative approach, which allows for both the eliciting of young gendered participants’ experiences within political organisations, but also enables the researcher to assess broader trends using larger datasets. This study does this by analysing both young gendered participants’ qualitative experiences of marginalisation in political organisations, some of which are then tested quantitatively, as well as also linking these qualitative findings to UK data on overall rates of political organisational participation, according to gender and youth.

Theoretical Contribution

This study showed a specific application of the demand and supply framework, which was originally outlined in the context of political participation by Klandermans (2004), to the study of political organisational participation. Through this application to political organisations, this study has built a model of how different features of marginalisation on the

supply side interact with each other (i.e. low representation, devaluing of contributions, tokenism, backlash/discouragement and harassment) through the links made in young people's experiences of both youth-derived and gender-derived marginalisation from political organisations, with *prima facie* 'more severe' forms of marginalisation reinforced by *prima facie* 'less severe' forms of marginalisation. While other studies of Klandermans (e.g. Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Walgrave, 2018) refer to the interaction of features of demand and supply, the interaction of features *within* the supply side– for example how aspects of poor descriptive representation can link in the experiences of young people to experiences of the devaluing of contributions– has not, to the knowledge of the author, been previously theorised as such.

8.4 Suggestions for Future Research

Through the process of undertaking this research, I have identified areas of future research, derived from either the limitations of this study, areas which could be developed further, or of parallel areas which would be of value to the broader study of youth political participation.

Firstly, this study of youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political organisational participation uses only data from young people in the UK context. To understand further the impact of national context, a crossnational comparative study would enable researchers to understand further, and in greater detail, the impact of national context upon youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities in political organisational participation.

Secondly, future research would benefit from a more thorough and comprehensive analysis of the study of gender which takes into account the differences in experiences between self-identifying men, women and other forms of non-binary gender identity. This research has studied the experiences young women and non-binary people, as those young participants in political organisations who are more likely to be the subject of gender inequalities. It has, nevertheless, not sought to treat young women and young non-binary people as a homogeneous group. I have nevertheless outlined how this binary division between gendered and non-gendered participants is a limitation of this study. Therefore, further research into different gendered experiences in political organisational participation would be of value to a more substantial understanding of how gender influences political participation.

Third, some of the findings of this research that were lesser-developed or less rich would suggest areas for future research. For example, the dynamics by which youth and gender inequalities interact over time was discussed in Chapter 6, revealing how some gendered participants' experiences revealed a sense in which older age offset some degree of gender inequalities over time; in the example of one young gendered participant, they experienced a greater sense of influence through obtaining 'elder' age status and therefore a lesser sense of marginalisation over time. This is consistent with the idea of intersecting age and gender inequalities, and the multiple levels of power dynamics involved. This introduces the notion of intersections which shift over time, which should be explored further in relation to age. This could be explored in greater detail through more in-depth research of young women's experiences of inequalities in the later period of youth (such as in their late 20s and early 30s).

Fourth, this research has focussed upon political participation at the intersection of youth and gender, but it has done so with a specific focus on political organisational participation. Political organisational participation is one of several ways in which one can participate politically. Each different repertoire of political participation, as distinct participation experiences, are likely to have differing interactions with youth-derived and gender-derived inequalities. Future research would therefore also benefit from focussing on young gendered participants' experiences of other political action repertoires, including those of voting, protest, online participation and political 'consumerism', among many. Although, as this study has outlined with regards to young people's choice of political action repertoires, any future research should consider how any gendered or youth-derived choice of how to participate in politics is dependent on the context of shifting opportunities. Such research would also contribute further to the under-developed research on political participation at the intersection of youth and gender.

Finally, and contrary to the approach of this research, a study which takes a truly intersectional approach to the study of inequalities also takes into account multiple intersecting axes of inequality (Weldon, 2008). While overarching themes in the experiences of more complex intersectional identities may be more challenging to research through studies of any scale, this nevertheless motivates further the study of how youth-derived inequalities intersect with other axes of inequality. While the literature on youth political participation does include some existing research in relation to the political participation

experiences of young ethnic minorities (O'Toole and Gale, 2013) and young disabled people's participation in disability movements (Griffiths, 2019), these specific areas of study, along with the experiences of young LGBT+ young people (and a number of further axes of inequality), are areas that would contribute further to the understanding of different identities and experiences to the study and broader literature of young people's political participation.

Appendix A. Participant Information Sheet



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Participant information sheet

EURYKA - Project full title: "Reinventing Democracy in Europe: Youth Doing Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities"

Invitation

You are invited to participate in a study that will investigate issues related to youth political participation. The current study is part of a larger EU funded project which attempts to investigate individual experiences of young people (under 35s) from childhood onwards, in order to see how they influence their ways of doing politics and how such engagement may lead young people to be drivers of social and political change, with an emphasis on new ways of political engagement.

A team of researchers associated from the Department of Politics University of Sheffield is conducting the current study. Before you decide whether or not you will participate in this study we would like to inform you about the study, its goals, the way it will be conducted and your contribution to it.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the research is to better understand the conditions, processes, and mechanisms underpinning how young people do politics.

Why have you been invited?

You have been invited in this study because your views as an individual are needed for our research. The analysis aims to present your perspective.

What does this study involve?

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to sign the attached consent forms. You will be involved in a discussion-interview that will be held in a location as close to your residence or place of work as possible and at a time that is most convenient for you. It is anticipated that the interview will last between 90 and 120 minutes, maximum.

The interview session will be run by Katherine Smith. An audio device will also be used during the discussion. Audio recording will be used only for the analysis of data and will be accessed only by members of the research team, which includes transcription services.

The interviewer of the discussion will provide you with some information and ask you a number of questions on issues related to youth participation which we would like for you to answer. You may refuse to answer any question you don't want to answer. No one except members of the research team will have access or see the information you will provide in the interview.

Who is funding this research?

The research is funded by the European Union (H2020, European Commission)

Who benefits from this study?

There are no direct benefits to participants in this study. However, your contribution is important because through your answers we will collect and analyse information that will contribute to better, future policy and strategic planning for youth socio-political involvement.

Are there any costs for me from my participation to this study?

Your participation in this study will not cost you anything. You are however asked to contribute with your time and provide your own transportation to the meeting place.

What if I don't want to take part in this study?

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw from this study at any time without any consequences.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

Maintenance of confidence from members of the research group can be guaranteed. The data will be password protected and stored on an encrypted hard drive. Our discussion-interview will be transcribed and then all names, locations and affiliations of people will be changed, removed or kept anonymous so that individual participants cannot be identified.

Who should I contact if I want to discuss the study further?

If you have any concerns or questions, please contact any of the following people

Katherine Smith- katherine.smith@sheffield.ac.uk

Maria Grasso- m.grasso@sheffield.ac.uk

The University of Sheffield will act as the Data Controller for the study. This means that the University is responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. In order to collect and use your personal information as part of this research project, we must have a basis in law to do so. The basis that we are using is that the research is a 'task in the public interest'. Further information, including details of how and why the University processes your personal information, how we keep your information secure, and your legal rights (including how to complain if you feel your personal information has not been handled correctly), can be found in the University's privacy notice <https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/govern/data-protection/privacy/general>.

Who has approved this study?

This project has approval from University of Sheffield's ethics committee, ethics review process managed by the Department of Politics, to ensure it operates under an ethical framework- approval no. 013216. The University's Research Ethics Committee monitors the application and delivery of the University's Ethics Review Procedure across the University.

This study has been approved by European Commission, grant agreement: No. 727025.

Contact number/information: Lorenzo Bosi, SNS (lorenzo.bosi@sns.it)

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in this study

If you want to participate please sign the attached informed consent form.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

EURYKA - “Reinventing Democracy in Europe: Youth Doing Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities”



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

I have read the attached Participant Information Sheet on the above names study, and understand the purpose and procedures described within it.

I have been made aware of any known or expected inconvenience, risk or discomfort and of their implications as far as the researcher currently knows them.

I agree to take part in the project. I understand that my participation in this study will involve me taking part in a discussion-interview and that the questions asked will relate to youth participation.

I understand that data gathered from the results of the study may be presented at a conference or published, provided that I cannot be identified.

I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.

I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this.

I understand that all data that can potentially reveal my identity will be changed/removed/kept anonymous in the transcripts of the interview discussion.

I understand and agree that other authorised researchers from the EURYKA project will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. I understand and agree that these researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.

I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.

I freely agree to participate in this study and understand that I can withdraw at any time without affecting my current or future relationship with [name of organisation] or the University of Sheffield. I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I withdraw.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and I am satisfied with the answers I have received. I will respect the confidentiality of the interview.

I consent to the audio-recording of the interview discussion: Yes No

Name: _____ Signature: _____

Date: _____ Location: _____

This project has approval from University of Sheffield's ethics committee, ethics review process managed by the Department of Politics, to ensure it operates under an ethical framework- approval no. 013216. The University's Research Ethics Committee monitors the application and delivery of the University's Ethics Review Procedure across the University.

Reference List

- Ahmed, S. (2012), *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press).
- Ahmed, S. (2017), *Living a Feminist Life* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press)
- Allen, G. (1989), 'Introduction' (Special topic: Children's political socialization and cognition), *Human Development* 32, pp.1-4.
- Allen, N. (2011), 'Dishonourable members? Exploring patterns of misconduct in the contemporary House of Commons' *British Politics* 6 (2), pp.210-240.
- Almond, GA and Verba, S. (1963) *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Anguera, M. T, Blanco-Villasenor, A, Losada, J. L., Sanchez-Algarra, P. and Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2018) 'Revisiting the difference between mixed methods and multimethods: Is it all in the name?' *Qual Quant* 52, pp.2757-2770.
- Ansell, C, Boin, A. and Farjoun, M. (2015), 'Dynamic Conservatism: how institutions change to remain the same'. *Research in the Sociology of Organisations* 44, pp.89-119.
- Arnett, J. (2004) *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from late teens through the twenties*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Arnold, Gretchen (1995) 'Dilemmas of Feminist Coalitions'. In: Ferree, M. M, and Martin, P. (eds) *Feminist Organizations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp.276-290.
- Arnstein, S. (1969), 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35(4), pp.216-224.
- Aslanidis, P. (2012) 'Occupy Populism: social movements of the Great Recession in comparative perspective' (University of Macedonia).
- Axinn, W. G. (1989) 'Interviewers and Data Quality in a Less Developed Setting' *Journal of Official Statistics* 5, pp.265-280.
- Bakker, T. P. and de Vresse, C. H. (2011), 'Good news for the future? Young people, internet use and political participation' *Communication Research* 38 (4), pp.451-470
- Barcelona, R. J, and Quinn, W (2011), 'Trends in Youth Development Research Topics: An Integrative Review of Positive Youth Development Research Published in selected Journals between 2001-2010', *Journal of Youth Development* 6 (3), pp1-20.
- BBC (2019), 'Amnesty loses five bosses after report on "toxic workplace"' Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-48431652> Accessed 18.09.19

- Bennett, J. (2009), 'Policies of sexual harassment in higher education: two steps forward and three steps somewhere else' *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equality* 80, pp.7-21.
- Bess, K. D, Prilleltensky, I., Perkins, D. D, and Collins, L. V (2009), 'Participatory Organizational Change in Community-Based Health and Human Services: From Tokenism to Political Engagement', *American Journal of Community Psychology* 43, pp.134-148.
- Bessant, J. and Grasso, M. T. (2018) 'Governing Youth Politics in the Age of Surveillance'. In: Grasso, M.T. and Bessant, J. (eds) *Governing Youth Politics in the Age of Surveillance*. London: Routledge.
- Blaikie, N. (2007) *Approaches to Social Enquiry*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bode, L. (2014), 'Closing the gap: gender parity in political engagement on social media', *Information, Communication & Society* 20:4, pp.587-603.
- Bowman, B. (2014), 'Votes at 16 should be part of the systemic reform needed to counter youth abstention from democratic institutions'. In: Berry, R. and Kippin, S. *Should the UK lower the voting age to 16? Democratic Audit/PSA*, pp.16-18.
- Brady, H. (1999), 'Political Participation' in Robinson, J.P., Shaver, P.R and Wrightsman, L.S (eds) *Measures of Political Attitudes*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Brady, H. E. Verba, S and Schlozman, K.L (1995) 'Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation'. *American Political Science Review* 89 (2), pp.271- 294.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology' *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, pp.77-101.
- Briggs, J. (2008), 'Young women and politics: an oxymoron?' *Journal of Youth Studies* 6, pp.579-592.
- British Electoral Study (2018), 'The myth of the 2017 youthquake election'. Available at: <https://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/the-myth-of-the-2017-youthquake-election/#.Xqv4B5p7mL8> Accessed 01.05.20
- Brown, L. M. (2016) *Powered by Girl: A Field Guide for Supporting Youth Activists*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bryman, A. (2006), 'Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done?' *Qualitative Research* 6 (1), pp.97-113.
- Cainzos, M. and Voces, C (2010), 'Class Inequalities in Political Participation and the "Death of Class" Debate', *International Sociology* 25(3), pp.383-418.
- Campbell, D. E. and Wolbrecht, C. (2006), 'See Jane Run: Women Politicians as Role Models for Adolescents', *Journal of Politics* 68: 2, pp.233-247
- Carli, L. L. (1990), 'Gender, Language and Influence', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59(5), pp.941-95.

- Chaudhuri, P. (2008), 'Sexual harassment at the workplace: Experiences within complaints committees' *Economic and Political Weekly* 43 (17), pp.99-106.
- Cecchi, D. and Visser, J. (2005), 'Pattern Persistence in European trade union density: a longitudinal analysis 1950-1996' *European Sociological Review* 21(1), pp.1-21.
- Checkoway, B (1996) 'Adults as Allies'. Available at: <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/slcepartnerships/38> Accessed 14.04.20
- Chevalier, T. (2019), 'Political Trust, young people and institutions in Europe. A multilevel analysis' *International Journal of Social Welfare* 28 (4), pp. 418-430.
- Childs, S (2008), *Women and British Party Politics: Descriptive, Substantive and Symbolic Representation*. Milton Park: Routledge.
- Childs, S. and Murray, R. (2014), 'Feminising Political Parties' in Campbell, R and Childs, S (eds). *Deeds and Words: gendering politics after Joni Lovenduski*. Colchester: ECPR Press
- Clarence, E. L, Jordan, G. and Maloney, W. A (2005), 'Generating Support for Campaign Groups'. In: Rossteutscher, S (ed) *Democracy and the Role of Associations*. Milton Park: Routledge
- Clark, M. C (2014), *Positioning Mixed Methods Research: The Neo-empiricism Perspective*. 12th European Conference on Research Methodology for Business and Management Studies. London: Cass Business School.
- Coffé, H and Bolzendahl, C. (2010), 'Same Game, Different Rules? Gender Differences in Political Participation', *Sex Roles* 62, pp.318-333
- Conaghan, J. (2018), 'Sex, Gender and the Trans Debate' University of Bristol Law School Blog. Available at: <https://legalresearch.blogs.bris.ac.uk/tag/second-wave-feminism/> Accessed 18.06.20
- Converse, P.E. (1986), 'Generalisation and the Social Psychology of 'Other Worlds' (Chapter 2)' in Fiske, D.W. and Schweder, R.A (eds) *Metatheory in Social Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp.42-60.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989) 'Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1), pp.139-167.
- Creswell, J.W. and Plano Clark, V.L (2007), *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Culhane, L. and Olchawski, J. for Fawcett Society (2018) 'Strategies for success: women's experiences of selection and election in UK parliament. Available at: <https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=b8a66d72-32a4-4d9d-91e7-33ad1ef4a785><https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=b8a66d72-32a4-4d9d-91e7-33ad1ef4a785>. Accessed 02.02.20

Dalton, Russell J. (2009) *The Good Citizen: How a Younger Generation Is Reshaping American Politics*. Washington DC: CQ Press

Della Porta, D. (2014), 'In-Depth Interviews'. In: Della Porta, D. (ed) *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 228-261.

Della Porta, D. and Tarrow S. (2005) 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism: an Introduction'. In: Della Porta, D. and Tarrow, S. (eds) *Transnational Protest and Global Activism: People, Passions and Power*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, UK (2018) *Trade union statistics 2018*. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/trade-union-statistics-2018> accessed 05.08.19

Dow, J. K (2009), 'Gender Differences in Political Knowledge: Distinguishing Characteristics-Based and Returns-Based Differences', *Political Behavior* 31, pp.117-136.

Durverger, M. (1955) *The Political Role of Women*. Paris: UNESCO

Earl (2018), 'Hiding in Plain Sight: The Role of Youth in Politics and Activism'. Available at: <https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2018/05/30/hiding-in-plain-sight-the-role-of-youth-in-politics-and-activism/> Accessed 02.04.19

Earl, J. and Elliot, T. (2015), 'Kids these days: supply and demand for youth online political engagement', *Silverstein Forum*, University of Pennsylvania, 15 October 2015

Earl, J. Maher, T. V, and Elliot, T (2017), 'Youth, activism, and social movements', *Sociology Compass*, pp.1-14

Edwards, R. (2019), 'Participant pseudonyms in qualitative family research: a sociological and temporal note' *Families, Relationships and Societies*, pp.1-13.

Ehsan, R. and Sloam, J. (2018), 'Resources, Values and Identity: young cosmopolitans and the referendum on British membership of the European Union' *Parliamentary Affairs* 73, pp.46-65.

Ekstrom, M. and Sveningsson, M. (2019), 'Young people's experiences of political membership: from political parties to Facebook groups', *Information, Communication & Society* 22(2), pp.155-171.

Elliot, T., Earl, J. and Maher, T. V. (2017), 'Recruiting Inclusiveness: Intersectionality, Social Movements and Youth Online' in Massei, J. M (ed) *Non-state violent actors and social movement organisations: influence, adaptation and change*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited.

EURYKA (2017), 'Integrated Report on Policy Analysis'. Available at: https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/euryka/files/3215/0652/9720/Report_on_Policy_Analysis.pdf Accessed 30.04.20

EURYKA (2018), 'Panel Survey Analysis'. Available at: https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/euryka/files/8915/2871/7098/euryka_D4.1_revised_3.pdf Accessed 25.06.20

Farquhar M. C, Ewing, G. and Booth, S. (2011) 'Using mixed methods to develop and evaluate complex interventions in palliative care research' *Palliative Medicine* 25, pp.748-757

Faucher, F. (2015), 'New forms of political participation. Changing demand or changing opportunities to participate in political parties?' *Comparative European Politics* 13 (4), pp.405-429

Fieldhouse, E., Tranmer, M. and Russell, A. (2007), 'Something about young people or something about elections? Electoral participation of young people in Europe: Evidence from multi-level analysis of the European Social Survey', *European Journal of Political Research* 46, pp.797-822.

Fielding, N. and Thomas, H. (2008), 'Qualitative Interviewing'. In: Gilbert, N. (ed) *Researching Social Life*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE, pp.245-265.

Finch J (1984), "'It's great to have someone to talk to": the ethics and politics of interviewing women'. In: Bell, C. and Roberts, H. (eds) *Social Researching: Politics, Problems, Practice*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Fisher, C (2019) *The Gaslighting of the Millennial Generation: How to Succeed in a Society that Blames you for Everything Gone Wrong*. Coral Gables: Mango Publishing

Flanagan, C. and Levine, P (2010) 'Civic Engagement and the Transition to Adulthood' *The Future of Children*, vol.20, no.1, pp.159-179.

Fox, S. (2014) 'Is it time to update the definition of political participation? Political participation in Britain: The decline and revival of civic culture'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 67(2), pp.495-505.

Fox, R. L and Lawless, J. L. (2005), 'To Run or Not to Run for Office: Explaining Nascent Political Ambition' *American Journal of Political Science*, 49 (3), pp.642-659

Fraile, M. (2014) "Do women know less about politics than men? The gender gap in political knowledge", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 21:2.

Franklin, M.N. (2004), *Voter Turnout and The Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Freeman, J (1986), 'The Political Culture of the Democratic and Republican Parties', *Political Science Quarterly* 101, pp.327-356

Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (2012), 'Social Change and Political Engagement among Young People: Generation and the 2009/2010 British Election Survey' *Parliamentary Affairs* 65, pp.13-28.

- Furlong, P. and Marsh, D (2010), 'A Skin Not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science' in Marsh, D. and Stoker, G Theory and Methods in Political Science. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gage, N. L (1989), 'The Paradigm Wars and Their Aftermath A "Historical" Sketch of Research on Teaching Since 1989' Educational Researcher 18 (7), pp.4-10.
- Galligan, Y. (2014), 'The Comparative Study of Politics and Gender' in Campbell, R and Childs, S (eds). Deeds and Words: gendering politics after Joni Lovenduski. Colchester: ECPR Press
- Gilligan, C. (1982). In a Different Voice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Giugni, M. and Grasso, M. (2019) Street Citizens: Protest Politics and Social Movement Activism in the Age of Globalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, B (2007), Using Political Ideas. London: John Wiley and Sons
- Gordon, H. R (2007), 'Allies Within and Without: How Adolescent Activists Conceptualize Ageism and Navigate Adult Power in Youth Social Movements' Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 36 (6), pp.631-668.
- Gordon, H. R. (2008), 'Gendered Paths to Teenage Political Participation: parental power, civic mobility and Youth Activism', Gender and Society 22 (1), pp.31-55
- Gordon, H. R and Taft, J. (2011), 'Rethinking youth political socialization: Teenage activists talk back'. Youth and Society 43 (4), pp.1499-1527.
- Graham, A. and Fitzgerald, R. (2010), 'Progressing children's participation: Exploring the potential of a dialogical turn' Childhood 17 (3), pp.343-359.
- Grasso, M (2014), 'Age, period and cohort analysis in a comparative context: Political generations and political participation repertoires in Western Europe', Electoral Studies 33, pp.63-76.
- Grasso, M. (2013), 'The differential impact of education on young people's political activism: comparing Italy and the United Kingdom', Comparative Sociology 12 (1), pp.1-30.
- Grasso, M. (2016), Generations, Political Participation and Social Change in Western Europe. Oxford: Routledge.
- Grasso, M. and Giugni, M. (2016), 'Protest participation and economic crisis: The conditioning role of political opportunities' European Journal of Political Research 55, pp.663-680
- Grasso, M. and Bessant, J. (eds) (2018) Governing Youth Politics in the Age of Surveillance. Milton Park: Routledge.
- Greener, I. (2011), Designing Social Research. London: Sage.

Griffiths, M. (2019), 'These Days are Ours: Exploring Young Disabled People's Experiences and Views of the Disabled People's Movement', PhD thesis, Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool.

Hansen, S. B. (1997), 'Talking about politics: gender and contextual effects on political proselytizing', *Journal of Politics* 59 (1), pp.73-103.

Hart, R. (1992), 'Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship'. Florence: UNICEF International Child Development Centre. Available at: www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/childrens_participation.pdf Accessed 07.03.2017

Haslam-Ormerod, S. (2019), "'Snowflake millennial' label is inaccurate and reverses progress to destigmatise mental health'. *The Conversation*. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/snowflake-millennial-label-is-inaccurate-and-reverses-progress-to-destigmatise-mental-health-109667> Accessed 29.04.20

Hawkesworth, M (1997), 'Confounding gender', *Signs* 22 (3), pp.649-685.

Hay, C. (2007), *Why We Hate Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Henn, M. Oldfield, B. and Hart, J. (2018), 'Postmaterialism and Young People's Political Participation in a time of Austerity' *British Journal of Sociology* 69 (3), pp.712-737

Herod, A. (1993), 'Gender Issues in the Use of Interviewing as a Research Method' *The Professional Geographer* 45 (3), pp.305-317

Hirsch, D, Valadez-Martinez, L. and Gardiner, L. (2017), 'Consuming Forces: Generational living standards measured through household consumption'. The Resolution Foundation. Available at: <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/consuming-forces-generational-living-standards-measured-through-household-consumption/> Accessed 30.04.20

Hooghe, M. and Stolle, D (2003), 'Life-cycle and Cohort differences in the Socialisation Effect of Voluntary Participation', *European Political Science* 3(2), pp.49-56.

Hooghe, M and Stolle, D (2004), 'Good girls go to the polling booth, Bad boys go everywhere: Gender differences in anticipated participation among American Fourteen year olds', *Women and Politics*, 26 (3), pp.1-23.

Hope, E. C., Velez, G., Offideni-Bertrand, C., Keels, M. and Durkee, M. I. (2018), 'Political activism and mental health among Black and Latinx college students' *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 24 (1), pp. 26-39.

House of Commons (2017) 'Turnout at elections'. Available at: <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8060/> Accessed 01.05.2020

Hoyle, R.H., Harris, M.J and Judd, C. M. (2002), 'Fundamentals of Measurement' in Hoyle, R.H, Harris, M.J, and Judd, C.M. *Research Methods in Social Relations Australia; United Kingdom: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning*, pp.75-95.

Inglehart, R. (1971), 'The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies', *American Political Science Review* 65(4), pp.991-1017

Inglehart, R. (1990) *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. and Norris, P. (2003) *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ipsos MORI (2019), 'Ipsos MORI veracity index 2019'. Available at: <https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2019-11/trust-in-professions-veracity-index-2019-slides.pdf> Accessed 01.05.2020

Jennings, M. K (1983), 'Gender Roles and Inequalities in Political Participation: Results from an Eight-Nation Study' *Western Political Quarterly* 36 (3), pp.364-385.

John, P. (2010), 'Quantitative Methods', in Marsh, D. and Stoker, G, *Theory and Methods in Social Science*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan. pp267-284

Johnson, R.B., Onwuegbuzie, A.J., and Turner, L.A. (2007) 'Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research' *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1(2), pp.112-133.

Juris, J. S and Pleyers, G., H. (2009), 'Alter-activism: emerging cultures of participation among young global justice advocates', *Journal of Youth Studies* 12 (1), pp.57-75

Kara, N (2007), 'Beyond Tokenism: Participatory Evaluation Processes and Meaningful Youth Involvement in Decision-Making' *Children, Youth and Environments* 17 (2), pp. 563-580

Kenny, M. (2011) 'Gender and Institutions of Political Recruitment: Candidate Selection in Post-Devolution Scotland' in Krook, M. L. and Mackay, F. *Gender, Politics and Institutions: towards a feminist institutionalism*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kerlinger, F.N., Lee, H.B (2000) *Foundations of Behavioral Research*. Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers.

Kitanova, M. (2019), 'Youth political participation in the EU: Evidence from a cross-national analysis' *Journal of Youth Studies*, pp.1-18.

Klandermans, B. (2004), 'The demand and supply of participation: social psychological correlates of participation in social movements', in Snow, D., Soule, S. and Kreisi, H. (eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Klassen, A. C., Creswell, J. C, Plano Clark, V. L, Clegg Smith, K., Meissner, H. L (2012), 'Best practices in mixed methods for quality of life research', *Qual Life Res* 12, pp.377-380.

Kostelka, F, Blais, A and Gidengill, E (2019), 'Has the gender gap in voter turnout really disappeared?', *Western European Politics*. 42 (3), pp.437-463

- Krook, M. L. and Mackay, F (2011) 'Introduction: Gender, Politics, and Institutions' in Krook, M. L. and Mackay, F. *Gender, Politics and Institutions: towards a feminist institutionalism*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Krook, M. L. (2017), 'Violence against women in politics' *Journal of Democracy* 28 (1), pp.74-88.
- Krook, M. L. (2018), 'Westminster too: Sexual harassment in British politics' *The Political Quarterly* 89 (1), pp.65-72.
- Kwon, I, Milgrom, E.M and Hwang, A, 'Cohort Effects in Promotions and Wages: Evidence from Sweden and the United States' *The Journal of Human resources* 45 (3), pp.772-808
- Lamont, C. (2015), *Research Methods in International Relations*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Leech, N. L (2010), 'Interviews with the Early Developers of Mixed Methods Research' in Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C (eds) *SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 253-272.
- Lesko, Nancy (2001) *Act your age! A cultural construction of adolescence*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer
- Levin, S (2017), 'Millionaire tells millennials: if you want a house, stop buying avocado toast'. *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/may/15/australian-millionaire-millennials-avocado-toast-house> Accessed 29.04.20
- Lewis, D. (2008), 'Using Life Histories in Social Policy Research: The Case of Third Sector/ Public Sector Boundary Crossing', *Journal of Social Policy* 37 (4), pp.559-578.
- Lorber, J. (1996), 'Beyond the Binaries: Depolarising the Categories of Sex, Sexuality, and Gender' *Sociological Inquiry* 66 (2), pp.143-160.
- Lovenduski, J. (2011), 'Foreword' in Krook, M. L. and Mackay, F. *Gender, Politics and Institutions: towards a feminist institutionalism*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lowndes, V (2000), 'Women and Social Capital' *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (3), pp.533-537.
- Maarouf, H. (2019), 'Pragmatism as a Supportive Paradigm for the Mixed Research Approach: Conceptualizing the Ontological, Epistemological, and Axiological Stances of Pragmatism' *International Business Research* 12 (9), pp.1-12.
- MacDonald, E. M (2018), 'The gendered impact of austerity: cuts are widening the poverty gap between women and men'. *British Politics and Policy at LSE*. Available at: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/88471/> Accessed 30.04.20

- MacDonell, J. A., Dastjerdi, M., Khanlou, N., Bokore, N. and Tharao, W. (2015) 'Activism as a feature of mental health and wellbeing for racialized women in a Canadian context' *Health Care for Women International* 38 (2), pp.187-204.
- Mackay, F, Armitage, F and Malley, (2014), 'Gender and Political Institutions' in in Campbell, R and Childs, S (eds). *Deeds and Words: gendering politics after Joni Lovenduski*. Colchester: ECPR Press
- MacKinnon, C. A. (2016), 'In their hands: Restoring institutional liability for sexual harassment in education' *The Yale Law Journal* 125 (7), pp.2038-2105.
- Males, M (1999) *Framing youth: Ten myths about the next generation*. Monroe: Common Courage Press
- Malyutina, D. (2014), 'Reflection on Positionality from a Russian Women interviewing Russian-Speaking Women in London' *Sociological Research Online* 19 (4), pp.1-13.
- Marien, S, Hooghe, M. and Quintelier, E. (2010), 'Inequalities in non-institutionalised forms of participation: a multi-level analysis of 25 countries', *Political Studies* 58, pp.187-213.
- Marsh, D., O'Toole, T. and Jones, S. (2007) *Young People and Politics in the UK*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan
- Mason, M. (2010), 'Sample size and saturation in PhD studies. Using qualitative interviews' *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 11 (3), pp.1-19.
- Mason, R. (2015), 'Labour leadership: Jeremy Corbyn elected with huge mandate' *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/sep/12/jeremy-corbyn-wins-labour-party-leadership-election> Accessed 18.09.19
- McAdam, D (1982), *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McCall, L. (2005), 'The Complexity of Intersectionality', *Signs: University of Chicago Press* 30(3), pp.1771-1800.
- McCarthy, J. and Zald, M. (1973) *The trend of social movements in America: Professionalization and resource mobilization*. New York: General Learning Press
- McKim, C. A. (2017). 'The Value of Mixed Methods Research: A Mixed Methods Study'. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 11 (2), pp.202-222.
- McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C. and Blackstone, A. (2012), 'Sexual harassment, workplace authority, and the paradox of power' *American Sociological Review* 77 (4), pp.625-647.
- Mendez, J. M. and Osborn, T. (2010), 'Gender and the Perception of Knowledge in Political Discussion' *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (2), pp.269-279.

- Mettler, K. (2019), 'Attention, "snowflakes" and "me me me millennials": The British army wants you'. New York Times. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/01/03/attention-snowflakes-me-me-me-millennials-british-army-wants-you/> Accessed 30.04.20
- Milanese, N. for EURYKA project (2020), Rejuvenating Europe's Democracy Policy Report 2020. Available at: https://euroalter.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/euryka-policy-report-2020_web-1.pdf Accessed 17.02.20
- Morales, L. (2009) *Joining Political Organisations: Institutions, Mobilisation and Participation in Western Democracies*. Colchester: European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Press.
- Moran- Ellis, J., Alexander, V. D., Cronin, A., Dickinson, M., Fielding, J., Sloney, J. and Thomas, H. (2006), 'Triangulation and Integration: Processes, Claims and Implications', *Qualitative Research* 6 (1), pp.45-59.
- Morgan, D. L (2014) *Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Murray, R. (2014), 'Quotas for Men: Reframing Gender Quotas as a Means of Improving Representation for All', *American Political Science Review* 108 (3), pp520-532.
- Newton, K (2012), 'Curing the democratic malaise with democratic innovations'. In: Geissel, B. and Newton, K. (eds) *Evaluating democratic innovations: curing the democratic malaise?* London: Routledge
- Norris, P. (ed) (1997), *Passages to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (1999), 'The Growth of Critical Citizens?' in Norris, P (ed), *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Norris, P. (2002) *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2003) 'Young people and political activism: From the politics of loyalties to the politics of choice?' Council of Europe Symposium, Young people and democratic institutions: From disillusionment to participation, Strasbourg, 27 – 28 November 2003
- O'Toole, T. (2003), 'Engaging with Young People's Conceptions of the Political', *Children's Geographies* 1 (1), pp.71-90.
- O'Toole, T. and Gale, R. (2013), *Political Engagement amongst Ethnic Minority Young People: Making a Difference*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Office for National Statistics, 'Mid-year population estimates for major towns and cities, 2016'. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/population>

estimates/adhocs/008264midyearpopulationestimatesformajortownsandcities2016. Accessed 27.04.20

Olsen, W. (2004), 'Triangulation in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods Really Can Be Mixed' in Holborn, M. (ed), *Developments in Sociology: An Annual Review*. Ormskirk: Causeway Press. pp.103-121.

Osler, A. and Starkey, H. (2003), 'Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: Theoretical debates and young people's preferences' *Educational Review* 55, pp.243-254.

Park, A. (1995), 'Teenager and Their Politics' in Jowell, R. et al (eds) *British Social Attitudes: The 12th Report*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.

Passy, F. (2001), 'Socialization, Connection, and the Structure/Agency Gap: A Specification of the Impact of Networks on Participation in Social Movements', *Mobilization* 6 (2), pp.173-192.

Perez, C. C. (2019), *Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men*. London: Penguin Random House.

Pfanzelt, H and Spies, D.C (2019), 'The gender gap in political participation: evidence from Germany' *Political Research Quarterly* 72 (1), pp.34-48

Piccio, P. (2016), 'The impact of social movements on political parties. In: Bosi, L., Giugni, M. and Uba, K. (eds), *The Consequences of Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.263-284.

Pickard, S and Bessant, J (2017), 'Introduction' in Pickard, S. and Bessant, J. (eds.), *Young People Re-generating Politics in Times of Crises*. London: Palgrave Macmillan

Pickard, S. (2017), 'Momentum and the Movementist "Corbynistas": Young People Regenerating the Labour Party in Britain', Pickard, S. and Bessant, J (Eds) *Young People Re-Generating Politics in Times of Crises*. London: Palgrave Macmillan

Pickard, S. (2019), *Politics, Protest and Young People: Political Participation and Dissent in 21st Century Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pines, A. M. (1994), 'Burnout in political activism: an existential perspective', *Journal of Health and Human Resource Administration* 16 (4), pp.381-394.

Pitkin, H. (1972). *The Concept of Representation*. London: University of California Press.

Prior, M (2010), 'You either got it or you don't? The stability of political interest over the lifecycle' *Journal of Politics* 72 (3), pp.747-766.

Prügl, E. and Meyer, M. K (1999), 'Gender and Politics in Global Governance'. In: Meyer, M. K. and Prügl, E. (eds) *Gender and Politics in Global Governance*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

- Putnam, R (1993), 'The Prosperous Community', *The American Prospect* 4 (13).
- Putnam, R (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, (New York: Simon & Schuster).
- Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (1998), *Education for citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in School. Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (The Crick Report)*. London: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.
- Rainsford, E. (2017), 'UK Political Parties' Youth Factions: A Glance at the Future of Political Parties', *Parliamentary Affairs* 71, pp.783-803.
- Randall, V. (2014), 'Gendering Political Science', in Campbell, R and Childs, S (eds). *Deeds and Words: gendering politics after Joni Lovenduski*. Colchester: ECPR Press
- Rapley, T. (2013) 'Sampling Strategies in Qualitative Research'. In: Flick, U (ed). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp.49-63.
- Ratcliffe, R. (2018), 'One in four Save the Children staff "suffer discrimination or harassment"' *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/oct/09/one-in-four-save-the-children-staff-suffer-discrimination-or-harassment-review-finds>. Accessed 18.09.19
- Reed, M. I (1997), 'In Praise of Duality and Dualism: Rethinking Agency and Structure in Organizational Analysis' *Organizational Analysis* 18 (1), pp.1-42.
- Renshon, S. (1992), 'Political Socialisation'. In: Hawkesworth, M.E and Kogan, M., *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*. London: Routledge, pp.443-470.
- Rosenthal, G. (1993), 'Reconstruction of life stories: principles of selection in generating stories for narrative biographical interviews', in Josselson, R. and Lieblich, A. (eds), *The Narrative Study of Lives 1*. London: Sage, pp.59-91.
- Roulston, K (2013), 'Analysing Interviews'. In: Flick, U (ed). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp.297-312.
- Rudman, L. A. and Phelan, J. E. (2008), 'Backlash effects for disconfirming gender stereotypes in organizations' *Research in Organizational Behavior* 28, pp.61-79
- Ryan, P and Dundon, T. (2008), 'Case research interviews: eliciting superior quality data', *International Journal of Case Method Research and Application* XX, 4, pp.443-450.
- Salvage (2019), 'Salvage: Gendered Violence in activist communities'. Available at: <https://projectsalvage.files.wordpress.com/2016/09/salvage-report-zine-september-20162.pdf> Accessed 18.09.19
- Saunders. B., Sim, J., Kingstone, T., Baker, S., Waterfield, J., Bartlam, B., Burroughs, H. and Jinks, C. (2018) 'Saturation in qualitative research: exploring its conceptualization and operationalization' *Quality and Quantity* 52, pp.1893-1907.

Scarrow, S. E and Gezgor, B. (2018) 'Declining memberships, changing members? European political party members in a new era' *Party Politics* 16 (6), pp.823-843

Schneider, M. C, Holman, M. R, Diekman, A. B and McAndrew, T. (2016), 'Power, Conflict and Community: How Gendered Views of Political Power Influence Women's Political Ambition', *Political Psychology* 37 (4), pp. 515-531

Schussman, A. and Soule, S.A. (2005), 'Process and Protest: Accounting for Individual Protest Participation', *Social Forces* 84(2), pp.1083-1108.

Schwartz, D. C (1973), *Political Alienation and Political Behavior*. New York: Routledge

Scott, J. (1986), 'Gender: a useful category for historical analysis' *American Historical Review* 91, pp.1053-1075.

Shea, D. M and Harris, R. (2006) 'Why bother? Because peer-to-peer programs can mobilize young voters' *Political Science and Politics*, 39, pp.341–345.

Sheffield City Council, (2018), 'Age: Sheffield Joint Strategic Needs Assessment'. Available at:
<https://sheffieldcc.maps.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=7b2a6bd47a4645d4a67d8a6c62328f44>. Accessed 27.04.20

Shepherd, L. J. (2018), 'Activism in/and the Academy: Reflections on "Social Engagement"' *Journal of Narrative Politics* 5 (1), pp.45-56.

Sherry, M (2012), 'Insider/Outsider Status'. In: Given, L. M. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage publications.

Silver, H. (2007), 'The Process of Social Exclusion: The Dynamics of an Evolving Concept', *Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper 95*. Available at:
http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication_files/CP_2006_Silver.pdf (Accessed 31 March 2017).

Simmons, R. (2008), 'Questionnaires'. In: Gilbert, N. (ed) *Researching Social Life*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE, pp. 182-205.

Sloam, J. (2007) 'Rebooting Democracy: Youth Participation in Politics in the UK', *Parliamentary Affairs* 60 (4), pp.548-567.

Sloam, J. (2013), "'Voice and Equality": young people's politics in the European Union' *West European Politics* 36 (4), pp.836-853.

Sloam, J. (2014), 'New Voice, Less Equal, The Civic and Political Engagement of Young People in the United States and Europe', *Comparative Political Studies*, 47 (5), pp.663-688.

Sloam, J. (2016), 'Diversity and Voice: the political participation of young people in the European Union' *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 18 (3), pp.521-537.

Sloam, J. and Henn, M (2019) *Youthquake 2017: The Rise of Young Cosmopolitans in Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Smets, K. and Van Ham, C (2013) 'The Embarrassment of Riches? A Meta-analysis of Individual-level Research on Voter Turnout', *Electoral Studies* 32 (2), pp.344–59.

Smith, J. and Noble, H (2014), 'Bias in Research', *Evidence Based Nursing* 17 (4), pp.100-101.

Smith, K. A. and Holecz, V. (2020), 'Not seen and not heard? The Representation of young women and their political interests in the traditional print public sphere' *American Behavioral Scientist* 64 (5), pp.638-651.

Stoker, G. (2011), 'Anti-Politics in Britain' in Heffernan, R., Cowley, P. and Hay, C. (eds), *Developments in British Politics* 9, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Strauss, W. and Howe, N. (1992), *Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584 to 2069*. New York: HarperCollins

Taft, J. (2006), "'I'm not a politics person": Teenage girls, oppositional consciousness and the meaning of politics', *Politics and Gender* 2 (3), pp.329-352

Taft, J. (2011) *Rebel Girls: Youth Activism and Social Change across the Americas*. New York: New York University Press.

Taft, J. (2015), "'Adults talk too much": Intergenerational dialogue and power in the Peruvian movement of working children' *Childhood* 22 (4), pp.460-473.

Teddlie, C. and Tashakkori, A. (2009), *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Los Angeles: Sage

Thompson, N. (2005), *Anti Discriminatory Practice*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Tien-Tsung, L. and Lu, W, 'How newspaper readership affects political participation', *Newspaper Research Journal* 29 (3), pp.8-23.

Toivonen, T. (2013), 'Moral panics versus youth problem debates. Three conceptual insights from the study of Japanese Youth'. In: Krinsky, C (ed) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Moral Panics*. London: Routledge.

Tshoamedi, M. (2017), 'The politics of male power and privilege in trade unions: Understanding sexual harassment in COSATU'. In: Bezuidenhout, A. and Tshoamedi, M. (eds) *Labour beyond COSATU: mapping the rupture in South Africa's labour landscape*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp.129-145.

UNISON (2019), *Young workers need UNISON*. Available at: <https://www.unison.org.uk/our-campaigns/young-workers-need-unison/> Accessed 01.08.19

United Nations (2012), Youth and the UN in Nepal. Available at: <http://un.info.np/Net/NeoDocs/View/1275> Accessed 18.02.20

United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (2012), 'Impact of the global economic crisis on women, girls and gender equality'. Available at: https://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/JC2368_impact-economic-crisis-women_en_0.pdf Accessed 30.04.20

Useem, B (1998) 'Breakdown theories of collective action' *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, pp.215–238

Valdini, M. E, (2019), *The Inclusion Calculation: why men appropriate women's participation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Van Deth, J.W (1990) 'Interest in Politics'. In: Jennings, M and Van Deth, J.W. (eds) *Continuities in Political Action: A Longitudinal Study of Political Orientations in Three Western Democracies*. Berlin: De Gruyter and Aldine pp. 275–312

Van Deth, J.W (2014) 'A conceptual map of political participation', *Acta Politica* 49(3), pp.349-367.

Van Stekelenburg, J., Klandermans, B. and Walgrave, S. (2018) 'Individual Participation in Street Demonstrations'. In: Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A., Kriesi, H. and McCammon, H. J, *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, pp.37-391.

Verba, S, Burns, N and Schlozman, K.L, (1997) 'Knowing and caring about politics: gender and political engagement. *The Journal of Politics* 59, pp.1051-1072

Verba, S. Nie, N. and Kim, J. (1978) *Participation and political equality: a seven-nation comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Watson, L. C. and Watson-Franke, M.-B. (1985), *Interpreting Life Histories: An Anthropological Enquiry*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press

Weber, M (1978) *Economy and Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Welch, S. (1977), 'Women as political animals? A test of some explanations for male-female political participation differences' *American Journal of Political Science* 21 (4), pp. 711-730.

Weldon, S. L. (2008) 'Intersectionality'. In: Goertz, G. and Mazur, A. G. (eds), *Politics, Gender and Concepts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

West, B. T and Blom, A. G (2017), 'Explaining Interviewer Effects: A Research Synthesis' *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology* 5, pp.175-211.

Wolbrecht, C (2000), *The Politics of Women's Rights: Parties, Positions, and Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wyn, J. and Woodman, D. (2006), 'Generation, Youth and Social Change in Australia', *Journal of Youth Studies* 9 (5), pp.495-514.