#### Women in politics: Why are they under-represented?

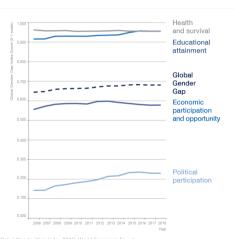
Pamela Campa



Persistent under-representation of women in political decision-making. Progress is slow and scattered.

### Progress on closing the Global Gender Gap



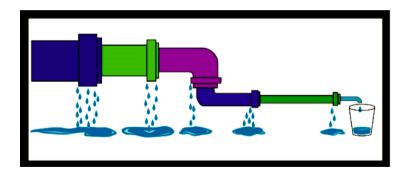


Source: Global Gender Gap Index 2018, World Economic Forum

Under-representation larger and progress slower as seniority of position increases

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#### ⇒ The leaky pipeline



Why are women under-represented in top political jobs?





Supply-side explanation: women less willing to enter politics and climb the career ladder

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  - b. women less likely to see themselves as qualified to run.
- Women tend to shy away from competition (Niederle and Vesterlund, 2007; Preecea and Stoddardb, 2015).
- Women more constrained by family and relational considerations (Folke and Rickne, 2018).

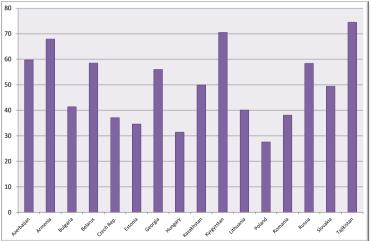
Is the "supply-side" factor quantitatively important? Some evidence suggests it is not

- ▶ Introduction of gender quotas for political positions in many countries worldwide:
  - ⇒ no evidence of "attrition" (Bagues and Campa, 2021)
  - ⇒ no evidence that "quality" of politicians tend to decrease (Baltrunaite et al., 2014, Besley et al., 2017, Bagues and Campa, 2021)



Demand-side explanation: voters and/or parties prefer male to female politicians

Figure: Men make better political leaders than women do, % agreement



Are voters biased against female politicians? Mixed evidence from political science (Krook, 2018) and economics literature:

Are voters biased against female politicians? Mixed evidence from political science (Krook, 2018) and economics literature:

- Parties that are "forced" by gender quota to increase their share of female candidates do not experience worse electoral performance (Bagues and Campa, 2021) ⇒ no voters' bias against women
- Women attract fewer votes in electoral districts with more traditional gender roles ( Barbanchon and Sauvagnat, 2019) ⇒ voters' bias against women

How about parties?

#### How about parties?

- Esteve-Volart and Bagues (2012):
  - Spanish parties tend to nominate female candidates to poorer positions on the ballot, although they attract more votes
  - Political competition improves women's position on the ballot
- Introduction of quotas does not lower "quality" of elected politicians and does not result in worse electoral performance ⇒ low pre-quota share of women in lists due to parties acting as "gate keepers"

#### Which policies can address women's under-representation in politics?

- Quotas: effectiveness depends on design and context; often needed to pull a system out of vicious circle.
- Training programs: scarce data-based evidence.
- Women's organizations within parties: anecdotal evidence that they might be effective; no evidence that they hurt women's career (Childs and Kittilson, 2016)
- Improve distribution of economic roles within couples (Folke and Rickne, 2020)
- Constant monitoring of gender gaps progress is not linear

## Thank you! pamela.campa@hhs.se



STOCKHOLM INSTITUTE OF TRANSITION ECONOMICS

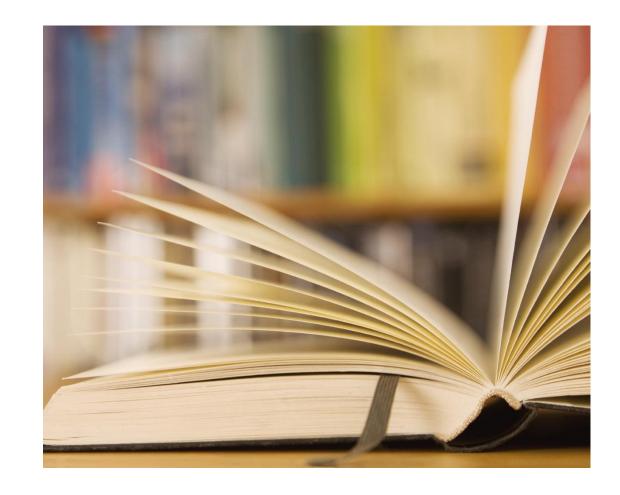
## WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF ARMENIA

Aleksandr Grigoryan (American University of Armenia

Women in Politics: Why Are They Under-Represented

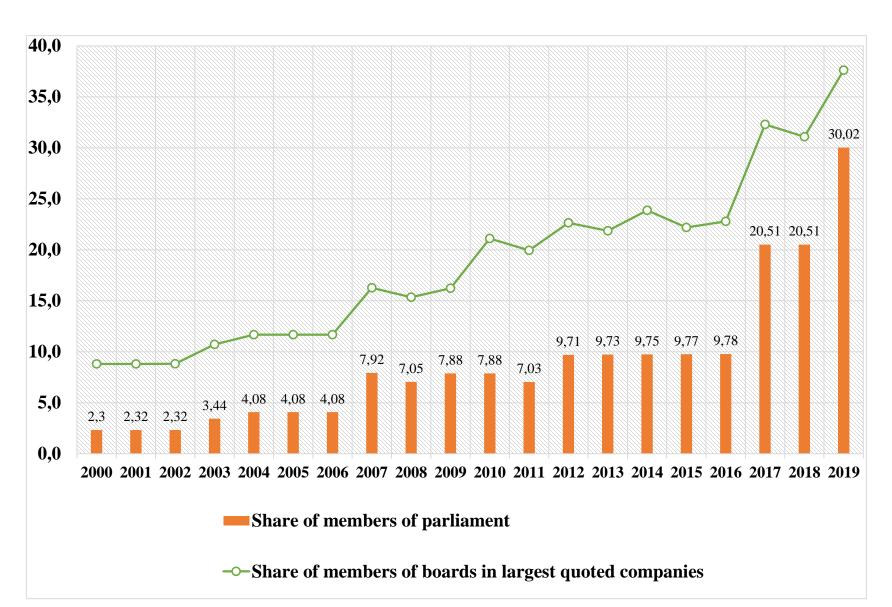
June 22, 2021

**New Economic School** 



# Looking at the Gender Equality Index (ISET)

- Proportion of women in the national parliament has dramatically increased since 2017.
- Overall, we observe an increasing trend since 2007.
- In the new parliament, the share of women is expected to be even higher.
- Economic power, however, continues to be much higher compared to political power



# The main drivers of women representativeness in politics?

- Overall, gender gaps in political, business and other societal areas in Armenia decrease since early 2000s. Political representation, as one of the two representation forms (the other one is economic) is in line with the general tendency. It can be linked to the development of the country with further inclusion of women in diverse layers of societal life, as well as increasing the awareness of women's role in a country development.
- Improved political participation can be linked to a number of civic movements during 2010 2020. Women had an important role in these movements.
- Having a high share of women in parliament is a "sign" of democracy within a (ruling) political party, and it becomes an important factor when competing for parliamentary seats.

# The main drivers of women representativeness in politics

- After the Velvet revolution, women are more represented in politics, and this seems to be a commitment by the new political elite.
- Women representation in executive government continues to be low in Armenia, suggesting that the country is still far from the frontier of women's political representation, based on de-facto, rather than de-jure power.
- A thorough analysis is needed to assess whether a high and increasing economic power held by women in Armenia is an important driver to push women's political representation upward. In other words, whether top-down (political) representation is driven by bottom-up (economic) representation, or the two representation forms move independently.

Thank you!



# Women in Politics: A view from Georgia

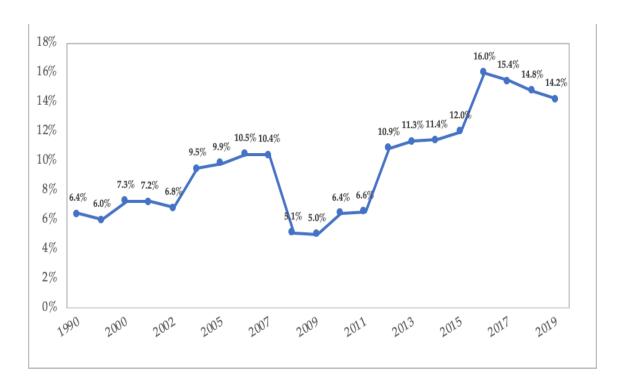
Davit Keshelava

ISET and ISET Policy Institute

POLICY BRIEF SERIES

# Political empowerment: Georgia's weakest link towards gender equality progress?

- Historically, women in the National
   Parliament, local self-governments,
   ministries have also been under-represented in Georgia.
- Unlike these positions, women have been well-represented in Common Law Courts and on the High Council of Justice.



Source: Geostat

## Why are women under-represented in Georgian politics?

- Women's *attitudes towards campaigning and the political environment* and the prevalence of traditional family dynamics/gender roles in the society.
- Traditional family dynamics, which place the burden of family responsibilities on women.
- Candidacy expectations and the gender expectations in the society are incongruent.

#### Recommendations

- Maintaining and expanding gender quotas;
- Implementing policies aimed at increasing female labor market participation;
- Policies addressing the unpaid care work burden and changing traditional gender roles;
- Women-tailored capacity-building trainings.

## **Thank You**







### Women's Political Empowerment in Latvia

Roundtable "Women in politics: why are they under-represented?"

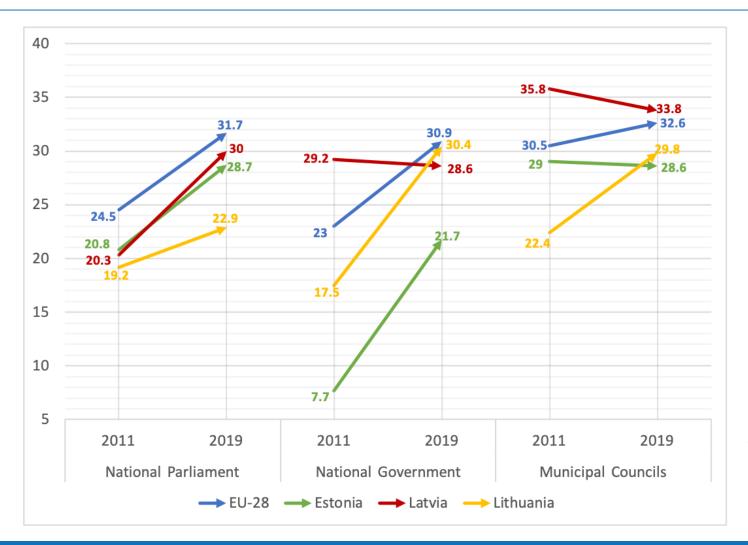
New Economic School, Moscow, June 22, 2021

Dominik Gerber Assistant Professor SSE Riga dominik.gerber@sseriga.edu

### Women in Latvian Politics: Key Data

- Female suffrage since 1918 (France: 1944; Switzerland: 1970)
- 2018 Saeima elections:
  - Representation of Women = 31%
  - Before: consistently <21%</li>
- **-** 2019:
  - Highest gender balance in the legislative body in the Baltic states;
  - #4 in the CEE region (behind North Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo)
  - On par with EU average (31.7%)

# Percentage of Women in Baltic Politics, Nationally & Locally, 2011 and 2019

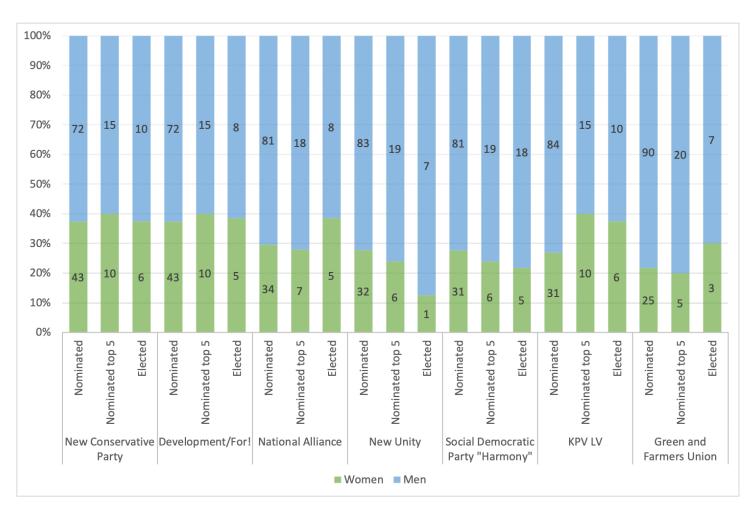


Source: European Institute for Gender Equality EIGE (2020)

#### Policy Lessons for Latvia

- Key obstacles to women's representation in Latvia:
  - Gender gap in political ambition (though not in voter turnout!)
  - Discrimination of women on party ballot lists:

# Gender Ratio in Party Lists and among Elected Candidates (13th Saeima, 2018)



Source: Central Election Commission of Latvia (2018)

#### Policy Lessons for Latvia

- Key obstacles to women's representation in Latvia:
  - Gender gap in political ambition (though not in voter turnout!)
  - Underrepresentation of women on party ballot lists:
  - Low level of ideological stratification in LV's party system
- Policy Lessons:
  - LV's preferential voting system thought to offer decent opportunities for female candidates. So policy reform should target above obstacles:
    - Capacity development initiatives (e.g. awareness-raising initiatives in public schools)
    - Gender quota and placement mandates for electoral lists
    - Pay particular attention to alarming tendencies at the local level!

#### Impact of the gender quota in Poland

Monika Oczkowska (with M. Myck and K. Trzciński)

Centre for Economic Analysis, CenEA

NES Roundtable Women in Politics, 22/06/2021

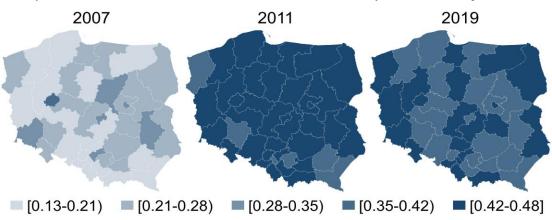






## Does quota on candidate lists translate into more female MPs?

Proportion of women on candidate lists in PL in parliamentary elections



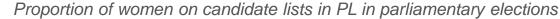
- 2011 introduction of 35% gender quota on candidate lists;
- Average proportion of women across all electoral lists 23% in 2007, 42% in 2019;

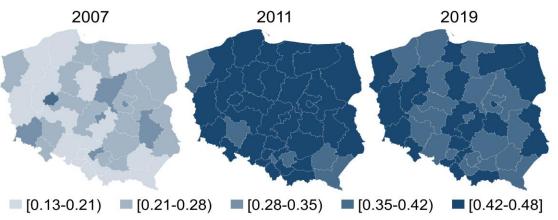






## Does quota on candidate lists translate into more female MPs?





🚧 Sida

- 2011 introduction of 35% gender quota on candidate lists;
- Average proportion of women across all electoral lists 23% in 2007, 42% in 2019;
- Out of the 460 Members of Parliament:
  - in 2007 94 women (20.4%),
  - in 2011 110 women (23.9%),
  - in 2019 132 women (28.7%).
- For female candidates probability of being elected has actually declined (Górecki & Kukułowicz, 2014).

#### Other barriers?

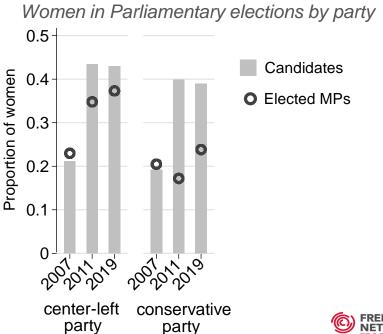
- Pervasive social norms limit greater representation of women in politics:
  - "men make better political leaders than women" 38.5% agreed in 2005, 27.6% in 2017.





#### Other barriers?

- Pervasive social norms limit greater representation of women in politics:
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- Party bias important role of internal party politics:
  - Speed and level of changes strongly related to party's placement on political spectrum;



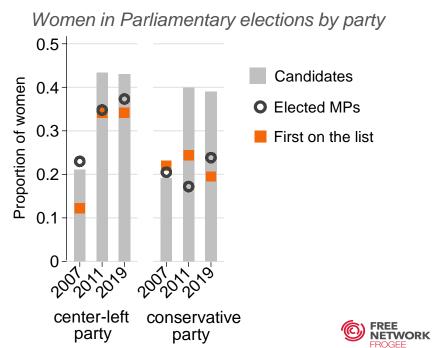






#### Other barriers?

- Pervasive social norms limit greater representation of women in politics:
  - "men make better political leaders than women" 38.5% agreed in 2005, 27.6% in 2017.
- Party bias important role of internal party politics:
  - Speed and level of changes strongly related to party's placement on political spectrum;
  - Quota not fully reflected in % of women in top positions on the lists;
  - Strong correlation between the proportion of women in top positions and those elected as MPs.



# Female representation in Russian politics

Natalia Firsova,
Associate Researcher
Laboratory for Comparative Social Research, NRU HSE

Presented on June 22, 2021 NES international round-table "Women in politics: why are they under-represented?"

# Female representation in Russia at a glance

- In the State Duma (lower house of Parliament) only 15.8% of 450 deputies are women (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021).
- In the Federation Council (the upper chamber of Parliament) the share of women's representation is 17.1% of 170 senators (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021).
- The share of women in regional representative bodies is 18.5%. The highest proportion of female representatives is in the regions (oblasti), autonomous regions and autonomous districts, where it amounts to 25% on average.
- Women are more fairly represented at the lowest municipal

   level of Russian politics. Nearly 31% of municipal deputies
   are female (Hoare and Muravyeva, 2020).

### Gender Stereotypes

- The majority of the adult population in Russia considers that men make better political leaders than women: 51% of women and 65% of men agreed with the statement (WVS, 2017-2020).
- In 2006, 65% supported the idea of a woman becoming the president of Russia in the nearest 10-15 years; in 2019 such support decreased twice to 49% among women and 19% among men (Levada Centre, 2019).
- The most frequent disadvantages of female politicians compared to male according to adult respondents: soft character (9%), being emotional (9%), responsibilities outside of work / children, family (6%), short-sighted nature / hasty decisions (3%), lack of professionalism (3%) (VCIOM, 2019).

# Time to shift from gender equality to women empowerment in politics paradigm?

Provisions for gender equality are in place in Russian legislation:

- Equal rights for women and men are guaranteed by the Constitution. Equal rights are declared in all major codes of law, and discrimination on the basis of sex is prohibited.
- Russia ratified (or inherited ratification from the USSR): 1979
   UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of
   Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); Vienna Declaration
   and Programme of Action (1993); UN Declaration on the
   Elimination of Violence against Women (1993); the 1995
   Beijing Platform for Action to ensure women's equal access to
   decision-making processes with men; the 17 UN Sustainable
   Development Goals for the period 2015–2030, that includes
   goal on achieving gender equality and empowerment of all
   women and girls.

# Problem of female underrepresentation in politics is acknowledged

- Russian Federation National Action Strategy for Women (2017 -2022) was adopted in 2017.
- The report on women's participation in public and political life (Hoare and Muravyeva, 2020) identified the following challenges:
  - Russian legislation does not promote <u>positive measures to</u> <u>increase women's political representation</u>;
  - Russia does not have <u>bodies or institutions specifically</u> representing the interests and promoting the human rights of women.

### Thank you for your attention!

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https://freepolicybriefs.org/wpcontent/uploads/2021/03/frogee-policy-brief-3-russia-engv2.pdf