

“Women’s Political Representation and Male
Dominance
- theoretical and conceptual challenges”

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*Drude Dahlerup, professor of Political
Science, University of Stockholm*

Hanna Pitkin: Types of Representation

1. Descriptive representation
(social resemblance, to mirror the population)
 2. Substantive representation (acting for, in the interest of)
 3. Symbolic representation (the meaning that a representative has for those being represented)
 4. (formalistic representation – formal)
- *Hanna Pitkin: The Concept of Representation, 1967*

Different arguments for increasing women's political representation

- 1. The justice argument
 - *Women's right to equal representation*
- 2. The experience argument
 - *Women's experiences should also be represented*
- 3. The conflict of interests argument
 - *On some or many political issues women's and men's interests are not identical*
- This were the main arguments during the suffrage campaign, and they are still used today.

Arguments, cont.

- 4. The democracy argument
 - A political system which excludes women – or other under-represented groups – can not be considered legitimate.
- *The Beijing Platform for Action, 1995, introduces the democracy argument*
- 5. The utility argument
 - It is inefficient for society not to use women's talents
- 6. Individual career opportunities for women

UN 'Platform for Action', Beijing 1995:

- *“Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning” (Art. 183).*

A new discourse by contemporary women's movements

- European Women's Lobby under the slogan '*No Modern European Democracy without Gender Equality*'. 2008 campaign
- “The current under-representation of women in most elected assemblies in Europe, including in the European Parliament, is a serious democratic deficit threatening the legitimacy of European institutions and political parties”. (www.womenslobby.org).

Two macro-theories

- 1. The time-lag theory
- *Gender equality will come with development*

- 2. The theory of - constant reproduction of - patriarchy/male dominance
- With sub-theories:
- *Theory of shrinking institutions*
- *Glass ceiling metaphor*

World competition

- For a very long time the Nordic countries and the Netherlands were alone at the top of the world rank order on women's representation
- *That is no longer the case*

Why Scandinavia is no longer the only model?

- Through the Scandinavian *incremental track* it took 100 years to reach 40-47 % women in parliament. Even in Scandinavia fast track policies are now being adopted in some areas.
- Many countries around the world, especially post-conflict are using electoral gender quotas in order to include women in political decision-making using the *fast track*.

- Our theories of the connection between socio-economic development and women's political representation are challenged by actual developments, especially by the use of quotas.
- The richer a country, the higher representation of women? No.

World Average 2013 (single or lower Houses of Parliament)

World Average: 21.2% women

Nordic countries	42.0 %
• Americas	24.8 %
• All Europe (OSCE)	24.3 %
• Sub-Saharan Africa	21.9 %
• Asia	19.1 %
• Arab countries	17.8 %
• Pacific	12.8 %

• WWW.IPU.ORG

Women in parliament. Top ranking countries 2013

	Country	Women in parliament, percentage (election year)	Quotas	Election system
1.	Rwanda	64,0 (2013)	Legal Quotas	PR
2	Cuba	45,2 (2008)	NA	Plurality/Maj
3	Sweden	45,0 (2010)	Party Quotas	PR
4.	Senegal	42,7 (2012)	Legal Quotas	Mixed
6.	Finland	42,5 (2011)	No Quotas	PR
6	South Africa	42,3 (2009)	Party Quotas	PR
7.	Nicaragua	40,2 (2011)	Party Quotas	PR
8.	Iceland	39.7 (2013)	Party Quotas	PR
9	Norway	39,6 (2009)	Party Quotas	PR
10.	Mozambique	39,2 (2009)	Party Quotas	PR
11.	Denmark	39,0 (2011)	No Quotas	PR
12.	Netherlands	38,7 (2012)	Party Quotas	PR
13	Costa Rica	38,6 (2010)	Legal Quotas	PR
14	Timor-Leste	38,5 (2012)	Legal Quotas	PR
15.	Belgium	38,3 (2010)	Legal Quotas	PR
16.	Argentina	37,4 (2011)	Legal Quotas	PR
...				
-	Austria	? (2013)	Party Quotas	PR

Election day figures
36 countries over 30
% women in their
parliament (lower or
single house)

The diagnosis

- Why are women under-represented?
- Why are men over-represented?
- *The diagnosis is important for the strategy*
- *From a focus on women's (lack of) qualifications to a focus on the (lack of) capacity of parties, organizations and academia to include*

Sweden 2013

% of women in different arenas

- Parliament: 45 %
- Government: 54 %
- University professors: 24 %
- Boards of biggest companies: 22 %
- *Why do we expect women's share to be identical?*

Electoral Gender Quotas

- 68 countries have introduced electoral gender quotas in their constitution or electoral law.
- In around 50 other countries some political parties make use of voluntary party quotas for their electoral list
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- *A global overview:*
- Drude Dahlerup (ed): “Women, Quotas and Politics”. Routledge 2006.
- *The global web site: www.quotaproject.org*

Attitude towards gender quotas among Left, Centre and Right Parties

	L	C	R
• Quotas are a fair method:	67	13	0
• Quotas are a 'necessary evil':	27	48	18
• Quotas are unacceptable:	7	39	83
	100%	100%	100%

*Source: Survey among EU/EEA countries: PARQUOTA 2008 .
Dahlerup & Freidenvall*



OXFORD

BREAKING MALE DOMINANCE IN OLD DEMOCRACIES

EDITED BY
DRUDE DAHLERUP
& MONIQUE LEYENAAR

'Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies' – the book project

- *In-depth, longitudinal studies of eight old democracies*
- New Jersey, US: Susan Carroll and Kelly Dittmar
- New South Wales: Austral. Marian Sawer
- United Kingdom: Joni Lovenduski
- Sweden: Lenita Freidenvall
- Iceland: Audur Styrkársdóttir
- Denmark: Drude Dahlerup
- Netherlands: Monique Leyenaar
- Germany: Brigitte Geissel
- *Four cross-national analyses*
- (forthcoming Oxford University Press)

Definition av 'dominans'

Degree	Percentage of women/men
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Dominance/Monopoly	< 10
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Small minority	10-25
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Large minority	25-40
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	Gender balance 40-60
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Note: In statistical terms, the four degrees are defined as: < 10%, 10-24.99 % women, 25-39.99 % women, and 40-60 % women and men.

Dimensions of male dominance in politics

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- 1. Representation:** Women's numerical under-representation in elected assemblies

 - 2. Politics as a workplace:** Male-coded norms and practices in elected assemblies

 - 3. Vertical sex segregation:** Unequal gender distribution of positions in political hierarchies

 - 4. Horizontal sex segregation:** Limited access of women to a range of portfolios and committees

 - 5. Discourses and framing:** Gendered perceptions of politicians

 - 6. Public policy:** Policies biased in favour of men. No concern for gender equality.

Vertical sex segregation

- *'It went without saying that it was the male MPs who occupied the highest positions, and that the women MPs did not have leadership ambitions',*
- *Recollection of Grethe Phillip, about the time of her entrance to the Danish parliament as an MP in 1960 (Refsgaard ,123 in Dahlerup & Hvidt 1990).*

The first woman minister in the eight countries

Year	Country	Name	Party and Portfolio
1924	Denmark	Nina Bang	Social Democrat: Education
1929	United Kingdom	Margaret Bondfield	Labour: Labour
1933	US, federal	Frances Perkins	Democrat: Labour
1947	Sweden	Karin Kock	Social Democrat: Public home economics ^a
1949	Australia federal	Dame Enid Lyons	Liberal: Without portfolio
1956	The Netherlands	Marga Klompe	Catholic Party: Social/culture
1961	W-Germany	Elisabeth Schwarzhaupt	CDU: Health
1963	E-Germany	Margot Honnecker	SED: Education
1970	Iceland	Audur Auduns	Conservative: Justice

Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies – a 4-stage model

- Male monopoly < 10%
- Small minority 10-25 %
- Take-off stage: 25-40%
- 40-60 % Close to gender balance
- The obligatory women
- Women accepted in social policy niche
- Active measures to recruit women
- Institutionalized parity or gender neutrality

How to interpret the following picture?

- The first Social Democratic government in Denmark (1924-26) with the country's first woman minister, minister of education Nina Bang.



Arbejdermuseet & ABA

Irreversibility?

- Historical changes in the 'acceptable minimum' of women
- Irreversibility?
- Conditional irreversibility

Defining quotas

- Gender quotas are an equality policy measure (affirmative action).
- Quotas imply setting a fixed goal for the recruitment of women or other under-represented groups in order to rapidly change an unwanted inequality
- Quotas may be gender neutral or for women

Many types of quotas

- A. Legislated or voluntary party quotas?.
- B. At what level in the electoral process?
 - B.1 Aspirant quotas - the pool of candidates
 - B.2 Candidate quotas – candidate lists
 - B.3 Reserved seats – the elected (*with or without election*)

Gender Quotas: regional preferences

	Aspirants	Candidate	Reseved seats
Legal	Primaries (Panama)	Latin America Balkans	Arab world Asia, Africa (sub-sah)
Voluntary	UK (short lists)	Nordic countries Southern Africa Western Europe	

Rank-order rules

- *Candidate quotas:*
- 1. Zipper system – alternation throughout the list (Most Green parties, most parties in Sweden, Costa Rica from next election)
- 2. The top two cannot be of the same sex (Belgium + 50 % for whole list)
- 3. 40:60 for every 5 posts on the list. If less than 5 'eligible' posts, as close to 40:60 as possible (Spain).
- 4. One out of every group of 4 candidates must be a woman (East Timor)

Sanctions for non-compliance:

- *legal quota systems:*
 - 1. Rejection of the list (Costa Rica, Spain, Slovenia, East Timor, France at the local level)
 - 2. Financial penalty (France at the national level, Portugal)

Examples of leaps as result of quota adoption

- *Country level:*
- Belgium 12 to 23 % (1994 quota law)
- Costa Rica 19 to 34 %
- Senegal 22 to 43 %

- *Party level:*
- British Labour 14 – 24 %
- SPD 16 - 27 %
- PvdA, Neth.land 19 – 31%
- Greens, new Icelandic Soc Dem. 50 % from start