Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change

Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris

Details: www.pippanorris.com
I. Theories of gender equality

II. Evidence & methods
   • Crossnational surveys
   • Multi-method research strategies

III. Conclusions
Preface
List of Tables and Figures

Part I: The causes of the rising tide

1. Introduction: Explaining the rising tide of gender equality
2. From traditional roles towards gender equality
3. Religion, secularization, and gender equality

Part II: The consequences of the rising tide

4. The gender gap in voting and public opinion
5. Political activism
6. Women as political leaders
7. Conclusions: gender equality, democratization and development

CUP Spring 2003
I: Theories of gender inequality

1. Economic growth and human development 1960s
   - Expansion in schooling and health, safety net and service sector
   - Limits of development for women

2. Role of the State 1980s+
   - Human rights, legal reforms, and political institutions
   - De jure not de facto equality

3. Cultural barriers
   - Norms, beliefs and values about division of sex roles
   - Rest on societal modernization and religious traditions
   - Not a novel claim yet systematic evidence scarce
Pay gaps OECD

Gender gap in median earnings of full-time employees, 2006 or latest year available

OECD average = 17.6%

Source: OECD Family Database >LMFS and OECD Earnings database.
US pay gap closes but persists

Trends in gender wage gap in median earnings of full-time employees, 1980-2006

Source: OECD Family Database >LMF5 and OECD Earnings database.
Time gaps persist

Gender differences in leisure time, minutes per day (positive figures show a male advantage)

Modernization theory

**Agrarian to modern**
- From agriculture to heavy industry
- Rural to urban
- Division church and state
- Mass education and literacy
- Occupational specialization
- Working class and urban bourgeoisie, decline of peasants and landed estates
- Bureaucratic rational-legal authority, expansion of franchise
- Basic welfare state and social protection, education/health
- From extended to nuclear families
- Entry more women into paid workforce

**Modern to Post-modern**
- Service sector
- Urban to suburban
- Secularization & scientific authority
- Higher education
- Flexible careers
- From ascribed to achieved status, decline in political salience of class cleavage
- Growth of multilayered governance, rise of new participatory demands
- Market liberalization and contracting out of social protection functions
- Growth non-traditional households
- Growing sex equality in the home and workplace
Modernization brings systematic, *predictable* changes in gender roles.

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

3. The **postindustrial phase** brings a shift toward greater gender equality as women move into higher status economic roles in management and the professions, and gain political influence within elected and appointed bodies.
II: Methods and evidence
Growth of comparative surveys

1. World Values Survey 1981-2001 - 78 societies
2. Eurobarometer (integrated 1970-2000)
3. Globalbarometer
   Afrobarometer, Latinobarometer, Asiabarometer
4. International Social Survey Programme
5. European Social Survey 2002 - 23 societies
6. Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
7. +Aggregate social and political indicators
   - Freedom House, World Bank ‘Good Governance’ Kaufmann, Polity V, Transparency International, UNDP/WB Development Indicators
World Values Study 1981-2001
Coverage in 78 societies
Multiple Methods

1. Individual-level analysis eg by background
2. Societal-level analysis:
   - From nations to types
   - Institutional classifications + survey analysis
3. Social-political indicators + aggregate data
5. Cohort analysis by generation
6. Selected case studies - regions/outliers
Gender Equality Scale Items

* **MENPOL**
  “On the whole, men make better political leader than women do.”

* **MENJOBS**
  “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.”

* **BOYEDUC**
  “A university education is more important for a boy than a girl.”

**NEEĐKID**
“Do you think that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled or is this not necessary?”

* **SGLMUM**
  “If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent but she doesn’t want to have a stable relationship with a man, do you approve or disapprove?”

**Valid scale? ‘Western’ values or universal scale?**
Logged Per Capita GDP 1998 (PPP $US) vs. Gender Equality scale (5 item)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Indicator</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>N. Nations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIETAL INDICATORS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita GDP (PPP $US$)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>.621</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Development Index (HDI)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>.657</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Urban population</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>.538</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% GNP from services</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>.389</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% GNP from agriculture</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>-.587</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average life expectancy (years)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>.505</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily supply of calories</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>.482</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita commercial energy use (oil equivalent)</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>.611</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita electricity consumption (kw-hours)</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>.635</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt service ratio</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>.415</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency ratio (%)</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>-.271</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food aid in cereals (thou. Metric tons)</td>
<td>1994-5</td>
<td>-.609</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug crimes (per 100,000 people)</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>.616</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of democratization (Freedom House Index)</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>.494</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beta (B)</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Standardized Betas (strongest)</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>44.589</td>
<td>.875</td>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Development Index 1998</td>
<td>37.176</td>
<td>.947</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Democratization 1999-2000</td>
<td>1.416</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>.104</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIAL BACKGROUND</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (Years)</td>
<td>-.147</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>-.139</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Men=1, Women=0)</td>
<td>-5.102</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>-.137</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (3-categories)</td>
<td>2.947</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of church attendance (7-pt scale)</td>
<td>-.817</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>-.090</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work status (In paid work=1, Else=0)</td>
<td>.551</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married or living as married (1, Else=0)</td>
<td>-.800</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>-.021</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With at least one child (1, Else=0)</td>
<td>-1.125</td>
<td>.235</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family savings in past year (4-pt scale)</td>
<td>-.424</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>-.022</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>REGION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>-11.506</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>-.246</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and Eastern Europe</td>
<td>-10.121</td>
<td>.213</td>
<td>-.234</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>-8.991</td>
<td>.298</td>
<td>-.130</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>-1.979</td>
<td>.278</td>
<td>-.032</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>-.830</td>
<td>.381</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>1.474</td>
<td>.394</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>1.988</td>
<td>.379</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender Equality by Sex

Men

Women

Cohort of Birth

Mean Gender Equality Scale 1995-2000 (5 item)

Type of Society:
- Postindustrial
- Industrial
- Rural

Cohort of Birth

Mean Gender Equality Scale 1995-2000 (5 item)

Type of Society:
- Postindustrial
- Industrial
- Rural
Shifts in moral/sexual values

![Graph showing shifts in moral/sexual values](image)

**Approval-disapproval of divorce**

**Type of Society**
- Postindustrial
- Industrial
- Agrarian

**Women**
- 1900-1916
- 1917-1926
- 1927-1936
- 1937-1946
- 1947-1956
- 1957-1966
- 1967-1976
- 1977-1984

**Mean divorce**
- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8

**Men**
- 1900-1916
- 1917-1926
- 1927-1936
- 1937-1946
- 1947-1956
- 1957-1966
- 1967-1976
- 1977-1984

**Mean divorce**
- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
Abortion and Homosexuality

Women

Mean abortion

Type of Society
- Postindustrial
- Industrial
- Agrarian

GENDER: Women


1.0 2.0 3.0 4.0 5.0 6.0 7.0 8.0

Men

Mean abortion

Type of Society
- Postindustrial
- Industrial
- Agrarian

GENDER: Men


1.0 2.0 3.0 4.0 5.0 6.0 7.0 8.0

Reversed cohort
The combined 6-item ‘strength of religiosity’ scale, standardized to 100-points, consists of the following items:

- **Identify**: V186. “Independently of whether you go to church or not, would you say you are…A religious person, not a religious person, or a convinced atheist?” (% religious)
- **Attend**: V185. “Apart from weddings, funerals and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?” (% Once a week or more)
- **Importance**: V196. “How important is God in your life.” (% ‘Very’ scaled 6-10).
- **Believe**: V191 “Do you believe in God?” (%Yes)
- **Life**: V192. “Do you believe in life after death?” (% Yes)
- **Comfort**: V197. “Do you find that you get comfort and strength from religion?”

Source: Pooled World Values Study 1980-2000
Religiosity by Sex

Women

Type of Society
- Postindustrial
- Industrial
- Agrarian

Strength of Religiosity Scale

Men

Type of Society
- Postindustrial
- Industrial
- Agrarian

Strength of Religiosity Scale
Cultural shifts have consequences?

![Graph showing the relationship between support for women in politics (WVS) and the percentage of women in the lower house (IPU 2000). The graph includes data points for various countries, indicated by different symbols for type of state: non-democratic, semi-democracy, newer democracy, and older democracy. The Rsq value is 0.4850.](image-url)
III: Conclusions

1. Societal modernization leads to predictable culture shift
2. Significant consequences for development & for women in public life.
3. Need methodological triangulation for comparative analysis

*Rising Tide* (Cambridge University Press 2003)

www.pippanorris.com
Subsequent work

- Norris and Inglehart *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (CUP 2004)
- Norris and Inglehart *Cosmopolitan Communications: National Cultures in a Globalized World* (CUP 2009)
- Norris *Democratic Deficit: Rising aspirations, negative news or failing performance?* (CUP 2011)