

Gender and Political Representation

Session 11: Culture

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What we did in the last session...

- We reflected on Simone Wendland's visit + the course in general
- ...and discussed the idea of female role models in politics

Plan for today

1. Playing reviewer on how cultural modes can affect women's role in politics
2. Collecting your first ideas for the term paper

Last session compared to the complementary reading

Table 2

Applied to mentoring program (1 = yes, 0 = no); “could see myself running for office in a few years” (0–4 scale); 95% confidence intervals in brackets; generalized difference estimator for ITT (Aronow and Middleton, 2013)

	Applied to mentoring program	Political ambition
	ITT	
Control mean	0.02	0.35
Effect of invitation	−0.01	−0.16
	[−0.03, 0.01]	[−0.37, 0.06]
Covariate-adjusted	−0.01	−0.13
	[−0.03, 0.01]	[−0.29, 0.03]
Blocks	Yes	Yes
N	612	450

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

What do Foos and Gilardi (2020) investigate and find? (@Lucy and Christof?)

The plough

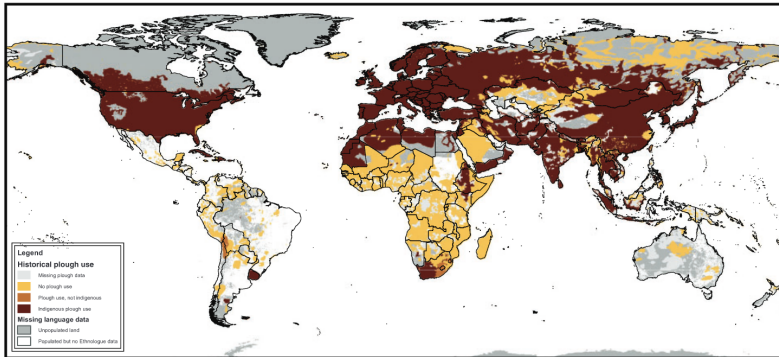


Figure: Plough use across countries, Alesina, Giuliano, and Nunn (2013, p. 487)

Kinship systems in Africa

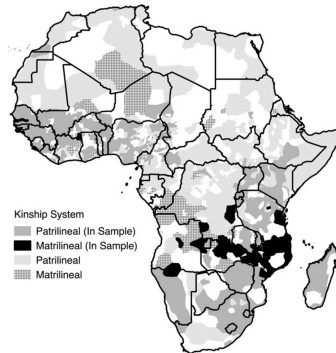


Figure: Ethnic groups in Africa, Robinson and Gottlieb (2021, p. 74)

Why another legacy paper?

Take the perspective of Robinson and Gottlieb. They submitted their paper, and reviewers said:

“We already know history and culture matter for gender. Alesina and their colleagues told us that. What is new here?”

Defend yourself. What's new?

Novelties in Robinson and Gottlieb

- Alesina, Giuliano, and Nunn (2013) focus on technological innovations, we look at social institutions!
- They only test cultural transmission, we contrast it with the resource mechanism!
- They list many quantitative indicators and models, we actually complement this with qualitative field work!
- ...

Well yes, but:

We form **two groups**.

1. Half of you switch the role and become **reviewers**: Which weakspots do you identify in the paper?
2. Half of you remain the **authors**. Your goal remains to defend your manuscript.

Well yes, but:

1. The reviewers search for weakspots.
2. After they have identified a weakspot, they let the authors know.
3. The authors look for a defense in their paper (and if there's none, they think about one)

Well yes, but:

- **Reviewer:** Well, Alesina, Giuliano, and Nunn (2013) conducted a global study. Your study is only about one continent.
- **Authors:** It's true, we focus on Africa but: worldwide, matrilineal societies extend outside Africa (13 percent worldwide). Moreover, there may be spill-over effects!

Well yes, but:

- **Reviewer:** How can you be sure that matrilineal societies are just those societies that did not adopt the plough?
- **Authors:** You're right. That would violate our identification strategy. But we actually do control for the plough as a potential confounder. Results remain unchanged.

Well yes, but:

- **Reviewer:** Closing the gender gap could just imply that nobody's participating in politics in matrilineal societies.
- **Authors:** If the gap narrows because everyone drops out of politics, that would be an issue. But it's not the case, in Figure A.1 we show that women are participating more in those society, men don't change their behavior at all.

Well yes, but:

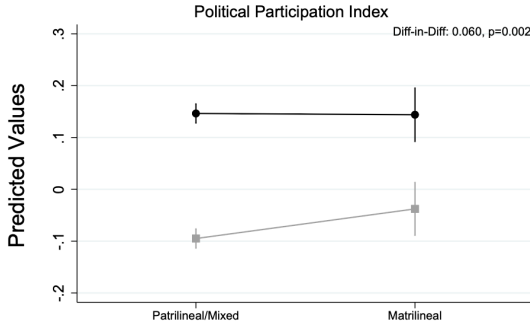


Figure: Heterogeneous effects of matrilineal societies by gender, Robinson and Gottlieb (2021, Appendix A.1)

Searching for the mechanism

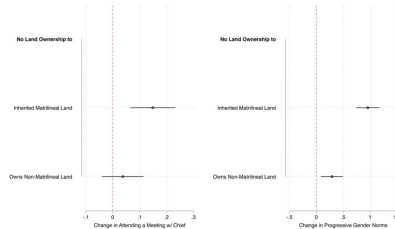


Figure: Ethnic groups in Africa, Robinson and Gottlieb (2021, p. 84)

“matrilineal kinship is not associated with greater gender parity in political participation simply because it increases land ownership among women.” (Robinson and Gottlieb 2021, p. 83)

Searching for the mechanism

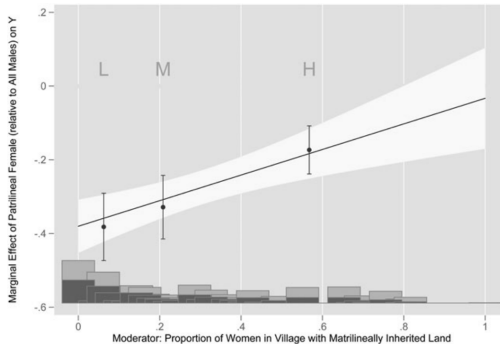


Figure: Ethnic groups in Africa, Robinson and Gottlieb (2021, p. 86)

Searching for the mechanism

‘There were no men, when choosing a person to become a village head, we only recommend elder women of the village because women knows very well the behavior of every person in a village.’

But...

“it is not a policy that can simply be adopted.” (Robinson and Gottlieb 2021, p. 76)

Still, what can we learn from it?

Other cultural factors

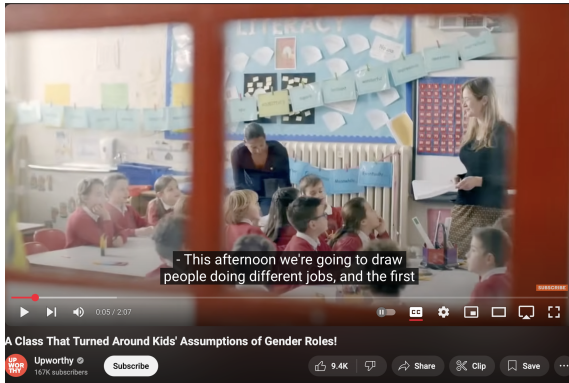


Figure: Children and gender roles ([YouTube](#))

Relation to our session?

Gender-inclusive language and political attitudes

Table 1. Effect of Genderless Language on Opinions toward Gender Equality (Study 1)

	Model 1: Emotional Women, Relative Rating (OLS)	Model 2: Paternity Leave (Probit)	Model 3: Female Defense Minister (Probit)	Model 4: Female Political Recruitment (Ordered Probit)
Estonian interview	-.20* (.12)	.21** (.08)	.22** (.08)	.14** (.06)
Constant	1.34*** (.09)	-.38*** (.05)	.40*** (.05)	
N	1,153	1,140	1,156	1,154

Note. Dependent variables are indicated in column headings. OLS = ordinary least squares. All two-tailed tests.

* $p < .10$.

** $p < .05$.

*** $p < .01$.

Figure: Main results by Tavits and Pérez (2019)

How LLM might reinforce stereotypes

```

unmasker = pipeline("fill-mask", model="bert-base-uncased")
result = unmasker("This man works as a [MASK].")
print([r["token_str"] for r in result])

result = unmasker("This woman works as a [MASK].")
print([r["token_str"] for r in result])
    
```

config.json: 100%  570/570 [00:00<00:00, 67.6kB/s]
 model.safetensors: 100%  440M/440M [00:02<00:00, 260MB/s]
 Some weights of the model checkpoint at bert-base-uncased were not used when initializing Bert
 - This IS expected if you are initializing BertForMaskedLM from the checkpoint of a model train
 - This IS NOT expected if you are initializing BertForMaskedLM from the checkpoint of a model
 tokenizer_config.json: 100%  48.0/48.0 [00:00<00:00, 5.64kB/s]
 vocab.txt: 100%  232k/232k [00:00<00:00, 1.03MB/s]
 tokenizer.json: 100%  466k/466k [00:00<00:00, 28.4MB/s]
 Device set to use cuda:0
 ['carpenter', 'lawyer', 'farmer', 'businessman', 'doctor']
 ['nurse', 'maid', 'teacher', 'waitress', 'prostitute']

Figure: How language models replicate biases (here: Bert)

How LLM might reinforce stereotypes

```
unmasker = pipeline("fill-mask", model="bert-base-uncased", top_k=10)
result = unmasker("The politician's name is [MASK].")
print([r["token_str"] for r in result])
```

Some weights of the model checkpoint at bert-base-uncased were not used when initializing BertForMaskedLM. This IS expected if you are initializing BertForMaskedLM from the checkpoint of a model trained on another task (e.g. using a language data-only checkpoint). This IS NOT expected if you are initializing BertForMaskedLM from the checkpoint of a model that you expect to be able to initialize from the checkpoint of a model trained on another task (e.g. using a language data-only checkpoint). Device set to use cuda:0

['unknown', '[UNK]', 'peter', 'george', 'c', 'joseph', 'christian', 'hon', 'uncertain', 'david']

Figure: How language models replicate biases in politics (here: Bert)

Your research questions

1. If you don't have a research question for your term paper yet, think about an aspect of this seminar, you'd like to investigate further [5 minutes]

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2. Form pairs. One of you presents their question. The other is the devil's advocate: 'Why should we care?' (try to identify a paper that did similar things). Convince the devil's advocate.

Your research questions

1. If you don't have a research question for your term paper yet, think about an aspect of this seminar, you'd like to investigate further [5 minutes]
2. Form pairs. One of you presents their question. The other is the devil's advocate: 'Why should we care?' (try to identify a paper that did similar things). Convince the devil's advocate.
3. A question has an answer. What do you think the answer will be the answer to your question?

On theory...

As a final exercise for today, identify the crucial concepts of your theory.

On theory...

For next week, complete a sketch of your theory.

1. **Expectations:** An expected relationship between X and Y
2. **Causal mechanisms:** Theoretical reasoning of why X leads to Y
3. **Assumptions:** Underlying (untested) claims of how subjects behave
4. **Scope conditions:** Limits in the applicability of the theory

In our final session

- We will talk about formal and substantive requirements of your term paper
- You will have some time to think of a potential design.
- In peer-based feedback rounds, you can get a review of your first idea for the term paper.

Thank you for your attention!
Any further questions?

Literature

-  **Alesina A, Giuliano P, and Nunn N (2013)** On the Origins of Gender Roles: Women and the Plough*. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* **128** (2), 469–530.
-  **Foos F and Gilardi F (2020)** Does Exposure to Gender Role Models Increase Women's Political Ambition? A Field Experiment with Politicians. *Journal of Experimental Political Science* **7** (3), 157–166.
-  **Kanter RM (1977)** Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women. *American Journal of Sociology* **82** (5), 965–990.
-  **Powner LC (2014)** *Empirical Research and Writing: A Political Science Student's Practical Guide*. CQ Press, 2014.

Literature



Robinson AL and Gottlieb J (2021) How to Close the Gender Gap in Political Participation: Lessons from Matrilineal Societies in Africa. *British Journal of Political Science* **51** (1), 68–92.



Tavits M and Pérez EO (2019) Language Influences Mass Opinion toward Gender and LGBT Equality. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **116** (34), 16781–16786.

Excursion: On formulating research questions

Different questions, different goals

1. Should women represent women?
2. What would have happened to *Roe vs. Wade* if Hillary Clinton won the U.S. presidential elections in 2016?
3. How has the implementation of gender quotas developed over the last 10 years?
4. How does direct democracy affect women's turnout?

Which type of questions do these examples pose?

Excursion: On formulating research questions

1. Should women represent women? → Normative questions
2. What would have happened to *Roe vs. Wade* if Hillary Clinton won the U.S. presidential elections in 2016? → Hypothetical questions
3. How has the implementation of gender quotas developed over the last 10 years? → Descriptive questions
4. How does direct democracy affect women's turnout? → Causal-explanatory questions

For your term paper, you should focus on the latter, **causal explanatory questions**.

Excursion: On formulating research questions

How does a good research question look like?

Excursion: On formulating research questions

Powner (2014) lists some **dos** and **don'ts** in drafting research questions. **Dos**

- start with a puzzle for which there's no good answer available (on a subject you know already)
- a question should have a question mark (e.g., *how...?* or *why...?*)
- highlights the outcome, not the causes (these will be nevertheless important later!)
- relate to theory

Excursion: On formulating research questions

Don'ts

- ...have a clear, even tautological answer
- ...focus on a single case (do not use proper nouns, like states or persons in the research question, they should be more general)
- ...translate the relationship into empirical indicators in the question (e.g., talk about attitudes on gender equality, not attitudes on the question whether men and women should have equal rights on the labour market)

Excursion On choosing a research design

In the empirical social sciences, we can choose between two types of research designs:

1. quantitative designs
2. qualitative designs

The design should be selected based on your research question and theory and not the other way around!

What are the advantages of quantitative and qualitative approaches?

Excursion On choosing a research design

Often, both types of designs are possible, both allow to test causality and follow a positivist-empirical approach to the social sciences. Their research goals might, however, slightly differ:

Quantitative designs

- ...aim to identify systemic patterns across cases; disregards non-systemic, residual part
- ...focus on average effects
- ...zoom in on how on a specific cause X that leads to outcome Y
- ...often involves large- N (many cases)

Excursion On choosing a research design

Qualitative designs

- ...emphasize more often on the non-systemic, idiosyncratic part
- ...dedicate more space to case/event knowledge
- ...establishes nuances, seeks to explain within-case variation and occurrence of rare cases
- ...typically involve small- to medium-N

Excursion On choosing a research design

	Quantitative analysis	Qualitative analysis
Type of Data	Survey (experiments), annotated text and/or audio, administrative data, web data	(Un)structured interview data, archival text or audio sources, data on processes
Methods	• cross-tabulation • regression • scaling models (e.g. item-response, factor analyses) • quantitative content analyses and machine-learning approaches (text, images, audio)	• <i>within-analysis</i>: process tracing, analytic narratives, ethnography • <i>between-analysis</i>: structured comparisons (most-similar / most-differences) • <i>medium-N</i>: qualitative content analysis