GENDER EGALITARIANISM AND WOMEN'S DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

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University of Iowa

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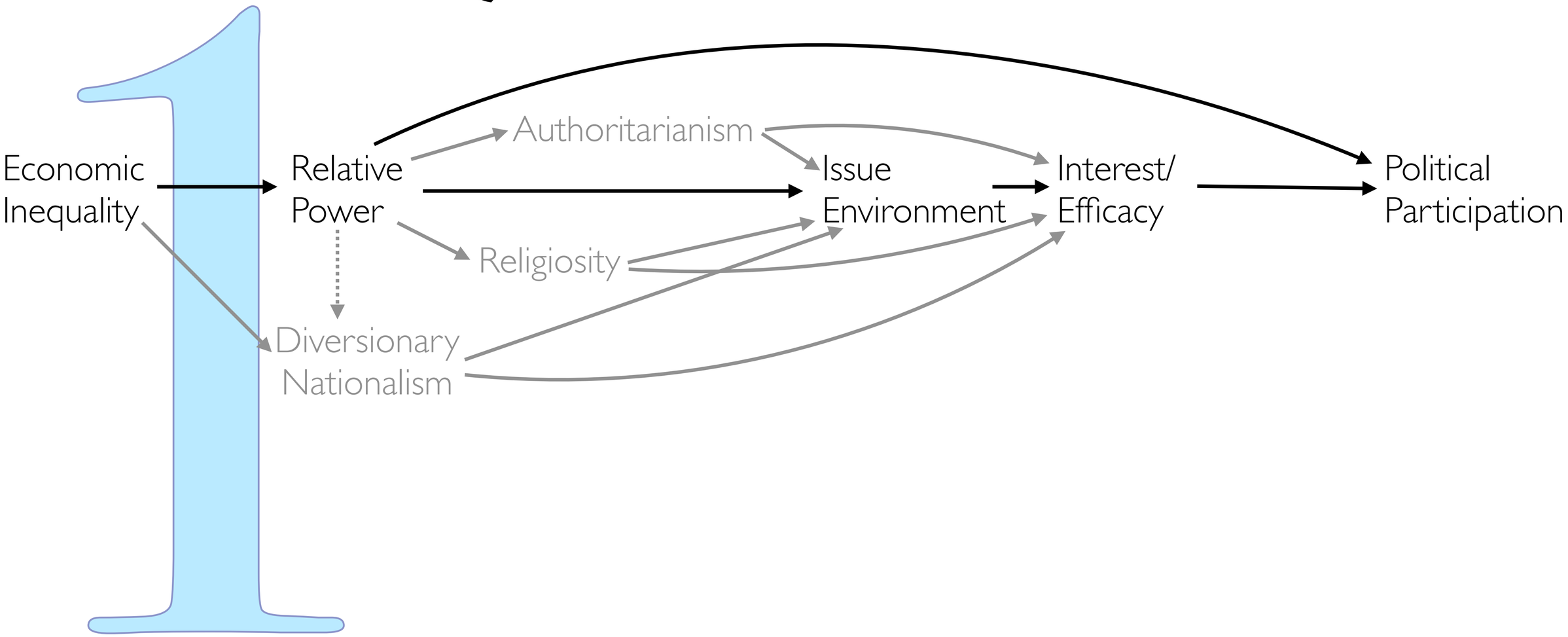
ECONOMIC INEQUALITY & THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

1

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY & THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS



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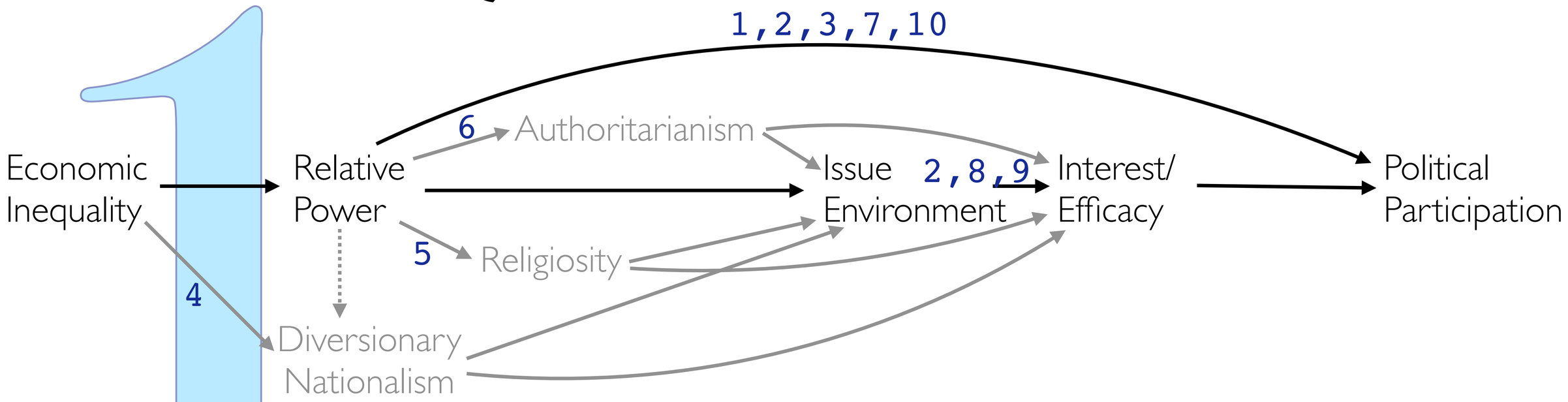
ECONOMIC INEQUALITY & THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS



1. **Solt, Frederick.** 2004. "Civics or Structure? Revisiting the Origins of Democratic Quality in the Italian Regions." *BJPS* 34(1):123-135.
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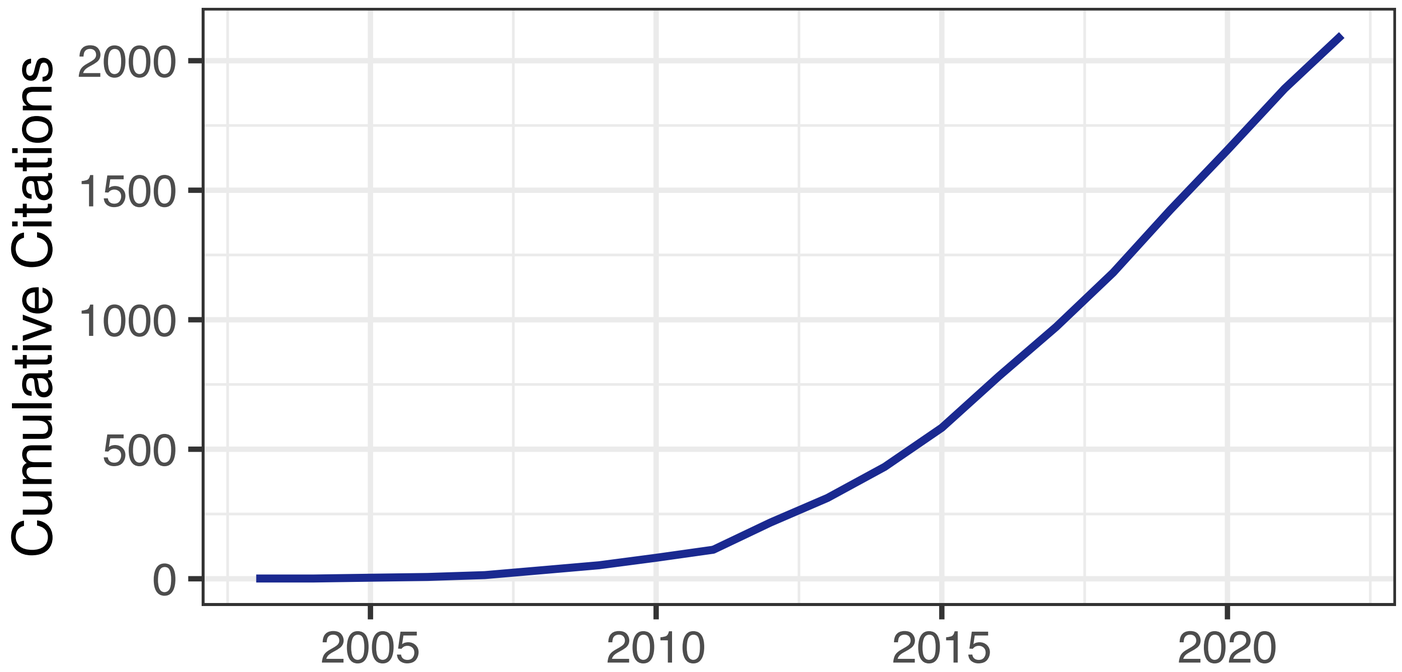

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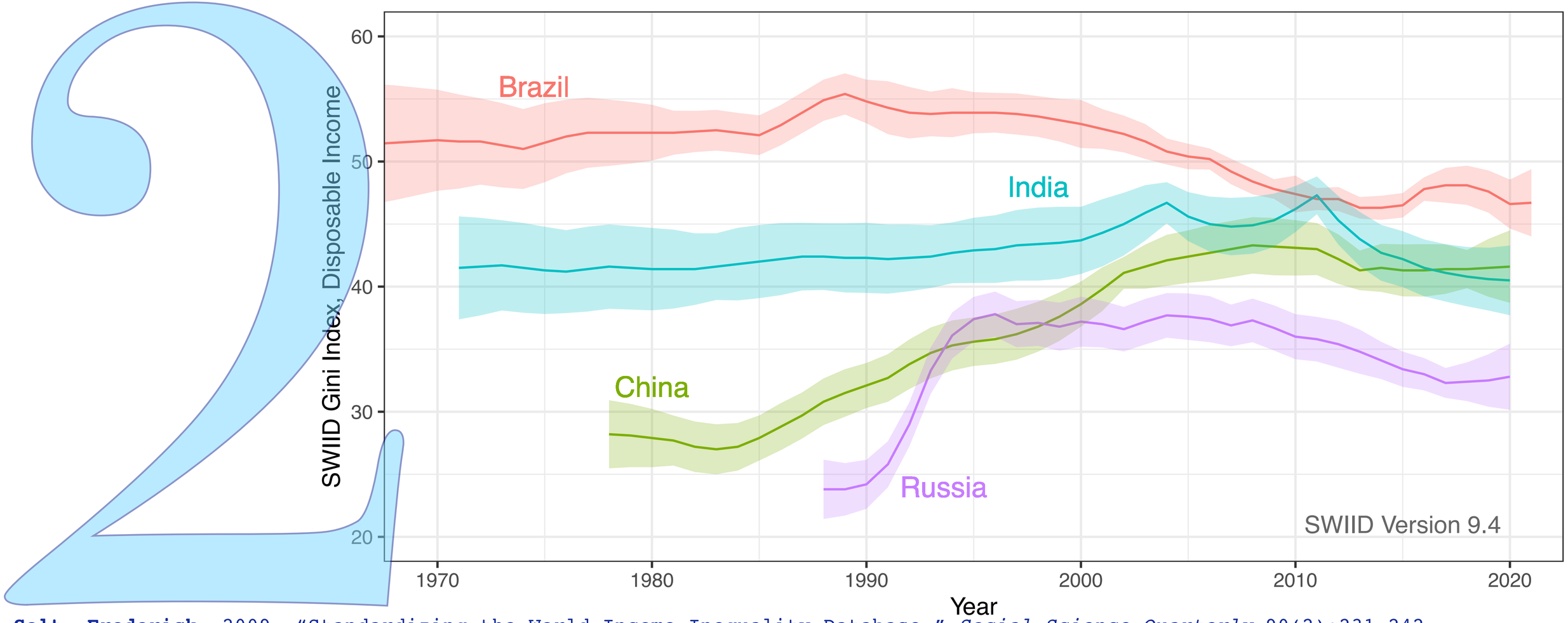
MEASURING INCOME INEQUALITY



1. **Solt, Frederick.** 2009. "Standardizing the World Income Inequality Database." *Social Science Quarterly* 90(2):231-242.

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4. **Solt, Frederick.** 2020. "Measuring Income Inequality Across Countries and Over Time: The Standardized World Income Inequality Database." *Social Science Quarterly* 101(3):1183-1199.

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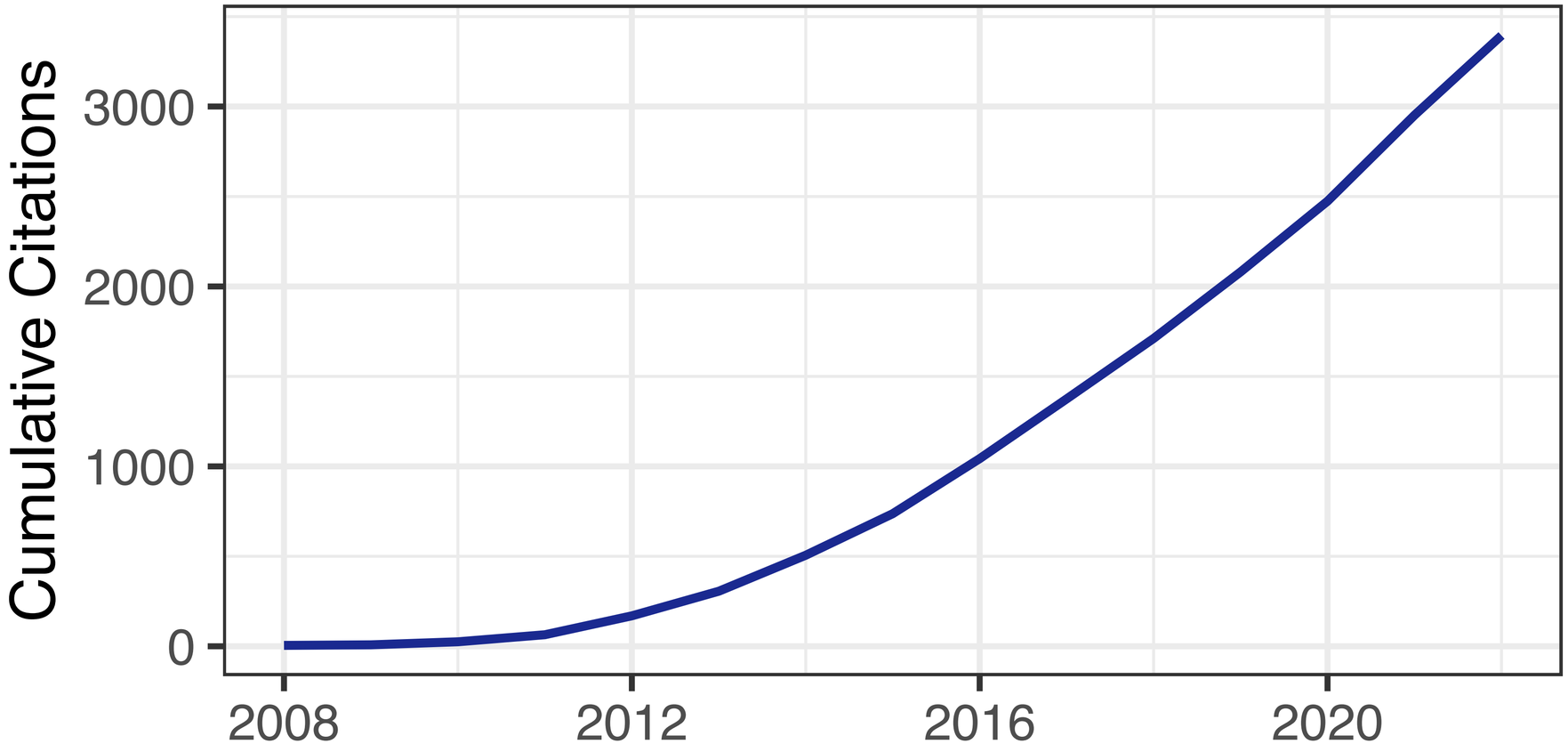
MEASURING INCOME INEQUALITY



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DYNAMIC COMPARATIVE PUBLIC OPINION

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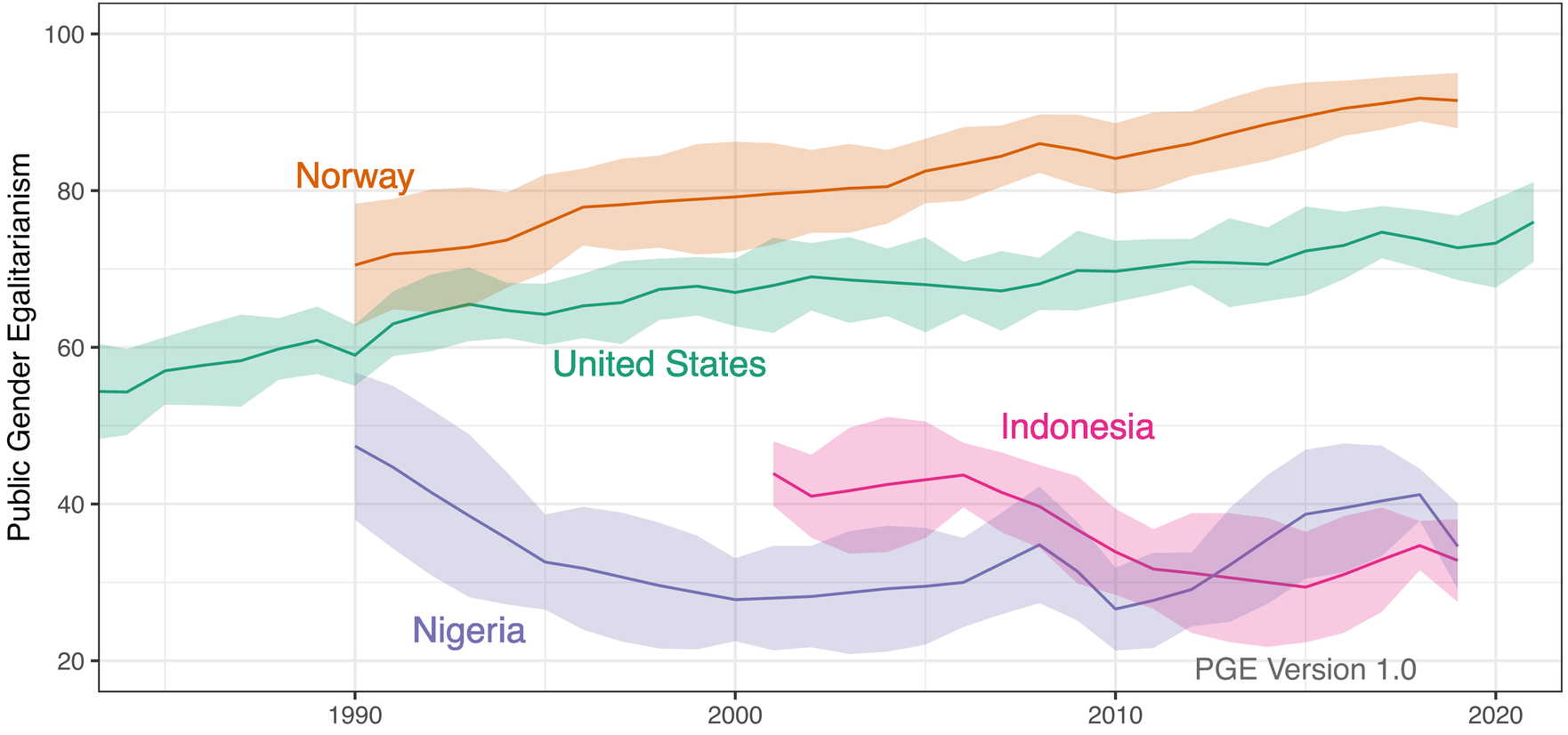

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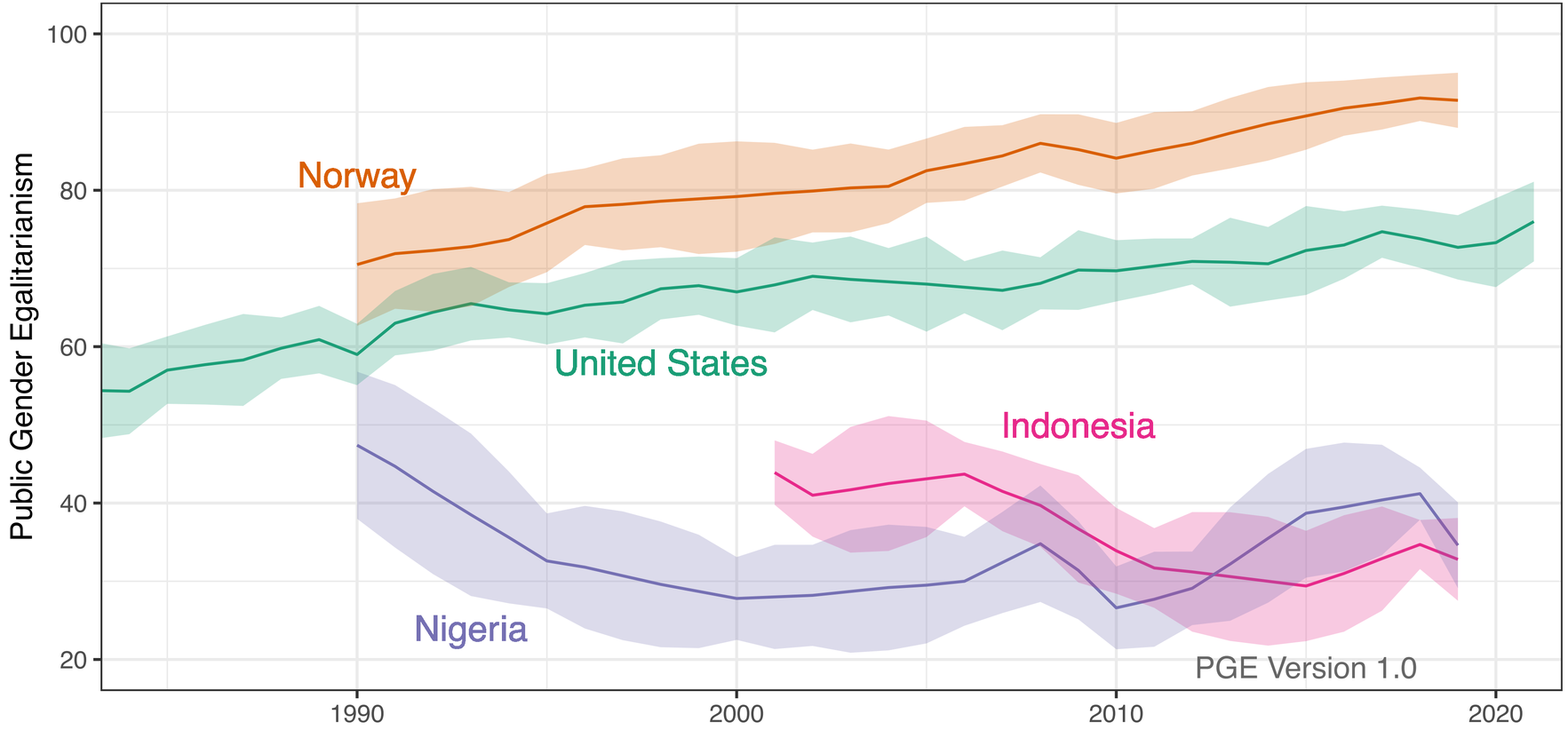
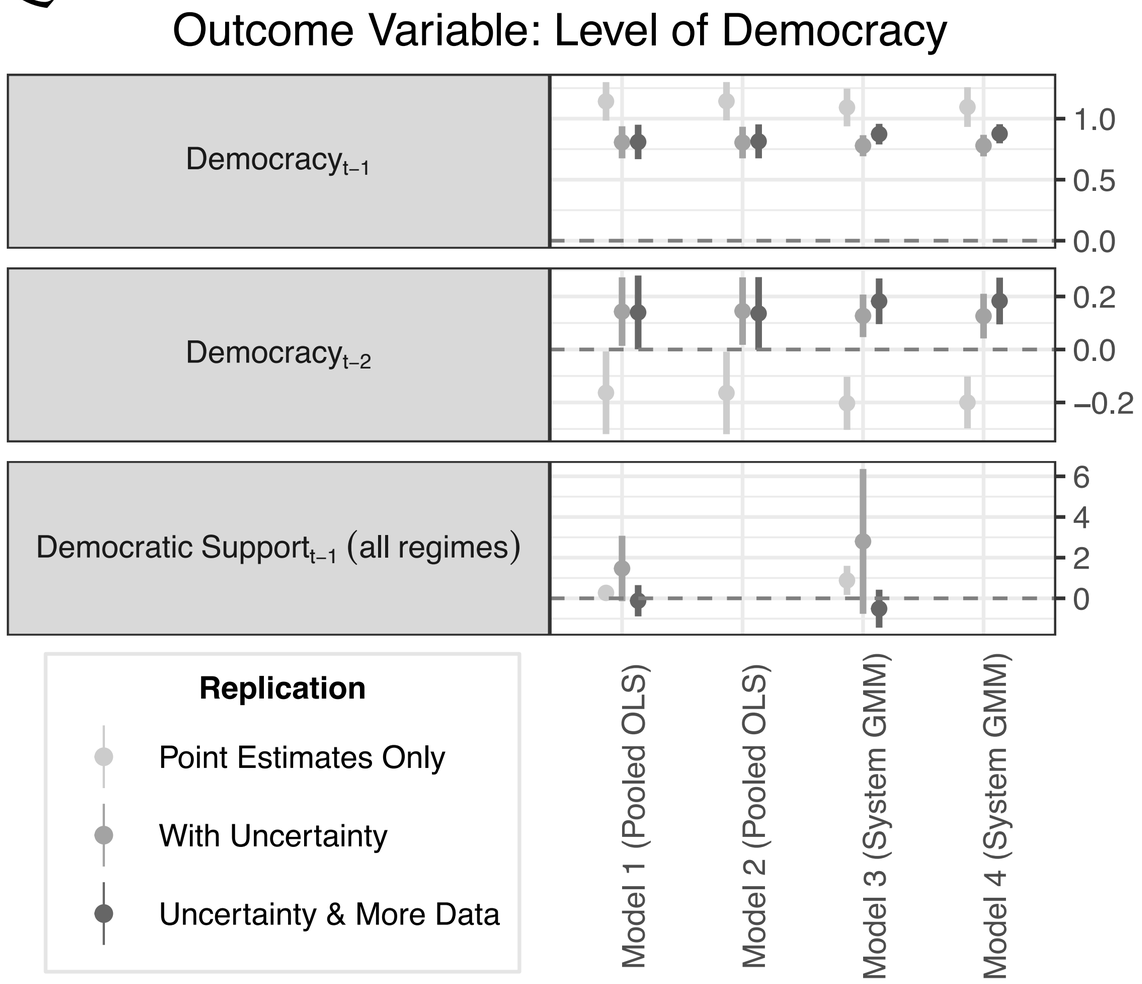


1. Woo, Byung-Deuk, Lindsey Goldberg, and **Frederick Solt**. Forthcoming. "Public Gender Egalitarianism: A Dataset of Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion Toward Egalitarian Gender Roles in the Public Sphere." *British Journal of Political Science*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123422000436
2. **Solt, Frederick**. 2020. "Modeling Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion." *SocArXiv*. Working paper.
3. Tai, Yuehong Cassandra, Yue Hu, Byung-Deuk Woo, and **Frederick Solt**. "Democratic Support Around the World: Dynamic Comparative Data on Public Support for Democracy." In progress.
4. Tai, Yuehong Cassandra, and **Frederick Solt**. "Trust in Bureaucracy: Public Opinion on Public Servants in Dynamic Comparative Perspective." In progress.
5. Woo, Byung-Deuk, Hyein Ko, Yuehong Cassandra Tai, Yue Hu, and **Frederick Solt**. "Measuring the Acceptance of Homosexuality Across Countries and Over Time." In progress.

CAUSES & CONSEQUENCES OF PUBLIC OPINION



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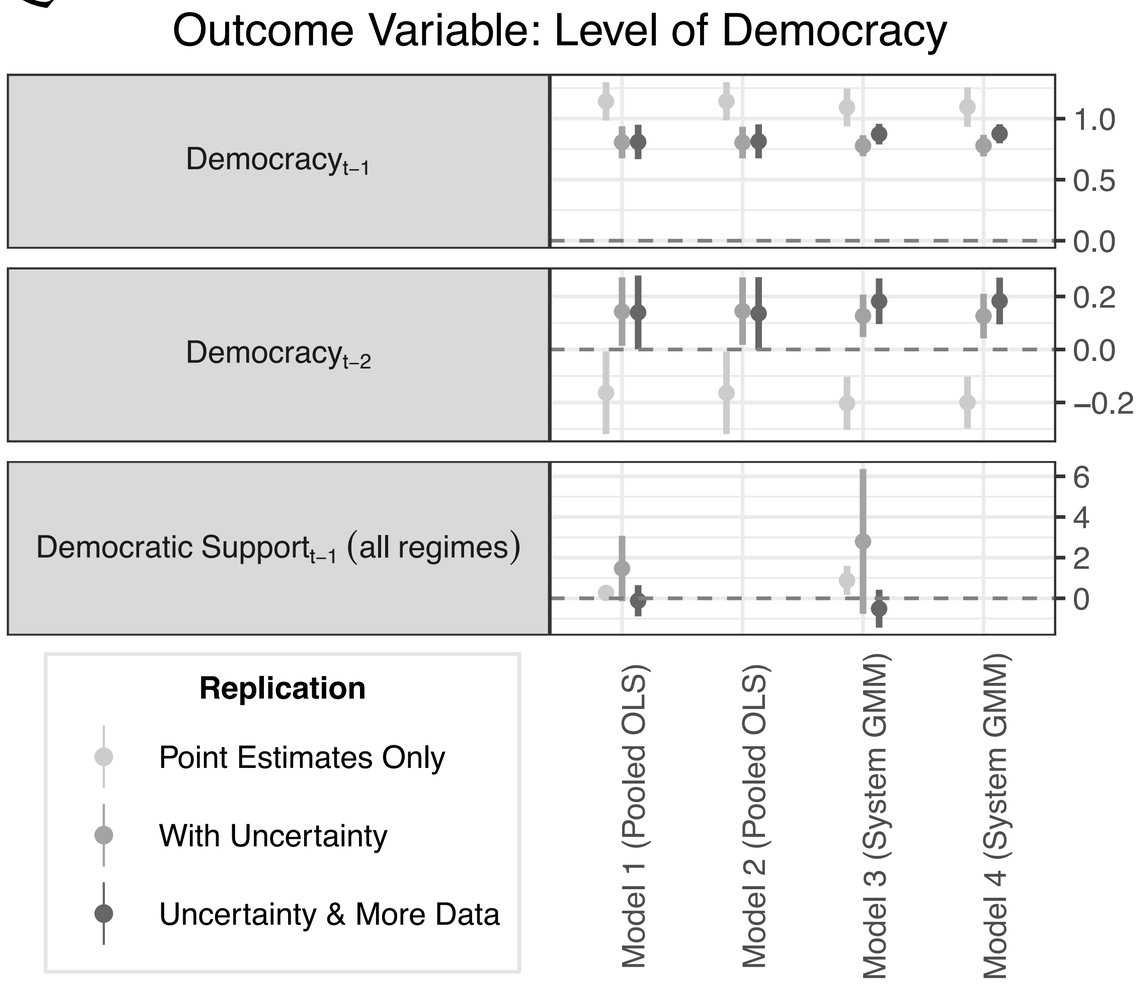
CAUSES & CONSEQUENCES OF PUBLIC OPINION



1. Tai, Yuehong Cassandra, Yue Hu, and **Frederick Solt**. Forthcoming. "Democracy, Public Support, and Measurement Uncertainty." *American Political Science Review*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422000429
2. Hu, Yue, Yuehong Cassandra Tai, and **Frederick Solt**. 2022. "On Data 'Janitor Work' in Political Science: The Case of Thermostatic Support for Democracy." *SocArXiv*. Under review.
3. Woo, Byung-Deuk, and **Frederick Solt**. *Gender Egalitarianism and Gender Equality: How Public Opinion Shapes Politics and Policy in Global Perspective*. Book manuscript in progress.

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RESEARCH PROGRAM

	Economic Inequality	Public Opinion
Computational Measures	2 Measuring Income Inequality: the SWIID	3 Estimating Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion
Applications	1 Consequences of Economic Inequality for the Democratic Process	4 Causes and Consequences of Public Opinion

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WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Theory

Women's Descriptive Representation

WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

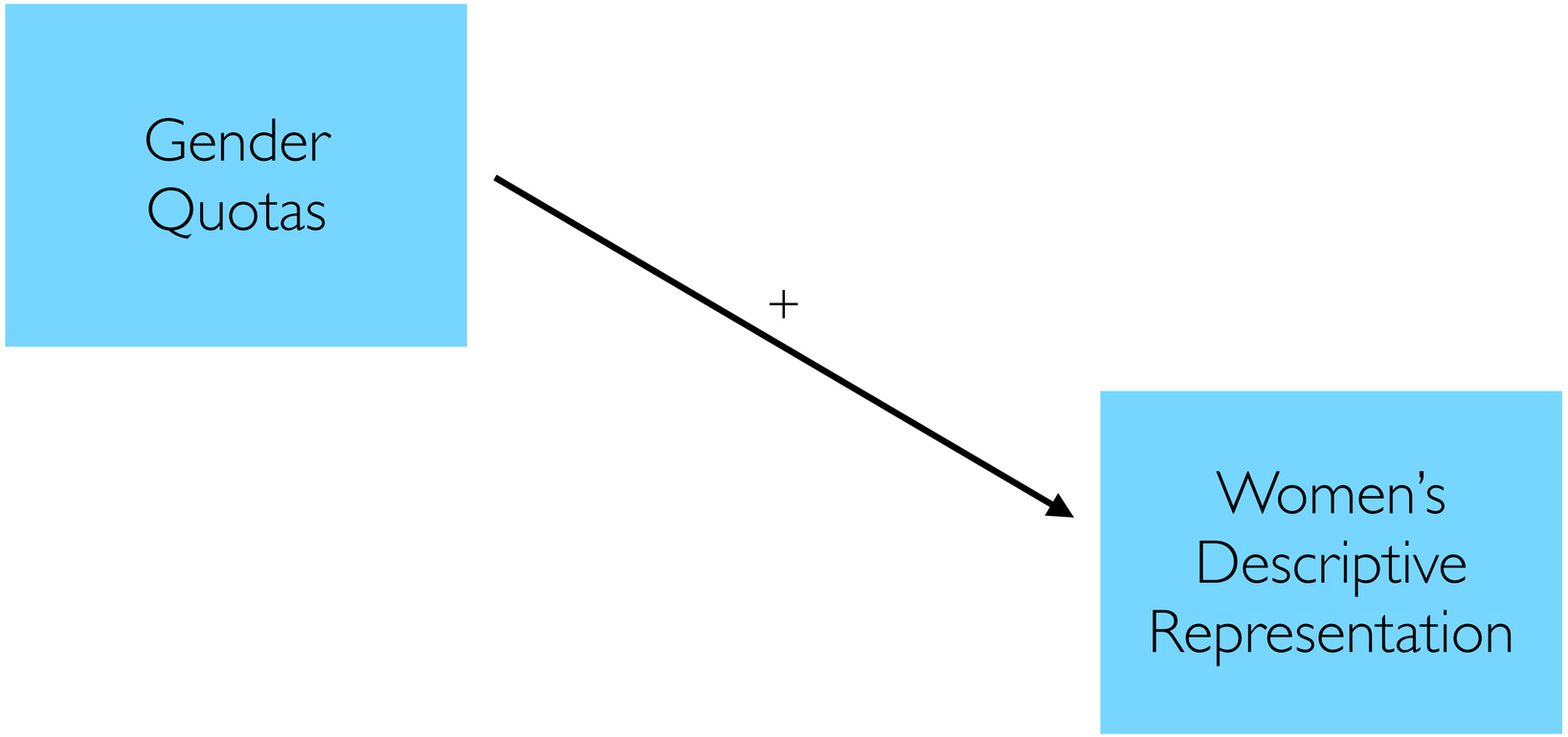
Theory

- Top Down

Women's Descriptive Representation

WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Theory

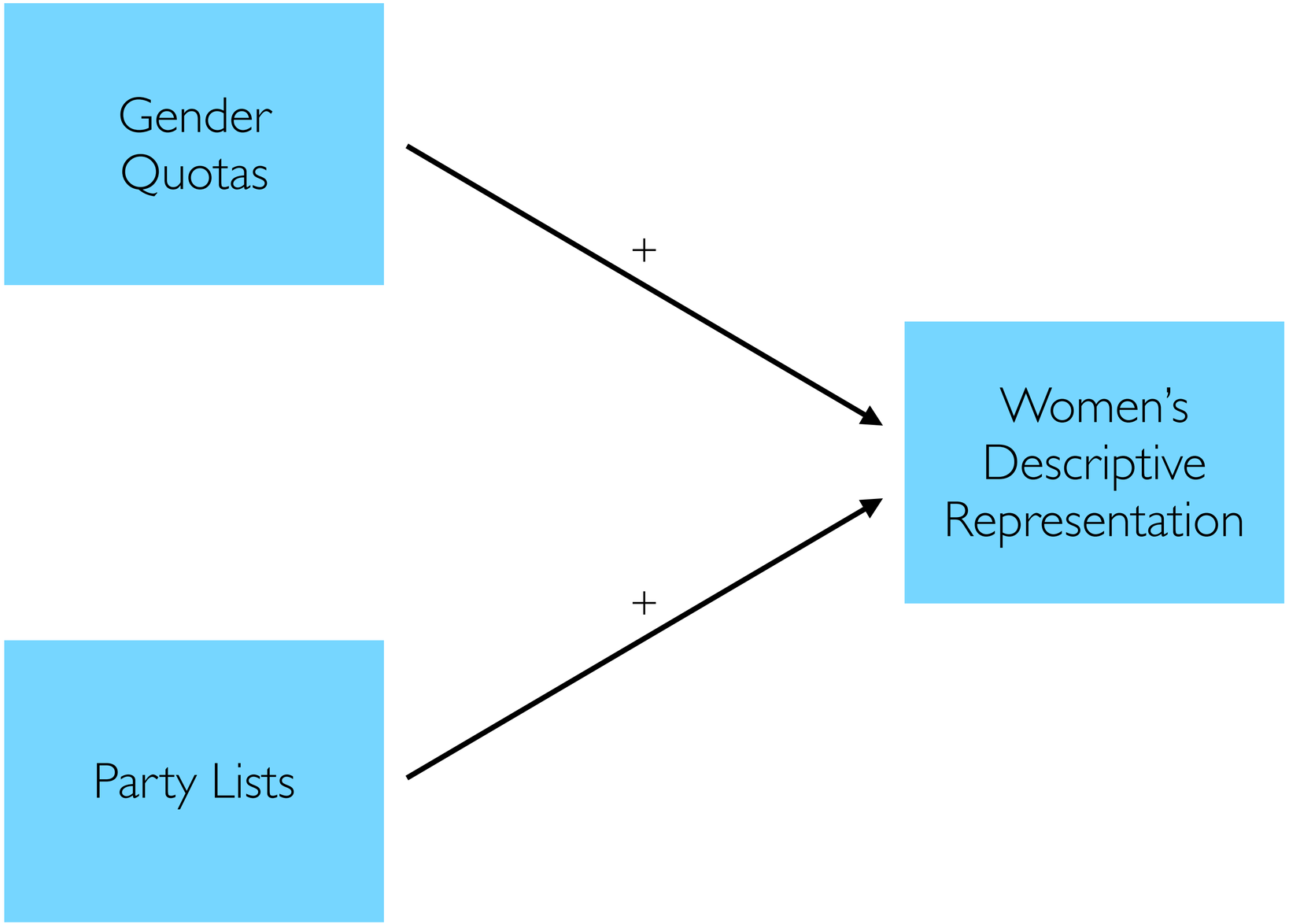


- Top Down

WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Theory

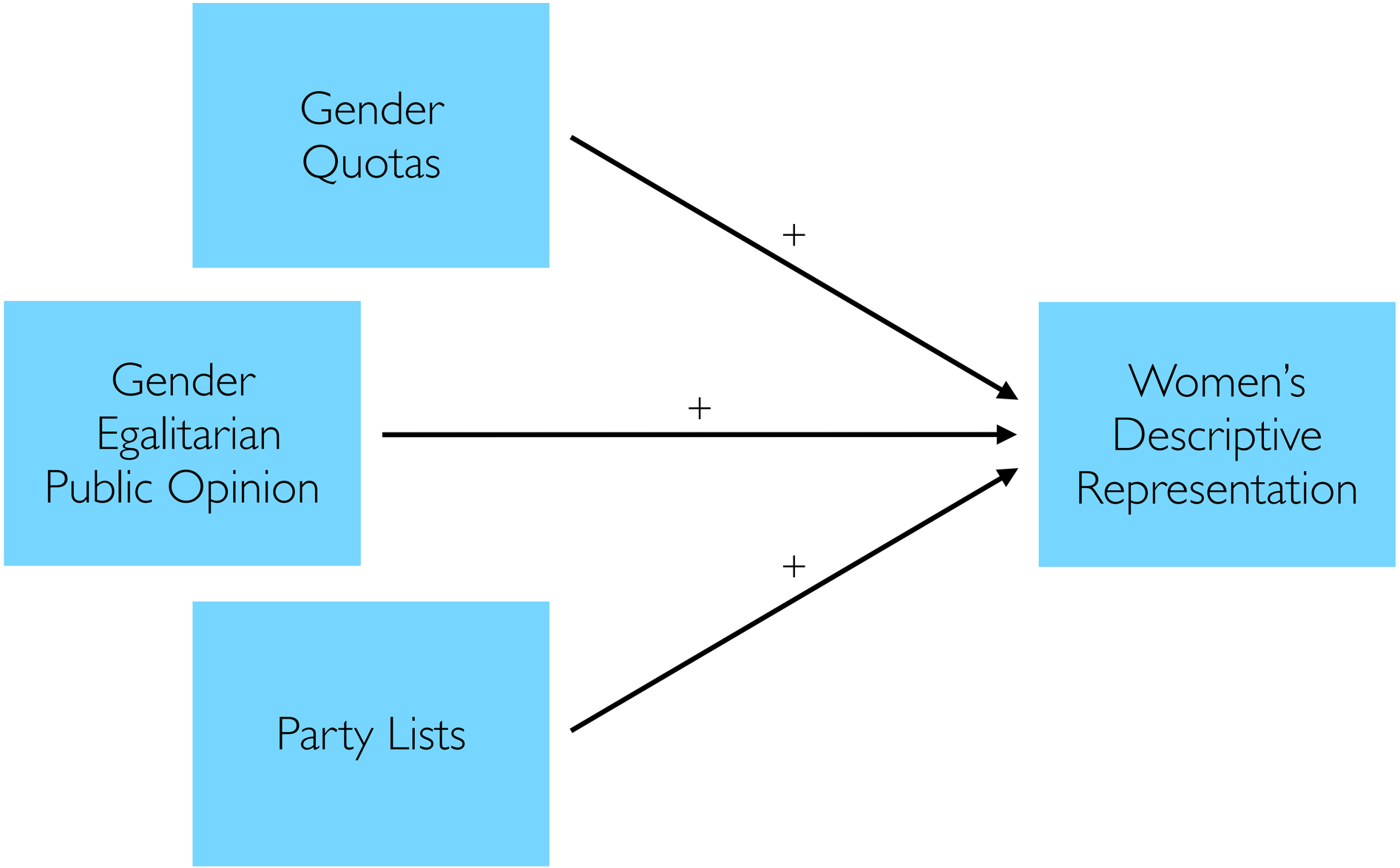
- Top Down



WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Theory

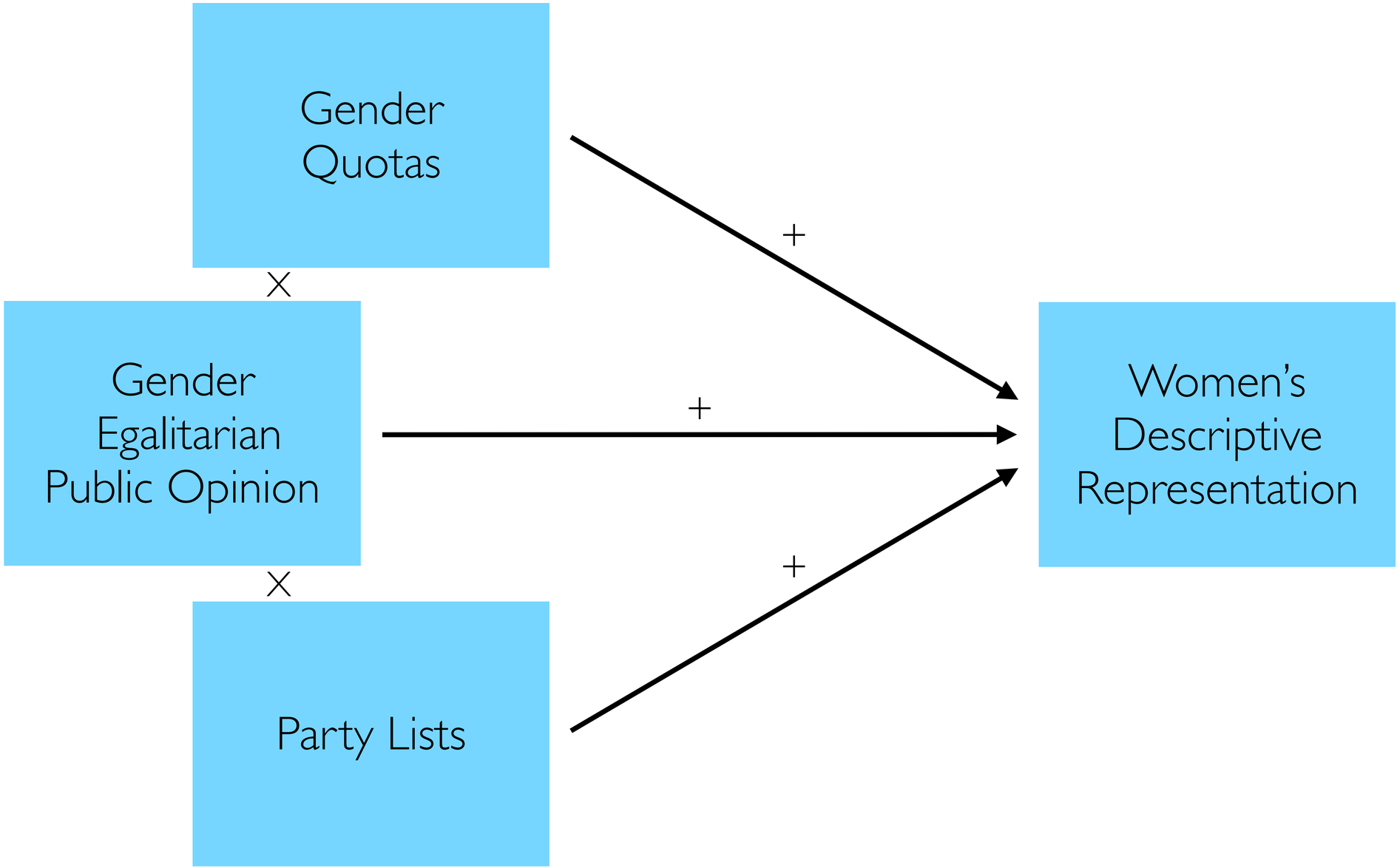
- Top Down
- Bottom Up?



WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Theory

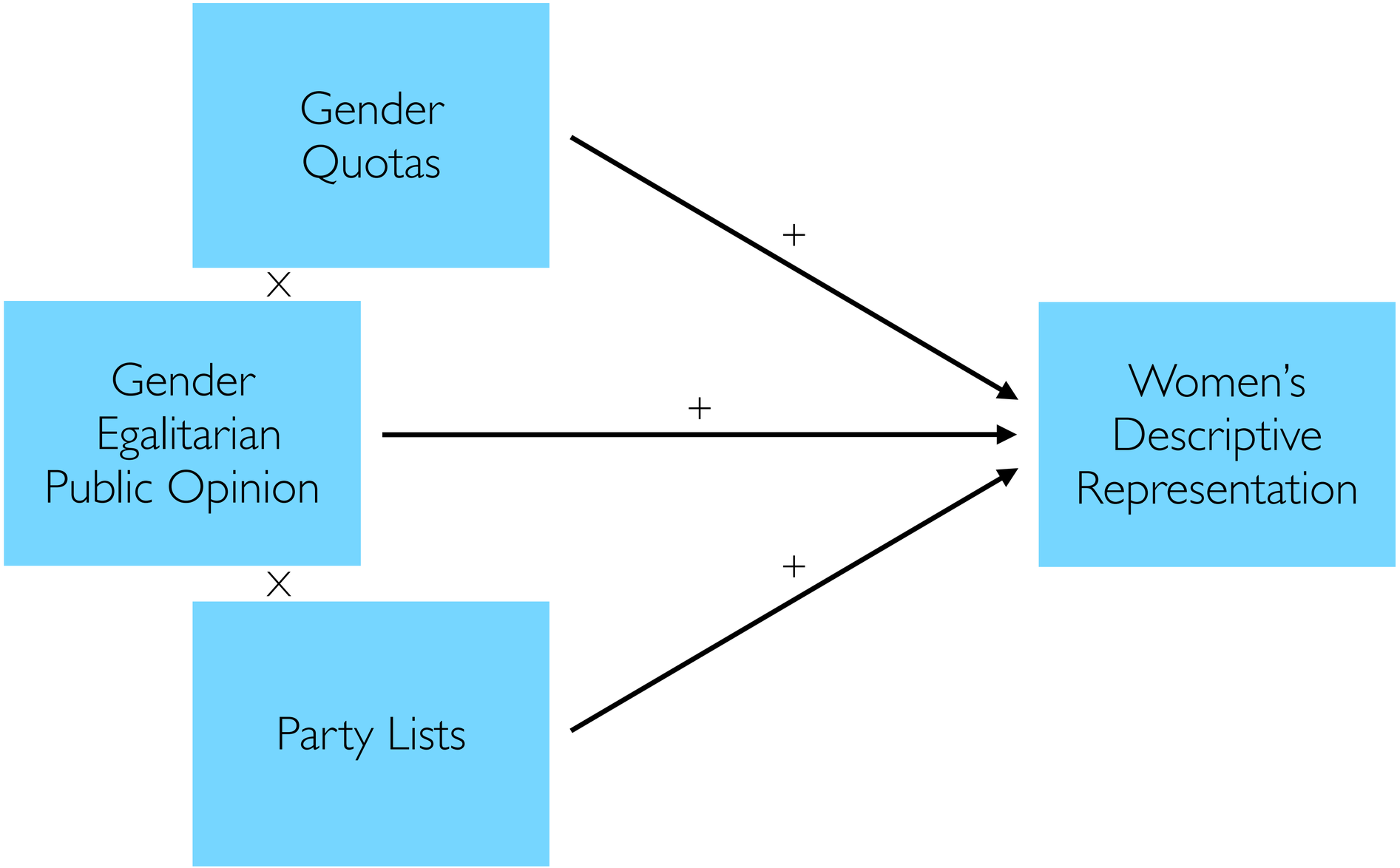
- Top Down
- Bottom Up?
- Interactive?
  - -Positive?



WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Theory

- Top Down
- Bottom Up?
- Interactive?
  - -Positive?
  - -Negative?



MEASUREMENT

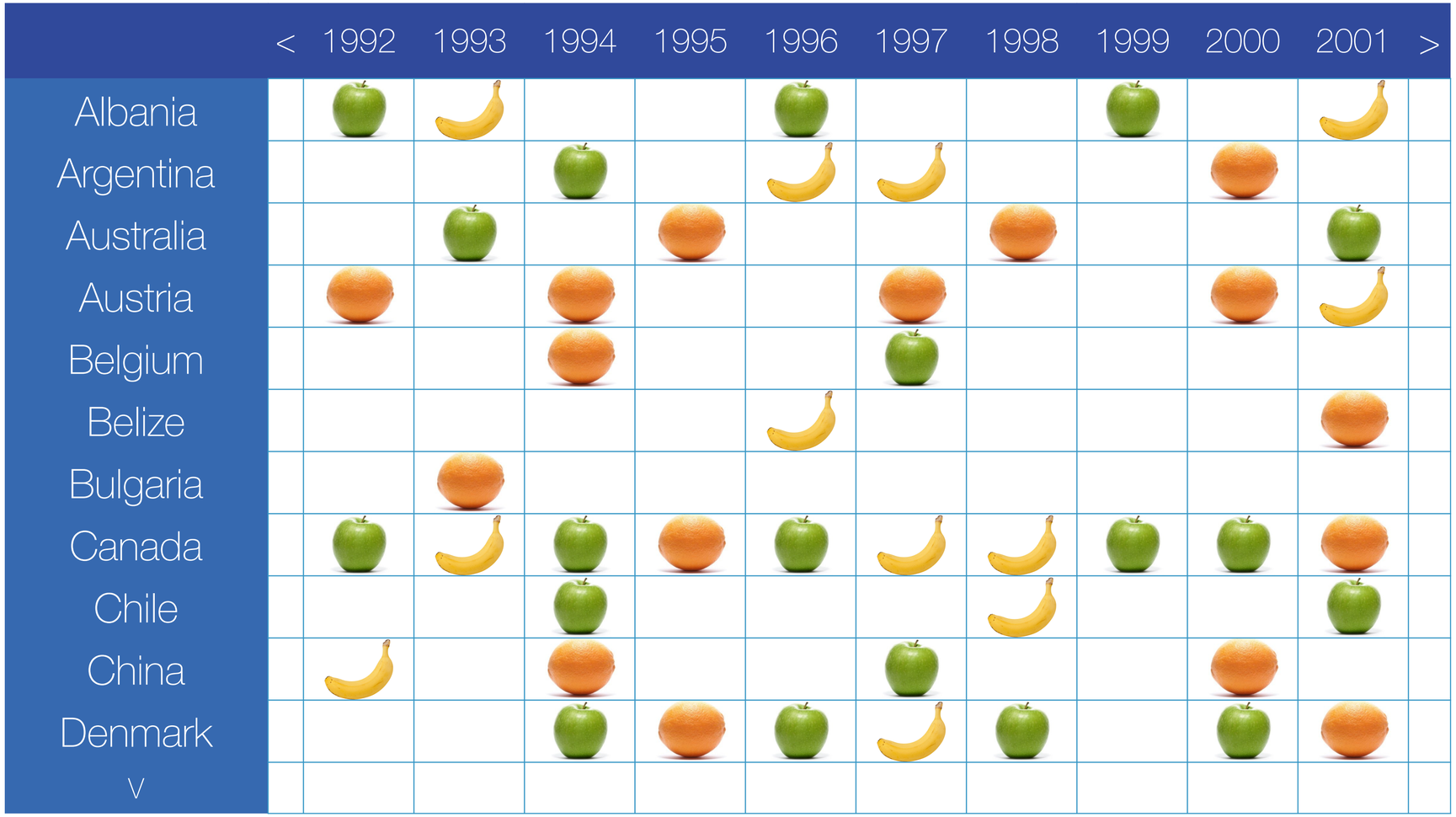
Conceptualizing Gender Egalitarian Public Opinion

- Many relevant public attitudes:
  - **gender egalitarianism in the public sphere**
  - gender egalitarianism in the private sphere
  - how women should balance new opportunities in the public sphere with traditional duties in the private sphere
  - how men should balance new roles in the private sphere with traditional roles in the public sphere
  - attitudes regarding gender domination

Gender
Egalitarian
Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism



what we’ve got

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Gender
Egalitarian
Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

88 Survey Datasets

what we've got

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Gender
Egalitarian
Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

88 Survey Datasets

124 Countries ← with data in 2+ years

what we've got

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Gender
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Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

88 Survey Datasets

124 Countries

with data in
2+ years

1193 Country-Years

out of possible
124*48=5952

what we've got

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Gender
Egalitarian
Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

88 Survey Datasets

124 Countries

with data in
2+ years

1193 Country-Years

out of possible
124*48=5952
2695 years spanned

what we've got

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Gender
Egalitarian
Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

88 Survey Datasets

124 Countries ← with data in 2+ years

1193 Country-Years ← out of possible 124*48=5952

46 Survey Items

2695 years spanned

what we've got

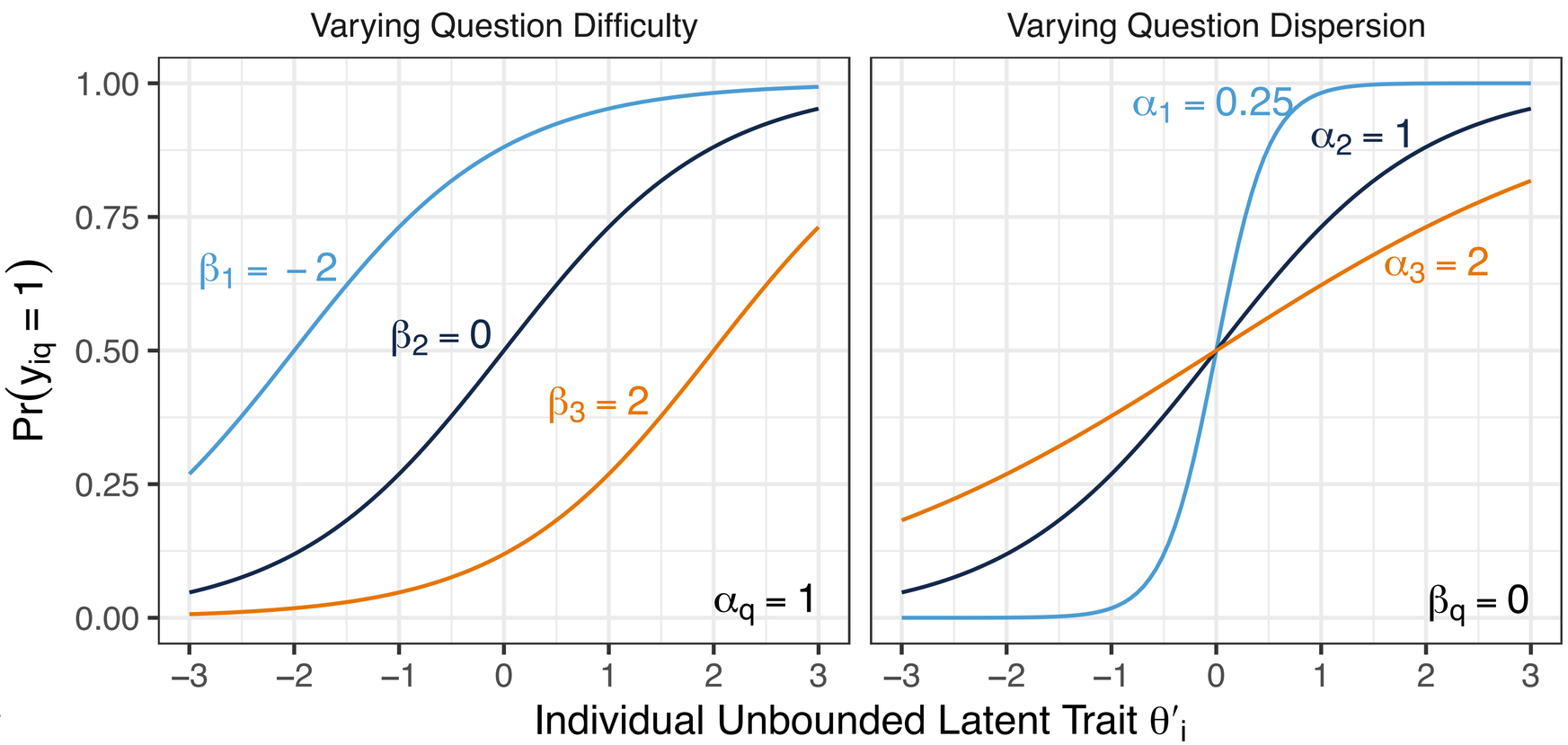
Gender
Egalitarian
Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

DC PO

Dynamic
Comparative
Public
Opinion



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Gender Egalitarian Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

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Gender Egalitarian Public Opinion

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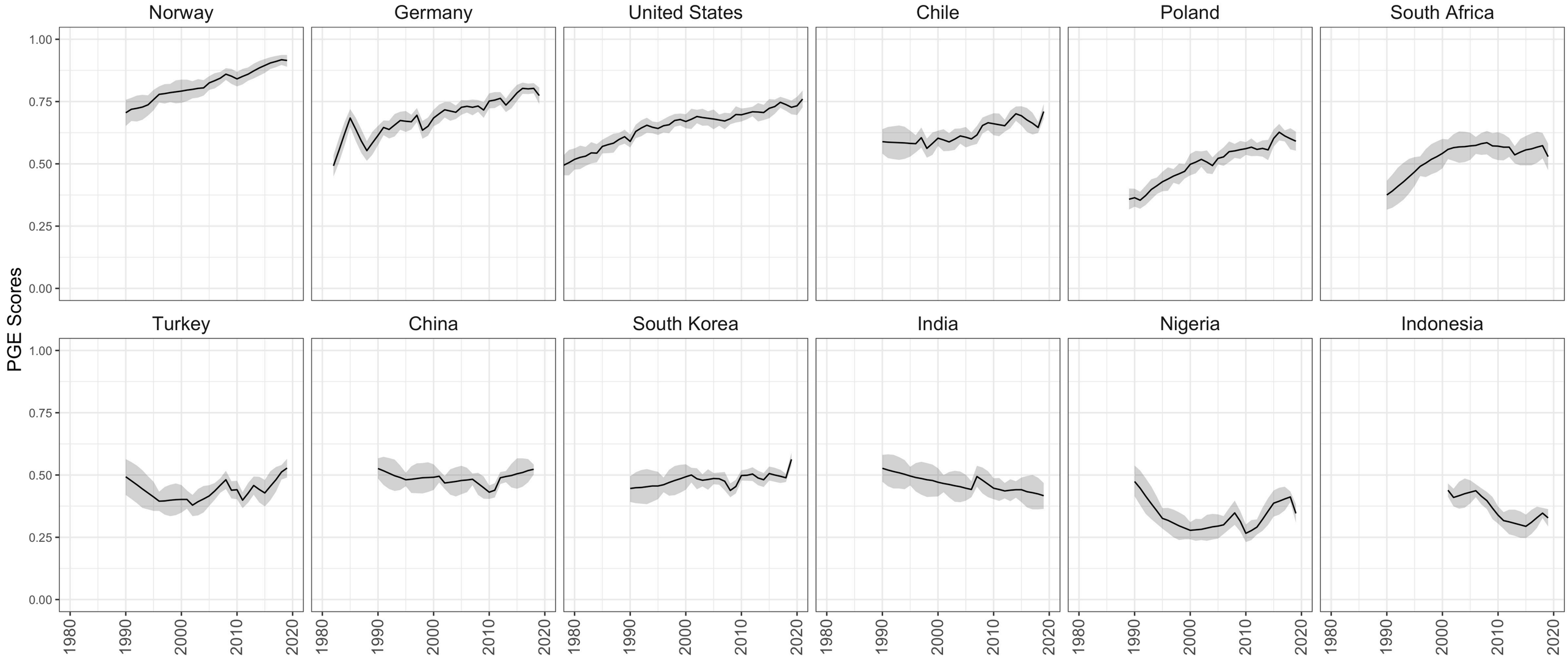
Public Gender Egalitarianism



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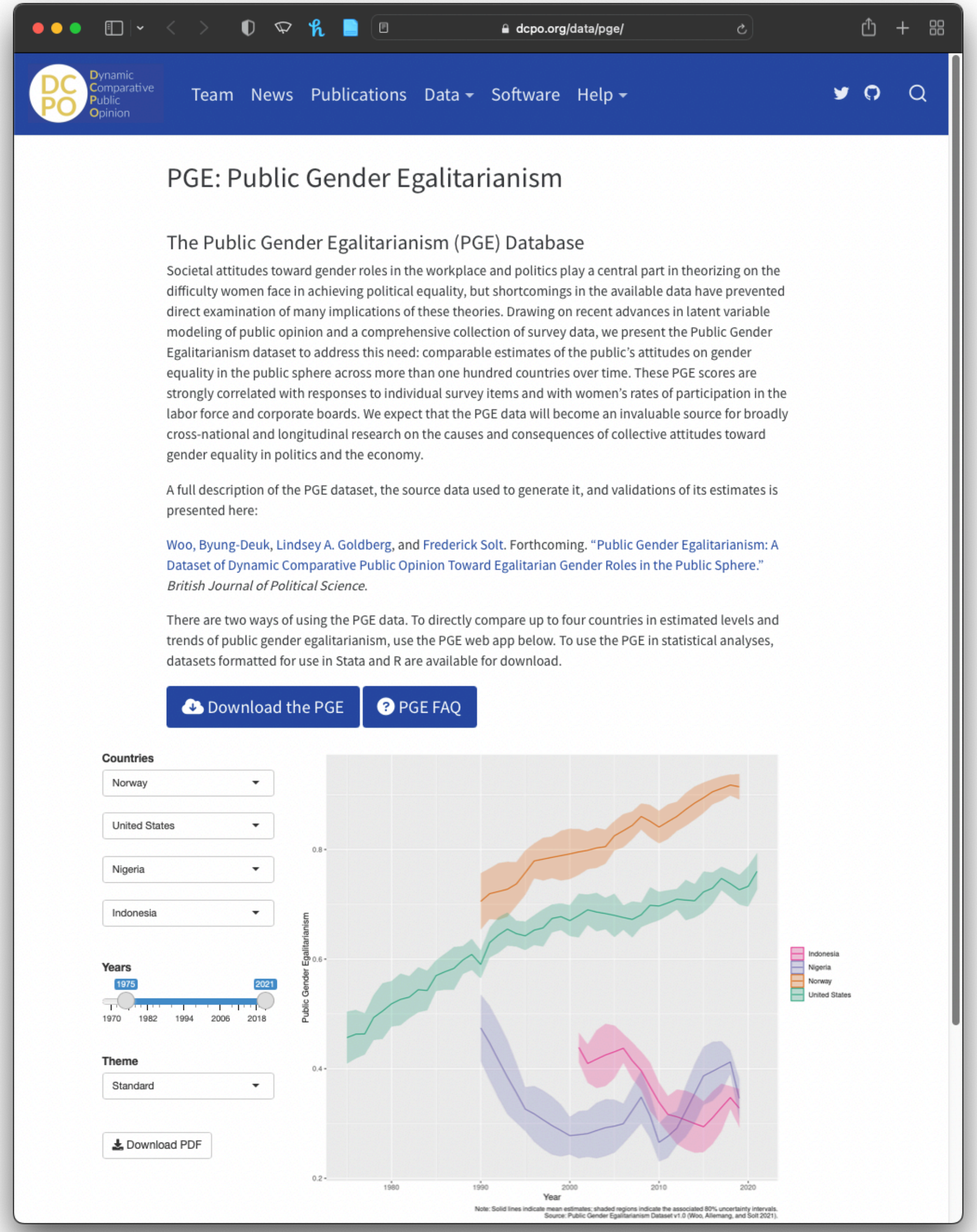
Gender Egalitarian Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism



https://dcpo.org/data/pge

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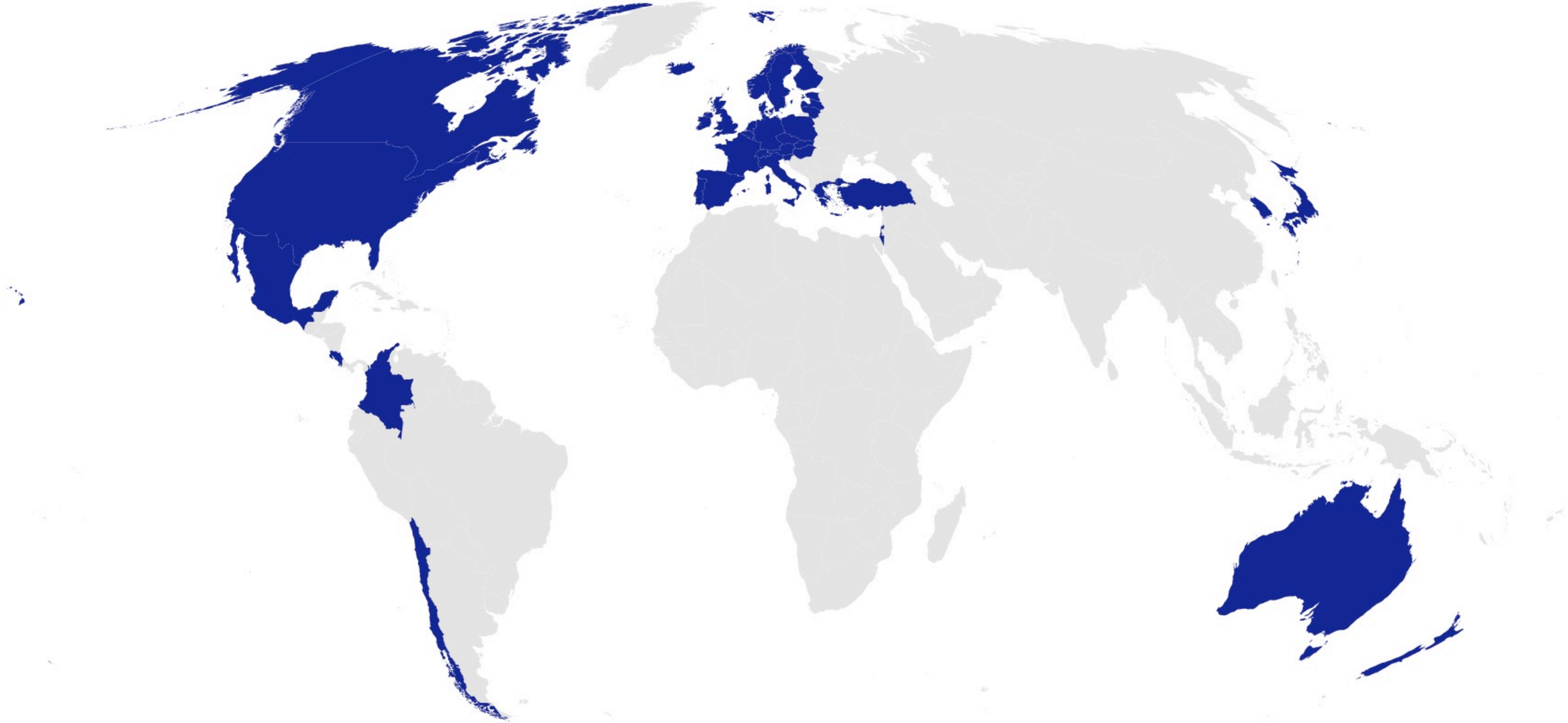
CASES

Advanced Democracies: The OECD



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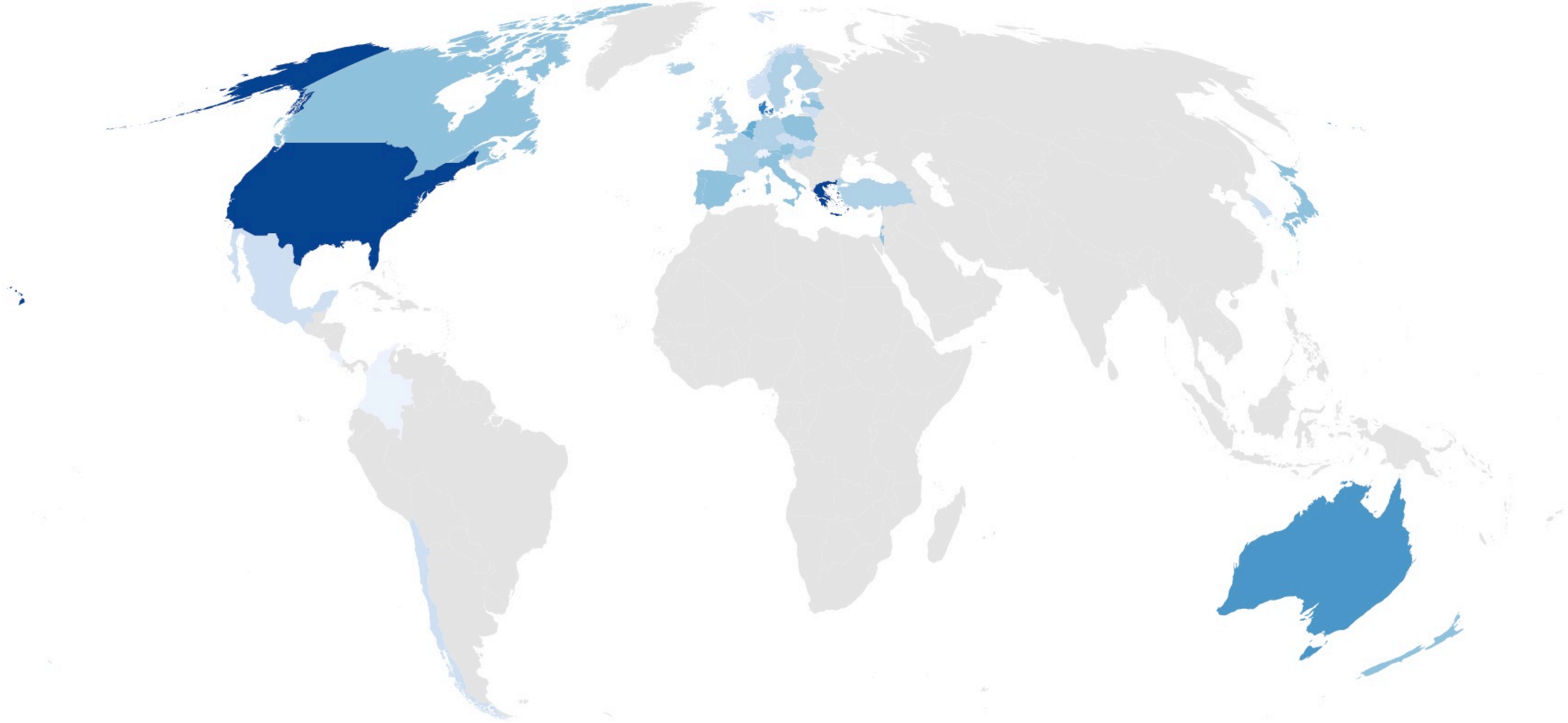
Women's Descriptive Representation

CASES

Elections in the OECD



Quota Adoption and Reform Over Time (QAROT)

(and PGE)

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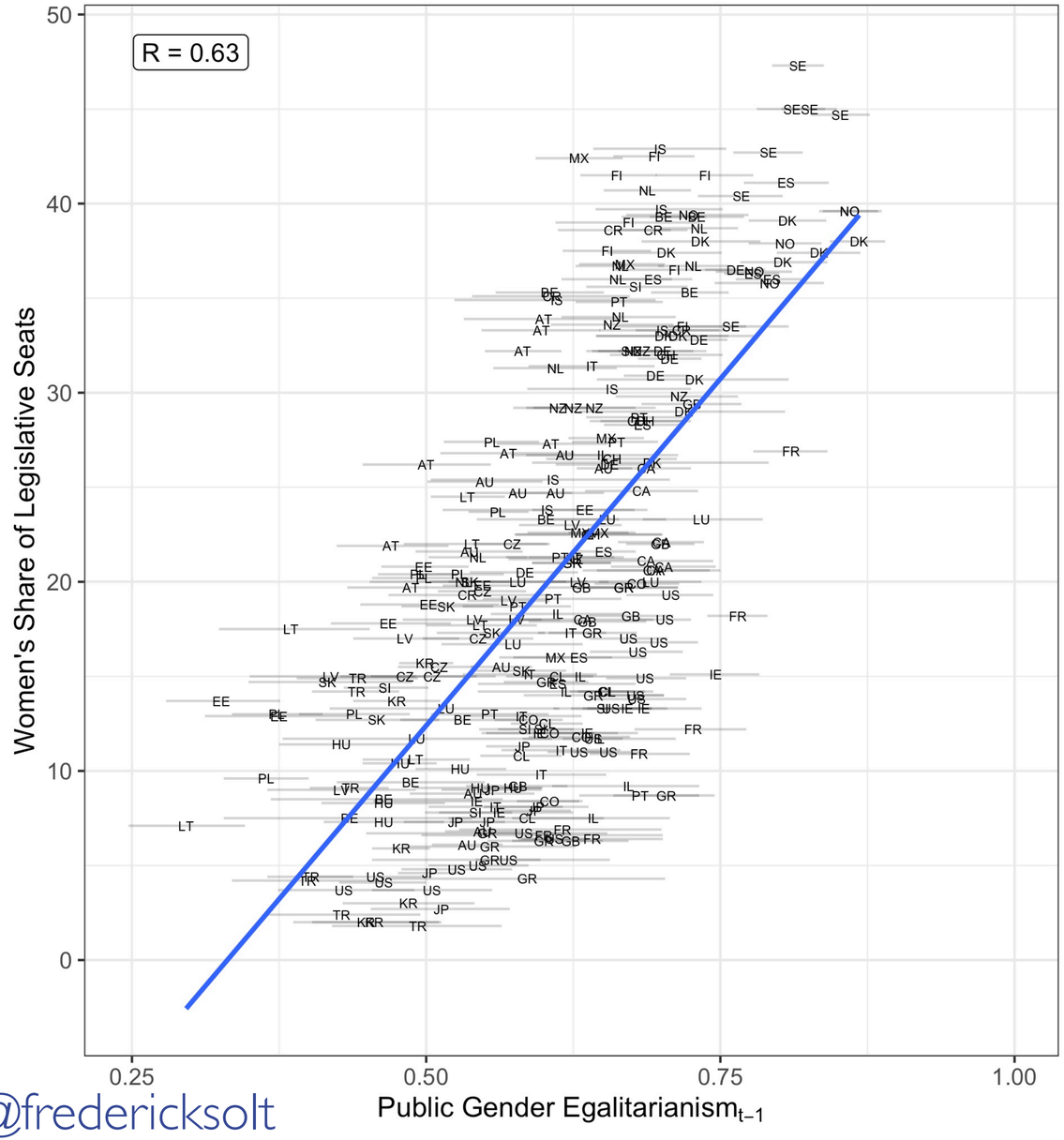
WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Elections in Countries



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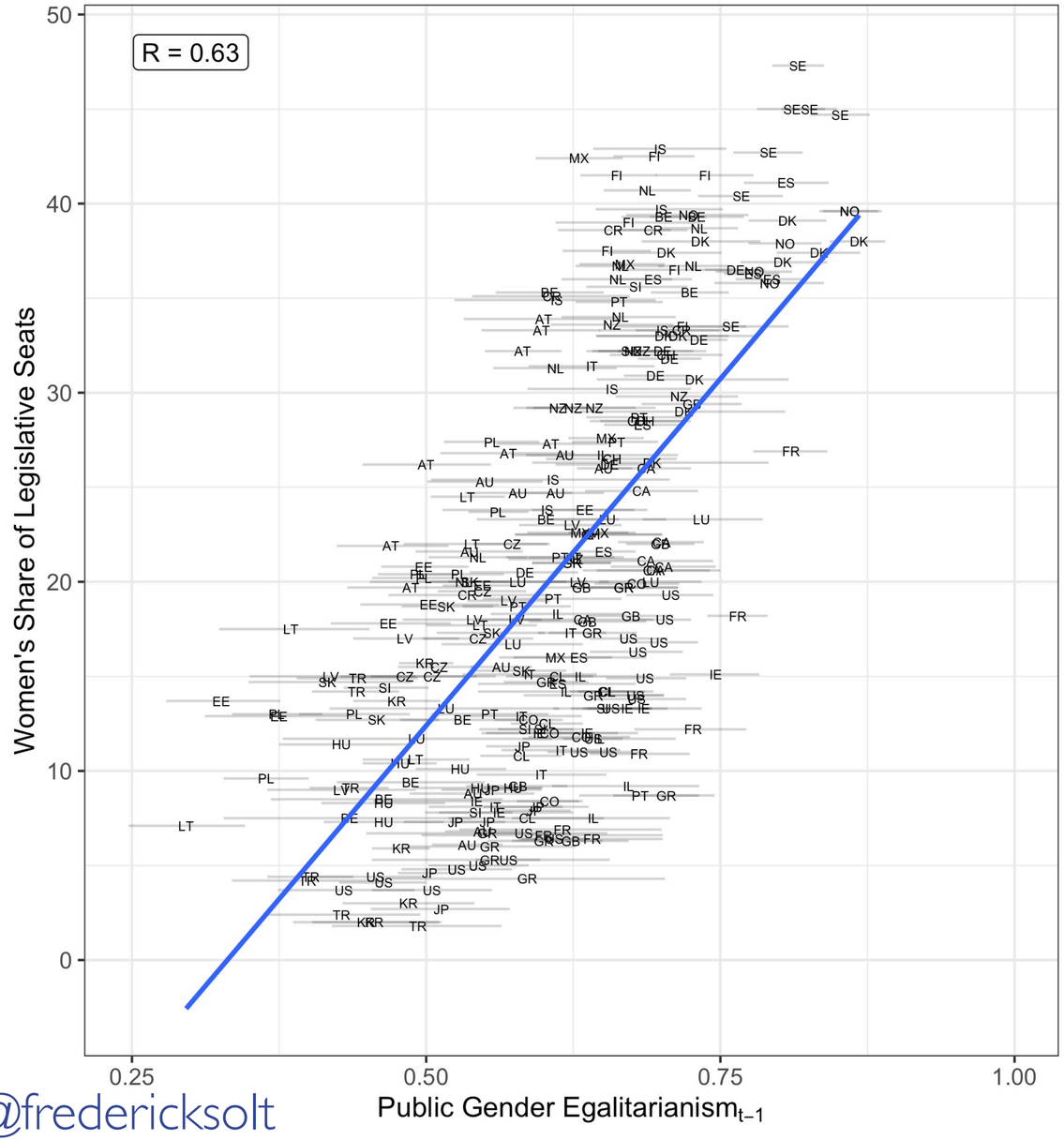
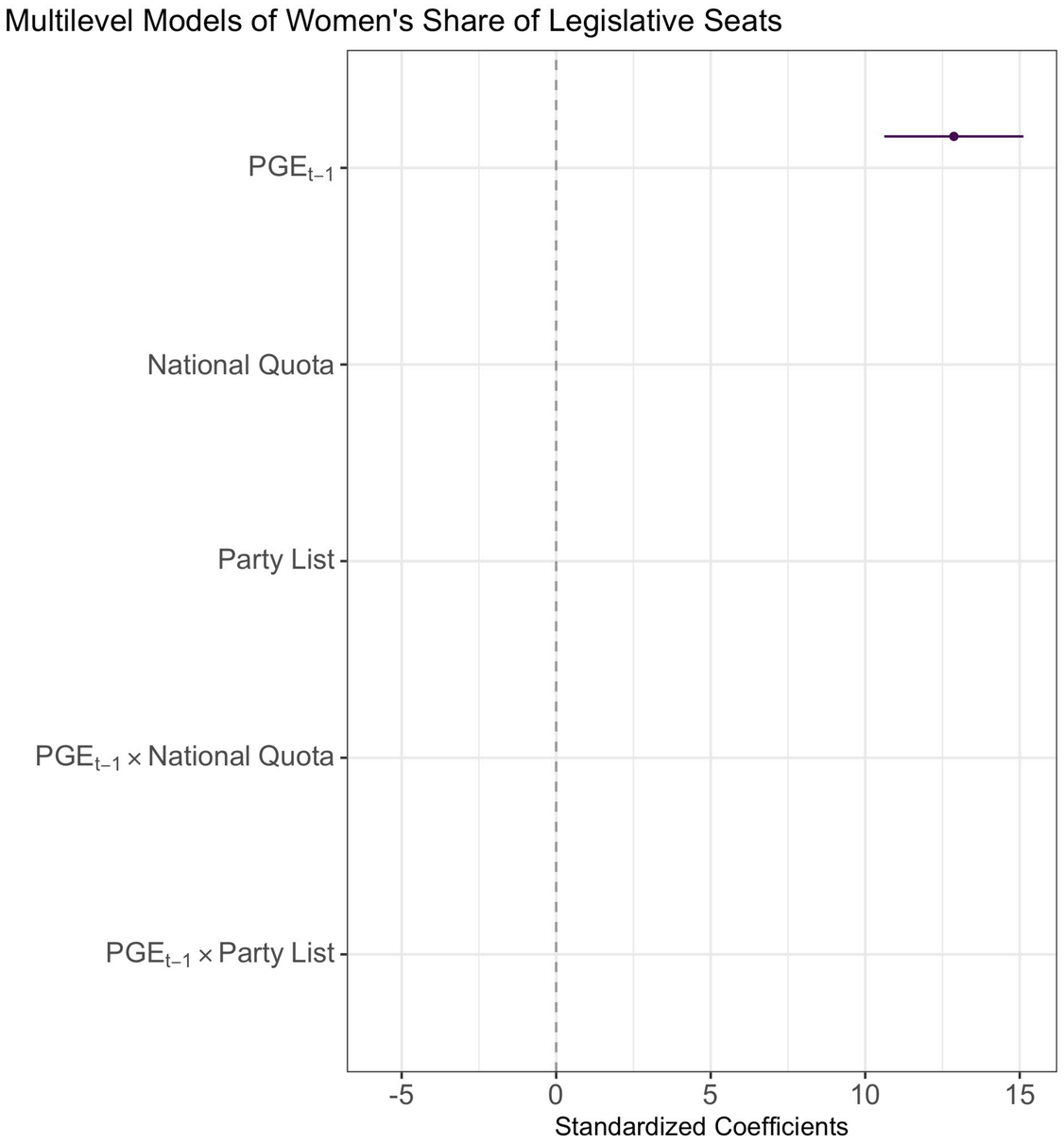
Elections in Countries





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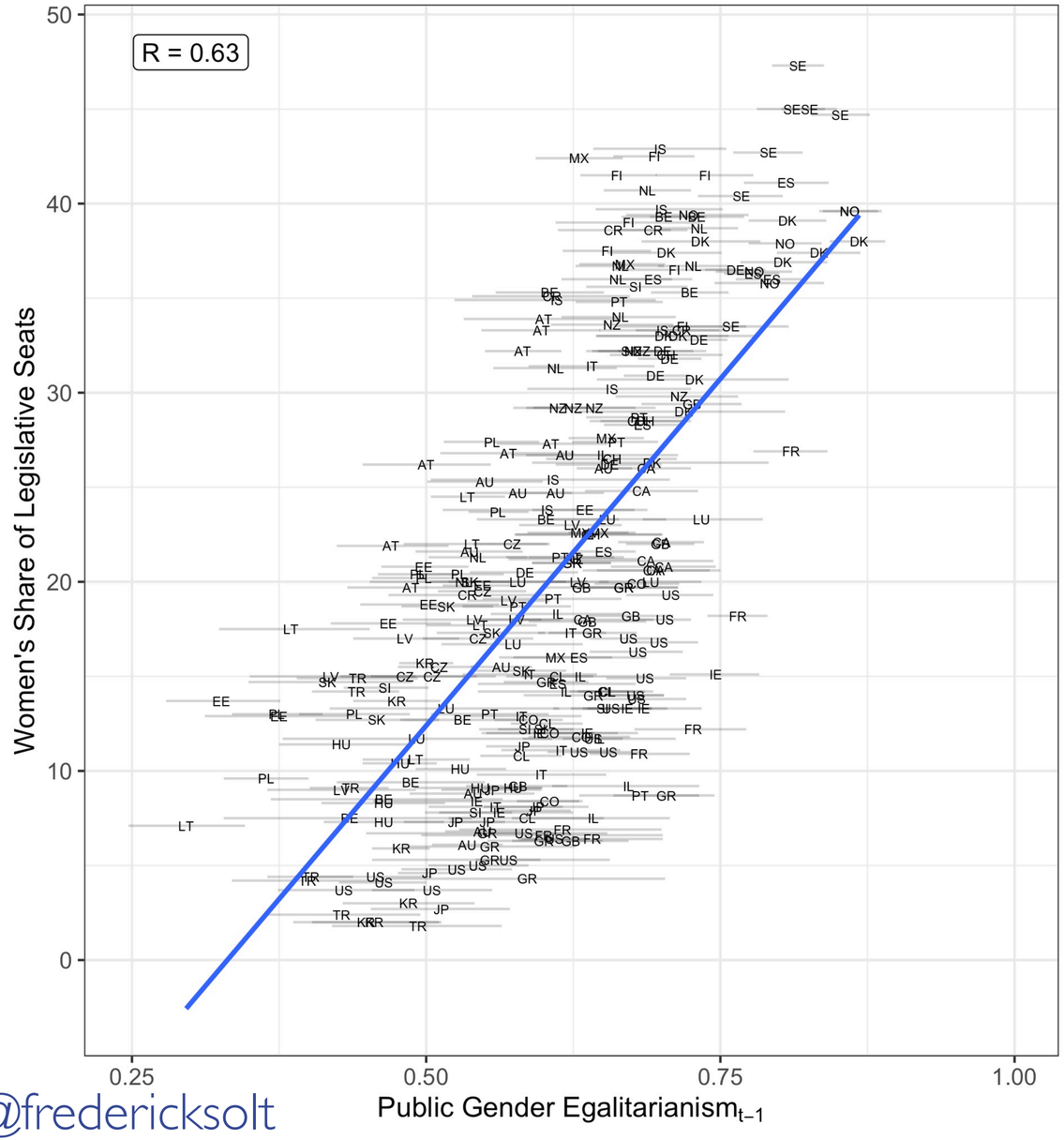

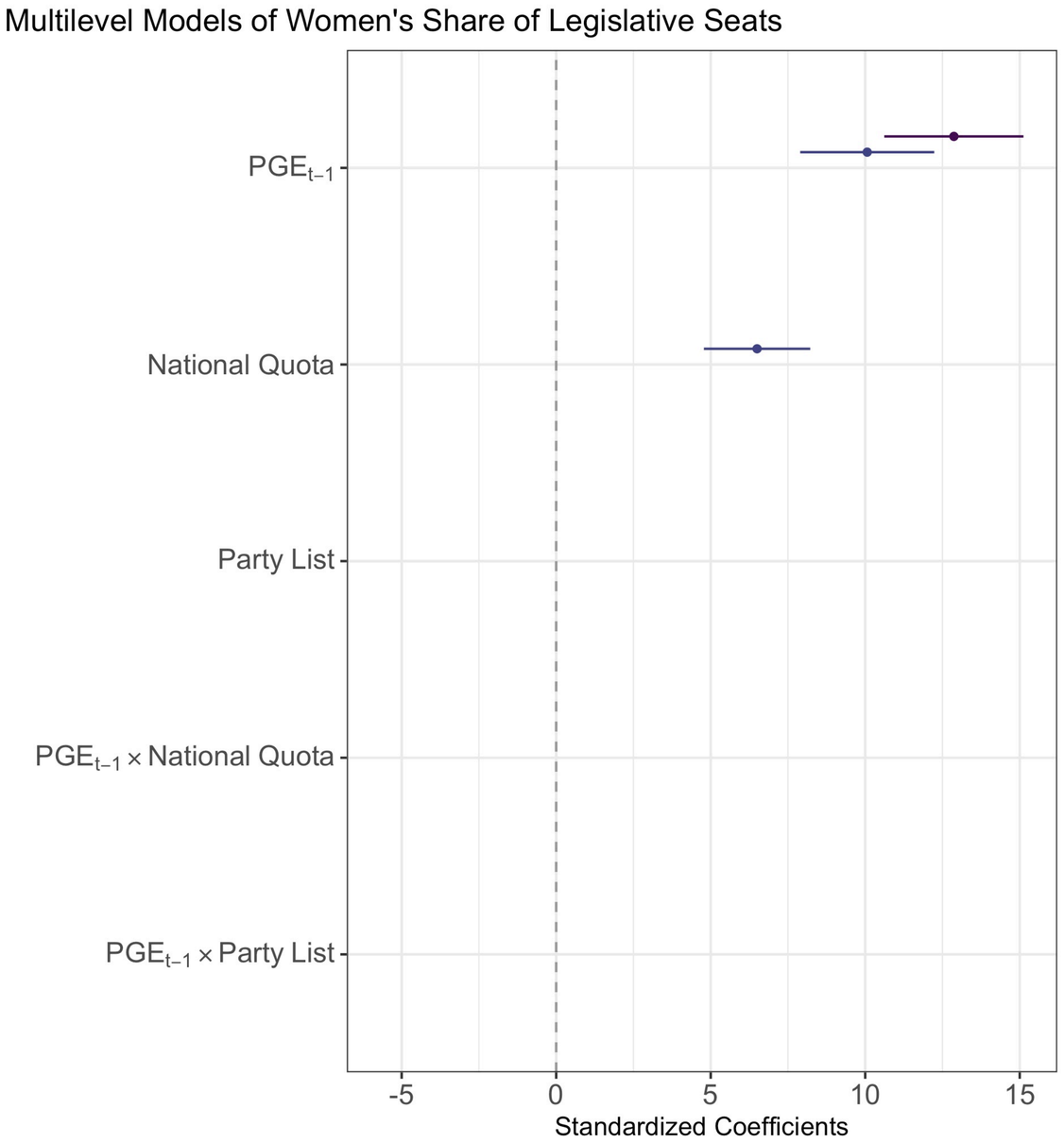

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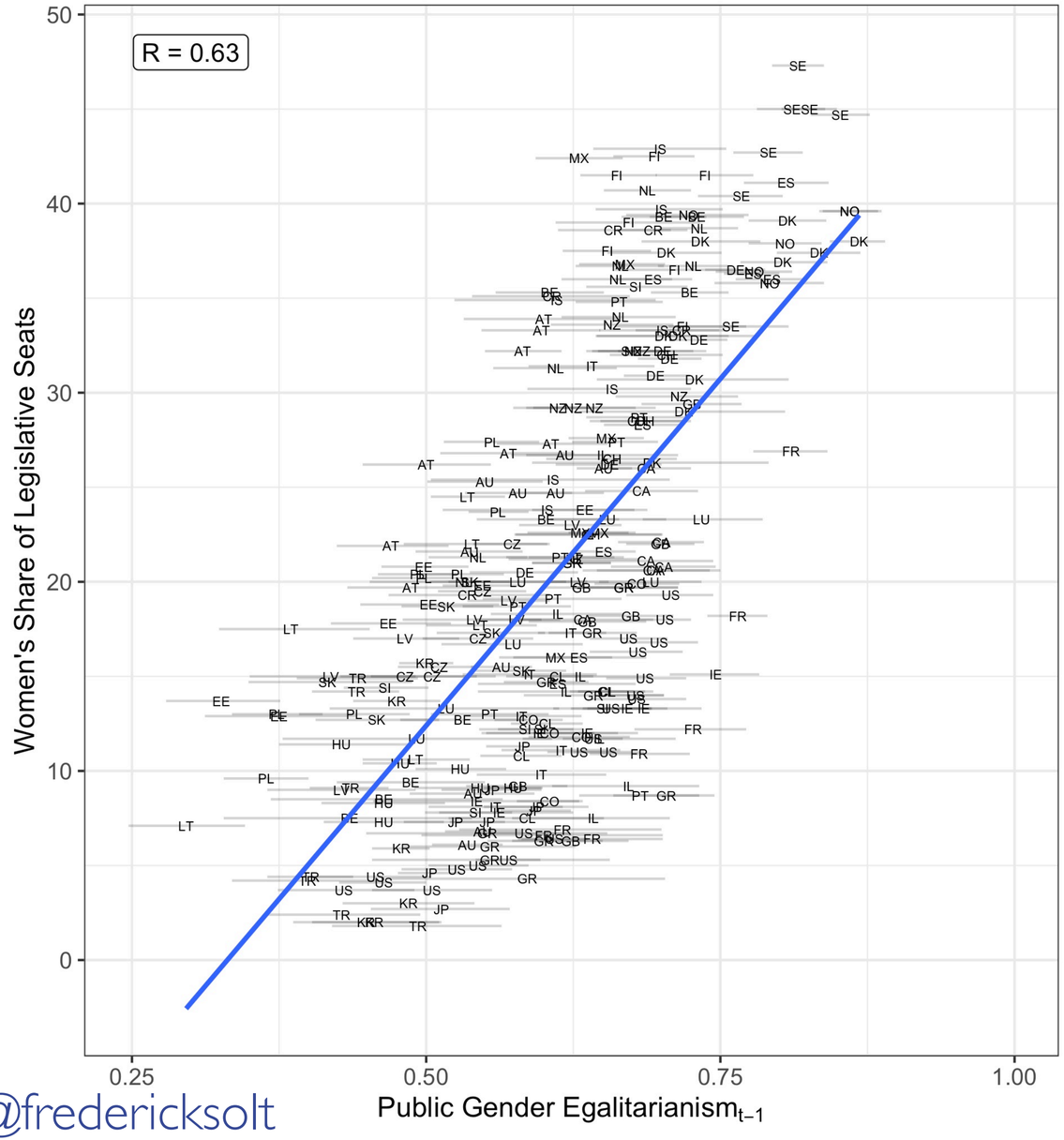
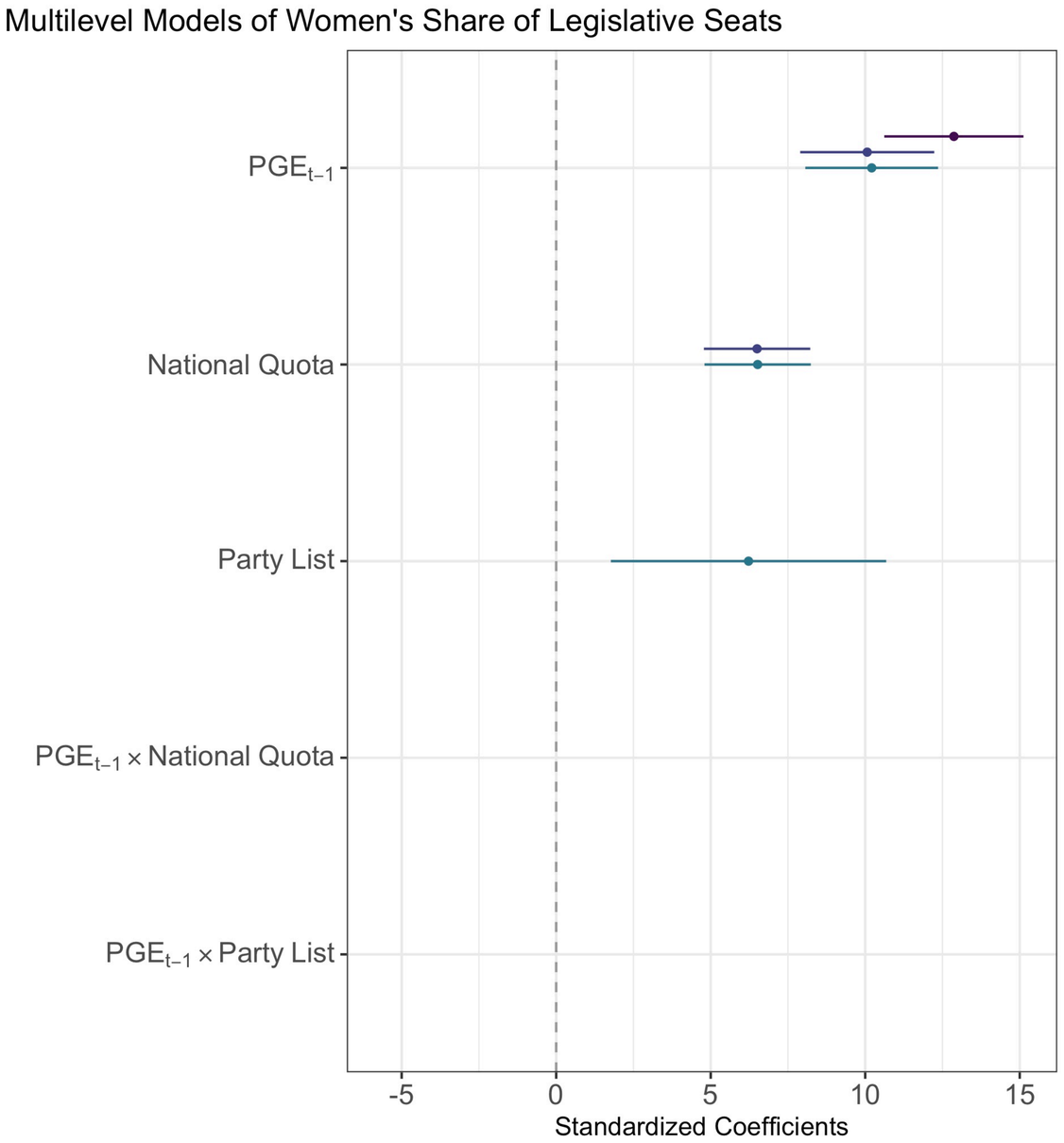
Elections in Countries





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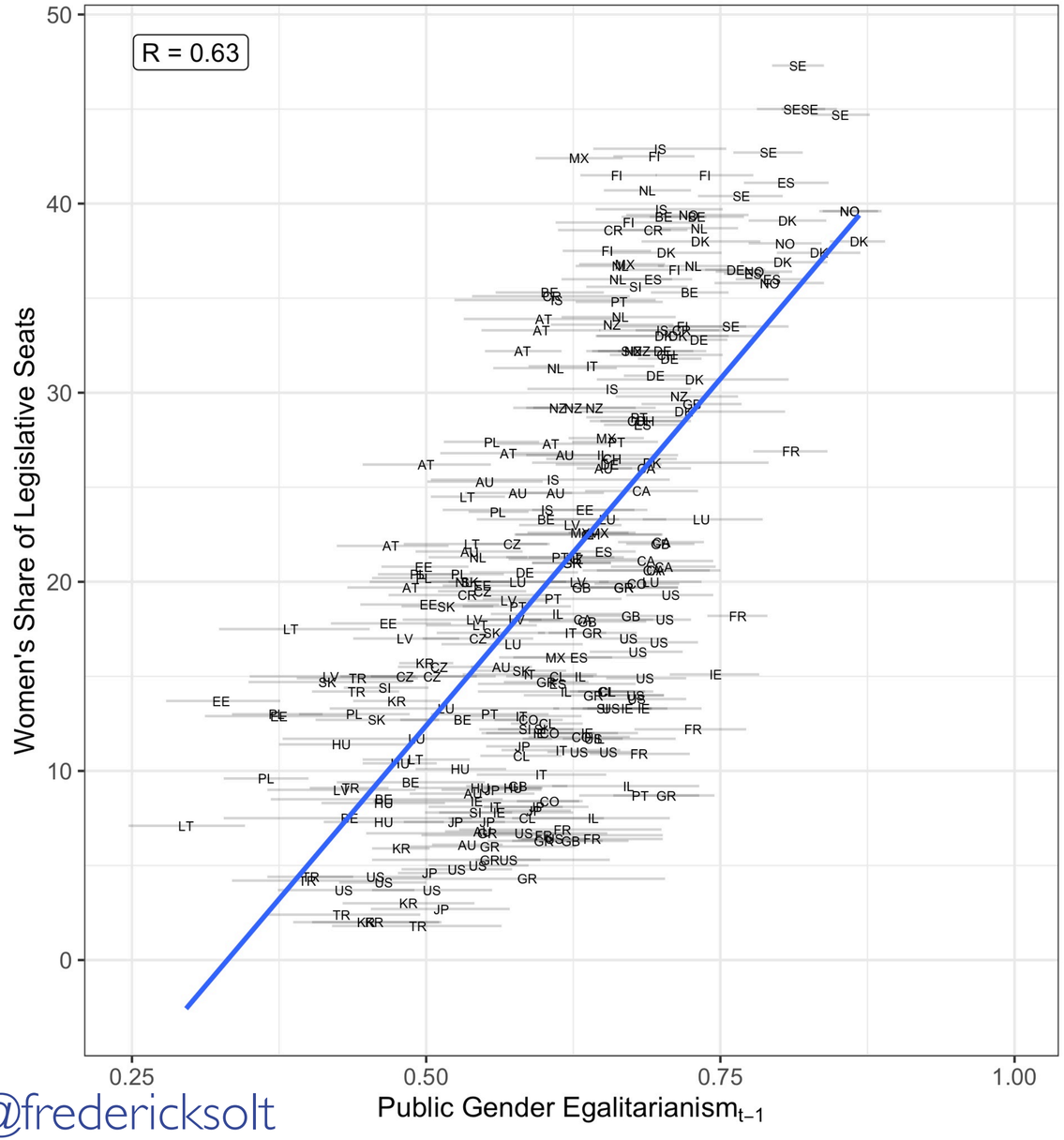
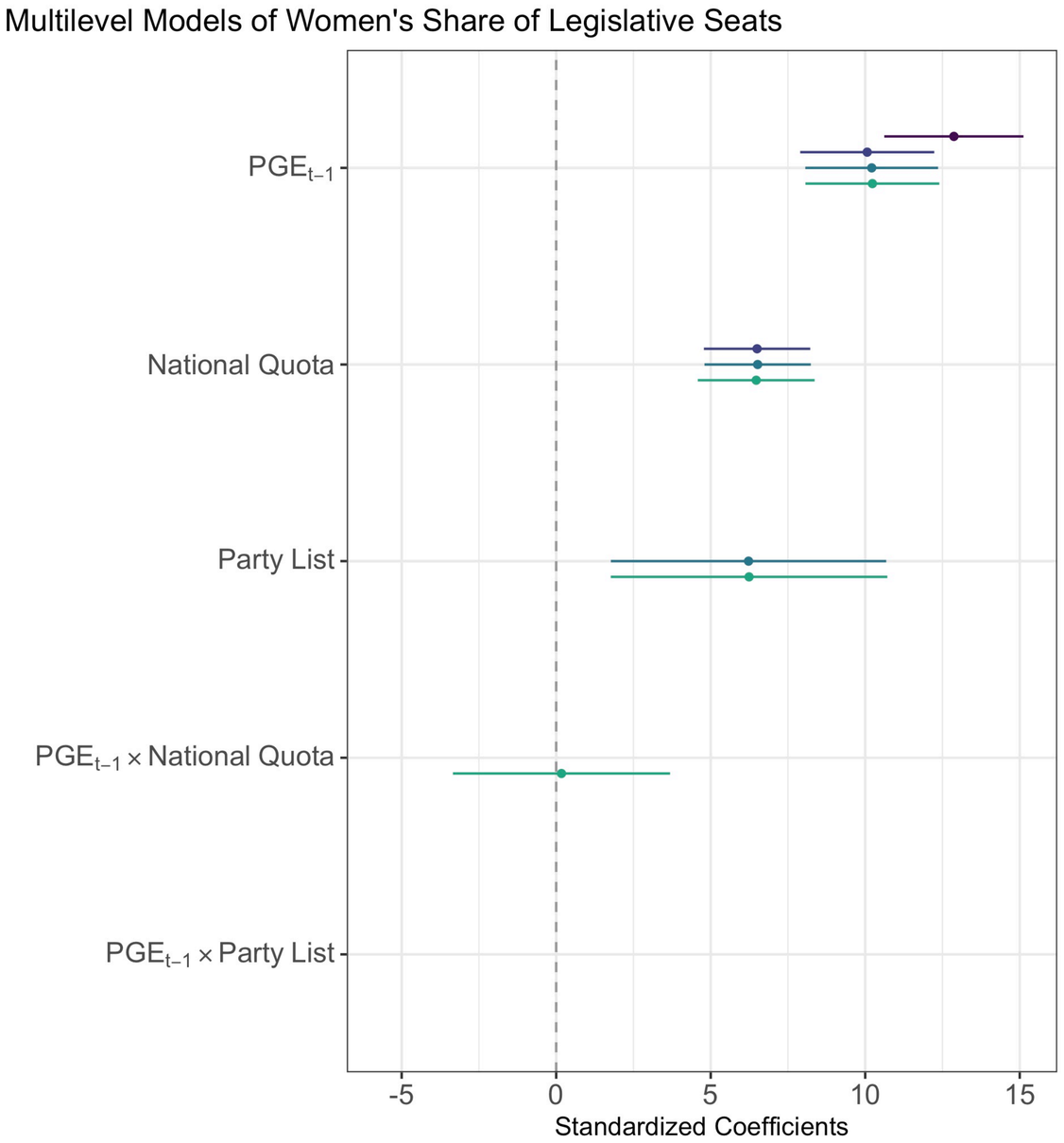
Elections in Countries





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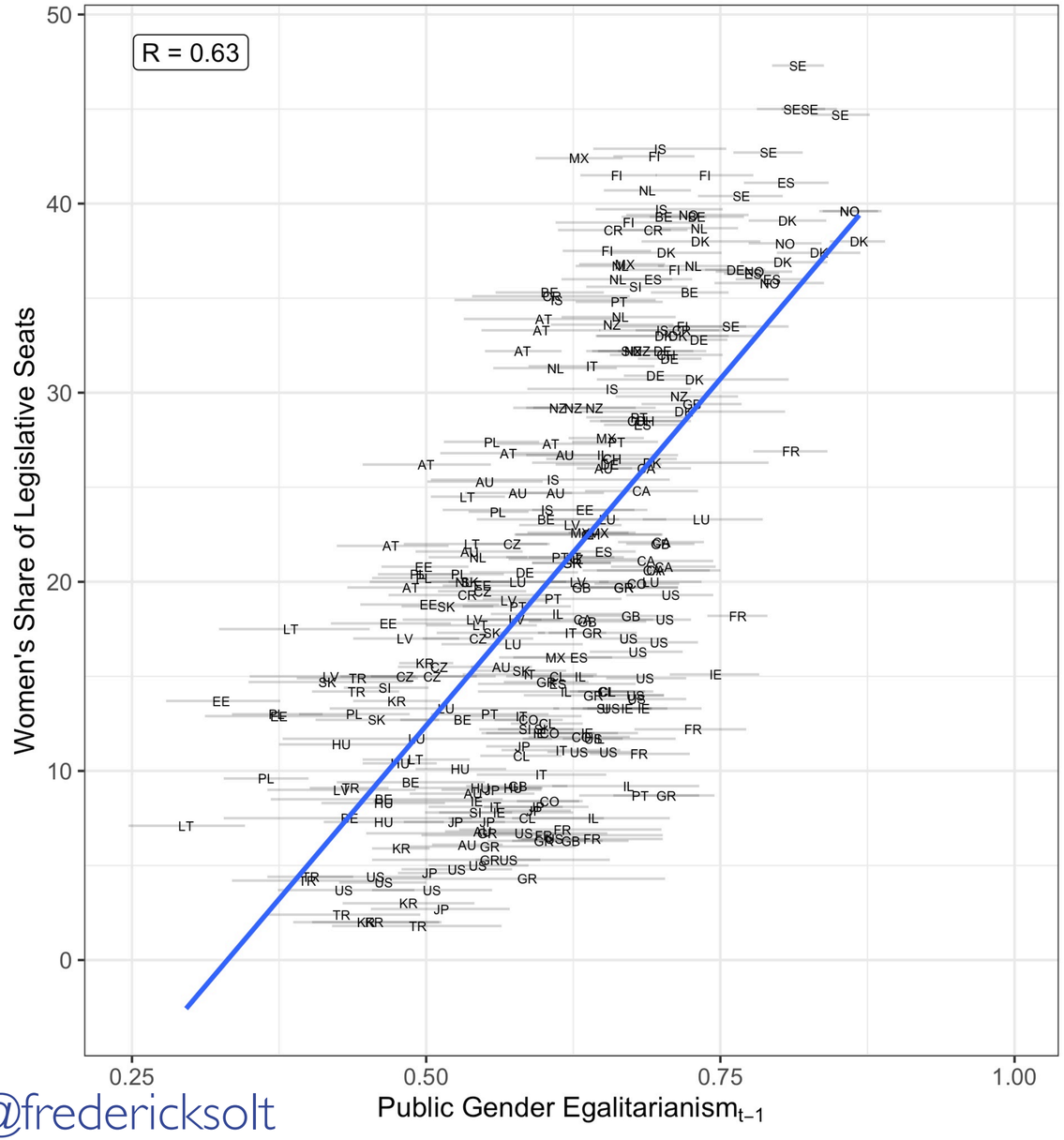

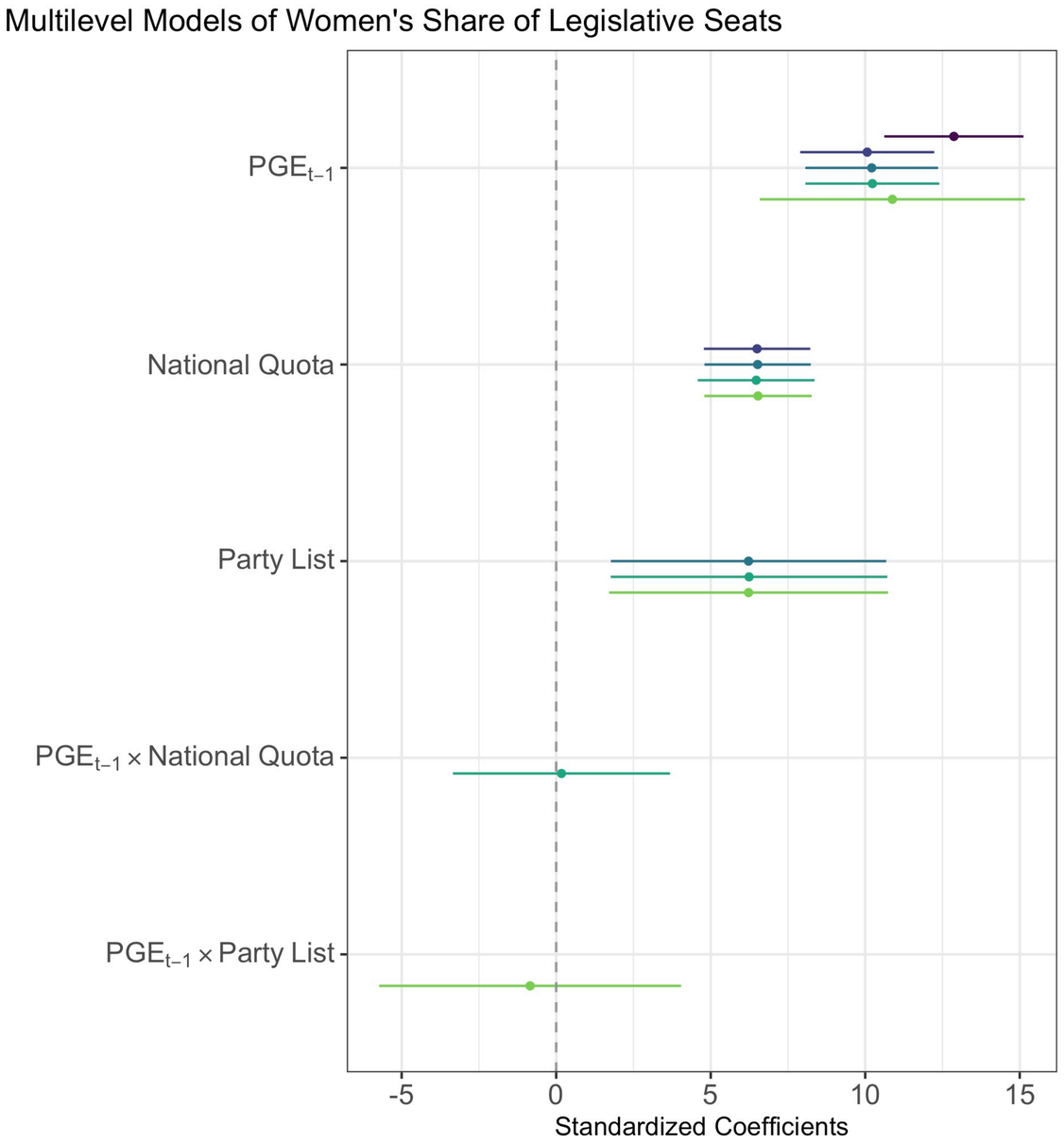

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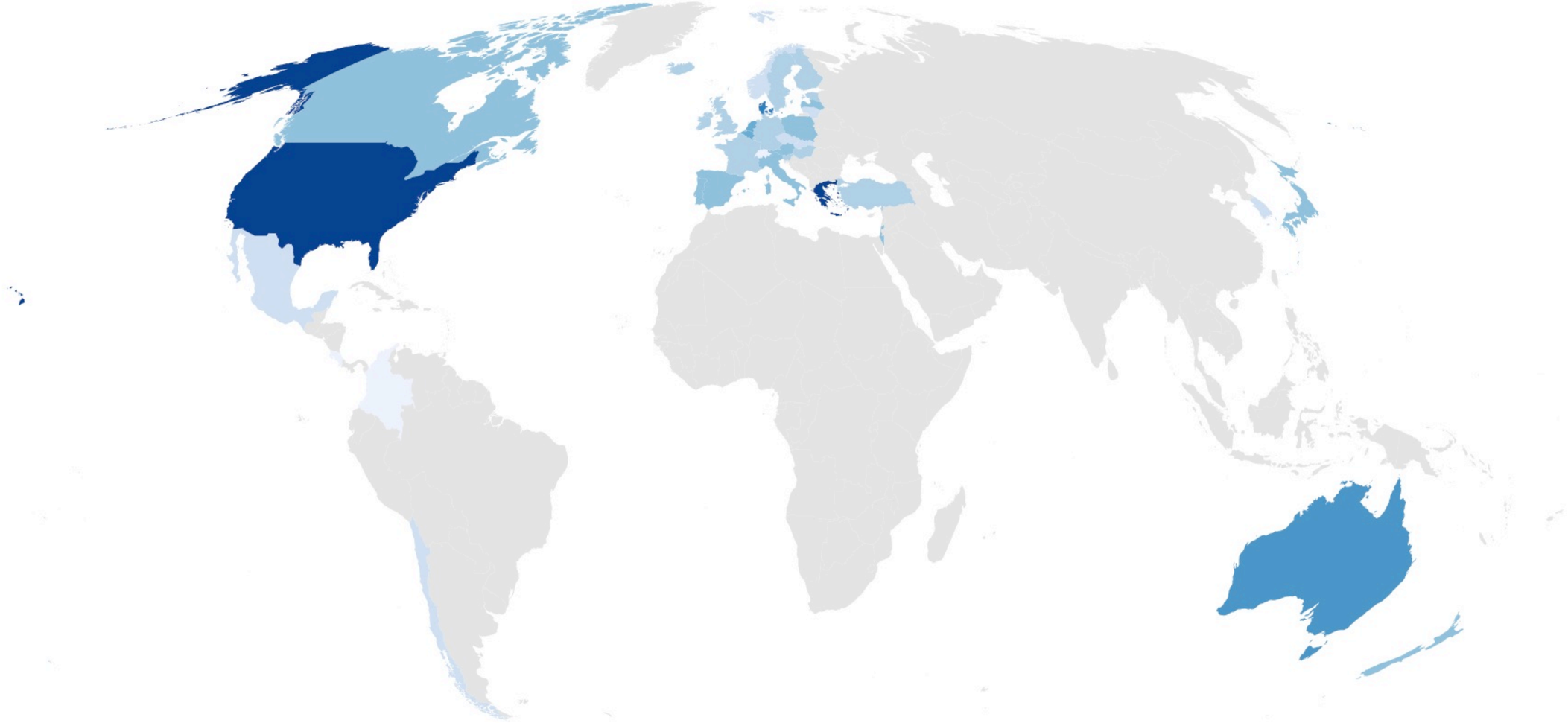
Women's Descriptive Representation

CASES

Elections in the OECD



Quota Adoption and Reform Over Time (QAROT)

(and PGE)

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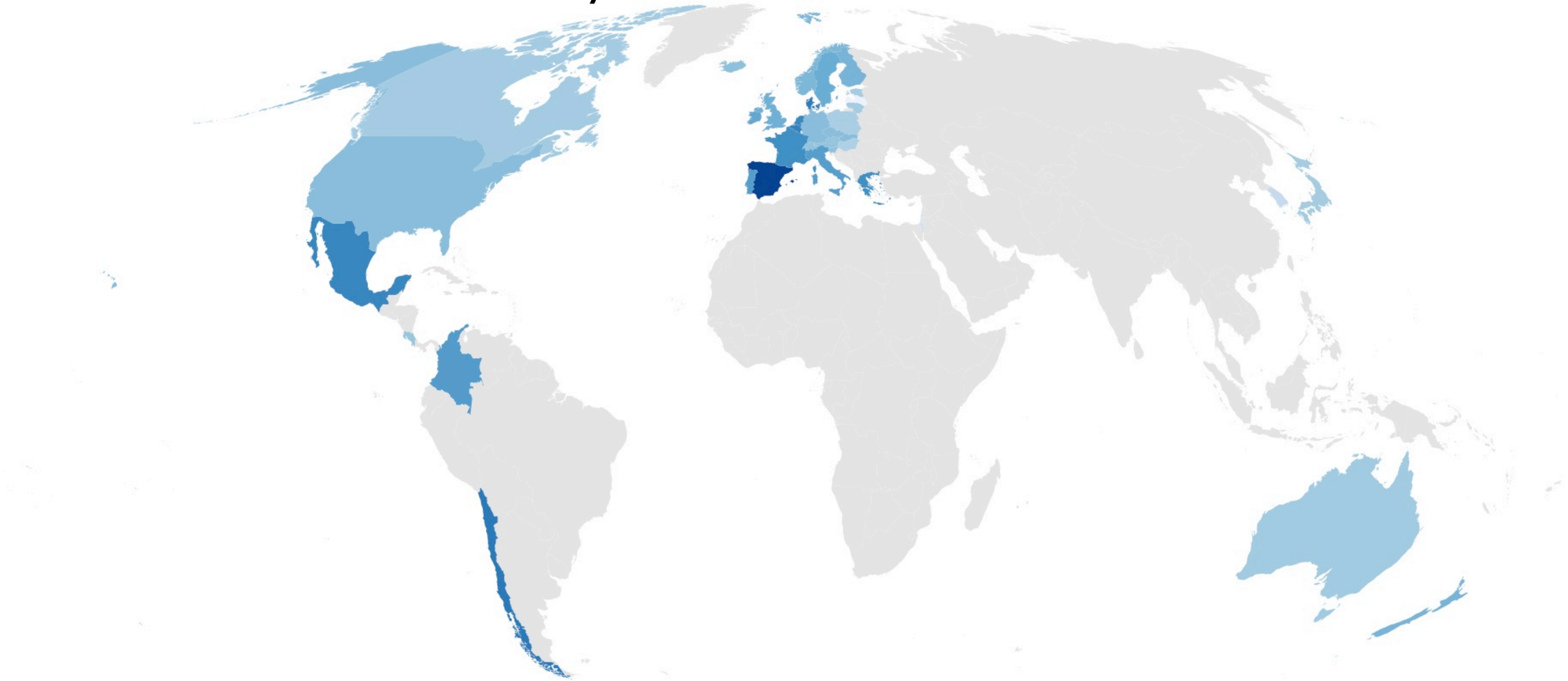
Women's Descriptive Representation

CASES

Party-Elections in the OECD



Weeks et al. (2022), Adams et al. (2022), and national sources

(and PGE)

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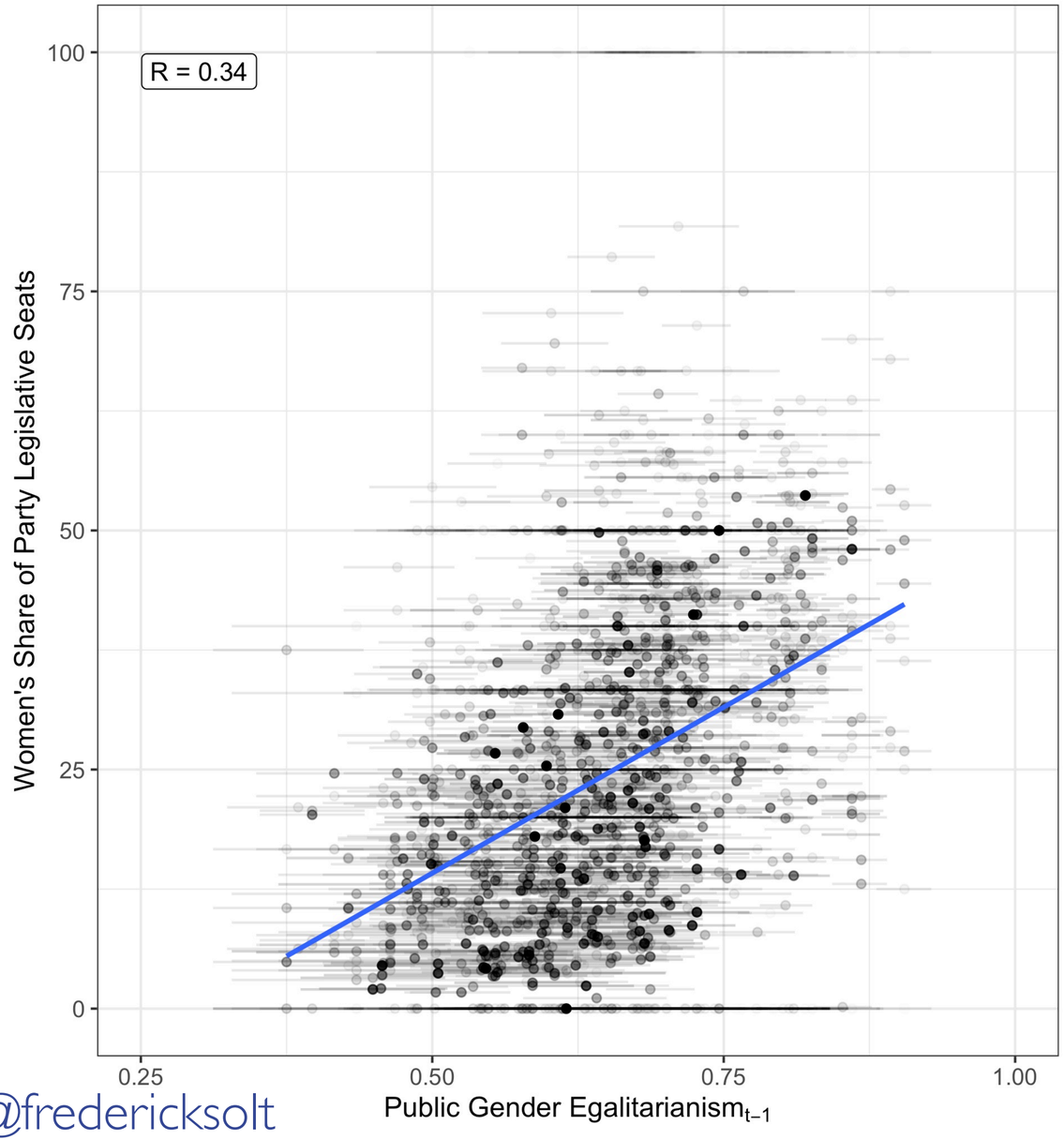
WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Party-Elections in Elections and Parties in Countries

WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Party-Elections in Elections and Parties in Countries



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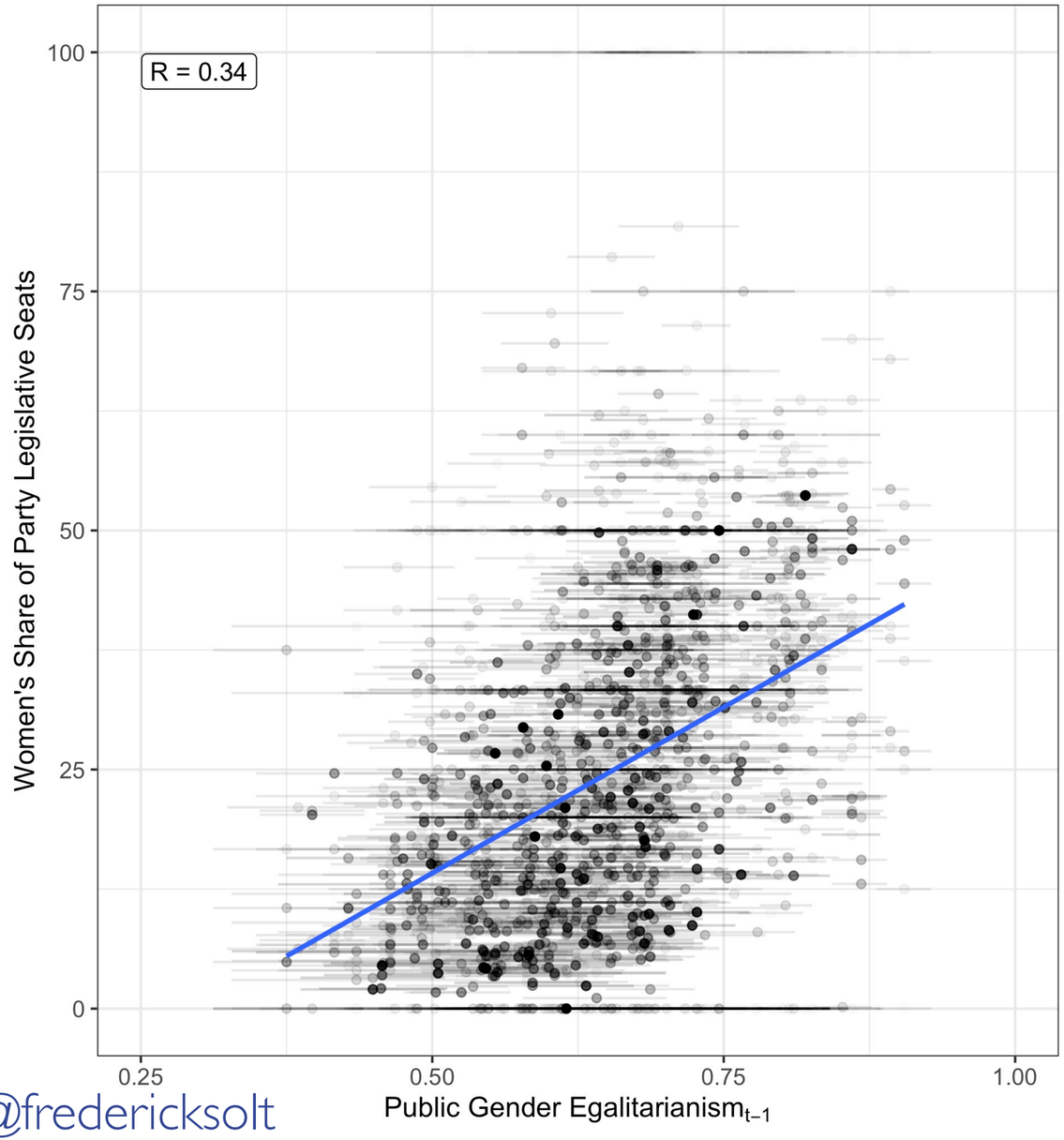

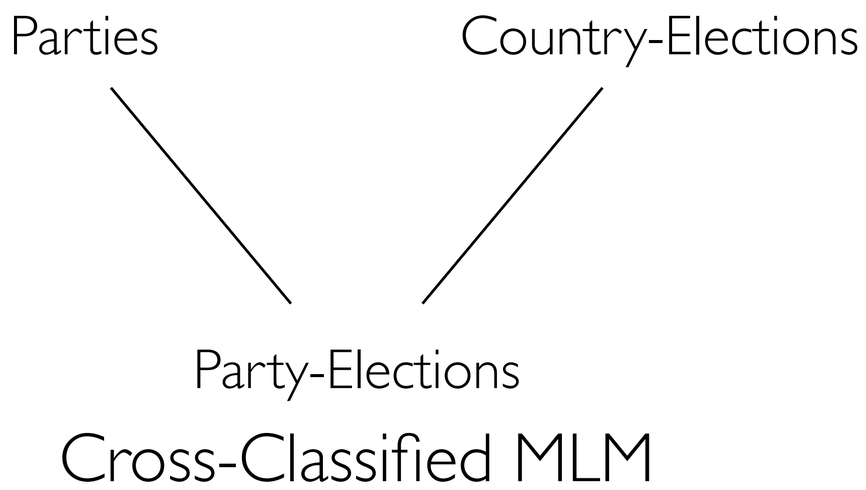

Cross-Classified MLM

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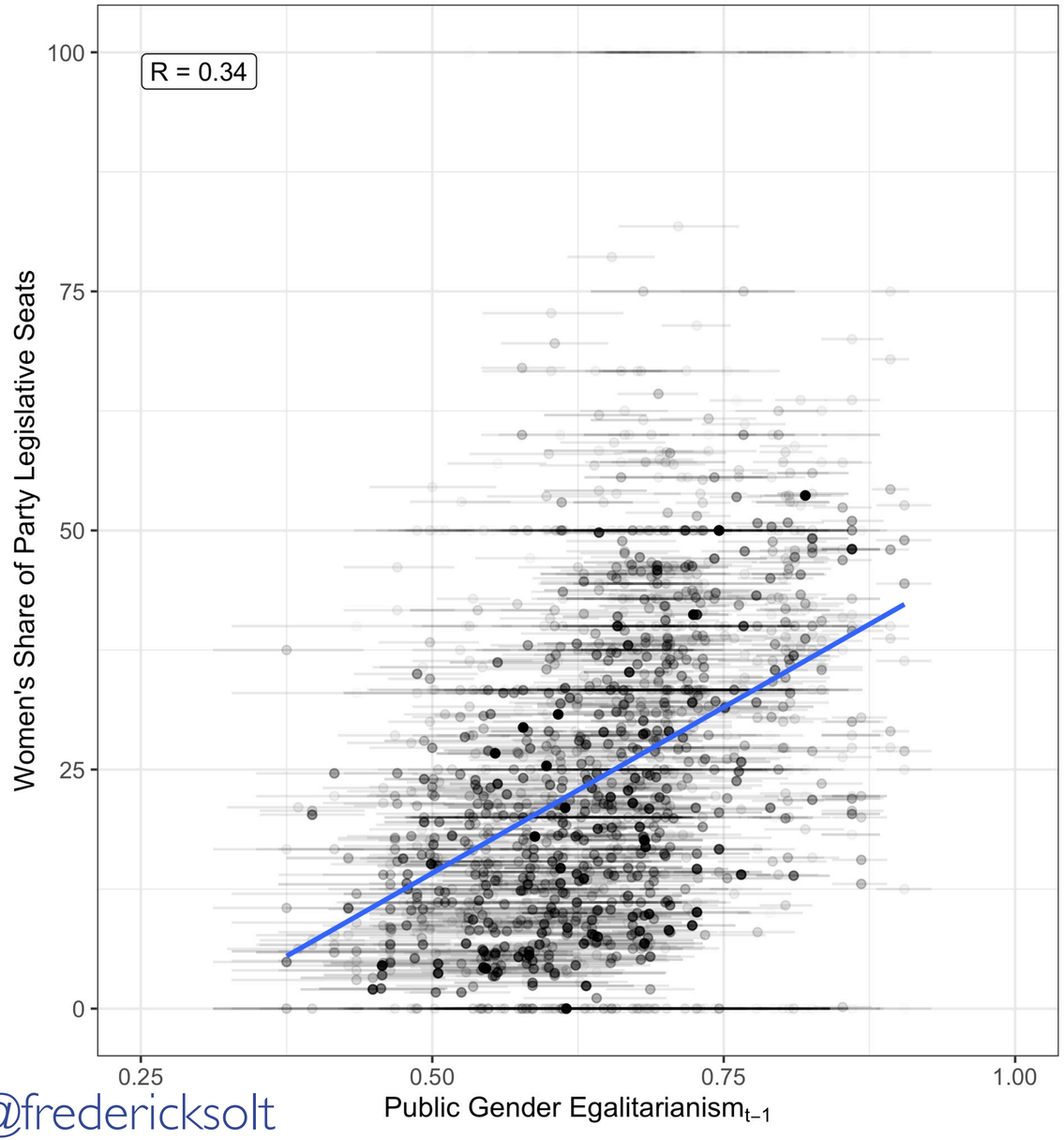
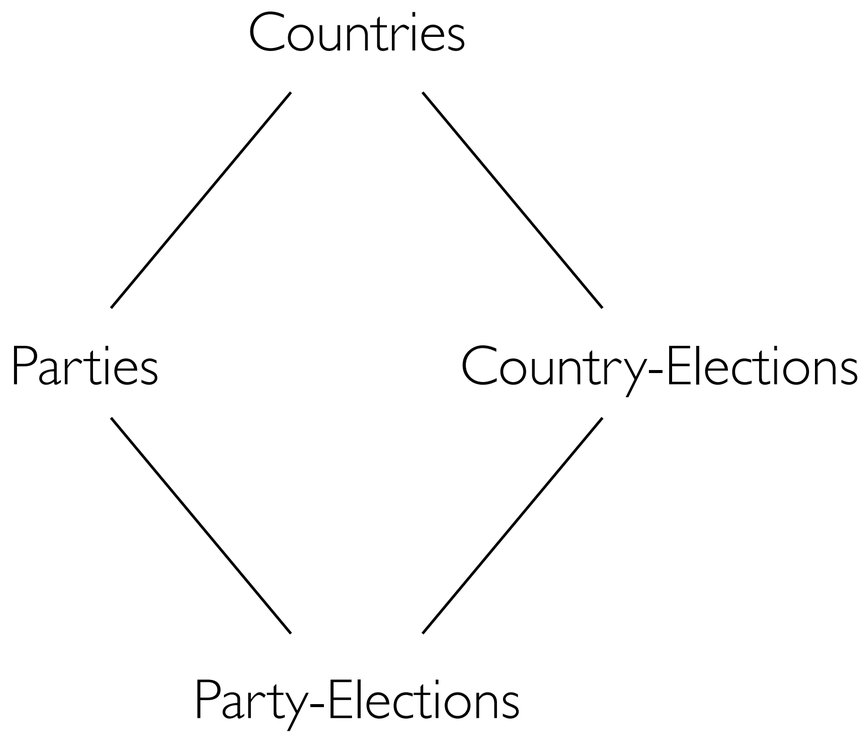
WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Party-Elections in Elections and Parties in Countries





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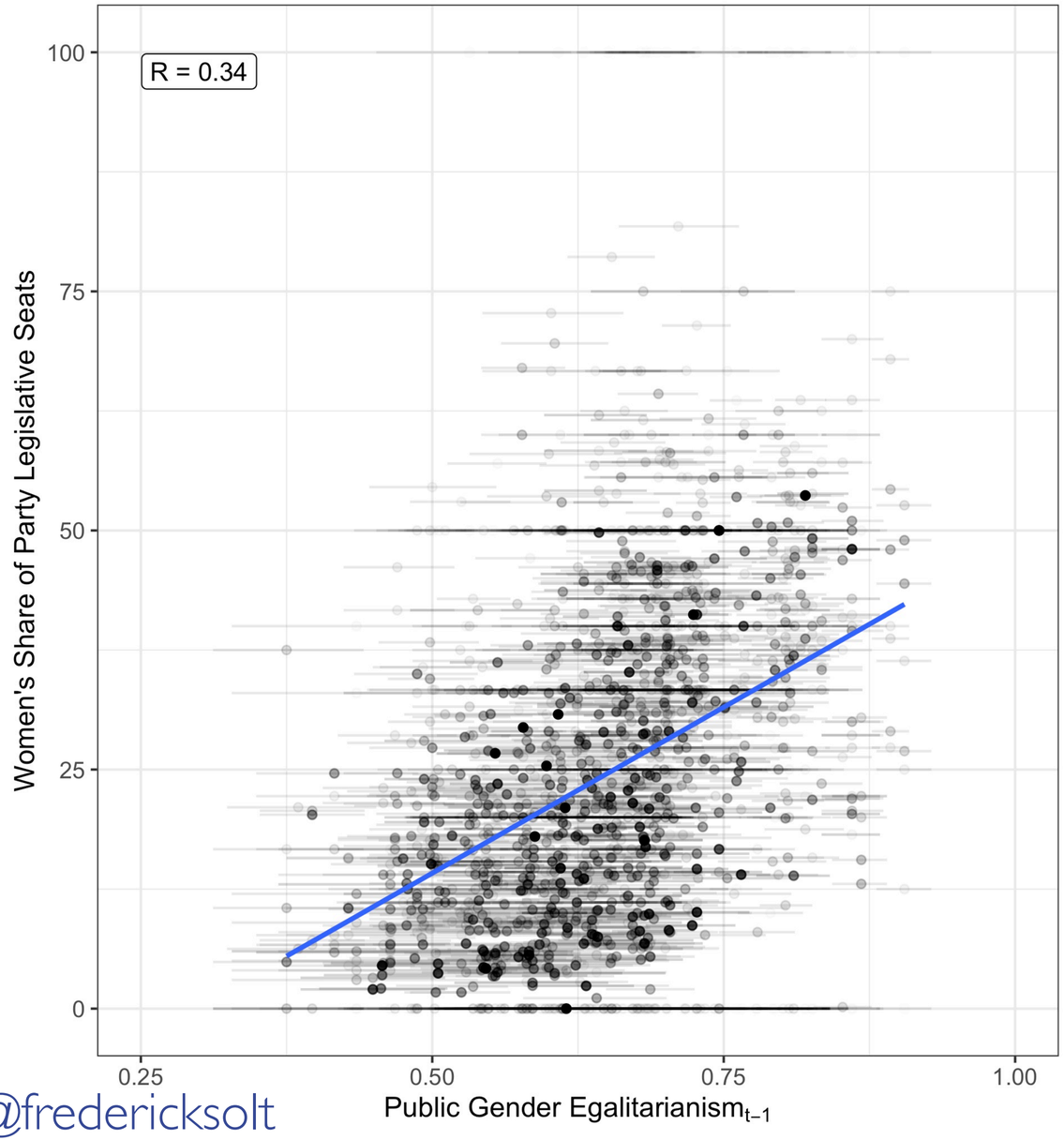

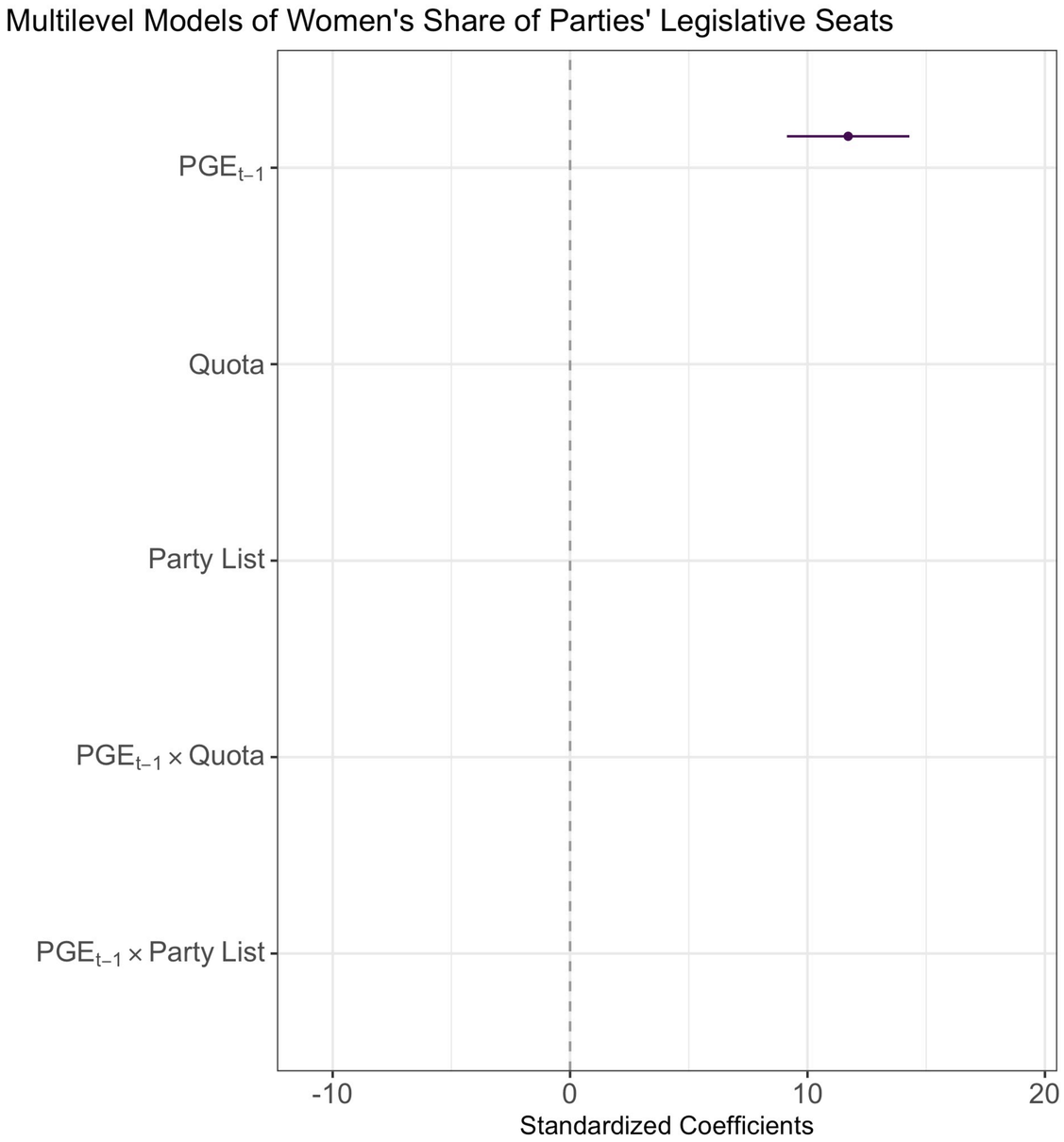

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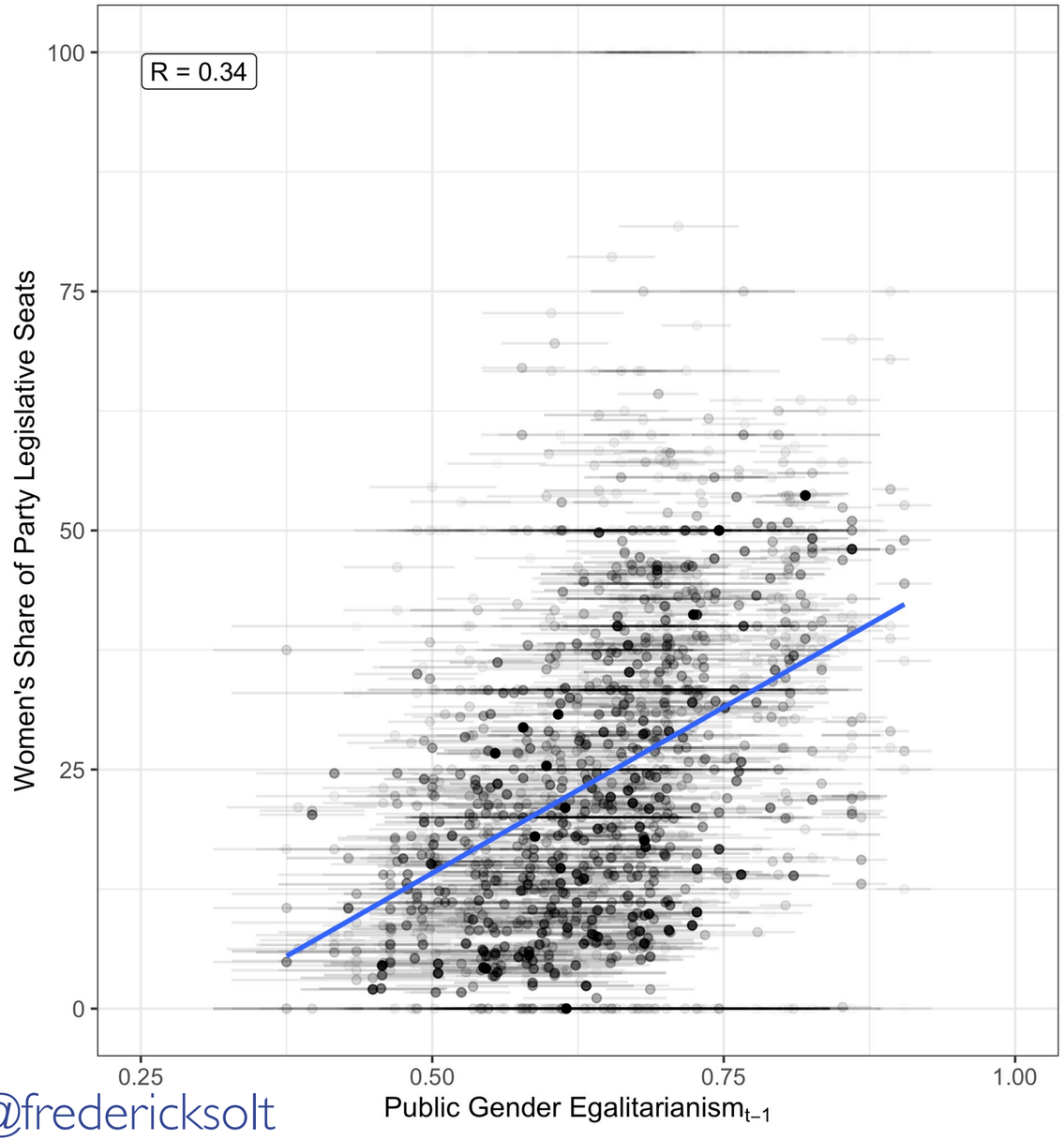

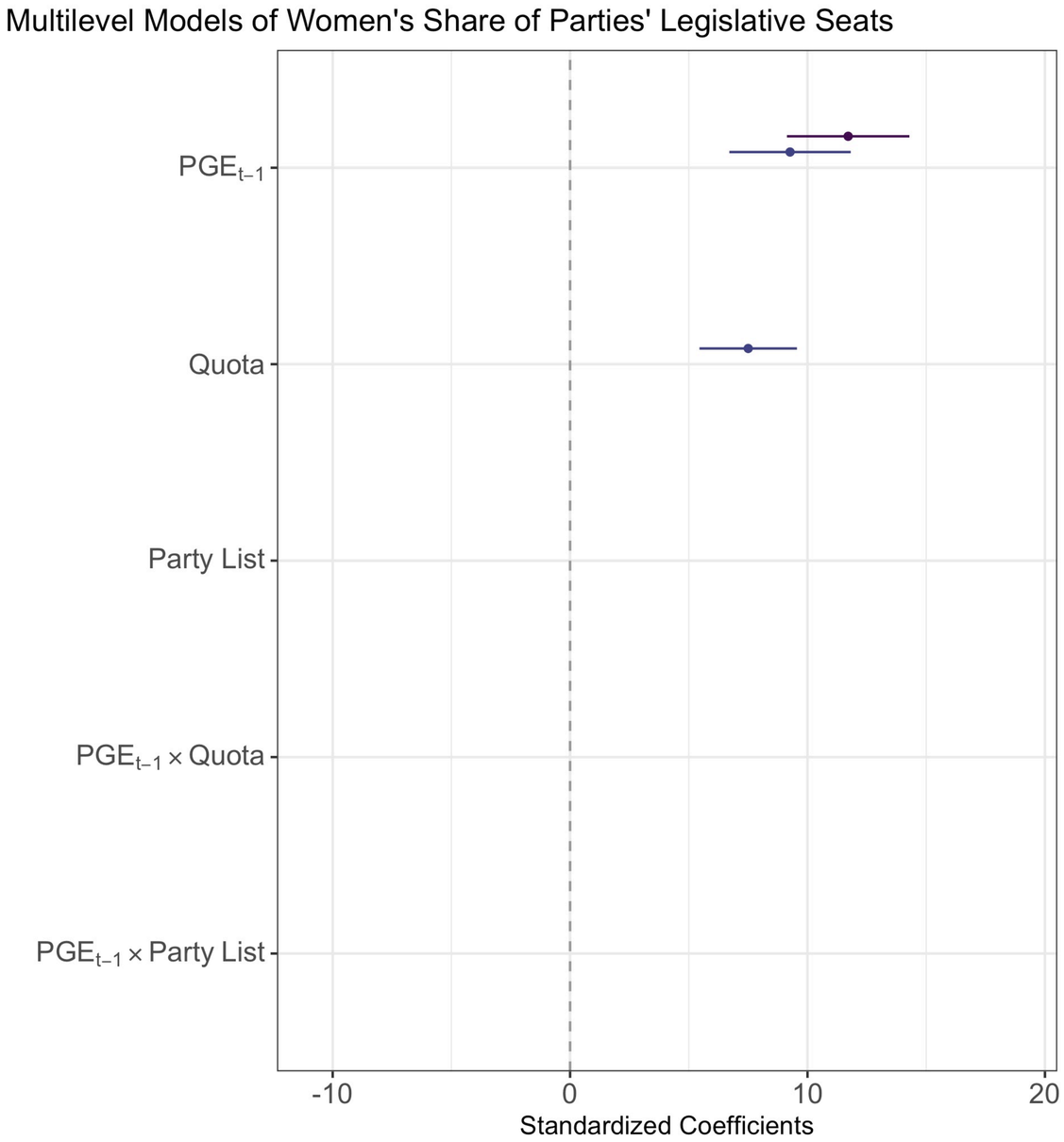

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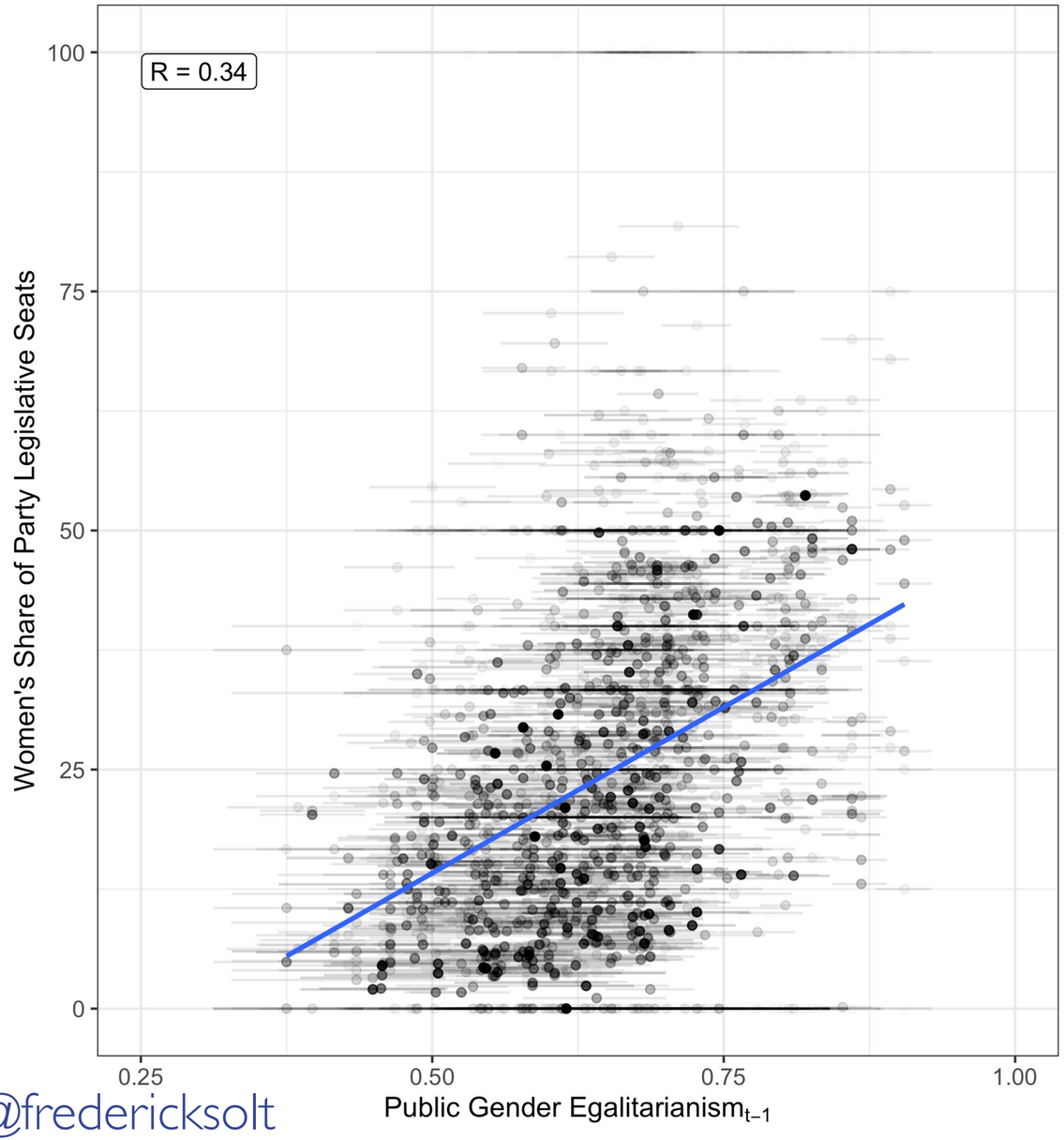

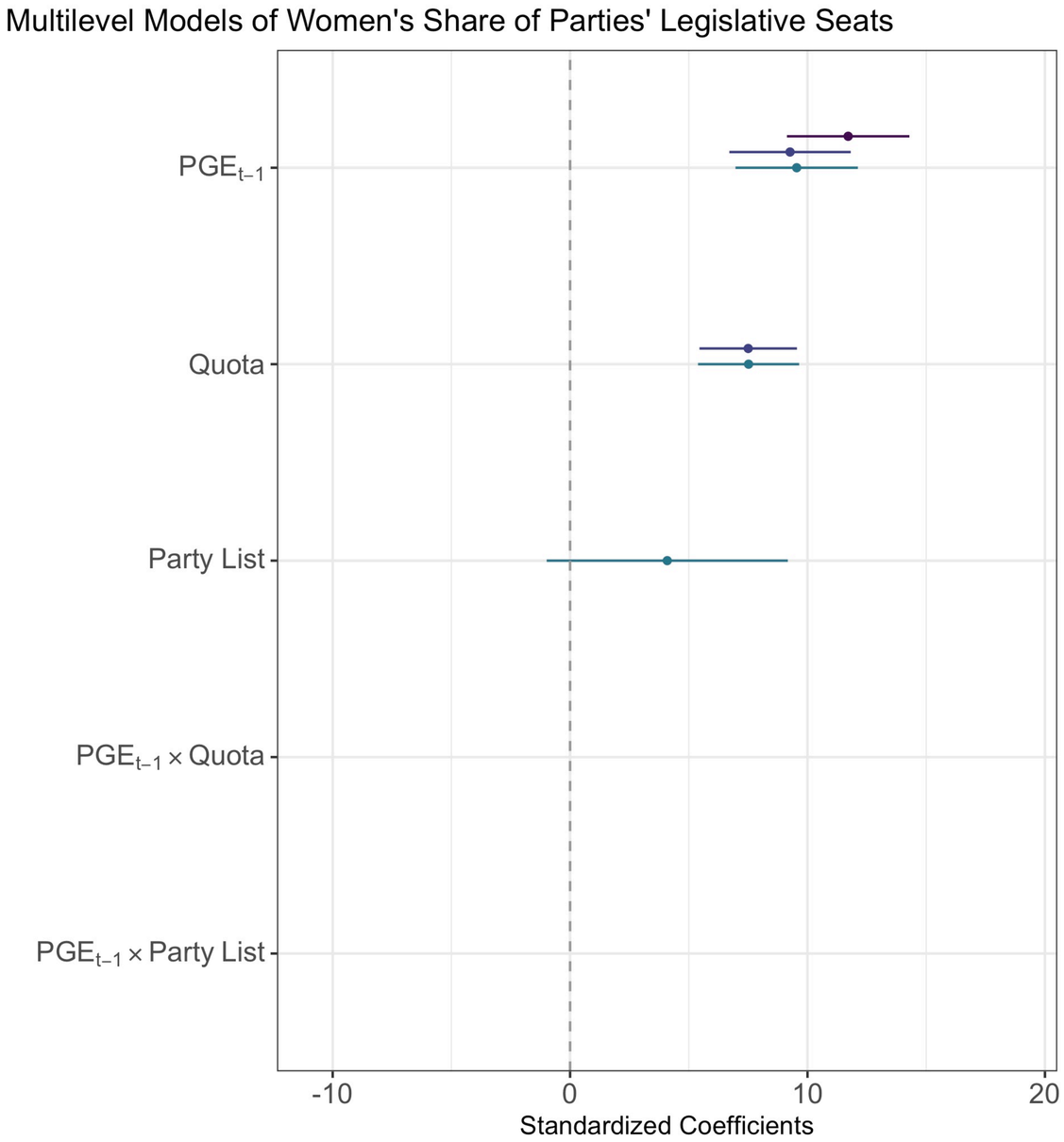

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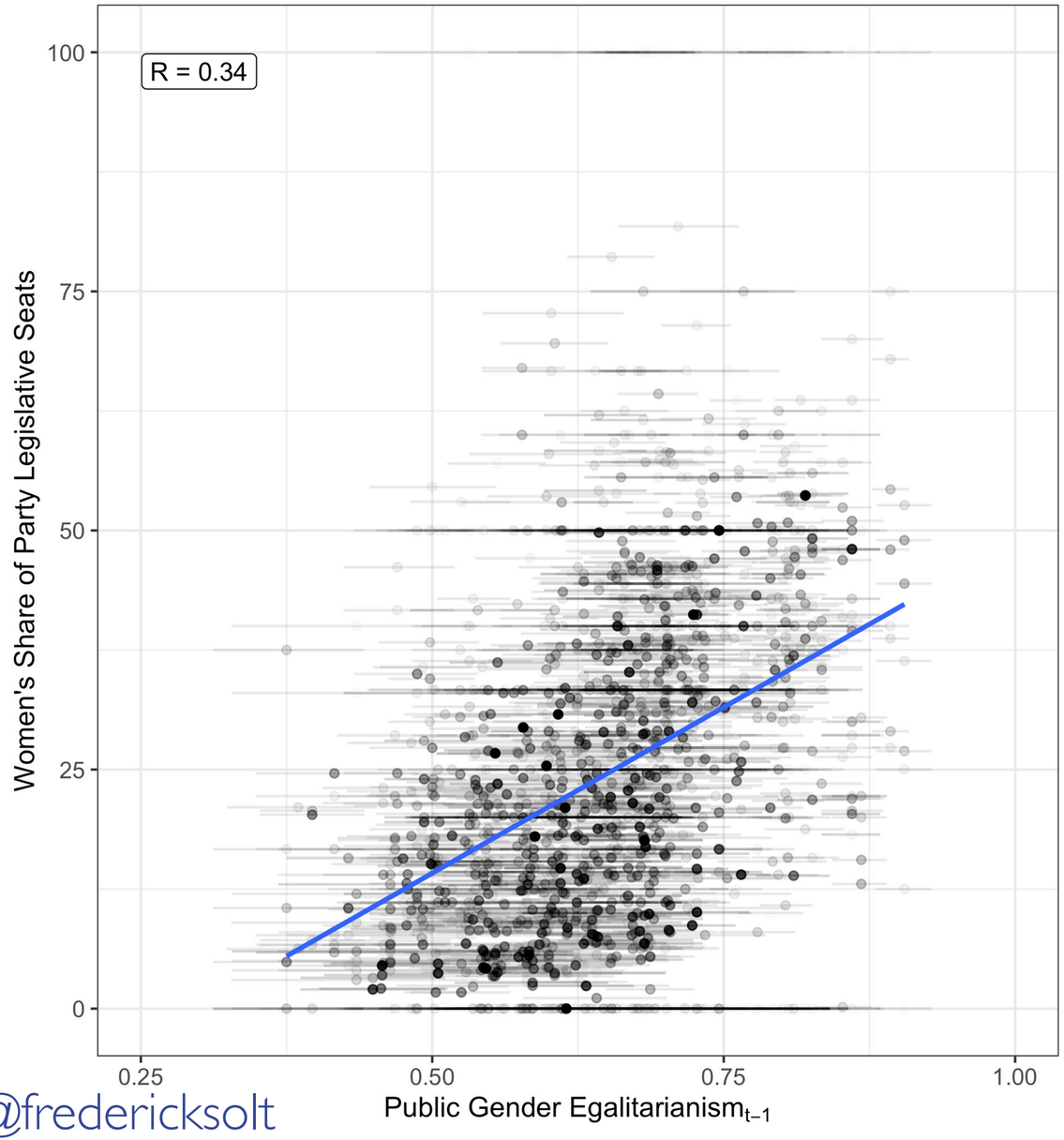

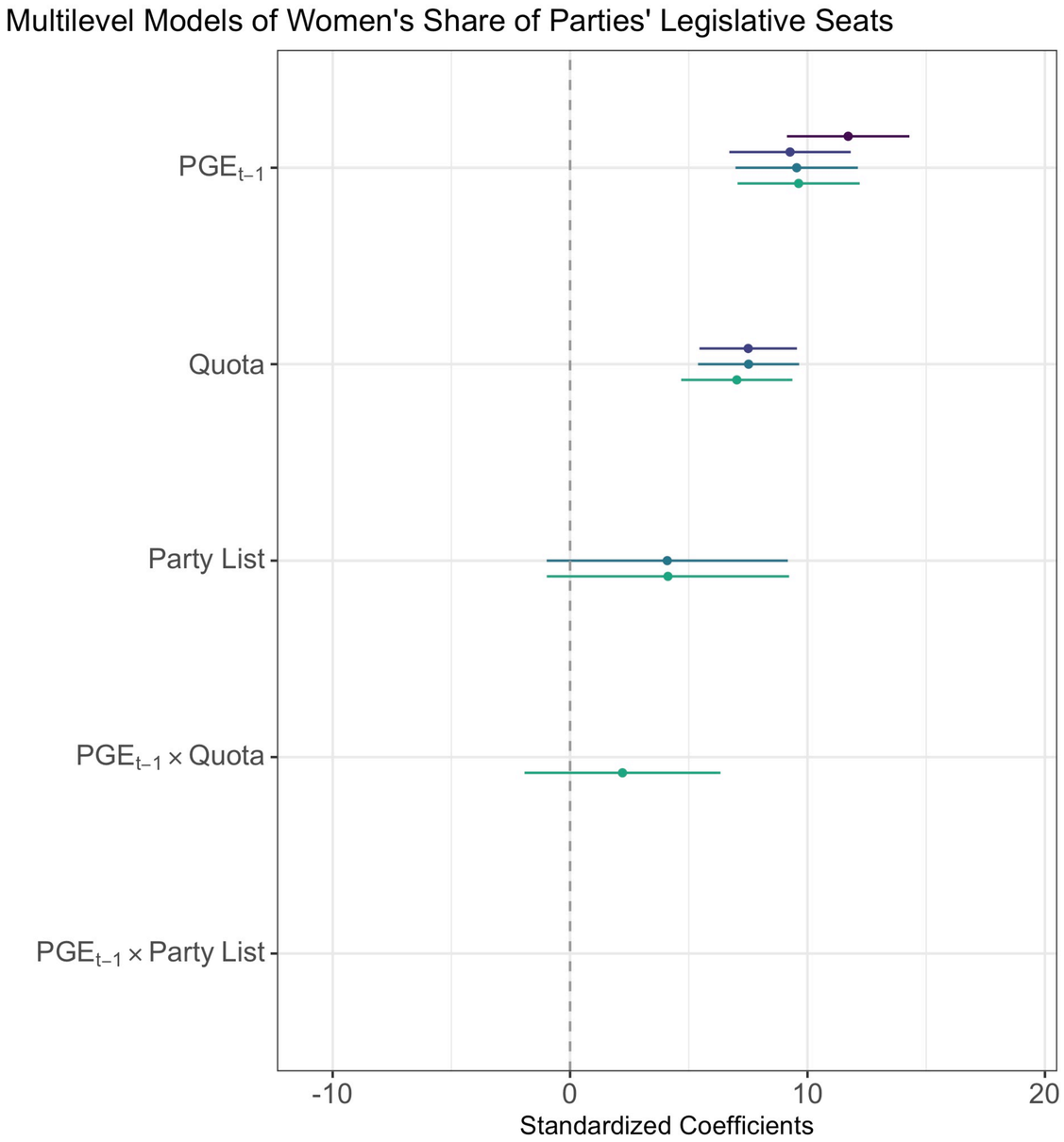

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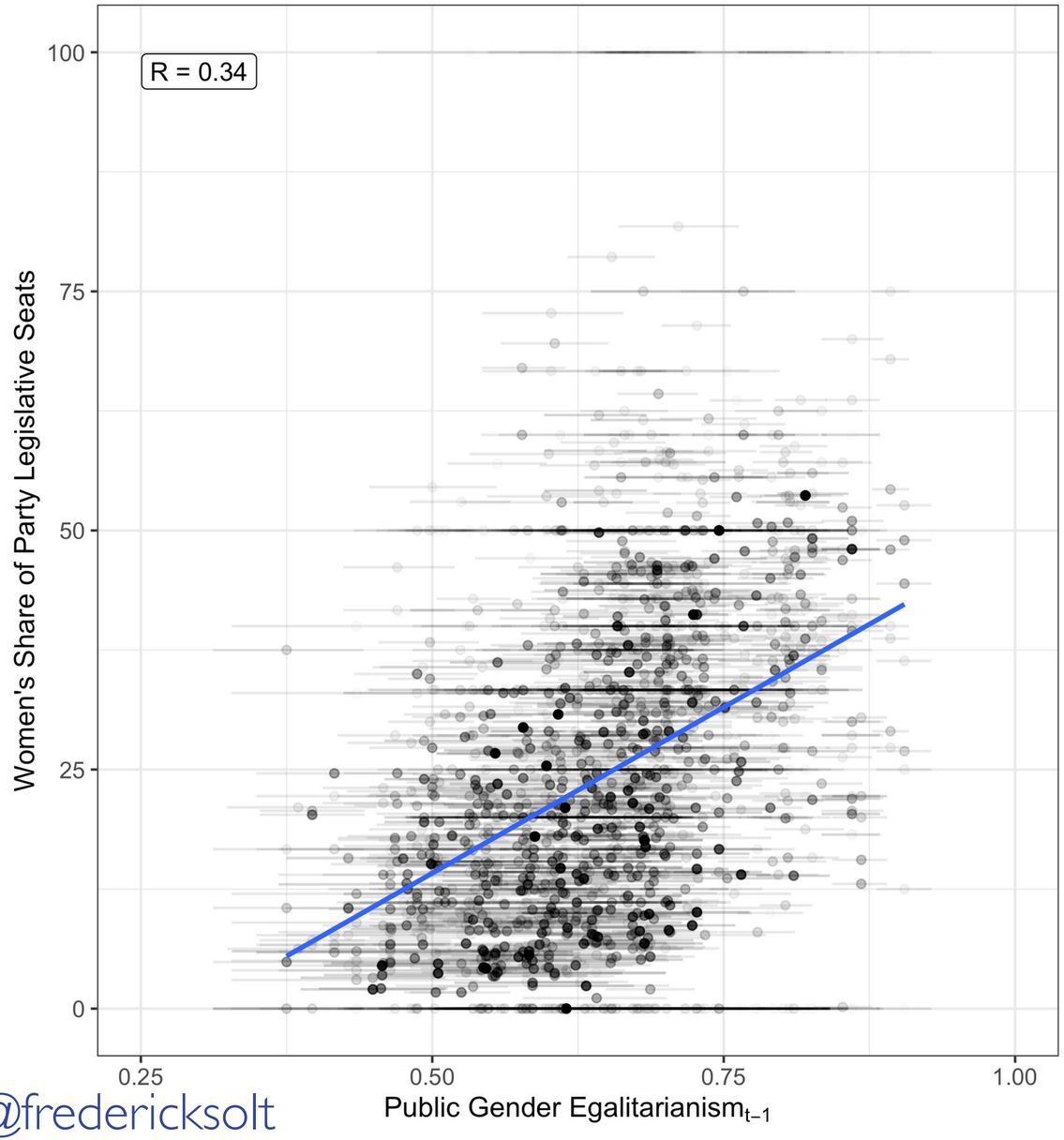

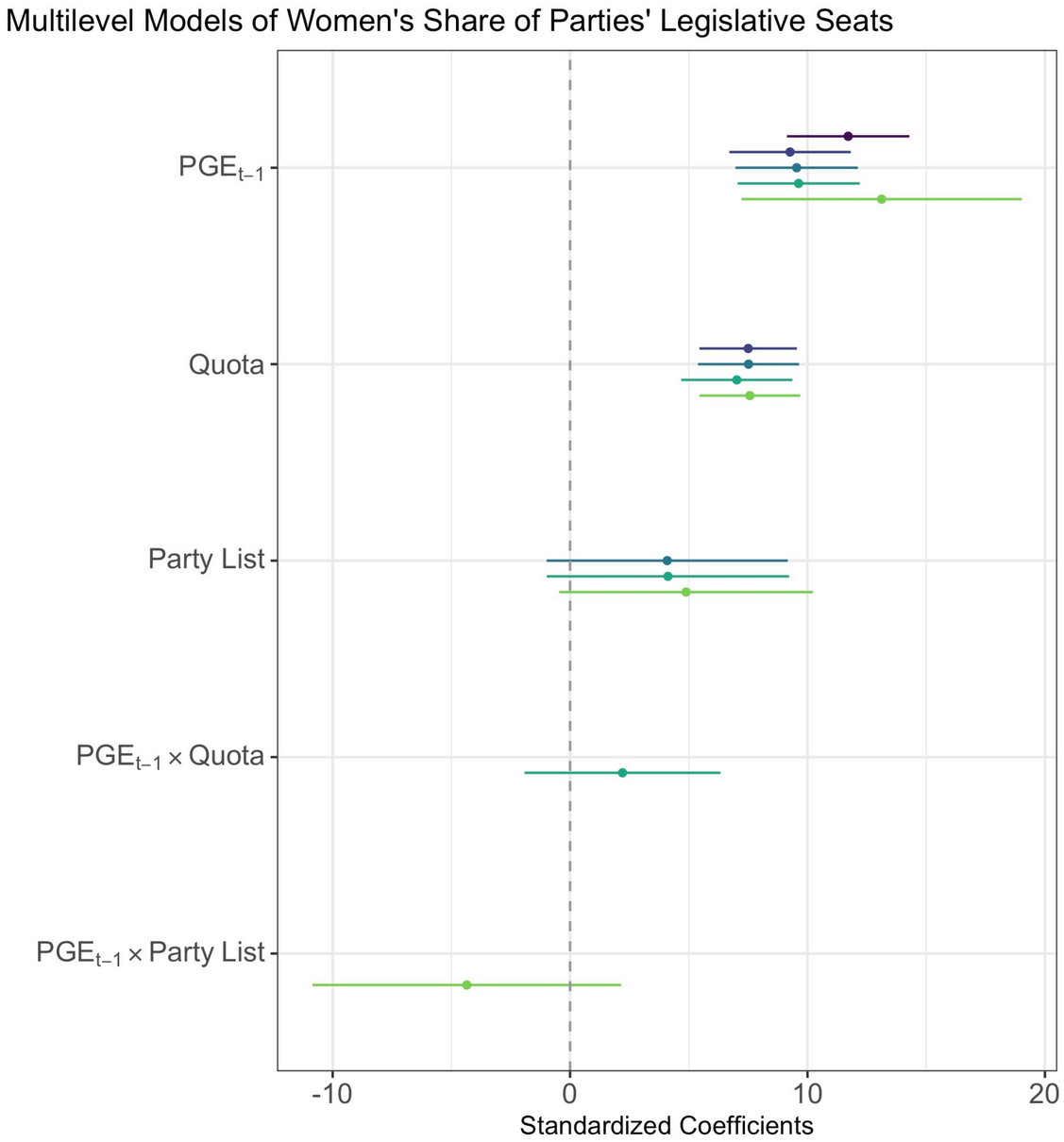

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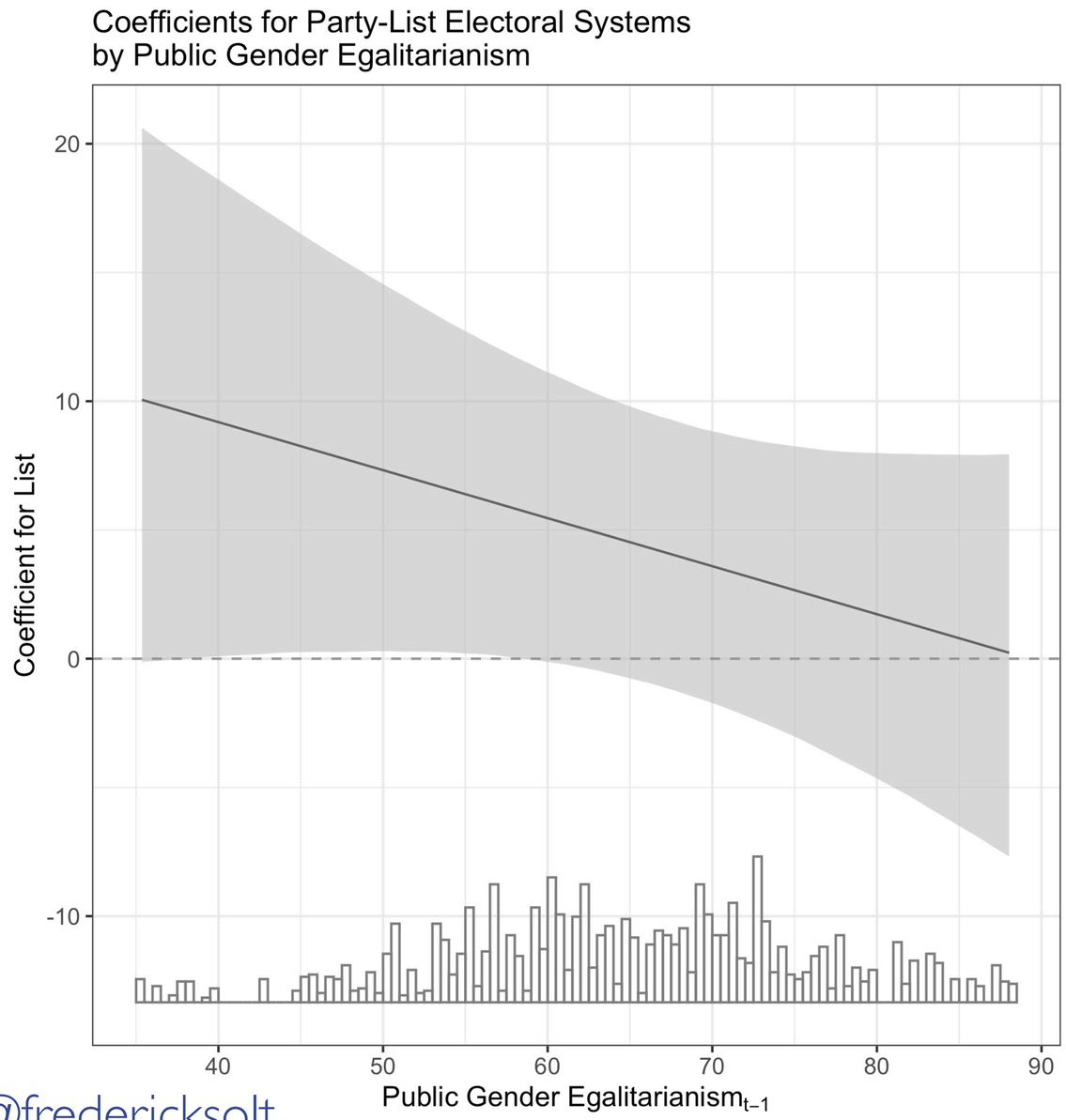

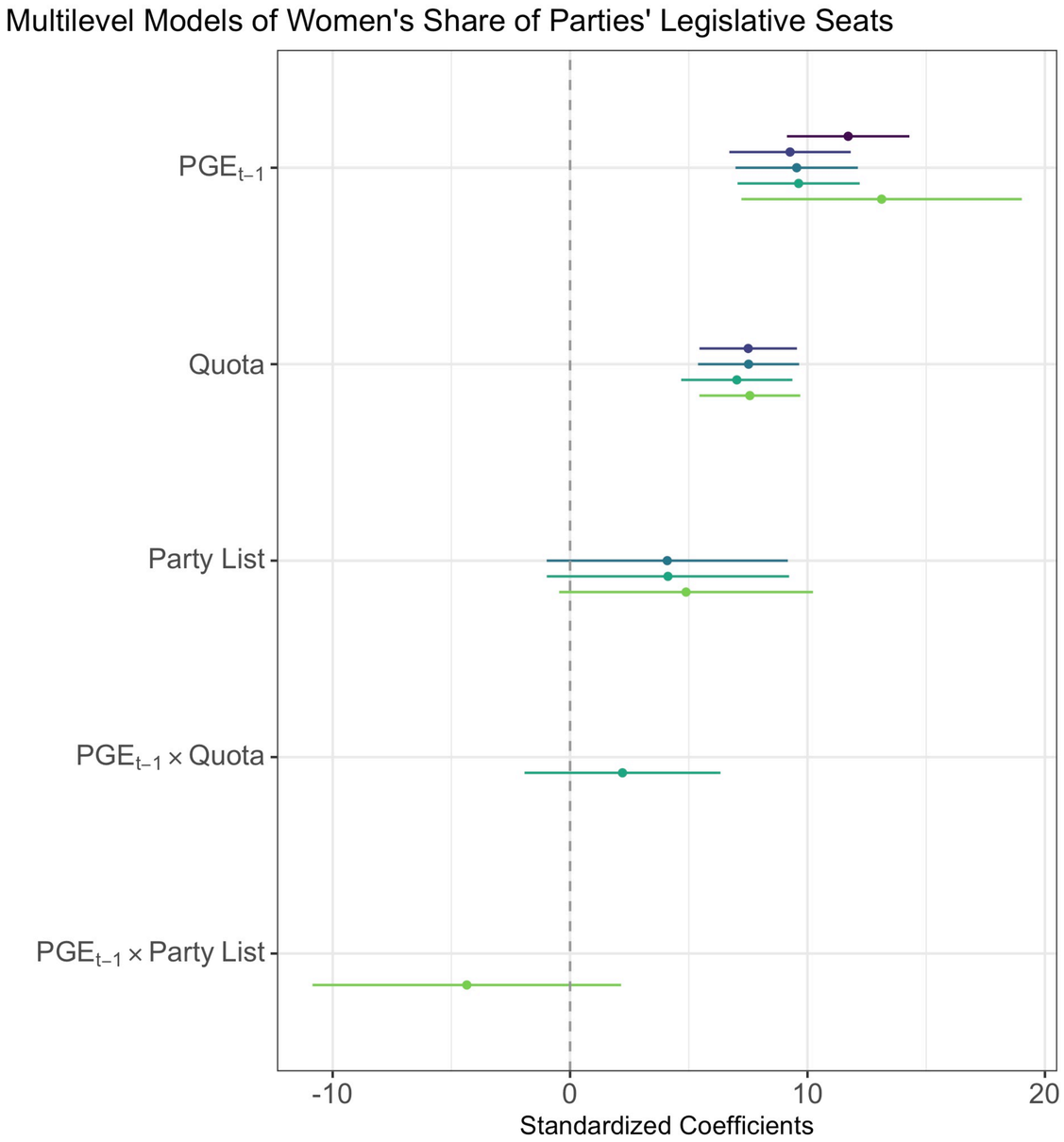

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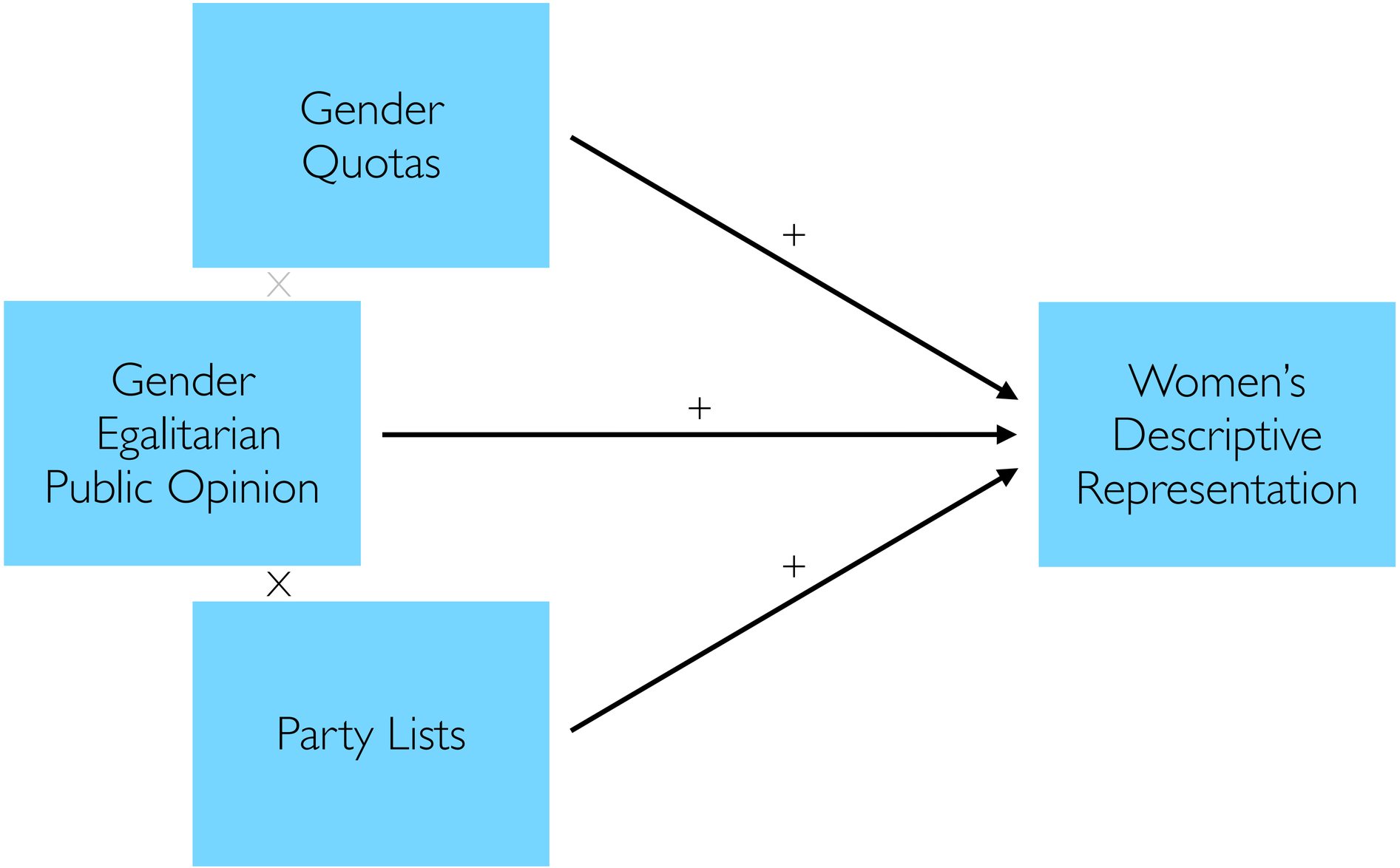
WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Findings

- Top Down
- Bottom Up
- Interactive
  - -Positive
  - -Negative



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GENDER EGALITARIANISM AND WOMEN'S DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

Frederick Solt
University of Iowa

Byung-Deuk Woo
Pohang University of Science and Technology

@fredericksolt

@byung_deuk

Gender Egalitarian Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

Item	Country Years	Question	Survey Codes
polileader4	503	On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do	wvs_combo, amb_combo, evs2017, eb631, lb2009, lb2004, arabb3, arabb2, pewrel2006_10nat, arabb1, amb_brazil2016, amb_canada2012, amb_suriname2012, amb_trinidad2012, amb_us2012, evs_combo
job3a	384	When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	wvs_combo, evs_combo
tradroles5	253	A husband's job is to earn money; a wife's job is to look after the home and family	issp2008, issp2012, issp2002, issp2018, issp1998, issp1994, issp1991, issp2018ext, issp1988, issp2008a, kgss, usgss, issp1998br, issp2008ca, issp2018tn, nsss1989, nsss1993
busiexecutive4	240	On the whole, men make better business executives than women do	wvs_combo, evs2017
income4	216	Both the husband and wife should contribute to household income	wvs_combo, evs_combo, eb653, issp2012
job5	185	When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	wvs7, evs2017, ess4, ess5, ess2, ess8
job4	122	When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	pew2019, pew2010, pewrel2014_latam, pewrel2015_ee, pewrel2009_afr, pewrel2006_10nat, pew2012, jgss2006
income5	108	Both the man and woman should contribute to the household income	issp2012, issp2002, issp1994, issp1988, kgss, nsss1989

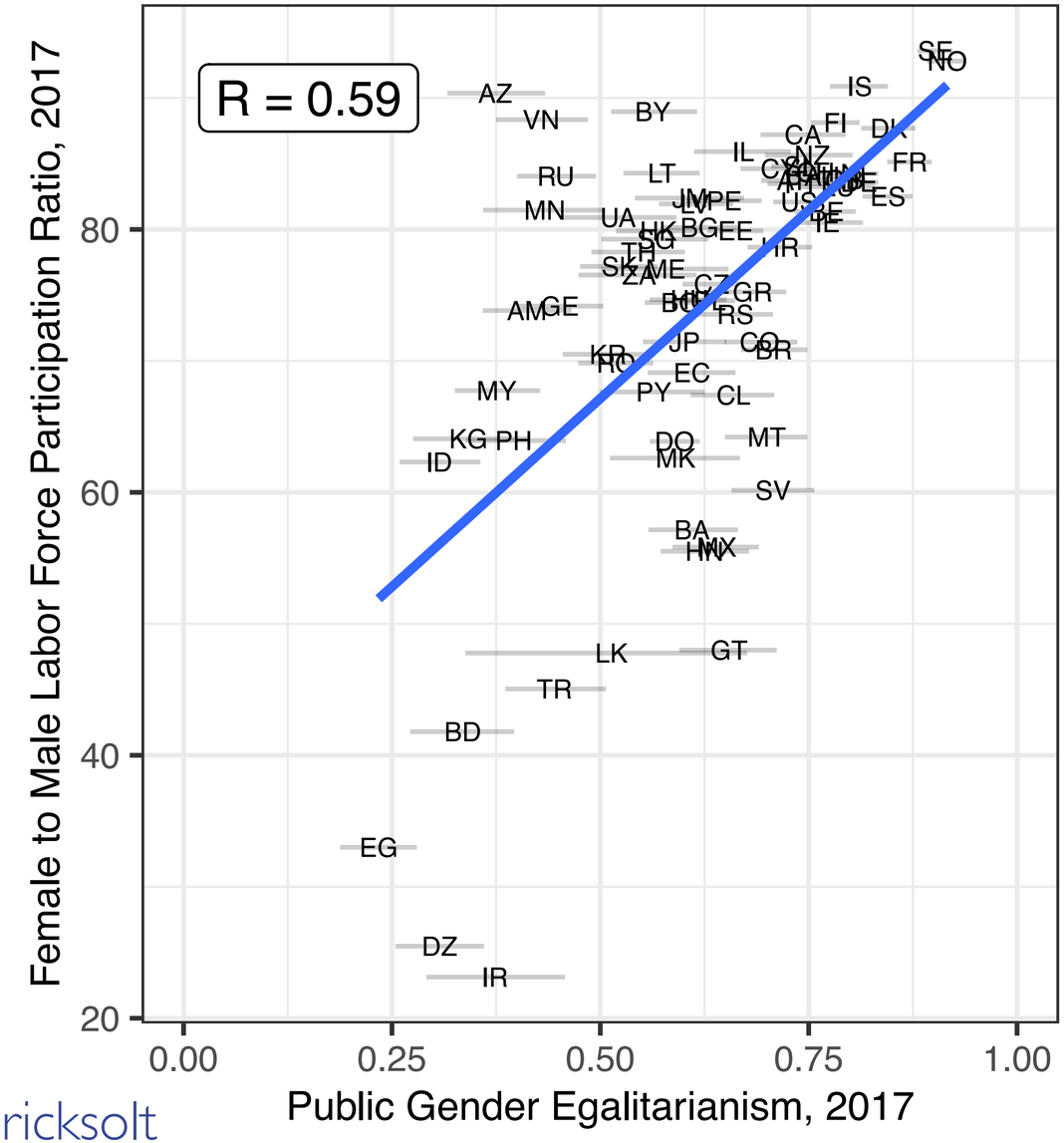
what we've got

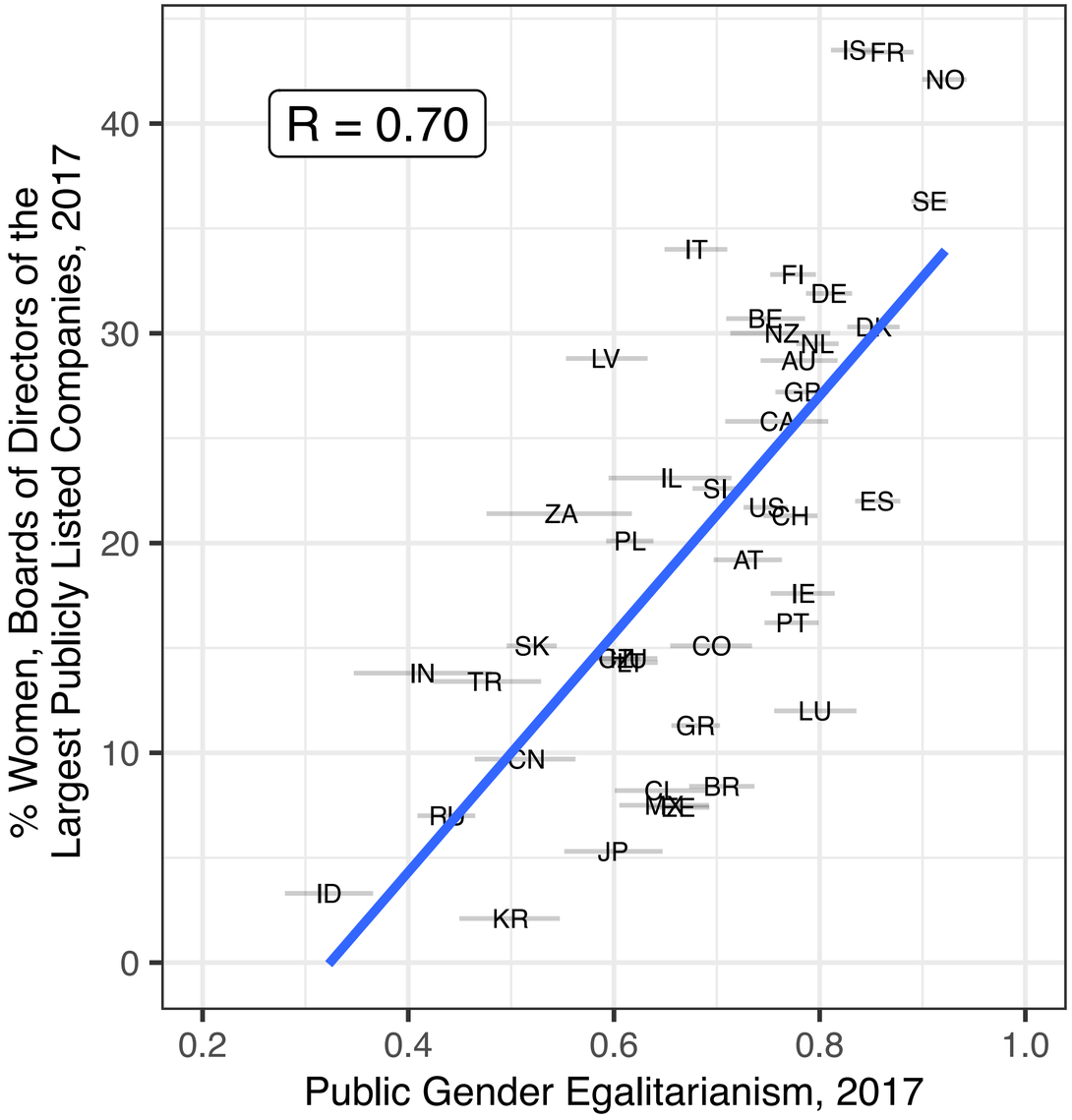
Gender Egalitarian Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism

Construct Validation





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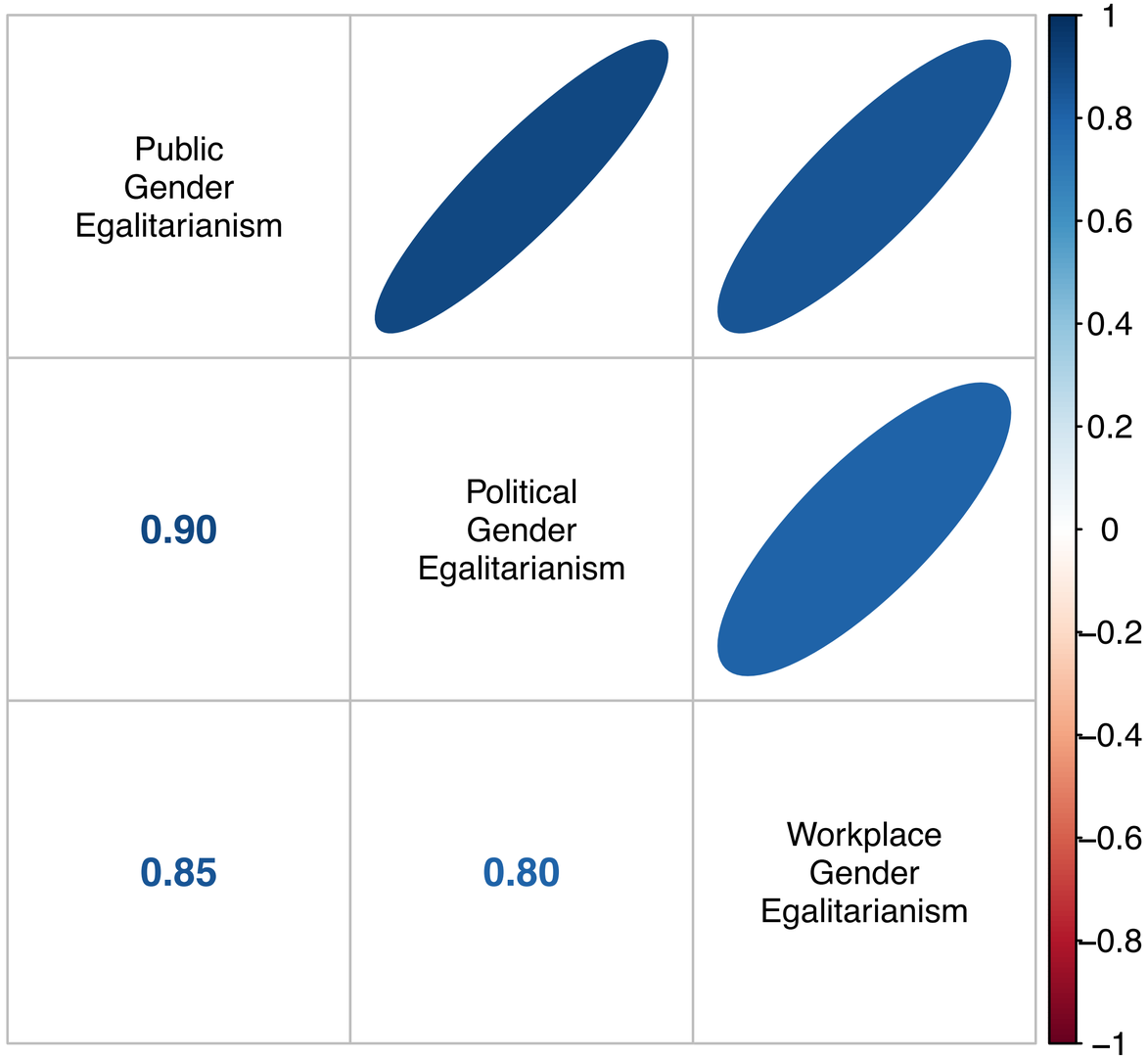
Gender
Egalitarian
Public Opinion

MEASUREMENT

Public Gender Egalitarianism



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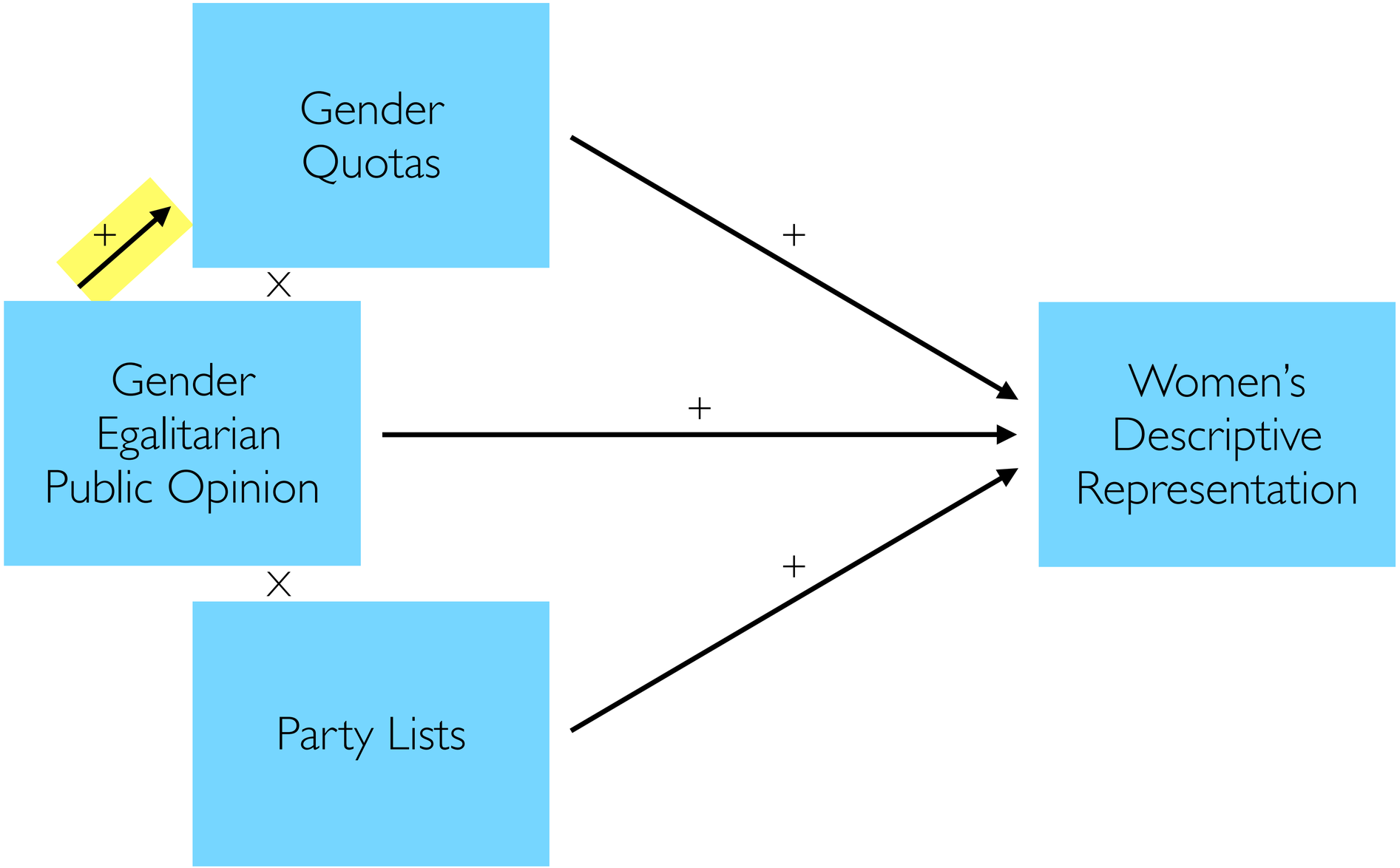
WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Theory

- Top Down
- Bottom Up?
- Interactive?
  - -Positive
  - -Negative
- Indirect?



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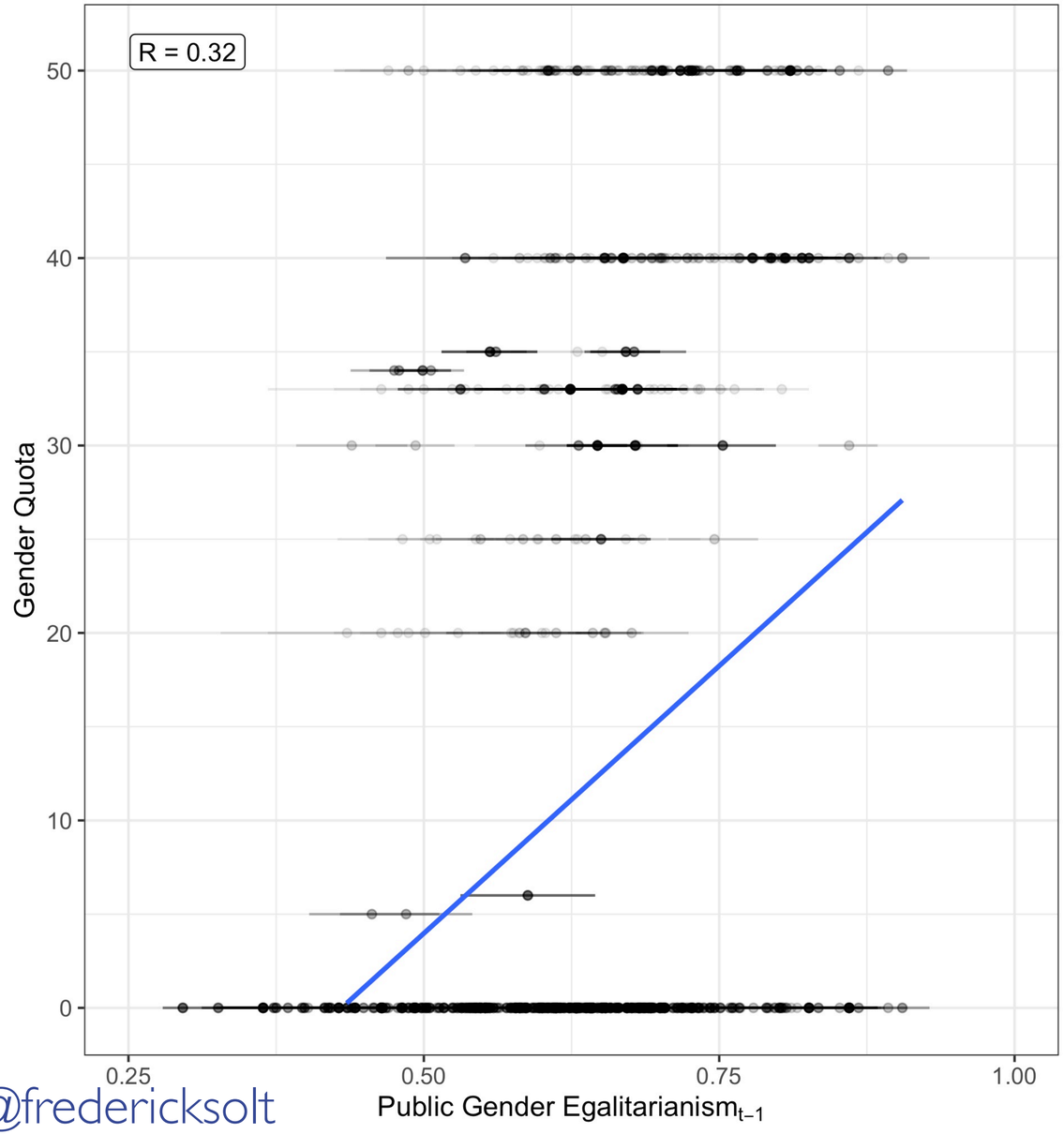
WHEN DO PARTIES ADOPT QUOTAS?

Party-Elections in Elections and Parties in Countries



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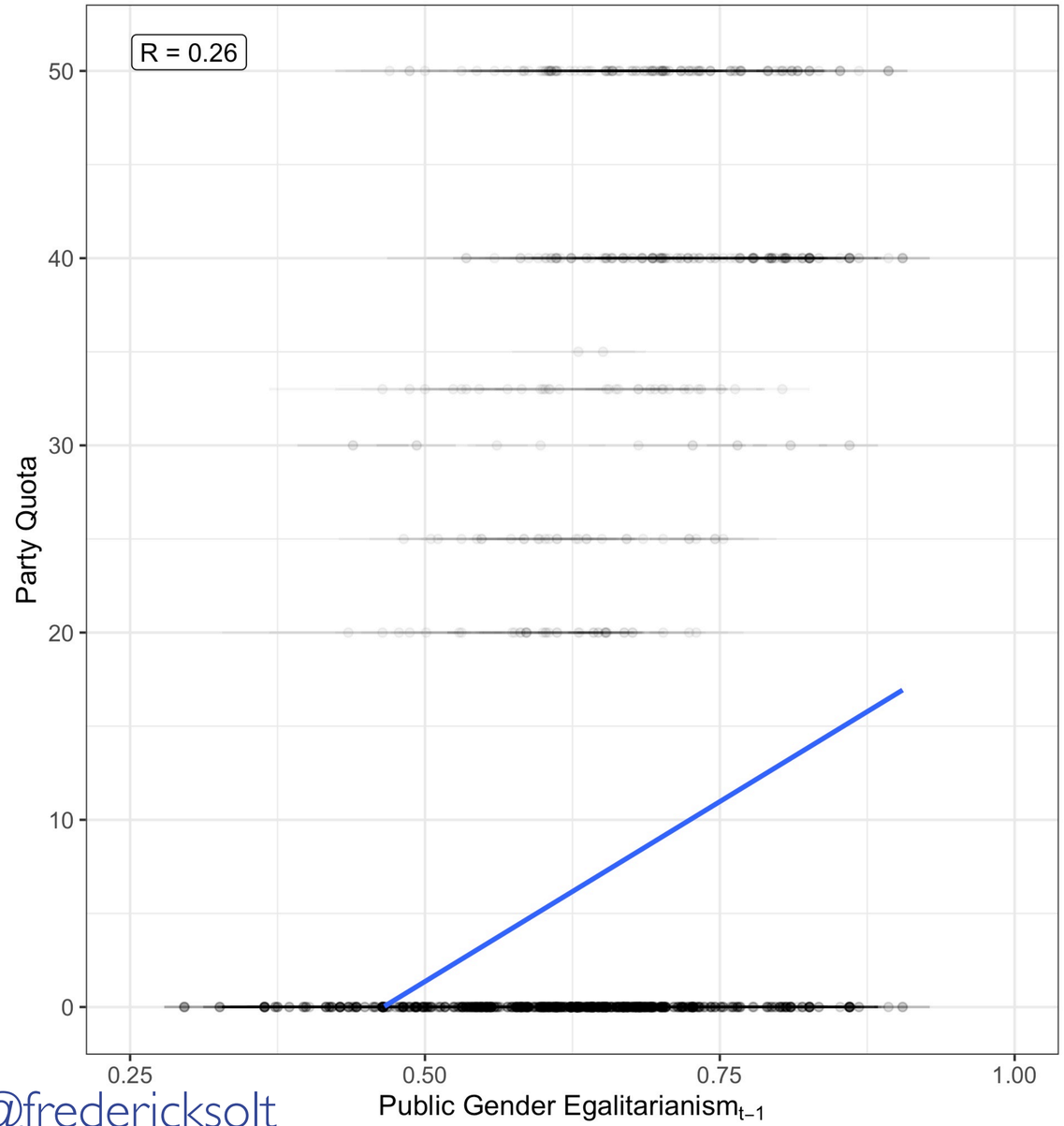

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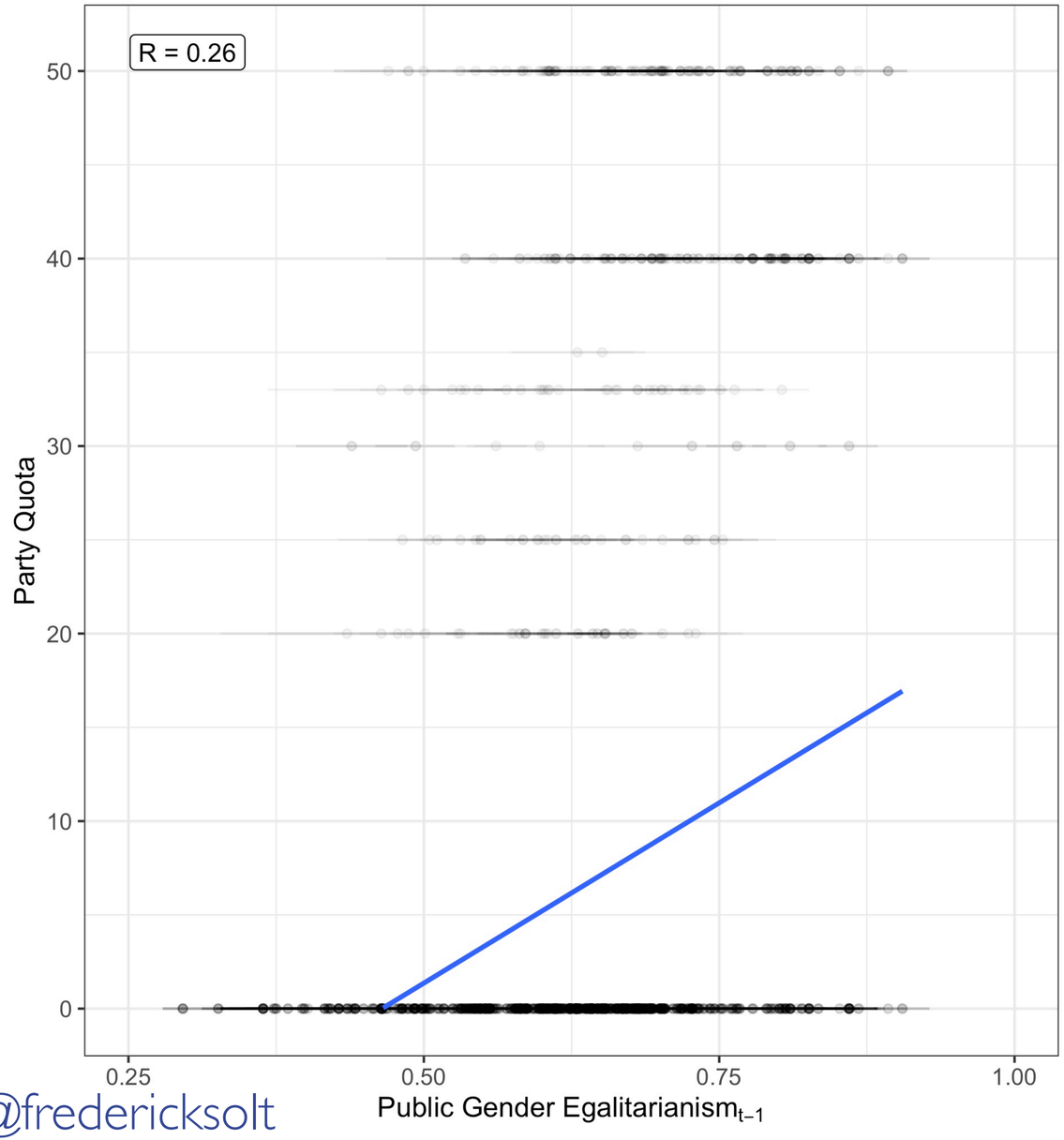

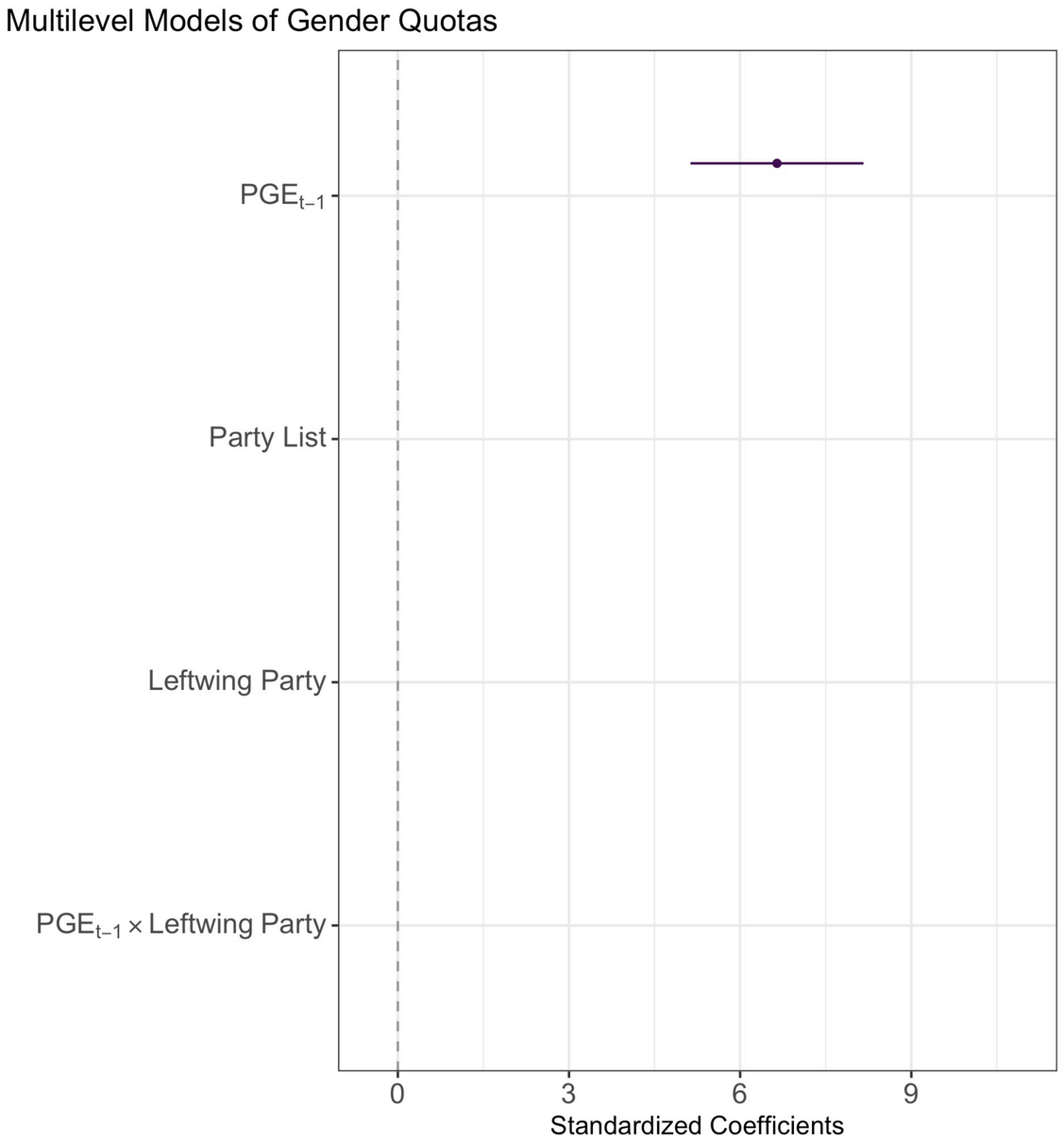

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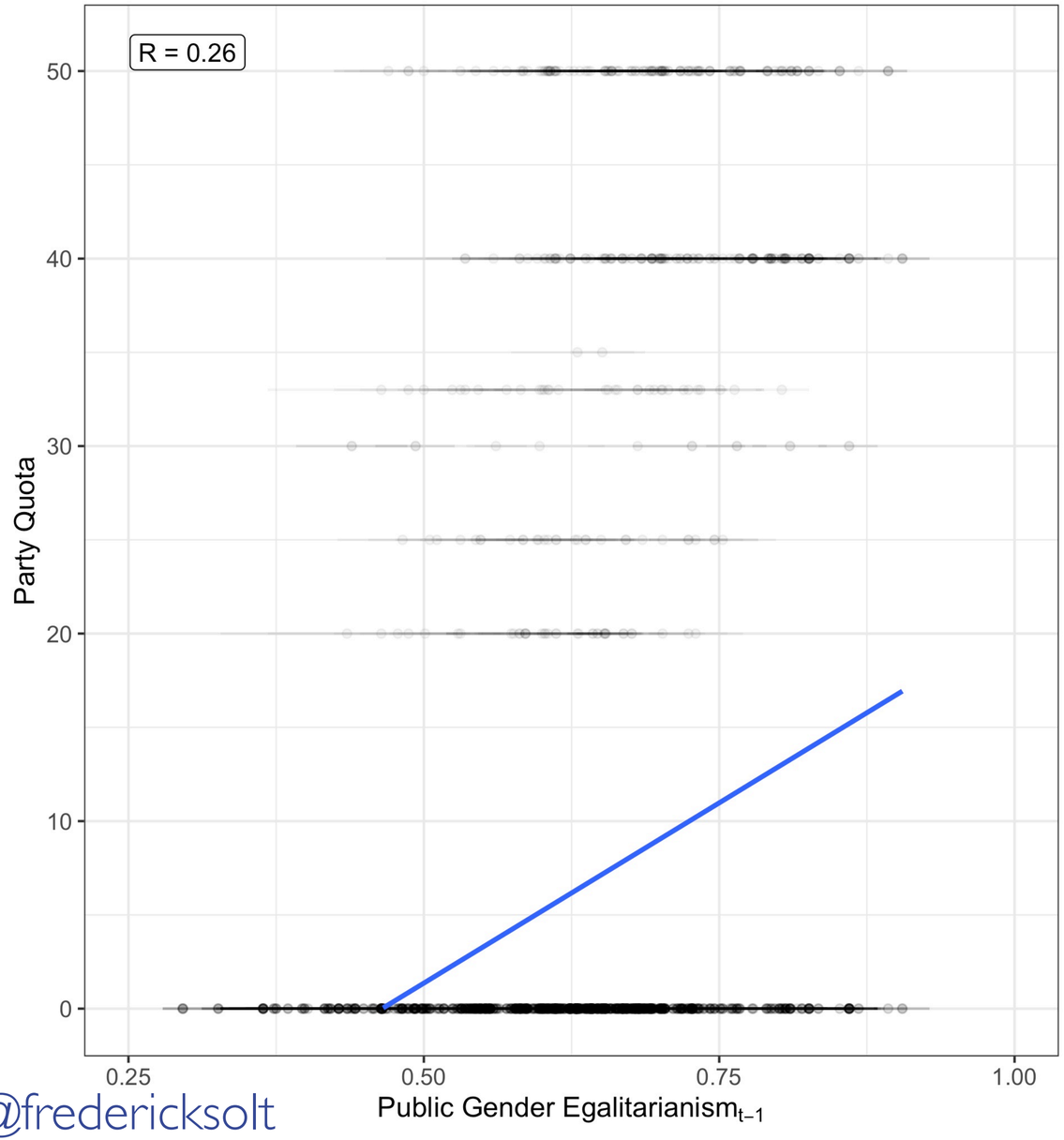

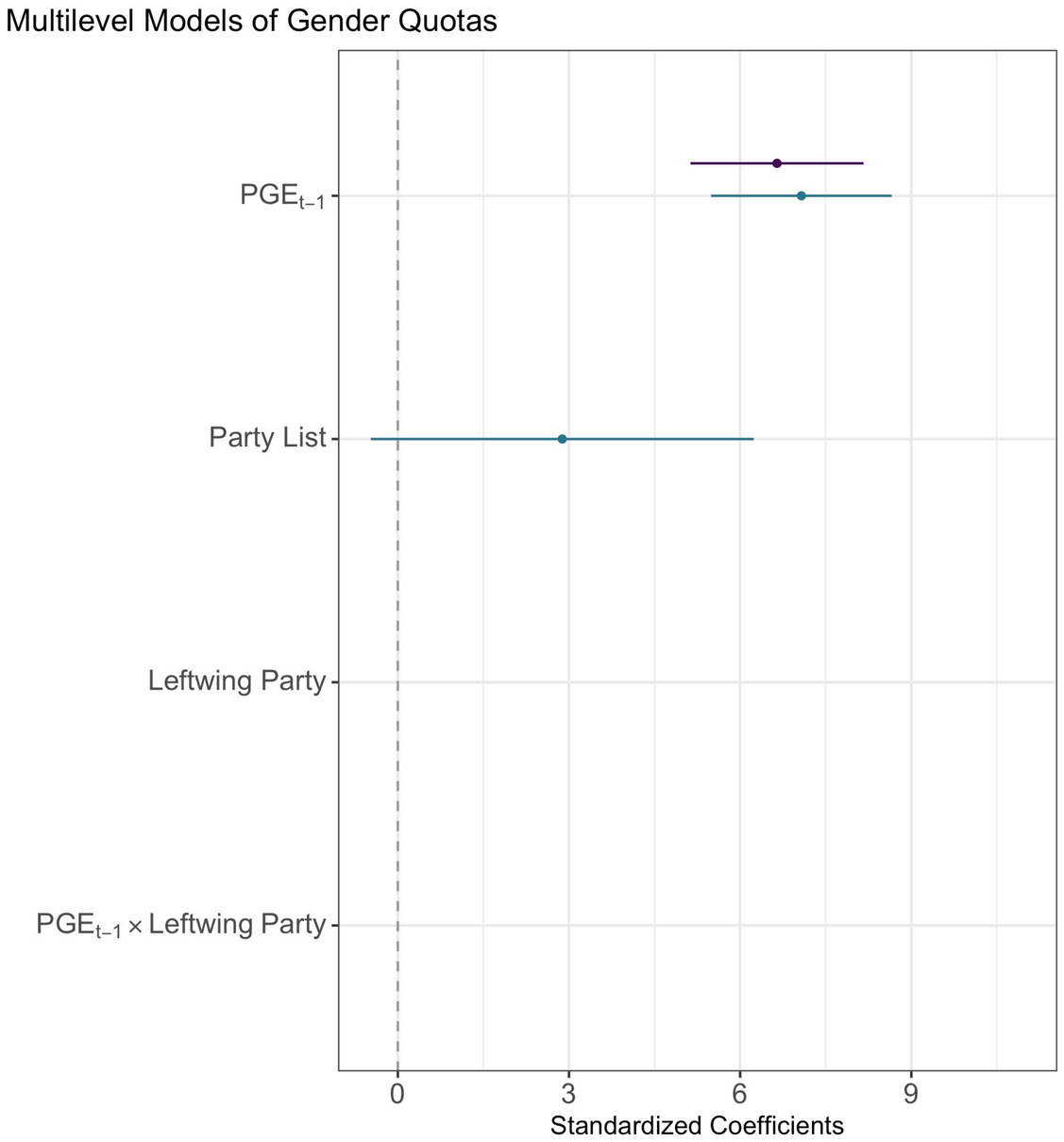

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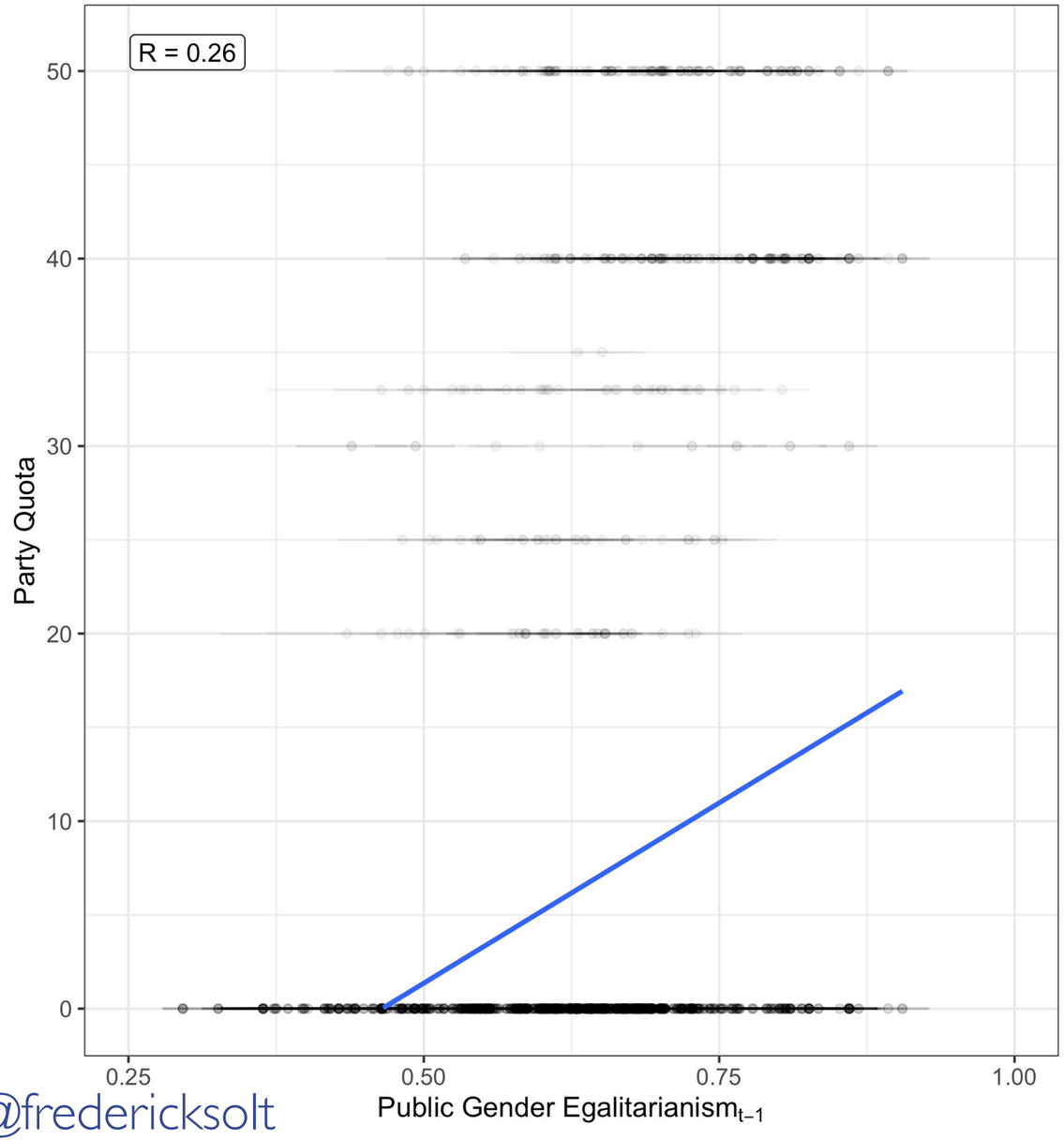

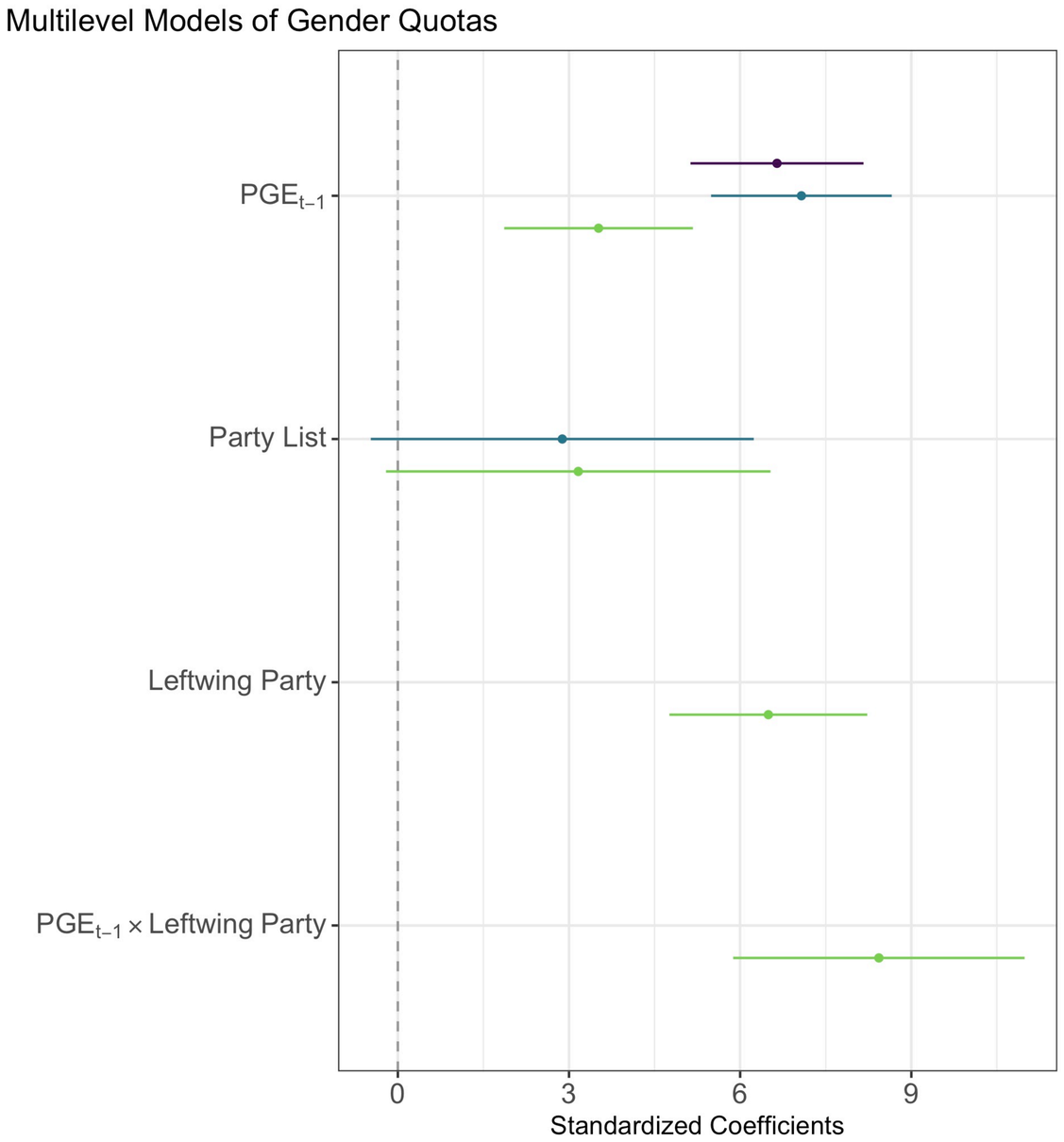

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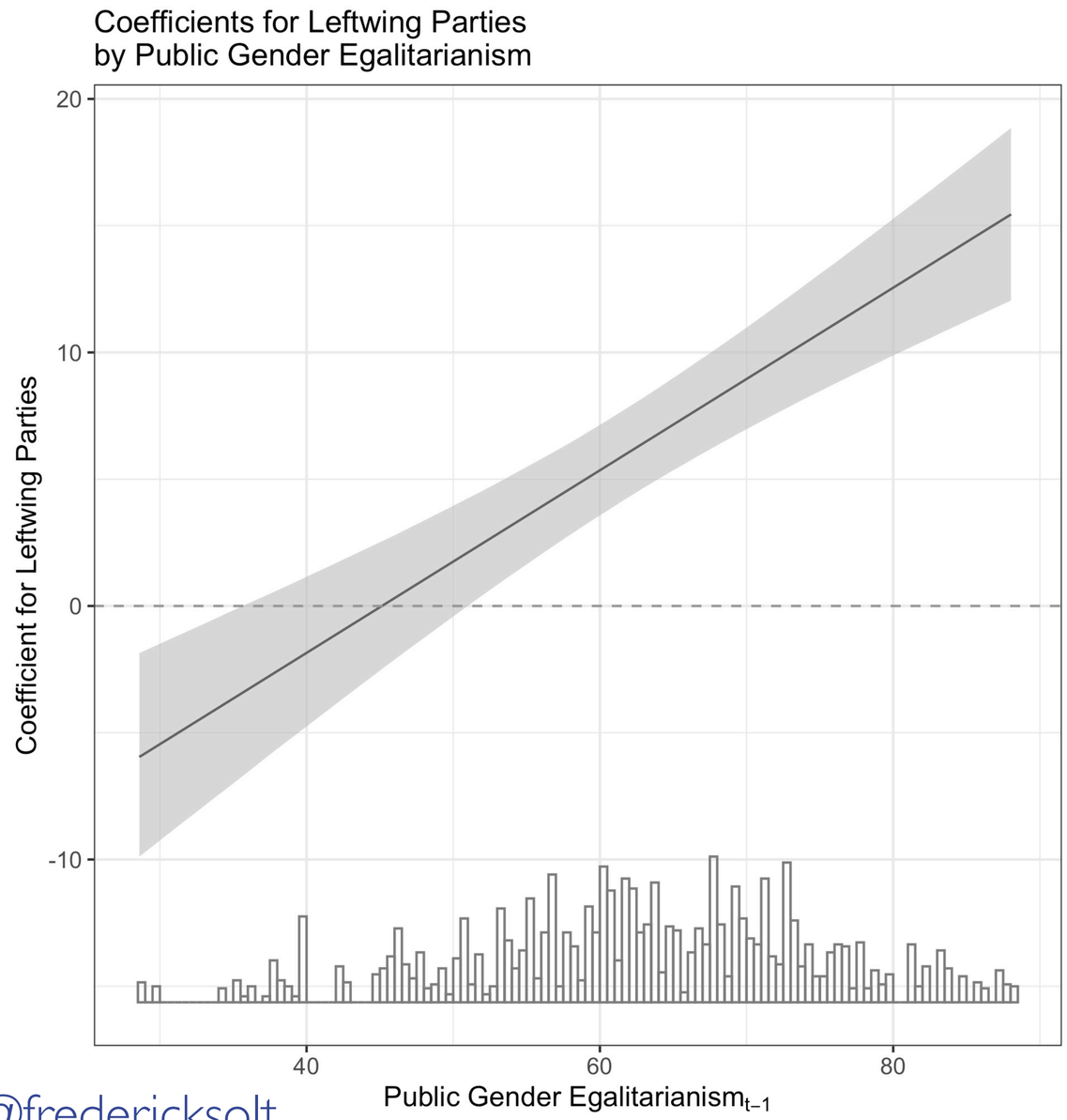

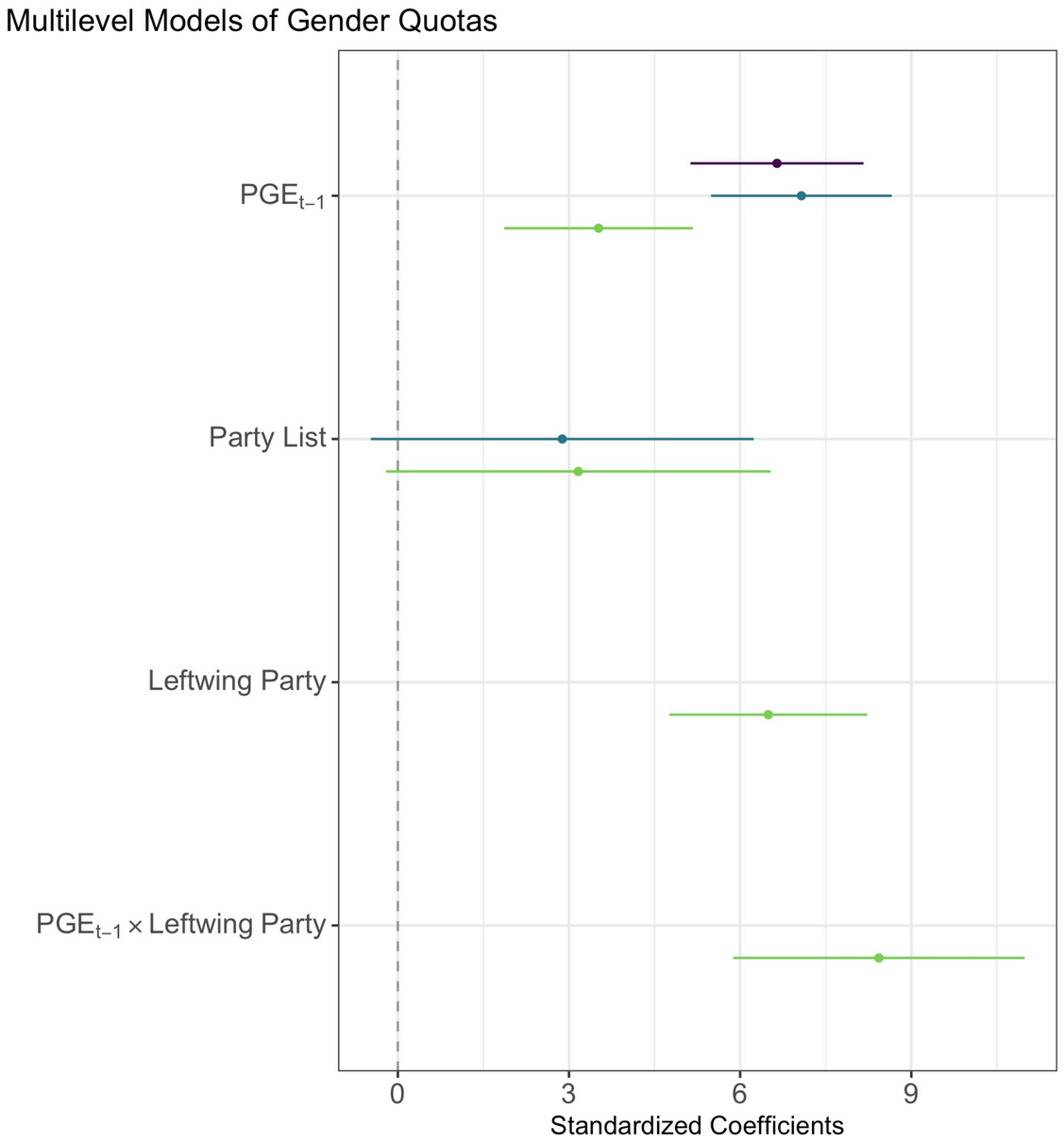

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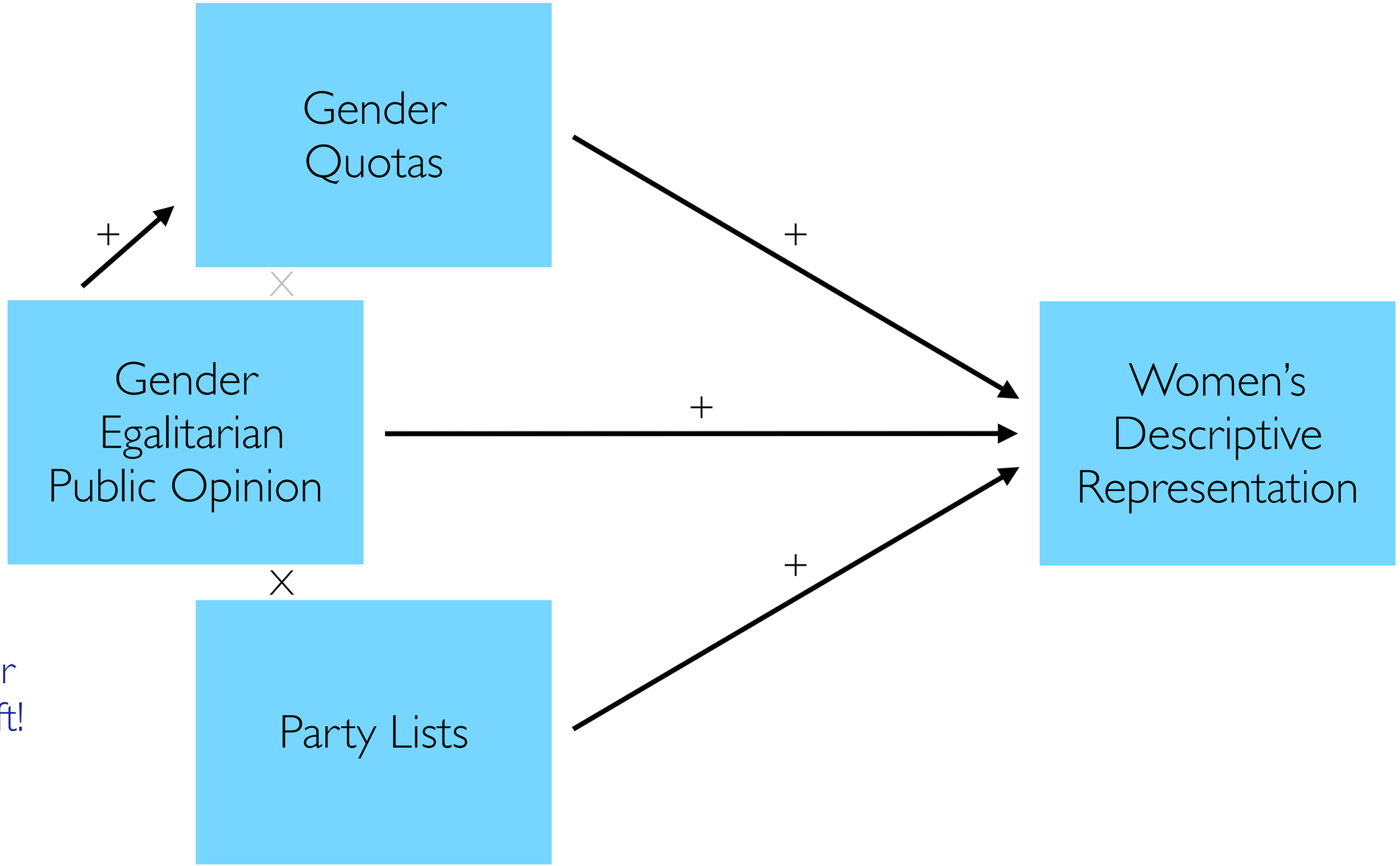
WHEN DO WOMEN WIN OFFICE?

Findings

- Top Down
- Bottom Up
- Interactive
  - -Positive
  - -Negative
- Indirect

and especially for parties on the left!



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DCPO: MODELING INCOMPARABILITY

$$\eta_{ktqr} = \text{logit}^{-1}\left(\frac{\bar{\theta}'_{kt} - (\beta_{qr} + \delta_{kq})}{\sqrt{\alpha_q^2 + (1.7 * \sigma_{kt})^2}}\right)$$

DCPO: MODELING INCOMPARABILITY

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η_{ktqr} the expected probability that a random person in country *k* at time *t* answers question *q* with a response at least as positive as *r*

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easily modeled from the data!

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$\bar{\theta}'_{kt}$ the mean of the unbounded latent trait in country *k* at time *t*

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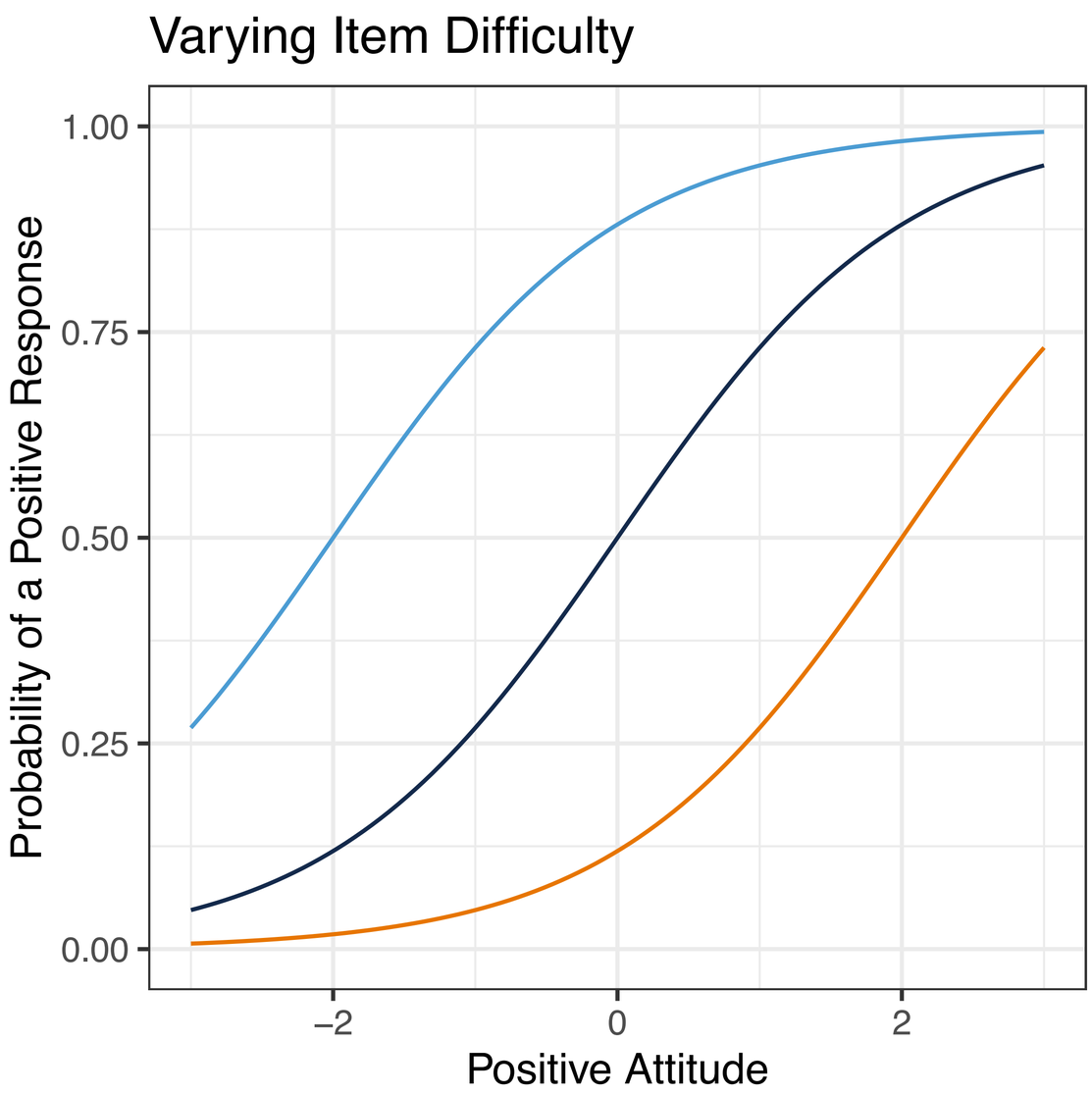
$\bar{\theta}'_{kt}$ the mean of the unbounded latent trait in country *k* at time *t*

β_{qr} the *difficulty* of response *r* to question *q*

ITEM-RESPONSE THEORY



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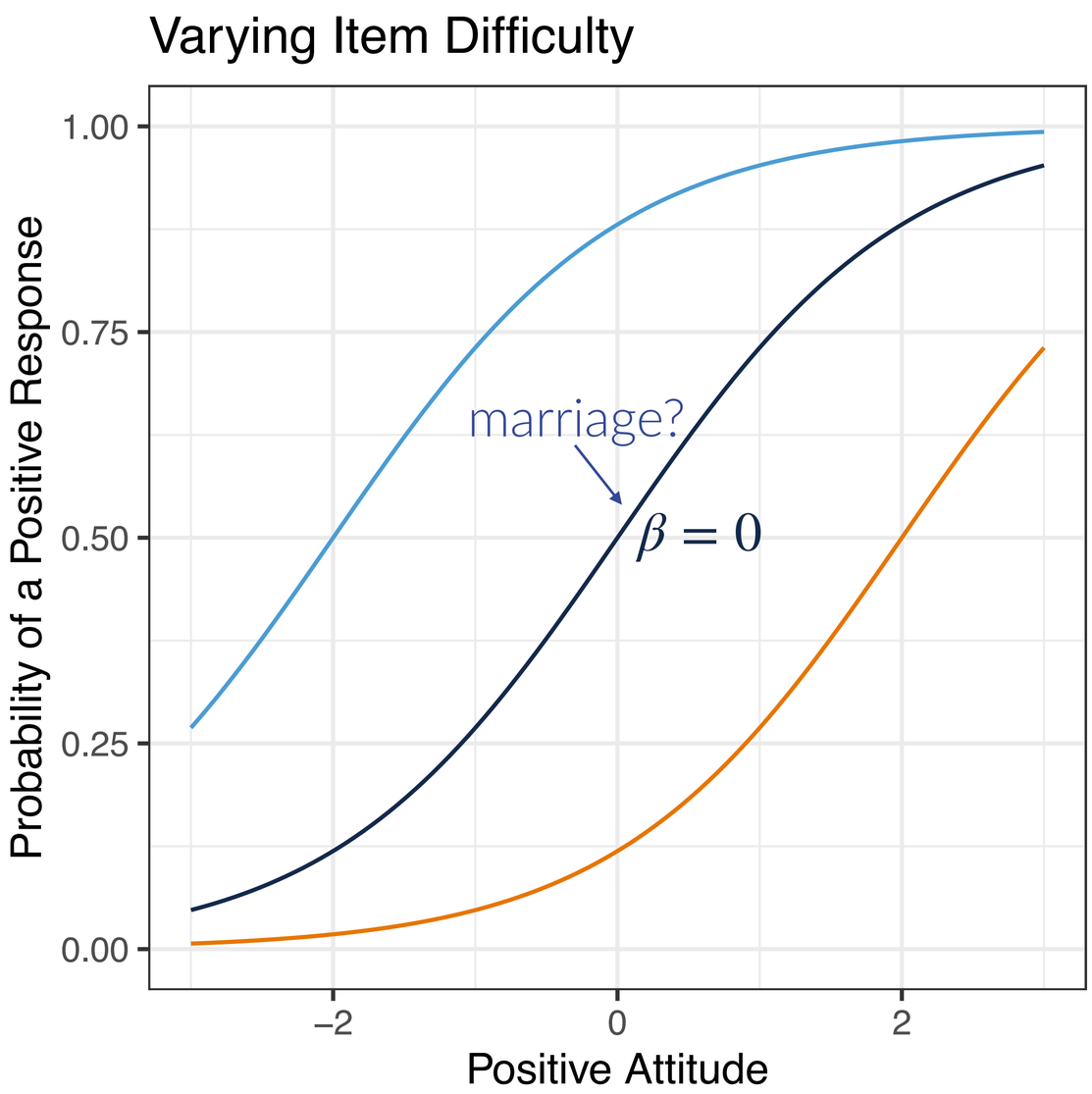

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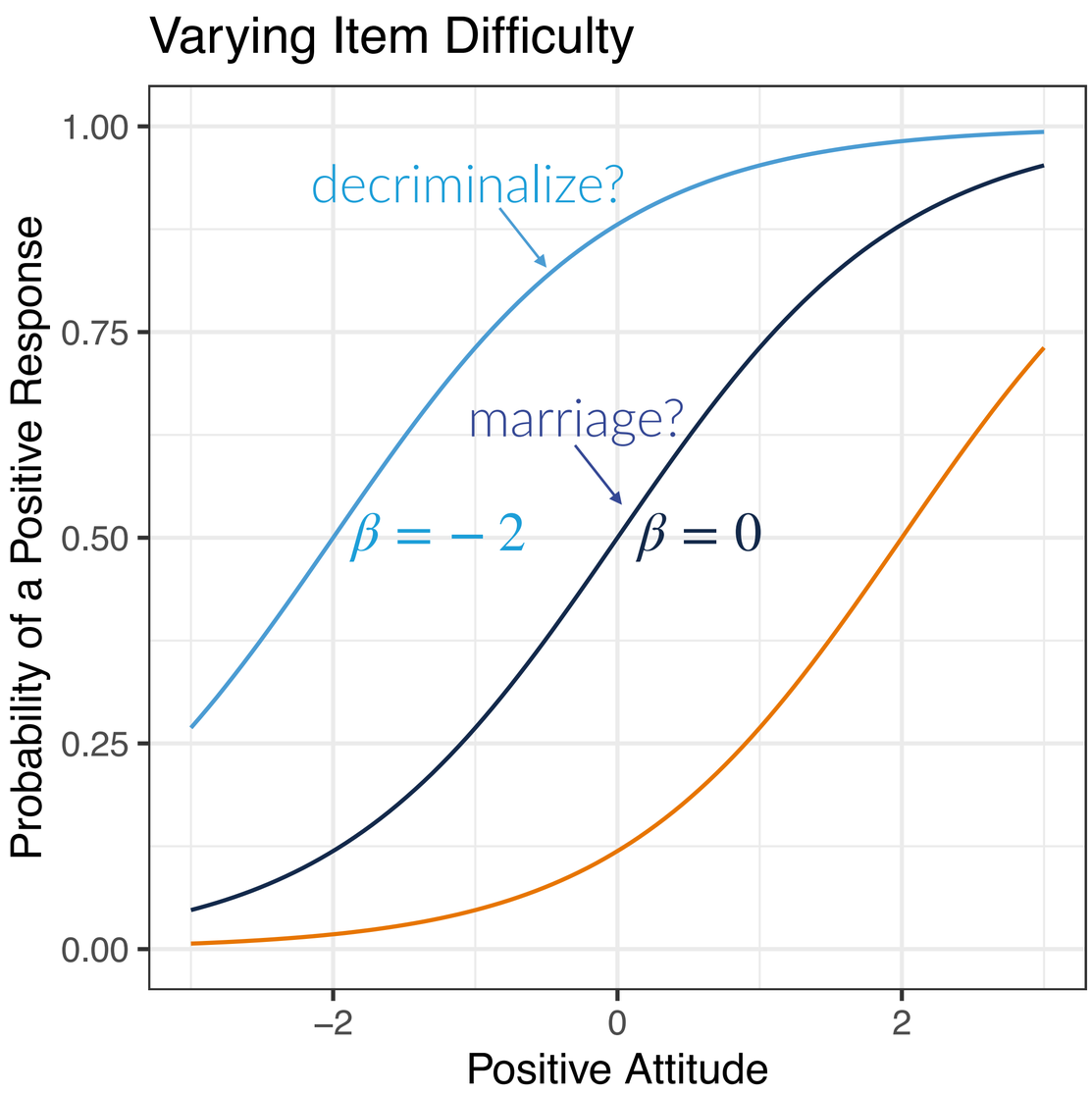

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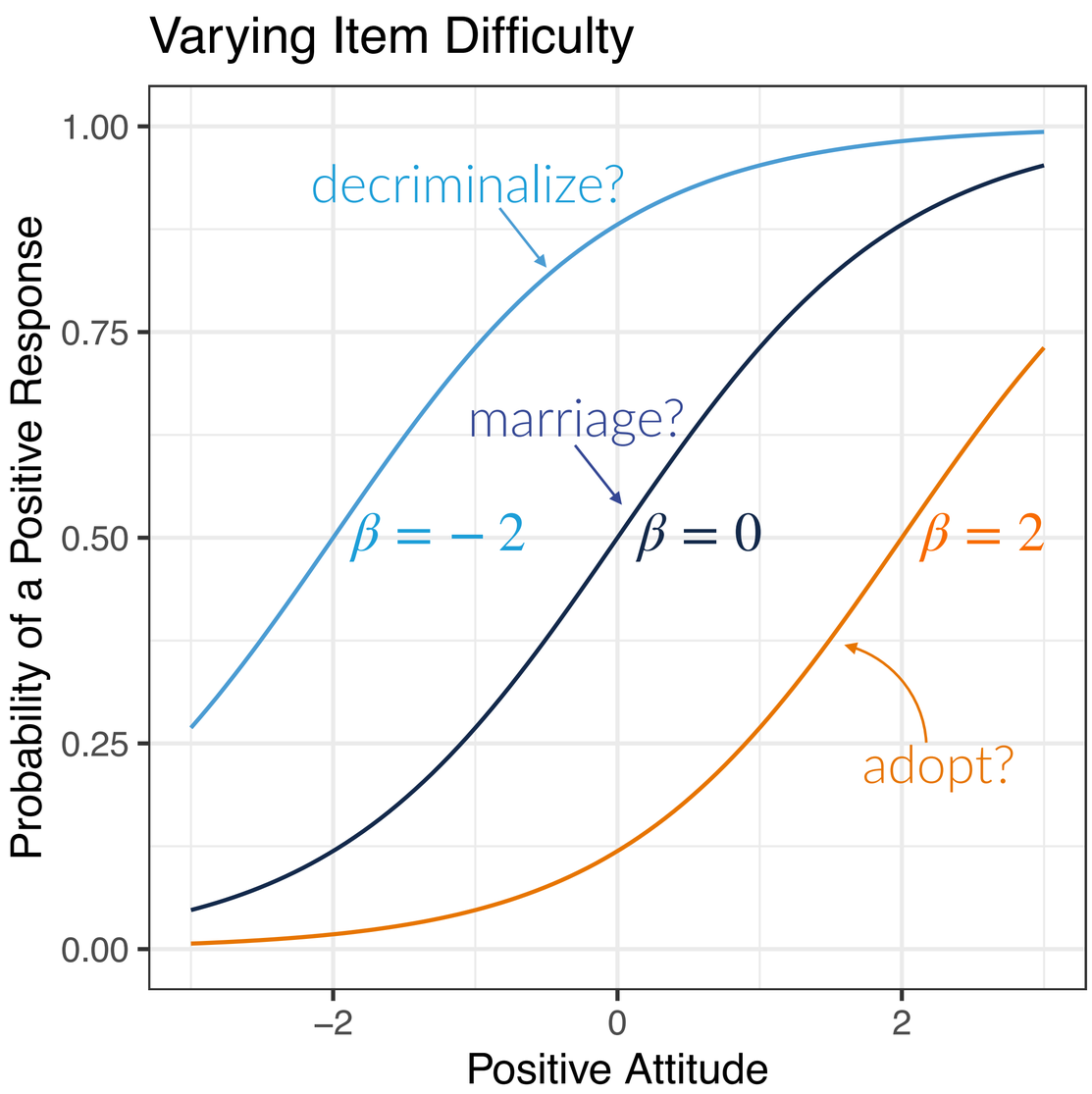

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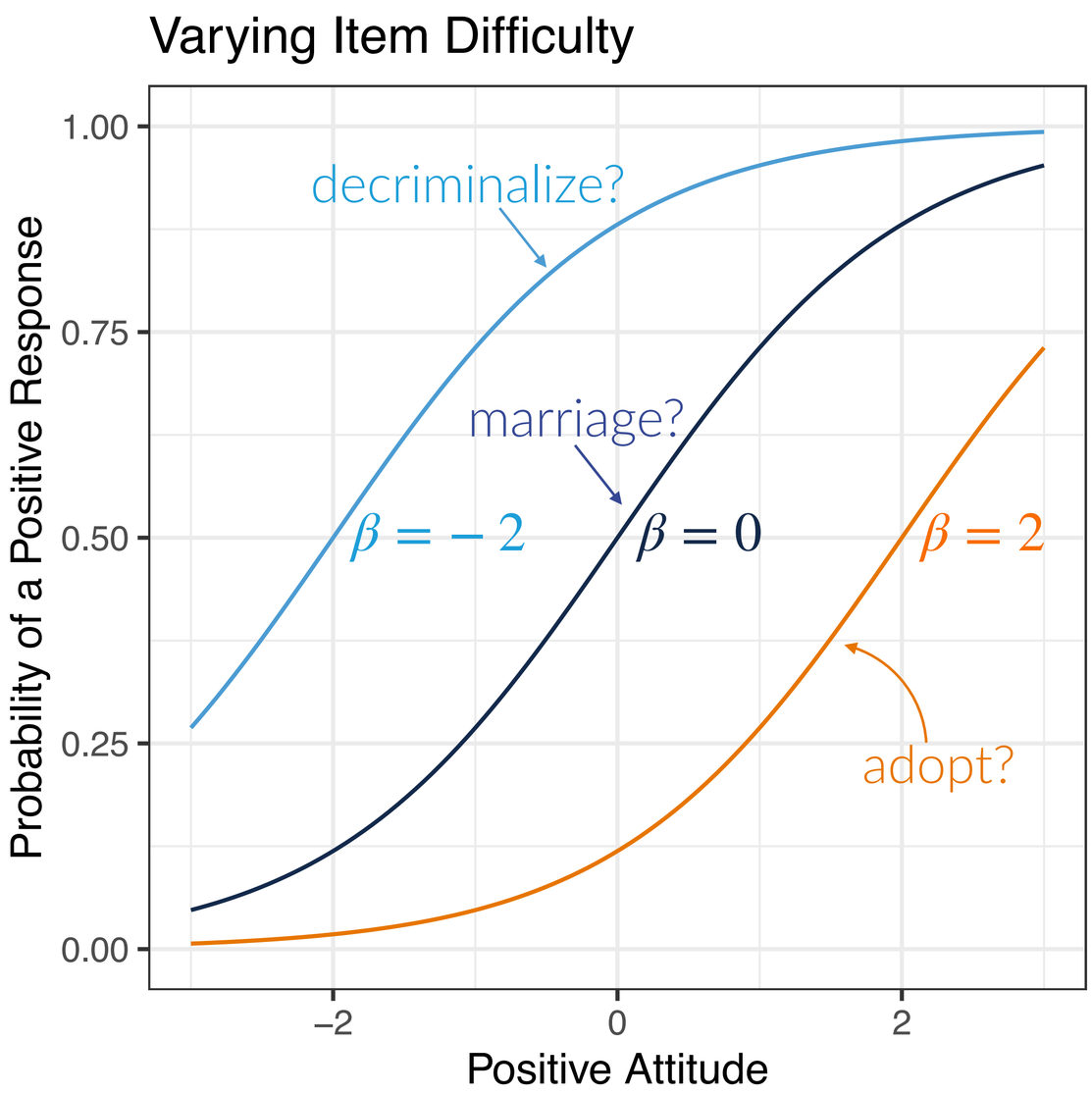

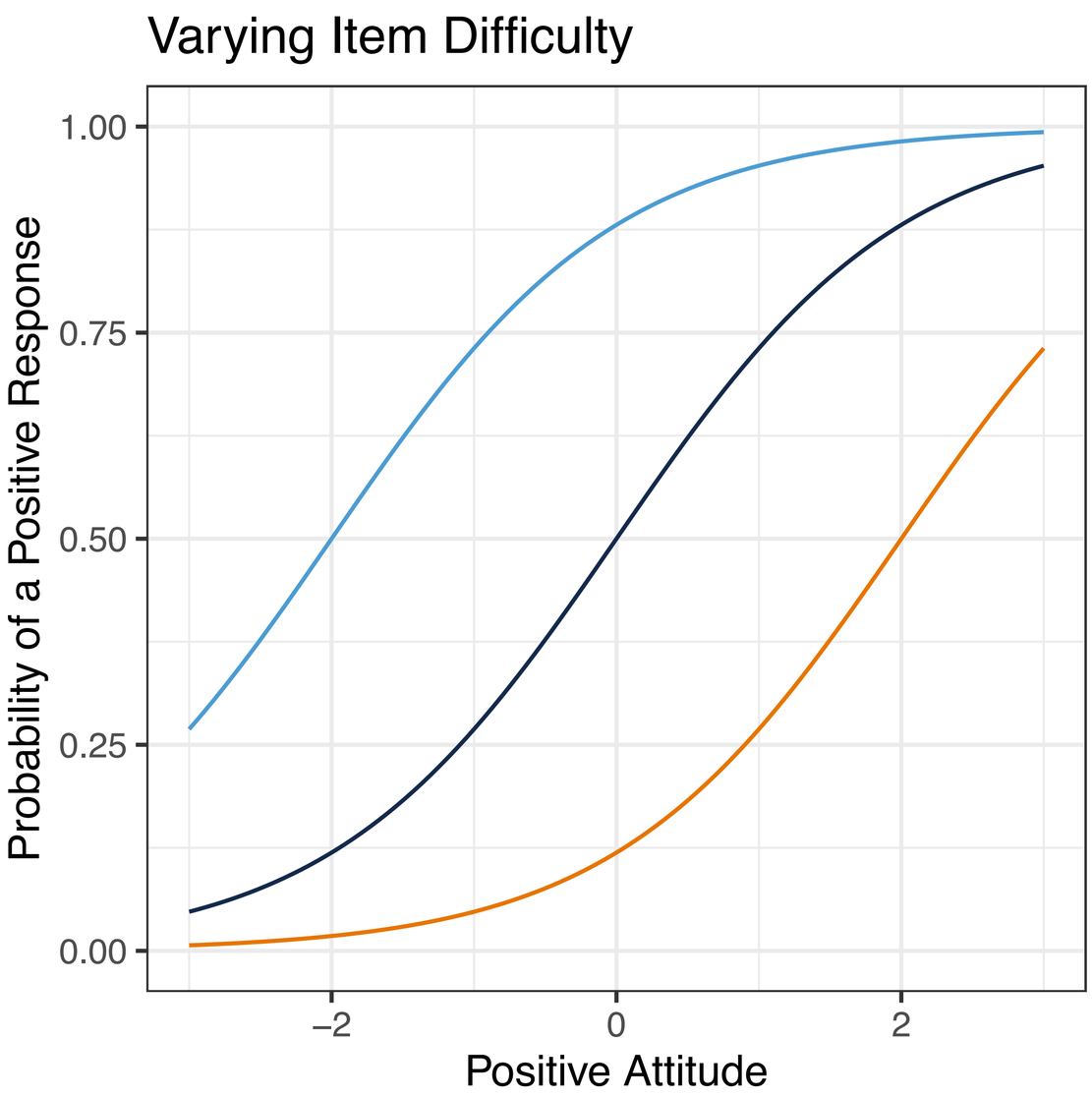

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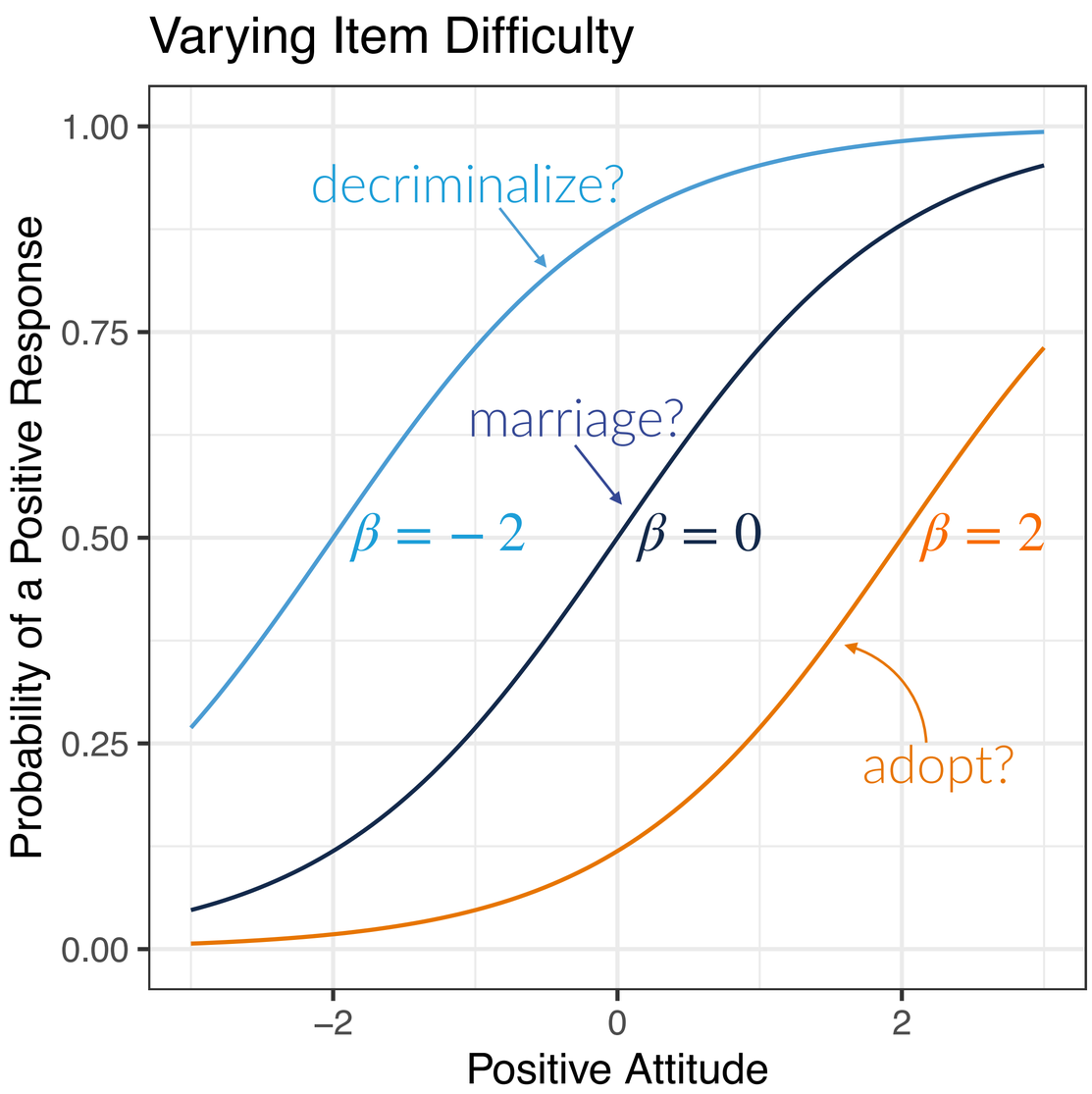

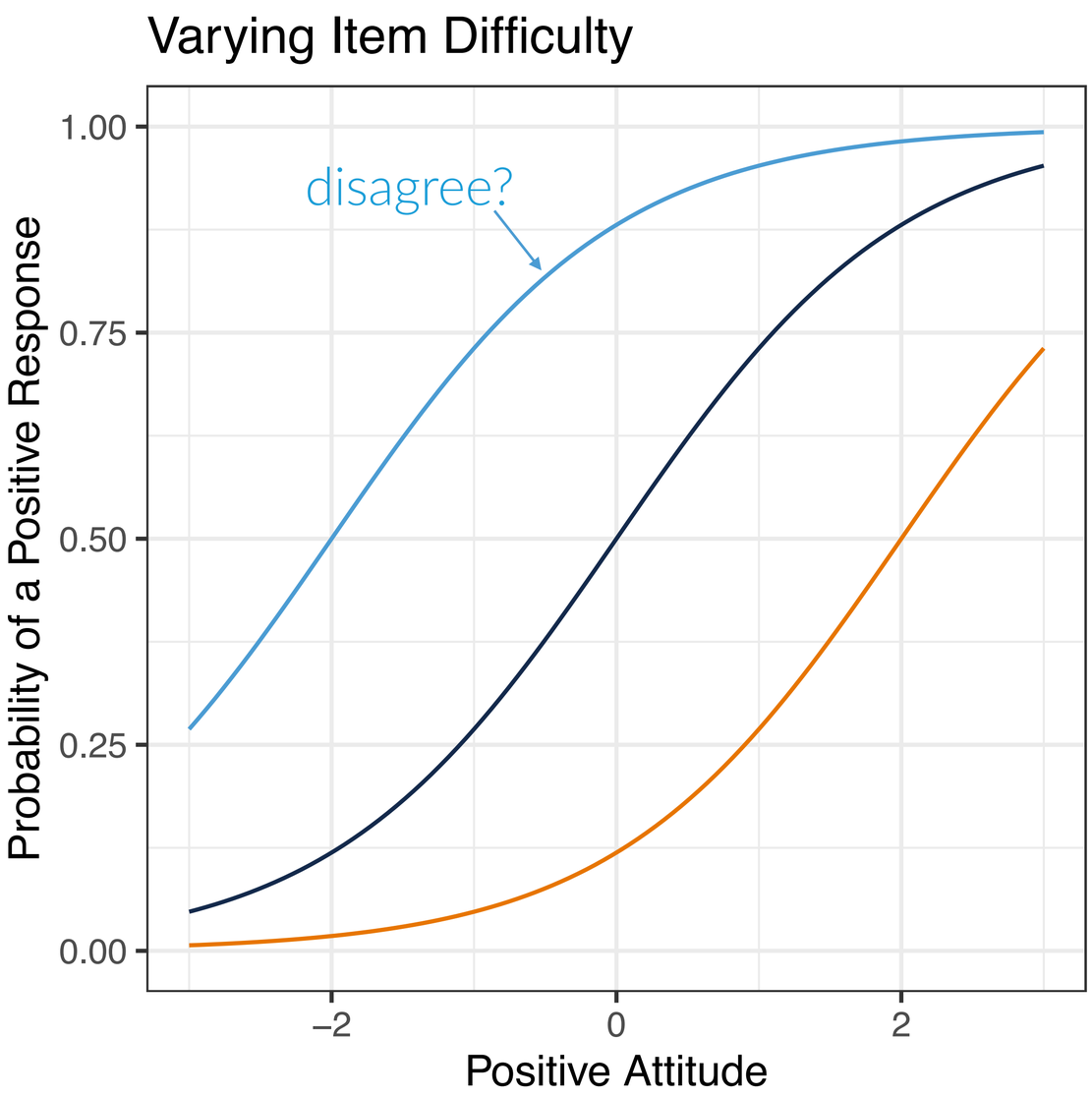

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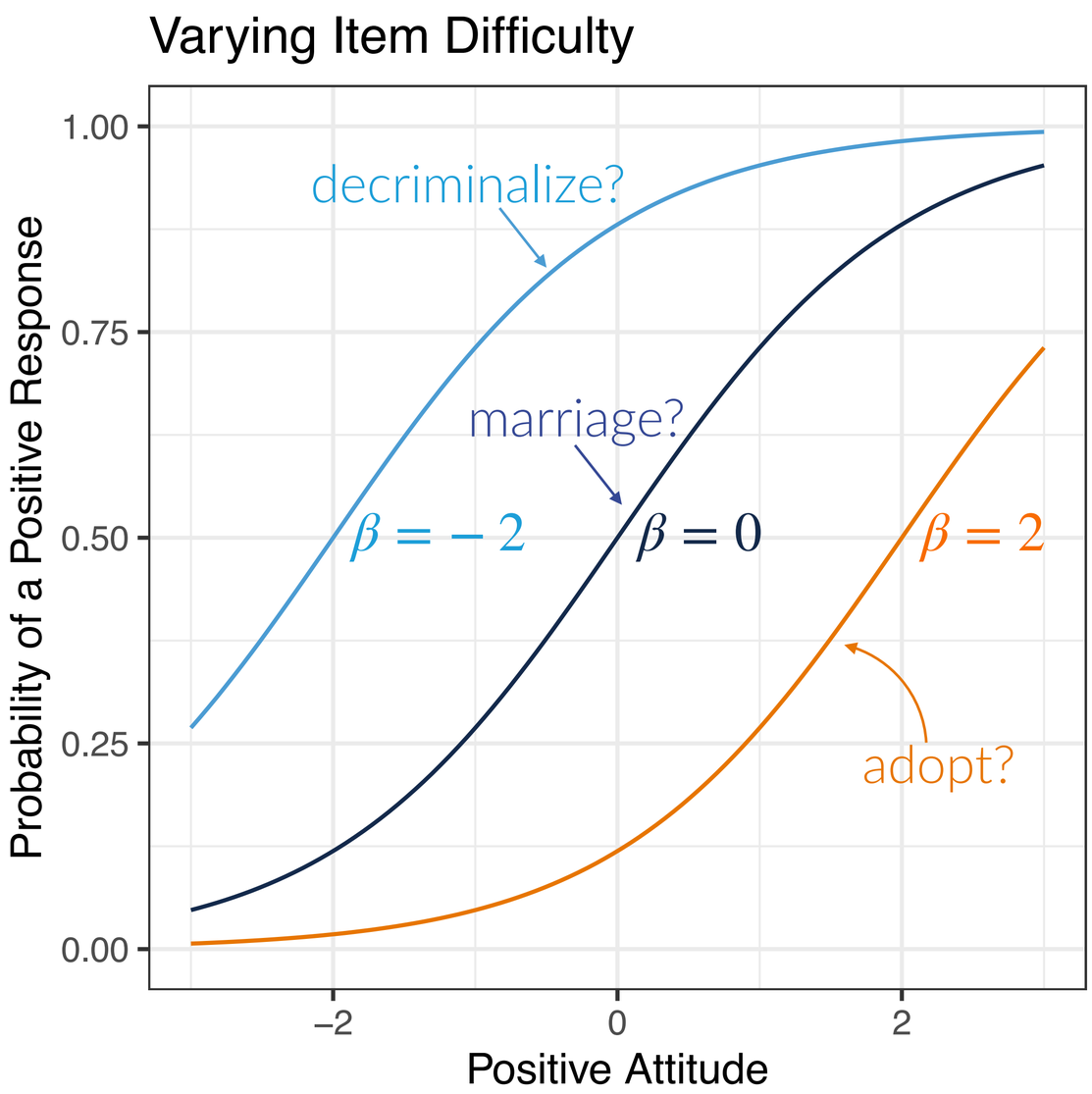

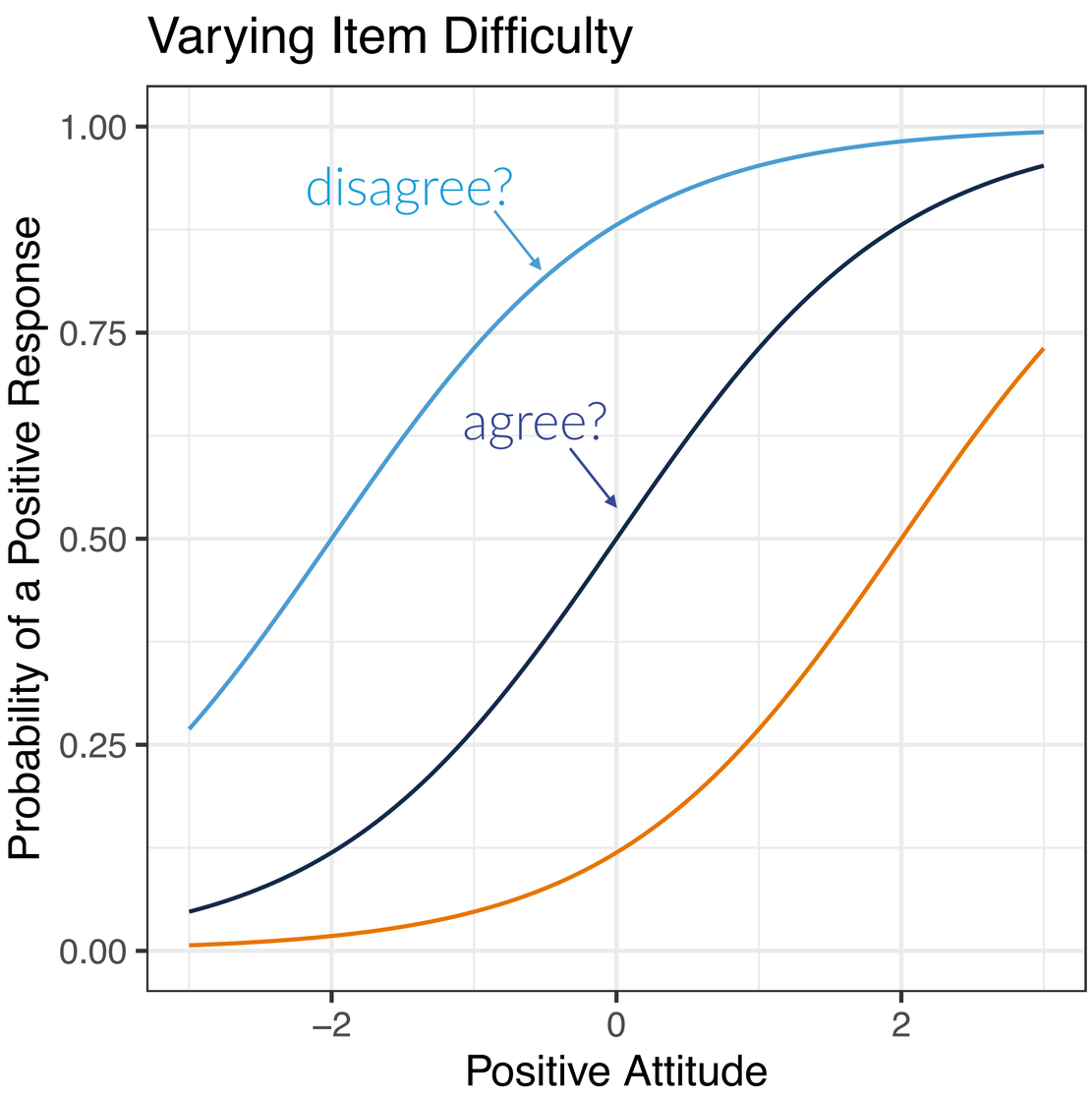

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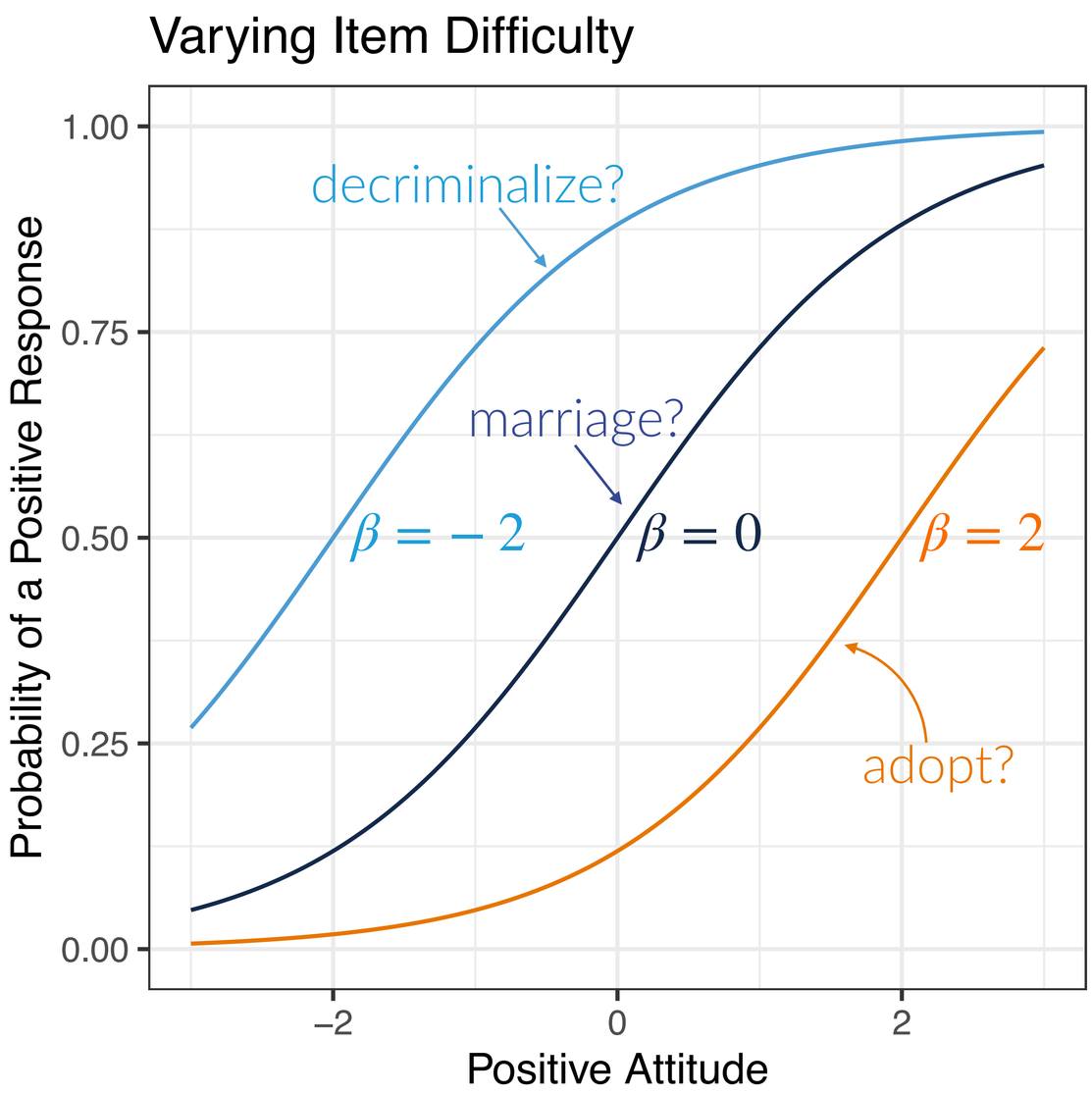

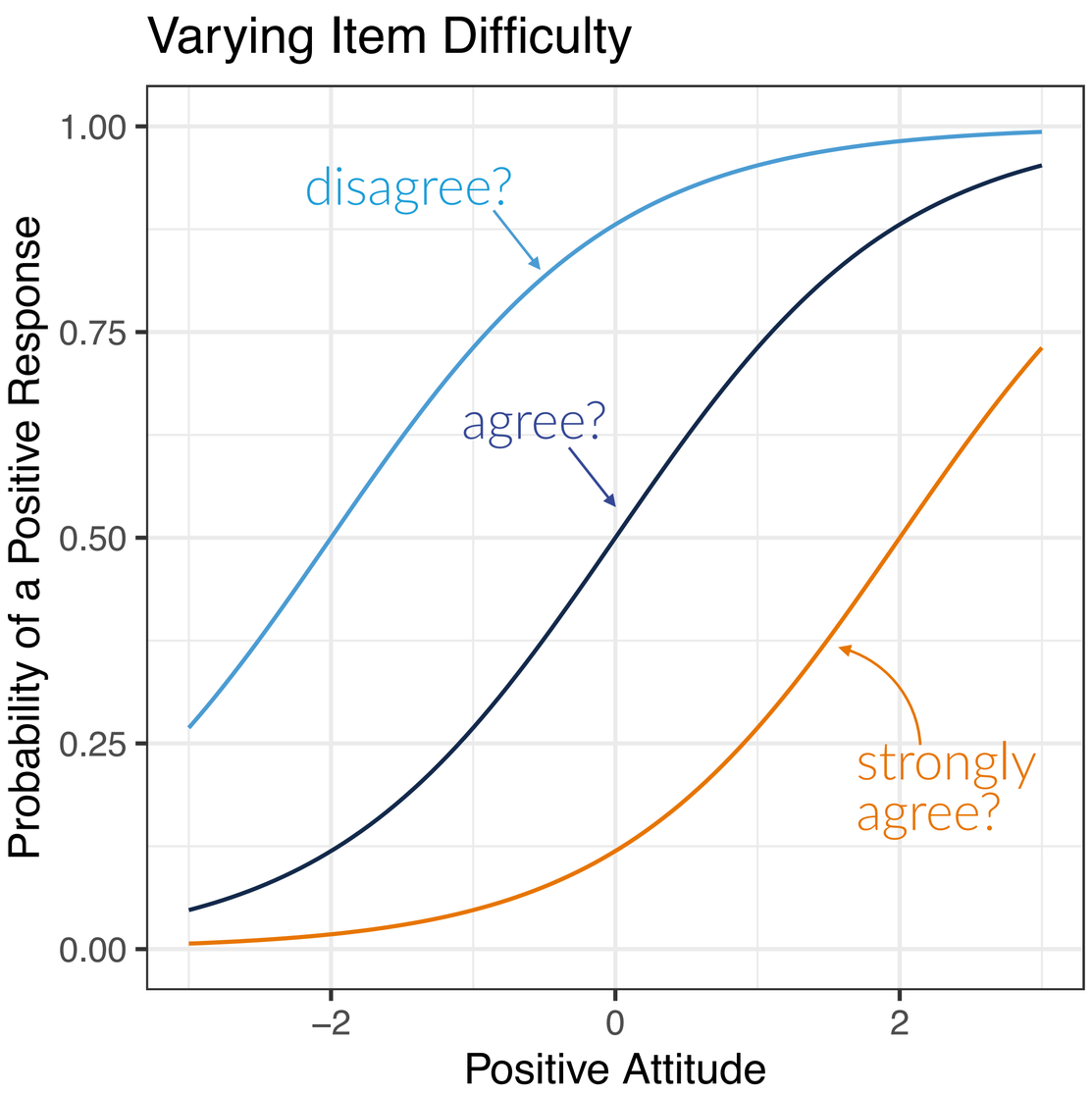

DCPO: MODELING INCOMPARABILITY

$$\eta_{ktqr} = \text{logit}^{-1}\left(\frac{\bar{\theta}'_{kt} - (\beta_{qr} + \delta_{kq})}{\sqrt{\alpha_q^2 + (1.7 * \sigma_{kt})^2}}\right)$$

easily modeled from the data!

the quantity of interest!

η_{ktqr} the expected probability that a random person in country *k* at time *t* answers question *q* with a response at least as positive as *r*

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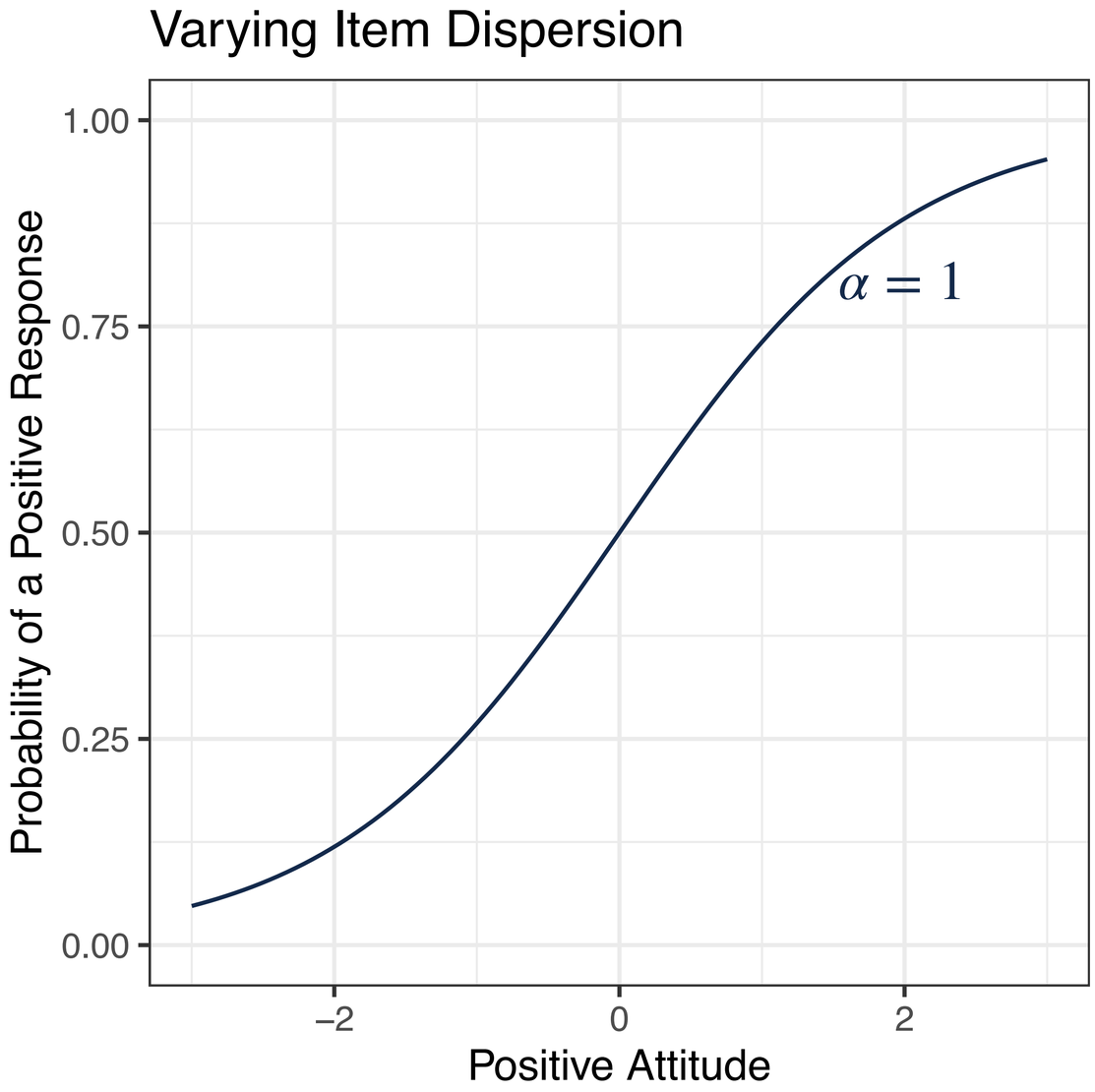

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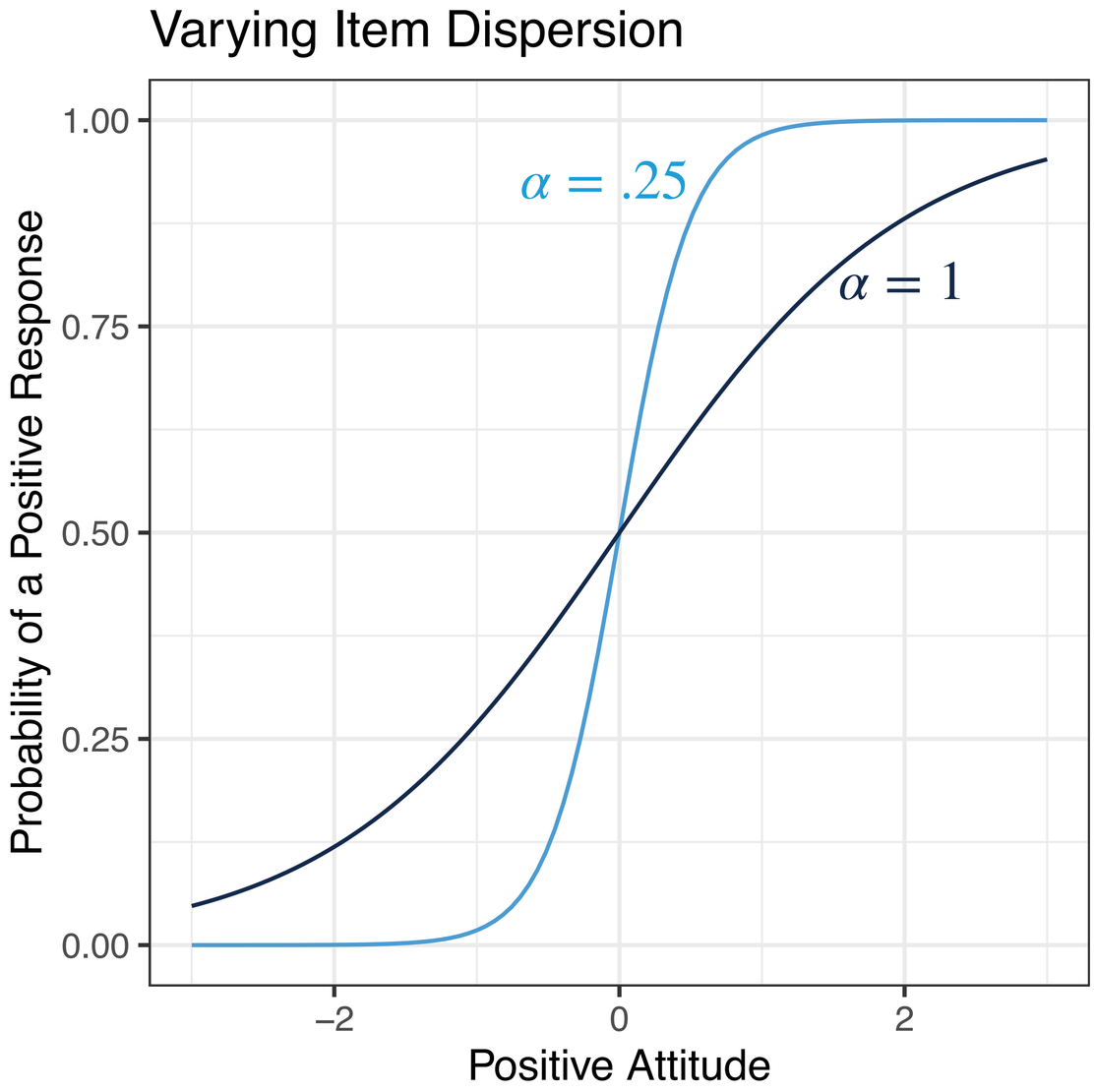

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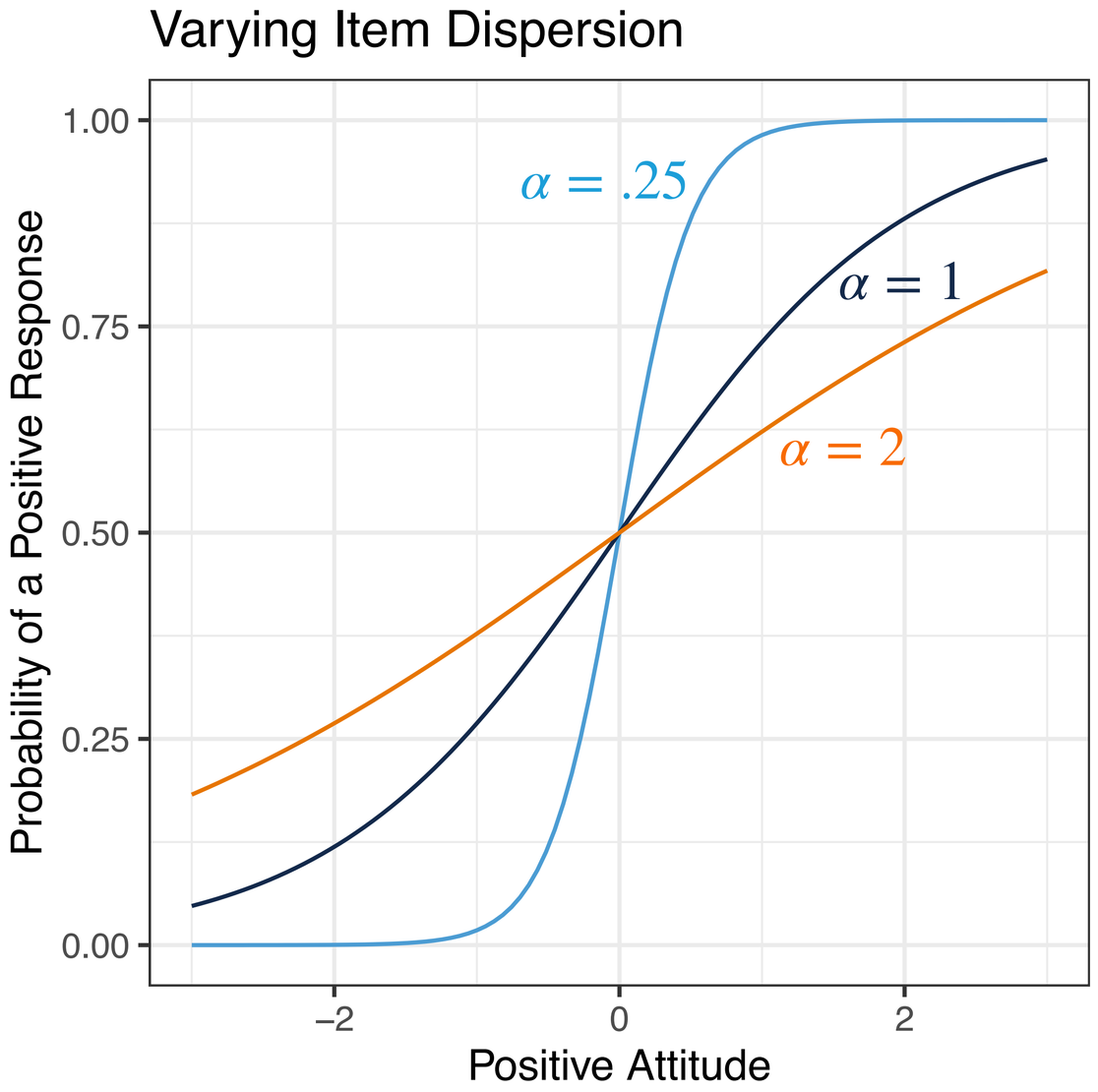

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δ_{kq} item bias of question *q* in country *k*

α_q the *dispersion* of question *q*

σ_{kt} the standard deviation of the latent trait in country *k* at time *t*

GENDER EGALITARIANISM & GENDER EQUALITY

How Public Opinion Shapes Politics & Policy in Global Perspective

1. Introduction
2. How Gender Egalitarian Public Opinion Shapes Politics and Policy
3. Public Gender Egalitarianism Around the World
4. Public Gender Egalitarianism and Descriptive Representation
5. From Egalitarianism to Equality: Understanding Policy Adoption
6. Gender Egalitarianism and Equality across Mexico
7. Gender Egalitarianism and Equality in the Korean National Assembly
8. Conclusions