

THE GLOBAL TREND OF FEMALE
POLITICAL LEADERS AROUND THE WORLD:

HOW DOES THE U.S. MEASURE UP?

presented by **Professor Young-Im Lee**

Part of DCA's ST. NORBERT COLLEGE
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Saturday, March 4, 10 a.m.

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Do you know?

- On average, what is the percentage of women in national parliaments around the world?
- Can you guess 10 countries with the highest percentage of women in the national legislature? ([IPU-Parline as of January 2017](#))
- How many countries around the world have implemented gender quotas?

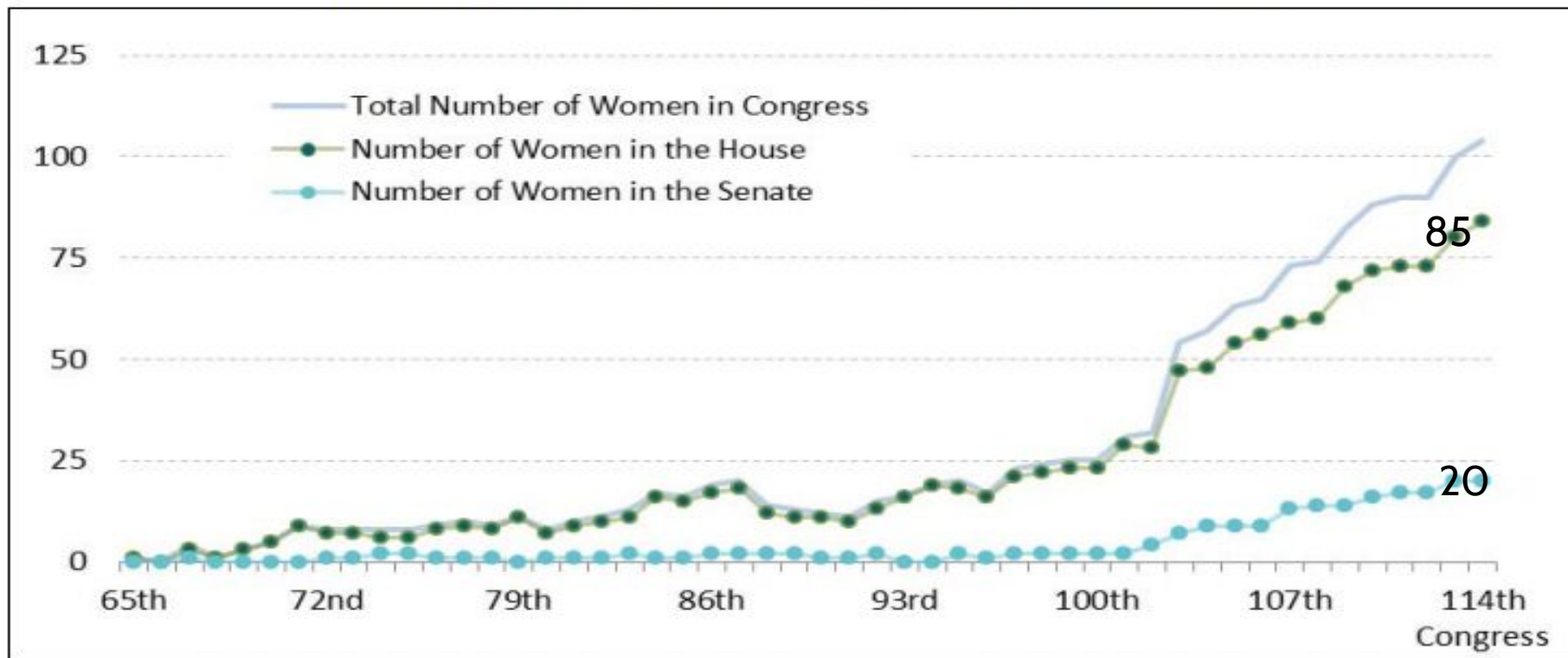


As of January 1, 2017 - world average 23.3%

Countries with gender quotas: 128 out of 196 (65%)

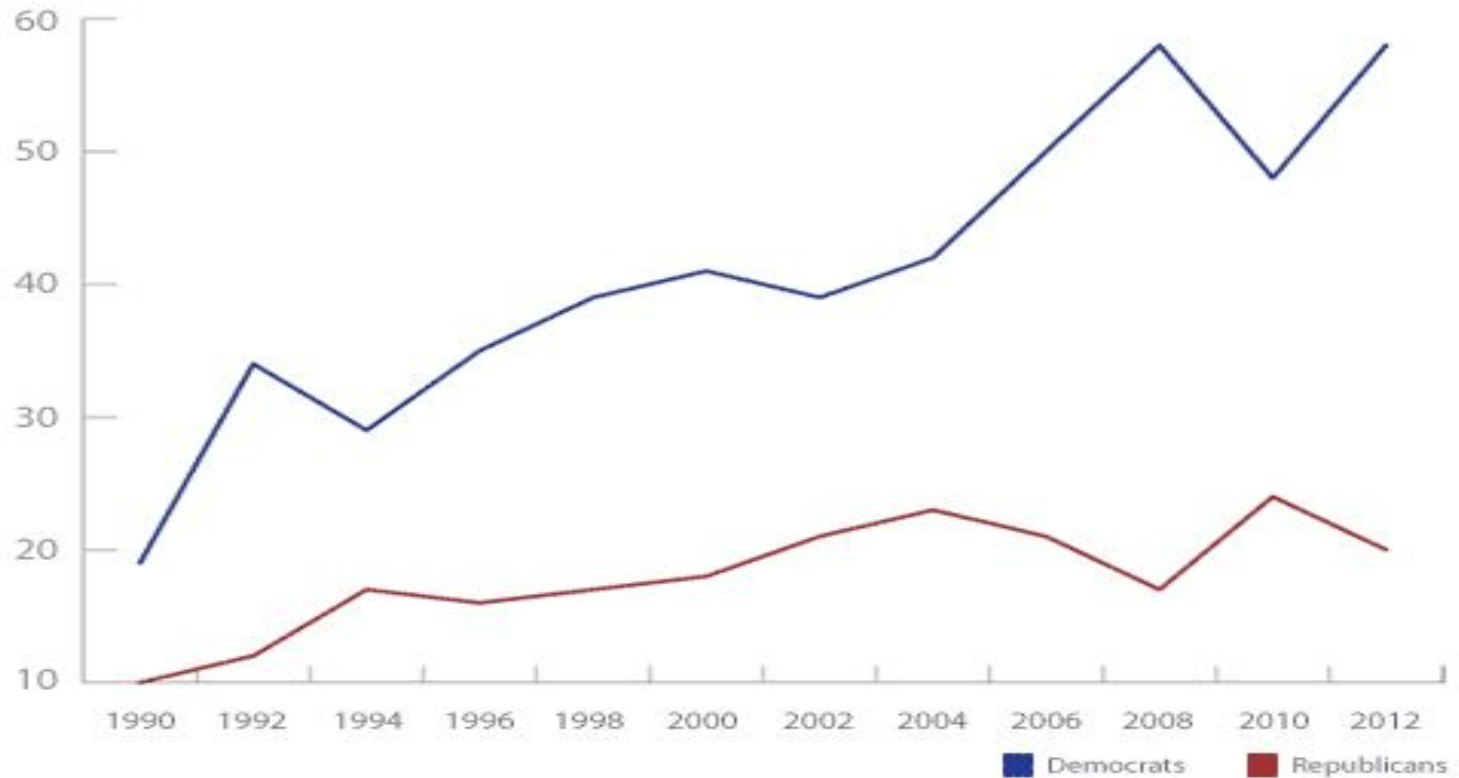
Country	Election	# seats	# w	%w	Quotas	Electoral System
Rwanda	2013	80	51	63.8	yes	Proportional Representation
Bolivia	2014	130	69	53.1	yes	Mixed
Cuba	2013	612	299	48.9	no	Single member district
Iceland	2016	63	30	47.6	yes	PR
Nicaragua	2016	92	42	45.7	yes	PR
Sweden	2014	349	152	43.6	yes	PR
Senegal	2012	150	64	42.7	yes	Mixed
Mexico	2015	498	211	42.4	yes	Mixed
South Africa	2014	400	168	42.0	yes	PR
Ecuador	2013	137	57	41.6	yes	PR
Finland	2015	200	83	41.5	no	PR

Figure 1. Number of Women by Congress: 1917-2015



Source: "Women in the U.S. Congress 2015" fact sheet, Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. Figure compiled by CRS.

Women Winners, House



Source: Sarah Bryner and Doug Weber. 2013. *Sex, Money & Politics*

<https://www.opensecrets.org/news/reports/gender.php#cands>

STATUS OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

- How many women are in the Supreme Court?
- First ladies – subject to particular gender expectations
 - a traditional helpmate role – supporting their husband, staying in the background, women's realm (children, health, and education)



*"For one evening, the inaugural ball gown is
the most important dress in the country."*

Washington Post, January 3, 1997

Source: Smithsonian National Museum of American History



Source: Smithsonian National Museum of American History

A Woman President Wouldn't Erase Centuries Of Male-Dominated Politics

By Christine Laskowski

Filed under Democratic Convention

Published Jul. 26, 2016

AT THE STATE LEVEL



State Fact Sheet – Wisconsin

Source: Center for American Women and Politics
http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/state_fact_sheets/wi

U.S. Congress (Total Seats: 2 U.S. Senators, 8 U.S. Representatives)

Tammy Baldwin (D)	U.S. Senator	2013-present
Gwen Moore (D)	U.S. Representative	2005-present
Tammy Baldwin (D)	U.S. Representative	1999- 2013

State Legislature

Year	State Rank	Senate		Total Women/ Total Senate	House		Total Women/ Total House	Total Women/ Total Legis.	% Total Women
		D	R		D	R			
2017	27	6	3	9/33	13	9	22/99	31/132	23.5

Top 5 States for Women's State Legislative Representation

State	Percent Women
Vermont	40.0%
Nevada	39.7%
Colorado	39.0%
Arizona	38.9%
Illinois	36.2%

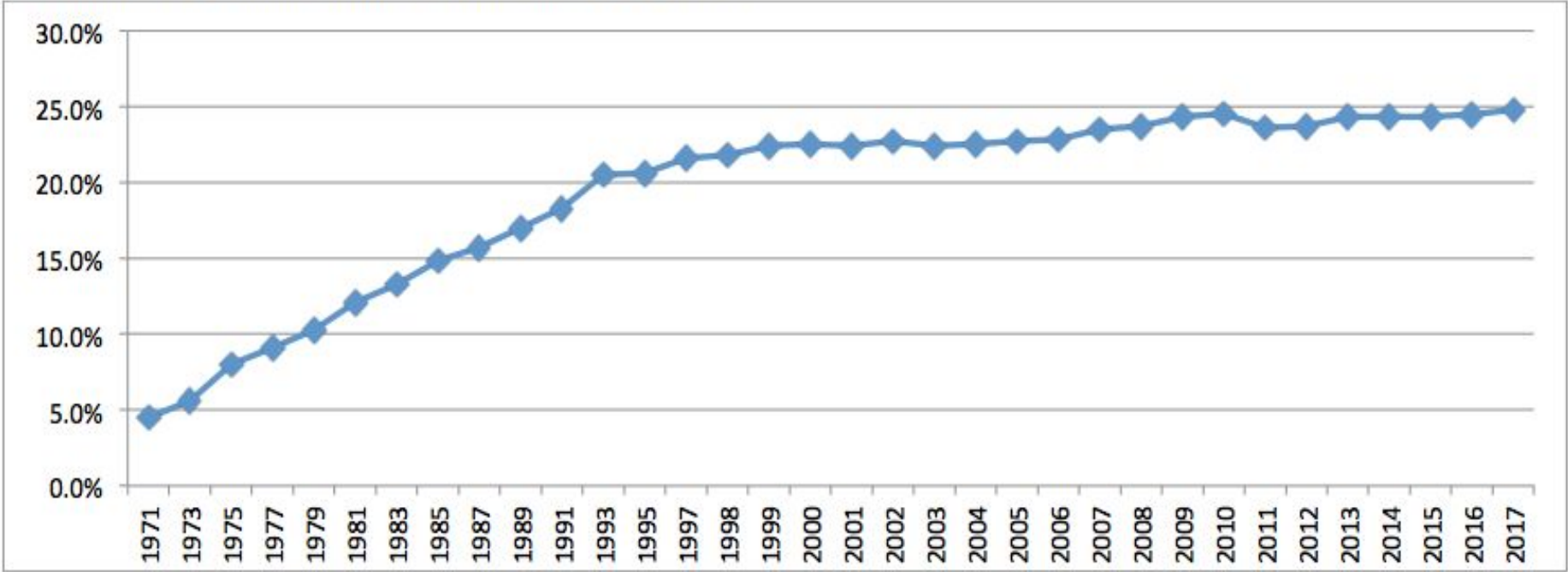
Bottom 5 States for Women's State Legislative Representation

State	Percent Women
Mississippi	13.8%
South Carolina	13.5%
West Virginia	13.4%
Oklahoma	12.8%
Wyoming	11.1%

Source::

http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/closer_look_stleg_1.17.17_final.pdf

Percentage of Women in State Legislatures, 1971-2017



Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University

Note: Data reflects the percentage of women in state legislatures at the end of each year except for 2017.

Women of Color as a Proportion of All State Legislators, by Party and Chamber

	Democrats	Republicans	All Legislators
All Legislators	12.9%	0.7%	5.9%
Representatives	12.9%	0.7%	6.0%
Senators	12.6%	0.7%	5.5%

Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University

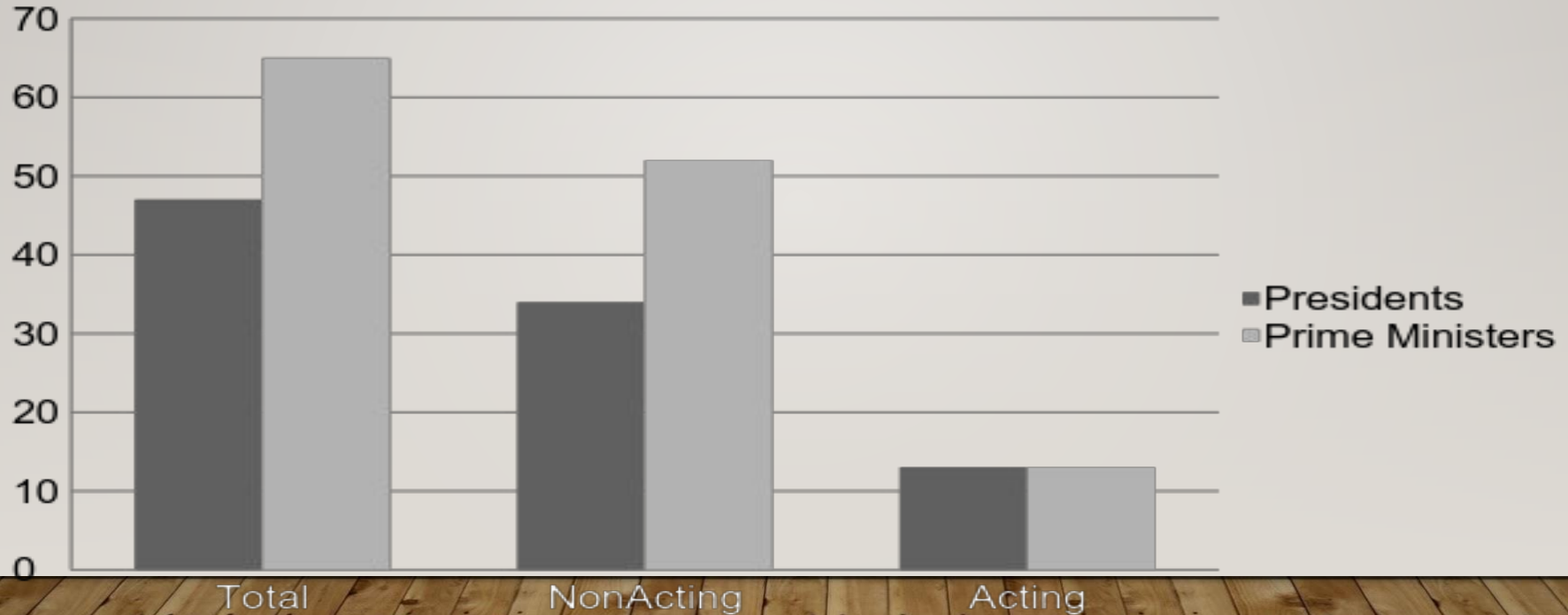
Women Governors, 2017**Kate Brown (D-OR)****Nikki Haley (R-SC)****Mary Fallin (R-OK)****Susana Martinez (R-NM)****Gina Raimondo (D-RI)****Women of Color in Statewide Elected Executive Office, 2017****Asian-American Women****Governor****Nikki Haley (R-SC)****Comptroller****Betty Yee (D-CA)****Black Women****Lieutenant Governor****Jenean Hampton (R-KY)****State Treasurer****Denise Nappier (D-CT)****Latinas****Secretary of State****Nellie Gorbea (D-RI)****Governor****Susana Martinez (R-NM)****Comptroller****Susanna Mendoza (D-IL)****Lieutenant Governor****Evelyn Sanguinetti (R-IL)**

Source:

http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/closer_look_seeO_1.10.17_final_O.pdf

Women Presidents and Prime Ministers (1960- April 2016)

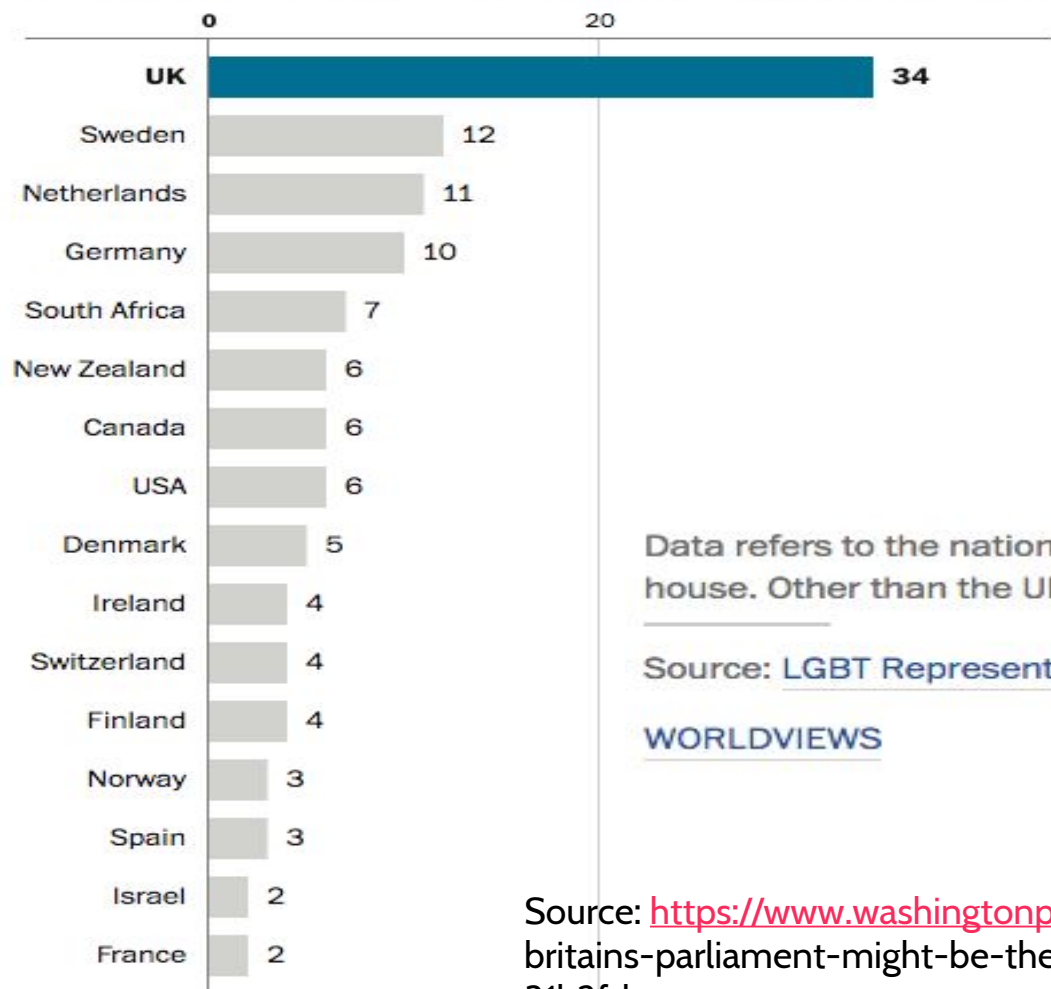
(112 total, 73 countries (8% of all national leaders))



Source: Lee and Jalalzai

LGBT members of Parliament around the world

Countries with more than 1 openly LGBT member of Parliament



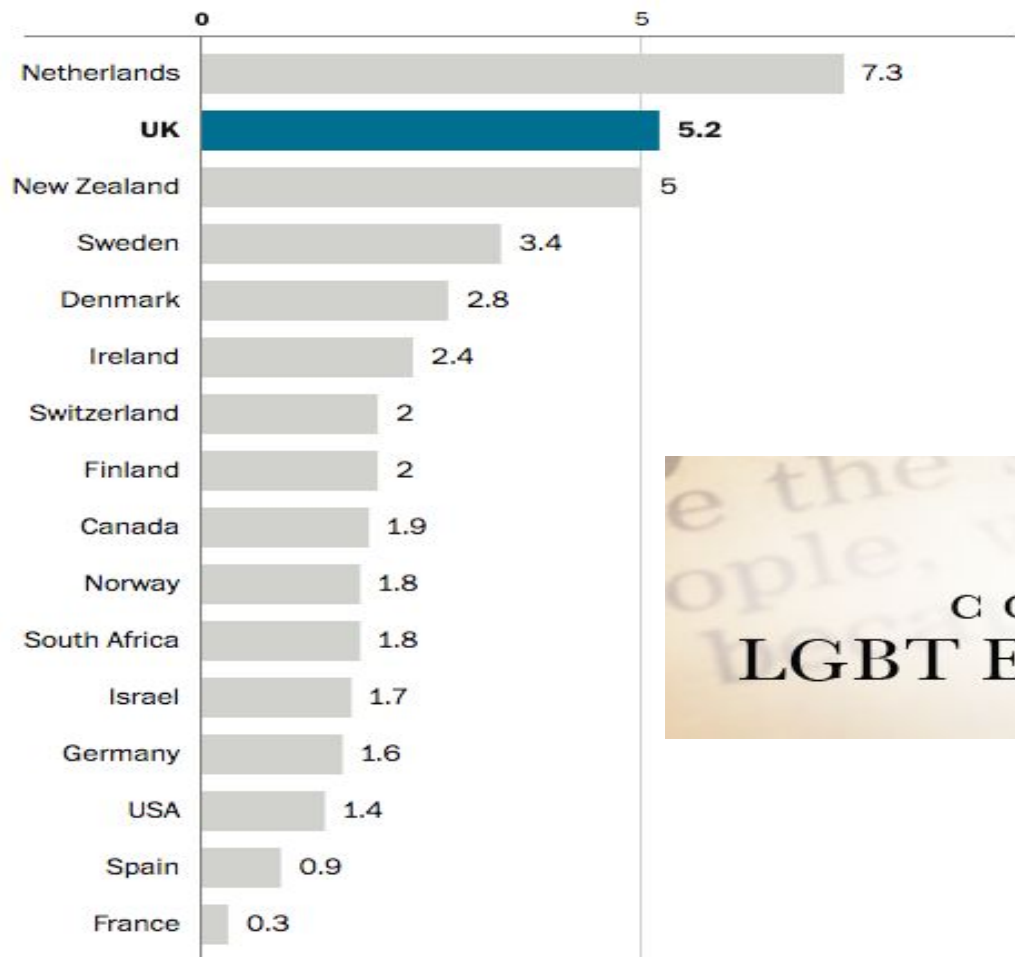
Data refers to the national assembly in each country, not the upper house. Other than the UK, all data is from December 2015.

Source: [LGBT Representation and Rights Research Initiative](#)

[WORLDVIEWS](#)

Source: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/13/britains-parliament-might-be-the-most-lgbt-in-the-world/?utm_term=.dda5df21b2fd

Percentage of current MPs who are openly LGBT



WHAT EXPLAINS THE GENDER DISPARITIES IN POLITICS?

1. Economic growth and human development
 - NO – Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the “Asian Tigers”
2. Institutional barriers
 - Electoral system (district size and voting system), gender quotas
3. Cultural barriers
 - where a culture of gender equality dominates, it provides a climate where de jure legal rights are more likely to be translated into de facto rights in practice

WOULD YOU RUN FOR POLITICAL OFFICE?

- Why or why not?
- What kind of obstacles do you expect to encounter?
- Why do you think having women in the leadership position is important (or not important)?

FIRST: WOMEN - SOCIALIZATION

“Are Women More Honest than Men in Elections?”

(MSNBC) -- the leadership ambition gap

- “violating unwritten rules”
- the myth of “doing it all” (juggling personal and career life)
- personal choice?



LEAN IN

WOMEN, WORK, AND
THE WILL TO LEAD

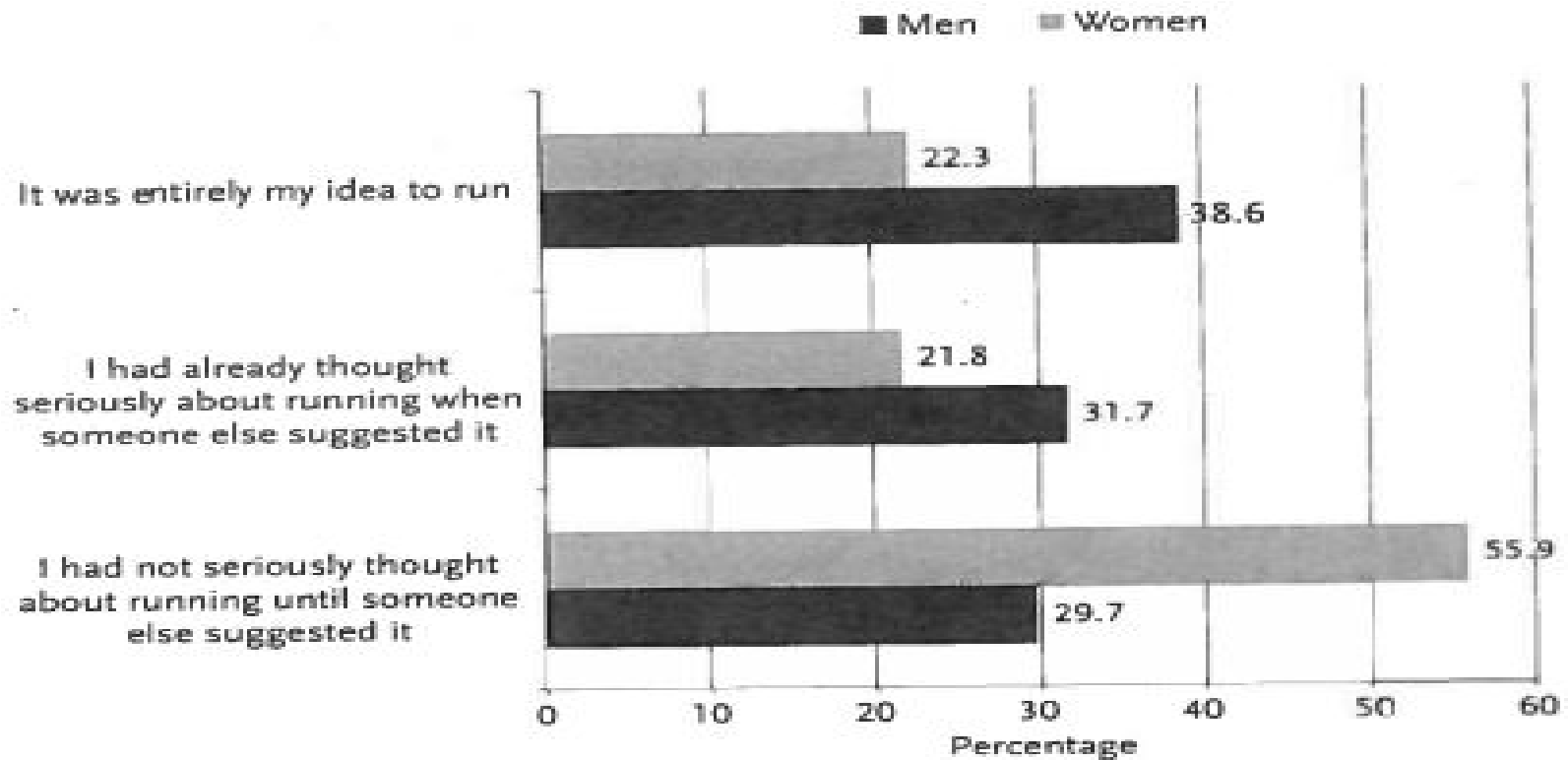


Figure 3.1
The Decision to Seek First Elective Office (among those who ran for the legislature first)
Source: 2008 CAWP Recruitment Study.

IT STILL TAKES A CANDIDATE...

- Women need to be recruited
- Parties matter
- Women's organizations are important but not the most important sources or encouragement
- Marital and parental status
- Fundraising



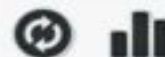
#LikeAGirl Campaign

SECOND: VOTERS?

World Values Survey Wave 6: 2010-2014

[Select Wave](#)[Select Countries](#)[Survey questions](#)**[Responses](#)**[Maps](#)[Time Series](#)

V51.- On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do

Cross by -- Change --Display Show Column % (all responses)

	TOTAL	Country Code				
		Brazil	Iraq	Japan	Sweden	United States
Agree strongly	9.7%	6.7%	43.6%	3.7%	3.3%	3.4%
Agree	20.8%	21.7%	35.7%	23.9%	7.5%	16.0%
Disagree	40.1%	50.8%	16.2%	31.8%	41.2%	54.3%
Strongly disagree	17.7%	17.0%	3.0%	5.5%	44.3%	25.2%
No answer	0.4%	0.3%	-	-	0.3%	1.1%
Don't know	11.3%	3.6%	1.5%	35.0%	3.4%	-
(N)	(8,567)	(1,486)	(1,200)	(2,443)	(1,206)	(2,232)

Selected samples: Brasil 2014, Iraq 2013, Japan 2010, Sweden 2011, United States 2011

29

22

24

19

	United States			
	1994-1998	1999-2004	2005-2009	2010-2014
Men make better political leaders than women do				
Agree strongly	6%	5%	4%	3%
Agree	23%	17%	20%	16%
Disagree	49%	54%	56%	54%
Strongly disagree	15%	19%	18%	25%
Missing; Unknown	-	-	1%	-
No answer	-	-	1%	1%
Don't know	7%	5%	-	-
(N)	1,542	1,200	1,249	2,232

Source: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp>



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MAY 19, 2016



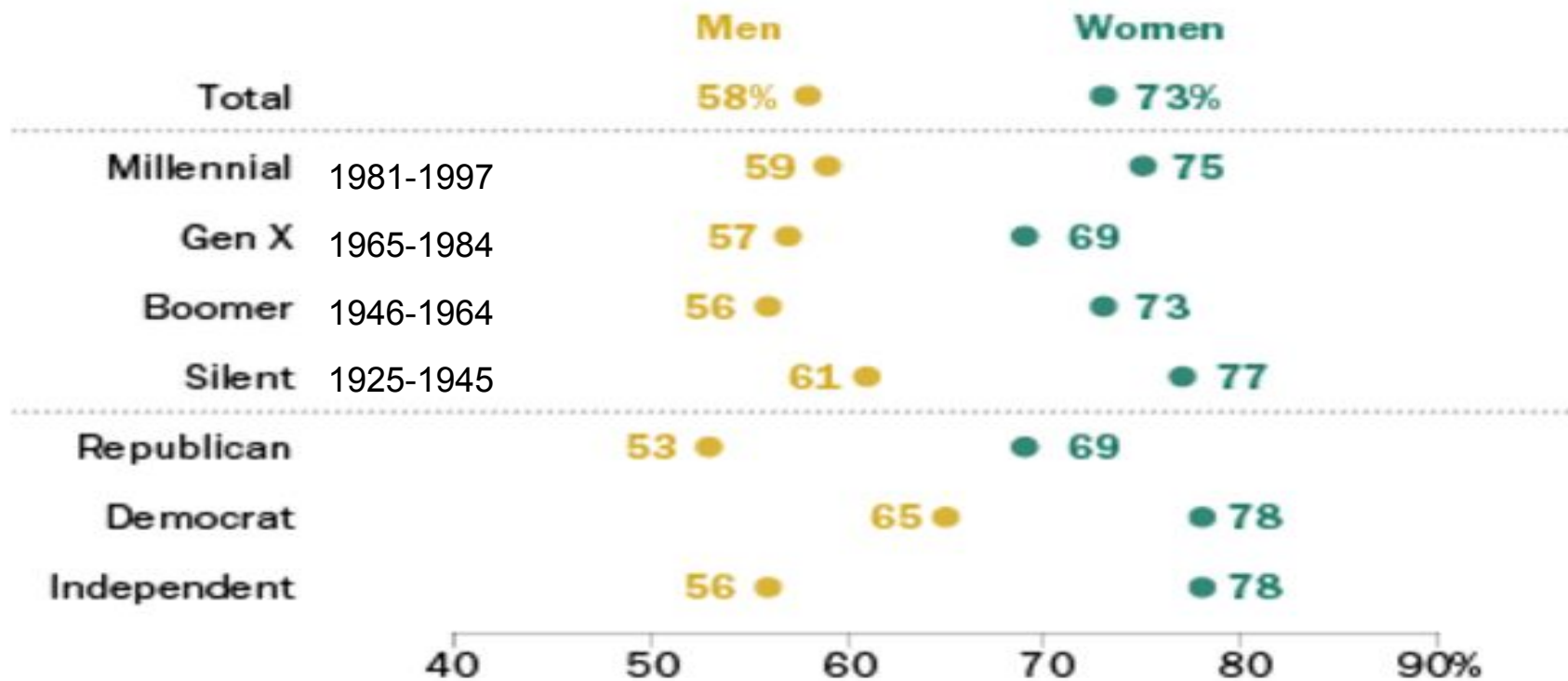
★ Election 2016 ▶

Americans' views of women as political leaders differ by gender

BY **D'VERA COHN** AND **GRETCHEN LIVINGSTON** | 7 COMMENTS

Women more likely to say it's easier for men to get elected

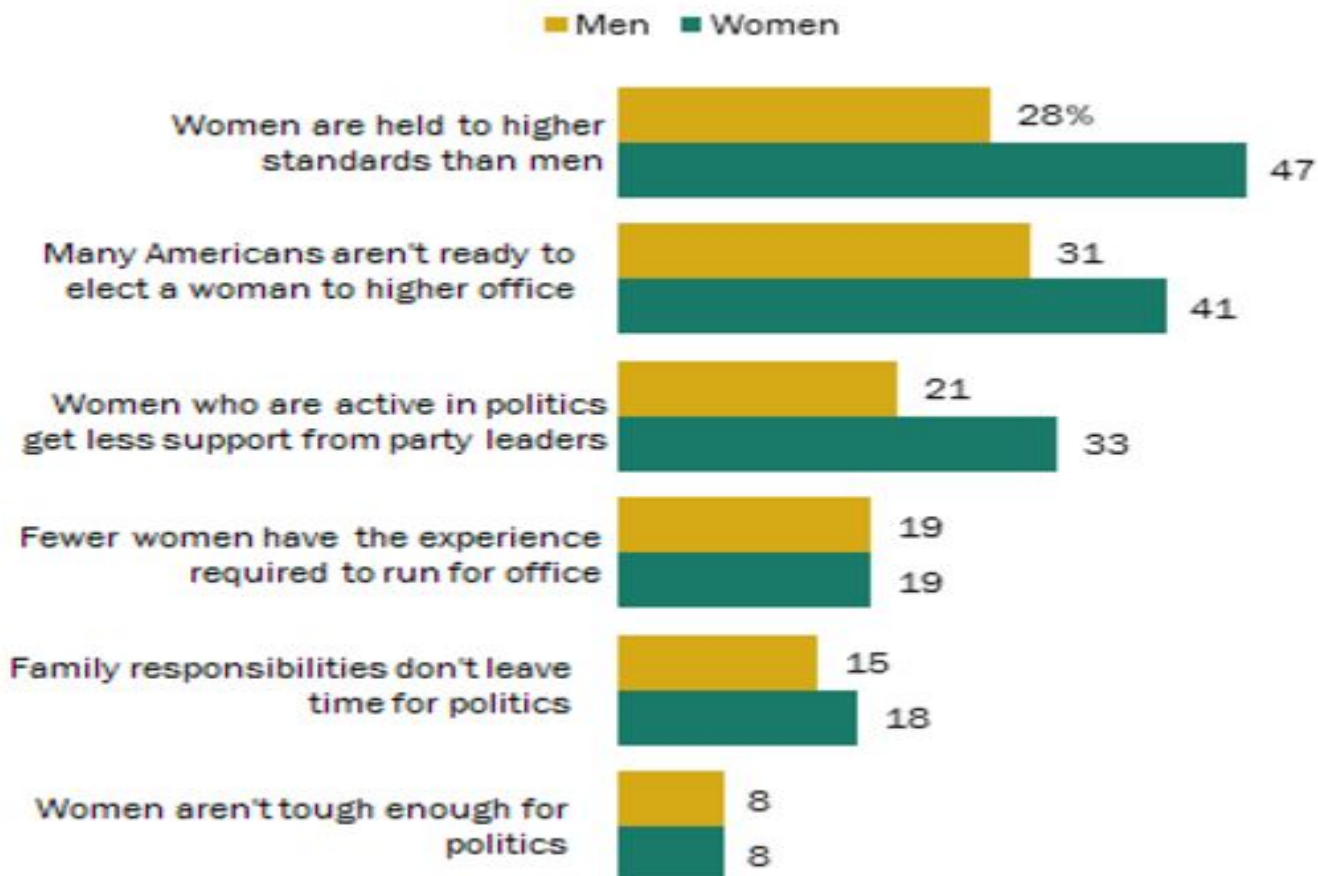
% saying it's easier for men to get elected to high political offices



Source: Survey conducted Nov. 12-21, 2014.

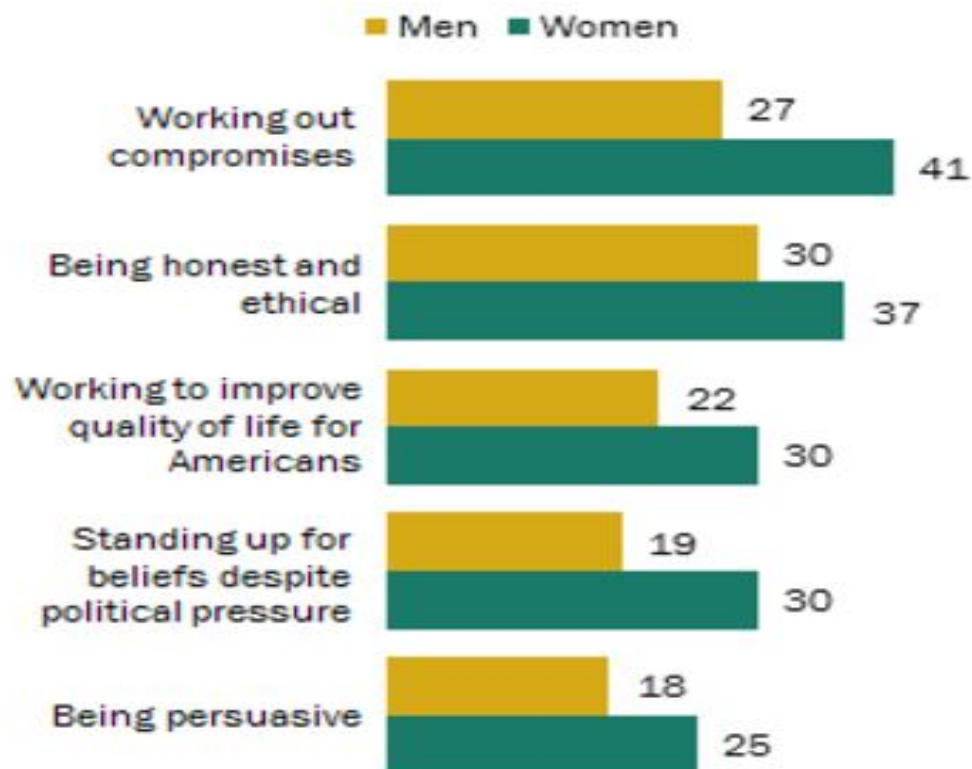
Why aren't more women in top elective offices?

% saying each is a major reason that fewer women hold high political offices



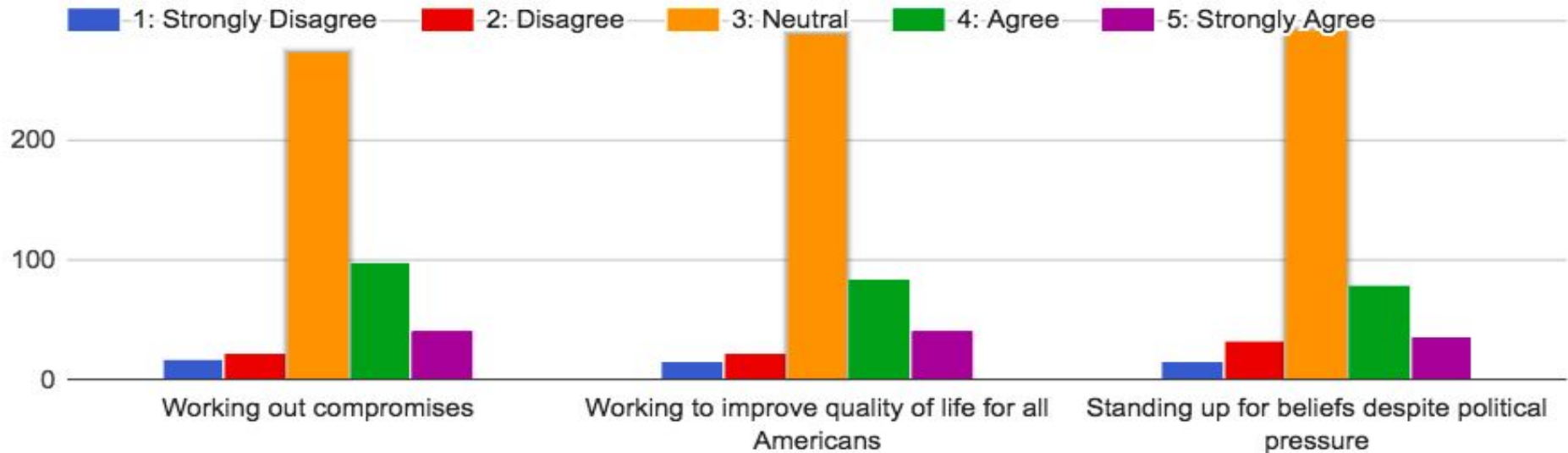
Women see advantages to female political leadership

% saying, in general, women in high political offices are better than men at ...



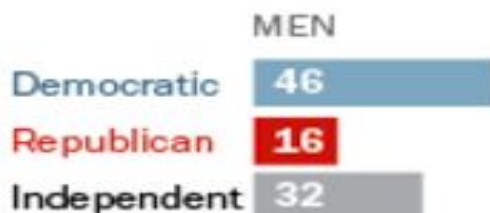
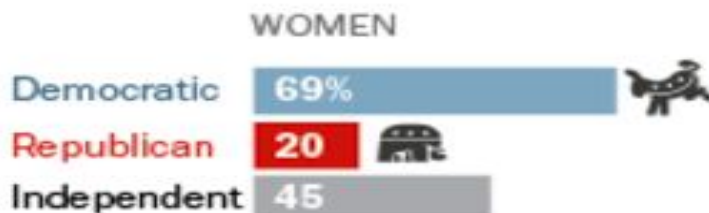
SNC Post-Election Survey

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? In general, women in high political offices are better than men at:



Hoping to see a woman in the White House? Or doesn't it matter?

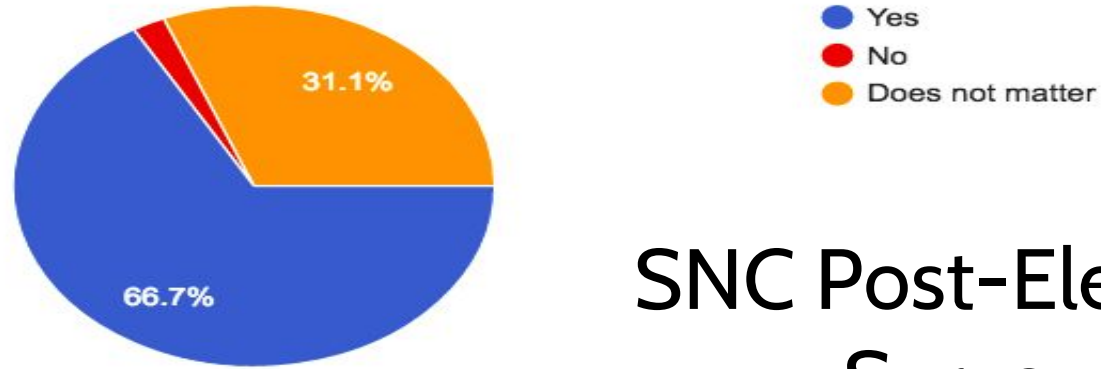
% saying they hope the U.S. elects a female president in their lifetime



Question wording: Do you personally hope the United States will elect a female president in your lifetime, or does that not matter to you?

Do you personally hope to see the US elect a female president in your lifetime?

(453 responses)



SNC Post-Election Survey

Hope to See the US Elect a Female President in Your Lifetime		Does not matter	No	Yes	Total
Gender	Female	66	4	237	309
		21.4%	1.3%	76.7%	100.0%
	Male	74	6	62	142
		52.1%	4.2%	43.7%	100.0%
Total		140	10	299	451
		31.04%	2.23%	66.29%	100.0%

THIRD: MEDIA'S COVERAGE



FOURTH: CAMPAIGN FINANCE

- EMILY's List (Early Money Is Like Yeast) – circa 1985
- It is expensive to run for office!
- Men contribute more frequently and in larger sums of money both to the church and to political causes and candidates

WOMEN AS RECIPIENTS

2016 Presidential Race

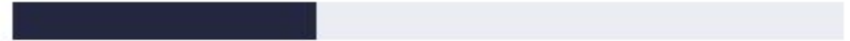


Hillary Clinton (D)

CANDIDATE COMMITTEE MONEY: \$563,756,928



OUTSIDE MONEY: \$206,055,296

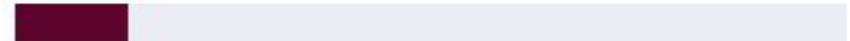


Donald Trump (R) **WINNER**

CANDIDATE COMMITTEE MONEY: \$333,127,164



OUTSIDE MONEY: \$75,253,193



(Darker bar represents outside money; lighter bar represents candidate committee money)

WOMEN AS DONORS

Barack Obama (D) **WINNER**

	Percent of Funds	Number of Contributors	Total Amount
Female	44.1%	135152	\$125,651,592
Male	55.9%	153046	\$158,996,558

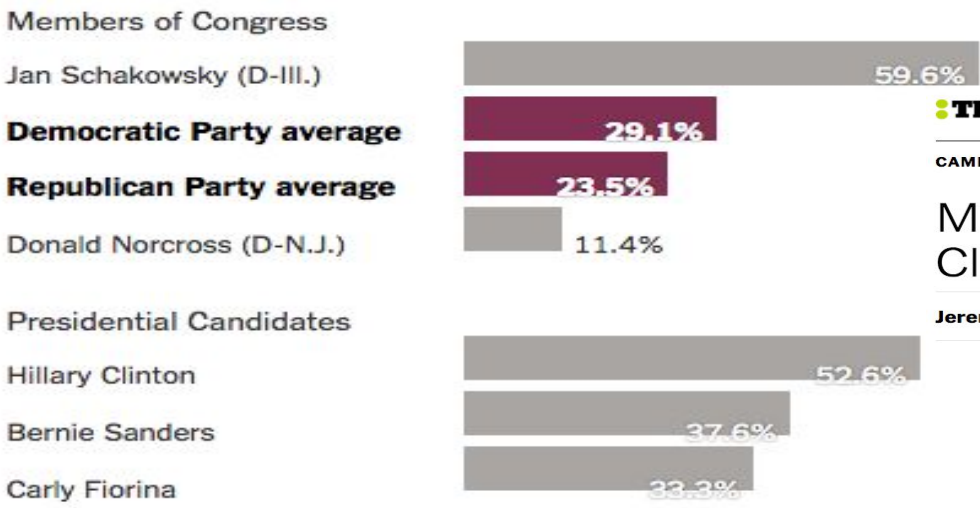
Mitt Romney (R)

	Percent of Funds	Number of Contributors	Total Amount
Female	28.3%	72755	\$97,822,016
Male	71.7%	189039	\$248,311,421

Source:

Gender Gap in Campaign Contributions

Only a few members of Congress receive more than half of their donations from women. All are women and Democrats, like Representative Jan Schakowsky (the highest percentage). The person who receives the least? Donald Norcross, a New Jersey Democrat.



Career contributions over \$200 to sitting members of Congress.
Source: Crowdpac

TheUpshot

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Men Dominate in Political Giving; Hillary Clinton's Donors Are an Exception

Jeremy B. Merrill OCT. 14, 2015

FOLLOW
GET THE



Cycle	Amount from women to Candidates	Amount from Women to Democrats	Percent of women's money to Democrats
1990	\$36,337,893	\$18,870,404	51.9%
1992	\$55,960,955	\$33,003,714	59%
1994	\$64,321,090	\$32,931,025	51.2%
1996	\$77,716,390	\$37,379,474	48.1%
1998	\$77,960,548	\$40,314,856	51.7%
2000	\$109,592,551	\$57,215,459	52.2%
2002	\$113,102,129	\$62,241,691	55%
2004	\$149,905,777	\$80,788,620	53.9%
2006	\$189,249,525	\$108,892,727	57.5%
2008	\$181,868,319	\$106,516,624	58.6%
2010	\$222,570,178	\$117,140,308	52.6%
2012	\$231,810,103	\$120,895,903	52.2%
2014	\$33,800,926	\$18,981,166	56.2%

Source: Sarah Bryner and Doug Weber. 2013. *Sex, Money & Politics*

<https://www.opensecrets.org/news/reports/gender.php#cands>

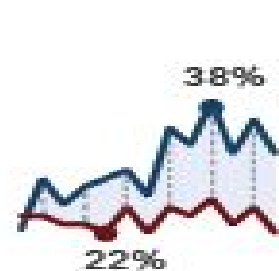
Percent of Candidate Donations from Women

Source: Sarah Bryner and Doug Weber. 2013. *Sex, Money & Politics*

<https://www.opensecrets.org/news/reports/gender.php#cands>

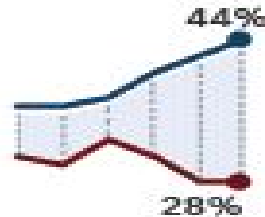
Over time, Democrats have started to rely more heavily on donations from women, but Republicans have not followed suit.

● Dem ● Rep



1990 2014

Congressional
candidates



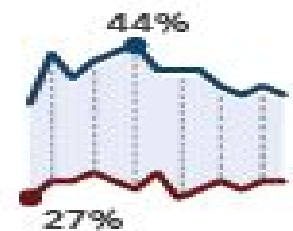
1992 2012

Presidential
candidates



1990 2014

Male
candidates



1990 2014

Female
candidates

TOTAL DONATIONS in millions



Source: Sarah Bryner and Doug Weber. 2013. *Sex, Money & Politics*
<https://www.opensecrets.org/news/reports/gender.php#cands>

FIFTH: POLITICAL PARTIES (GATEKEEPERS)

- Fox and Lawless, Citizen Political Ambition Study

DO WOMEN MAKE A
DIFFERENCE?



WHAT DOES REPRESENTATION MEAN?

- Should a representative be a member of the group one represents? Are “women’s rights” (whatever that means) best represented by women? Race issues? LGBTQ issues? Age? Ability? Class?

DESCRIPTIVE RESENTATIVES

- “individuals who in their own backgrounds mirror some of the more frequent experiences and outward manifestations of belonging to the group” (Mansbridge 1999, 628)
- “visible characteristics” + [assumed] “shared experiences” (Mansbridge 1999, 629)
- Does not guarantee acting for the represented

SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION

Pay attention to what a representative does for the represented - policy responsiveness; enact laws and implement policies that are responsive to the needs or demands of citizens

- Empirical studies show many female legislators do feel an obligation to represent women constituents and prioritize women-friendly agendas
- Bill initiation and passage related to women, families, and children, roll-call votes records on women's issues bills, and spending in areas related to women
- Even after controlling for party affiliation and voter's support for women-related issues (104th - 107th Congress, '95-'03)



Why?

- Some women do feel obligation
- Gender stereotypes -- voters assume women can better handle “feminine” issues (social security, welfare, education, etc)
- Partisan difference -- the “mommy party” and the “daddy party”
- However, status in the assembly affects legislators’ success

WOMEN EXECUTIVES SHOW MIXED PERFORMANCE

- Leadership style - more collaborative to top-down, combination of two
- Cabinet appointment pattern - mixed

Lagos (24%) - Bachelet (50%) - Pinera (26%) - Bachelet (38%)

Kirchner (13%) - Fernandez (22%)

Arias (44%) - Chinchilla (29%) - Solis (40%)

To summarize

The status of women in politics

Explanation on the numerical underrepresentation of women

What do women leaders deliver?



Thank you!

Young-Im Lee (young-im.lee@snc.edu)

gender

	clinton	trump	other/no answer
male 47%	41%	52%	7%
female 53%	54%	41%	5%
24558 respondents			

race and gender

	clinton	trump	other/no answer
white men 34%	31%	62%	7%
white women 37%	43%	52%	5%

black men 5%	82%	13%	5%
black women 7%	94%	4%	2%

latino men 5%	63%	32%	5%
latino women 6%	69%	25%	6%

education among whites by sex

	clinton	trump	other/no answer
white college- grad women 20%	51%	44%	5%
white non- college women 17%	34%	61%	5%

white
college-
grad
men
17%

39%

53%

8%

white
non-
college
men
16%

23%

71%

6%

Romney - 52% College educated WW
Obama - 46%

	clinton	trump	other/no answer
democra tic men 14%	87%	9%	4%
democra tic women 23%	91%	7%	2%

republic an men 17%	7%	89%	4%
republic an women 16%	9%	88%	3%

marital status by gender

	clinton	trump	other/no answer
married men 29%	38%	57%	5%
married women 30%	49%	47%	4%
unmarried men 18%	46%	44%	10%
unmarried women 23%	63%	32%	5%