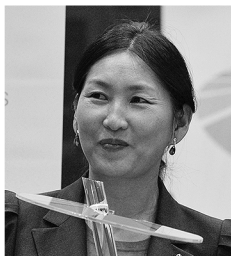


2015

THE FEMALE POLITICAL CAREER



Frances Rosenbluth
(Yale University)

Joshua Kalla
(UC Berkeley)

Dawn Teele
(The London School of Economics)



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THE FEMALE POLITICAL CAREER

FOREWORD BY WIP

“When one woman is a leader, it changes her. When more women are leaders, it changes politics and policies.”

MICHELLE BACHELET, PRESIDENT OF CHILE

Women are still very much alone in politics. The share of women in Parliaments has steadily increased in the last 15 years. They were 13.1% in 2000 and they are now almost 22%. Despite the positive steps forward in the recent years, we are very far from a full equal representation: all else remaining equal, it will take 47 years at this pace to come to reach gender parity in Parliaments.

This figure hides important variations: Nordic countries are the most gender equal, with women at 41.6% of the total number of Parliamentarians. On the opposite hand of the ranking, Pacific countries with just 15.3% of women among the total number of Parliamentarians. The world champion for women participation in politics is Rwanda where women are 64% of the Chamber of Deputies.

The Women in Parliaments Global Forum (WIP) is a post-partisan network of female parliamentarians around the world, of whom there are around 9,000 today, five times fewer than male parliamentarians. WIP is committed to increasing number of women representatives in Parliaments. While gender equality in political participation has intrinsic value, instrumental value also plays an important role. The composition of legislative bodies affects the quality of laws, and influences the extent of their application. As has been shown many times in practice, women leaders are more likely to be responsive to public needs and tend to cooperate across party lines.

Formal barriers to women participation in politics

are nowadays almost inexistent around the world. However a glass ceiling remains. To understand what are the non-legal barriers to a stronger women participation in politics, WIP in conjunction with the World Bank, commissioned an original survey of legislators to portray the obstacles that women face in politics. Under the guidance of the leading scholar Frances Rosenbluth from Yale University, this study combines rigorous survey questions and open-ended responses. The results of this first study tell the same old story, and that story is consistent around the globe: reflecting continuing effects of pre-determined family roles, female politicians tend to start their careers later, have fewer children, spend more time caring for their families, and arrange their lives to have shorter commuting times than their male counterparts. It appears that only women with supportive families run for office, whereas men are more likely to run in spite of discouragement from their families. Family commitments still constitute a major source of concern for women. “Gender equality begins in our homes”, says Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Chairperson of the African Union and Member of the WIP Advisory Board. Moreover women and men also have systematically different levels and types of networks of political support. Female politicians receive fewer private donations on average than their male counterparts, and rely relatively more on party sponsorship and support. Media portrayal and voter perceptions of a “woman’s place” seem to cast a longer shadow over female politicians’ decisions to run for office or aim for the highest

echelons. While both men and women express concern about the many pitfalls of political campaigning, women are more worried overall, particularly about gender discrimination, the difficulty of fundraising, negative advertising, the loss of privacy, and not being taken seriously.

Despite recent progress, the glass ceiling remains. There might be some cracks, but it still needs to be shattered.

I would like to thank Jeny Klugman, Frances Rosenbluth, Dawn Teele and Joshua Kalla for the outstanding research, and I would like to extend a special thank to Andrea Garnero and Steffen Zorn from the team of the Women in Parliaments Global Forum.

SILVANA KOCH-MEHRIN

FOUNDER, WOMEN IN PARLIAMENTS GLOBAL FORUM



FOREWORD BY THE WORLD BANK

The World Bank Group is pleased to support this study of female political careers, with the expectation it will advance discussion and expand data on this important topic.

Evidence from a range of sectors is clear. Female leadership and participation not only convey key information about women and girls and their ability to make choices about their lives and act on them. They also positively correlate with more inclusive governance and better economic outcomes. Where women in elected office have reached critical mass, they have often passed laws and authorized spending that boost inclusive growth and advance efforts to end poverty—the World Bank Group’s two over-arching goals.

Understanding how and why women enter politics, and, critically, why they don’t, casts much-needed light on the constraints they face globally in entering what remains in most countries a male-dominated sphere. The data distilled here, based on surveys from 84 countries, promise to inform efforts that will ultimately make governments more democratic, representative, and effective in securing the welfare of their constituents.

Gender equality is an area of longstanding interest to the World Bank Group. In our experience, expanding women’s agency—their ability to make decisions, access assets and services, and seize opportunities on an equal footing—is vital to improving their lives as well as the world we all share. Yet many of the world’s women face persistent deprivations and constraints that prevent them from achieving their potential, with significant consequences for

individuals, families, communities, and nations.

We also know that gender equality makes countries more competitive in our increasingly globalized world and plays a vital role in promoting the robust, shared growth needed to end poverty.

The Bank has also engaged systematically with Parliaments over the last 15 years. Parliamentarians can be powerful advocates for development. They pass laws and approve aid budgets; they set priorities and review development policies; and they hold governments accountable for Bank-financed programs.

This survey of legislators represents an important complement to our work by focusing on women in Parliaments. In particular, it comprises an original survey regarding the barriers women face on the road to a career in politics. Conducted in collaboration with partners from leading research universities, it represents a major advance in knowledge on this critical front.

Echoing our report *Voice and Agency*, it finds that gendered social roles and expectations reduce women’s participation in politics even before an election begins. Once women hold office, these biased social norms continue to cap their aspirations and opportunities. Norms, however, can change over time, as evidenced by the slow, steady increase in the number of women MPs—though they still account for roughly one-fifth of elected legislators globally.

As World Bank Group President Jim Yong Kim has said, the Bank is committed to advancing equality in everything we do and leveraging our expertise, financial, and convening power to achieve it. Priorities include tackling epidemic gender-based violence; expanding access to economic opportunities, financial and physical assets, and services; as well as advancing women's participation in all spheres of life, including politics.

Research such as this can play a constructive role in expanding our knowledge of existing gender gaps. We look forward to building on it in the years ahead.

CAREN GROWN, SENIOR DIRECTOR, GENDER

THE WORLD BANK GROUP

WASHINGTON, DC



FOREWORD BY USCHI SCHREIBER, EY

The world's policy makers face some very challenging issues — the shift of geopolitical and economic power from West to East; demographic changes such as aging populations in some parts of the world and large numbers of youth unemployment in others; the rise of technology and its unpredictable impact on traditional business models; and the ethical and legislative challenges of bio/nanotechnology which will enable us to control evolution — to name just a few.

Governments require a diverse group of people devising and implementing policies to address these challenges. Unleashing the talent of women can bring powerful positive change and increases the likelihood of better outcomes for us all. There is progress, but it is too slow, with just one woman for every five men in our national parliaments. More must be done to encourage women to enter politics and to support them in their careers. We need to ensure that countries' leaderships are drawn from all the talent available to solve the challenges – and grasp the opportunities.

The lack of female representation in our national legislatures, and in ministerial positions, matters every bit as much as in the corporate boardroom. Research supports the view that the presence of women on the political stage makes a real difference. Women are more likely to act in a bipartisan manner and are more likely to surface new ideas and bring new issues to the policy table. Increasing the number of women in our parliaments can have a positive impact on government transparency and result in policy outcomes more inclusive of the whole population.

It is a great pleasure for me to serve on the Women in Parliaments Global Forum Advisory Board and to support the important work such as this new study. It

is important for us to understand what interventions are necessary to accelerate gender equity at all levels of our political hierarchies and to commit to removing the obstacles that stand in the way of talented women and to foster and support their political aspirations. Our societies will be enriched when there are more women in top position in politics, in government bureaucracies and in business.

USCHI SCHREIBER

GLOBAL VICE CHAIR FOR MARKETS, EY



FOREWORD

A growing global consensus has emerged around the importance of gender equality in political representation. The failure of national legislatures to reflect their populations is a sign of entry barriers, and deprives societies of female political talent. Although some countries employ quotas to hasten representational equality, women still occupy only 20 percent of lower-level parliamentary seats, on average, internationally. Why have women not reached representational parity, and what can be done about it? To answer these questions, the Women in Parliaments Global Forum, a membership-based organization that brings together female legislators from around the world, in conjunction with the World Bank, commissioned an original survey of legislators to learn about the barriers that women face on the road to a career politics. In collaboration with academic partners from leading research universities, this study combines rigorous survey questions and open-ended responses. This document is the fruit of that undertaking.

“If only the number of women could increase in our parliament then Kenya would be a totally new country. Political parties should identify areas and make it a must for woman to vie only. For now we are at 23% of women in parliament as compared to Rwanda who are at 67% and one can see the difference of the two countries. In terms of development women are the best and they move things to happen.”

FEMALE MP, KENYA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Under the auspices of the Women in Parliaments Global Forum and the World Bank, with funding from EY, a team of scholars from the University of California, Yale University, and the London School of Economics surveyed national political representatives from 84 countries around the world to understand the hurdles women face in launching and sustaining successful political careers. Along the way, many people have contributed to its refinement. Silvana Koch-Mehrin of the Women in Parliaments had the vision to launch this project, and Jeni Klugman of the World Bank shared her valuable experience and insights. Andrea Garner, Simon Hix, Diana O’Brien, and Øyvind Skorge provided useful information and feedback.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report reflects survey results from 84 countries around the world designed to understand the hurdles women face in launching and sustaining successful political careers. Careful not to prime gendered responses, the survey turned up significant gender differences nevertheless.

Analyzing an array of data about the men and women who have been elected to office allows us to sketch out the similarities and differences of successful male and female electoral strategies. Combining these data with the legislators' perceptions of what makes for the career success of others, we are also able to better understand their prospects for advancement once elected. In the sections that follow, we report our findings: gendered social roles and gendered social expectations shrink the pool of female political candidates even before an election begins. Once in office, gendered roles and expectations continue to dog female legislators, capping ambitions as surely as they stunt their success. Many female legislators nevertheless prevail against the headwinds, offering strategies to emulate and providing mentorship for those who come after them.

KEY FINDINGS

- Reflecting continuing effects of family roles, female politicians tend to start their careers later, have fewer children, spend more time caring for their families, and arrange their lives to have shorter commuting times than their male counterparts. It appears that only females with supportive families run for office, whereas men are more likely to mention running in spite of discouragement from their families.
- The survey suggests systematically different levels and types of networks of political support. Female politicians receive fewer private donations on average than their male counterparts, and rely relatively more on party sponsorship and support.
- Media portrayal and voter perceptions of “the woman’s place” seem to cast a longer shadow over female politicians’ decisions about whether or not to run for office and their decisions to pursue higher office. While both men and women express concern about the many pitfalls of political campaigning, females are more worried overall, particularly about gender discrimination, the difficulty of fundraising, negative advertising, the loss of privacy, and not being taken seriously.
- Considerably more men hold ministerial positions in their sights whereas women seem to settle for lesser levels of advancement.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this project is to understand why, on average, only 1 in 5 representatives in national legislatures are women. Even in countries that have achieved greater representational equality, females are often underrepresented in top leadership positions. Gender inequality in political leadership is a problem for two reasons: it is evidence of obstacles in the path of female political careers; and it distorts democratic representation with potential consequences for women's rights and wellbeing. Female citizens are sent signals that they are not of equal political worth; male representatives may lack experience or motivation in some areas vital to the health, happiness, and welfare of half of their populations; women with political talent are failing to get elected while political parties dip farther into the pool of lesser qualified male candidates; and the resulting alienation of female voters can exacerbate the vicious cycle.¹ As a barometer of how well a society is tapping into the potential talent of one half of its population for national governance, female political representation tells a sad tale of underachievement.

To understand the barriers to women's political equality and the common challenges and gendered differences in political careers, we designed a global survey sent out national legislators around the world. We conducted two rounds of the survey, one that included both men and women in 26 countries, and a second round in which women from an additional 58 countries were asked to participate. (For complete details, see the Appendix.)

In the first round, 8,204 emails were sent to all legislators in 84 countries. Out of these, 5.0% responded. In the second round, 5,038 emails were sent to female legislators, with a slightly different email subject and prompt. In this round, 4.2% responded. This report is based on the 457 total responses of both surveys, 179 of whom are men and 278 of whom are women. No meaningful differences were found in female responses across the two rounds, so both are reported here together. In the sections that follow, we report overall results across male and female legislators. When we find interesting results by a country's region or income level, we report these as well.

¹ There is a large and growing social science literature on every aspect of these problems: Pippa Norris, Richard Frank, and Ferran Martinez i Coma, eds., *Advancing Electoral Integrity*, 2014, New York: Oxford University Press; Joni Lovenduski, 2005, *Feminizing Politics*, Cambridge UK: Polity Press; Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox, 2005, *It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*, New York: Cambridge University Press; Nancy Burns and Donald Kinder, 2011, "Categorical Politics: Gender, Race, and Public Opinion." in Adam Berinsky, ed., *New Directions in Public Opinion*, London: Routledge; Mona Krook, 2009, *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*, New York: Oxford University Press; Mala Htun and Laurel Weldon, 2011, "The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating Violence Against Women in Global Perspective, 1975-2005," *American Political Science Review*, 106, 3: 548-569.

This report provides a picture of what women have experienced in their own personal journeys to political office, and the struggles they continue to face, controlling for a host of factors that are important to understand in conjunction with their experiences: 1) electoral system; 2) party label; 3) party strength and coherence; 4) candidate characteristics such as age, experience, education, marital status, fertility, resources, religion, ethnicity; and 5) national variables such as income, political business cycle, religious and ethnic composition. Once we draw patterns from the data, we offer conclusions about “paths to political leadership,” “surmountable and insurmountable hurdles,” and “recommendations for party and government leaders to promote representational equality.”

Analyzing an array of data about the men and women who have been elected to office allows us to sketch out the similarities and differences of successful male and female electoral strategies. Combining these data with legislators’ perceptions of what makes for the career success of others, we are also able to better understand their prospects for advancement once elected. In the sections that follow, we report our findings: gendered social roles and gendered social expectations shrink the pool of female political candidates even before an election begins. Once in office, gendered roles and expectations continue to dog female legislators, capping ambitions as surely as they stunt their success. Many female legislators nevertheless prevail against the headwinds, offering strategies to emulate and providing mentorship for those who come behind them.

In the second part of our analysis we present results from cutting-edge survey techniques (including conjoint analysis) to understand sensitive issues related to legislators’ perceptions and preferences. Conjoint experiments are an attempt to get past survey respondents’ impulse to answer untruthfully in “politically correct” ways by asking the legislators to choose which of two hypothetical candidates he or she would support in an election. Demographic and professional characteristics were randomized among the hypothetical candidates to allow us to estimate the degree to which gender, as opposed to professional background, experience or age, is a source of bias among legislators.

GENDERED SOCIAL ROLES

The survey provides evidence that female legislators continue to be burdened disproportionately with family work. This is hardly a new claim; there is a large stockpile of evidence and scholarship sizing up the “mommy penalty” for women seeking professional careers of any kind (Mincer and Polachek 1974; Hill 1979; Goldin and Polachek 1987; Hochschild 1989; Wood, Corporan, and Courant 1993; Ruhm 1998; Lundberg and Rose 2000;

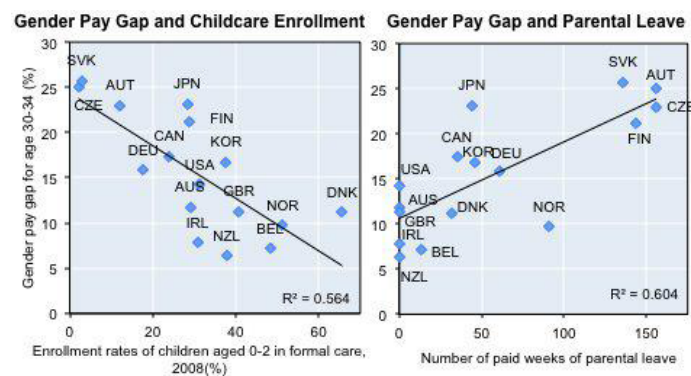
Mandel and Semyonov 2005; Aisenbrey, Evertsson, and Grunow 2009; Rampell 2012).² Claudia Goldin (2014) shows that the gender wage gap persists principally in careers (like politics) that seem to require long and irregular hours.³

The fact that a mommy penalty still shows up as a large factor in decisions about when and whether to launch political careers in 2014 is important because it reveals the ongoing challenges that female politicians face in achieving career success.

Even more strikingly, the mommy penalty puts the spotlight on the selection effect exerted on who runs for office in the first place. Women deciding whether

or not to pursue a political career (or any career with extremely heavy time commitments) may be discouraged from entering politics before they even test the waters. In the United States, for example, women tend to win “open elections” (those in which there is no sitting incumbent) with as much frequency as men (Pearson and McGhee 2013).⁴ The greater problem is that women are less likely to run for office in the first place. Scholars have recently found a measurable shortfall in the career ambitions of young women compared to young men, as early as high school. Part of this “ambition gap” is undoubtedly due to socialization.

² Rampell (2012) shows that the mommy penalty shrinks with childcare enrollment for children aged 0 to 2, but increases with the length of parental leave, showing the sensitivity of employers to the costs of female career interruption. Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.



³ One remaining question is whether the long and irregular hours are necessary for the job, or whether hours are “noisy signals” of productivity in the absence of better measures. Handelsman, Rosenbluth, and Weaver (2014) find that, holding hours constant, jobs for which productivity is hard to measure tend to have a larger gender wage gap.

⁴ Pearson and McGhee (2013) point to interesting partisan differences in the U.S. that bear further research in other countries. Based on open elections for the U.S. House of Representatives from 1984 to 2010, they show that Democratic women raise more money (in smaller lots, which means they have to work harder to get it) and run in more politically favorable districts (which suggests party support for their election) than their male counterparts do. With these advantages, an equal probability of winning suggests negative voter bias. Republican women have fewer advantages in the way of money and district alignment, and are less likely to win than their male counterparts. These findings imply an important role for party leadership to help overcome continued voter bias and an unfavorable fundraising environment for women.

Richard Fox and Jennifer Lawless (2014) found, based on surveys of high school and college students, that females are less likely than similarly situated males to believe they are qualified to seek office and are more likely to perceive a biased electoral environment. They point to key agents of political socialization—family, education, peers, and media—that discourage girls disproportionately.

That socialization, in turn, is fundamentally shaped by perceptions that it is still not possible for women (with plans to have a family) to compete with men (who also plan to have a family) on equal terms in time-consuming and demanding careers.

Table 1: Percentage of Countries with Gender Quotas, by Type of Electoral Rules

	Countries	Quota	
		Legislative	Voluntary
Party	72	43	16
Mixed	30	17	7
Candidate Centric	66	29	7
Total	168	79	30

Table 1 provides a current snapshot of gender quotas in all countries around the world, including countries not reflected in this survey. We can see that countries with party-centric electoral rules, such as closed-list proportional representation systems, are more likely than candidate-centric systems based in geographical districts to make use of quotas, either mandatory

or voluntary, to increase the percentage of female legislators.

This pattern raises interesting questions. How can district-based electoral systems expand the number of female politicians in the absence of quotas on party lists? Secondly, we are concerned not only with initial election chances but also with career promotion and party leadership. What are attitudes of fellow MPs towards representatives selected by means of quotas? We have only begun to address these questions in this study but they are ripe for further exploration.

Table 2: Worldwide Quotas by Region

Region	None	Legislated	Voluntary	Total
East Asia & Pacific	26	8	2	36
Europe & Central Asia	22	18	17	57
Latin America & Carib	22	17	2	41
Middle East & North A	10	9	2	21
North America	2	0	1	3
South Asia	3	5	0	8
Sub-Saharan Africa	16	26	6	48
Total	101	83	30	214

The use of gender quotas varies by substantially by region, reflecting in part the adoption of proportional representation systems that provide a more ready vehicle for quotas. But India, with majoritarian district-based rules, sets aside entire districts to achieve quotas for both gender and caste.

What has been the biggest asset to your advancement in politics?

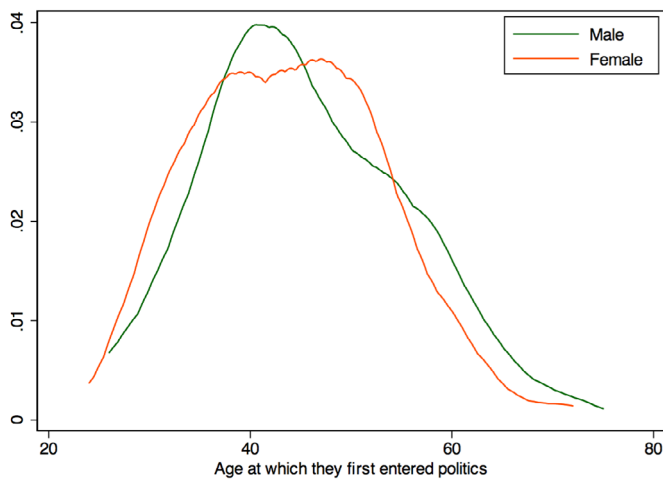
“All women short lists.”

FEMALE MP, UNITED KINGDOM

The survey provides evidence that female legislators continue to be burdened disproportionately with family work. This finding is important because it not only reveals the ongoing challenges that female politicians face in achieving career success, but also the selection effect exerted on who runs for office in the first place. Women deciding whether or not to pursue a political career (or any career with extremely heavy time commitments) may be discouraged from entering politics before they even test the waters.

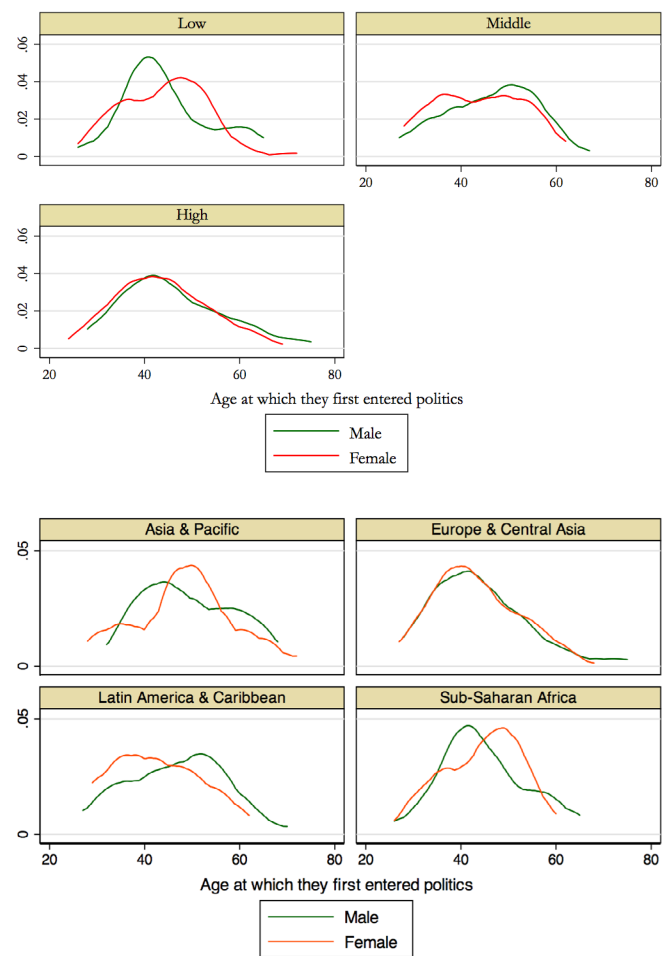
GENDERED SOCIAL ROLES

Figure 1: Age distribution of new politicians. This figure is a smoothed histogram of age at which politicians first took office (x-axis). On average, men and women enter office in their mid 40s, but many women join later as well.



The first piece of evidence of the disproportionate burden of family work on women is the different age profile of politician. While men tend to get elected to their first political job at around the age of 40, more females wait between 45 and 50 when their youngest child is school-aged.⁵

Figure 2: Age of first political job by region and income group.



Graphs by region

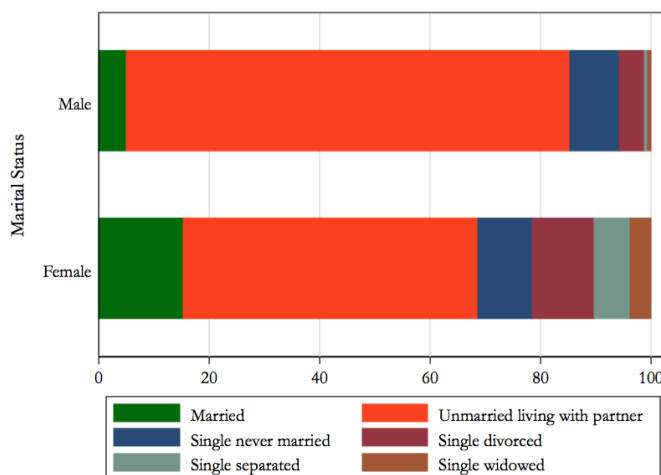
⁵ Michaela Kreyenfeld (2010) finds that, in Germany, only highly educated women postpone parenthood when subject to employment uncertainties. Amalia Miller (2011) finds that delaying motherhood leads to a substantial increase in earnings for college-educated women and those in professional and managerial occupations.

Figure 2 depicts the timing of careers in politics across regions (the left panel), and income groups (the right panel). We find that in Europe, as in other high-income countries, men and women enter into politics at similar times. But in the low-income countries, in Asia and the Pacific, and in sub-Saharan Africa, women are considerably older than they take office. Although our data do not permit a disaggregation by type of electoral system, we know from other research that district-based systems (as in the U.S. and UK) are generally more candidate-centered than party-centered proportional representation electoral systems, thereby placing a bigger premium on seniority within party ranks as a source of legislative heft and therefore value to constituents in the district (Nalebuff and Shepsle 1990; Kellerman and Shepsle 2008). Our expectation, ripe for future research, is that within rich countries, women tend to enter their careers later in district-based systems than in proportional representation systems, unless they forego having families.

“Being an older woman” has been the biggest obstacle toward my advancement in politics.

FEMALE MP, UNITED KINGDOM

Figure 3: What is your marital status?



The majority of female and male politicians are in stable relationships, but significantly more female than male politicians are single, including separated, divorced, or widowed. The same pattern is found in state and local government in the United States (see Appendix 2). This is additional evidence of the extra challenges for women posed by family-career balance, with the effect that many women with family responsibilities are discouraged from running for office in the first place.

After school, to first work, have enough to keep the family, marry and when all if going well, then you can think about politics. This is because (1) some boy friends can be so uncooperative and so disorganise your plans, (2) you need a lot of money to protect your social interests.”

FEMALE MP, FROM UGANDA, RESPONDING TO THE QUESTION: HOW WOULD YOU ADVISE A YOUNG WOMAN GOING INTO POLITICS?

family work, although the percentage of men admitting to doing literally 0 (4%) is nearly double that of women (2.5%). Although over 45% of both males and female legislators claim to spend 11 hours or more in family work, twice as many females as males claim to spend 26-40 hours a week working at home. These figures are similar for state and local office holders in the United States (see Appendix 2).

“Being female can turn to be a positive part, but I can never take a leadership position before my kids are older.”

FEMALE MP, ICELAND

Figure 4: Time spent caring for family

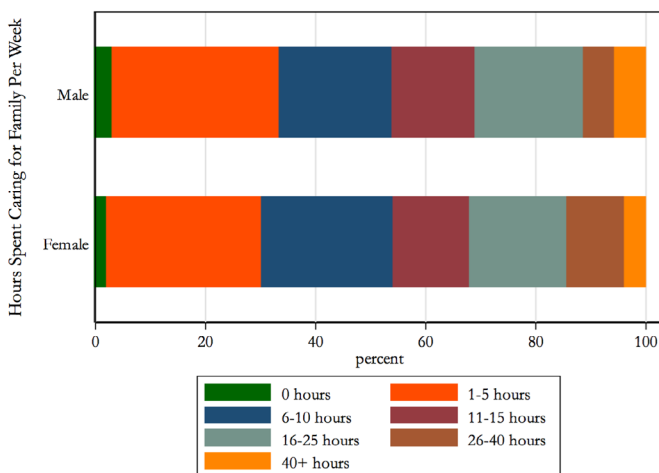
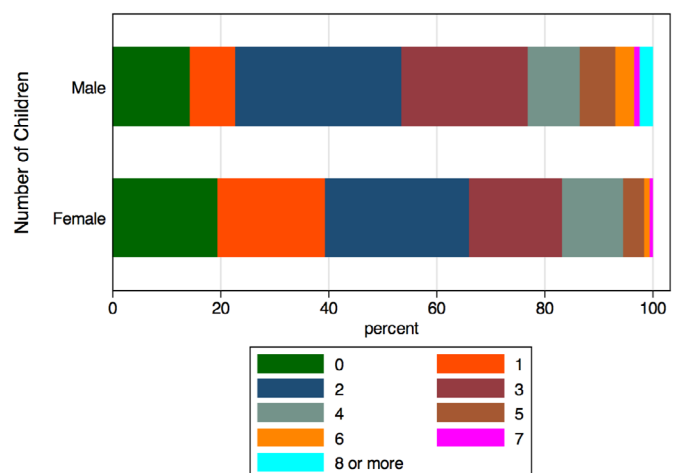


Figure 5: How many children do you have?



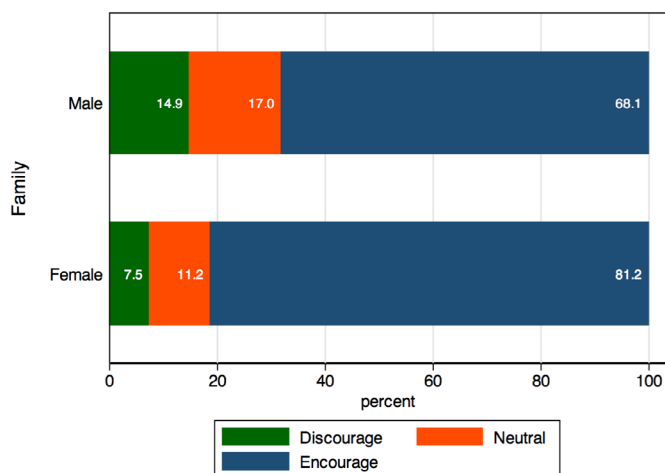
Even after they launch their political careers, females appear to spend more time caring for their families. This is, presumably, what the women who delayed their entry expected; and had they not delayed their political careers, the disparity would likely have been even greater. 35% of male politicians and 30% of female politicians say they spend 0-5 hours a week on

The number of children legislators have provides a sharper and more measurable indicator of family roles. The aggregate data suggest that compared to their underlying populations of voters, female politicians have considerably fewer children than their male counterparts. Nearly 20% of female legislators have no children at all, compared to 16% of male legislators. 20% of female legislators have only one child compared to 10% of male legislators. Nearly half of male legislators have three or more children, compared to a third of female legislators. These patterns are similar in the United States (see Appendix 2). The situation is much the same in the business world where the mommy penalty stands against a daddy bonus, reflecting societal expectations of who takes time for family work (Miller 2014; Goldin 2014). The differences are stark, providing a powerful clue of a selection mechanism: more women than men may feel they may not be able or willing to run for office given family-career trade offs. Later we will return to the implications of this selection effect for the electoral and career prospects of female politicians.

*Biggest obstacle in politics:
“being female and mother (evenings at home rather than at meetings).”*

FEMALE MP, ESTONIA

Figure 6: What role did family play in encouraging you to run for politics?

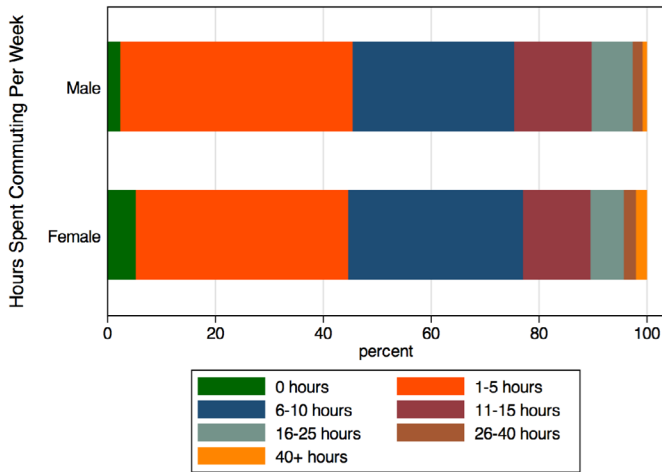


More than four fifths of women, compared to two thirds of men, felt encouraged to run by their families. Twice as many men (14.9% compared to 7.5% of women) ran in the face of family resistance. This provides additional evidence of a large selection effect on women who run for office in the first place. Overwhelmingly, women who ran were those with supportive families. More men than women felt they could manage without strong family support which, one might say, left a larger pool of male candidates still standing after their families “voted.”

Biggest asset in political career: “My parents supporting me financially and socially. It has made me strong and stand for what I believe in.”

FEMALE MP, UGANDA

Figure 7: Commuting to the National Legislature

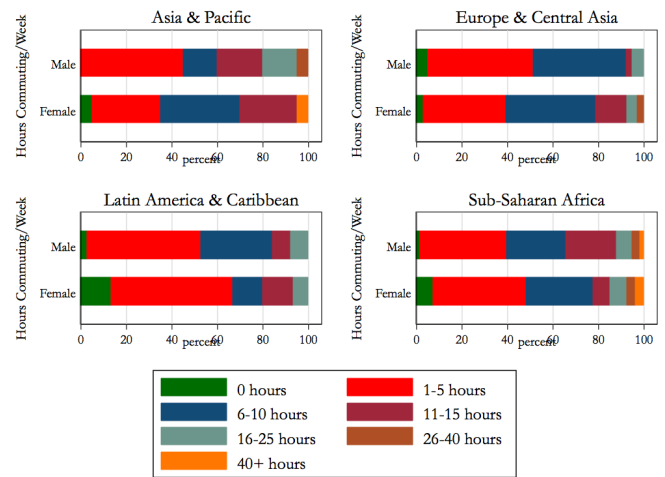


Commuting time appears to be a large time commitment for many legislators regardless of gender. Large distances between the capital city and home districts for many politicians translate into constant shuttling between the two for different aspects of their jobs. One quarter of women and one fifth of men commute 6-10 hours a week while 22% of women and 25% of men commute 11 or more hours a week. Still, twice the number of female legislators as males (6% to 3%) have commuting times of less than 1 hour, suggesting that women are more likely than men to make it a priority to live close to work. This finding is consistent with work by Rachel Silbermann (2014) who found that in the U.S. women who lived in cities near the state capital were more likely to run for state office than women whose commutes would have to be much longer.

The biggest obstacle in politics was “getting away from my family temporarily and having to move to another city.”

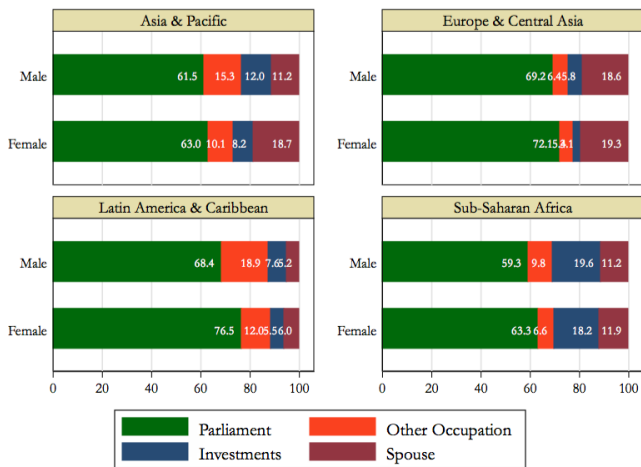
MALE MP, ECUADOR

Figure 8: Commuting time by region.



Commuting time seems to vary somewhat by region. In Asia, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa, women are more likely than men to have “zero” commuting time, which suggests that they live in the capital city. This fits the pattern of American women, who are more likely to run for state office if they do not need to commute for long distances. In Europe, Central Asia, and Asia and the Pacific, some women commute very long distances. Although definitive answers await further research, we expect that these women either do not have families, or that they have extraordinarily supportive families who help them manage the commuting challenge.

Figure 9: What share of your household income comes from your parliamentary job, other occupation, investments, or your spouse?



Female politicians rely somewhat more on their parliamentary post as a source of income as well as income from spouses, whereas male politicians typically have more outside income and investments.

As a professional I was torn between leaving my profession vs political office. My children were too young to be with their father most time.”

FEMALE MP, SOUTH AFRICA

Taken together, these data provide us with evidence that women feel themselves to be less available to run for office during reproductive years. Once in office, female legislators continue to feel less available than their male counterparts for around-the-clock work, such as constituency service, fundraising activities, and legislative business.

This profile of women in politics, which shows starker trade-offs between work and family life than for their male counterparts, is consistent with patterns of women in other extremely demanding careers. Because juggling multiple roles extracts a career cost, many extraordinarily successful women tend to work continuously and subordinate their family lives to the demands of the work place in order to advance professionally (O’Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria 2008: 730)

Advice to young women interested in politics: “Sort out your private life and the arrangements needed to make it run smoothly.”

FEMALE MP, UNITED KINGDOM

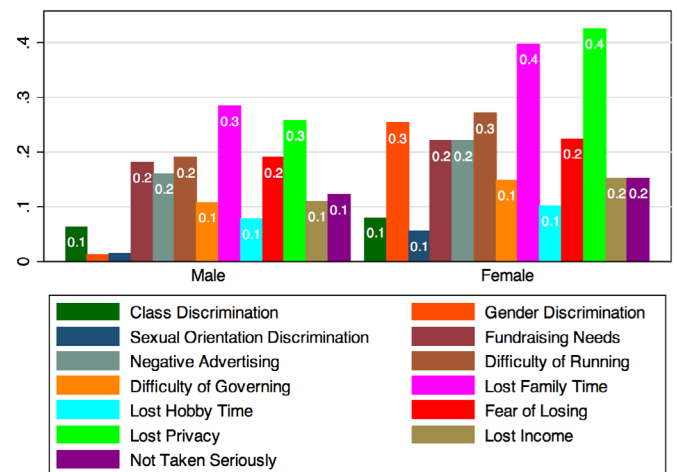
GENDERED SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS

Beyond the gendered roles themselves are how those roles are perceived, and therefore the way those roles shape female political careers. Female politicians appear to be caught in a cruel vice: on the one hand, the legislative career is extremely demanding of time, discouraging many qualified women from running for office because they are not willing to make the required sacrifices to family life.

The male chauvinism haunts many African Countries including mine. The men are always afraid of the hard work typical of African women! Thanks to the affirmative action Uganda has accorded its women, we can now be elected on this and even vie for direct seats. The future holds a lot for Ugandan women politicians.”

FEMALE MP, UGANDA

Figure 10: When you first decided to run for election, what were your greatest fears about the political campaign?

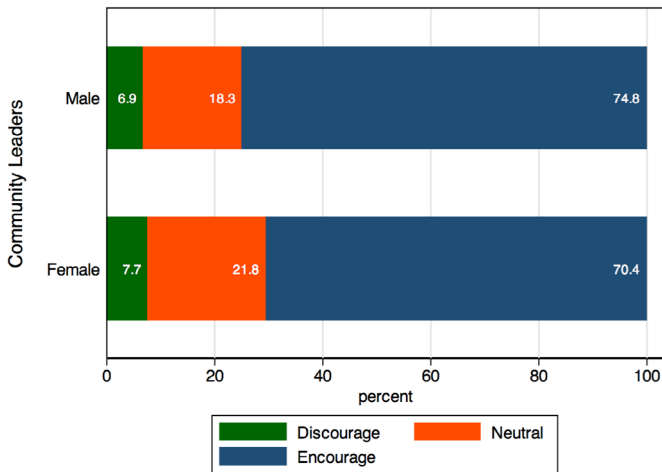


Both male and female legislators face numerous pitfalls during political campaigns, but women are three times as likely to worry about gender discrimination, and twice as likely to fear not being taken seriously and about lost income. Female legislators are also discernibly more concerned about negative advertising, losing family time, lost privacy, and the difficulty of running in general.

“Social Media and no filters there, when I want to make a statement.”

**FEMALE MEMBER OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT,
ON HER BIGGEST POLITICAL ASSET**

Figure 11: Encouragement by Community Leaders and the Decision to Run.

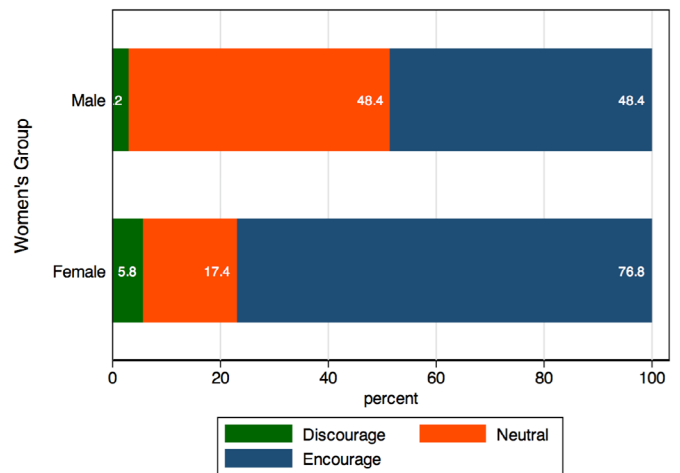


We asked politicians whether community leaders, broadly conceived, had been involved in their decision to run. For both female and male legislators, encouragement to run by community leaders was an important factor in their decision to run. But compared to their male counterparts, more female legislators felt neutrality or even hostility from community leaders. Women are often drawn into politics in PR system through party sponsorship whereas men seem to be promoted bottom-up from local groups and leaders.

“The strength for every politician is the masses in your branches, your relationship with members on the ground means a lot.”

FEMALE MP, SOUTH AFRICA

Figure 12: Women’s Group Support and the Decision to Run.

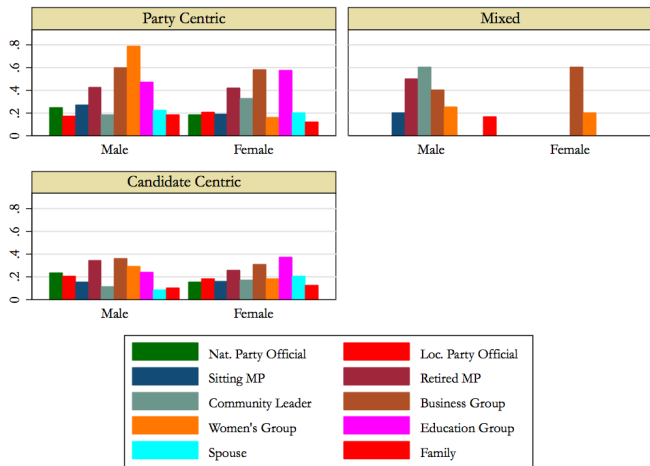


While male legislators were encouraged by local and central party officials to run, female legislators appear to have derived substantially more support from women’s groups. In the U.S., for example, organizations such as EMILY’s List seek out women to train, cultivate, fund, and support for political office. Even men—presumably those who champion policies benefiting women—report receiving support from women’s groups.

Advice for young women going into politics: “The only way -- be a lot better than men.”

FEMALE MP, LATVIA

Figure 13: Sources of Support in Different Electoral Systems

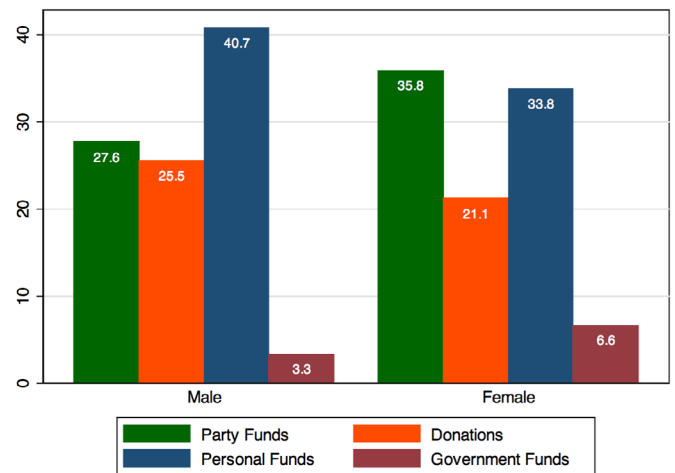


If we consider all of the sources of support for politicians across different electoral systems, some interesting patterns emerge. Party-centric electoral systems use “List PR” or “Party Block Votes” to assign winning candidates to seats in the legislature. Candidate-centric systems use rules like “First Past the Post” and “Transferable Votes” to assign winners. In the latter, campaigns tend to focus on qualities of candidates more than on party labels and programs. Mixed systems incorporate elements of each, combining seats assigned under candidate-centric rules and seats allocated by proportional representation. 35 countries represented in this study are party-centric, while 11 are mixed and 16 are candidate-centric. Party-centric electoral systems encourage both men and women to run, although party officials and current MPs exhibit a slight preference for male candidates. We know from other scholarship that parties in candidate-centric systems like the U.S. provide women with less encouragement than men to run (Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, and Walsh 2009).

*Biggest obstacle:
“Financing my campaign.”*

FEMALE MP, GREECE

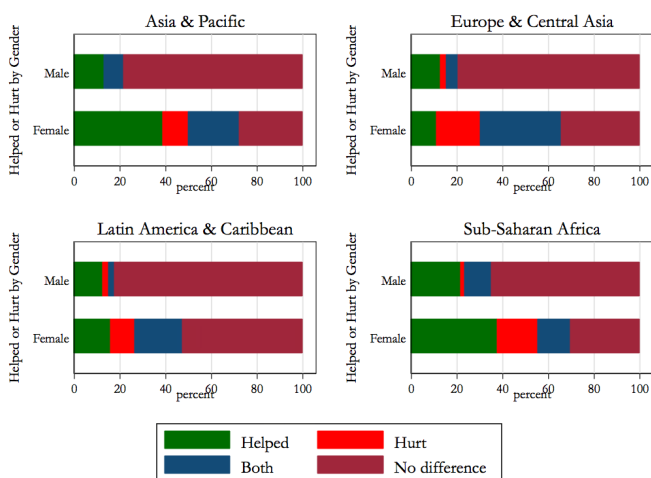
Figure 14: Sources of Funding. Politicians were asked about the relative importance of different sources of funding to their campaigns. This chart reports the average share of different funding sources for men and women. For example, men report that on average 28 percent of their campaigns were financed via party funds.



finance their campaigns. On average male MPs say that 41 percent of their campaign funds come out of their own pockets, while for women this is 34 percent. Women’s campaigns receive a higher share of money

from parties and from government funds than men’s. This corroborates earlier studies, including a 2009 Inter-Parliamentary Union survey of 300 parliamentarians, a 2013 survey by UN Women, and a 2014 study by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), all of which found that female candidates’ greater difficulty than men in raising campaign financing was one of their biggest deterrents to running for office (Ballington and Kahane 2014: 304). Note that financing is more donation-centric, and a larger share of women’s campaigns are self funded in the USA (see Appendix 2). Across the globe, women typically must campaign harder than their male counterparts to raise money from many more but smaller contributions (Ballington and Kahane 2014: 307; Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, and Walsh 2009). These findings put the spotlight on political parties and social organizations to recruit and sponsor female candidates.

Figure 15: Has Your Gender Helped or Hurt Your Political Career, or Made No Difference?



The obstacles in the path of female politicians are separate phenomena each with its own causal mechanism, but they reinforce one another in identifiable ways: The departure of women from the political career pipeline creates the actuarial fact that females as a group are less likely to advance to the highest ranks, reducing the incentives of party leaders to invest in their success. At the same time, the disappearance of females from the ranks reduces the number of senior role models who can model the family-career balance and provide practical advice and realistic encouragement for budding politicians. It hardly seems surprising, then, that young women who observe few hopeful signs of their own prospects would feel discouraged, lose self-confidence, and be at risk of giving up on political careers.

As Figure 15 shows, there are possibly interesting regional differences in legislators’ perceptions of the advantages of their gender to explore in future research.

But even in Asia and in Africa where some female legislators said that being a woman helped them, perhaps because of quotas, far more females than males also said that gender hurt them on balance. For an overwhelming proportion of male candidates, their own gender is simply not a relevant concern.

DID GENDER HELP OR HURT? WHAT WOMEN SAY

“Helped because there are some positive policies in favour of women. But still women are not taken seriously yet we work very hard and get most of the voters directing issues to us. There is constant undermining from male colleagues.”

FEMALE MP, UGANDA

“Helped because the party wants to give importance to women hurt because people in my party were jealous & insecure & didn’t want me to grow in politics.”

FEMALE MP, INDIA

“Good for electability but more problematic in terms of promotion/influence.”

FEMALE MP, AUSTRALIA

“Women look at our party policies more because of my gender but men in the party tend to discount me as a leader.”

FEMALE MP, NEW ZEALAND

“It helped to start but then it has been difficult to emancipate myself from what men said: “a beautiful face””

FEMALE MP, ITALY

DID GENDER HELP OR HURT? WHAT MEN SAY

“I have had exposure but also lack time for my family and economic activities.”

MALE MP, UGANDA

“Helps in a male dominated society, however my opponent in the recent elections was a female celebrity who got support because of her gender and celebrity status.”

MALE MP, INDIA

GENDERED SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS SUMMARY

Women are more likely to report that their gender helped and hurt them in their political careers, while more than 70 percent of men think it made no difference at all. The fear of negative advertising underscores the problem that political competitors can undermine female candidates with gender stereotypes, and that the media may perpetuate them whether or not they intend to. This is where we see the double bind: gender stereotypes about women’s proper roles as wives and mothers perpetuate unconscious bias in the general public against female legislators who do not have children (on grounds that they are “aberrational” rather than representative citizens) or against female legislators who do have children (on grounds that they cannot possibly do the work without abdicating important family responsibilities). Our survey corroborates decades of studies showing that no one—not even women themselves—is immune from subtle forms of negative stereotyping.⁶

⁶ Corinne Moss-Racusin, Jack Dovidio, Victoria Brescoll, M. Graham, and Jo Handelsman, 2012, “Science faculty’s subtle gender biases favor male students,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 109, 16474-16479; Anthony Genre. Greenwald and Linda Hamilton Krieger, 2006, “Implicit Bias: Scientific Foundations,” *California Law Review*, 94, 4: 945-967

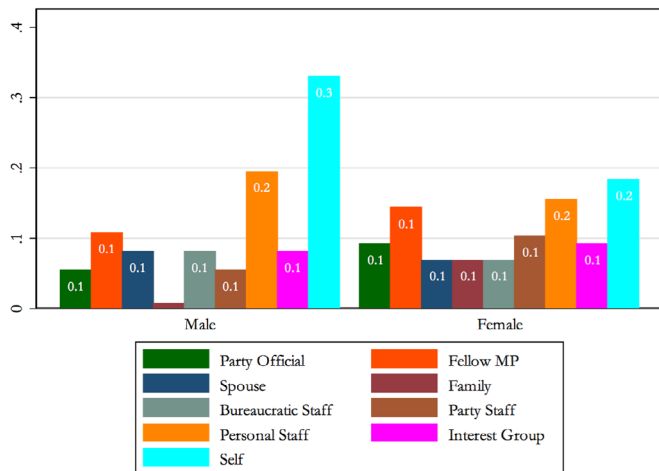
CAREER ADVANCEMENT

In this section we consider how gendered perceptions of social roles influence women’s chances of career advancement within legislative parties. We leave for the next stage of this research the question of voters’ perceptions of female legislators’ availability for work outside the home, and how those perceptions affect their assessment of likeability versus suitability for national office.

“The biggest obstacle that I found in parliament was the negotiating process to approve legislative proposals successfully.”

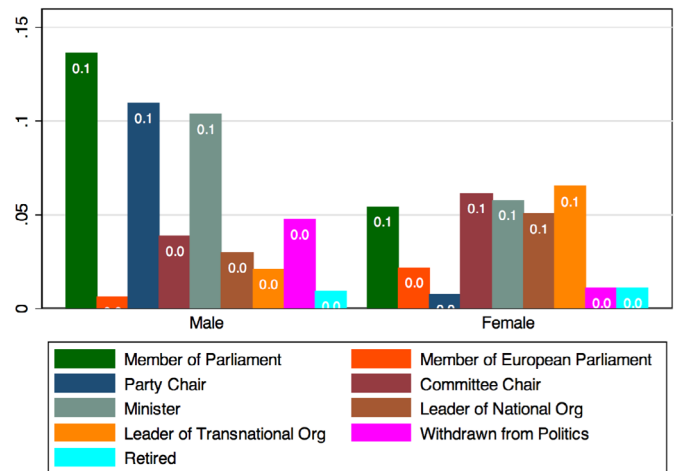
FEMALE MP, ARGENTINA

Figure 16: Who was your most important mentor?



When asked to name their most important mentors, men and women give discernibly different answers. Female legislators cite their own efforts first, followed by their personal staff and a fellow Member of Parliament. Men give even more credit to their own efforts, followed by their staff, fellow MP, and interest groups.

Figure 17: What is the Single Position You Hope to Hold in Ten Years?



When asked to name the single most important source of mentoring, women and men again name a fellow member of parliament, where as for men the party chair takes on added significance that is almost entirely missing for females. This striking difference calls for further study, to understand if party leaders are failing to provide female legislators with equal levels of mentorship and support.

Female legislators drew strength instead from leaders of national and transnational organizations.

Studies of female advances in other professions corroborate the importance of mentoring and sponsorship. A randomized, controlled study of women in the economics profession found that women who were paired with mentors were more likely to get their work published and get promoted to the next rank (Blau 2010). A 2012 study of 20,000 private sector firms in the U.S. showed that female top managers had a positive influence on the promotion of women through the ranks (Kurtulus and Tomaskovic-Devy 2012).

In politics, however, where candidates must secure the support of broad coalitions of voters, access to networks reflective of society is important. There are important parallels to the corporate world, where a female banker noted, “The difficulty in Belgium is that women are not accepted in clubs like the Rotary Club and the Lions Club. Then you have clubs where only women are present, and that is something that I do not agree with because it does not reflect the reality of society” (quoted in Linehan and Scullion 2008: 36).

Given the importance of wide support in the political world, sharing networks and offering guidance have the advantage over quotas and other kinds of “affirmative action” that they level the playing field without giving women any perceived “unfair” advantages that can cause a backlash against women (Dobbin 2009).

What are your future prospects in terms of leadership roles?

“Almost impossible: Women party leaders are held to much higher standards than men in my country.”

FEMALE MP, NETHERLANDS

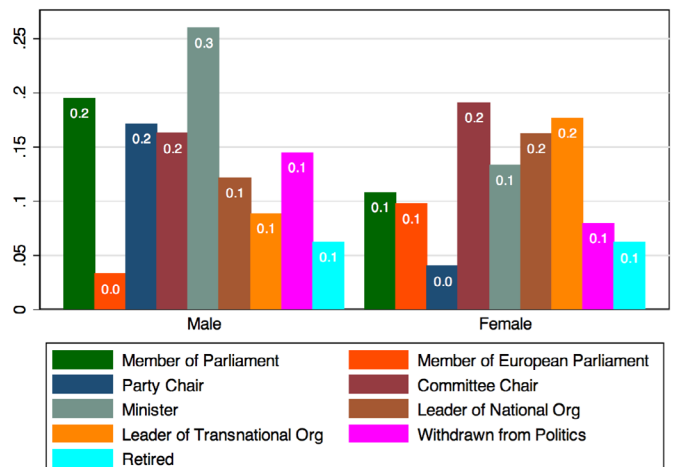
“My gender can’t affect me in any way, I know my future prospects are going to depend on my determination to face whatever comes on my way.”

FEMALE MP, UGANDA

“As a women in power, I feel that my gender has little to no effect on my future in politics.”

FEMALE MP, ICELAND

Figure 18: What Positions do You Hope to Hold in Ten Years?



When asked what position they hoped to hold in ten years, men reached for cabinet minister. Women expressed lesser parliamentary ambitions, settling for committee chair; or diversified their preferences by naming the possibility of leading a national organization or a transnational organization.

The “ambition gap” continues to be visible when asked what is the single position they hope to attain in a decade. More men than women hope to rise to a leadership position in the party, and more women than men seem to keep one eye on the door.

“Being a woman might be an obstacle for further advancement, e.g. getting a ministers post. Politics is a real men’s world.”

FEMALE MP, LATVIA

of candidates for leadership positions, uncovered some negative attitudes towards people who are perceived as having been “assisted” into office through quotas. On the positive side, we have found evidence that mentoring by fellow MPs, male and female, is a valuable source of support for many female politicians. More attention to the gender-unequal access to networks and recognition by the media of the need to combat negative gender stereotypes will be important steps to opening more pathways for female political success.

“I got to be Deputy Leader on my work ethic but I had to work twice as hard as my male counterparts.”

FEMALE MP, NEW ZEALAND

CAREER ADVANCEMENT SUMMARY

Female MPs surmount enormous hurdles to get elected, often relying on party funding and their own resources, and often with the encouragement of women’s groups. Rising to positions of leadership in their parties presents a whole new round of the same challenges: continuing to balance family and career while building credibility as policy makers, or fending off negative stereotypes in the event they do not have families. Quotas have been helpful in getting women to office in many countries around the world, but our survey experiment, which asked MPs to evaluate sets

RESPONDENT PROFILE

In this section we present data on the demographic attributes of the survey respondents. The male and female MPs who responded to the survey look largely similar, although females are slightly less likely to have a higher education degree and more likely to have come from public sector jobs or the non-profit sector prior to entering politics (25% of females, 19% of males) while males are more likely to have held positions in business or legal professions (33% of males, 18% of females).

Figure 20: Have You Previously Held Political Office? Which office?

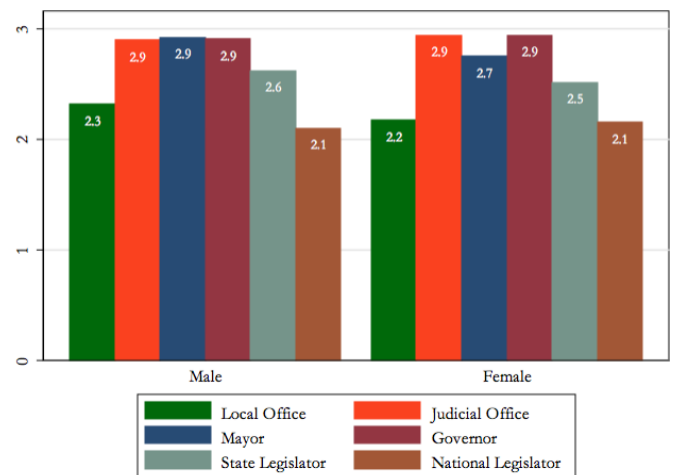


Figure 19: Education Levels

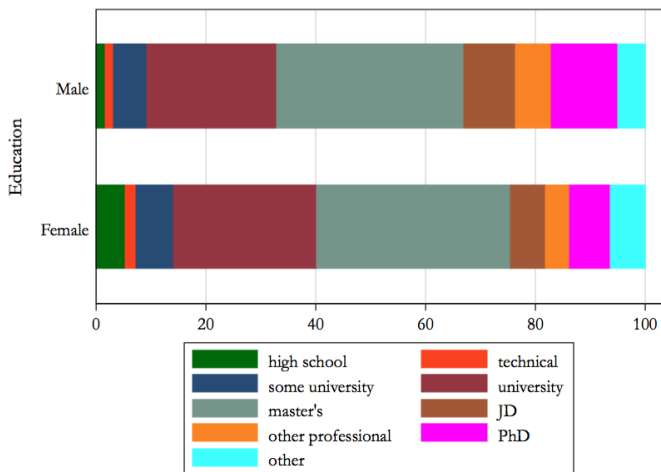


Figure 21: Do you have family members who have served in politics? The figure reports the fraction who answered "Yes".

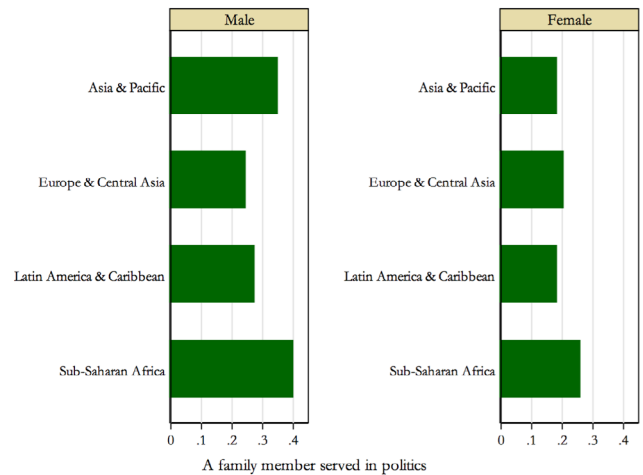


Figure 22: What was your previous occupation

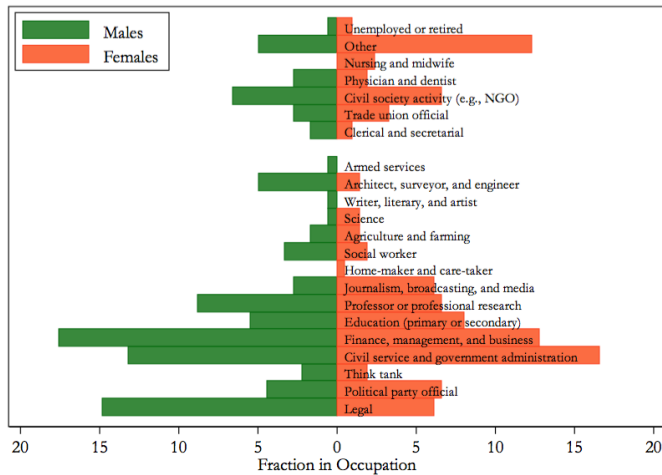
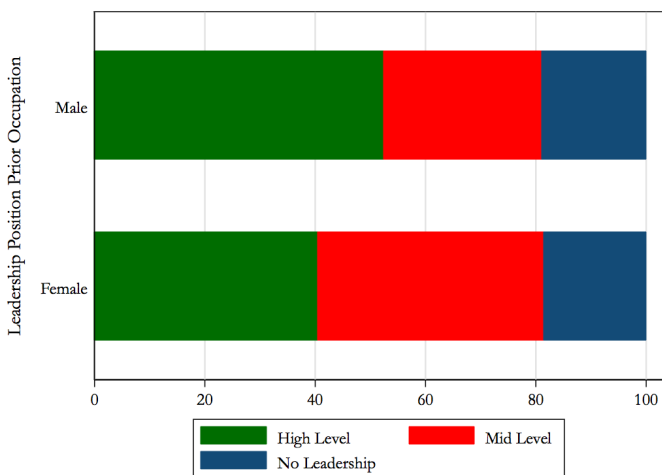


Figure 23: Were you a leader in your previous occupation?



RESPONDENT PROFILE SUMMARY

MP survey respondents varied slightly by gender, reflecting more general societal patterns and networks: males were more likely to come to politics from leadership positions in business or law, while females were more likely have backgrounds as civil servants or

teachers. But those differences in background fail to capture all of the gender bias in politics. In an experimental question in which we asked MPs to evaluate hypothetical candidates for career success as politicians, both male and female respondents favored the female candidate over the male candidate, all else equal.

Male teachers were favored over female teachers, male lawyers over female lawyers. Respondents, especially men, tended to be negatively disposed towards teachers, candidates without children (that is, women who do not fit the dominant gender norm), candidates with little political experience (which might include women who enter politics later in life), and candidates who are unmarried (again, gendered norms). The kinds of female candidates current MPs are likely to favor simply do not exist. This is a startling finding that puts the spotlight on the pipeline of potential candidates moving into political careers. More than discrimination against women per se, the gendered “double whammy” discourages strong female candidates from running for office.

Make sure you have workskills to fall back on. And realise the public battle. Get a good circle of friends and male mentor.”

FEMALE MP, NETHERLANDS

CONCLUSIONS

Many women have attained successful political careers, but almost nowhere in numbers that reflect their share of the population. Even in countries with relative gender parity, there is a higher attrition rate for women than for men into the top party ranks. In this section, we summarize the findings of the survey under three subheadings: What are the obstacles that women face in climbing to higher office? What are the pathways of the women who have surmounted those obstacles? Based on their examples and given what we have learned about various hidden barriers, what interventions can help promote greater gender equity all the way to the top of political hierarchies?

OBSTACLES TO FEMALE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

This empirical study of the female political career, the first undertaken at a global level, has uncovered several striking patterns. The first is that there are serious selection effects on female candidates. Many women who might excel at political careers do not run because of the obstacles they see ahead of them—higher, in most cases, than in the way of their male counterparts. Without grappling seriously with the selection effects on female candidates, any attempt to improve political gender equality will be partial at best.

Once in office, women continue to be caught in the double bind between the additional claims on their time from their gendered roles at home and the

gendered social expectations that they ought to be spending more time at home. Female politicians operate within narrow bands of acceptable behavior, the boundaries of which are policed relentlessly by party leaders, colleagues, voters, and the media.

PATHWAYS TO POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

In spite of myriad obstacles to career success, many women have gone on to extraordinary achievements. As one woman said, “I became a Deputy Party Leader because of my work ethic, but I had to work twice as hard as everyone else.” That is a strategy for personal success, but it is not an efficient program for gender equality.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR POLICY INTERVENTION

Achieving true gender equality in politics will require deep social introspection and effort. Striving in that direction is worthwhile because the stakes are high: greater gender equality improves the quality of democracy itself by improving the pool of candidates and legislators. Gendered social roles and expectations constitute high entry barriers to women that limit electoral competition.

Because achieving complete equality of political access is likely to entail a long process of social transformation, the survey results suggest valuable intermediate steps to repair the leaky pipeline of the female political career.

Distinctly more than men, women who make it to office attribute their success to another member of parliament. Many members of parliament take it upon themselves to back junior MPs. In some national parties this kind of mentoring is done in the context of party coherence and discipline. In decentralized party systems such as the U.S., fundraising for junior legislators is instrumental to building popularity in the legislature (Powell 2012). Systematic efforts on the part of national and transnational organizations of female MPs can go farther to help shoulder the burden of building political careers by identifying and cultivating early talent, providing training in public speaking, strategizing about publicity, building fundraising networks, and deepening policy understanding.

In the longer run, deep changes in social norms about the gendered allocation of time are necessary and possible. That effort can be much helped by gender-neutral school education, the private media's cooperation in countering gender-biased media coverage, and more publicity about the pernicious effects of statistical discrimination and implicit bias.

"I look forward to a fairer political field for all genders, and I look forward to grow more and bring social change to my people by providing employment opportunities through entrepreneurial activities."

FEMALE MP, KENYA

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DATA APPENDIX

The responses drawn on in this report come from two different waves of the Political Career Survey.

In the first wave a set of voluntary respondents (male and female) was invited to participate in an online survey from July 2014-September 2014. The original database consisted in 8,204 valid individual emails of legislators from 26 countries. The email addresses were obtained in different ways. Sometimes the national legislature publishes a list of emails and addresses for all of its MPs. In other cases, there was a consistent pattern of address that, once discovered, could be used to construct emails for a list of MPs. At other times individual MPs would post their email addresses on their websites. Each of these methods was employed to the degree necessary.

A second wave of the survey was meant to reach out to specifically to female legislators using the Women in Parliaments database. This database included female legislators from 70 countries. In this round women were specifically asked to weigh-in on the questions in light of the motivating force behind the project, namely, understanding the barriers to careers in politics for women.

Both waves are included in the results throughout the report.

The Political Career Survey questionnaire was designed to be comparable to other major surveys of legislators including the National Candidate Study and the Elite Survey. It also attempted to include a few questions that overlap with the Inter-parliamentary union's survey of 270 legislators in 2009.

A key difference between this survey and the other studies is its scope. In attempting to reach legislators in 84 countries, we were required to translate the survey into several languages. The survey languages are described below, as are the number of responses that were taken in that language. Respondents could chose to answer the survey in any translated language, and could even switch languages in the middle of the survey.

EXPERIMENTAL QUESTIONS

Experimental Questions: In another set of survey questions, members of parliament were asked to evaluate hypothetical candidates for career success as politicians. Conjoint analysis allows us to see that colleagues take information shortcuts in assessing legislators' qualifications for higher office, at least in part on the basis of expected available time of female legislators with children. Both male and female respondents favored the female candidate over the male candidate, all else equal.

But they (especially men) tended to be negatively disposed towards teachers (a traditionally female profession), candidates without children (women who do not fit the dominant gender norm), candidates with little political experience (which might include women who enter politics later in life), and candidates who are unmarried (people thought not to meet societal expectations).

The kinds of female candidates current MPs are likely to favor are scarce. This is a startling finding that puts the spotlight on the pipeline of potential candidates moving into political careers. More than discrimination against women per se, the gendered “double whammy” discourages strong female candidates from running for office.

Table 4: Responses by Region

Region	Male (n)	Female (n)	Total	Share Female
East Asia & Pacific	28	7	35	0.20
Europe & Central Asia	89	18	107	0.17
Latin America & Carib	93	18	111	0.16
Middle East & North A	3	1	4	0.25
North America	4	3	7	0.43
South Asia	13	1	14	0.07
Sub-Saharan Africa	104	49	153	0.32
Total	334	97	431	0.23

Table 3: Responses by Survey Language

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Arabic	3	0.65	0.65
German	4	0.86	1.51
English	279	60	61.51
Spanish	127	27.31	88.82
French	5	1.08	89.89
Japanese	20	4.3	94.19
Korean	10	2.15	96.34
Russian	11	2.37	98.71
Chinese	6	1.29	100
Total	465	100	

Table 5: Responses by Country

	Male (n)	Female (n)	Total	Share Female
Afghanistan	0	2	2	1.00
Albania	0	2	2	1.00
Andorra	0	1	1	1.00
Argentina	7	4	11	0.36
Armenien	0	1	1	1.00
Australia	3	9	12	0.75
Austria	0	2	2	1.00
Azerbaijan	0	1	1	1.00
Bahrain, Kingdom of	0	1	1	1.00
Belgium	0	19	19	1.00
Bhutan	0	2	2	1.00
Burundi	0	2	2	1.00
Cameroon	0	1	1	1.00
Canada	4	7	11	0.64
Central African Repub	0	1	1	1.00
Colombia	6	0	6	0.00
Costa Rica	0	2	2	1.00
Croatia	0	1	1	1.00
Czech Republic	0	2	2	1.00
Côte d'Ivoire	0	1	1	1.00
Denmark	0	3	3	1.00

	Male (n)	Female (n)	Total	Share Female
Dominica	0	2	2	1.00
Ecuador	70	12	82	0.15
Estonia	0	2	2	1.00
Finland	0	4	4	1.00
France	0	2	2	1.00
Gabon	0	1	1	1.00
Germany	3	0	3	0.00
Ghana	1	0	1	0.00
Greece	0	1	1	1.00
Guatemala	1	0	1	0.00
Hungary	0	1	1	1.00
Iceland	0	9	9	1.00
India	13	2	15	0.13
Iraq	0	3	3	1.00
Ireland	11	4	15	0.27
Israel	0	3	3	1.00
Italy	18	12	30	0.40
Japan	13	2	15	0.13
Kenya	30	20	50	0.40
Korea, Republic of	9	1	10	0.10
Latvia	16	5	21	0.24
Liberia	0	1	1	1.00

	Male (n)	Female (n)	Total	Share Female
Lithuania	0	1	1	1.00
Luxembourg	0	2	2	1.00
Malawi	0	1	1	1.00
Malaysia	0	3	3	1.00
Malta	0	2	2	1.00
Mauritius	0	1	1	1.00
Mexico	0	2	2	1.00
Mongolia	0	1	1	1.00
Montenegro	1	0	1	0.00
Morocco	0	1	1	1.00
Namibia	0	1	1	1.00
Netherlands	0	4	4	1.00
New Zealand	3	2	5	0.40
Niger	0	1	1	1.00
Nigeria	0	1	1	1.00
Norway	0	4	4	1.00
Panama	0	1	1	1.00
Paraguay	2	0	2	0.00
Peru	2	1	3	0.33
Philippines	0	1	1	1.00
Poland	1	0	1	0.00
Romania	0	1	1	1.00
Russia	6	0	6	0.00

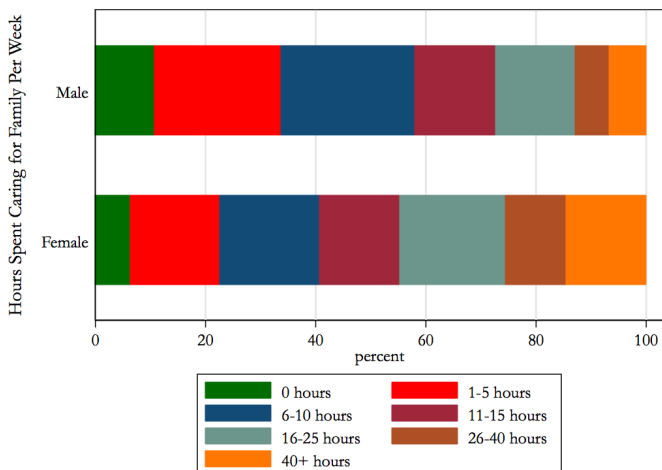
	Male (n)	Female (n)	Total	Share Female
Rwanda	0	7	7	1.00
Saudi Arabia	0	1	1	1.00
Seychelles	0	5	5	1.00
Sierra Leone	0	1	1	1.00
South Africa	31	18	49	0.37
South Sudan, Republic	0	1	1	1.00
Spain	0	7	7	1.00
Sweden	0	4	4	1.00
Switzerland	0	9	9	1.00
Taiwan	3	2	5	0.40
Chad	0	1	1	1.00
Tunisia	3	2	5	0.40
Turkey	0	1	1	1.00
Uganda	43	20	63	0.32
United Kingdom	34	16	50	0.32
United States of America	0	1	1	1.00
Uruguay	5	0	5	0.00
Zimbabwe	0	1	1	1.00
Total	339	278	617	0.45

APPENDIX 2: UNITED STATES

The original Political Career Survey was fielded to national-level legislators in 86 countries. While leaders from many countries took time to participate in the survey, national politicians in North America had very low response rates. To improve our knowledge of paths to politics for this area of the world, we sent the survey to 21,000 politicians in the United States at all levels of government.

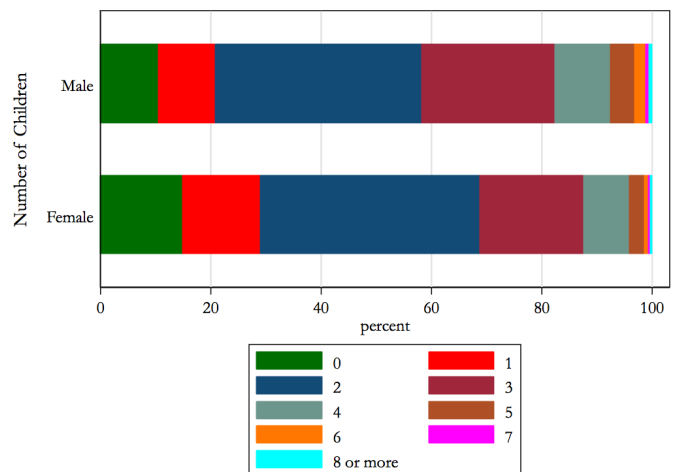
The survey of sub-national politicians in the United States produced 1,734 responses, comprised of 70 percent men and 30 percent women.

Figure 24: Hours spent caring for family, all levels of government in the U.S.



ernment spend 11-15 hours caring for their families, compared with 6-10 hours for men on average.

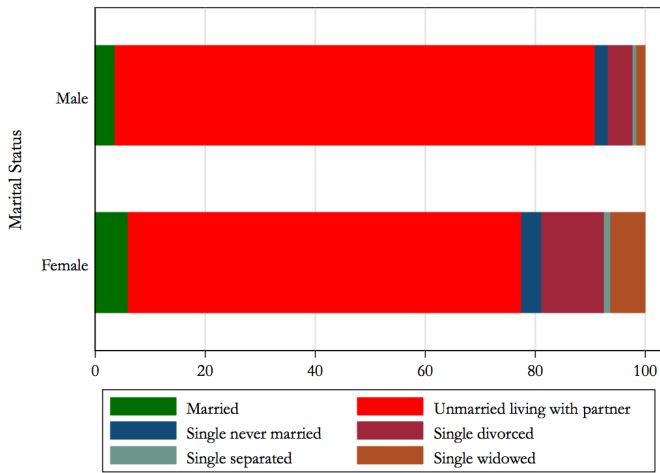
Figure 25: Number of Children, all levels of government in the U.S.



In state and local governments, although both men and women in the U.S. have about two children on average, men are more likely to have larger families, similar to the findings in the rest of the world.

In the U.S., about half of females elected into gov-

Figure 26: Marital Status, all levels of government in the U.S.

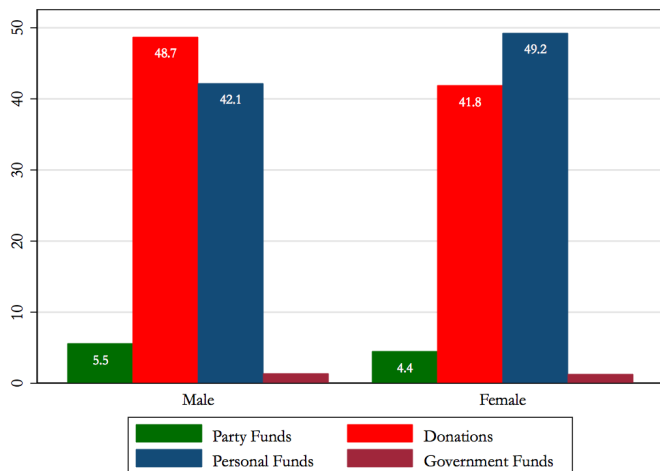


The vast majority of legislators are unmarried but living with their partners in the U.S. Female leaders are slightly more likely to be married than men.

States. About half of women’s funding comes from personal sources, compared to 42 percent for male politicians. On the other hand, around 49 percent of men’s financing comes from donations, compared to 42 percent for women. Men are slightly more likely to receive campaign contributions directly from parties.

In the global sample, party funds were a much more important source of campaign finance. One reason for the difference is that the U.S. has a relatively candidate-centric electoral system; another is that this sample consisted of state and local politicians for whom parties play an even smaller role than at the national level.

Figure 27: Funding Sources, all levels of government in the U.S



Men and women have somewhat different sources of funding in state and local government in the United



2015

THE FEMALE POLITICAL CAREER



WIP
WOMEN IN PARLIAMENTS
GLOBAL FORUM

BELLERIVESTR. 29
CH-8008 ZURICH

Phone: +41 44 268 69 21
Fax: +41 44 268 69 22

mail@womeninparliaments.org
www.womeninparliaments.org

This report reflects survey results from 84 countries around the world designed to understand the hurdles women face in launching and sustaining successful political careers.



*A joint study by WIP and The World Bank.
Supported by EY.*

