



Why don't women run?

PMCb1121 WOMEN, POLITICS, AND MEDIA

Fall 2023

Women less likely to participate in electoral politics... (remember lecture 2?)

- “We would like more women in politics but they are not interested.”
- Why don't women run for office as much as men do?
- What are the main barriers??? (good topic for interviews)
- Social structure
- Psychological barriers



The supply side of political representation

- Supply side = a pool of political aspirants with the will and capacities to run
- What is the demand side??



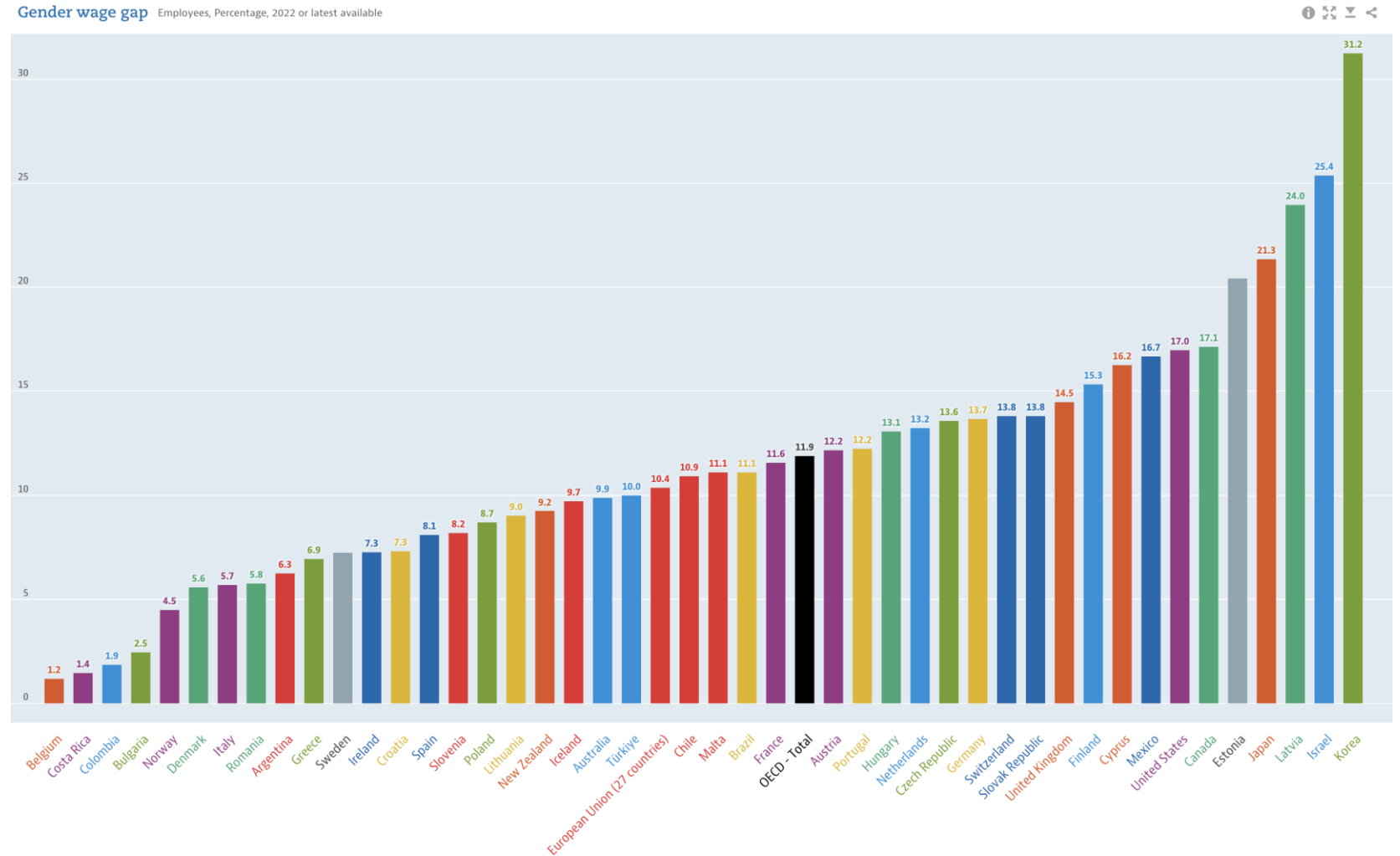
Social structure

Structural factors (Paxton et al. 2020)

- 1) Money
- 2) Time
- 3) Civic skills and community participation
- 4) Education
- 5) Work and Economic power
- 6) Informal networks
- 7) Media and pop culture

Money: gender pay gap

- OCED pay gap 2022
- Difference in median wages of employees
- OEDC average:
- A woman earns 0,88 cents for every EURO a man earns



Why money matters?

- Campaigns costly
- Running for office requires material security
- Politicians: wealthy, good networks
- Pinto-Duschinsky 2002: 104 countries, 59% no limits on campaign spending, 72% no limits on financial contributions by individuals
- Campaign limits: increase competition, more less wealthy candidates
- *“The best way to make a small fortune from politics is to start with a large one”*



Adriana Munoz (President of the Senate, Chile)

- *“Being a candidate is difficult for a woman because you need to have a lot of money. We have little help economically. Men have access to circles or networks where money is let – they are friends with bank managers. But we are not supported this way. For us, it’s pretty complicated, this arena of power and money.”*

(quoted in Franceschet 2001)



Case studies: Chile 2017 legislative election (Piscopo et al. 2021)

- Gender electoral financing scheme
- Electoral reform 2015-16
- Candidate money
 - From parties
 - From banks
 - From private donors
 - Their own money
- Candidate expenditure reimbursed by state
- 40% quota – state money for every women elected
- Women reported less financial support from parties than men



Chile 2017

- *“a successful woman candidate recalled how men candidates in her party requested and received more money, even though the party previously pledged equal financial support to all candidates..” (p. 230)*

Table 2. Average Resources for Men and Women Reporting any Money in That Category.

| | Party Transfers ^{***} | Bank Loans ^{***} | Own Money ^{**} | Donations ^{***} | Combined Resources ^{***} |
|----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Men | 9963 (324) | 26,788 (74) | 8839 (216) | 12,451 (348) | 25,734 (452) |
| Women | 7133 (234) | 15,434 (34) | 6480 (101) | 7024 (188) | 14,180 (294) |
| All candidates | 8814 (576) | 23,214 (108) | 8087 (317) | 10,547 (536) | 21,181 (746) |

Note: Candidate counts are in parentheses. All amounts are in US dollars.

^{***} $p < .01$; ^{**} $p < .05$; ^{*} $p < .10$ (one-tailed test with Welch statistic for unequal variance).

Women less overall funding

The gap applies for new-comers

Incumbents = no gender gap

Disadvantage for women without pre

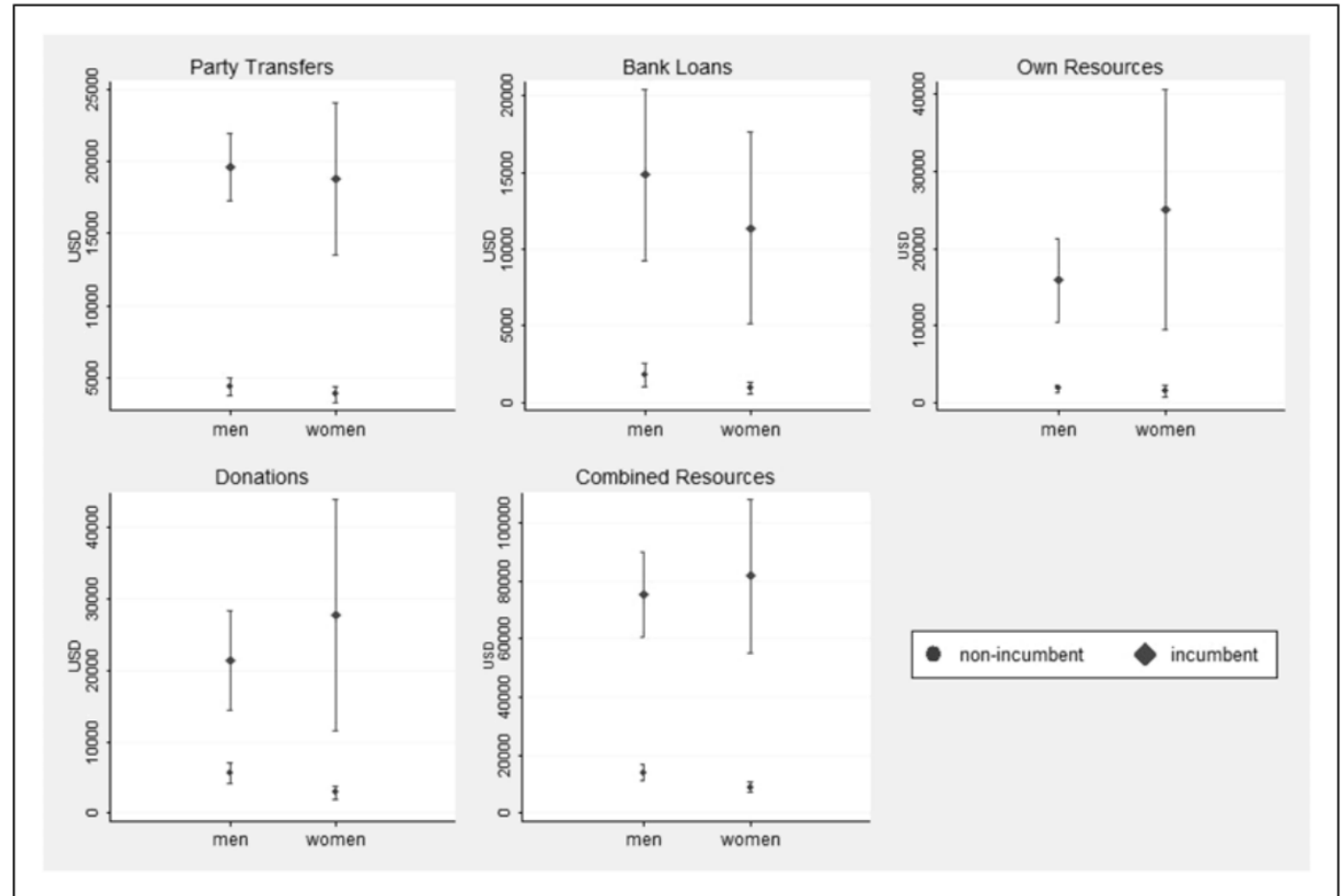


Figure 3. Predicted amount of campaign funds by sex and incumbency, 95% confidence intervals.

Case study: USA governor races (Sanbonmatsu and Rogers 2020)

Table 1. Presence of Men and Women Gubernatorial Primary Candidates.

| | Women | Men |
|-------------|-------|-----|
| Democrats | 48 | 128 |
| Republicans | 21 | 185 |

Source: NIMP, CAWP.

Note: Gubernatorial candidates in contested open-seat primary elections, 2010–2018.

Table 2. Total Receipts from Individual Contributors (Adjusted for State Population).

| | Democrats | Republicans |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| Mean | | |
| Men | \$0.43 | \$0.52 |
| Women | \$0.39 | \$0.40 |
| Median | | |
| Men | \$0.21 | \$0.23 |
| Women | \$0.20 | \$0.20 |

$N = 382$.

Source: NIMP, CAWP.

Note: Gubernatorial candidates in contested open-seat primary elections, 2010–2018. Amounts are in constant 2018 dollars.

Table 3. Proportion of Total Receipts from Self-Financing.

| | Democrats | Republicans |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| Mean | | |
| Men | 0.21 | 0.23 |
| Women | 0.14 | 0.19 |

$N = 382$.

Source: NIMP, CAWP.

Note: Gubernatorial candidates in contested open-seat

Table 4. Proportion of Total Receipts from Small Contributions.

| | Democrats | Republicans |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| Mean | | |
| Men | 0.14 | 0.14 |
| Women | 0.21 | 0.12 |

$N = 382$.

Source: NIMP, CAWP.

Note: Gubernatorial candidates in non-incumbent, contested primary elections, 2010–2018.



Case study: the UK (Murray 2023)

-
- Candidates reported selection costs (before being selected)
 - Money = significant advantage
 - Especially for Conservatives
 - Time investment
 - Lost economic opportunity, loss of income (reduced hours at work)
 - Family lives, relationships, friendships, health and wellbeing
 - Length of campaign matters
 - Women struggling financially more
 - Outsourcing childcare increases financial burden

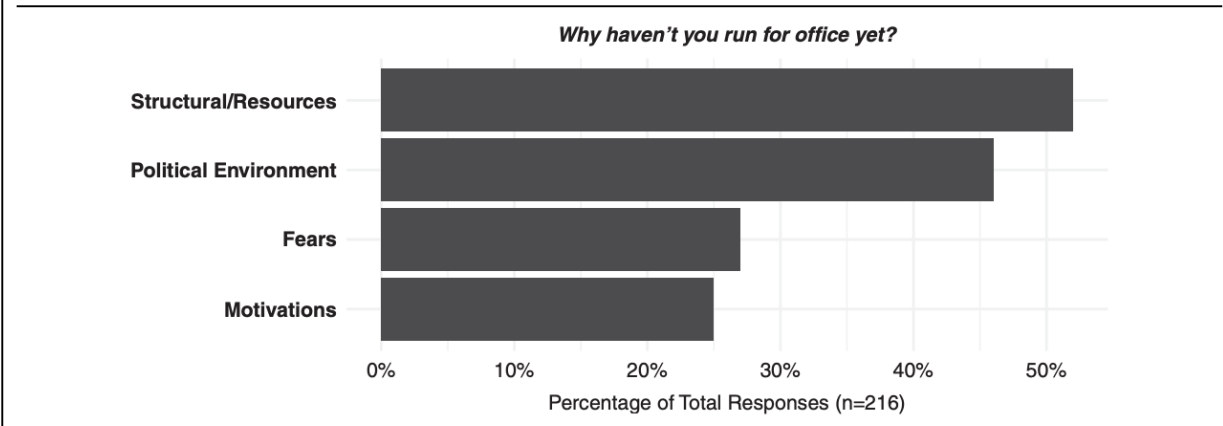
Resources and household composition

- Political economy of the household may prevent ambitious women from running
- *Income constraint*
 - Lower income prevents poorer women from political ambition
- *Breadwinner constraint*
 - Women responsible for household income
- *Household composition*
 - Women without no support from other earners

TABLE 1. Qualitative Data Coded from Open-Ended Answers

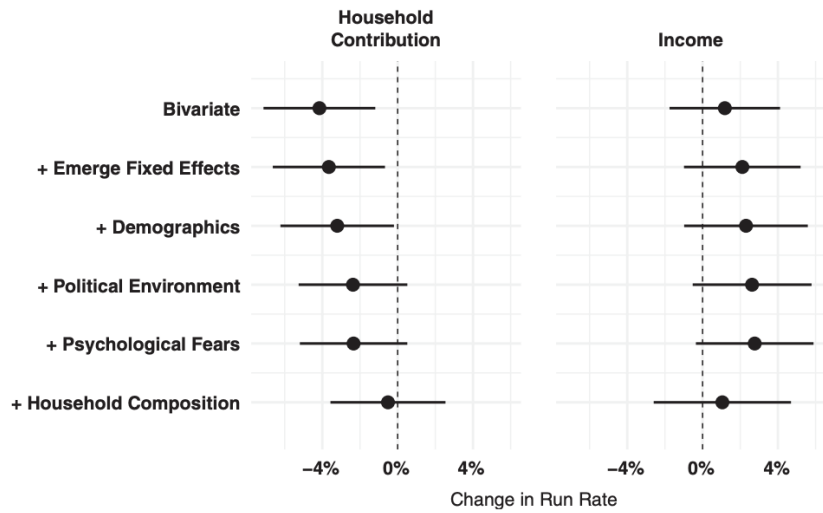
| CODING | EXAMPLE |
|--|--|
| Structural factors and resources | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Financial obligations (student loans ...)” • “I don’t have the time and energy that it will take to do the job well; too busy with my job and parenting. I learned that campaigning is a full time job.” • “I was caring for an ill parent and I wanted my son to graduate from high school first.” |
| Local political environment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I live in a very conservative, Republican area and I’m LGBT so it would be almost impossible to win.” • “Incumbent very well liked.” • “Not the right opening.” |
| Fears/negative perceptions of electoral process | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I don’t like the exposure and ugliness of campaigns.” • “I value my privacy too much.” • “Afraid of the personal scrutiny, dislike fundraising and not good at answering questions on the fly.” |
| Lower intrinsic motivation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I have other gifts to share as an educator.” • “I don’t have the desire to serve in public office.” • “I’m demoralized by politics in general, and the Democratic Party in specific. I would run for local office in a nonpartisan race” <i>(note: this was also coded “Political Environment.”)</i> |

FIGURE 2. Deterrent Factors in Candidate Emergence



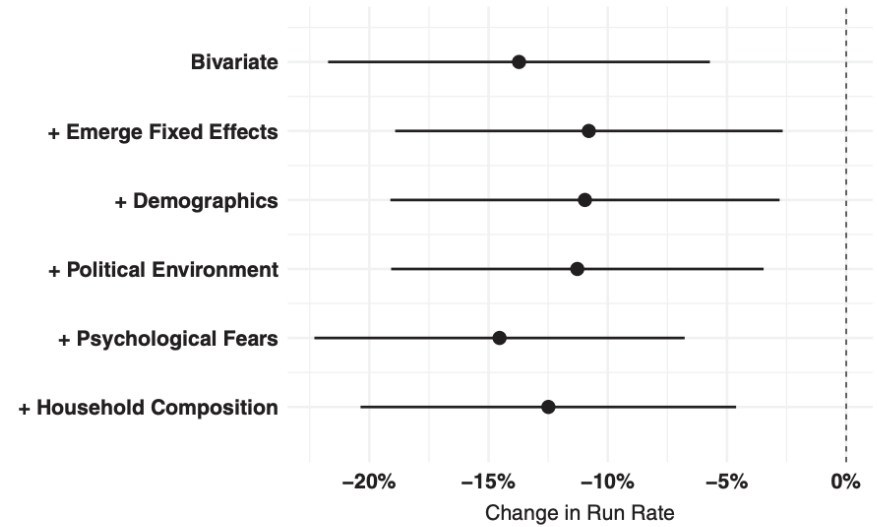
Note: Coding is of open-ended data from political novices; answers could be coded into multiple categories.

FIGURE 4. In Regressions with Controls, Household Contribution (i.e., Breadwinning) Lowers Run Rates among Novices, but Income Does Not



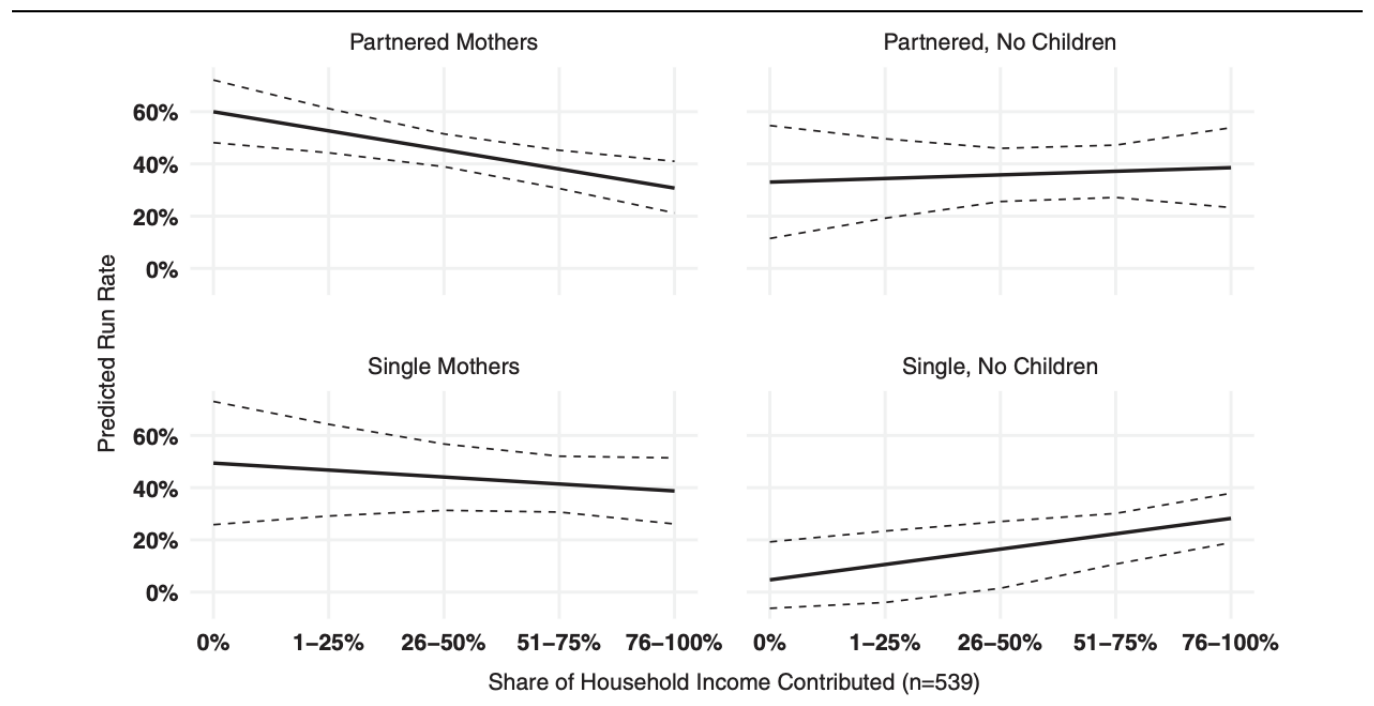
Note: Coefficient plots present separate OLS regressions showing how the probability of running among political novices (x-axis) is correlated with breadwinning (left column, $n = 598$) and income (right column, $n = 562$). Successive rows show how these correlations change when more variables are added to the regression cumulatively. Appendix C-3 finds similar results in noncumulative regressions and Appendix C-2 shows the effects hold using logistic regressions.

FIGURE 5. Fears of Lost Income Depress Candidate Emergence among Novices



Note: Coefficient plots report predicted change in run rates based on fear of lost income using OLS with 95% confidence intervals. Only novices are included. As in Figure 4, each row adds different covariates to the preceding row's model.

FIGURE 6. Testing for an Interaction Effect: Household Composition Matters for Candidate Emergence



Note: Run rates across degree of breadwinning responsibility predicted using bivariate logistic regressions, reported with 95% confidence intervals. Only novices are included. Single respondents may not be sole contributors to household income if they are students, widows, divorced, or have other access to wealth.

**WHEN
WOMEN
VOTE,**

**WOMEN
WIN.**

EMILY'S LIST

Paid for by EMILY's List Women Vote!



Positive impact of:

- Public financing of elections
- Campaign founding regulation
- Free allocated broadcast time
- NGOs
- State incentives to parties

- Most famous organization: **EMILY's list** (Early Money Is Like Yeast)
- <https://www.emilyslist.org/pages/entry/women-we-helped-elect>
- Shifts in strategies, nowadays they choose already viable candidates

Time

- Valuable resource
- Political involvement is time demanding
- Women's burden: care, child bearing, housework, family responsibilities
- Second shift (Arlie Hochschild 1989)
- Is politics a third shift?
- <https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/minutes-spent-on-leisure>
- Women politicians less often married, more often childless
- It is a structural problem. Because there are differences in female participation in electoral politics across countries with different social welfare and culture

Family support/resources and ambition

Table 1. Differences among female and male MPs, by country, family variables

| | Sweden | | | Spain | | |
|--------------------------|--------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|------------|
| | Men | Women | Diff. | Men | Women | Diff. |
| Are married/have partner | 77.4 | 82.2 | 4.8 (166) | 76 | 50 | -26* (90) |
| Have children | 76.3 | 85.5 | 9.2 (142) | 89 | 71 | -18* (110) |

Notes: Cells denote column percentages. For dichotomous variables, only the positive category is shown.

Total number of observations per row shown in parentheses.

* Identifies significant differences in proportions between sexes at the .05 level.

Family patterns, gender roles

Differences between the Nordic and the Mediterranean model

Women in politics in Spain need more family support!

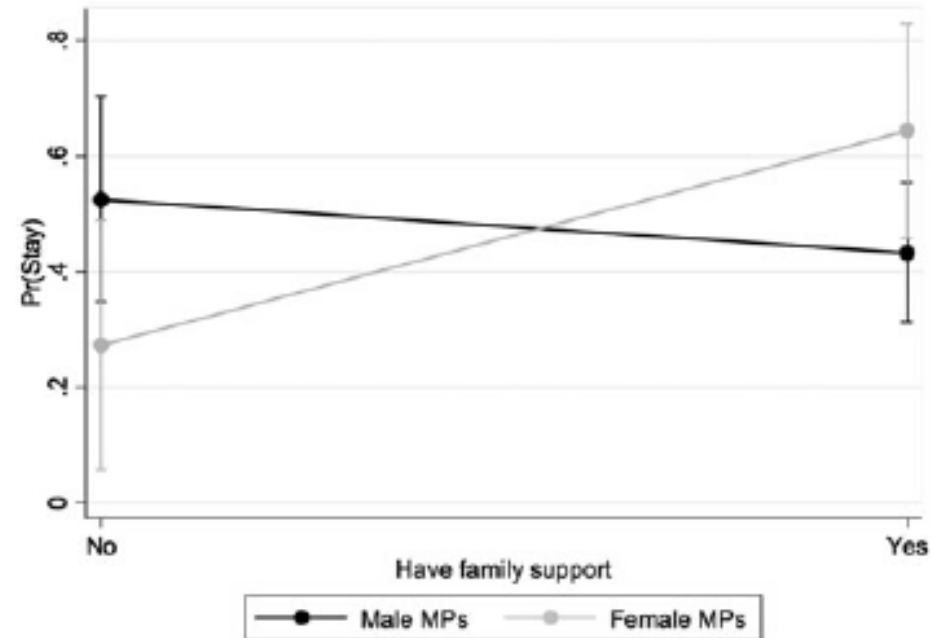


FIGURE 3. Interaction between gender and family support, Spain.



Psychological barriers

Lack of political ambition?

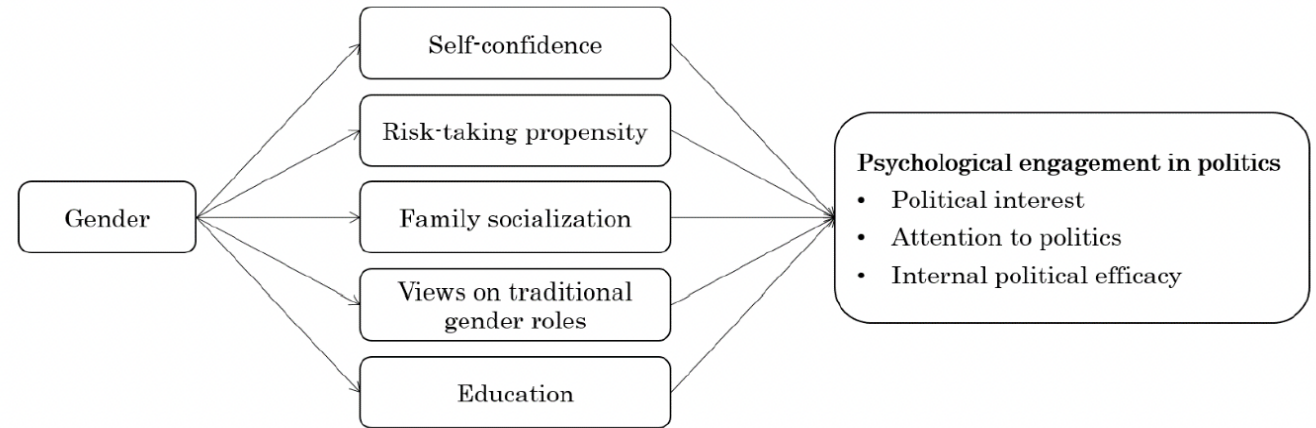
- Gaps in confidence
- Gaps in political ambition
- Gaps in electoral/risk aversion, conflict avoidance etc.
- Gaps in political knowledge/interest
- Role models in politics?



Self-confidence

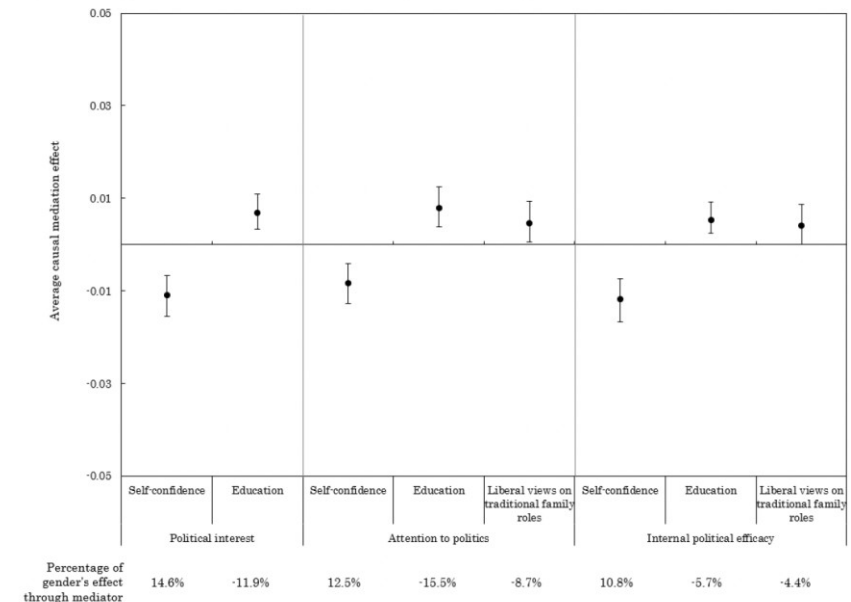
- Women less confident
 - Undervalue achievements
 - Less confident in their skills
 - Socialization effect
-
- Lower self-confidence decreases
 - Interest in politics
 - Political efficacy

Figure 1: Diagram of the Mediation Model



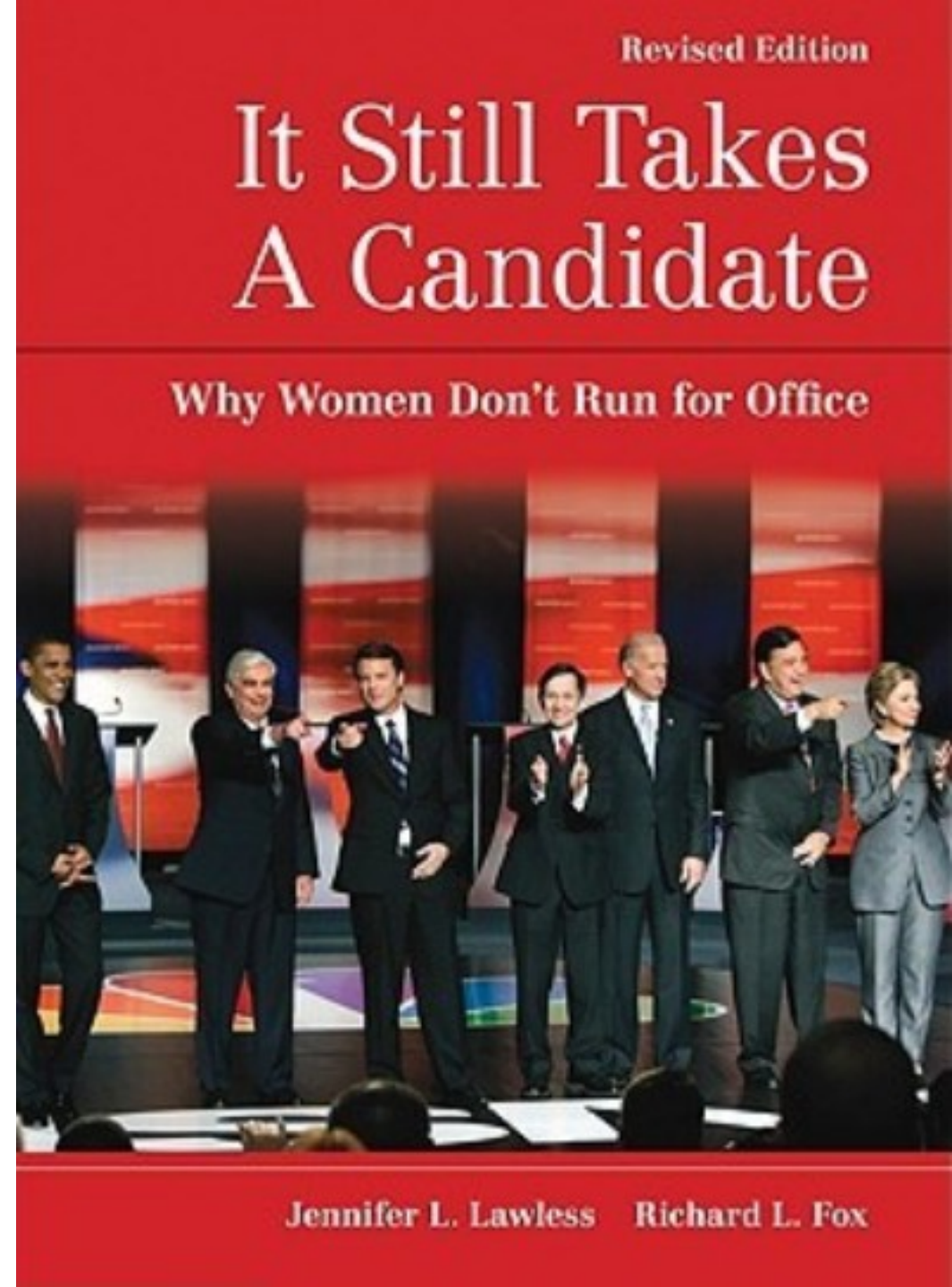
In Figure 1, I diagram the mediation model to be tested. I consider five potential

Figure 2: Average Causal Mediation Effects for Mediators, 2008 NLSY Young Adults Panel



Political ambition

- Politics as a reasonable career mostly for men not for women
- Eligible women consider political career far less often
- Lots of research with consistent results
- Most famous research: Fox and Lawless
- Interviews and survey (pipeline job professionals)
- Lawyers, Educators, Business leaders, Political activists, Local officials
- Gaps in ambition consistent across generations





Gaps in pol. ambitions

- Political socialization
 - Traditional gender roles/ Family dynamic
 - Self-Perception and candidate viability
 - Perception of the environment
 - Party recruitment dynamics
-
- External. Factors more impactful. (Lawless and Fox 2004)

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: ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$.

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 |
|---|-------------------|-------|
| Encouraging Political Environment | | |
| 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 |
| Encouraging Personal Environment | | |
| 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 |
| Credentials, Experience, and Self-Motivation | | |
| 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: ^{**} $p < .01$; ^{*} $p < .05$.

Ambition among ordinary men and women?

Self-confidence
Encouragement

Much more important for women

(Crowder-Meyer 2020)

Table 3 Predictors of political ambition for women and men

| | Women | Men |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| Self-perceived qualifications to hold office | 1.279*** (0.265) | 0.593** (0.247) |
| Encouragement from political sources | 4.952** (2.292) | - 1.241 (1.738) |
| Married | - 0.590 (0.560) | 1.870*** (0.525) |
| Has child | 0.516 (0.612) | - 0.705 (0.499) |
| Encouragement from personal sources | 6.968*** (1.613) | 2.439** (1.222) |
| Political participation | 2.553 (1.667) | 2.148** (0.969) |
| Community participation | 0.129 (0.842) | 0.627 (0.925) |
| Political knowledge | 1.307 (1.122) | 1.147 (0.943) |
| Political efficacy | 0.544 (0.437) | - 0.573 (0.584) |
| Age | - 0.025 (0.022) | - 0.008 (0.020) |
| Education | 0.222 (0.199) | 0.386* (0.199) |
| Income | - 0.158 (0.126) | - 0.064 (0.085) |
| Black | - 1.229 (0.803) | - 0.913* (0.533) |
| Hispanic | 0.861 (0.915) | 0.747 (0.62) |
| Asian or Pacific Islander | 0.597 (0.787) | - 1.09 (0.729) |
| Multiracial or other race | - 0.246 (0.766) | - 1.14 (0.814) |
| Democrat | - 0.974 (1.128) | 0.770 (0.762) |
| Republican | 0.576 (1.091) | 0.105 (0.796) |
| Constant | - 6.997*** (2.037) | - 5.234*** (1.431) |
| <i>N</i> | 598 | 402 |

Coefficients from logistic regression with standard errors in parentheses. Analyses restricted to respondents with a 4-year college degree or less education. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

This One's for the Boys: How Gendered Political Socialization Limits Girls' Political Ambition and Interest

ANGELA L. BOS *College of William and Mary* UNITED STATES

JILL S. GREENLEE *Brandeis University*

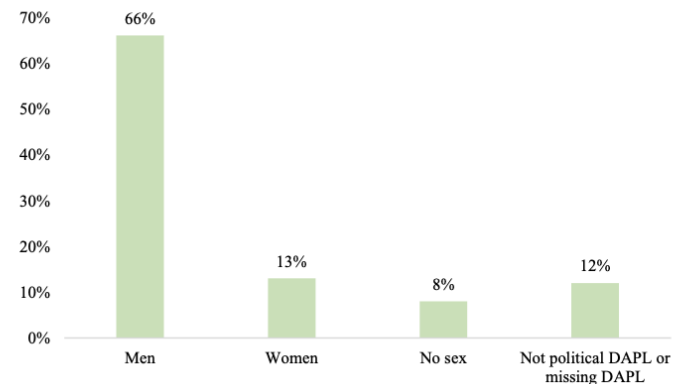
MIRYA R. HOLMAN *Tulane University*

ZOE M. OXLEY *Union College*

J. CELESTE LAY *Tulane University*

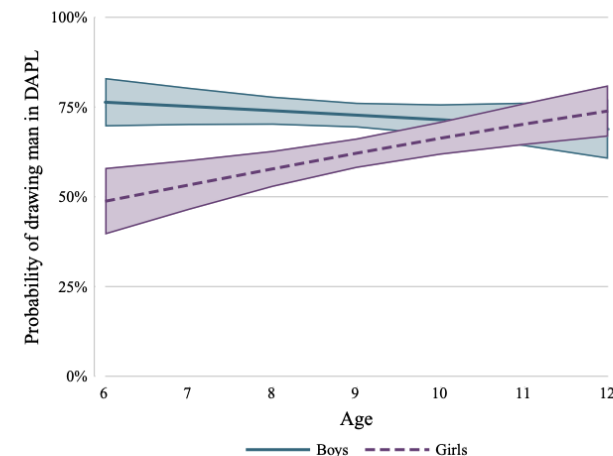
- The role of gendered political socialization!
- Children internalize gender stereotypes
- Leaders typically male
- Girls less likely to imagine political leaders as women with age
- Girls less politically interested and ambitious with age

FIGURE 6. Gendered Political Socialization: Sex of Political Leaders in DAPL Drawings



Note: See Appendix C for details on coding.

FIGURE 7. Gendered Political Socialization: Likelihood of Drawing a Man in the DAPL across Age by Boys and Girls



Note: Predicted probabilities from a multilevel model with clustering at classroom and location level. Controls include student age, race, ethnicity, and knowledge. Full results in Appendix Table D7.

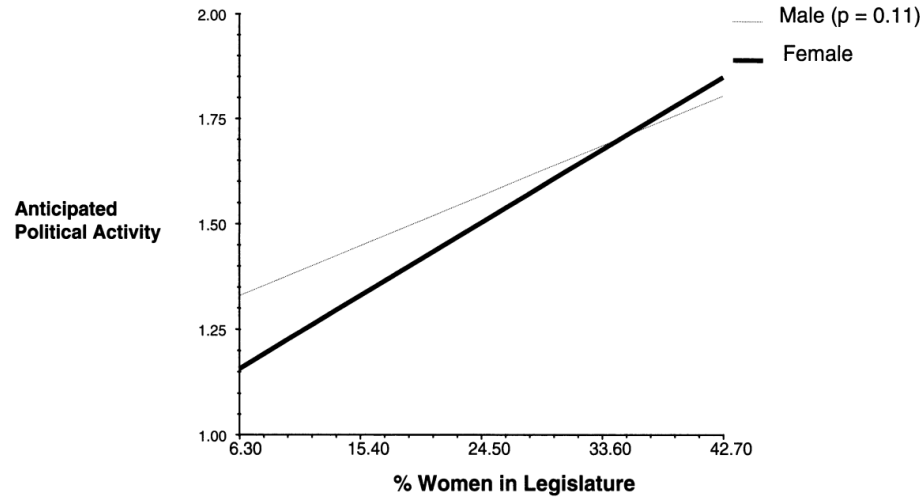
Symbolic representation matters?

- Impact of role models!
 - Descriptive representation
 - Substantive representation
 - Feedback to voter that women can win

- Descriptive underrepresentation creates psychological barriers
- Signals uneven status

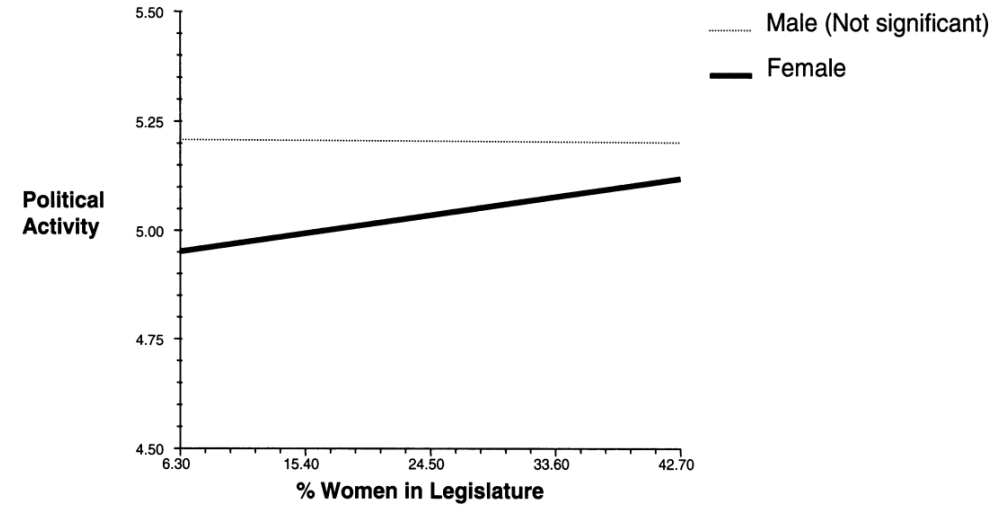


FIGURE 3B Anticipated Political Activity, Civic Education Study (Adolescents)



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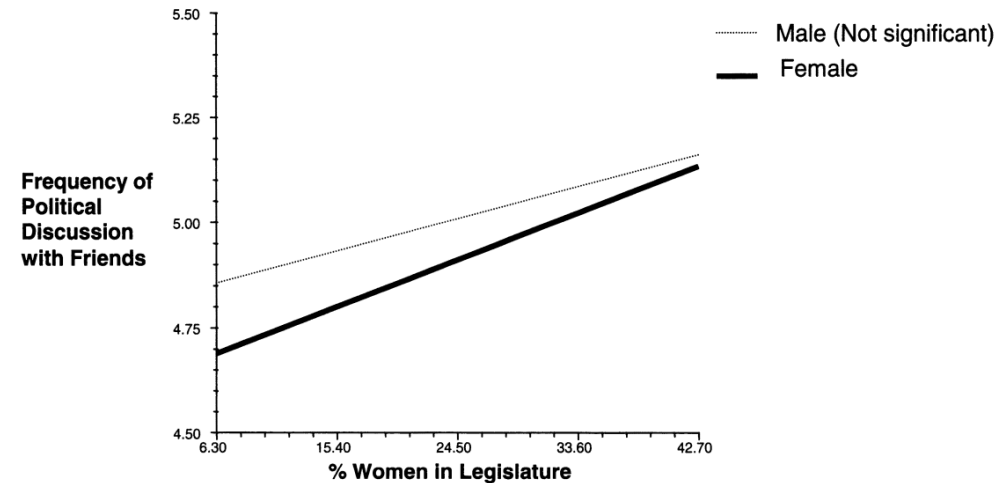
FIGURE 3A Political Activity, European Values Survey (Adults)



Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007
Comparative data (Europe plus USA)
The effect moderated also by age
(socialization hypothesis)

Also effects on anticipated involvement of
girls (through increased discussions of politics
with parents)

FIGURE 2B Political Discussion with Friends, Civic Education Study (Adolescents)



Research also suggests:

- Women motivated to run by the costs of non-running
- Reported feelings of urgency and threat
- US 2018 midterm

