In What Conditions Are Women-friendly Policies More Supported?

Yesola Kweon

Department of Political Science and Diplomacy

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Presentation Papers

- Kweon & Ryan. 2022. "Electoral Systems and the Substantive Representation of Marginalized Groups." *Political Research Quarterly* 75(4): 1065-1078.

- Kim & Kweon. 2022. "Why Do Young Men Oppose Gender Quotas? Group Threat and Backlash to Legislative Gender Quotas." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 47(4): 991-1021.

Paper 1: Top-down Factor

Kweon & Ryan. 2022. "Electoral Systems and the Substantive Representation of Marginalized Groups." *Political Research Quarterly* 75(4): 1065-1078.

Paper 1: Top-down Factor

- Examines the effect of electoral rules on legislation of women-friendly policies
- Focusing on two types of legislative behavior:
    - Bill sponsorship
    - Legislative effectiveness (bill passage)

Research on Women's Political Representation

- Emphasis on the importance of descriptive representation for substantive representation of women's interest
- *HOWEVER*,
    - Women politicians as re-election seeking strategic actors
    - Institutional and political contexts which condition legislative behavior
    - Male legislators as potential allies who act on behalf of women

Arguments

- Electoral institutions determine which principals (voters or parties) politicians prioritize → Different incentives to support women-friendly bills
- Three key arguments:
  - H1a: Politicians in party-centered system (PR) are more likely to sponsor women-friendly bills than those in candidate-centered system (SMDs).
  - H1b: The effect of electoral rules will be bigger for male politicians than for female counterparts
  - H2: PR members, both men and women, will be more effective at advancing women-friendly bills than SMD members

Candidate-centered system (SMDs):

- Accountability to local constituencies
- Policy-making focused on the district median voter's interest
- Little emphasis on non-mainstream issues (e.g. gender issues)
- Focus on parochial/particularistic bills → Limited support within the congress

Party-centered system (closed-list PR):

- Lower accountability to local constituencies
- Greater autonomy and farsighted focus in policy-making
- National profile and general focus $\rightarrow$ Broader support within the congress
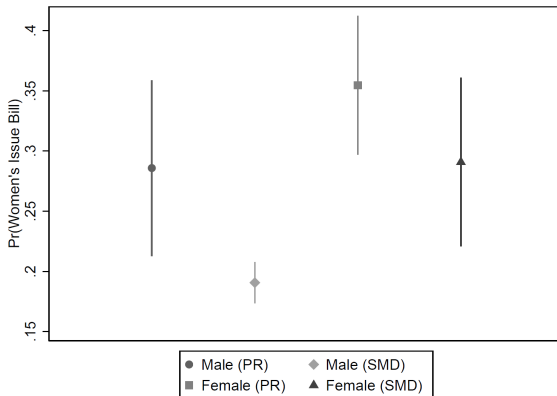
South Korean Electoral Systems

- A two-ballot mixed member system since 2002
- The absence of dual candidacy —> Little cross-tier contamination effect

Data

- Focus on 17th to 19th assemblies: Total 32,513 bills
- Outcome: Women's issue bills; Bill passage (dummies)
- Explanatory Vars: Electoral rules (PR=1), Gender (female=1)
- Bill categorization using supervised machine learning
- Women's Issue Bills: social welfare, care provision, civil liberties (Robustness check for the narrowly defined measures)
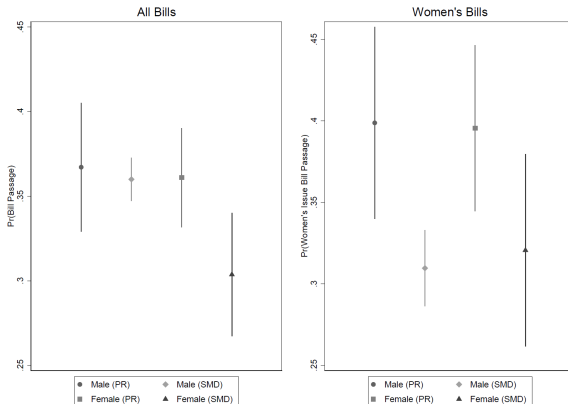
Figure 1: Predicted Probability of a Women's Issue Bill by Gender and Electoral System of Sponsor
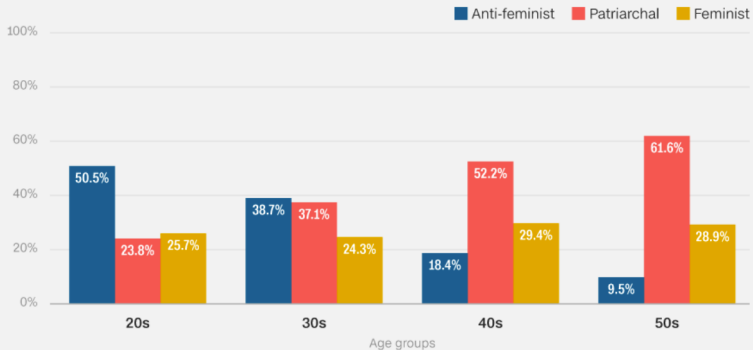
Figure 2: Predicted Probability of Bill Passage by Electoral System and Gender

Paper 2: Bottom-up Factor

Kim & Kweon. 2022. "Why Do Young Men Oppose Gender Quotas? Group Threat and Backlash to Legislative Gender Quotas." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 47(4): 991-1021.

South Korea's young men are more opposed to feminism than older generations

Legend: ■ Anti-feminist ■ Patriarchal ■ Feminist

Age groups	Anti-feminist	Patriarchal	Feminist
20s	50.5%	23.8%	25.7%
30s	38.7%	37.1%	24.3%
40s	18.4%	52.2%	29.4%
50s	9.5%	61.6%	28.9%

paper 2: Bottom-up Factor

- Examines the role of status threat on young males' attitudes toward women-friendly policies

What Explains Public Opposition to Gender Equality Policy?

- Previous studies:
    - Gender norms
    - Gender stereotypes; Sexism
    - Trust in government

$\rightarrow$ Cannot explain why the opposition to gender equality policy coexists with declining traditional gender norms, particularly among younger people

Theory & Argument

- Status Threat: Growing presence of women $\rightarrow$ increased status anxiety among men $\rightarrow$ hostility towards gender equality policies

- The effects will be more pronounced among those who are more vulnerable to the dwindling status $\rightarrow$ Younger men
  - Socialized to be the dominant group
  - Socially, financial and social status of men are closely related
  - Economically, high economic insecurity and precarity among younger generations
  - Early in economic career and less established

- The status threat effects will be independent of individuals' gender norms
    - Status threat is not solely caused by cultural norms, but by group-based economic anxieties
    - Liberal gender norms, but still oppose gender equality policies in fear of their negative impacts on socio-economic status of men

Survey Experiment Design

- Two survey experiments with a demographically representative sample in South Korea (Data balanced)
- Study 1: All males. 968 respondents. Treatment (498) designed to invoke men's status threat; Control (470)
- Study 2: Males & Females. 1000 respondents

- Respondents randomly assigned to Treatment or Control Groups
- Treatment designed to invoke men's status threat. Control (placebo) designed to have no treatment-related effect.
- Outcome: support for legislative gender quotas, gender equal pay, and corporate gender quotas (scale of 0 to 10)
- A young dummy: younger men ($<$40), older men (robust to different cutoffs)
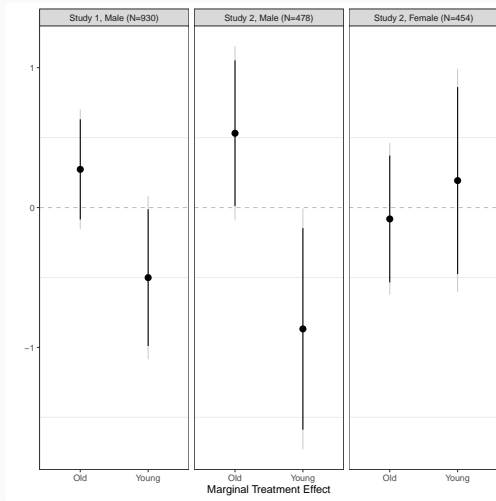
전년(2018년)대비 대기업 여성 취업 증가율이 남성보다 4배 높아

4 : 1

최근 몇 년 사이 **국내 대기업의 여성 고용인원이 급격히 증가**하고 있는 것으로 나타났다. 조사 결과 국내 57개 대기업의 지난해 **신규 고용인원 중 60%가 여성**이었고 남성의 비율은 40%에 그쳤다.

또한 국내 대기업의 전년대비 여성 고용 증가율이 **남성보다 4배 이상 높은 것**으로 나타났다.

Support for a Legislative Gender Quota

- Status threat treatment lowers young men's support for a legislative gender quota, but it has little impact on old men

	Dependent variable:			
	Equal Pay		Corporate Quota	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	0.711*	−0.006	0.242	0.081
	(0.297)	(0.259)	(0.315)	(0.266)
Young (< 40)	−0.486	−0.002	−0.677[+]	0.592[+]
	(0.359)	(0.326)	(0.381)	(0.335)
Treatment $\times$ Young	−1.171*	0.212	−0.943[+]	0.117
	(0.507)	(0.462)	(0.537)	(0.474)
Constant	5.848***	7.157***	4.291***	6.182***
	(0.214)	(0.181)	(0.227)	(0.186)
Observations	478	454	478	454
R^2	0.051	0.001	0.043	0.017
Adjusted R^2	0.045	−0.006	0.037	0.011

Note: [+]$p<0.1$; *$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$

Why Oppose Gender Quotas? :
Selected Quotes from Open-ended Responses

Older Men

- "the pool of women candidates is limited"
- "a quota policy reduces the quality of representatives"
- "women and men have different qualifications"
- "women's innate qualities are inappropriate for political leadership"

Young Men

- "such a policy causes reverse discrimination against men"
- "weakens men's position in the society"
- "the society has already achieved gender equality, making affirmative action for women unnecessary"
- "the over-representation of men is the outcome of the older generation's malpractice, which younger generations should not be held accountable to"

Moving Forward

- Additional experiments:
  1) Effects of issue framing
  2) Effectiveness of information correction

Thank you!

✉: yesola.kweon@skku.edu

⬡: yesolakweon.github.io

🐦: @YesolaKweon

Appendices

Paper 1: Measures

- Outcome Variables:
    - Women Issue Bills: bills focused on social policy, health, education, civil rights (Volden, Wiseman & Wittmer Forthcoming)
    - Bill success: Whether bill passed
- Explanatory Variables:
    - Electoral systems: 1 for PR, 0 for SMD
    - Gender: 1 for female, 0 for male
- Controls: age, education, seniority, N of consponsors, GDP per capita, party FE, congress FE, change in seat types
- Method: Logistic Regression with Huber-White robust standards clustered to individual legislator

Paper 1: Supervised Machine Learning Process

Table 1: Details of Supervised Machine Learning Outcomes for Each Iteration

Iteration	No. Of Unclassified Bills at Start	No. Hand Coded	No. Machine Classified	Percentage Error	No. of Unclassified Bills at End
1	62923	6003	24849	1.11%	32071
2	32071	1998	8775	1.80%	21298
3	21298	2031	4678	1.57%	14589
4	14589	2011	3420	1.59%	9158
5	9158	2031	1754	1.97%	5373
6	5373	5373	*NA*	*NA*	*NA*
Total	62923	19447	43476	1.37%	*NA*

Words/phrases used to identify women's issues bills

- "daycare"
- "childcare" *or* "infant care"
- "child education support"
- "gender equality"
- "sexual harassment" *or* "sexual violence" *or* "sexual assault"
- "female scientists"
- "Committee of women"
- "gender discrimination"
- " women's jobs" *or* "women's career" *or* female employment
- "pregnant women" *or* "pregnancy"
- "family-friendly business"
- "women in agriculture"

Alternative Explanation:
Support for Traditional Gender Norms

Table 3: The Effect of Status Threat Treatment on Traditional Gender Norm

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	.062	.049	.022	-.008
	(.053)	(.054)	(.065)	(.065)
Young (< 40)		-.181^{+}	-.286***	-.277*
		(.011)	(.080)	(.123)
Treatment × Young			.137	.174
			(.110)	(.116)
Pre-treatment Controls		✓		✓
Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	930	895	930	895
R^2	.006	.107	.024	.109

Note: The outcome variable is *Traditional Gender Norm*. Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$: $p < 0.1$, *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < 0.01$, ***: $p < 0.001$.

- Young men have more liberal gender norms, and the status threat treatment does not make them to embrace more conservative gender norms