



# **Why is Gender Equality Good for Governance? The Socialization Mechanism**

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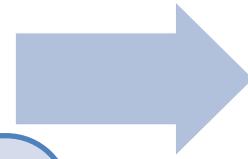
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# Outline

- The Literature
- Gaps in Theory and Empirical Strategies
- “Rooting” Good Governance Early Patterns of Gender Equality
- Speculating on the Socialization Mechanism

# The Growing Literature on Gender Equality and Good Governance



## Gender Equality

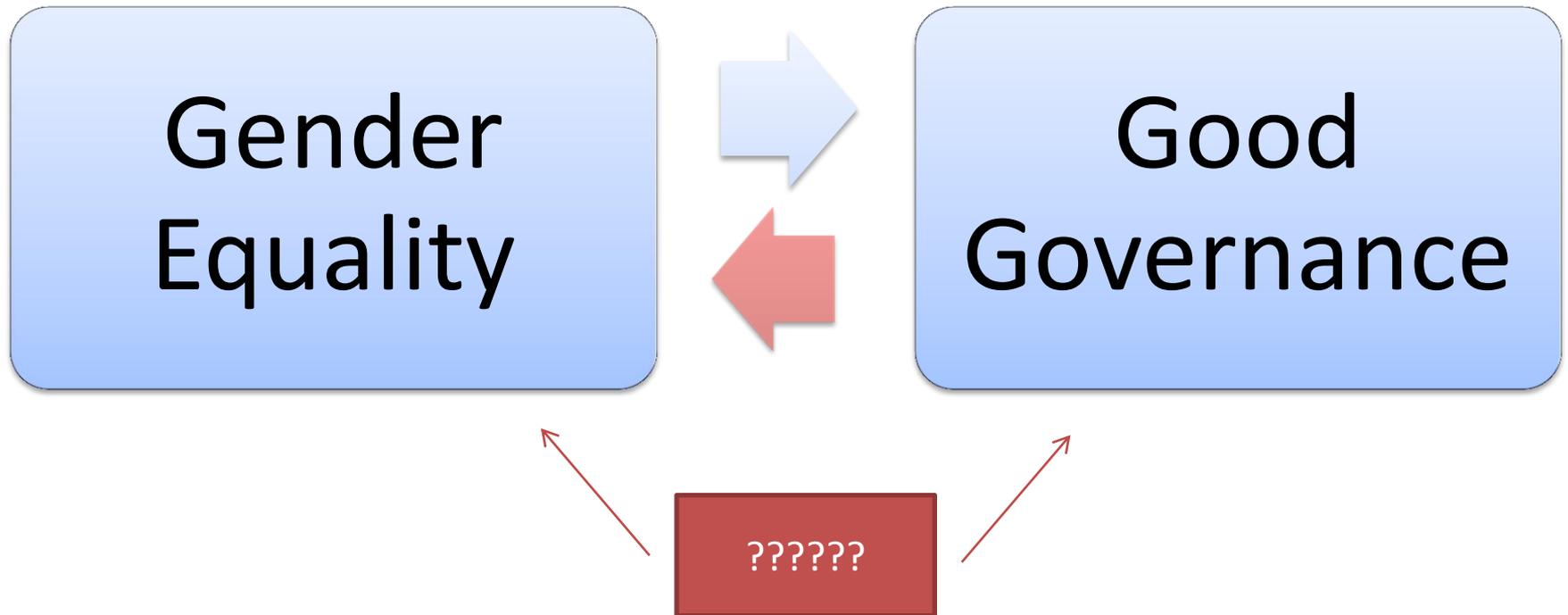
- Valuing Gender Equality
- Reproductive Autonomy
- Women's Integrity and Security
- Female Education
- Women's Rights
- Women in Legislatures

## Good Governance

- Democratic Values (Fish 2002; Inglehart and Norris 2003ab; Welzel 2013)
- Peace (Hudson et al. 2012)
- Economic Growth (Kabeer and Natalia 2013)
- Corruption (Dollar et al. 2001; Goetz 2007; Grimes and Wängnerud 2012; Schwindt-Bayer 2010))
- Human Well-Being (Coleman 2004)

# Established Links But Less on Why GE and GG Trend Across the Globe and Overtime

????? On Mechanisms, Directionality, Spuriousness



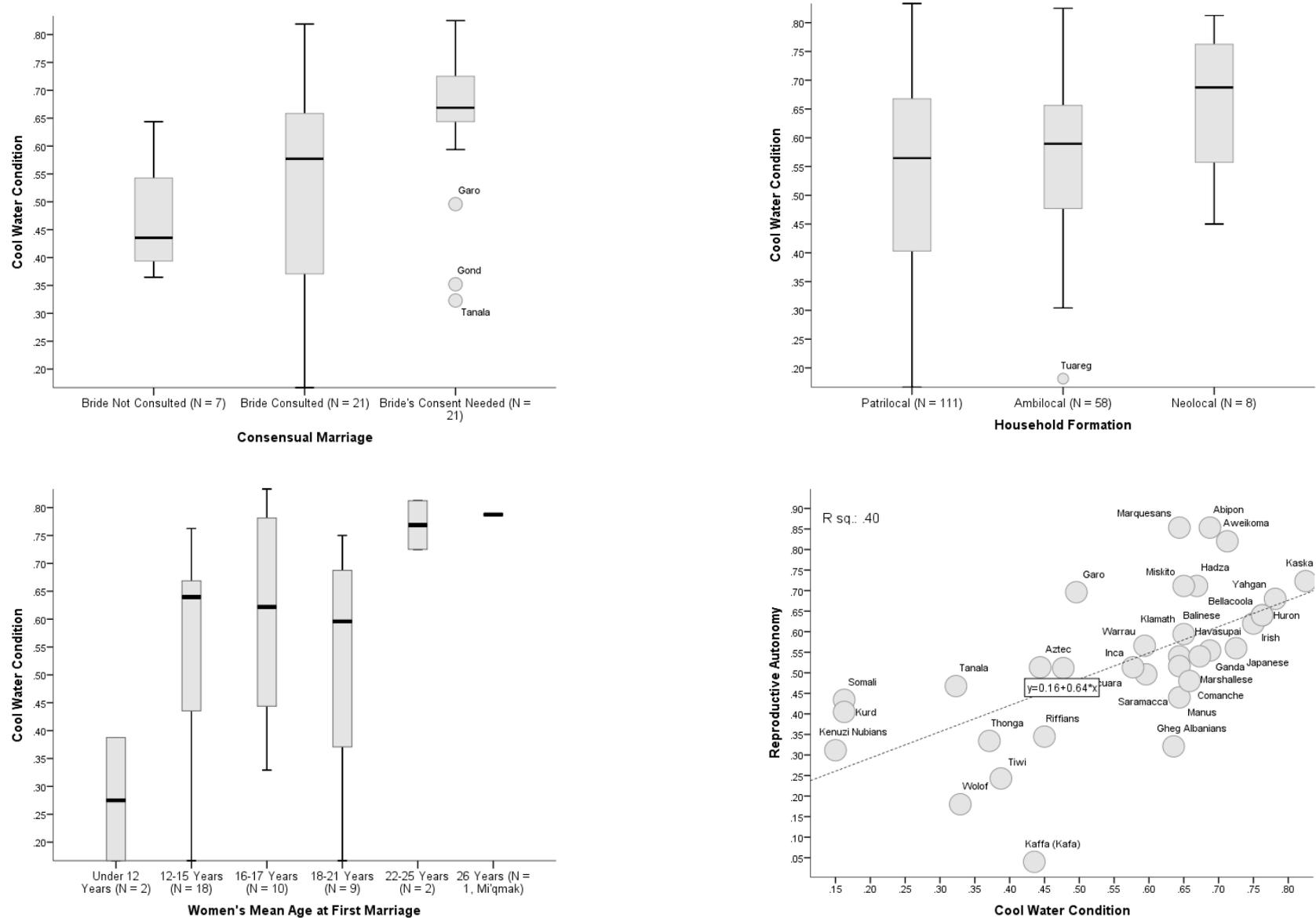
# Tackling Causal Direction and Spuriousness?

- The leverage of historical roots:
  - Does the evidence suggest that early gender-egalitarian patterns send countries on good governance trajectories?
  - Does the evidence suggest that the evolution of gender egalitarianism and good governance follow a powerfully reciprocal, path dependent trajectory?

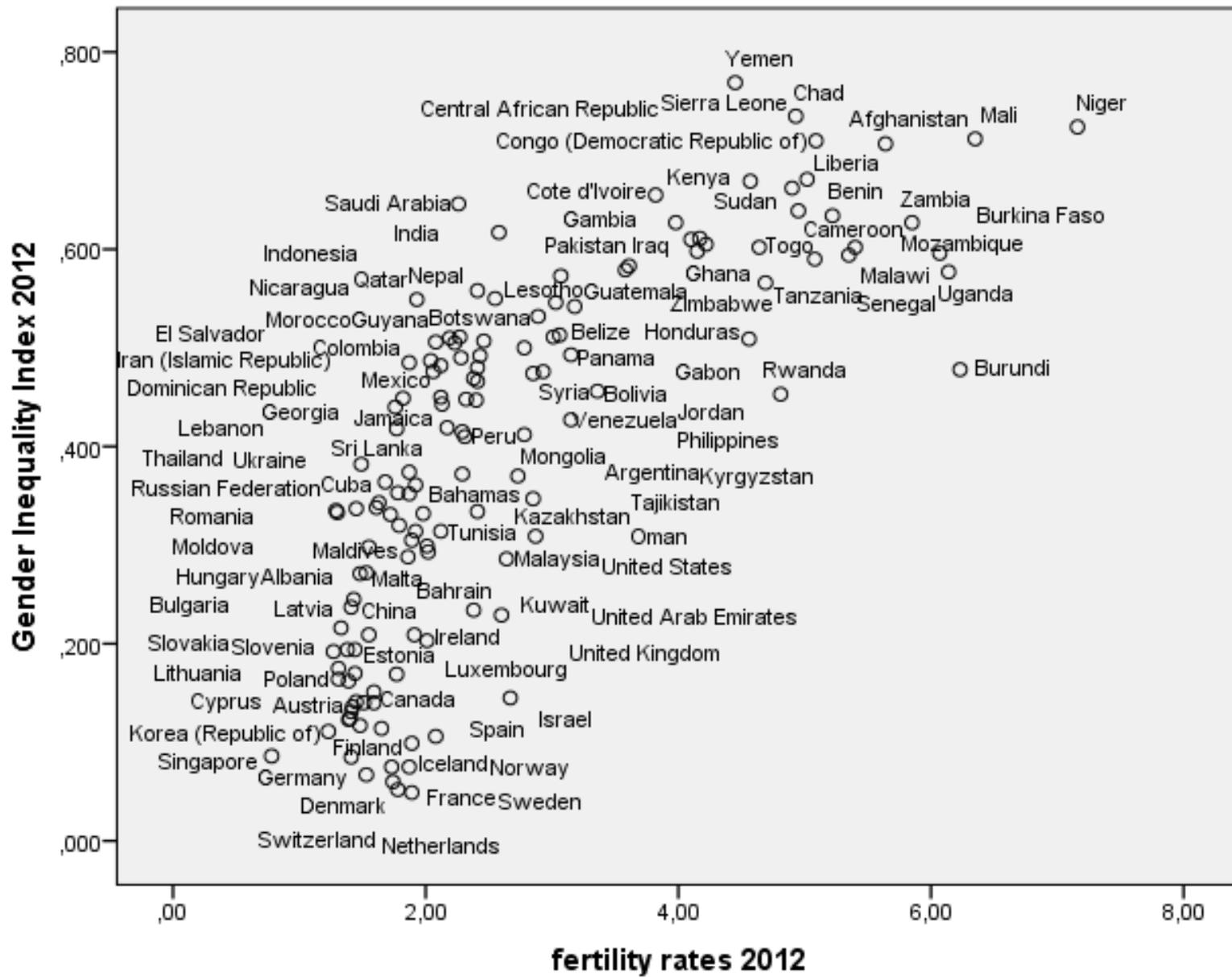
# A Marker of Early Patterns of Gender Equality: Fertility Rates



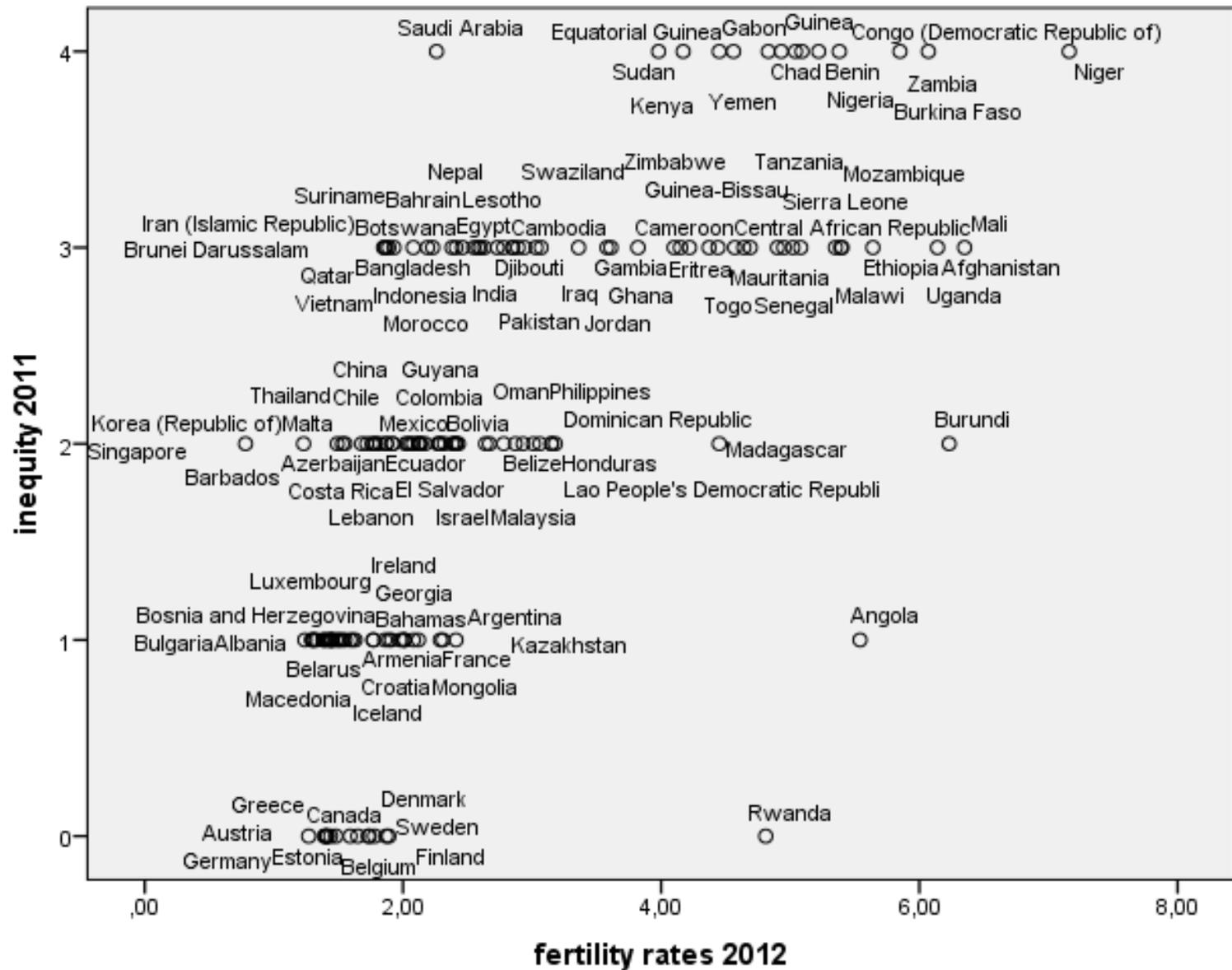
*Figure 13c. The Cool Water Condition's Effect on Reproductive Autonomy and Its Components—The Evidence from Historic Local Populations*



Source: Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (all populations with available data)



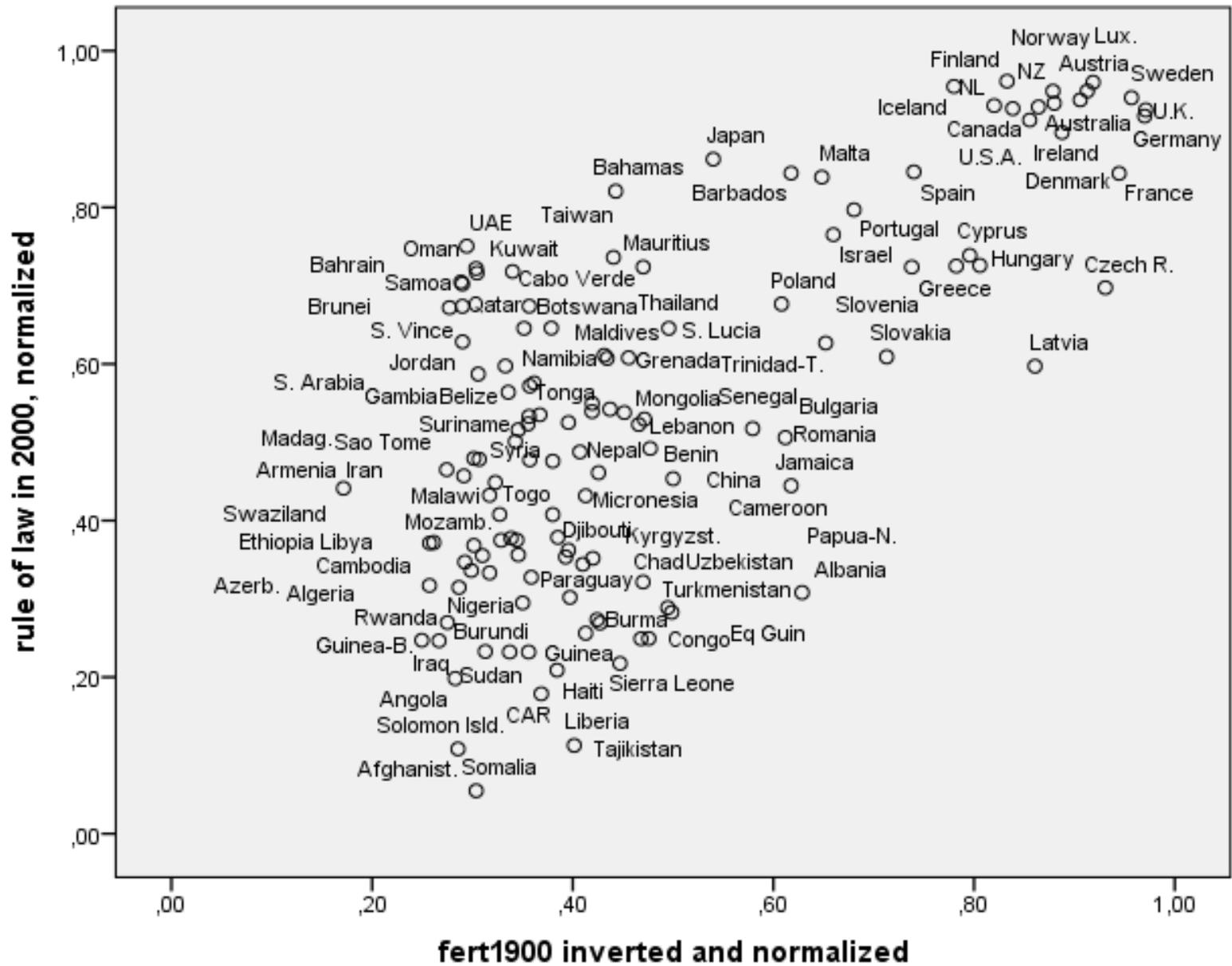
$r = .77^{***}$ ,  $N = 139$



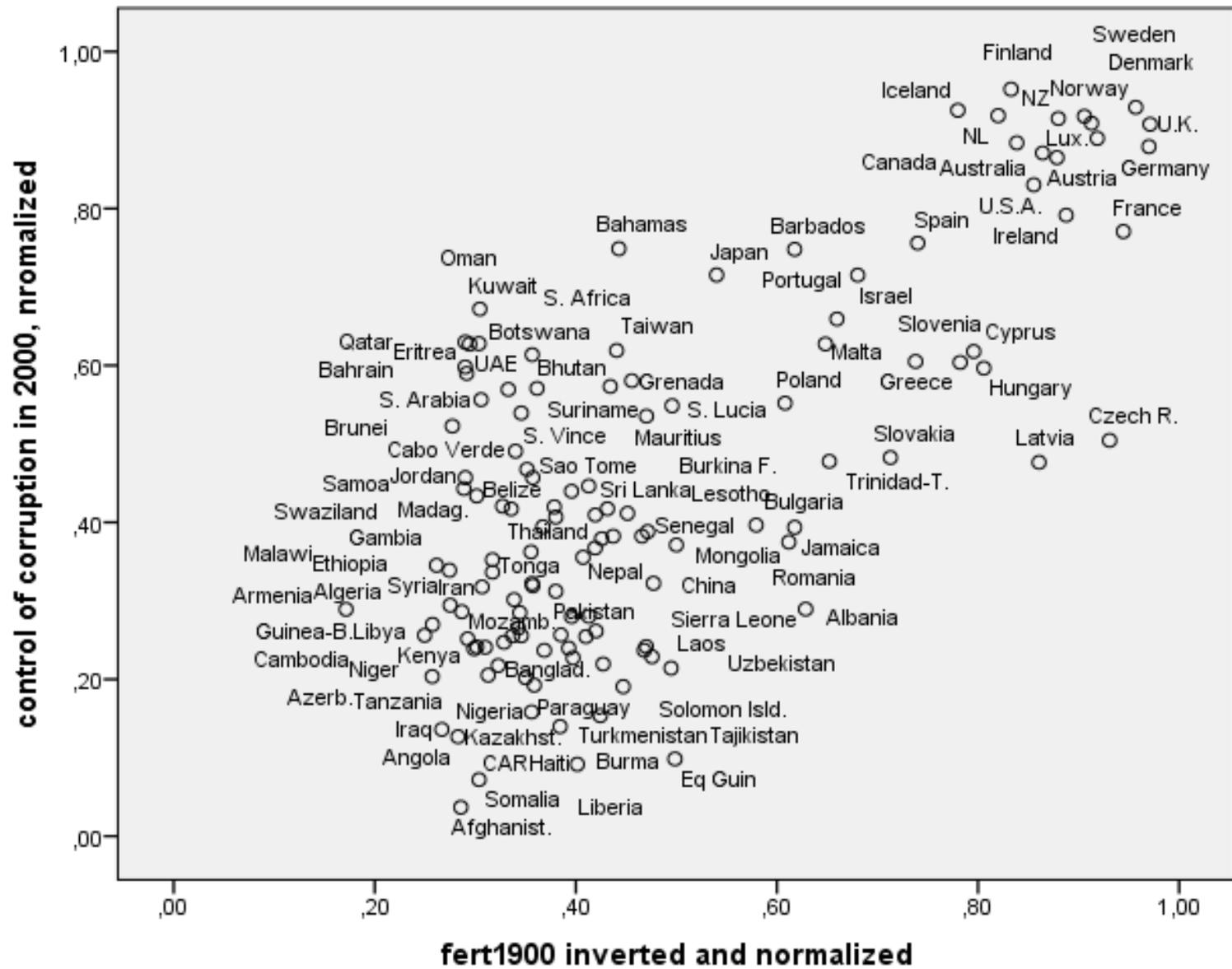
$r = .67^{***}$ ,  $N = 158$

# Theorizing Early Fertility Patterns, What Kind of Trajectory?

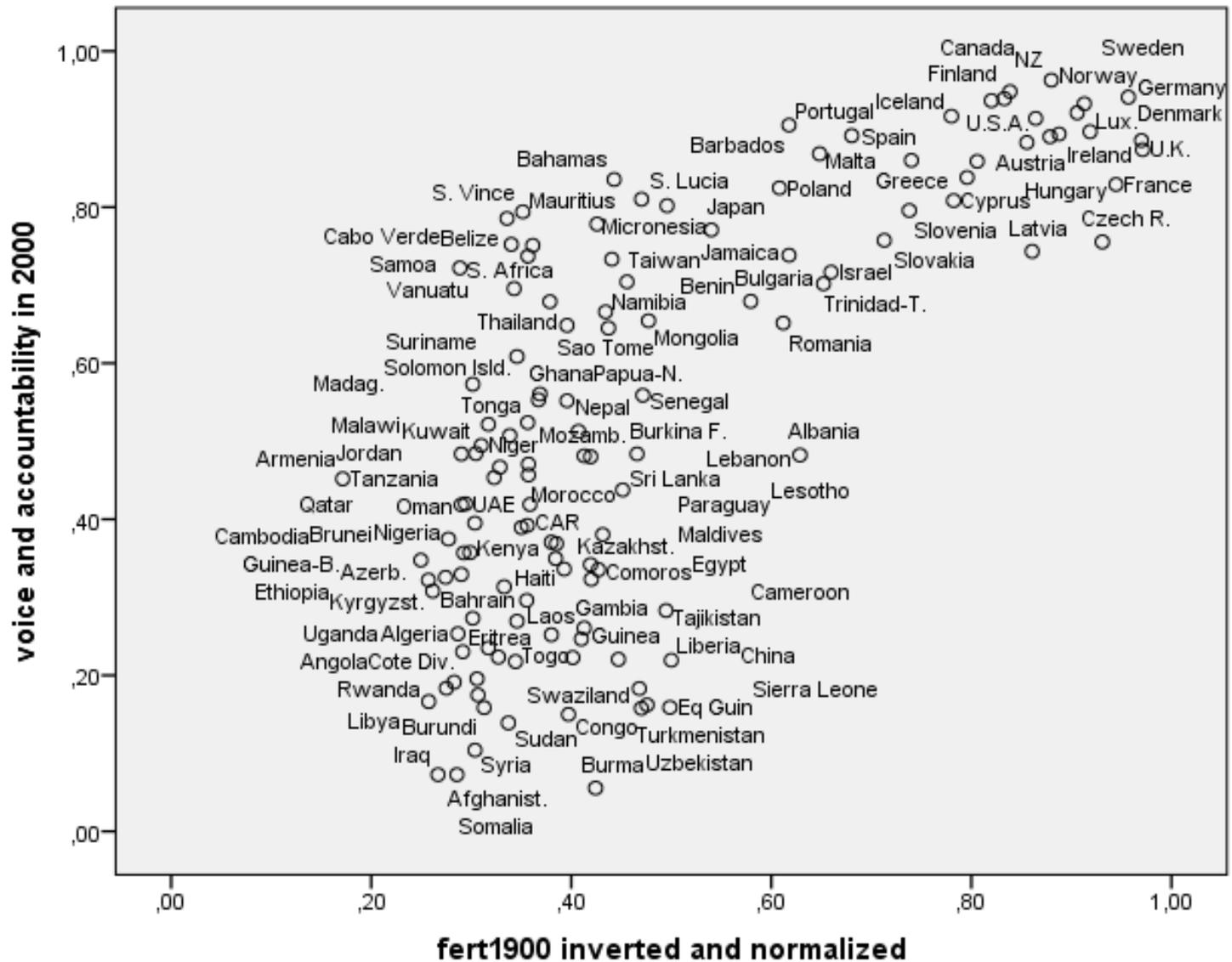
- Is the Clan/Household Unit (More) Exploitative of Females or (More) Empowering of Females?
  - Higher fertility marks greater female exploitation
  - Lower fertility marks greater female empowerment.
- Divergent Female Exploitation Trajectories and Good Governance?



$r = .70^{***}$ ,  $N = 129$



$r = .72^{***}$ ,  $N = 129$



$r = .73^{***}, N = 129$

- The problem of mass education as a powerful historical confounder (Uslaner and Rothstien).
  - Development or human empowering institutional choices empowers women, lowers fertility and improves governance.



Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
stant)	-.015	.042		-.357	.723					
ol1900inn school1900 logged and normalized	.226	.111	.228	2.036	.048	.821	.290	.126	.304	3.291
1900n fert1900 inverted and normalized	.756	.119	.711	6.352	.000	.902	.688	.392	.304	3.291

e: honest00 honest gov (coc00n + rol00n) / 2

## Correlations between Female Fertility and Average Years of Schooling

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YEAR OF MEASUREMENT	Pearson's <i>R</i>	<i>N</i> (Countries)
1960	.80***	91
1970	.86***	93
1980	.85***	97
1990	.82***	98
2000	.78***	94

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A Virtuous Cycle: Path Dependent Reciprocity

# Back to Gender Equality and the Socialization Mechanism

- Traditional gender role socialization generates norms that increase tolerance and support of corrupt, discriminatory beliefs, behavior and policies.
  - Key basis of legitimacy for the partial treatment of some relative to others.
    - Exploitation is highly visible and “appears” natural
      - Women and girls make up roughly half of the population, the symbolic power of their ill treatment for power norms generally is tremendous.
      - One of the first, regular power differentials to which children are exposed.
  - Creates a masculinity power trap.
    - Distorts the opportunity for a diversity of traits to be affiliated with exercising and holding power that marginalizes “other-regarding” norms.
      - Growing research on “patriarchal” masculinities include a need for dominance, to have power over women, to have disdain for homosexuals, to be strong and not show emotions, to win whatever competition or battle is at stake, and to take risks (Mahalik et al., 2003).
        - » This is linked to pre-dispositions to violence and crime.

# Progressive Gender Role Socialization

- Diversity Thesis: Takes us from sex-based monopolies that produce harmful norms to gender diversities.
- Positive Externalities Thesis
  - Norm externalities
    - Delegitimizes inferiority, discrimination and violence as natural and, instead, legitimates the pursuit for greater equality.
  - Collective capital externalities
    - More investment in human creativity, less waste
      - Implications for supply and demand of governance

- Thank you!
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# Gender Sensitive Institutions

## 1) Gender Monitoring Institutions

Effective Women's Policy Agencies (Weldon 1994)

## 2) Explicit Protection of the Rights of Women and Girls

CIRI, WomanStats, CEDAW Ratifications/Reservations

Social Institutions and Gender Index by the OECD (Branisa et al. 2014).

## 3) Compensation for Women's Current and/or Past Exclusion

Quota Adoption (Political Office-Holding and Corporate Boards)

Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance's Quota Project 2014,

[www.quotaproject.org](http://www.quotaproject.org), Corporate Women's Directors International 2014;

(Pande and Ford 2011). And IDEA's funding and finance for gender equality in parties.

## 4) State Maternalism (McDonagh, does the state offset the burden of care work?)

## 5) Protection of Sexual Liberalization (Rights protecting homosexuality, divorce and abortion)

WomanStats, Frank, Camp and Boutcher (2010).

## **Bottom – Up Gender Equality**

**1) Bottom-Up Equality** in Resources, Achievements and Motivations (Kabeer 1999)

**A) Equality in Resources**  
(various Data Sources)

**B) Equality in Civic Agency**  
(Alexander and Welzel 2011; Htun and Weldon 2012)

**C) Equality in Policy-Making**  
Authority (O'Brien *forthcoming*)

**D) Gender Egalitarian Values** (Norris and Inglehart 2003; Alexander and Welzel 2014)