



New York Times front page photo Wed. Sept. 12, 2007

Getting to political equality: Have women made it yet?

Jane Mansbridge
Institute for Policy Research
40th Anniversary
April 17, 2009

- I. Today in the US
- II. Why should we care?
- III. When should we particularly care?
- IV. Mechanisms for greater equality

Women in U.S. Politics

In 2009, men occupy . . .

- 84 percent of the seats in the U.S. House
- 83 percent of the seats in the U.S. Senate
- 86 percent of the governors' mansions
- 78 percent of seats in state legislatures
- 89 percent of “big city” City Halls

Where does U.S. rank among countries in percentage of women in the national legislature?

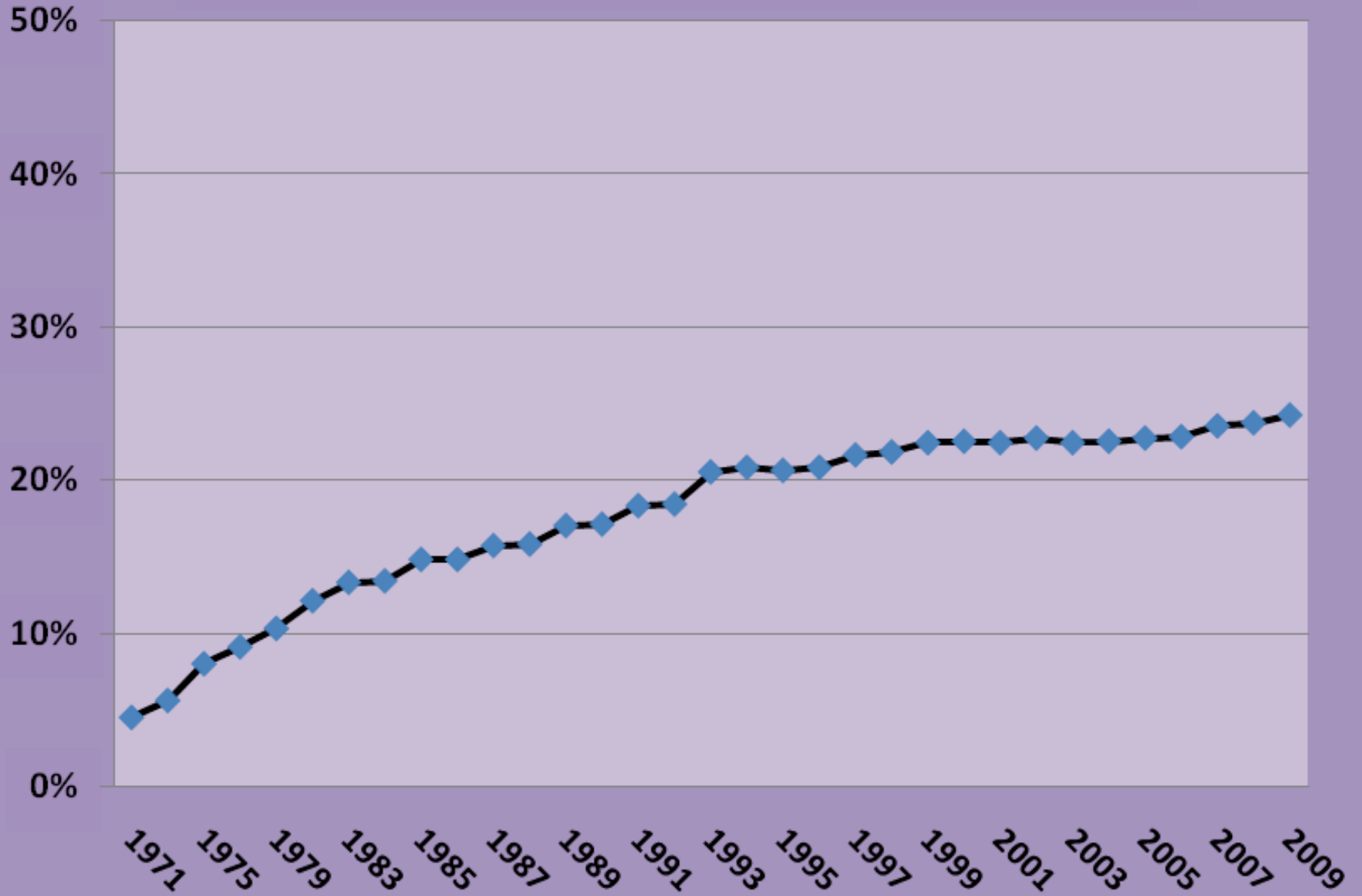
Women in National Legislatures (2009)

1. Rwanda	48.8 %
2. Sweden	45.3
3. Denmark	38.0
4. Finland	37.5
5. Netherlands	36.7
6. Norway	36.4
7. Cuba	36.0
Spain	36.0
9. Costa Rica	35.1
10. Belgium	34.7
11. Austria	33.9
12. Argentina	34.0
13. South Africa	32.8
Germany	32.8
15. Iceland	30.2

Women in National Legislatures (continued)

16. Mozambique	30.0 %
17. Seychelles	29.4
Belarus	29.4
19. New Zealand	28.3
20. Vietnam	27.3
21. Grenada	26.7
22. Bulgaria	26.2
23. Timor-Leste	26.1
24. Turkmenistan	26.0
25. Switzerland	25.0
83. United States	14.9
World Average	15.6

Average % Women in U.S. State Legislatures Over Time*



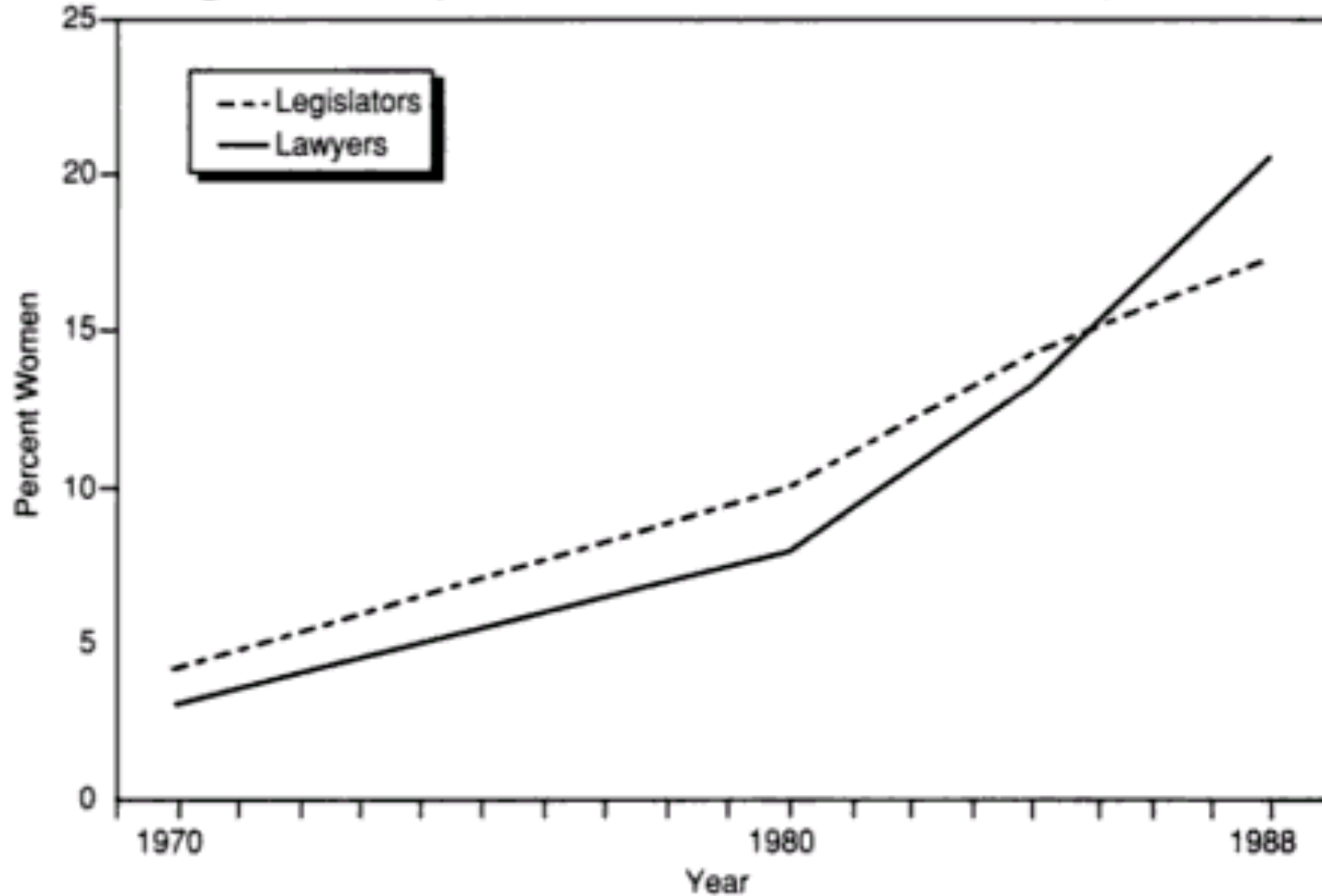
* Source: Center for American Women in Politics

Why the gender gap?

[As of 2008, women make up 48% of JD recipients and 45% of Associates]

1. Eligible pool?

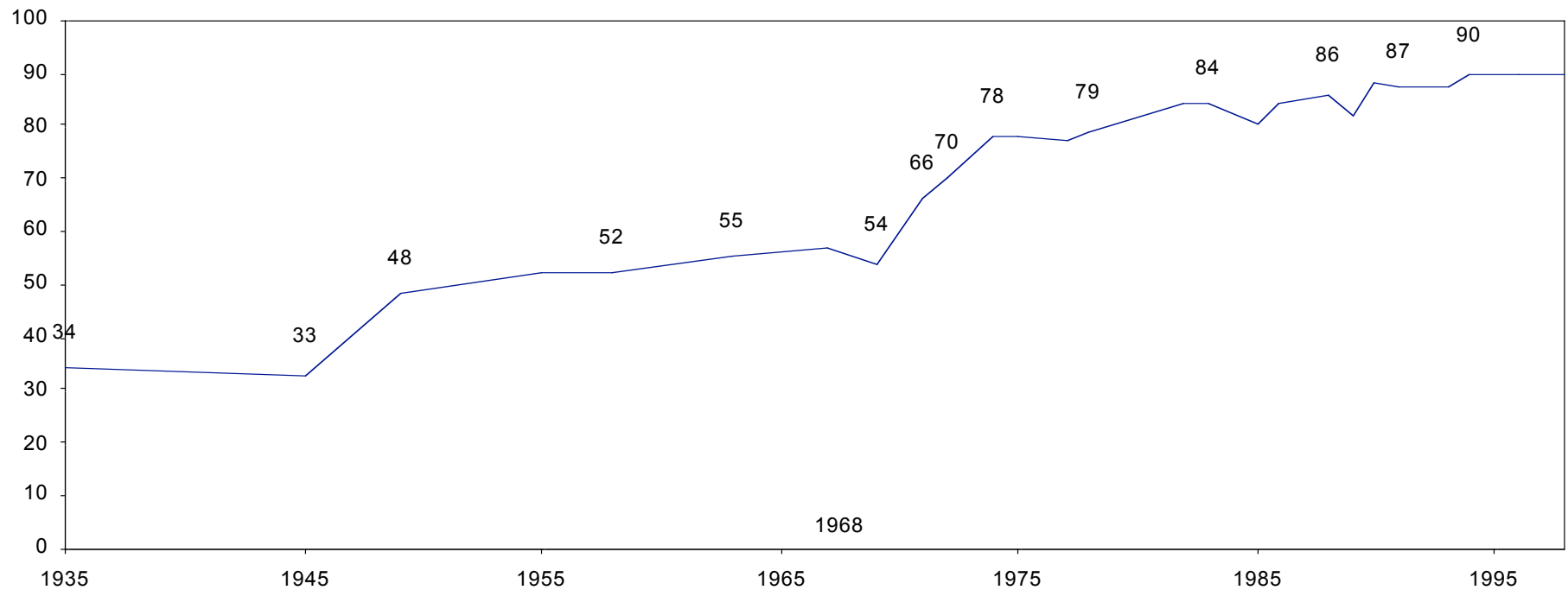
Figure 5.1 Comparison of Women in Law and as State Legislators



Source: Barbara Curran, *Lawyers' Statistical Report* (Chicago: American Bar Foundation, 1985); National Women's Political Caucus, *National Directory of Women Elected Officials* (Washington, D.C.: National Women's Political Caucus, 1985, 1987, 1989); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990).

2. Prejudice?

"If your party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?" Percentage "Yes"

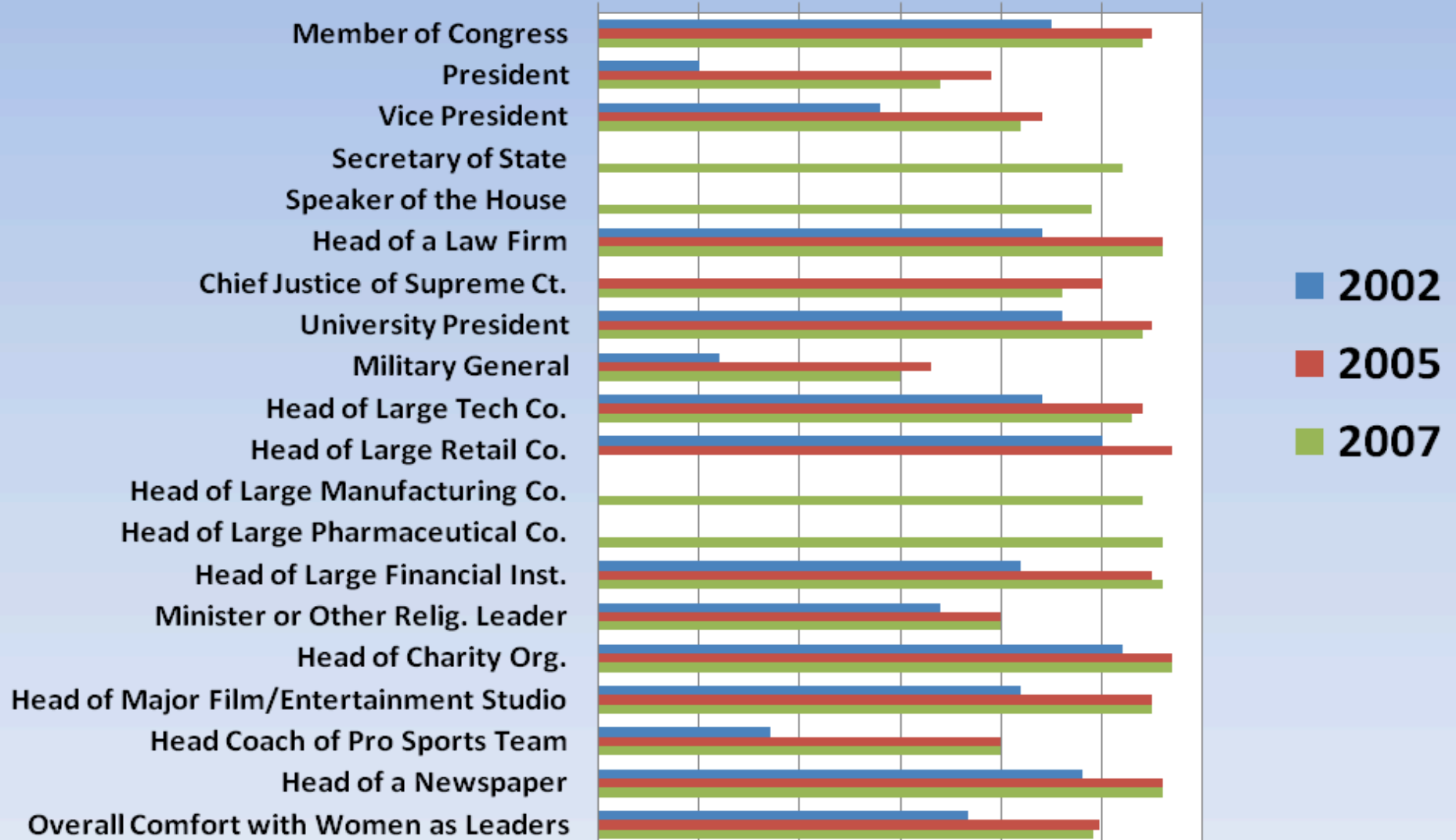


Sources: Gallup; NORC; others 11

Public Comfort Levels with Women as...

Public Comfort Levels

40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%



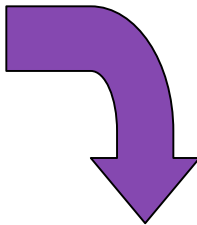
Source: Roper

3. Fundraising?

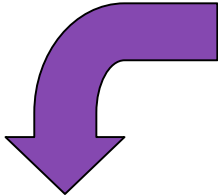
With **incumbency controlled**, NO gender difference in funding.

Source: Uhlaner and Schlozman 1986, Burrell 1994

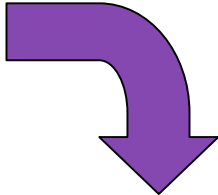
Pool of eligible candidates:
comprised of roughly equal #s of
men and women in the four “feeder”
professions: law, business,
education, and political activism



**STAGE 1: Proportion of eligible
candidates who considered
running for office: Men = 59%,
Women = 43%**
(p < .01)



**STAGE 2: Proportion of those who
considered running who actually ran
for public office:**
Men = 20%, Women = 15%
(p < .01)



**STAGE 3: Proportion of those
who ran who won:**
Men = 59%, Women = 63%
(diff not statistically significant)

4. Structural: primary responsibility for childrearing

4a. Household Arrangements Among “Potential Candidates”

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Not Married / Not Living with Partner	11 %	26 %
Responsible for All Household Tasks	1	5
Responsible for Most Household Tasks	4	29
Equal Division of Household Tasks	31	30
Spouse / Partner Responsible for Most Household Tasks	48	8
Spouse / Partner Responsible for All Household Tasks	5	0

Handwritten annotations in blue ink:

- A large curly bracket on the left groups the last two rows (Spouse / Partner Responsible for Most Household Tasks and Spouse / Partner Responsible for All Household Tasks) with the number 53 written next to it.
- A large curly bracket on the right groups the same two rows with the number 8 written next to it.

4b. Child Care Arrangements Among “Potential Candidates”

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Responsible for All Child Care Tasks	2 %	23 %
Responsible for Most Child Care Tasks	3	34
Equal Division of Child Care Tasks	35	35
Spouse / Partner Responsible for Most Child Care Tasks	46	6
Spouse / Partner Responsible for All Child Care Tasks	14	1

Handwritten annotations: A blue bracket on the left groups the last two rows with the number 60. A blue bracket on the right groups the last two rows with the number 7.

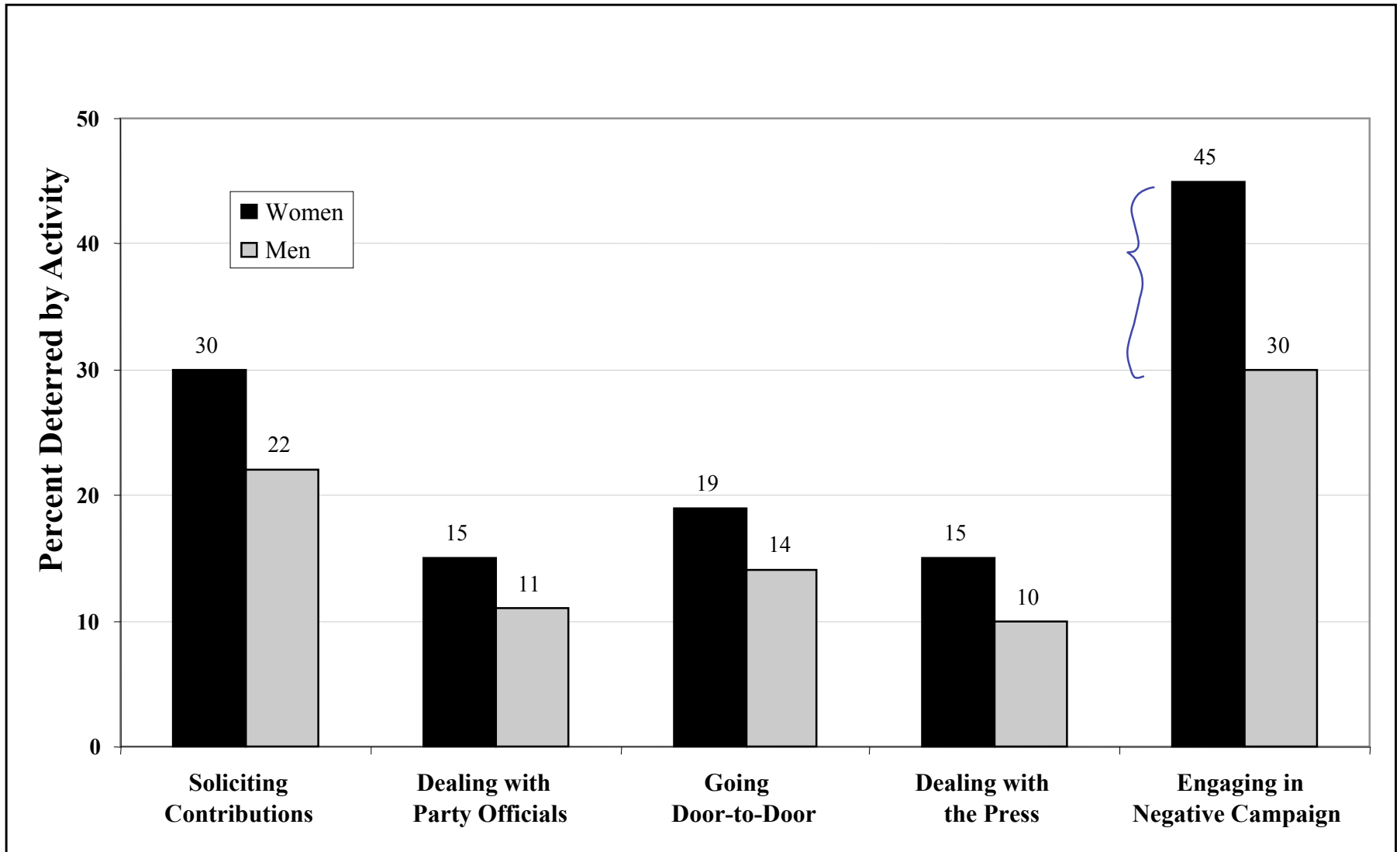
5. Stereotype-driven self-perceptions

5a. Self-Assessments of Qualifications

	Women	Men
How qualified are you to <u>run</u> for public office?		
Very Qualified	21 %	33 %
Qualified	35	40
Somewhat Qualified	32	21
Not at all Qualified	12	6
	56 {	73 }
How qualified are you to <u>hold</u> public office?		
Very Qualified	27 %	40 %
Qualified	36	40
Somewhat Qualified	27	17
Not at all Qualified	9	4
	63 {	80 }
		17

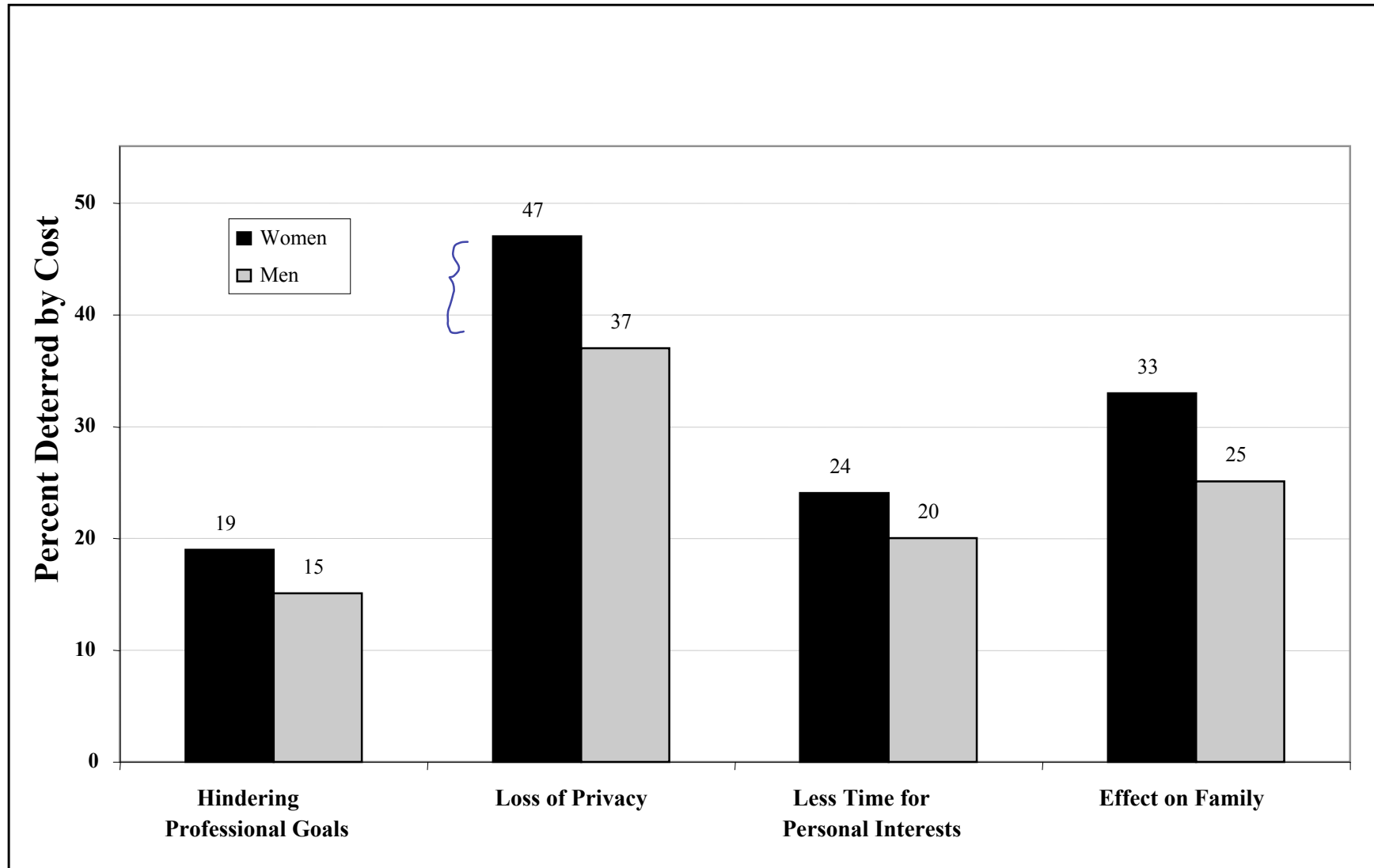
Note: All differences between women and men are significant at $p < .05$. Source: Lawless and Fox 2005

5b. Attitudes about Campaign Activities



Chi-square tests comparing women and men are significant at least at $p < .05$ for all comparisons except “Dealing with Party Officials.”

5c. Attitudes about Costs of Running



Chi-square tests comparing women and men are significant at $p < .05$ for all comparisons.

Source: Lawless & Fox 2005

5d. Gender Differences in Perceptions of Politically-Relevant Skills and Characteristics

	Women	Men
I know a lot about public policy issues.	46 % **	59 %
I have relevant professional experience .	66 **	74
I am a good public speaker .	57 **	66
I have connections to the political system.	21 **	27
I have or could raise enough money .	13 **	21
I am a good self-promoter .	17 *	21

Significance levels of chi-square tests comparing women and men: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. 20

Source: Lawless & Fox 2005

5e. Gender Differences in Perceptions of Politically-Relevant Traits

	Women	Men
I don't have thick enough skin.	48 % **	29 %
I have too many skeletons in my closet.	11	10

Significance levels of chi-square tests comparing women and men: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$.

Source: Lawless & Fox 2005

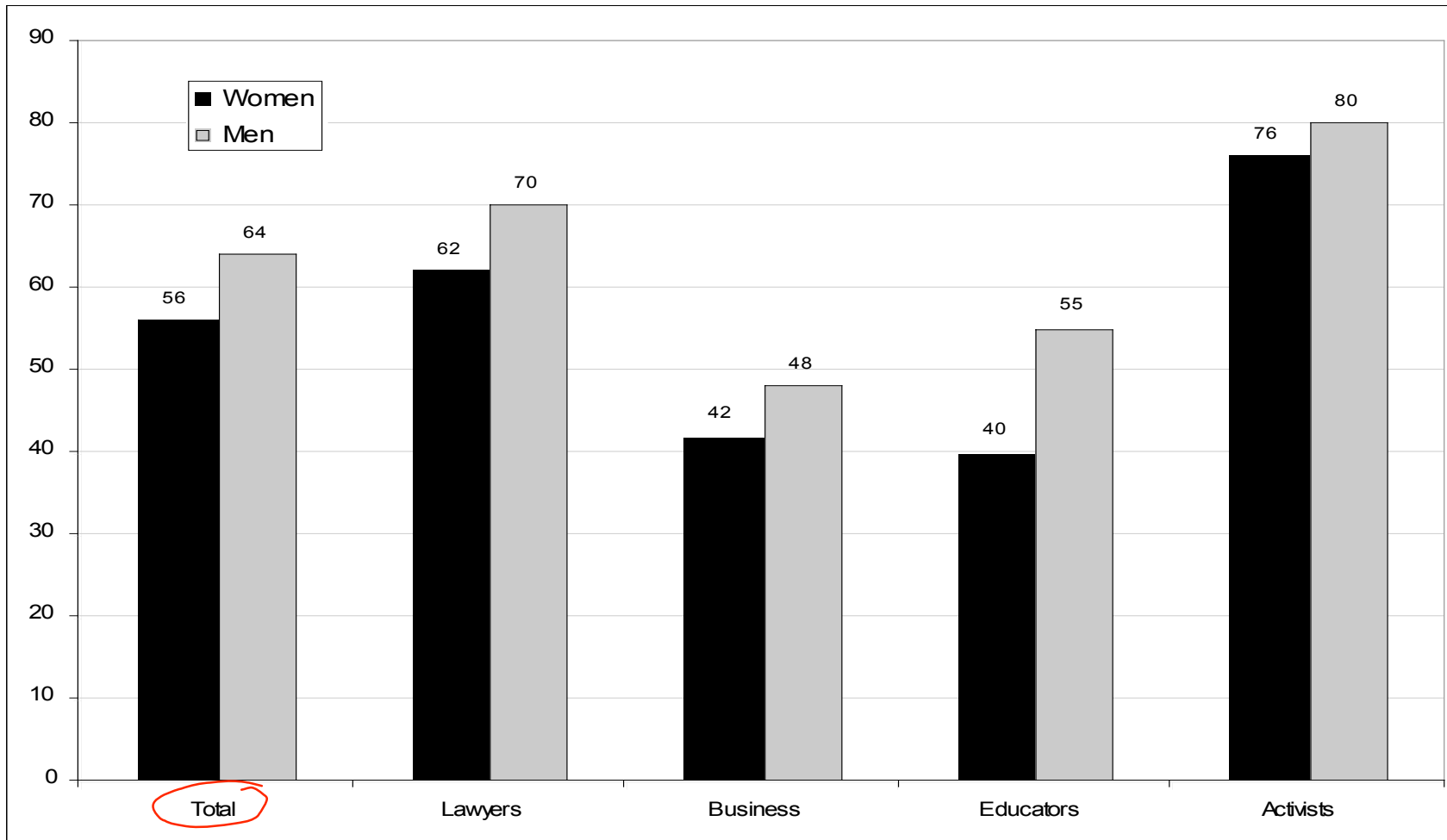
5f. Gender Differences in Perceptions of the Political Environment

	Women	Men
Perceptions of Bias		
It is more difficult for a woman to be elected to office than a man.	78 % **	57 %
It is harder for a woman to raise money for a campaign than a man.	65 **	38
Perceptions of Electoral Competition		
In the area I live, local elections are highly competitive.	58 **	46
In the area I live, congressional elections are highly competitive.	61 **	49

Significance levels of chi-square tests comparing women and men: ** p < .01; * p < .05. 22
 Source: Lawless & Fox 2005

6. Stereotype-driven opportunity structure

6a. Political Recruitment by Family Members, Friends, & Colleagues (Percent Recruited)

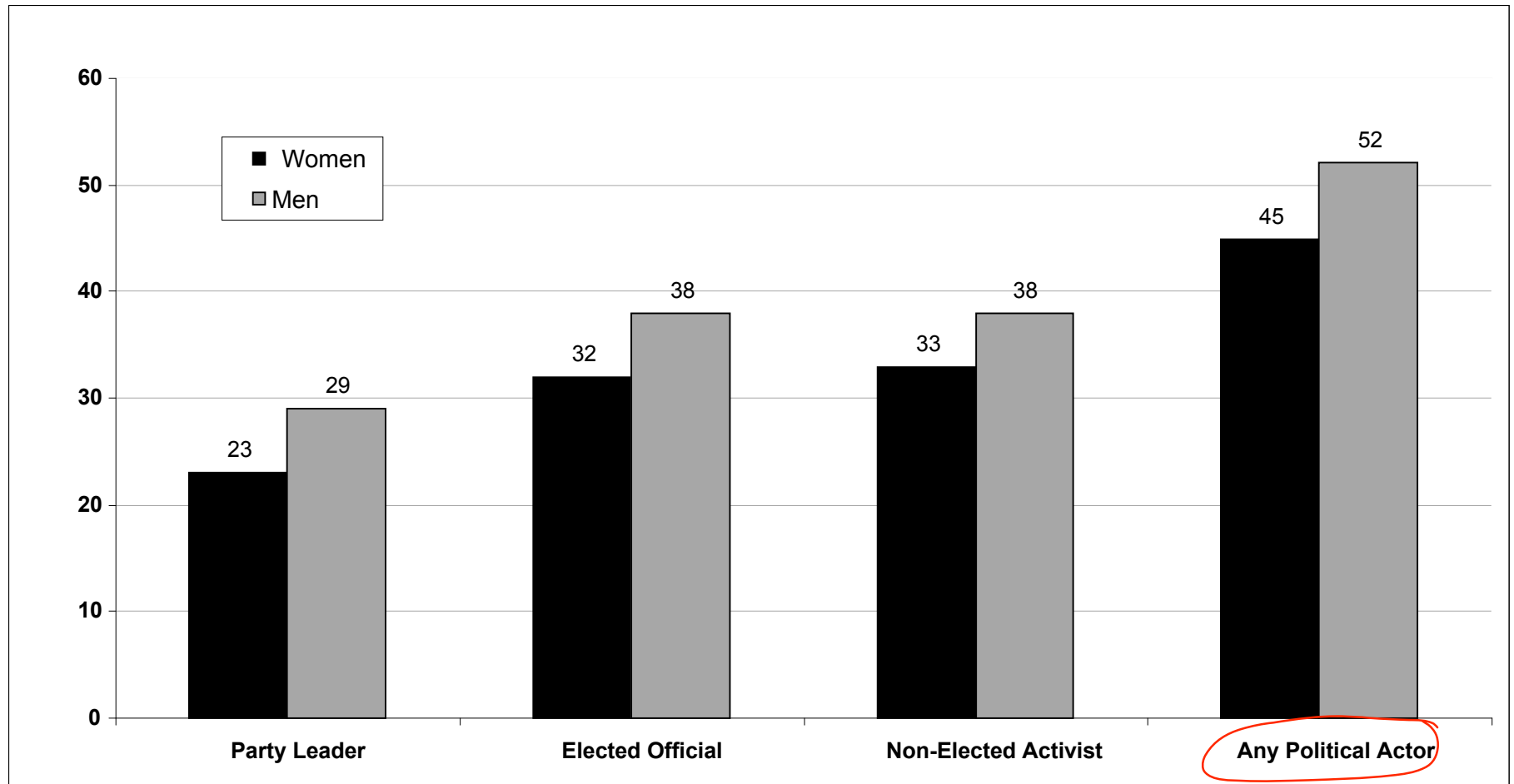


Note: All differences between women and men are significant at $p < .05$.

23

Source: Lawless & Fox 2005

6b. Political Recruitment by Party Leaders, Elected Officials, & Political Activists (Percent Recruited)



Note: All differences between women and men are significant at $p < .05$. Source: Lawless & Fox 2005

BUT:

6d. Gender & Negative Recruitment in the Candidate Eligibility Pool

**Percent discouraged from
running for office by a . . .**

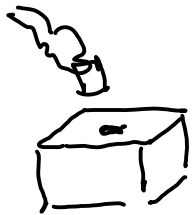
	Women	Men
Party Leader	2 %	3 %
Elected Official	2	3
Non-Elected Political Activist	1 *	3
Any Electoral Gatekeeper	3 *	5

Significance levels of chi-square test comparing women and men: * $p < .05$.

(

Source: Lawless & Fox 2005

Citizen participation and socialization...



Vote

Women

+

Men



Give money

+

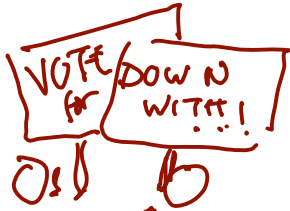


Contact

=

- express policy opinion
- ask for constituency service

+



Join political groups

+

ATTENTION TO TYPE OF NEWS, BY GENDER

	Men	Women	Difference
<i>Average percent following this type of news "very closely":</i>			
Sports	24	18	- 6
Financial/Business	36	31	- 5
International Policy/Politics	21	16	- 5
Political Scandal	21	18	- 3
Domestic Politics	23	20	- 3
Campaign Related	22	20	- 2
Domestic Policy	26	24	- 2
Legal, inc. Court Decisions	23	24	+ 1
Physical/Science/Health	22	24	+ 2
Personality/Entertainment	14	16	+ 4
Human-made Disaster/Accident	36	40	+ 4
Natural Disaster	35	39	+ 4
Crime	27	33	+ 6

* Source: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press; data from all surveys conducted between July 1986 and December 2006.

MEN'S & WOMEN'S POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE: CORRECT ANSWERS

	Men	Women	Difference
Which countries have nuclear capacity?***	43	20	-23
Did stock market recently go up or down?***	70	48	-22
Who is Vladimir Putin?*	42	23	-19
Does the House have GOP majority?*	74	56	-18
Did a gun control bill pass the House?***	35	30	-5
Year Clinton's impeachment trial ended?***	41	45	+ 4
Who is Ellen DeGeneres? (post-coming out)	56	67	+ 11
Classified as 'High Political Knowledge'	45	25	-20
<i>Sources: * = Pew 2006, ** = Pew 2000, *** = Pew 2007</i>			

Explanations of political knowledge gap: structural and socialization

- **Structural:**

 - labor force participation

 - childcare responsibilities (less time in contact with adults)

 - Controlling for structural variables (in one study) reduces correlation between gender and political knowledge from .20 to .04.

- **Socialization** (the remaining .04?):

 - Male students are more likely than females to say "government is their favorite subject" and they "enjoy civics classes more than their other classes." Also have higher political knowledge. (NAEP 1988)

Gap diminishes on gender relevant questions ("Name woman on Supreme Court": M = 38%, F = 33%) and local politics ("Which party has most seats on the county Board of Supervisors?": M = 33%, F = 32%). Reverses on school issues ("Name the school superintendent": M = 30%, F = 40%).

No significant change over time in the gender gap in political knowledge (1947-54 to 1989) despite growing rates of female voting.

WOMEN & MEN IN THE NEWS BUSINESS, BY MEDIA TYPE AND POSITION

	Women	Men
<i>Television:</i>		
Commercial TV news directors	24%	76%
Personnel in commercial TV news operations	39	61
<i>Radio:</i>		
News general managers	13	87
News directors	26	74
Personnel working in radio news	22	78
<i>Newspapers:</i>		
President/Publisher/CEO at large newspaper	18	82
Editor/Exec Editor/Sr VP/VP News	26	74
Newspaper personnel	48	52
<i>Salaries:</i>		
Median salary for journalists in all news media	\$37,731	\$46,758
<i>Sources: Dates 2007, Cramer 2007, Nicholson 2007, Media Management Center 2006, 2001.</i>		

II. **Why** should we care about gender x political representation?

1. **Justice**

- Not *every* group: On Carswell nomination to the Supreme Court, Sen. Hruska: “Even if he is mediocre, there are a lot of mediocre judges and people and lawyers. They’re entitled to a little representation, aren’t they...?”
- Need to argue that a group’s lower than proportional representation in a representative assembly was caused by inappropriate **discrimination** against that group (possible evidence: past history of deprivation of **right to vote**).

2. **Statement** of equal citizenship (and ramifications)

3. **Modeling**, encouragement, interest

4. **Substantive differences** in *interests*, *perspectives*, and *policy stances* (among legislators, measured less by roll-call vote, which usually follows party lines, than by bill sponsorship and committee membership)

#3: Modeling, encouragement, interest:

- In 20 fully-democratic nations**, more women members of parliament →
- a. adolescent girls more likely to report **discussing** politics with friends.
 - b. adolescent girls more likely to report **intending to participate** in politics as adults.
 - c. adult women more likely to report **discussing** politics.
 - d. adult women more likely to report **participating** in politics.

Effect of #s of women in parliament far **greater among the young**.

In U.S. (most studies) more women members of state legislatures → greater reported political **efficacy** among women citizens.

Usually no (dyadic) effects of having a woman representative oneself.

Sources: Wolbrecht & Campbell 2007, Atkeson & Carrillo. 2007, Lawless 2004

#4. Substantive policy differences by gender:

- a. “Equal rights” and “feminist” issues, e.g.:
 - i. U.S.: Violence against women; sexual harassment
 - ii. Pakistan: Trading women for crimes by family; acid

- b. Traditional women’s role issues, e.g.:
 - i. Children, education (power to women in legislatures (and also households) → greater expenditure on children, food, education in both developed and less developed countries)
 - ii. Health
 - iii. Water, firewood

- c. Other attitude differences, e.g. (often):
 - i. Environment (women +)
 - ii. War (women -)
 - iii. Religion (women +)

III. When should we **particularly** care?

Significant substantive policy *interests* or *perspectives* by gender

AND

- a. Interests **uncrystallized** in the party system (not part of the standard political process of contestation or accommodation)
- b. **Communication** across descriptive lines difficult (perhaps hindered by a history of mistrust)

IV. Mechanisms for achieving greater equality

A. Institutional means for political descriptive representation:

LEAST FLUID

1. Quotas in **constitutions** (e.g. Iraq)
2. Quotas in **law** (e.g. France: party lists) All Women Shortlists for ½ winnable
3. Quotas in **party decisions** (e.g. Great Britain: Twinning
Zipping)
4. **Proportional Representation** and/or cumulative voting
5. **Multi-member** districts and/or **term limits**
6. Institutional “enabling devices”
 - a. targeted **training** and funding for potential candidates
 - b. caps on **nomination campaign expenses**
 - c. public funding of nomination campaign expenses
 - d. establishing formal **search committees** within each party to help identify and nominate potential candidates from disadvantaged groups
 - e. high-quality public **day care** for elected officials
 - f. scholarships to **law schools** and public policy schools for members of historically disadvantaged and proportionally underrepresented groups

MOST FLUID

Effects of quotas: A 1993 constitutional amendment in India mandated that the office of the **Pradhan** (chief village councilor) be reserved for a woman in one-third of all the Gram Panchayats (village-level governing bodies), selected randomly.*

- Female Pradhans are less likely than male Pradhans to **attend** the Panchayats and much less likely to **chair** the Panchayat.

BUT:

- In the aggregate, the women Pradhans **implement different policies** in the Panchayat from the men (e.g., water).
- In the Gram Sabhas (village-wide council meetings open to all adults), the **presence** of a female Pradhan slightly increases the percentage of women **speaking**. A female Pradhan **chairing** the meeting greatly increases that percentage.
- When they speak on an issue, female villagers are more likely than men to receive a **negative response** from Panchayat officials, but with a female Pradhan the difference almost disappears.

.....

* Sources: Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004; Beaman, Chattopadhyay, Duflo, Pande, and Topalova 2008; Pande, Duflo, Beaman, Topalova 2009.

Effects of a woman being Pradhan on subsequent elections:

- Exposure to women Pradhans **improves women's future electoral prospects** (for former Pradhans and others).

Source: Pande, Duflo, Beaman, Topalova 2009

The 1993 law also mandated that **all** Panchayats have **one-third of their seats** reserved for women. For fairness over time, the wards reserved for women are randomly chosen and change from election to election.

- In Mumbai, **after** a seat in a ward was reserved for a woman but was later no longer reserved (because another ward was chosen by lot), women were five times more likely than before to win seats in that ward in subsequent **open** elections.

Source: Bhavani 2009

121 of the 189 countries in the UN have or recently have had some reserved seat or party or legislative quotas.

Source: Krook 2009

B. Non-institutional means: political organizing (Emily's List, The White House Project)

C. Non-institutional means: social movements

1. Social movement **organizations** (NOW, NARAL)

2. Social movements as “**emergent**” phenomena

a. ← complex adaptive systems theory (biology, physics, computer science, meteorology chemistry, and economics, among others)

b. **Macro-level** outcomes derive from **micro-level** processes

i. Dynamic

ii. Interactive, feedback-driven

iii. Proximate

iv. Unplanned

c. “**Everyday activism**”

Examples of *everyday activism* as an emergent phenomenon:

“Male chauvinist” In the 1993 Chicago Area Survey*:

- 63 percent of the women report having used the term
- 55 percent of the high-school educated women
- 51 percent of the African American women.

Compare “sexist”:

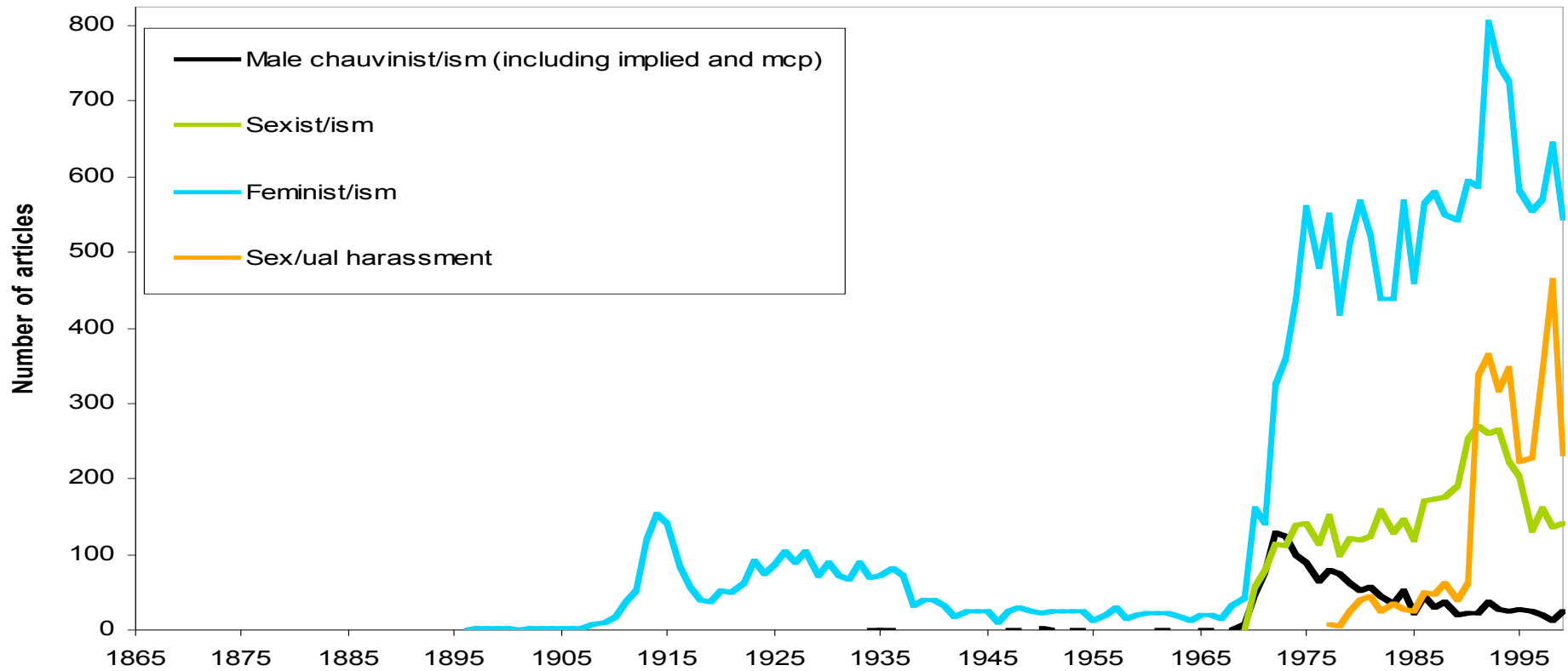
- 35 percent of all women
- 21 percent of the high school educated women
- 27 percent of the African American women

(In open-ended interviews, the term “sexist” appeared rarely, and only among White or college-educated women.)

.....

* Northwestern University Survey Laboratory Chicago Area Survey, direct-digit-dial telephone survey of English-speaking residents of Cook, DuPage and Lake Counties, Illinois, $n = 1053$, May-June 1993: “*Have you ever referred to someone as a ‘male chauvinist,’ either while speaking directly to that person or in describing that person to someone else?*” (Source: Mansbridge and Flaster 2007)

Social and cultural change through individual everyday activism: Articles mentioning “male chauvinism” etc. in the New York Times 1895-2000



Total no. articles 53 110 143 181 176 195 465 447 472 385 321 2
 48 244 228
 in issue

Recap:

- I. In the U.S.,
 - Background professions (eligible pool) more equal
 - Prejudice greatly diminished
 - Women who run as likely to get funding and win
 - **Structural disadvantages** still strong (primary responsibility for childcare)
 - **Self-confidence, recruitment** still lower
 - Women citizens still **less knowledgeable** about politics
- II. We should care about office-holding because:
 - a. Justice;
 - b. Conflicting substantive **interests** and different **perspectives**
- III. We should particularly pay attention in contexts of:
 - a. **Uncrystallized** interests;
 - b. Failures in **communication**
- IV. Mechanisms for greater equality run from the less to the more fluid
 - **Quotas**: significant effects
 - **PR, multi-member** districts
 - Enabling devices: targeted training, law school scholarships
 - Social movements (individual, emergent)

Is there political will for institutional change in the U.S.?

