

WOMEN AND PARLIAMENTS

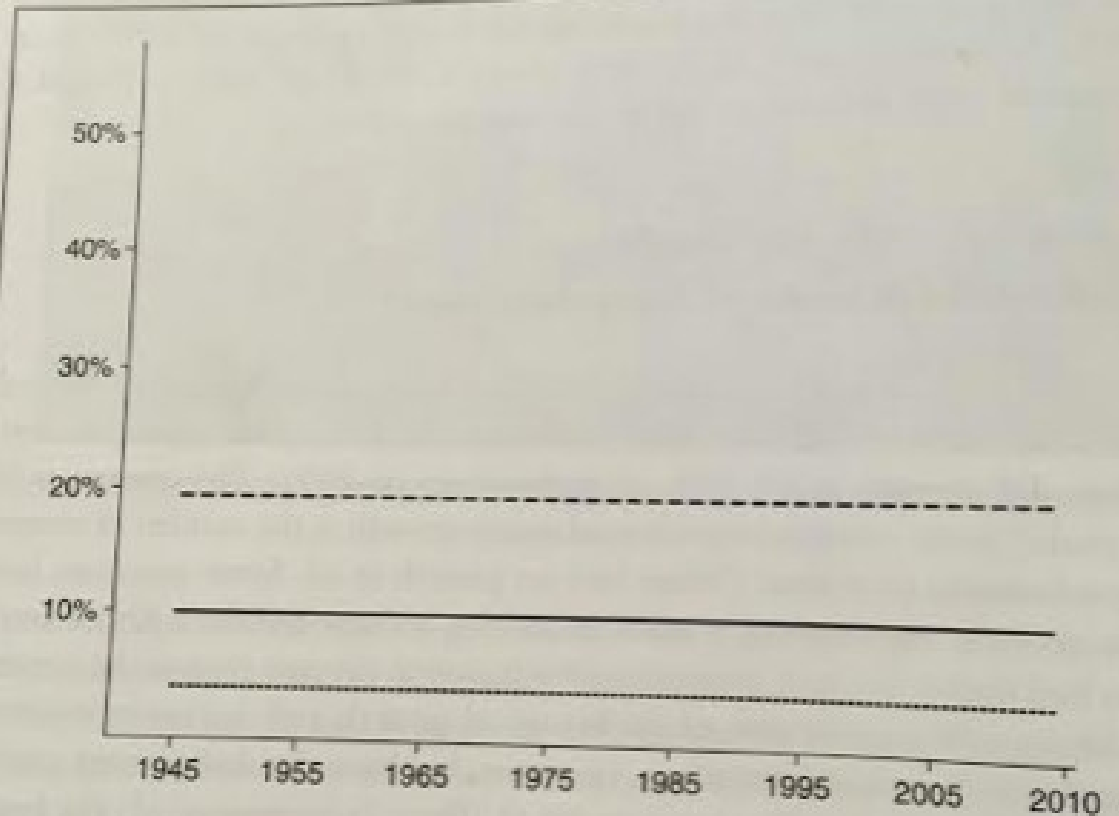
POL612 Women and Politics
Masaryk University, Spring 2018

DOES SUFFRAGE LEAD TO REPRESENTATION?

- When did women get suffrage vs. when they got seats in parliaments?
- Reluctance of voters to vote for women
- Still unequal representation in most parliaments

PAXTON AND HUGHES

Figure 3.1 Patterns of Representation: Flat

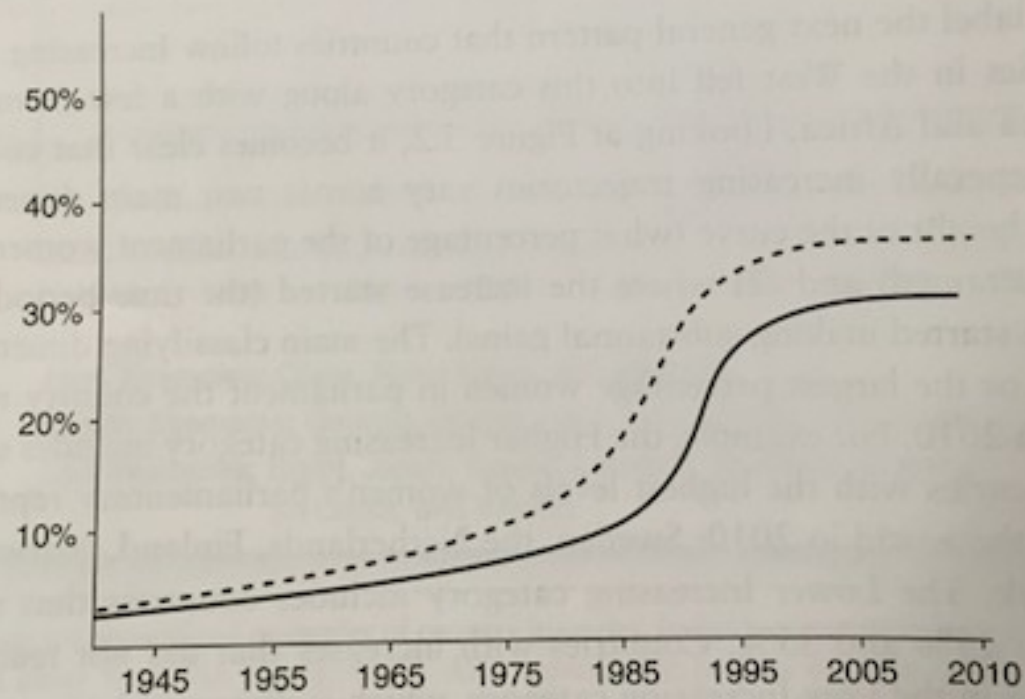


High Examples: China, North Korea, and Vietnam.

Middle Examples: Georgia, Ghana, Haiti, India, Liberia, and Sudan.

Low Examples: Egypt, Japan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Myanmar, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, and Yemen.

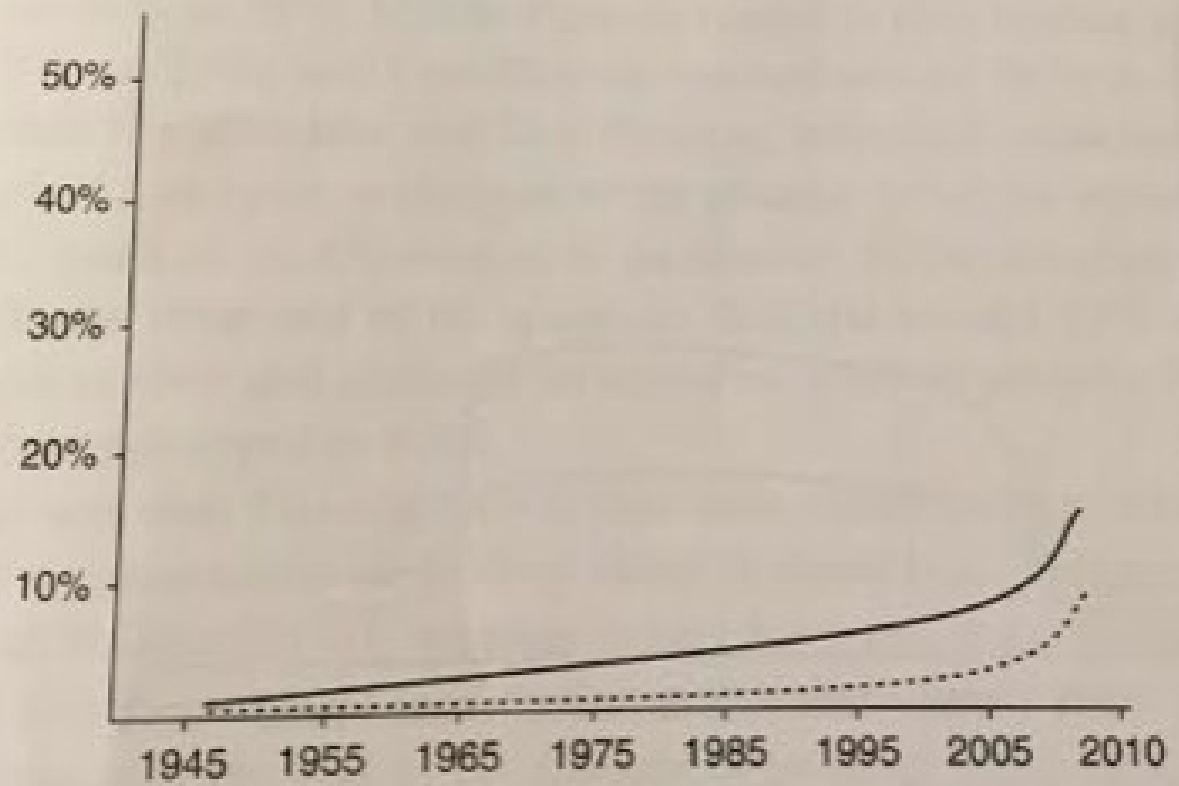
Figure 3.2 Patterns of Representation: Increasing



High Examples: Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden.

Lower Examples: Austria, Germany, New Zealand, Uganda, and Switzerland.

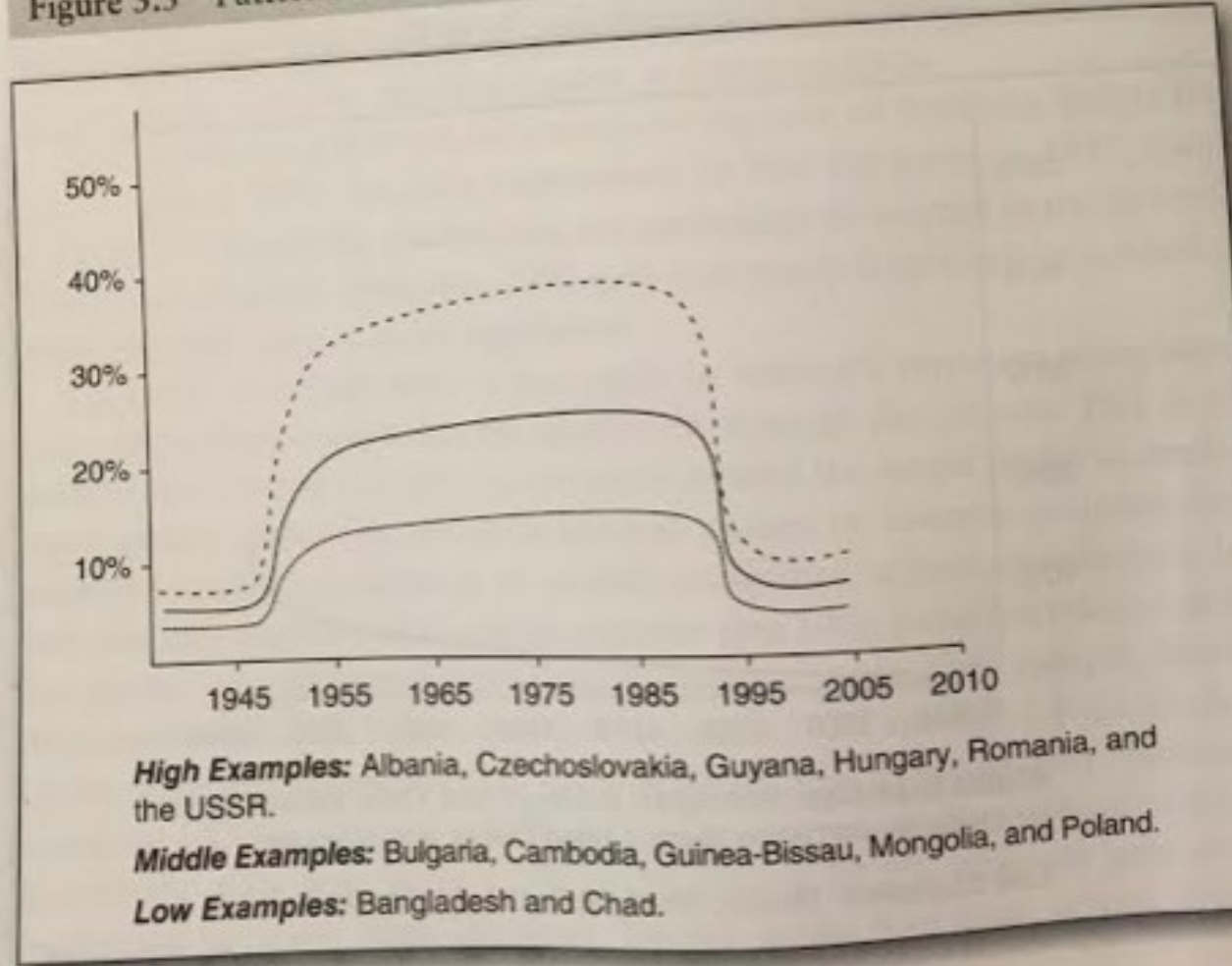
Figure 3.4 Patterns of Representation: Low Increasing



Middle Examples: Azerbaijan, Burkina Faso, Chile, Ireland, Mali, Morocco, Sierra Leone, Syria, United States, and Uruguay.

Low Examples: Bhutan, Brazil, Malaysia, and Malta.

Figure 3.5 Patterns of Representation: Plateau



CZECH REPUBLIC: THE LOWER HOUSE

- 1992: 10,5%
- 1996: 15%
- 1998: 15%
- 2002: 20%
- 2006: 15,5%
- 2010: 22% (and the Chair of The Chamber of Dep.)
- 2013: 19, 5%
- 2017: 20%

NUMBER OF WOMEN IN LEGISLATURES

- Increasing world-wide
- In 1999 11,7% in average
- 2009: 18.3% in average
- 2017: 23.5%

2017
TOP 20
SOURCE:
WWW.IPU.ORG

WORLD CLASSIFICATION									
Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	16.09.2013	80	49	61.3%	26.09.2011	26	10	38.5%
2	Bolivia	12.10.2014	130	69	53.1%	12.10.2014	36	17	47.2%
3	Cuba	03.02.2013	612	299	48.9%	---	---	---	---
4	Iceland	29.10.2016	63	30	47.6%	---	---	---	---
5	Nicaragua	06.11.2016	92	42	45.7%	---	---	---	---
6	Sweden	14.09.2014	349	152	43.6%	---	---	---	---
7	Mexico	07.06.2015	500	213	42.6%	01.07.2012	128	47	36.7%
8	South Africa ¹	07.05.2014	395	167	42.3%	21.05.2014	54	19	35.2%
9	Finland	19.04.2015	200	84	42.0%	---	---	---	---
10	Senegal	30.07.2017	165	69	41.8%	---	---	---	---
11	Norway	11.09.2017	169	70	41.4%	---	---	---	---
12	Namibia	29.11.2014	104	43	41.3%	08.12.2015	42	10	23.8%
13	Mozambique	15.10.2014	250	99	39.6%	---	---	---	---
14	Spain	26.06.2016	350	137	39.1%	26.06.2016	266	101	38.0%
15	France	11.06.2017	577	225	39.0%	24.09.2017	348	102	29.3%
16	Argentina	25.10.2015	257	100	38.9%	25.10.2015	72	30	41.7%
17	Ethiopia	24.05.2015	547	212	38.8%	05.10.2015	153	49	32.0%
18	New Zealand	23.09.2017	120	46	38.3%	---	---	---	---
19	Belgium	25.05.2014	150	57	38.0%	03.07.2014	60	30	50.0%
"	Ecuador	19.02.2017	137	52	38.0%	---	---	---	---

WOMEN IN LEGISLATURES

- The Czech Republic:
 - Rank: 97
 - Lower House: 40 out of 200 (20%)
 - Upper House: 15 out of 81 (15.5%)
- Slovakia:
 - Slovakia:
 - Rank 97
 - National Council: 30 out of 150 (20%)
- USA:
 - Rank: 101
 - Lower House: 84 out of 433 (19.4%)
 - Upper House: 21 out of 100 (21%)
- UK:
 - Rank: 38
 - Lower House: 208 out of 650 (32%)
 - Upper House: 207 out of 805 (25.7%)

WOMEN IN LEGISLATURES

- MPs as the main form of political representation
- The question of political representation of women
- Are women represented enough?
- Two approaches:
 - Descriptive representation
 - Substantive representation

POLITICS OF PRESENCE

- Anne Philips, *The Politics of Presence* 1995
- Women are best represented by women MPs
- How descriptive is political representation ?
- Why are women better representatives of women's interest?
 - Men and women have different life experiences
 - Child bearing, education, professional life, division of paid and unpaid labor, harassment, violence etc.
 - Women MPs share this experience with other women

DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

- Longer tradition of research
- More elaborated
- M. Duverger (1955), electoral systems influence number of female MPs
- What is the dependent variable?
 - The number of women elected into office
- Topic of recruitment of women in politics (mostly in Western democracies)

PARLIAMENTARY RECRUITMENT
MODEL:
P. NORRIS A LOVENDUSKI (1993)

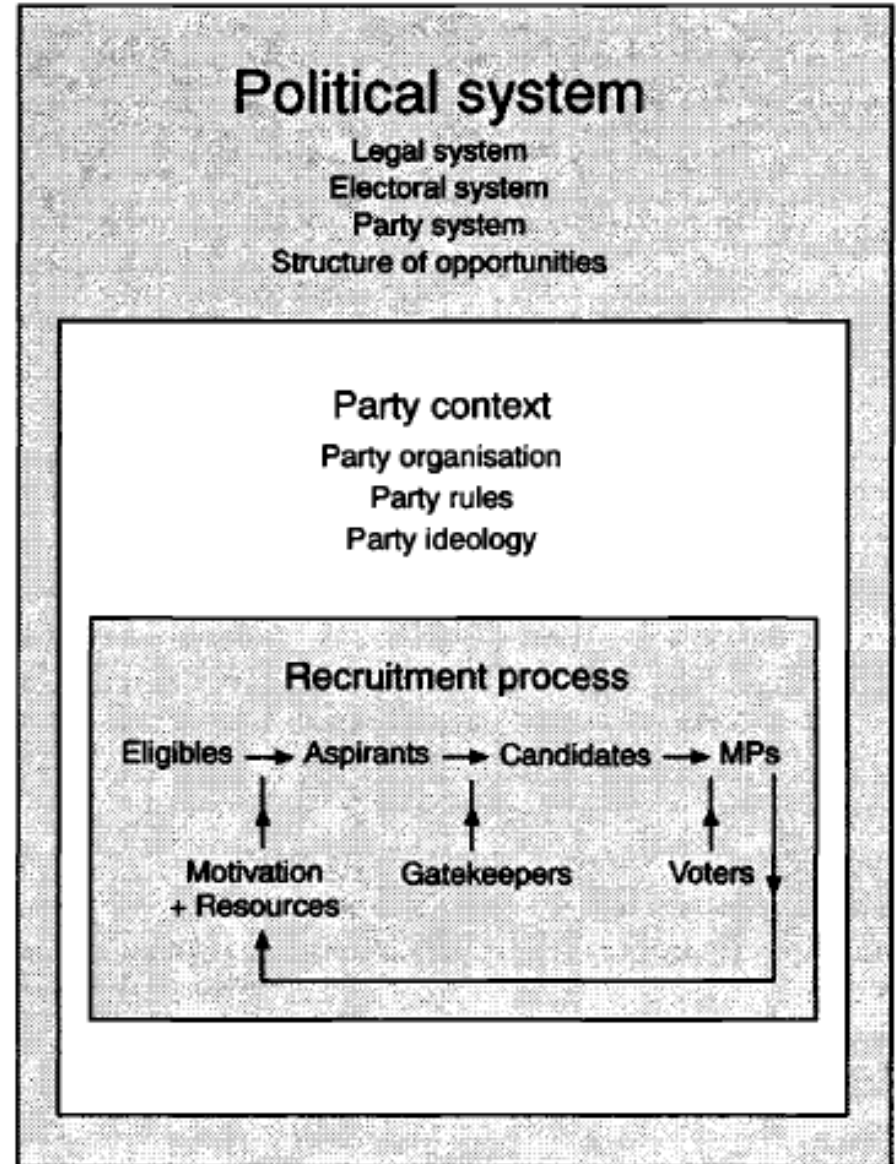


Figure 10.1 Comparative model of the recruitment process.

PARLIAMENTARY RECRUITMENT

- 1) SYSTEMATIC FACTORS
 - Legal system
 - Electoral system
 - Party system
 - Structure of opportunities
- 2) POLITICAL PARTY FACTORS
 - Party ideology
 - Party organization
 - Rules
- 3) INDIVIDUAL FACTORS
 - Resources of candidates
 - Motivation

CULTURAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

- Women's representation conditioned by culture
- What are the values of the society?
- Values of equality are necessary
- Gender-equality culture and social mobility
- Traditional gender roles culture
- Inglehart and Norris 2000: post-material values lead to gender equality
 - Attitudes to female leaders, professional rights, education and maternal role
 - G-E scale correlates with number of women in parliament

INGLEHART AND NORRIS

TABLE 3.5. *Religion and support for the Gender Equality Scale*

	Model 1		Model 2		
	Correlation (R)	Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	Std. Error	Standardized Beta Coefficients	Sig.
(Constant)		31.519	.782		.000
Religious denomination					
Catholics	.13	7.75	.307	.194	.000
Protestants	.07	4.43	.309	.110	.000
No denomination	.10	4.41	.337	.090	.000
Hindu	-.04	13.2	2.76	.018	.000
Jewish	-.01	6.14	1.36	.017	.000
Orthodox (e.g. Greek or Russian)	-.10	0.66	.349	.012	.057
Buddhist	-.04	-4.47	.688	-.026	.000
Muslim	-.20	-1.41	.626	-.010	.024
Strength of religiosity					
Religiosity	-.19	-.008	.004	.011	.062
Adjusted R ²		.24			

Model 1: Simple correlations without any prior controls; all results are significant at the .01 level. Model 2: OLS regression models with the Gender Equality Scale, 1995–2000 (five-item) as the dependent variable, controlling for *societal modernization* (Human Development Index, 1998; level of democratization, 1999) and *social background* (age, gender, education, income, frequency of religious attendance, work status, marital status, children, and family savings). For details of the full model and the control variables, see Table 2.3 and Appendix B. The religious denominations are coded as dummy (0/1) variables.

Source: Pooled WVS/EVS, 1995–2001.

CULTURAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

- Before 1989:
 - Women's enfranchisement
 - Communist regime
- After 1990:
 - Proportional electoral system and gender quotas
 - Protestantism
 - High level of economic development (Wilde 2006)

QUOTA TREND

- A formal measure
- Goal: to increase women's representation
- In a constitution or electoral laws (legislative quotas)
- Or party quotas (implemented by individual parties)
- Trend from 1970s
- Norwegian Socialist Party
- Milestone in 1995, the UN 4th World Conference in Women, Beijing
 - Beijing Action Platform (removal of obstacles for women)
- Increasing representation mainly in the West (what is the difference with other regions?)
- Sweden vs Rwanda?

WELFARE STATE

- Nordic/ Scandinavian exceptionalism
- Welfare state facilitates women's participation
- Women can enter paid workforce
- Public sector jobs
- Increase in state expenditure correlates with increase in no. of female MPs
- But parties are still the gatekeepers
- Parties use female candidates to exploit the gender gap
- Iversen and Rosenbluth 2008: political arena as a job-market

SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION

- What do women do in parliaments?
- Do they represent women's interest?
- Less mature research
- What effects of higher representation should we expect?
- Is substantial change in the representation caused only by the presence of women in the parliament?

PRECONDITION FOR CHANGE

- Is there a “tipping point”?
- Critical mass theory
- Mostly 30 % (some say 15%, some 40 %)
- Kanter 1997, study of corporations
 - Absence of greater number of minority group unable to create a counterculture, little choice about accepting the dominant culture
- Or critical acts?
 - Who is pushing for change?
 - What kinds of strategies are useful?

PRECONDITION FOR CHANGE

- **Dahlerup** extends Kanter's research on politics
- 6 areas where women have impact
 - Reactions to women politicians
 - Performance and efficiency of female politicians
 - Social climate of political life
 - Political discourse
 - Policy agenda
 - Power of women in general
- Role of *CRITICAL ACTS*
 - Few strong representatives can have an impact
 - Recruitment of other women, introduction of quotas, equality legislation..
 - Critical acts lead to critical mass

HOW MUCH SEATS IS THE CRITICAL MASS?

- 40% (Kanter 1977)
- 30% (Dahlerup, 1988, 2006)
- 15% (Bystydzienski 1992)

- How many countries meet the 40 % treshold?
- How many countries meet the 30% treshold?
- The number of case is increasing, theory more testable
- How to isolate other factors?

OBSTACLES

- Hostile reactions to women
- Incompatibility with family life
- Male-dominated networks

DO WOMEN INFLUENCE CULTURE IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS?

- Possible factors:
 - Position of the politician in the institution (time in institution, ideology and party ideology)
 - Numbers and newness (Beckwith 2007)
 - Larger number often comes with newness
 - For change: numbers and incumbency needed
 - Grey (2006) study of New Zealand : numbers not enough, can lead to backlash

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES

- Thomas 1994: *How Women Legislate*
- Women concentrated in a few committees in 1970 US
- Proportion of women in other committees increasing
- However still gendered assignment
- Is this an institutional pressure or MPs own choice?
- Sweden: gender patterns almost non-existent since 1994

POLITICS OF PRESENCE

- Women are more suited to represent women. They share life experience.
- How to proceed methodologically?
 - Longitudinal studies
 - Cross-sectional study with wide scope of indicators
 - Legislative **procedures**: speeches, work with colleagues, bargaining with lobbyists; gender gap closing I USA (Thomas 1994)
 - Legislative **products**: are voting, attitudes, policy priorities, gap not closing (Thomas 1994)

ATTITUDES

- Gender differences identified often
- Disagreement about their magnitude
- Agreement about the direction of the difference
 - Women are more leftist than men
 - Women more in favor of new policies
 - Women more interested in issues related to social policy (more permissive), pornography (skeptical), affirmative action (in favor).
 - Gendered issues = those not crucial for parties

ATTITUDES

- Importance of partisan affiliation
- Some issues divide men and women along ideological divides (Pornography)
- Some issues divide men and women along gender divide – in case of SOME parties
- Women mostly more liberal on welfare and social issues, economic issues
- Difference between POSITIONS on issues and PRIORITIES

DECLARED GOALS

- Survey or interview with politicians
- Women more often declare representation of women's interests as their goals
- Self-defined champions of women's interests more active (Nordic countries, USA)

CASE STUDY: SWEDEN

- Wangnerud's (2006)
- Member's of parliament attitudes across 20 years
- Social policy, Family policy, care for elderly, health care as a campaign issue or as a personal interest
-

CASE STUDY: SWEDEN

Table 3. Degree of Contact between Swedish MPs and Women's Organizations

Year	Frequent contact (percent)			No contact (percent)		
	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference
1985	55	9	+46	4	14	-10
1994	51	4	+47	4	18	-14

Comments: The question read: 'This question deals with your contacts as a politician with various organizations, groups and authorities in the past year. Disregarding how the contact was taken, how often have you in the past year, personally or by letter, been in touch with any of the organizations, groups or authorities listed below?' The members of parliament were asked to state their degree of contact with about 20 different organizations, among which were listed women's organizations. The members of parliament could state in their responses whether contact took place at least once a week, once or twice a month, a few times, occasionally, or never. The table shows those who answered 'once a week' or 'once or twice a month' ('frequent contact') and the percentage who answered 'never' ('no contact'). Number of respondents (women/men): 1985 (99/229); 1994 (134/191).

Source: Parliament Studies of 1985 and 1994.

CASE STUDY: SWEDEN

Table 6. Social welfare policy as an issue in the political work of Swedish MPs (percent)

	1985			1988			1994		
	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference
Campaign issue	75	44	+31	80	56	+24	56	40	+16
Area of personal interest	52	10	+42	54	20	+34	41	22	+19
Important future issue	52	31	+21	66	55	+11	42	34	+8

Comments: The table shows the responses to three open questions which read, in the following order: 'Which issue/s or problem/s did you emphasize most in your campaign work before this year's election?' (up to five issues could be mentioned), 'Which political issue area/s are you personally most interested in?' (up to three issues could be mentioned), and 'Thinking ahead, about the next few years, which issues or problems do you personally think are most important for the parties, Riksdag and government to try to solve?' (up to five issues could be mentioned; six in 1985). The responses were coded according to a detailed code scheme. Minimum numbers of respondents (women/men): 1985 (96/218); 1988 (117/189); 1994 (132/190).

Source: Parliament Studies of 1985, 1988, and 1994.

CASE STUDY: SWEDEN

Table 6. Social welfare policy as an issue in the political work of Swedish MPs (percent)

	1985			1988			1994		
	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference
Campaign issue	75	44	+31	80	56	+24	56	40	+16
Area of personal interest	52	10	+42	54	20	+34	41	22	+19
Important future issue	52	31	+21	66	55	+11	42	34	+8

Comments: The table shows the responses to three open questions which read, in the following order: 'Which issue/s or problem/s did you emphasize most in your campaign work before this year's election?' (up to five issues could be mentioned), 'Which political issue area/s are you personally most interested in?' (up to three issues could be mentioned), and 'Thinking ahead, about the next few years, which issues or problems do you personally think are most important for the parties, Riksdag and government to try to solve?' (up to five issues could be mentioned; six in 1985). The responses were coded according to a detailed code scheme. Minimum numbers of respondents (women/men): 1985 (96/218); 1988 (117/189); 1994 (132/190).

Source: Parliament Studies of 1985, 1988, and 1994.