Rising Tide:
Gender Equality & Cultural Change around the World

Ronald Inglehart & Pippa Norris
(The University of Michigan and Harvard University)

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Publishers interested in further details should contact:

Dr Pippa Norris,
Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy,
John F.Kennedy School of Government,
Harvard University, Cambridge,
MA 02138
Tel: 617 495 1475,
Fax: 617 495 8696,
Email: Pippa_Norris@Harvard.edu
http://www.pippanorris.com
1. SYNOPSIS:

Socioeconomic development and the process of modernization has brought a profound transformation in the lives of women and men. The twentieth century saw an erosion of traditional segregated sex roles as women made considerable gains within the paid labor force, in educational opportunities, and in public life. Yet the force of this ‘rising tide’ varies substantially around the world, with significant contrasts among agrarian, industrial and postindustrial societies. There are also substantial cross-national differences even among nations as similar levels of development, such as between Sweden and Japan, the United States and the UK, or South Africa and India.

*Rising Tide* sets out to understand the role of socioeconomic development in transforming cultural attitudes towards gender equality, and the consequences of this process for women’s political mobilization. The core argument suggests that women and men’s lives have been altered in a two stage modernization process including (i) the shift from agrarian to industrialized societies, reducing fertility rates, bringing women into the paid laborforce, and increasing rates of literacy and education and (ii) the move from industrial towards postindustrial societies, generating more substantial gains towards gender equality in the public sphere and workplace. Societal development is understood to underpin attitudinal change, although at the same time the pace of change is conditioned by the cultural legacy and institutional structure in any given society, such as the role of an Islamic heritage, the legacy of Communism, and the level of democratization.

Most existing research on cultural attitudes towards gender equality is based upon the situation in the United States, as well as in West European countries, but it is not clear how far generalizations can be drawn more widely from these particular contexts to developing societies in Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. The comparative framework for the book is based upon almost 70 nations worldwide, ranging from less-prosperous countries such as India, China, Brazil, Pakistan, Nigeria and Egypt to some of the most affluent nations in the world, including Sweden, the United States and Japan. The range of nations provides significant variations in levels of socioeconomic development, rates of democratization, and types of cultural region, which will be incorporated into explanations of crossnational patterns of gender roles.

The study presents the results of original empirical analysis drawn from worldwide aggregate data from 1945-2000, documenting the long-term transformation of men and women’s lives in education, the paid workforce, the family and elected office, using sources such as the United Nations, UNESCO, the International Labour Organization, and the InterParliamentary Union. After sketching the broad background to social change, the heart of the book then focuses upon analyzing the four waves of the World Values surveys of public opinion from 1981-2000. The book presents the first results of the most recent wave, including some countries which have never been surveyed before by social scientists, such as Iran, Vietnam, Cuba and Zimbabwe. These surveys provide the broadest cross-national data which is currently available, monitoring attitudes towards gender roles in the family, household and workforce; men and women’s civic activism within voluntary organizations, new social movements and political parties; and a wide range of social and political attitudes and values, including ethical issues such as abortion, prostitution and divorce.

*Rising Tide* will provide the first book systematically comparing attitudes towards gender equality across a wide range of nations, including agrarian, industrialized and postindustrial societies. Its strengths are that it focuses on one of the key issues at the heart of the social sciences; the scope of the study means it will have an international market; the study will synthesize and present the results of research drawn from original evidence; and there is no equivalent book on the market produced within the last decade.
2. CONTENTS LIST:

Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World

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Synopsis:

Chapter 1. Introduction: Explaining the rising tide of gender equality

This chapter presents a brief overview of the main argument and a synopsis outlining the contents of subsequent chapters.

The revised version of modernization theory developed in this book hypothesizes that socioeconomic development brings changing gender roles in virtually any society. Modernization brings systematic, predictable changes in gender roles. The impact of modernization operates in two phases:

i. Industrialization—brings women into the paid work force and dramatically reduces fertility rates. Women gain in literacy and educational opportunities. Women are enfranchised and begin to participate in representative government, but still have far less power than men.

ii. Postindustrial phase: brings a shift toward greater gender equality as women move into higher status economic roles in management and the professions, and gain greater political influence within elected and appointed bodies. Over half of the world is not yet on this trajectory and even the most advanced industrial societies are still undergoing this process.

These two phases correspond to the two major dimensions of cross-cultural variation: (i) The transition from Traditional to Secular-rational values; and (ii) The transition from Survival to Self-expression values. The decline of the traditional family is linked with the first dimension. The rise of gender equality is linked with the second: as our article on Gender Equality and Democracy demonstrates, gender issues are a central component of the shift toward self-expression values.

The final section of this chapter would summarize the research design, including details about the World Values survey data, the comparative framework and the classification of the countries included in the study, and the time period for trend analysis. A brief synopsis will then outline the plan of the book and summarize the contents of subsequent chapters.
Chapter 2. From traditional roles to gender equality

What is the nature of the rising tide? Selected key indicators will be used to illustrate the shift towards greater equality in men and women’s lives. This chapter presents a summary of major trends over time among postindustrial, industrializing, and agrarian societies worldwide, using UN and UNDP aggregate indicators from 1945-2000. Basic changes in women and men’s roles will be illustrated (a) within the paid workforce; (b) within the home and family; (c) in literacy and education; and (d) within representative government.

What explains these developments?

Indirect attitudinal evidence:

i. Comparison among types of societies. Richer, post-industrial societies have much more egalitarian attitudes than poorer, agrarian and industrial ones.

ii. Intergenerational differences (largest in postindustrial societies, minor in agrarian societies) suggest that the former are undergoing intergenerational changes.

Direct attitudinal evidence:

Time series comparisons (1980-2000) of key items such as “Do men make better political leaders than women?” “When jobs are scarce, a man have more right to a job than women,” and “A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl.”

Chapter 3. Cultural and institutional barriers

The process of societal modernization is path-specific, and is conditioned by the cultural heritage and structural context of a given society. This chapter demonstrates that the cross-sectional differences on all of the key attitudes vary even among societies at similar levels of socioeconomic development according to factors such as their religious traditions, the Communist legacy, and levels of democratization. Multivariate analysis will demonstrate the effects of modernization, the cultural heritage, and the structural context. Rates of change also vary across cultures: is an Islamic heritage the most powerful barrier to change?

PART II. The political consequences of the rising tide.

Chapter 4. Gender gaps in voting behavior

This chapter focuses upon the shift from the traditional to the modern gender gap in voting behavior. The chapter compares cross-national support for parties across the left-right spectrum among women and men and considers how far these differences reflect the same modernization and cultural factors that shape attitudes towards traditional gender roles. The study also examines generational differences in the size of the gender gap.

Chapter 5. Gender gaps in political participation and leadership

Compare gender differences in three dimensions of political participation:

i. In state-oriented forms of mass participation including voting turnout; political discussion; and party membership;

ii. In ‘protest potential’ including signing petitions, boycotts, and other forms of elite-challenging activism, and

iii. In leadership positions as heads of state, as cabinet ministers, and in parliament.

We expect these differences to be affected by the two major forces of modernization and cultural heritage. Include Survival/Self-expression values, as well as the dummy variables for cultural heritage indicated in “Gender Equality and Democracy.”
Chapter 6. The gender gap in activism within new social movements

This chapter compares cross-national differences in attitudes towards new social movements -- particularly activism within the women's movement -- among women and men around the world. The analysis will consider the link between support for new social movements and for egalitarian attitudes. The role of socioeconomic development and of cultural legacies will be analyzed in explaining levels of support.

Chapter 7. Conclusions: Gender equality, democracy and development.

Why is gender equality such a central part of the rise of self-expression values—and democracy? Using Freedom House scores as dependent variable, analyze impact of modernization variables, self-expression values and cultural heritage on level of democracy. The conclusion will draw together the major findings from each of the chapters, and consider their implications for the gender equality worldwide.

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3. READERSHIP:

The aim is to produce a clear, well-written and original account of cultural attitudes towards gender equality around the world based on primary research. The book is designed to provide a research monograph in the field of political science. It will be of interest for colleagues and graduates, although it will also be accessible as a secondary text for a wider readership of undergraduates, journalists, and practitioners. The book will include standardised tables, figures and maps covering trends in cultural attitudes towards gender equality, to provide clear reference information. More technical research issues will be dealt with in greater detail within endnotes. The main target readership will be in the U.S. and Europe, although the thematic approach will raise relevant questions for a broader international market.

Rising Tide will provide a secondary text for courses in comparative women's studies, gender politics, comparative public opinion, political behaviour, comparative politics, comparative social movements, and political sociology. The book would suit a publisher with the organisation and commitment to promote this book internationally, as well as within the US.

4. THE AUTHORS:

RON INGLEHART is a professor of political science and program director at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. His research deals with changing belief systems and their impact on social and political change. He helped found the Euro-Barometer surveys and directs the World Values Surveys.

His main current research project is the World Values Survey, a worldwide investigation of sociocultural and political change. It has carried out representative national surveys of the basic values and beliefs of the people of more than 65 societies on all six inhabited continents, containing almost 80 percent of the world's population. Its first wave of surveys was carried out in 1981. A second wave was completed in 1990-1991, a third wave was carried out in 1995-1996, and a fourth wave is taking place in 1999-2001. This investigation has produced evidence of gradual but pervasive changes in what people want out of life. Because these changes are linked with economic development, their basic direction is, to some extent, predictable. This study has given rise to more than 300 publications, in 16 languages.

publications, he has been a visiting professor or visiting scholar in France, Germany, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Nigeria, and he has served as a consultant to the U.S. State Department and the European Union.

For more information, see Inglehart’s website:  http://wvs.isr.umich.edu/ringlehart/index.html

Mailing address:  4255 ISR, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106 -1248.  Telephone: 734-936-1767; FAX: 734 -764-3341; e-mail: RFI@umich.edu.

PIPPA NORRIS is Associate Director (Research) of the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and she lectures in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government.


Author of over one hundred and thirty articles and chapters on comparative political behaviour she has also edited special issues of Parliamentary Affairs, the European Journal of Political Research, and the International Journal of Political Science. She co-founded the Elections, Parties and Public Opinion group of the PSA (EPOP). She has served on the APSA Council, the Executive of the International Political Science Association, and the Political Science Association of the UK, as well as the editorial boards of Electoral Studies, Politics Review, The European Journal of Political Research, Political Communication, Representation, and Party Politics. She was co-director of the ESRC-funded British Election Study 1997. She is co-founding editor of a quarterly journal, the Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, published by Sage.

She holds a Bachelor of Arts in Politics and Philosophy from Warwick University, and Masters and Doctoral degrees in Politics from the London School of Economics (LSE). She has taught political science for more than twenty years, prior to Harvard at Edinburgh University, and held visiting fellowships at Columbia University, the University of California, Berkeley and the Australian National University.

Full details can be found at http://www.pippanorris.com

5. REVIEW OF THE MARKET: WHY A NEW BOOK?

As shown in the attached select bibliography, recent years have seen growing interest in comparative political science focusing on women and politics, women and development, and the process of cultural change. An extensive literature about these topics has been published as journal articles, with a smaller
The predominant research agenda has broadened over the years. Following the early studies pioneered by Maurice Duverger (1955), much of the work published in the 1960s and 1970s was often primarily descriptive, concerned to document and map the extent of sex differences in political behavior, drawing upon examples from particular countries, rather than adopting a more analytical and systematic approach. Reflecting gains for women in public life, the subsequent research agenda moved from tracing gender inequalities in participation towards studying what difference women’s leadership has made to the policy agenda.

Moreover the global scope of the subfield has also gradually widened. Much of the early research on women and politics concentrated on established democracies, primarily the U.S., Western Europe, Scandinavia, and Australasia, but in the 1990s, following the expansion of the number of democracies, newer work has rapidly expanded to cover a wide range of post-Communist and developing societies.

Comparative books in political science have typically focused on a common range of topics: the gender gap in electoral turnout and party support (eg Christie 1987; Mueller 1988); conventional forms of political participation like party membership (Lovenduski and Norris 1993); women’s recruitment and leadership in elected office (Vianello and Simienska 1990; Norris 1997; Davis 1997; Karam 1998; Klausen and Maier 2001; Henig and Henig 2001); the growth of the second wave women’s movement (Lovenduski 1986; Dahlerrup 1986; Gelb 1989; Brill 1995; Jacquette and Wolchik 1998; Smith 2000); and the role of women and the state (Rai and Livesley 1997; Stetson and Mazur 1995); as well as general overviews of women and politics on a country-by-country basis (Nelson and Chowdhury 1994). In addition an extensive and rich literature, far too large to describe here, has covered these issues within specific nations. The study will draw on these sources to see how far the core ideas and findings apply within a broader range of cultural and institutional contexts.

Initial research using the 1981-1995 WVS dataset has already produced a number of journal articles, listed in the bibliography, and the book would build upon this foundation.

6. PROPOSED LENGTH:

The book is designed to be about 65,000 words in length. This allows about 8,000 words per chapter, plus a technical appendix, an integrated bibliography, name index and subject index.

7. PUBLICATION SCHEDULE:

The final typescript is planned for delivery to the publisher by December 2002, with a view to publication no later than mid-August 2003, for launch at the APSA annual meeting in the fall.

8. CONTRACT:

Developing the book will involve some general expenses, particularly the need for a research assistant to help assemble standard material for the tables. Some of these funds will be raised from institutional sources but we would expect some contribution from the publisher. Accordingly among the provisions we would wish to see in the contract are:

- an advance against royalties for of $2000 payable on signature of the contract
- an advance against royalties for of $2000 payable on submission of the typescript;
- twenty paperback copies of the book to each of the authors (40 in total);
- consultation on the design and layout of the book, including the cover;
- text will be submitted on disk;
the publishers will be responsible for producing the index, in consultation with the editors;

simultaneous publication in hardback and paperback, the latter costed for the student market.

9. SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


CAWP. http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/ggap.html


Inglehart, Margaret. 1979. 'Political Interest in West European Women.' *West European Politics*.


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