

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

POL612 April 17, 2018

TWO BASIC SET OF FACTORS

- Demand factors: characteristics of the country, factors making it more likely that women will be elected
- Supply factors: determine the pool of women with the will and experience to run
- Social structure as one of the key supply variables
- Where social structure treats both genders equally, women compete with men
- Family, education system, labor force etc.

THEORETICAL TRADITIONS

- THE RESOURCE MODEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
 - Individual inequalities in prerequisites such as money, time, skills
- ELITE THEORIES
 - Research of political decision-making and characteristics of elites (education, profession)
- GENDER STRATIFICATION THEORIES
 - Inequality as a result of economic power, economic control before political power

SEVEN STRUCTURAL FACTORS

- 1) Money
- 2) Time
- 3) Civic skills and community participation
- 4) Education
- 5) Work and Economic power
- 6) Informal networks
- 7) Media and pop culture

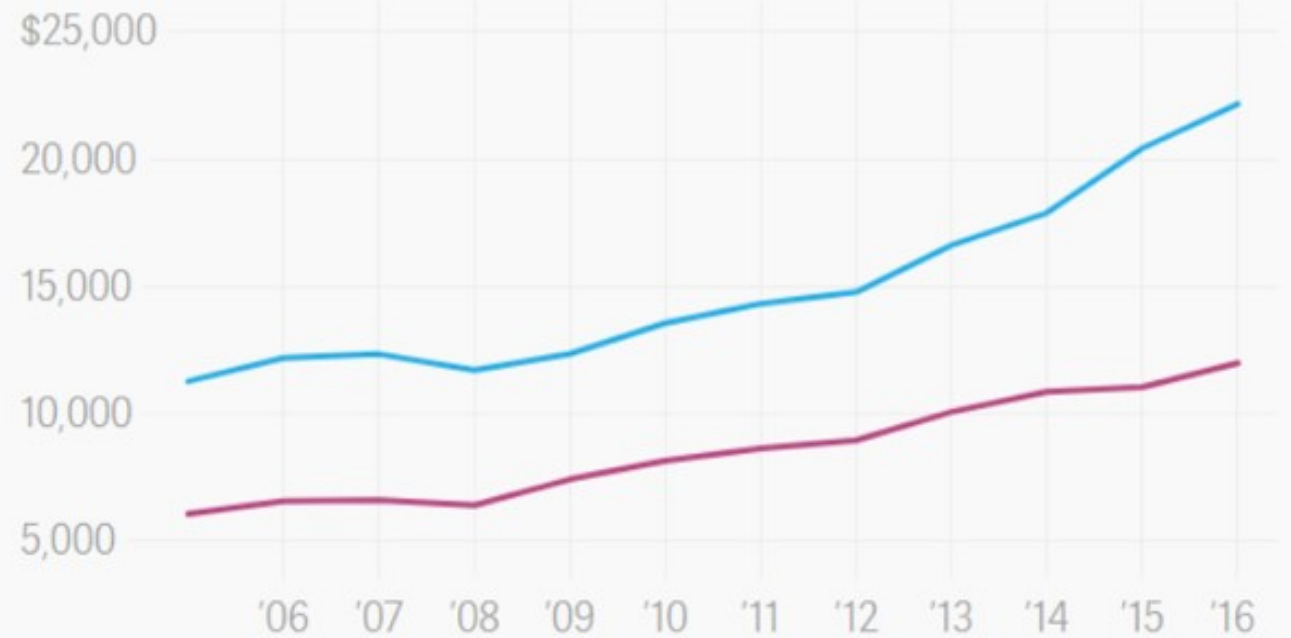
MONEY

- Campaigns are expensive
- Wealthy and well-connected people (Trump? Babiš?)
- Pinto-Duschinsky 2002: 104 countries, 59% no limits on campaign spending, 72% no limits on financial contributions by individuals
- In general, women have less money
- Less full time jobs, lower income

GLOBAL GENDER PAY GAP

The global gender income gap is widening

■ Female: average earnings ■ Male: average earnings



ATLAS | Data: Global Gender Gap Index 2017, World Economic Forum

Share

Global Average, Annual Earnings

2017



\$12k



\$21k

Source: Global Gender Gap Index 2017, World Economic Forum

ADRIANA MUNOZ
(MP IN CHILE, PPD):

- *"Being a candidate is difficult for a woman because you need to have a lot of money. We have little help economically. Men have access to circles or networks where money is let – they are friends with bank managers. But we are not supported this way. For us, it's pretty complicated, this arena of power and money." (quoted in Franceschet 2001).*

FACTORS PROMOTING EQUALITY:

- Public financing of elections
- Subsidies for campaigns
- Free allocated broadcast time
- NGOs

- Most famous organization: **EMILY's list** (Early Money Is Like Yeast)
- <https://www.emilyslist.org/pages/entry/women-we-helped-elect>
- Shifts in strategies, nowadays they choose already viable candidates

TIME

- Valuable resource
- Political involvement is time demanding
- Women's burden: care, child bearing, housework, family responsibilities
- Second shift (Arlie Hochschild 1989)
- Is politics a third shift?

TIME

- Women are afraid to “sacrifice” their families
- Golda Meir (PM, Israel): *“At work, you think of the children you’ve left at home. At home, you think of the work you’ve left unfinished. Such a struggle is unleashed within yourself, your heart is rent.”*
- Women politicians less often married, more often childless
- Structural problem: differences across countries with different social welfare and culture

GALAIS, OHBERG, AND COLLER, 2016.

Table 1. Differences among female and male MPs, by country, family variables

	<i>Sweden</i>			<i>Spain</i>		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Diff.</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Diff.</i>
Are married/have partner	77.4	82.2	4.8 (166)	76	50	-26*(90)
Have children	76.3	85.5	9.2 (142)	89	71	-18* (110)

Notes: Cells denote column percentages. For dichotomous variables, only the positive category is shown.

Total number of observations per row shown in parentheses.

* Identifies significant differences in proportions between sexes at the .05 level.

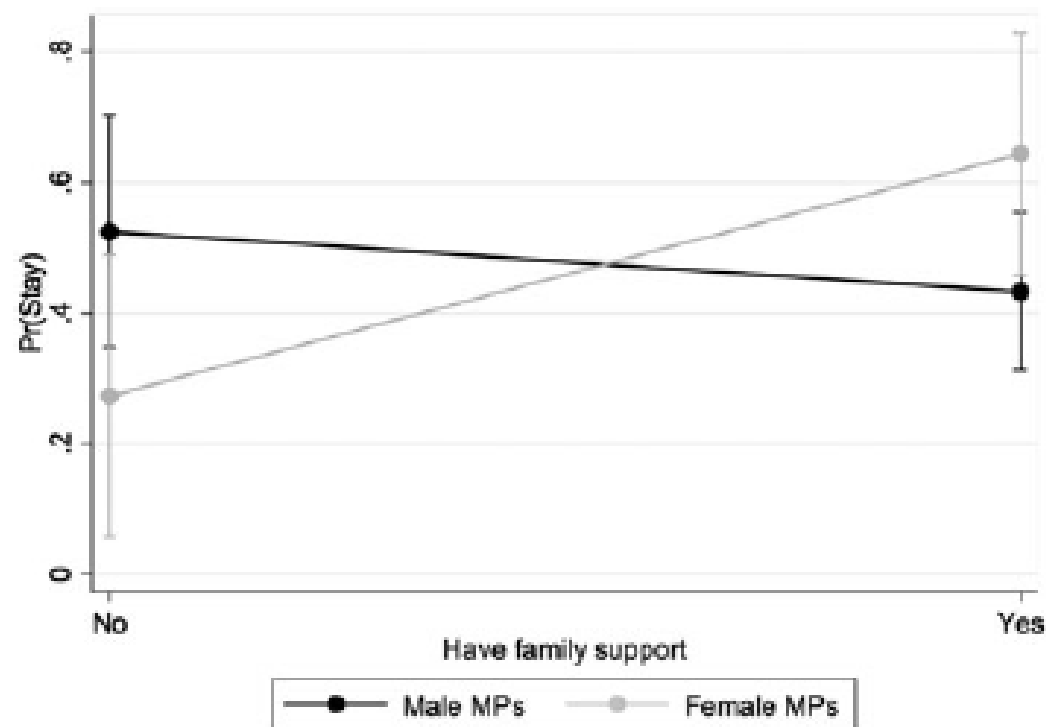


FIGURE 3. Interaction between gender and family support, Spain.

USA STATE LEGISLATORS (DODSON 1997)

Table 1
Parental Status of Male and Female State Legislators, 1988 Cohort

Status	Men	Women	phi
Parent	84% (<i>n</i> = 477)	85% (<i>n</i> = 597)	.01
Parent of child under age of 12	26% (<i>n</i> = 479)	12% (<i>n</i> = 596)	.17***

Note: *** $p \leq .001$.

Table 5
Proportion of Women Legislators 35 Years Old or Younger by Sex, 1988 Cohort

Sex	% 35 or younger
Men	12% (<i>n</i> = 478)
Women	5% (<i>n</i> = 585)
phi	.13 ***

Note: *** *p* < .001.

FOX AND LAWLESS 2014:

	Women	Men
Responsible for majority of household tasks	43%	7%
Responsible for childcare	60%	6%
Spouse responsible for childcare	6%	54%

GLOBAL SOUTH

- In developing countries women have significantly less free time
- How could a typical woman in Sierra Leone enter politics?

Table 5.1 A Typical Day's Work for a Woman in Sierra Leone

4:00 A.M. to 5:30 A.M.	Fish in local pond.
6:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M.	Heat water, make breakfast, wash dishes, sweep floors.
8:00 A.M. to 11:00 A.M.	Work in rice fields while watching 4-year-old son and carrying baby on back.
11:00 A.M. to 12:00 P.M.	Gather berries and fuel for the fire while hauling water from a distant well.
12:00 P.M. to 2:00 P.M.	Process and prepare food, make lunch, wash dishes.
2:00 P.M. to 3:00 P.M.	Wash clothes, clean and smoke fish.
3:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M.	Work in local gardens.
5:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.	Fish in local pond.
6:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M.	Process and prepare food, make dinner.
8:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.	Wash dishes, care for children.
9:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M.	Chat around the fire while making fishnets.
11:00 P.M. to 4:00 A.M.	Sleep.

Source: Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO, 2003), cited in Burn (2005).

CIVIC SKILLS

- Abilities that allow citizens to use time and money effectively in political life
- Ability to speak in public
- Run a meeting
- Understanding budgets
- Navigate through parliamentary procedures

CIVIC SKILLS

- Through employment
- Activity in non political organizations
- Unequal distribution
- For women voluntary work is more important
- Different impact of voluntary associations on men's and women's political participation (US data)
- Also networking, motivation to enter politics (as a next step?)
- Typical also for developing countries (Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda etc.)
- What is the effect of PROFESSIONALISATION of politics?

EDUCATION

- Elites = educated
- Where women have access to education = more women in politics
 - True?
- Developed world, usually graduate and postgraduate degrees (also Latin America), not much educational gender gap, sometimes women better educated (CR)
- Developing world: situation serious
- Women more likely to be illiterate than men

EXAMPLE: INDIA (AFTER 1993 QUOTA RULE)

Table 4
Education Level of Male and Female Representatives Percentage)

Educational level	Male	Female
Illiterate	18.7	51.9
Literate w. e. l.	13.1	18.6
Primary	19.9	14.5
Middle	19.3	7.8
Higher Secondary	22.2	4.5
Vocational Training	0.5	1.4
Graduate and above	5.7	1.3

w.e.l. = without educational level.

UGANDA 1997 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT

- Requirement of secondary education excluded most rural women
- Protests and change of the law

UNESCO 2015

- In developing world:
 - 90% of boys are literate, 85% of girls are literate
 - Regional differences (e.g. Nigeria: only 80% of boys and 65% of girls are literate)

WORK

- Elites = educated and SUCCESSFUL in professions
- Latin America: Law, medicine, business
- Czech Republic:
- If women have limited access to prestigious and highly skilled **position in labor force** they will fail to be represented politically

Table 2. Most Frequently Listed Occupational Categories by Members, 113th Congress

At the beginning of the 113th Congress

Occupation	Representatives	Senators
Business	187	27
Education	77	15
Law	156	55
Public Service/Politics	184	42

Source: CQ Roll Call Member Profiles.

Notes: Most members list more than one profession when surveyed by CQ Roll Call, and the professions listed are not necessarily the ones practiced by Members immediately prior to entering Congress.

CINGRANELLI AND RICHARDS: HUMAN RIGHTS DATASET

[WECON] Women's Economic Rights

Women's economic rights include a number of internationally recognized rights. These rights include:

- Equal pay for equal work
- Free choice of profession or employment without the need to obtain a husband or male relative's consent
- The right to gainful employment without the need to obtain a husband or male relative's consent
- Equality in hiring and promotion practices
- Job security (maternity leave, unemployment benefits, no arbitrary firing or layoffs, etc...)
- Non-discrimination by employers
- The right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace
- The right to work at night
- The right to work in occupations classified as dangerous
- The right to work in the military and the police force

A score of 0 indicates that there were no economic rights for women in law and that systematic discrimination based on sex may have been built into law. A score of 1 indicates that women had some economic rights under law, but these rights were not effectively enforced. A score of 2 indicates that women had some economic rights under law, and the government effectively enforced these rights in practice while still allowing a low level of discrimination against women in economic matters. Finally, a score of 3 indicates that all or nearly all of women's economic rights were guaranteed by law and the government fully and vigorously enforces these laws in practice.

HUMAN RIGHTS DATASET

Most equal: equal pay for equal work, free choice of employment, freedom from sexual harassment, right to work at night: only 22 countries in 2011 (e.g. Australia, Denmark, Iceland, Korea, New Zealand, Norway etc.)

Middle categories: toleration of discrimination, lack of government enforcement of equality laws: most countries in the world, including Japan, Spain, CZE.)

Unequal countries: no economic rights, discrimination built into law (Nigeria, Mali, Cameroon, Chad, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait etc.)

PROBLEMS

- We don't have enough information
- What are the pipeline jobs?
- Do women have sufficient human capital and just work too many hours?
- Women's career paths to politics are different, their resources may be different
- Work and position on the labor market is not sufficient
- ECONOMIC POWER: control over means of production and allocation of surplus
- Control over labor and income matters (as the gender stratification theorists say)

INFORMAL NETWORKS

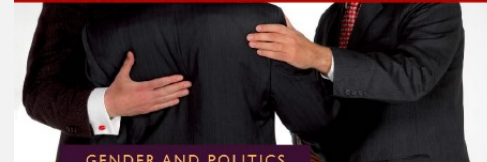
- Statistics sometimes does not work
- Can't capture informal structures
- Results of many experiences (education, organization membership, profession etc.)
- Revealed in qualitative interviews:
- The old boys' network in New Zealand local politics (Marianne Tremaine)
- *"Another woman mayor was concerned about the existing culture of having the "real" meeting over drinks after the meeting, so she stopped the restocking of the drinks cabinet and caused a furore. She had support from the other women on council, but not from the men."*

INFORMAL NETWORKS

- Informal structures in form of clientelism
- Informal structures influence candidate selection processes
- Male dominance reproduces through informal structures

Gender, Informal Institutions
and Political Recruitment

Explaining Male Dominance in
Parliamentary Representation



GENDER AND POLITICS

Elin Bjarnegård



MEDIA

- Reproductions of stereotypes
- Reduction of female political efficacy and motivation (see you at the next session for more)
- <http://123movies.com/watch/pxwDo9Gz-miss-representation.html>