

Hitting Glass Ceilings: The Representation of Women in Elected Office

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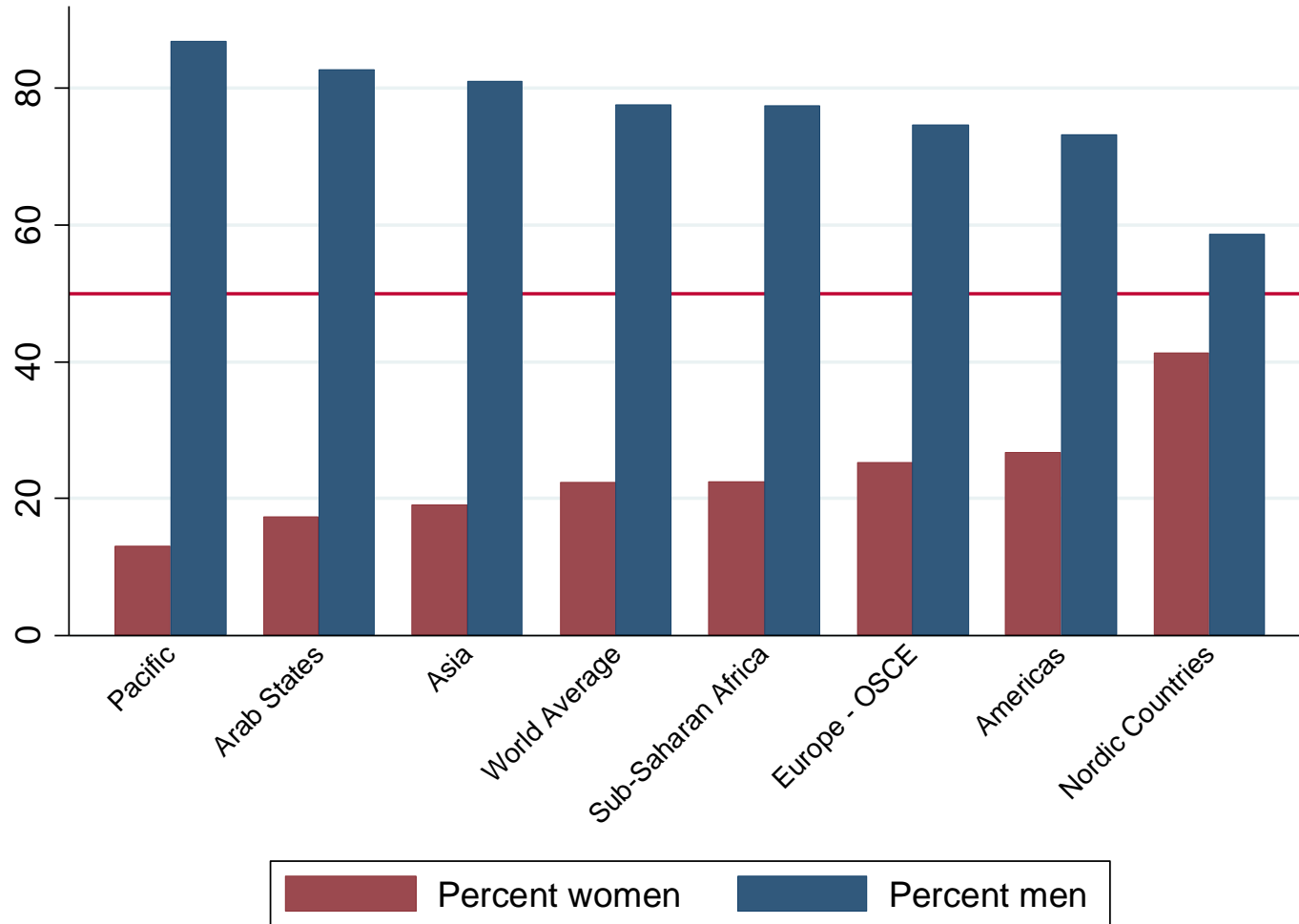
Inaugural Lecture

9 June 2015

If the world was a village of 100 people...



Yet, parliaments of the world in 2015...



Source: *Inter parliamentary Union*, gender distribution in Lower Houses of parliaments

Puzzle

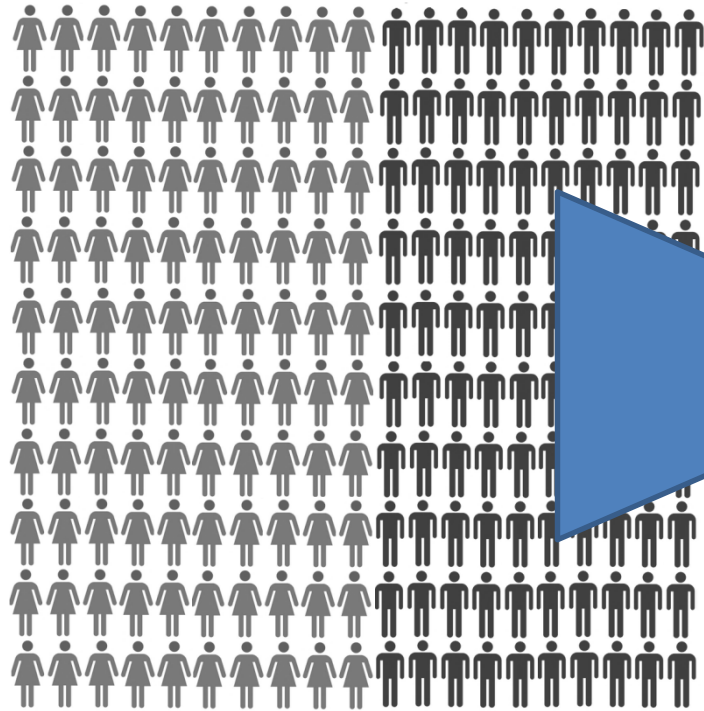


Photo: Library of Parliament / Roy Grogan

The House of Commons, Canada

Breaking down the arrow

Candidate selection in context

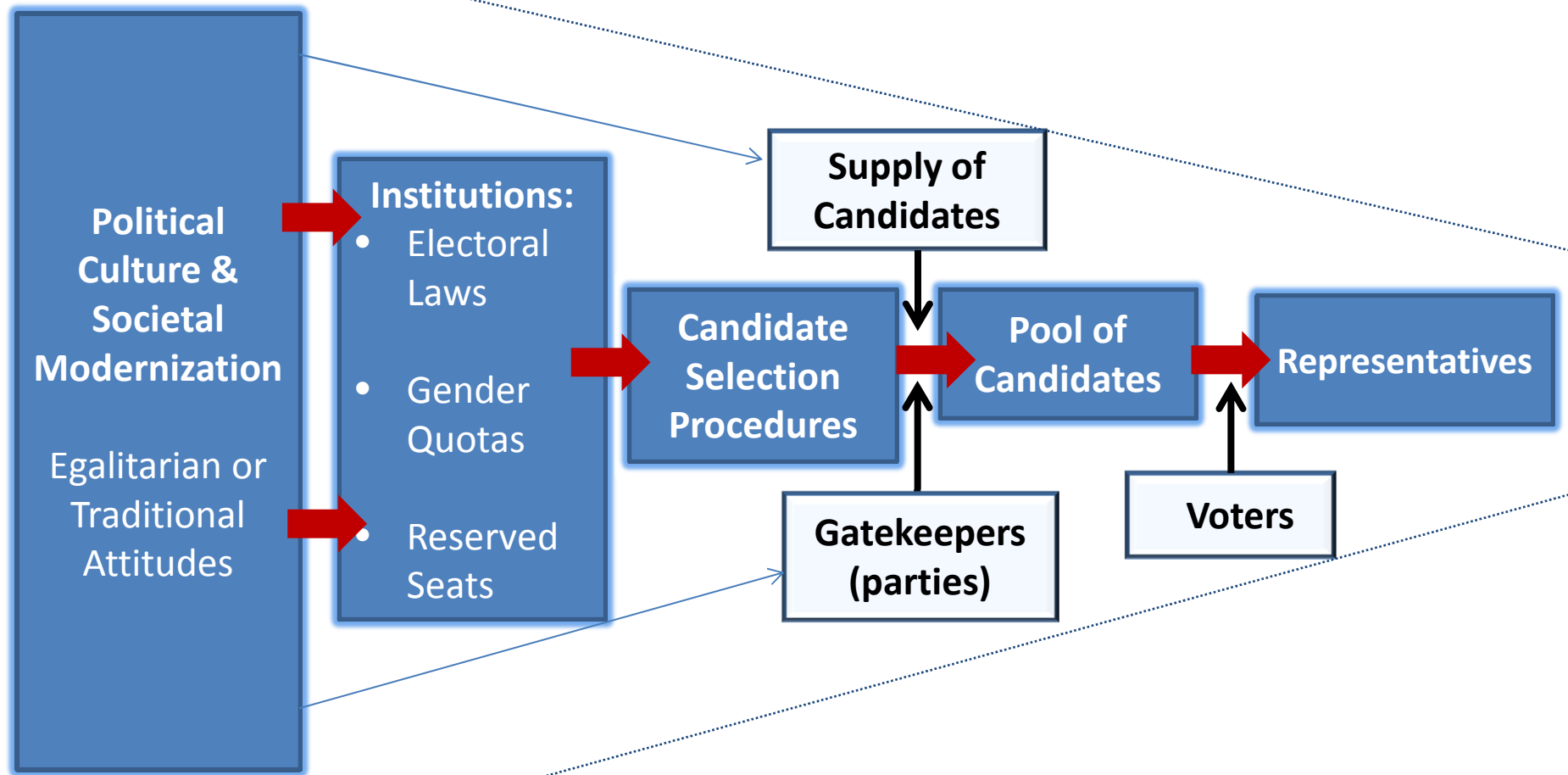


Figure: adapted from Norris 2004, p. 183

Breaking down the arrow

Candidate selection in context

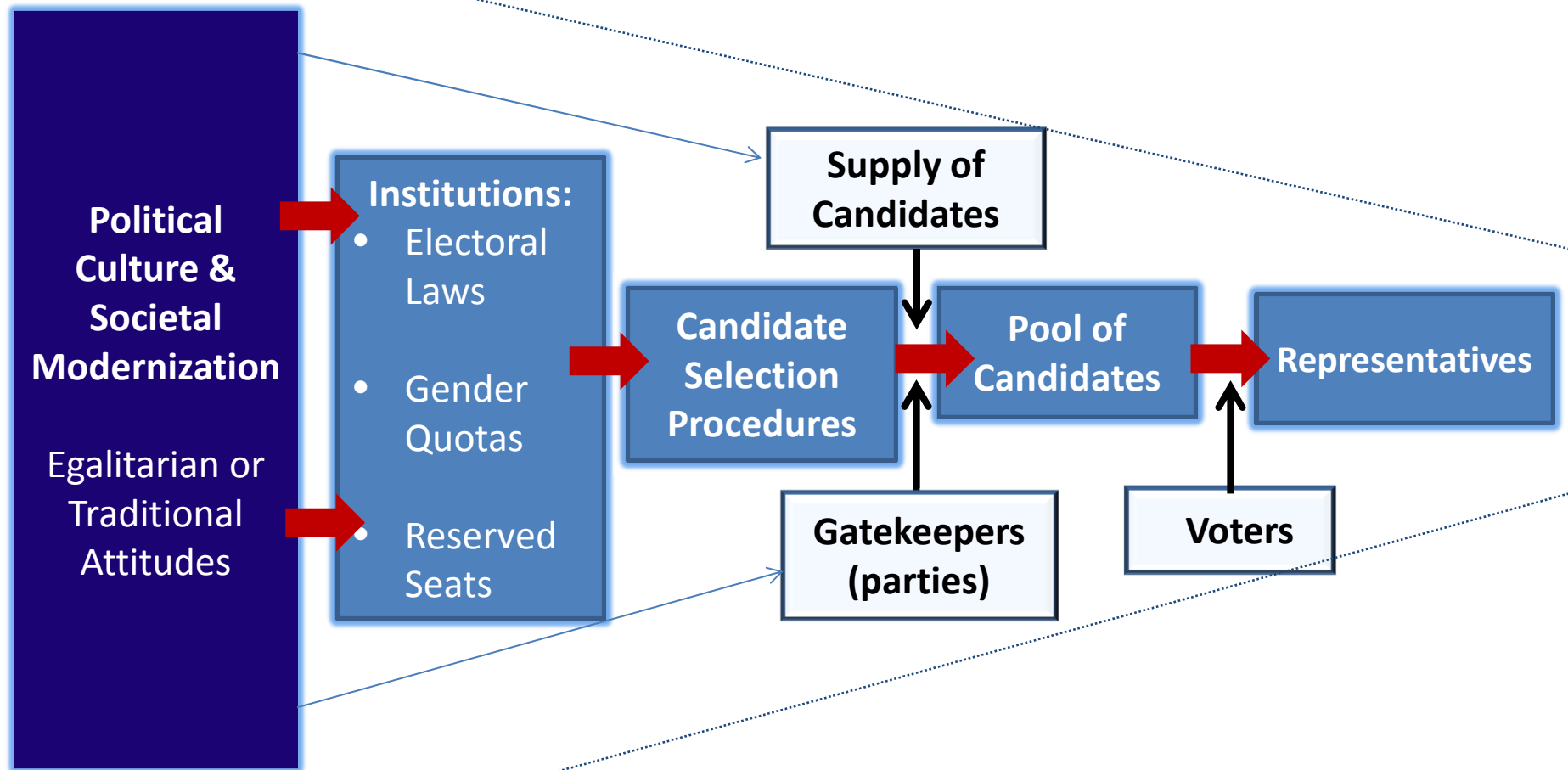


Figure: adapted from Norris 2004, p. 183

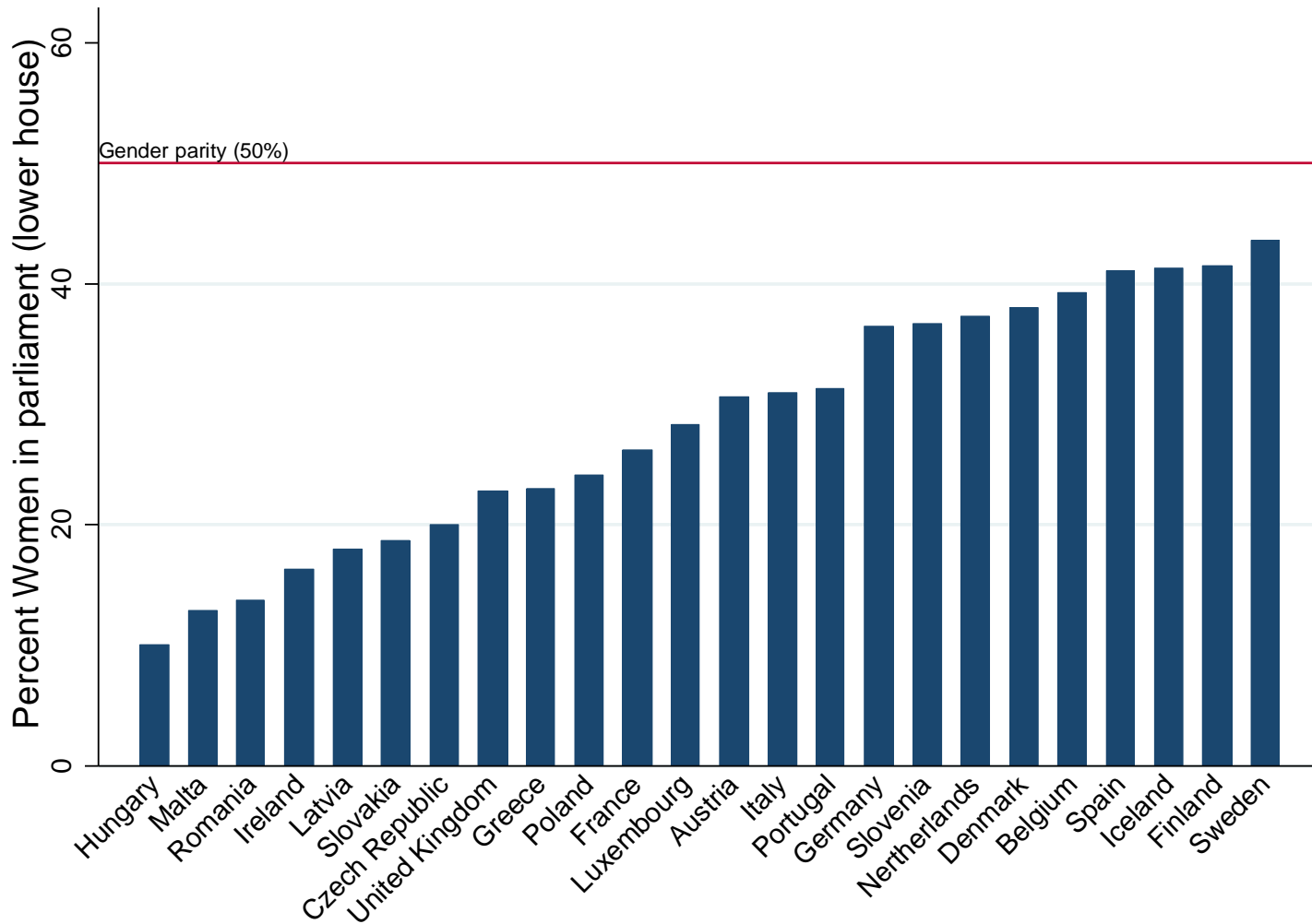
Causes I:

Structural Barriers

- Women's standing in society: traditional gender stereotypes lead to discrimination and structural disadvantage of women.
- Education, labor force participation.

Parliaments of Europe in 2015:

Large differences in the representation of women



Source: *Inter parliamentary Union*, gender distribution in Lower Houses of parliaments

Breaking down the arrow

Candidate selection in context

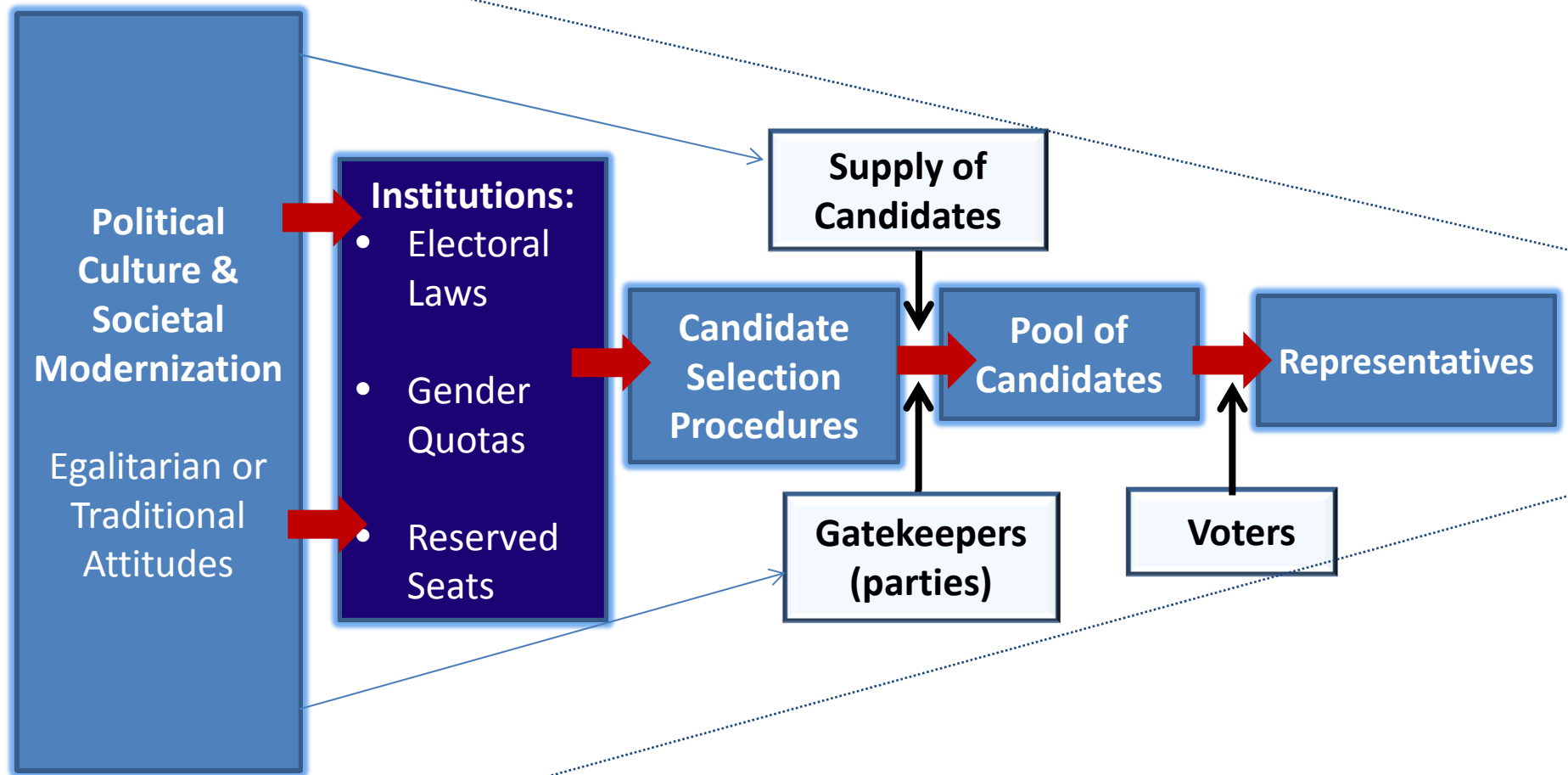


Figure: adapted from Norris 2004, p. 183

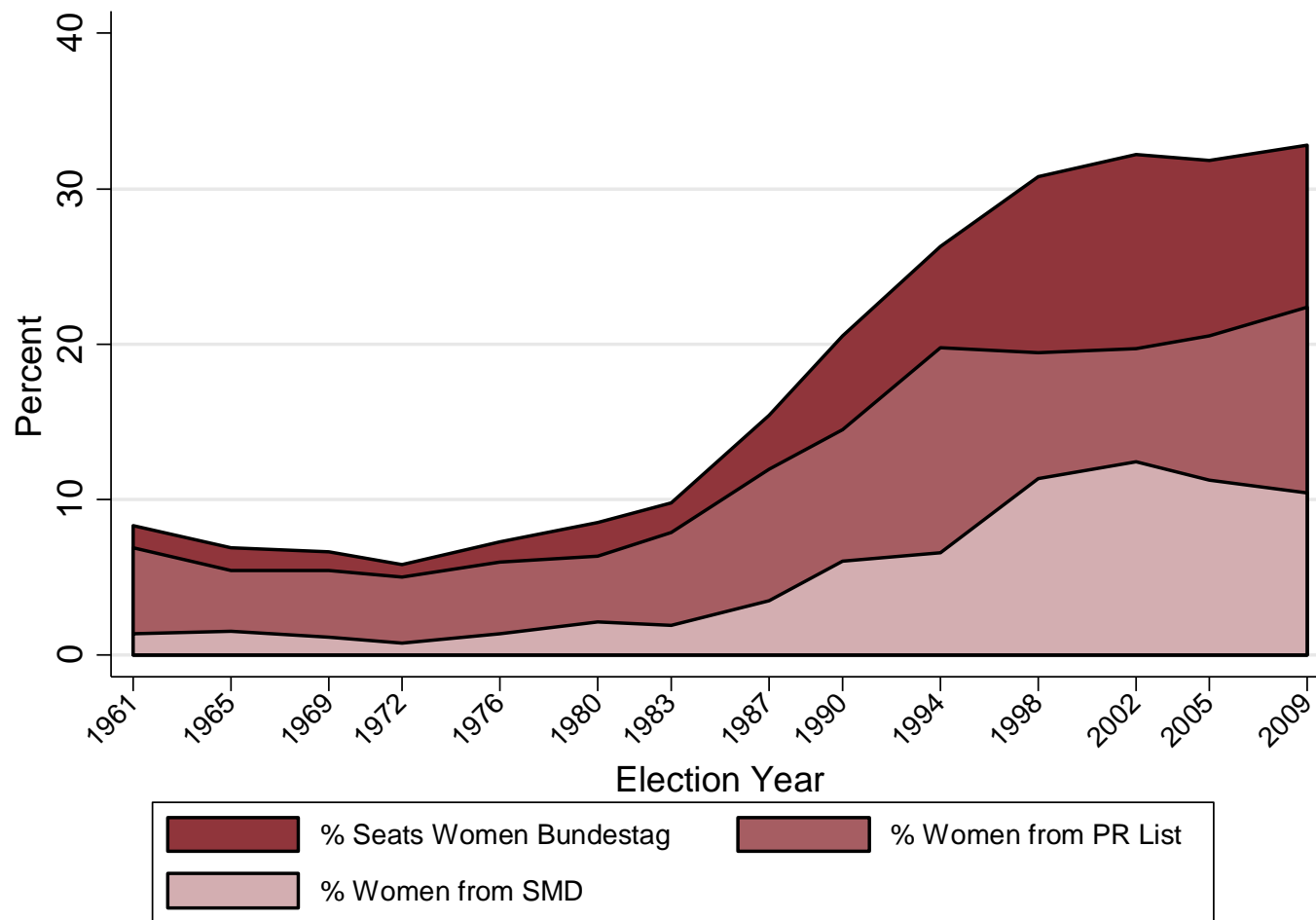
Causes II:

Institutional Barriers: Electoral rules

- Proportional Representation (PR) vs. First-Past-the-Post (FPTP)
- Adoption of gender quotas

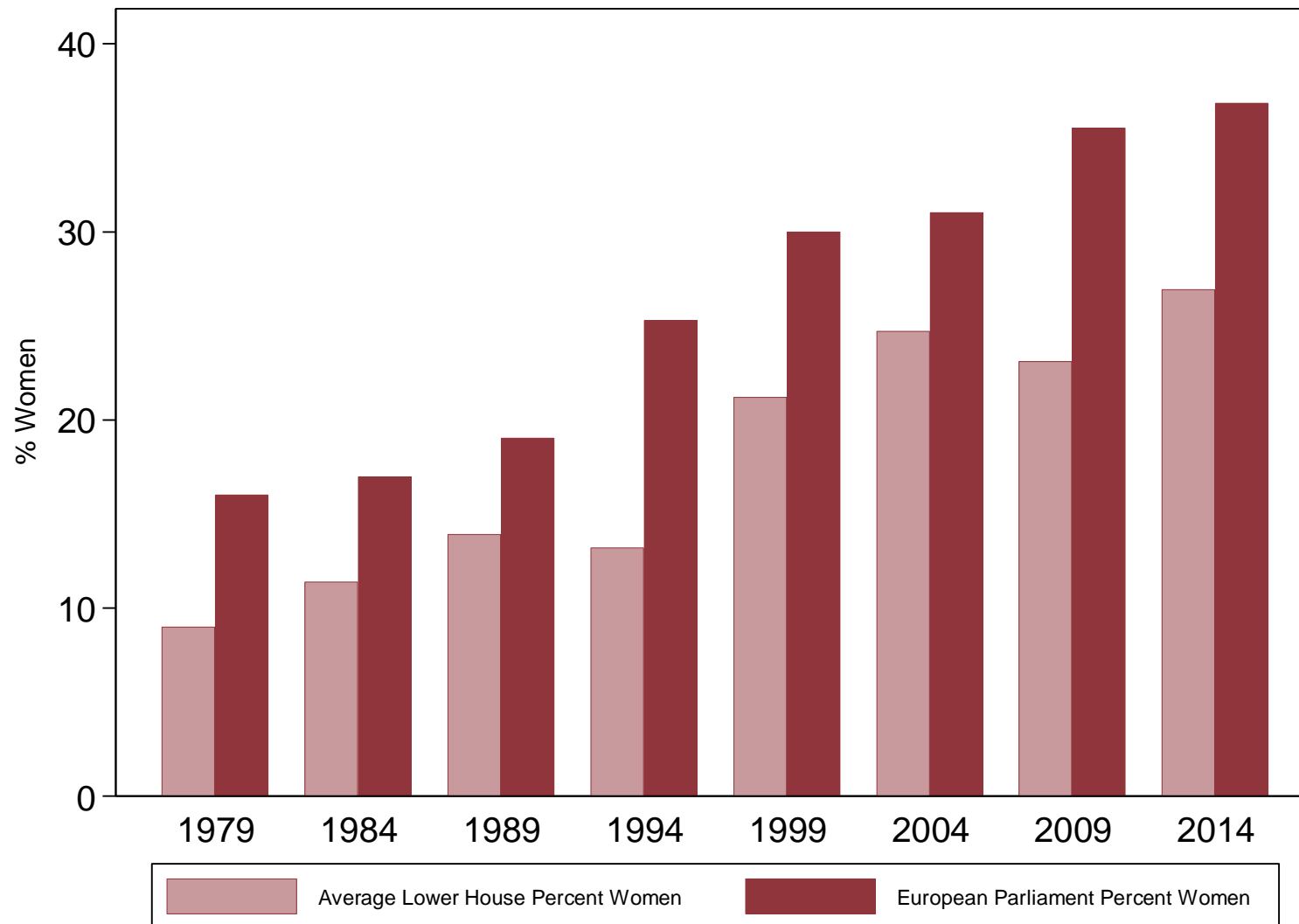
Germany: Two electoral formulas

Comparing the proportion of women elected to the Bundestag from two electoral tiers, 1961-2009



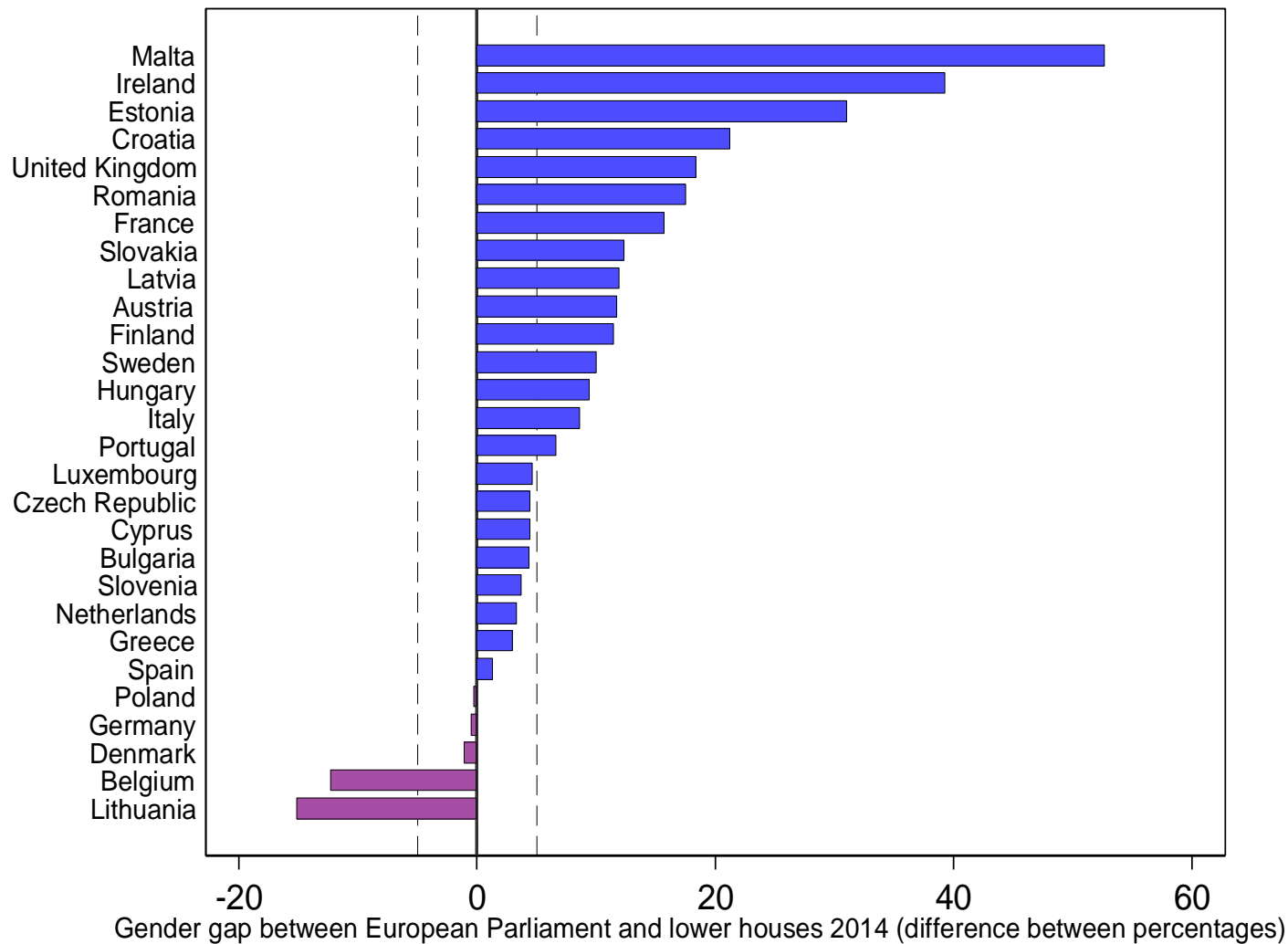
National vs. European Parliament:

Comparing the proportion of women between 1979-2014



Source: Fortin-Rittberger and Rittberger 2014

National-European Parliament Gender Gap: Percent women in EP minus % in Lower Houses, 2014



Source: Fortin-Rittberger and Rittberger 2014

Breaking down the arrow

Candidate selection in context

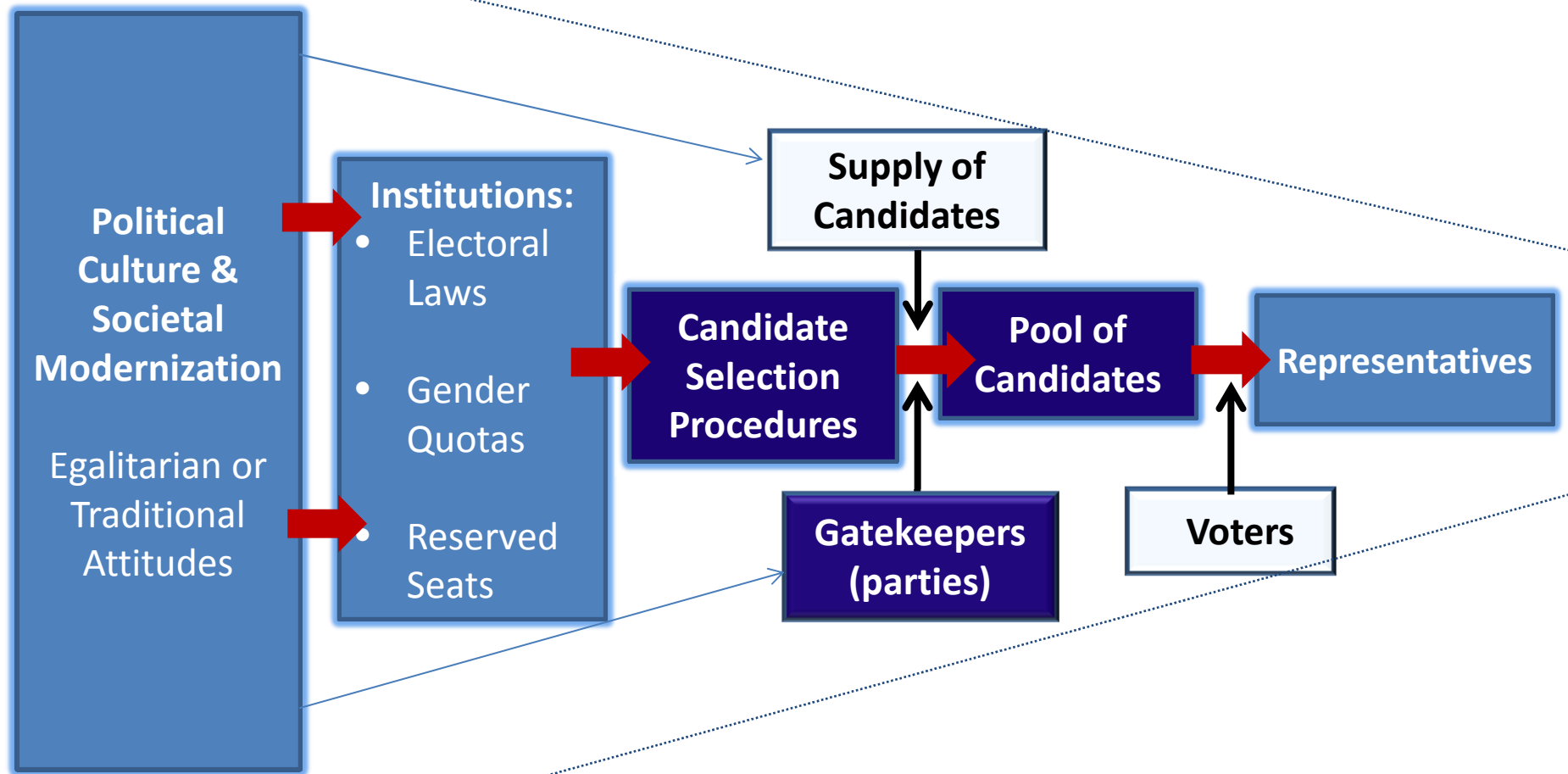


Figure: adapted from Norris 2004, p. 183

Causes III

Recruitment procedures by political parties

Who are the individuals selecting candidates?

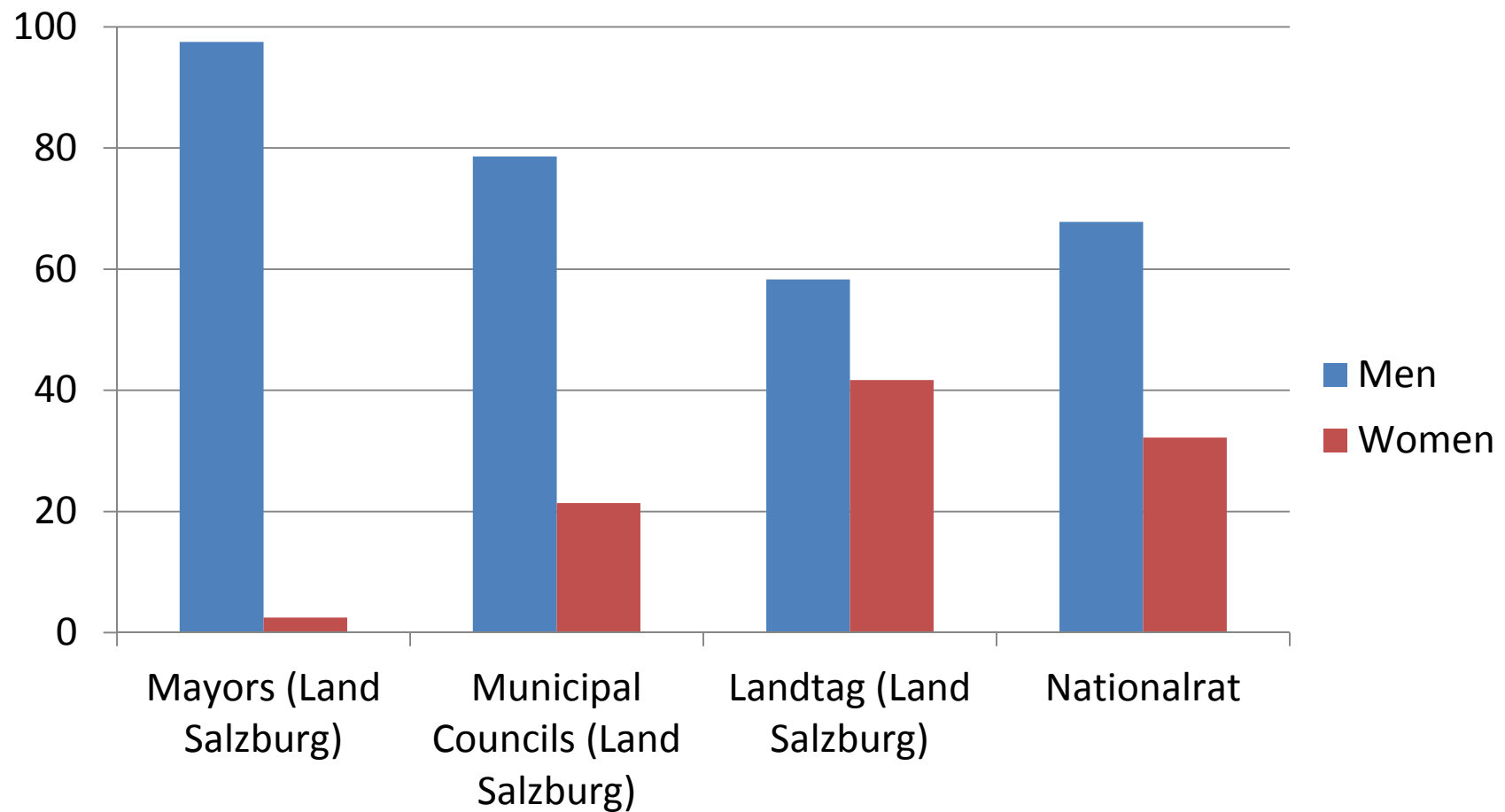
- Selectorates that are more inclusive nominate more women than “top-down” practices.

What are the selection procedures?

- Can candidates come forward, or must they be nominated by others?

Austria: National vs. subnational

Comparing the proportion of women at different levels of government in 2013



Breaking down the arrow

Candidate selection in context

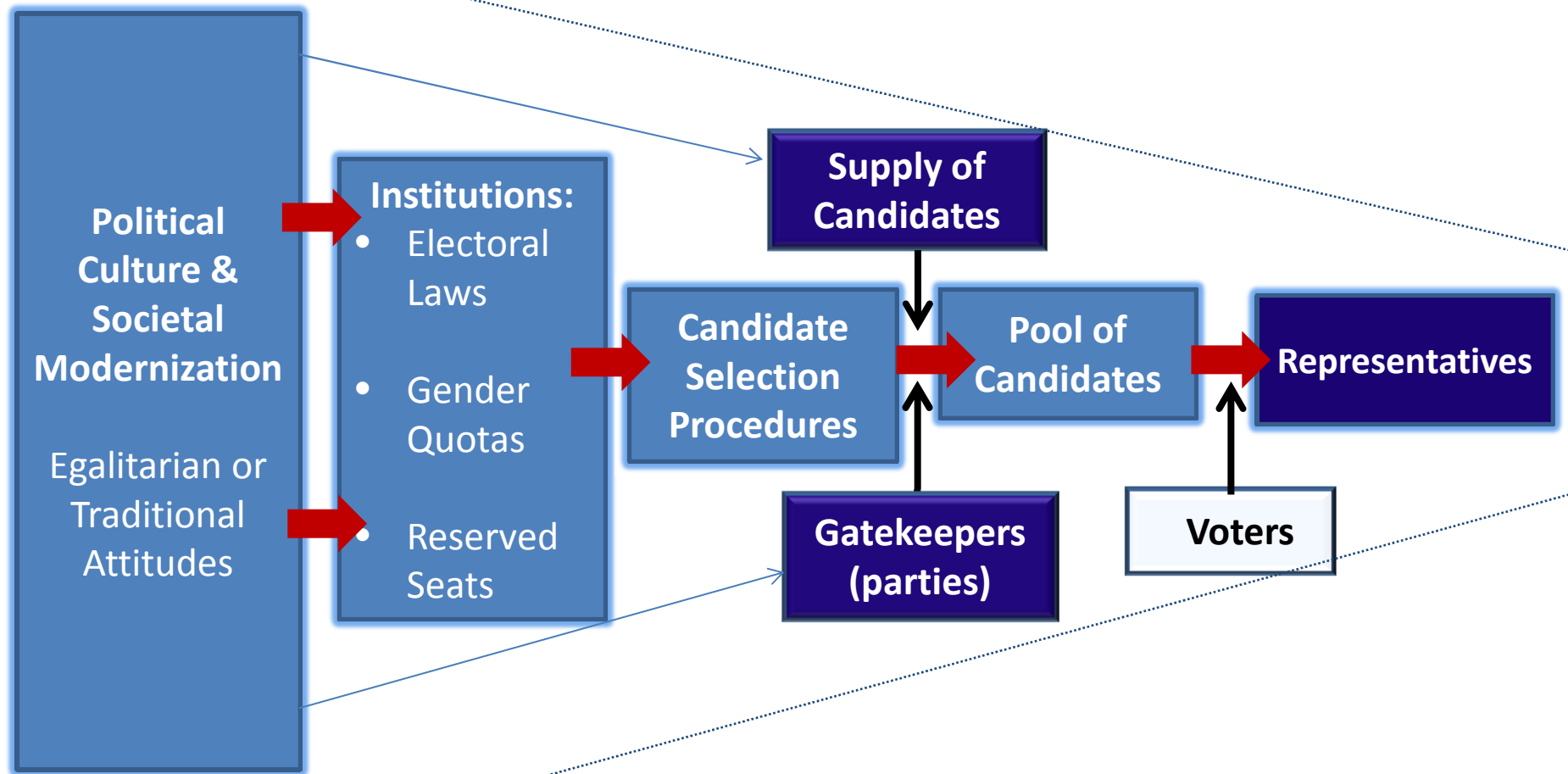


Figure: adapted from Norris 2004, p. 183

Causes IV:

Recruitment and Selection Problems

Recruitment Problem (**supply**):

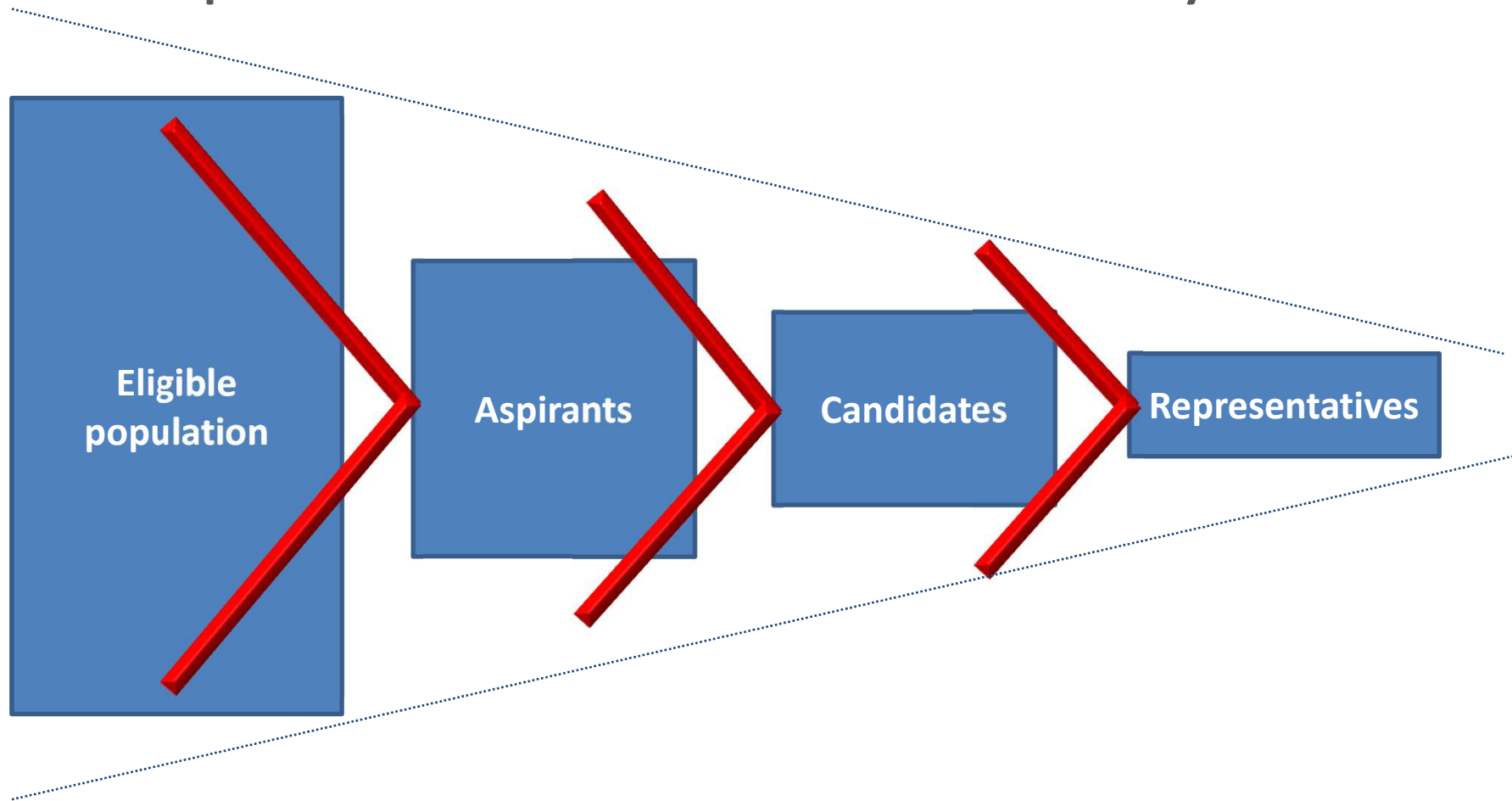
- Women are less disposed to run for public office in general, and even less likely at the local level.

Selection Problem (**demand**):

- Women are less frequently included on party lists at the municipal level due to informal recruitment practices.

In a nutshell:

The process from selection to election is multilayered



Current research



2013. J. Fortin-Rittberger & C. Eder. "Towards a Gender-equal Bundestag? The Impact of Electoral Rules on Women's Representation." *West European Politics*. Volume 36(5): 969-985.



Forthcoming. J. Fortin-Rittberger & B. Rittberger. "Nominating Women for EP Elections: Exploring the Role of Political Parties' Recruitment Procedures." *European Journal of Political Research*.



2014. J. Fortin-Rittberger & B. Rittberger. "Do Electoral Rules Matter? Explaining National Differences in Women's Representation in the European Parliament." *European Union Politics*. Volume 15(4): 496-520.



Forthcoming. Christina Eder, Jessica Fortin-Rittberger & Corinna Kröber. "The Higher the Fewer? Patterns of Female Representation across Levels of Government in Germany." *Parliamentary Affairs*.

Work in Progress

- The Consequences of Electoral System Change in Modern Democracies (with Philipp Harfst) jointly funded by the *Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung/ Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*.
- The Electoral Success of Women at Different levels of Government (with Christina Eder) Funded by the *Fritz Thyssen Foundation*.
- Candidate selections procedures in Europe (with Berthold Rittberger). Grant proposal in progress.

The logo for the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (FWF) consists of the letters 'FWF' in a bold, blue, sans-serif font.

Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

The logo for the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) features the letters 'DFG' in a bold, blue, sans-serif font, followed by the text 'Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft' in a smaller, blue, sans-serif font.The logo for the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung features a stylized, dashed green line forming a curved shape above the text 'Fritz Thyssen Stiftung' in a serif font. Below this, the text 'FÜR WISSENSCHAFTSFÖRDERUNG' is written in a smaller, red, sans-serif font.