

Understanding the Gender Gap in Utah Higher Education: Qualitative Findings

Utah has one of the highest levels of gender inequality in higher education in the United States.¹ For example, only 9.3% of Utah women over 25 years old have earned an advanced degree (higher than a bachelor's degree), compared to 14.1% of men. It is unfortunate since education is associated with many positive outcomes, including financial security and higher quality of life.² To understand this gender disparity, we collected quantitative and qualitative data from Utah women to examine their challenges, goals, and access to resources while pursuing higher education. The first [brief](#), published September 21, 2022, reported quantitative results from an online survey.³ This brief, the second and final of the series, reports qualitative results from in-depth interviews of Utah women enrolled in college or graduate school.

Study Background

Interview participants were recruited in multiple ways. First, when respondents completed the online survey that collected data for the first brief,⁴ they were directed to another survey asking if they were interested in participating in an interview.⁵ Second, participants were recruited through social media platforms of Utah universities and through the Utah Women & Leadership Project (UWLP) networks. Lastly, a call for participants was sent out by research team members through professional networks to colleagues at various Utah universities.

We emailed a screening survey to those who showed an interest in interviewing. We used the survey to verify the eligibility of potential participants and gather background information. From these respondents, we identified a sample of participants that represented a diverse set of sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., based on marital and parental status, religion, race). We sent these individuals another email with an online informed consent form and details about the interview, including the length, format, and compensation.⁶

A total of 23 participants completed interviews in the spring of 2022. All interviews lasted 60–90 minutes at the date/time of the participant's choice and were conducted via Zoom due to COVID-19 pandemic circumstances.⁷ During the interview, participants were asked about their demographic, personal, and family background. Additionally, they were asked about their educational journey, their motivation for pursuing a college/graduate degree, the challenges they have faced, and the resources they have utilized. We also asked about participants' career and life goals. Although limited in generalizability, the interviews provide rich data about individuals' lived experience and corroborate our previous survey results.⁸ After summarizing characteristics of the participants, the interview results are organized in sections under the following

themes: 1) relationship influences, 2) educational aspirations and life goals, 3) religious and cultural influences, and 4) challenges for Utah women's higher educational attainment. We close with recommendations and conclusions.

Characteristics of Interview Participants

Participants ranged from 18 to 45 years old, and they represented a range of disciplines: life/physical sciences (5), humanities (5), social sciences (4), health sciences (3), engineering (3), business (2), and undecided (1). All were students in Utah; about half had been raised in Utah (47.8%) and the remaining were from out of state (39.1%) or were international students (13.0%). Most undergraduate students were earning a bachelor's degree (90.0%); one was earning an associate degree. Of the graduate students, 61.5% were in a doctoral program, and 38.5% were in a master's program. Undergraduate students primarily worked part-time (40.0%) or not at all (40.0%). Most graduate students (76.9%) worked 20 hours per week as graduate assistants for their department or the university. A couple of participants worked full-time or in hourly positions. Other characteristics of participants are summarized below in Table 1.

Table 1: Participant Characteristics

	Undergraduates	Graduates
Mean Age (SD)	25.3 (8.9)	28.8 (3.8)
Marital Status %		
Married	30.0%	53.8%
Divorced	10.0%	0.0%
Cohabit	0.0%	15.4%
Single	60.0%	30.8%
Children %		
0	70.0%	61.5%
1–2	10.0%	30.8%
3–4	20.0%	7.7%
Race %		
White	80%	69.2%
Latina	10.0%	15.4%
Pacific Islander	10.0%	0.0%
Asian	0.0%	15.4%
Religion %		
Latter-day Saint	70.0%	30.8%
Ex-Latter-day Saint	10.0%	7.7%
Other ⁹	20.0%	61.5%
Participant Number	10	13

Educational Aspirations and Life Goals

Participants described education as something they are doing for themselves and as a life priority. For most, personal

goals—including helping the community and/or engaging in a job that they enjoy—were a key factor in deciding to go to college. However, there were some differences between members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and non-Latter-day Saint women.

Non-Latter-day Saint students emphasized how their education would help further their career, gain financial independence, and work in their field of study. They envisioned economic security prior to starting a family. Some mentioned that they did not want to have children in the future, such as “I’m very ambitious, and I deeply enjoy my professional life.” For most non-Latter-day Saint participants, finishing their degree took precedence over other aspects in their life such as their current job. For these women, their families (husbands and children) influenced but did not define their educational trajectories. In contrast, Latter-day Saint participants spoke about education as congruent with their belief system. As one participant described, “A lot of what I believe is a part of what’s motivated me to become more educated.” They described how their religious beliefs are intertwined with their views on education and their potential future as professionals, wives, and mothers.

Women in graduate programs showed strong attachment to their education when discussing their life goals. They used the word “passion” to describe their choice of field and degree. Some participants described how their identities have been defined by their connection to graduate school.

Relationship Influences

As participants discussed people who had influenced their educational journey, three key groups emerged: family, spouses or partners, and professors.

Family

Undergraduate students identified family members (i.e., parents and grandparents) as having the greatest influence on their decision to attend college. For students whose family was college educated, going to college was the logical next step after high school. Interestingly, for some Latter-day Saint students, their mothers motivated their decision to attend college. An undergraduate explained that her mother not only encouraged her but also supported her financially: “She said that it was an opportunity she never got because her parents were divorced, and she married my dad at 19 and had me at 20.” Another participant similarly noted: “I’m influenced by my mother because she went to college, but she never finished her degree. My dad did.” One commented that her mother was the main provider growing up, which inspired her to continue her education.

Participants described the responses they received when communicating higher education decisions to their families. As noted above, many received support, but some received negative feedback. One undergraduate student explained that

perhaps her family’s lack of education kept them from encouraging her to attend college. Another said:

I don’t know if they were trying to have a hold on me or if they’re just trying to protect me. . . . My grandfather’s happy I’m going, but he just wishes it wasn’t too far away. I think he misses having me there and having me be able to help.

Graduate students also mentioned their family’s lack of understanding around academic life because their parents did not have graduate education. They said that their parents were concerned about their present and future financial security. In a few cases, parents were also concerned that their daughters would change through graduate education. According to one woman, her family considered her “weird” and “snobbish.”

In addition, some graduate students felt that their families did not value the efforts they put into succeeding in graduate school. One student described how her father trivialized her graduate degree and the toll it took on her. Another graduate student referred to her parents’ attitude as “the dark side of the story.” She said, “As soon as I found my husband, it was: ‘Why are you finishing school?’ As soon as I got pregnant: ‘Well, why are you going back to school?’”

Spouse or Partner

As noted in Table 1, many women in our sample were married. Some participants mentioned their spouses or partners were supportive of their educational pursuits. One participant particularly mentioned that her husband was a critical influence and highly invested in her education:

He had this whole plan [about] the things we need to have before we have a child. And one of them was to have me finish my degree. At the time, I was like, “No! . . .” But in retrospect, I am so grateful. I finished my degree, and then we started to try to conceive. That was one of the qualities about my husband that attracted me to him. . . . He saw me first and foremost as a person, and then a woman, and I think that just has been a huge theme in our whole relationship. He values my wants, even more than I do most of the time.

Professors

More than family, many professors inspired graduate participants to pursue education and supported them in their program. Participants mentioned professors who helped build their confidence and make connections in areas they felt passionate about. Although some graduate students described having sour relationships with their advisors, others commented that they were key in successfully navigating academic life. Examples included:

I feel like the people who understand me the most at this current point in time are actually my professors. They have been my social support. And I think part of it is that my family doesn’t understand.

She was also a cultural guide . . . to be able to show, “Oh, I am a woman, and I can do this.”

There were even circumstances where I had to give a presentation and he [the professor] held my daughter for me. He would literally hold my newborn baby for me while he lectured, so that I could take notes.

Although this was a common theme amongst graduate students, only two undergraduate students mentioned it. Additionally, only two participants mentioned high school teachers who influenced their decision to pursue higher education.

Religious and Cultural Influences

Many Latter-day Saint participants noted that their families (husbands and children) and their faith were important factors in their educational trajectories. A few had previously left an undergraduate degree and later re-enrolled. None of the non-Latter-day Saint women had such experiences. In addition, some Latter-day Saint women, unlike their non-Latter-day Saint counterparts, said that they would consider having a child during their program. Their personal stories—as well as those of their mothers and people they know—illustrated how their education is influenced by family values and gendered expectations.

Education and Family Formation

Some Latter-day Saint participants spoke about going to college as an opportunity to find a husband. When confronted with that stereotype, one undergraduate student found it “degrading” but nonetheless true. Latter-day Saint participants noted that they had seen it in their community. A former Latter-day Saint, now a graduate student, also stated:

I went to college to get married. That was my goal. I wasn't coming for an education. . . . Hopefully, if I didn't get married, I would end up with an education out of that, that I could support myself.

Although most respondents believed that they would be able to balance work and motherhood in the future, only Latter-day Saint participants said they would consider leaving their degree if it presented an obstacle in their family life. For instance, one graduate student (married, has three children) recounted her experience this way:

I graduated [from] high school with full intentions of actually being [a STEM] student. I went [to] the university and did three years in [a STEM major]. But I got pregnant with my oldest and just the environment at the school wasn't very inviting. It didn't feel like it was something I could do with my babies and with being a mom.

It is, however, important to note that many single Latter-day Saint undergraduate and graduate participants were motivated to finish their degree while also prioritizing getting married. “I will not drop out of college. I am not like opposed to getting married. I am not in a hurry to get married. I'm only 20,” said one participant, later adding: “Ideally, . . . I could get married when I [am] like 23, 24.” Latter-day Saint students further mentioned that while women they knew had left programs upon getting married, or had chosen family formation over education, they saw a different pattern for themselves:

Honestly, I kind of want to do my career first. And it's sounds weird to say, I do want to have that opportunity to be in my career and help people. . . . I never imagined myself saying that: having a career over family.

I'm finishing my undergrad before a family and that's gonna be what it is.

Gendered Expectations

Participants identified ways that men and women experience education differently. They spoke of challenges that women face in the institutions of education and the labor market. Participants mentioned stereotypes around gender and skill, the motherhood penalty, childcare, and the gender pay gap. In addition to systemic differences between women and men in education and labor environments, Latter-day Saint women referred to the difference between women and men when choosing a degree. They suggested that women may choose a major based on personal interest rather than by the prospect of future financial independence, whereas men may choose a major that will allow them to provide for their families. For example, one participant explained that her brother had chosen to study business rather than follow his passion for music because he knew he would have to support his future family.

Other participants also reflected upon how the belief that men will provide may be reducing women's commitment to their education. One participant mentioned how she had dropped out of an undergraduate program because she lacked a “burning desire” for her degree and wanted to be a mother. She became financially dependent on her husband and cared for their children. She came back to school after a family calamity inspired her to get a degree that would allow her to help others.

Most undergraduate Latter-day Saint participants did not question the assumption that men are the main providers of the household—describing financial stability in relation to their future or current partner—and that women are the primary caregivers. Latter-day Saint students reflected upon how they grew up wanting to fulfill traditional gender roles. They talked about the possibility of becoming stay-at-home mothers or getting part-time jobs to prioritize their families in the future. Some referenced “The Family: A Proclamation to the World”¹⁰ from the teachings of their church. Some described these gender roles as cultural norms, not as religious doctrine. Comments included:

I think women have less pressure to provide for their families. . . . It kind of changes their approach to college as far as what they study and how they approach education. I do feel like money is secondary.

There's that need to stay at home and that need to be there for your kids. I do think there's that pressure to do that at such a young age. . . . I think that is a cultural thing—to not put in that effort [into yourself] beforehand. And I wish education and higher education were a more welcoming environment.

If money was a thing, I could make \$20 an hour. . . . But I don't have to do that because my husband takes care of the

bills, and I'm free to pursue something that I want to if I want to. I think that's a pretty common thought process among members of my church. There are roles that are assumed, and I think it's a cultural thing. It's not doctrine, it's cultural. It's a cultural norm.

Some Latter-day Saint women further explained that postponing education or dropping out of college, sometimes to work, could be seen as an investment opportunity. A few women in our sample had left a bachelor's degree to support their husband's education, which they viewed as his preparation to be the main household provider. One participant stated, "I finished the semester, then we moved. I quit going to school so that he could. I said: 'If you're going to really go to school, then I'll quit and get a job. And you go to school.'"

Non-married, younger Latter-day Saint students seemed more conflicted with the prospect of leaving their education, but they were open to the possibility and willing to negotiate it with their husbands, depending on the circumstances. Some of them agreed that if their leaving school was a decision made between husband and wife, it would be a good decision.

Non-Latter-day Saint participants described financial security as a motivation to pursue their education. They envisioned financial independence as a goal and did not mention their spouse (or future spouse) in their future financial security. These participants also viewed economic stability as a precursor to starting a family.

Motherhood and Education: Conflicts and Negotiations

It was common for education-driven Latter-day Saint students to clarify that family and faith come first even when prioritizing education. One participant described her passion for her education but framed it as something she is doing for her family: "My first priority is my girls right now, . . . but school is pretty close second. Having school has made me a better mom at home." Another participant said: "My family is the mold that I fit everything around. I won't take a job that's going to hurt my family or take time away from them."

However, some participants questioned how mothers are judged for prioritizing work or school obligations when fathers are not. Reactions of the participants' parents illustrated this. One quoted her parent as saying, "How could you abandon your son like that?" Another participant felt at odds with choosing to come back to school once her husband was able to provide financially for the family:

I felt conflicted. I was trying to do school, and I was trying to work full time. I felt this obligation. "You need to nurture. Your husband is supposed to be the provider and you're supposed to be the caretaker." And I didn't feel that my husband was blocking me in pursuing something. But yet, there was something there. And I think part of it was me.

When asked about having children, most non-Latter-day Saint women referred to motherhood as something that they

wanted in the future but were eager to postpone until finishing their degree and/or acquiring financial stability. Latter-day Saint participants were more open to the possibility of becoming mothers while in school, believing that if it were to happen, things would work out. For example, when asked about having a child during her transition to a graduate degree, one participant said, "Regarding my relationship with my God, we feel good about both of these things, going to grad school and having a kid. I'm not sure how it's going to work out. But for some reason, we both feel like that this is a good thing."

Challenges

Ultimately, all students valued education and saw it as a tool that would allow them to accomplish personal goals. Still, most of the participants mentioned challenges they faced during their higher education, including mental health, underrepresentation, work and family responsibilities, and other risk factors for leaving their programs.

Mental Health

Most interviewees spoke about facing mental health concerns (e.g., depression, anxiety) during their time in higher education. Participants listed problems with advisors, being away from social support networks, program expectations, and the COVID-19 pandemic as the leading causes of their poor mental health. Participants described associated physical conditions such as insomnia, digestive issues, and even a miscarriage. Twelve interview participants (mostly graduate students) had consulted with a therapist. Others joined student groups, took part in outdoor activities, or reevaluated their time management to cope with mental health issues.

Underrepresentation

Interviewees spoke about challenges related to their identities in terms of gender, race, and sexual orientation. Six racial minority students and two LGBTQ+ students mentioned a feeling of weariness toward social interactions with peers and the community, wondering if the treatment they received from the community was a consequence of their race and/or sexual orientation. One participant referred to her family as the "tokenizing lesbians" in the community. She described her bonds to the community as "weak." Another commented:

I guess I'm always . . . looking for ulterior motives in people. . . . "Oh, are they treating me like that because . . . I'm Latina?" I guess I have . . . this barrier. So, I feel like I have a hard time making friendships because of that.

Participants in STEM-related fields spoke about perceiving differential treatment in the classroom by their peers. They shared stories about how they were a minority amongst a predominantly male cohort, felt intimidated by male students, experienced differential treatment in group projects, and had only a few female professors. An undergraduate student mentioned how, during her first semester, she would have to work in groups, and the people in her group (mostly men) asked her

to work on the title or the introduction of the papers. She said she had to work harder than other people to prove herself and her worth and that over time she started to demand more substantial roles in group projects. She felt this was because she is a woman of color. Other participants also felt the need to prove themselves. One described this as, “It felt like you have to be the better one. Like, in group projects, . . . I felt like we had to be on . . . top of our game doing all.”

Finally, many Latter-day Saint members raised outside of Utah mentioned difficulties trying to make deep and meaningful connections. A graduate student, for example, felt relieved that she was no longer living as a religious minority in her home state. However, she found Utah Latter-day Saints differed somewhat from those in her hometown. In fact, several participants made comments like this: “Yes, it is very different. I have found that the culture here is . . . judgmental. Making friends, trying to date, it’s all . . . super hard.”

Work and Family Responsibilities

Balancing family life with school expectations was challenging for all mother participants. One international graduate student described facing major stressors during her graduate study. She related that finances, childcare responsibilities, the lack of a social support network, and the rigor of her program developed into marital problems. She also had a miscarriage of her second child during her first year in the program:

The semester had started, and I had the miscarriage at the same time. I didn’t tell my professors. . . . This is my passion. I had to fight with this on my own. I continued my classes and kept going the same way. Because I have one thing clear: We already knew that this path was not easy.

Others described how they navigated family-related issues (e.g., childrearing) along with mental health challenges while handling rigorous school expectations and work-related responsibilities. They mentioned the benefits of online courses and flexible work schedules. They also relied on support from student groups, professors, and their partners/spouses to help them balance their responsibilities.

Risk Factors for Leaving Higher Education

Asked about the prospect of leaving their programs, undergraduates identified financial concerns, time management, and personal circumstances as possible reasons to leave. However, none of the undergraduates had seriously considered leaving at the time of the interview. One non-Latter-day Saint was undecided about continuing her education beyond her associate degree. Three Latter-day Saint women in our sample had previously left an undergraduate degree.

None of our participants in graduate school had left a program before, although one had considered leaving school to start a family as an undergraduate student. A total of five graduate students, however, mentioned that they had thought about leaving school because of the toll it took on their personal lives. Students also mentioned burnout as a motive for leaving. For example, one participant felt overwhelmed during the COVID-19 pandemic and seriously considered leaving her

program. However, her husband, also a graduate student, decided to take a leave of absence instead, allowing her to continue. Many said the commitment and interest they felt toward acquiring their degree kept them in graduate school.

In addition to describing their own risk factors for leaving higher education, many participants described how their Latter-day Saint female friends and/or family members had left an undergraduate degree. One participant commented that “I have all these friends who started college, and then they met their husband. And then when they got married, the women dropped out and started some hourly job to support their husband while he finished college. I’ve seen that so many times.”

Participants also noted that women acquaintances dropped out because they did not know what they wanted to study or were overwhelmed with academic rigor. They also noted that some women left school to support their husband’s education and/or were too overwhelmed with childrearing responsibilities. Some stories were about their own mothers. One stated:

Because my dad was doing full time school. I think by the time my dad finished, they had my sister, and then my mom decided to be a stay-at-home mom, and every time my mom kind of thought, “Oh, maybe I should go back to school,” they either moved, or they had another kid or like just something happened there.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study illustrates that multiple factors affect Utah women in higher education, including family relationships and responsibilities, cultural norms and expectations, and other challenges such as financial needs and mental health. Even while valuing and pursuing higher education, many women struggled to balance multiple roles and gendered expectations. For example, some women see education and career aspirations as incongruent with family life. However, raising a family and obtaining a higher education are not necessarily exclusive choices. In fact, more than one in five college students have child(ren) according to recent national data.¹¹ Evidence shows that college completion is beneficial at the individual (e.g., financial and emotional well-being), family (e.g., financial security, family stability), and state level (e.g., reducing a state-wide gender gap in education and wage).¹² Our findings, along with prior research, suggest that Utah women need to be empowered and supported by their families, institutions (e.g., school, employer, church), and the culture to make their own informed decisions.

For undergraduate students, a lack of clear educational goals along with gendered norms about career paths and life goals put them at risk of leaving school. Early guidance and intervention in the form of preparedness for college in high school can help young women start forming educational goals. Early intervention and support is particularly needed for first-generation students who may not have full support from their families. Preparedness efforts should expose women to a range of disciplines and professions, including science, technology, engineering, math (STEM), and other typically male-

dominated fields. It is also imperative to provide support (e.g., mentoring, support groups) for women who choose these fields. More representation of Utah women in STEM fields would help shift cultural norms. Further, these fields can set women up for higher incomes and long-term financial security, which could help reduce Utah's gender wage gap.¹³

In this and our previous brief, students identified financial concerns as a reason to leave higher education, suggesting that the financial resources that Utah women receive from primary sources (e.g., school, family, employment) may not be adequate.¹⁴ Women need information about and access to educational financial support (e.g., grants, scholarships, employment services). Students with families need tailored support,¹⁵ such as childcare subsidy (e.g., on-campus childcare) and tuition reduction/assistance for a spouse/partner who is also enrolled in college.

Women spoke about the importance of social networks—including parents, spouses/partners, and professors—and struggles they faced when their network was unsupportive, when they were far away from that network, or when it was difficult to form a new network. Many Latter-day Saint women were influenced and encouraged by their mothers to pursue higher education. Husbands and spouses were often supportive of women's education, but not always active participants and

stakeholders in it. Men have the potential to be allies in the pursuit of education for women, especially in Utah, where many women in college and graduate programs have already formed families. Additionally, although universities provide numerous programs that promote social support and student well-being, this research highlights the need to provide services for students with families, accessible mental health services, and support from professors and other mentors. Women in our study were more likely to thrive in environments that addressed the challenges that they encountered in academia and their personal lives.

Combined with the results from our first brief, our findings provide a clearer picture of what factors influence the gender gap in Utah higher education. We would like to emphasize that any efforts and interventions to address the issue of gender disparity in higher education need to be sensitive to the institutional and cultural context in which Utah women make decisions to go to college or graduate school. As we understand more about women's decisions and broaden awareness about the benefits of higher education, we can foster a supportive environment for women's education within families and communities, then translate that support into higher graduation rates among women.

¹ United States Census Bureau. (2020). *Educational attainment: American community survey 5-year estimates*. https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?t=Educational%20Attainment&g=0100000US_0400000US49&tid=ACSSST5Y2020.S1501

² Utah Foundation. (2022, September). *The 2022 Utah personal quality of life index: Is the well-being of Utahns in decline?* <https://www.utahfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/rr805.pdf>

³ Lim, S., Wright, C., & Darowski, E. S. (2022). *Understanding the gender gap in Utah higher education: Quantitative findings*. Utah Women & Leadership Project. <https://www.usu.edu/uwlp/files/briefs/45-understanding-gender-gap-utah-higher-education.pdf>

⁴ Lim, S., Wright, C., & Darowski, E. S. (2022).

⁵ To protect participants' confidentiality, the quantitative survey was not connected to the recruitment survey that asked about interest in interview participation and requested an email address.

⁶ Participants received a \$20 Amazon e-gift card after their interview.

⁷ Interview data were transcribed, de-identified, coded, and analyzed using NVivo 12 Plus.

⁸ Lim, S., Wright, C., & Darowski, E. S. (2022).

⁹ These participants identified as another Christian denomination, non-religious, or Muslim.

¹⁰ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. (1995, September 23). *The family: A proclamation to the world*. <https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/scriptures/the-family-a-proclamation-to-the-world/the-family-a-proclamation-to-the-world?lang=eng>

¹¹ Reichlin Cruse, L., Holtzman, T., Gault, B., Croom, D., & Polk, P. (2019, April 11). *Parents in college by the numbers*. Institute for Women's Policy Research. <https://iwpr.org/iwpr-issues/student-parent-success-initiative/parents-in-college-by-the-numbers/>

¹² Boertien, D., & Härkönen, J. (2018). Why does women's education stabilize marriages? The role of marital attraction and barriers to

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¹³ Winkel, R., Darowski, E. S., Christensen, M., & Madsen, S. R. (2021).

¹⁴ Lim, S., Wright, C., & Darowski, E. S. (2022).

¹⁵ Ryberg, R., Rosenberg, R., & Warren, J. (2021, January 11). *Higher education can support parenting students and their children with accessible, equitable services*. *Child Trends*. <https://www.child-trends.org/publications/higher-education-support-parenting-students-and-their-children-with-accessible-equitable-services>

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