

# PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS OF WOMEN'S VOICE IN POLITICS

POL612 April 24

# FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S POLITICAL LIFE

- Political factors
- Structural factors
- Cultural factors
- What about psychology?

## HOW INVOLVED ARE WOMEN?

- Consistent gender gaps in political interest
- How much knowledge people have?
- How much they participate in discussions
- How much they consume the media
- Efficacy?
- - an important predictor of political behavior!

**Table 4.1** Measures of Psychological Involvement with Politics<sup>a</sup>

	Women	Men
<b>POLITICAL INTEREST</b>		
Very interested in politics (Screener)	24%	29%
Very interested in national politics	29%	38%
Very interested in local politics	21%	22%
<b>POLITICAL INFORMATION</b>		
Mean number of correct answers (out of 10)	4.5	5.2
Correct answers to individual items		
Name of one U.S. senator	51%	67%
Name of second U.S. senator	30%	43%
Name of representative in Congress	32%	42%
Name of state representative	29%	34%
Name of head of the local public school system	40%	34%
Government spends more on NASA or Social Security	18%	40%
Meaning of Fifth Amendment	39%	52%
Origin of primaries—bosses or reformers	44%	49%
Meaning of civil liberties	77%	84%
Difference between democracy and dictatorship	85%	91%
Respondent above average in political information <sup>b</sup>	32%	42%
<b>POLITICAL DISCUSSION</b>		
Discuss national politics nearly every day	20%	31%
Discuss local politics nearly every day	16%	22%
Enjoy political discussion	26%	36%
<b>SENSITIVITY TO POLITICAL CUES</b>		
Say AARP takes stands in politics (AARP members)	79%	80%
Say clergy sometimes or frequently discuss political issues from pulpit (attenders) <sup>c</sup>	22%	28%
<b>EXPOSURE TO THE MEDIA</b>		
Watch news on television daily	57%	56%
Watch public affairs programs on television weekly	38%	45%
Read newspaper daily	55%	59%
Pay a great deal of attention to national politics	24%	40%
Pay a great deal of attention to local politics	36%	36%
<b>POLITICAL EFFICACY</b>		
Mean for efficacy scale	5.08	5.45
Government would pay some or a lot of attention		
National	40%	41%
Local	60%	64%
Feeling of being able to influence some or a lot of governmental decisions (political voice)		
National	19%	17%
Local	46%	53%

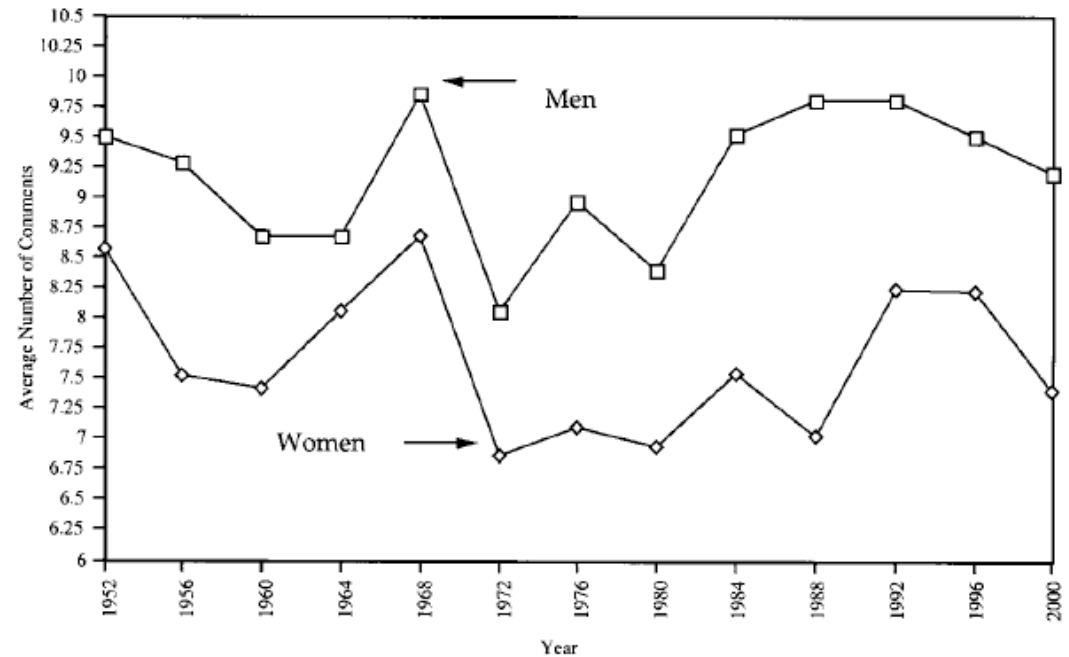
Sources: Citizen Participation Study—Main Survey and Screener Survey.

a. Appendix A contains the valid number of cases for these and other measures used in the

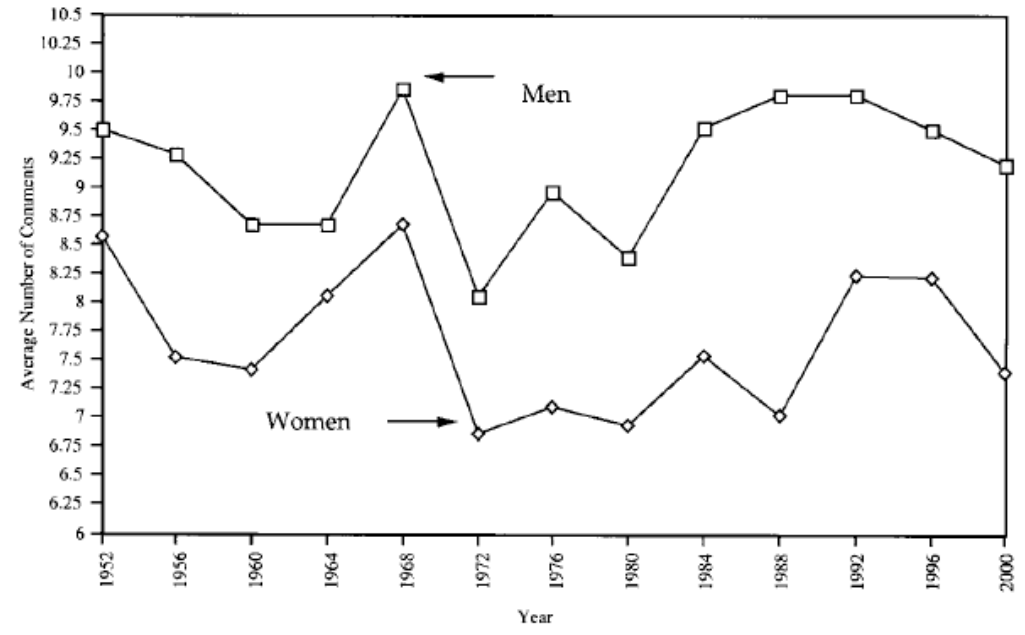
# GAP IN POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

- Women's policy preferences matter less in public discussion
- Depriving women of representation
- Why??
  - Structural resources (education, income, working outside home)
  - Psychological resource (confidence, awareness)

# ATKESON, LONNA R., RAPOPORT, RONALD B. 2003



**Figure 1.** Average number of expressed likes and dislikes toward the parties and the presidential candidates for men and women by year, 1952–2000.



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**Table 1.** OLS Regression of Political Comments on the Likes and Dislikes of the Parties and the Candidates, Controlling for Political Resources, Psychological Resources, Political Cues, and Election Years, Presidential Years, 1952–2000

	Comments			Percent "Don't Know"		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
<b>Political resources:</b>						
Gender (female)	-1.53*** (.084)	-1.114*** (.091)	-.847*** (.085)	2.602*** (.146)	1.618*** (.164)	1.405*** (.163)
Education		1.221*** (.027)	.862*** (.027)		-1.106*** (.049)	-.779*** (.051)
Income		.542*** (.042)	.361*** (.039)		-.985*** (.076)	-.817*** (.076)
Married		.120 (.096)	.027 (.090)		-.567** (.174)	-.485** (.171)
Homemaker		-.168 (.114)	-.185 <sup>+</sup> (.106)		1.078*** (.206)	1.093*** (.203)
Race (black)		-.517*** (.131)	-.972*** (.122)		.927*** (.236)	1.313*** (.233)
Age		.046*** (.002)	.020*** (.002)		.023*** (.004)	.046*** (.004)
<b>Psychological resources:</b>						
Internal efficacy			.547*** (.042)			-.323*** (.082)
External efficacy			.048 (.040)			-.190* (.077)
Political interest			2.150*** (.053)			-2.028*** (.101)
Partisan intensity			.644*** (.038)			-.526*** (.073)
Constant	11.49*** (.213)	-1.600*** (.395)	-2.775*** (.294)	4.790*** (.380)	13.096*** (.551)	19.961*** (.573)
<i>F</i>	41.689***	216.323***	329.949***	1,414.957***	1,131.829***	991.976***
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.029	.186	.297	.483	.522	.536
<i>N</i>	17,918	17,918	17,918	19,708	19,708	19,708

SOURCE.—National Election Studies Cumulative File.

NOTE.—Cell entries represent the unstandardized regression coefficients. Standard errors are in parentheses.

<sup>+</sup> *p* < .10.

\* *p* < .05.

\*\* *p* < .01.

\*\*\* *p* < .001.

ATKESON, LONNA R., RAPOPORT,  
RONALD B.

- Role of socialization in family!
- Women influenced by political interest of their mothers
- Reported highly interested mothers -> reported high interest
- Problem? (only 20 % of all respondents reported to have highly interested mothers)
- No such effect for men
- Female role models!



## GENDER GAPS IN KNOWLEDGE?

- Consistent
- Across countries
- Persistent
- Women are less knowledgeable than men

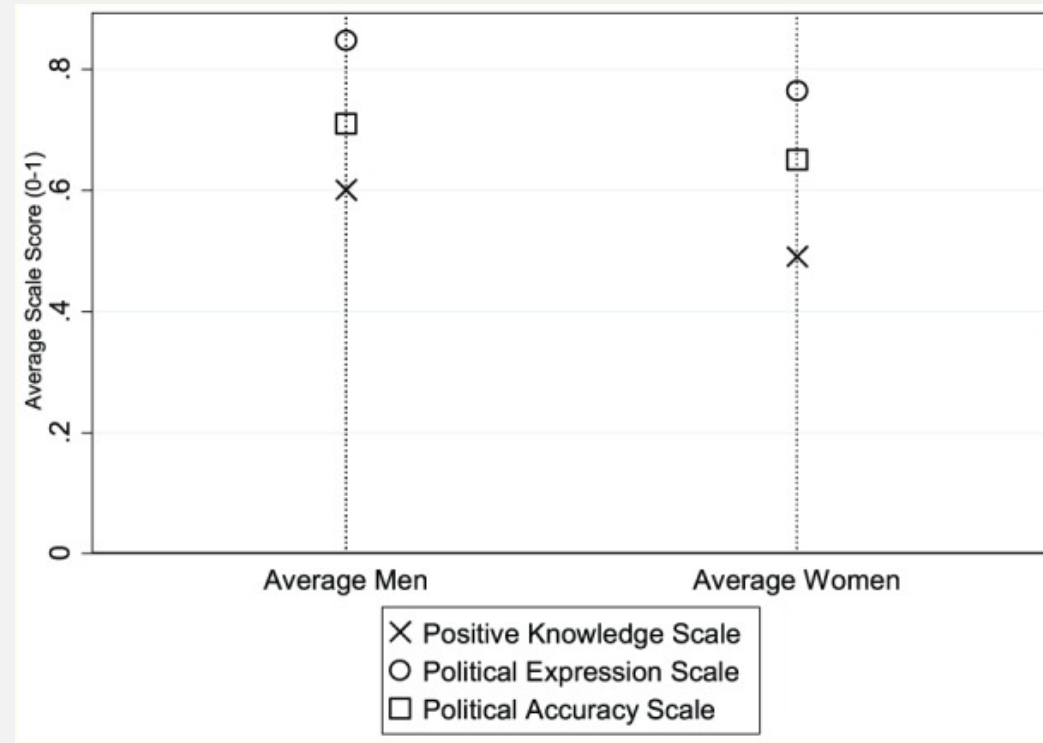
# EXPLAINING KNOWLEDGE GAP

- SURVEY QUESTIONS
  - Men have high “propensity to guess”
  - Women select “Don’t know” option
- SOCIETAL STRUCTURE AND RESOURCES
  - Surveys ask for specific type of knowledge
  - Women have different experiences (more practical, public services, welfare) (Dolan 2011)
  - Political attentiveness, education, socialization, motivation
- POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS
  - Proportional electoral rules provide additional incentives for parties to mobilize women , this leads to more engagement (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012)

# JESSICA FORTIN-RITTBERGER: CROSS-NATIONAL GENDER GAPS IN POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

- 106 post-election studies, 74 countries, 1996-2011
- Positive Knowledge Scale (only correct answers)
- Political Expression Scale (any indicated answers)
- Political Accuracy Scale (without DKs)

# CROSS-NATIONAL GENDER GAPS IN POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE



## INTERESTING RESULTS

- Highest gap: Greece (2009), Switzerland (1999, 2003, 2007), and Taiwan (1996, 2004, 2008)
- Finland 0.03 in 2011; but 0,15 in 2003
- Mexico (same questions): from 0.06 to 0.14 over four elections
- What warning does it give us?

Multilevel Mixed-Effects Ordered Logistic Regressions Estimating Additive Political Knowledge Scores in Individuals.

	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )
Micro-level covariates			
Gender (1 = <i>women</i> )	-0.385 <sup>*</sup> (0.00)	-0.424 (0.00)	-0.061 (0.27)
Age	0.014 <sup>***</sup> (0.00)	0.244 <sup>***</sup> (0.02)	0.009 <sup>***</sup> (0.00)
Education	0.274 <sup>***</sup> (0.02)	0.137 <sup>***</sup> (0.02)	0.181 <sup>***</sup> (0.02)
Income (quintiles)	0.158 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.051 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.094 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)
Who is in power makes a difference	0.053 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.056 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.035 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)
Who people vote for makes a difference	0.051 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.082 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.029 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)
Closeness to a party (1 = <i>yes</i> )	0.069 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.114 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.029 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)
Vote in current elections (1 = <i>yes</i> )	0.144 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	0.012 <sup>***</sup> (0.00)	0.092 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)
Macro-level covariates			
% of women in parliament	-0.012 <sup>**</sup> (0.00)	0.003 (0.03)	0.045 <sup>*</sup> (0.02)
Survey mode			
Face to face (ref.)	—	—	—
Telephone	-0.008 (0.08)	-0.798 (0.57)	-0.073 (0.10)
Self-administered	-0.094 (0.08)	-0.494 <sup>***</sup> (0.10)	0.027 (0.03)
Mixture	-0.451 <sup>***</sup> (0.09)	-1.324 <sup>*</sup> (0.72)	-1.029 <sup>***</sup> (0.13)
Questions			
Format: true/false (ref.)	—	—	—
Format: multiple choice	-0.310 <sup>*</sup> (0.18)	0.529 (1.43)	0.509 (0.67)
Format: open	0.176 <sup>*</sup> (0.10)	-0.192 (0.80)	1.466 <sup>***</sup> (0.41)
Format: mix	0.062 (0.08)	1.277 (1.44)	1.501 <sup>***</sup> (0.08)
One gender-specific item (1 = <i>yes</i> )	-0.030 (0.08)	-0.610 (0.45)	1.420 <sup>***</sup> (0.27)
Mean country score (difficulty)	2.182 <sup>***</sup> (0.11)	1.549 <sup>***</sup> (0.45)	2.645 <sup>***</sup> (0.16)
Content: national focus (ref.)	—	—	—
Content: national and international	0.156 <sup>***</sup>	-1.285 <sup>**</sup>	-0.552 <sup>***</sup>
Observations	100,188	75,766	95,730
Election studies	77	64	77
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.11	.07	.07

MONDAK, JEFFREY, ANDERSON MARY R.  
2004

- Men are less prone to indicate DK
- Women less prone to guessing, indicate DK
- Vocabulary data for Citizen Participation Study
  - Women indicate more DKs in vocabulary test than men
  - The phenomenon related not only to politics

TABLE 5  
 “Don’t Know” Responses and the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge

	OLS Regression Estimates	Ordered Logistic Regression Estimates
Constant	-.71** (.22)	-2.67*** (.36)
Gender	-.50*** (.09)	-.90*** (.15)
Education	.12*** (.01)	.22*** (.02)
Age	.01*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)
Black	-.34*** (.09)	-.62*** (.16)
Hispanic	-.27* (.11)	-.46* (.18)
Attentiveness to National Politics	.35*** (.03)	.58*** (.06)
External Political Efficacy	.17*** (.02)	.29*** (.04)
Survey Version	.14 (.09)	.22 (.17)
Gender x Survey Version	.27* (.12)	.49* (.22)
Cut-point #1		1.47*** (.10)
Cut-point #2		2.71*** (.12)
Cut-point #3		4.10*** (.14)
Adj. R <sup>2</sup> /Model $\chi^2$	.35	526.36
Number of Cases	1,196	1,196

Source: 1998 NES Pilot.

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

\*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ .

MONDAK AND  
 ANDERSON  
 2004



# HOW ABOUT ROLE MODELS IN POLITICS?

- Presence of women in politics
  - Descriptive representation
  - Substantive representation
  - Feedback to voter that women can win

Descriptive underrepresentation creates psychological barriers

Signals uneven status

ATKESON, LONNA R. 2003.

Visibility of the female candidate is  
curtail

Not visible candidates = not powerful

Visibility as viability

TABLE 1

Intergender Coefficients and Standard Errors for Models of Objective and Subjective Measures of Political Engagement for Women and Men Citizens in Competitive and Noncompetitive Senatorial or Gubernatorial Contests, Controlling for Political Sophistication, Partisan Intensity, Age Race, Homemaker, Education, Income and Election Year Dummies

	Female Competitive	Female Noncompetitive	Male Competitive	Male Noncompetitive	Estimation Method
Internal Efficacy	.209**** (.056)	-.002 (.077)	.032 (.058)	-.034 (.051)	Ordered Probit
Interest in Campaigns	.074 (.047)	.006 (.081)	-.012 (.059)	-.117 (.081)	Ordered Probit
Discuss Politics	.409**** (.116)	.215 (.221)	.084 (.152)	-.394** (.175)	Logistic Regression
Discuss Politics Often	.139** (.059)	-.056 (.085)	.051 (.048)	-.254**** (.076)	Ordered Probit
Convince Others	.380** (.160)	-.030 (.131)	.104 (.144)	-.487**** (.152)	Logistic Regression
Comments on the Parties	.400* (.236)	.218 (.286)	.327 (.294)	.389 (.431)	OLS
Percentage Don't Know	-1.05* (.621)	-.670 (.870)	-1.09*** (.403)	.321 (.557)	OLS

Note: Standard Error in Parentheses.

Note: \* $p > .10$ , \*\* $p > .05$ , \*\*\* $p > .01$ , \*\*\*\* $p > .001$ .

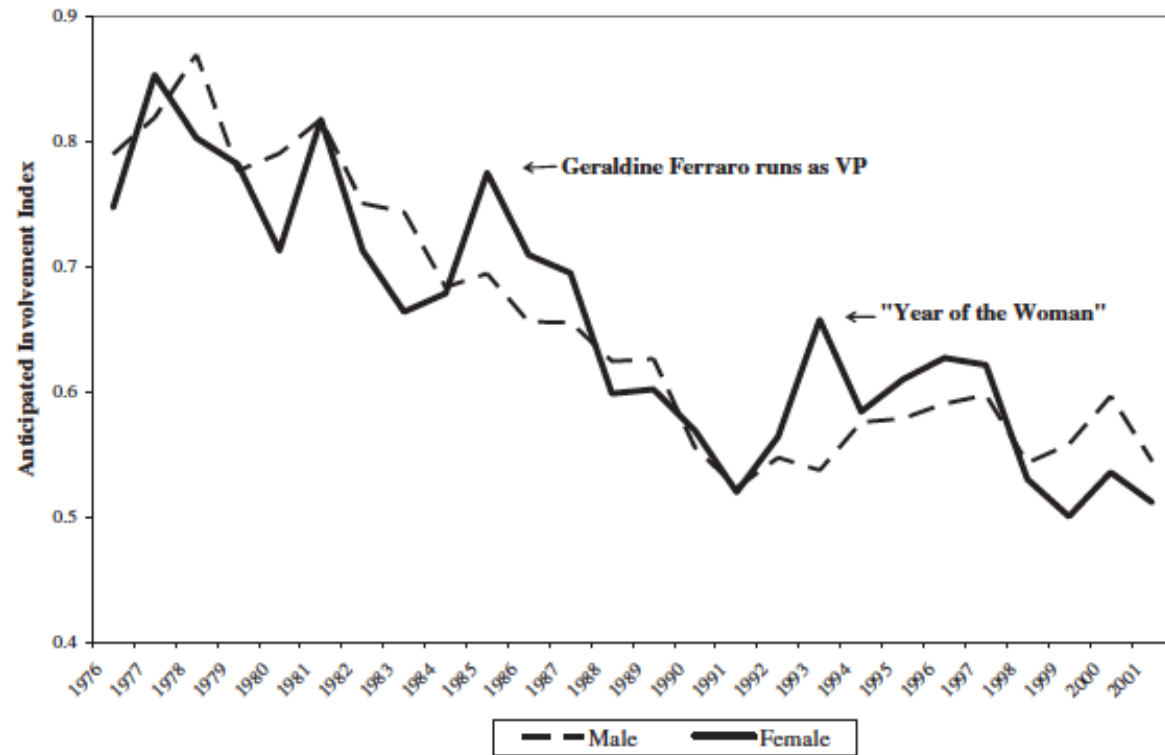
## FEMALE POLITICIANS AS ROLE MODELS FOR ADOLESCENTS

- *“What made the 1994 campaign [for governor] worthwhile was the realization that I had become a role model for women and young girls,” Collins said, adding that a girl told her after the election, “You made me feel I could do anything.”* – Susan Collins (R, ME), U.S. Senator

## VISIBILITY OF CANDIDATES

- Character of office
- Viability
- When gender is salient
  - The first woman to run

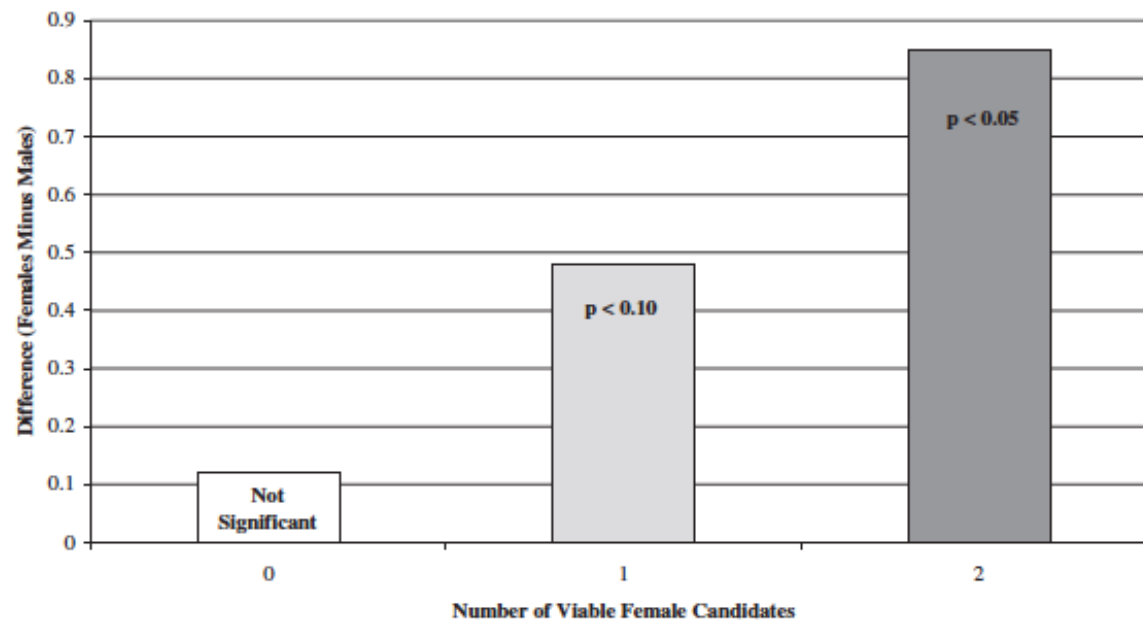
# ADOLESCENTS' POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT (CAMPBELL AND WOLBRECHT)



Source: Monitoring the Future series.

Note: Anticipated Involvement Index has a range of 0-3.

**FIGURE 3** Female–Male Differences in Anticipated Involvement Index



*Note:* Calculated from results reported in Table 1 (column 2). All control variables set to their means. P values refer to differences in expected values for females vs. males, based on confidence intervals generated through simulation by CLARIFY (Tomz, Wittenberg, and King 2003).

TABLE 1 Impact of Female Candidates on Anticipated Political Involvement Index II, 1999

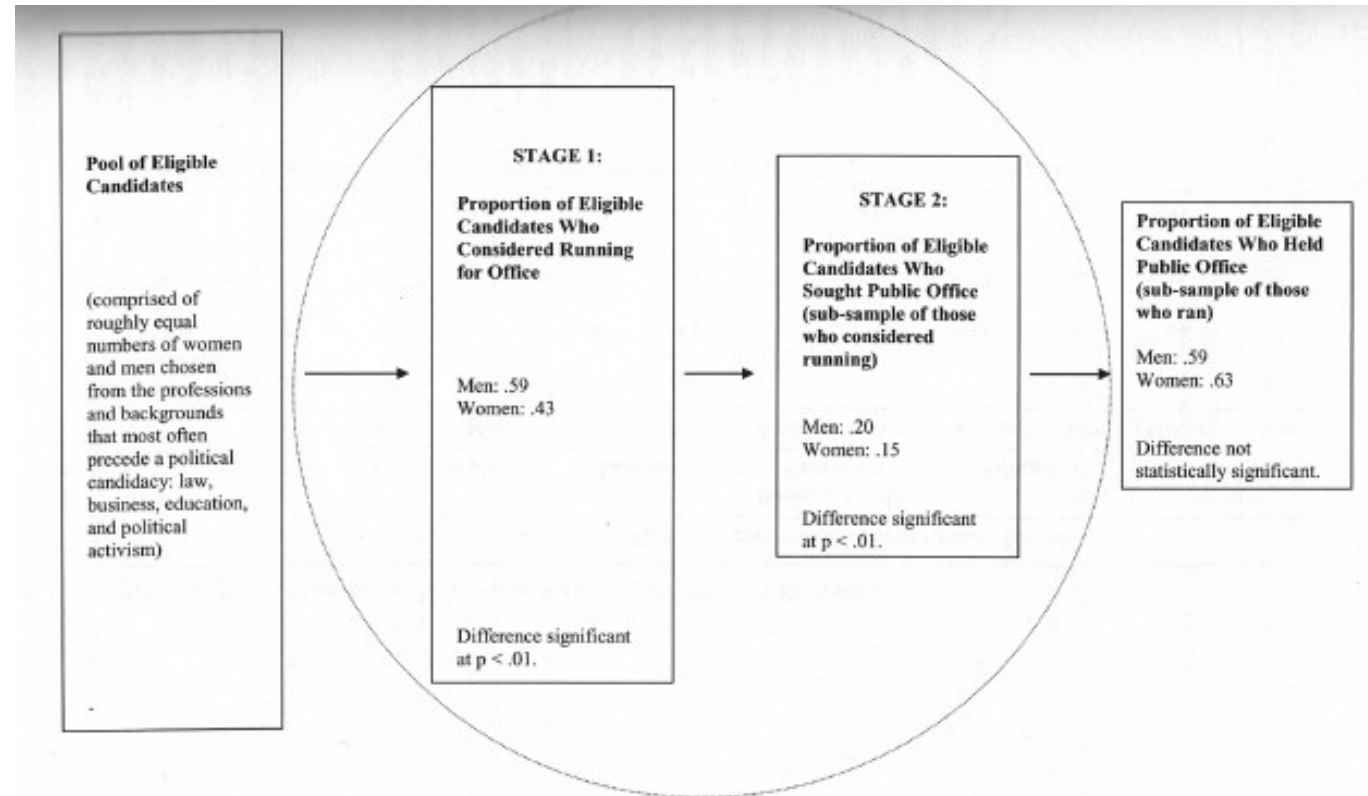
	<i>Impact of Total Female Candidates</i> (1)	<i>Impact of Viable Female Candidates</i> (2)	<i>Mechanism 1: Political Roles for Women</i> (3)	<i>Mechanism 2: Government Responsiveness</i> (4)	<i>Mechanism 3: Political Discussion</i> (5)
<i>Gender Variables</i>					
Female X Total Female Candidates	.258* (.147)				
Female X Viable Female Candidates		.364** (.180)	.392** (.192)	.307** (.206)	.170 (.195)
Female	.121 (.156)	.118 (.160)	-.117 (.177)	.007 (.214)	.206 (.200)
Total Female Candidates	-.190* (.111)				
Viable Female Candidates		-.240* (.146)	-.262 (.166)	-.173 (.181)	-.131 (.167)
<i>Mechanisms</i>					
Political Roles for Women			1.024** (.487)	.845 (.548)	.720 (.490)
Government Responsiveness				2.529*** (.526)	2.135*** (.477)
Political Discussion: Parents					2.473*** (.322)
Political Discussion: Peers					.966** (.320)
Political Discussion: Teachers					.389 (.245)

# GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL ABITIONS

- Politics as a reasonable career for men not for women
- Women in eligible positions consider political career less often



LAWLESS  
AND FOX  
2014



Notes: Results are based on 2001 survey data.

# LAWLESS AND FOX 2014

TABLE 3.5. *Eligible Candidates' Levels of Engagement in Activities That Often Precede a Political Candidacy*

Question: Have you ever . . .	Women	Men
Discussed running with friends and family?	22% <sup>**</sup>	33%
Discussed running with community leaders?	9 <sup>**</sup>	15
Investigated how to place your name on the ballot?	6 <sup>**</sup>	13
Discussed running with party leaders?	6 <sup>**</sup>	12
Solicited or discussed financial contributions with potential supporters?	3 <sup>**</sup>	7
N	1,653	1,870

Notes: Results are based on the 2001 survey data. Significance levels of chi-square test comparing women and men: <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < .01$ .

# WHY?

- Parties ask women less than men to run
- Women tend to perceive themselves as underqualified
- Gap in perceived objective skills and confidence
- Men more likely to be confident in skills they do not possess and confident in skills they possess (Kling et al. 1999)
- Women modest in their achievement (Wigfield, Eccles, Pintrich 1999)
- Men overestimate intelligence and women underestimate intelligence (Furnam Rawles 1996)

TABLE 6.1. *Eligible Candidates' Perceptions of Their Qualifications to Run for Office*

Eligible candidates who self-assess as ...	Women	Men
Not at all qualified	28%**	12%
Somewhat qualified	33**	27
Qualified	25**	34
Very qualified	14**	26
N	1,640	1,853

Notes: Results are based on the 2001 survey data. Significance levels of chi-square test comparing women and men: \*\*  $p < .01$ .

TABLE 6.2. *Eligible Candidates' Perceptions of Their Likelihood of Winning a Political Race*

Eligible Candidates who think winning a race for the first office they sought would be ...	Women	Men
Very unlikely	31%**	19%
Unlikely	44	43
Likely	22**	30
Very likely	3**	7
N	1,405	1,543

Notes: Results are based on the 2001 survey data. Number of cases includes only those women and men who never ran for office. Significance levels of chi-square test comparing women and men: \*\*  $p < .01$ .

TABLE 6.3. *Gender Differences in Eligible Candidates' Perceptions of Political Skills*

	Women	Men
Knowledgeable about public policy issues	46%**	59%
Professional experience relevant to politics	66**	74
Good public speaker	57**	66
Good fundraiser	13**	21
Good self-promoter	17*	21
N	913	1,095

Notes: Results are based on the 2008 survey data. Entries indicate the percentage of respondents who self-assess as possessing the skill. Sample sizes vary slightly because some respondents omitted answers to some questions. Significance levels of chi-square tests comparing women and men: \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ .

# ACTUAL DECISIONS TO RUN

TABLE 7.6. *Factors That Might Encourage Eligible Candidates to Run for Office in the Future*

Percentage of eligible candidates who would be more likely to run for office if ...	Women	Men
<b>Encouraging Political Environment</b>		
Campaigns were publicly financed	60%**	50%
Received the suggestion from party or community leader	49*	53
There was a lot of support for the candidacy	69	72
<b>Encouraging Personal Environment</b>		
Received the suggestion from a friend	25**	33
Received the suggestion from spouse/partner	32**	42
Had more free time	66	70
Had more financial security	56*	61
<b>Credentials, Experience, and Self-Motivation</b>		
Had more impressive professional credentials	28**	21
Had more public speaking experience	33**	22
Had previous experience working on a campaign	43**	36
Had more passions for political issues	43	47
N	1,047	1,247

*Notes:* Results are based on the 2001 survey data. Cell entries represent the percentage of respondents who said that they would be more likely to run for office under the specified condition. N includes only those respondents who have never run for public office, but who have not ruled out entirely the prospects of a future candidacy. Significance levels of chi-square test comparing women and men: \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ .

## IS WOMEN'S VOICE ACTUALLY HEARD

- Question of equal participation
- Is presence of women enough?
- Women's contributions to debates less valued
- Not all reasons and forms of communication constructed socially equal

KARPOWITZ, CHRISTOPHER F.,  
MENDELBERG, T.

- Gap in authority!
- Results in gap in interaction in discussions
- Women not motivated or able to articulate their views
- Women less comfortable in competitive discussions (role of norms of the institution)
  
- Gap in deliberation exists, but not based on ability!
- Gender composition and norm of decision making rules matter

**Table 5.3: Determinants of Speech Participation in Mixed-Gender Groups (Individual-Level Analysis)**

	(1)	(2)
Female	-0.001 (0.049)	0.000 (0.049)
Majority Rule	0.045** (0.024)	0.043** (0.024)
Female × Majority	-0.112** (0.064)	-0.112** (0.063)
Number of Women	0.023** (0.012)	0.024** (0.012)
Female × Number of Women	-0.023 (0.020)	-0.023 (0.020)
Majority × Number of Women	-0.024* (0.015)	-0.023* (0.015)
Female × Majority × Number of Women	0.046** (0.025)	0.046** (0.025)
Egalitarianism		-0.034 (0.035)
Match Group's Predeliberation Preferences		0.002 (0.011)
Constant	0.178*** (0.019)	0.191*** (0.025)
Observations	320	320
R-squared	0.067	0.070
Control for Outlier	Yes	Yes
Control for Experimental Location	Yes	Yes

Note: Dependent variable for both models is individual *Proportion Talk*. Cluster robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ , one-tailed test.

CHAPTER 5 APPENDIX

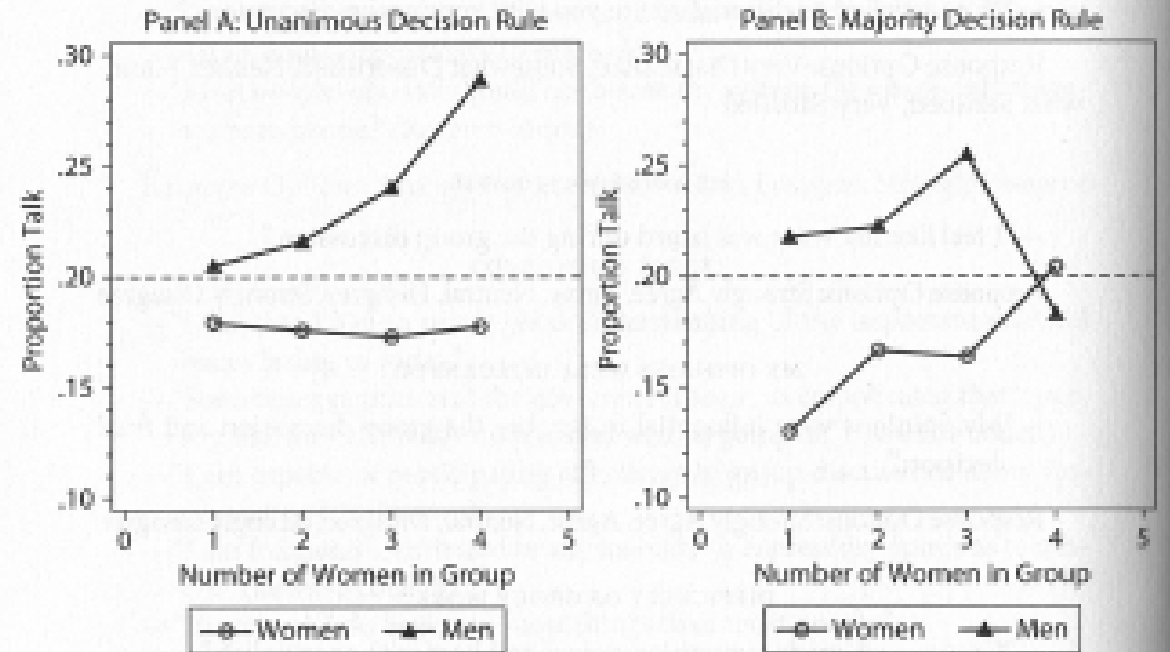


Figure A5.1. *Proportion Talk*, by gender and experimental condition.



## SILENT SEX?

- *"Early in my career, I went to numerous meetings where I was the only woman present. I would want to contribute to the conversation but would think, if I say that, everybody will think that it's really stupid." – Madeleine Albright*

# CONFIDENCE GAP

- Confidence stereotypical masculine
- Schools and gap in perception of boys and girls, girls are silenced in classrooms
- Emphasis on physical appearance, low self-esteem