

# INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP **GENDER & POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN ASIA AND BEYOND**

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**NOVEMBER 25-26, 2022**

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@G-Lab, Mita Campus, Keio University

# GENDER & POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN ASIA AND BEYOND

November 25 (Friday) & 26(Saturday), 2022

For in-person participation: G-Lab, Mita Campus, Keio University

For online participation: please register using the links below/ the meeting link is the same for all sessions for both dates

<https://keio-univ.zoom.us/meeting/register/tZ0kf-ysqDouHNIgqdZtimSeFxbIM2oZTknx>

This event is sponsored by the Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research, Waseda University, Keio University, and the V-Dem East Asia Regional Center.

For inquiries, please contact Yuko Kasuya ([ykasuya@keio.jp](mailto:ykasuya@keio.jp))

# DAY 1 (NOVEMBER 25, FRIDAY)

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## Morning Sessions

**10:00-12:35**

10:00- 10:05 Opening Remarks

Yoshikuni Ono (Waseda University / Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research)

### JAPAN

10:05-11:15 Gender Differences in Japanese Political Media Coverage

Karen Kaminaga (Waseda University)

11:25-12:35 Intrahousehold Welfare: Theory and Application to Japanese Data

Yoko Okuyama (Uppsala University / Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research)

—Lunch Break—

## Afternoon Sessions

**13:30-17:00**

### EAST ASIA

13:30-14:40 The Gendering Impact of Facebook on Candidates' Self-presentation

Wan-ying Yang (National Cheng-Chi University)

14:55-16:05

Making Parties Work for Gender Equality: Bounded Political Agency of Party Women

Ki-young Shin (Ochanomizu University)

16:20-17:30

Continuity and Change in Women's Issue Representation in the Legislature: Evidence from the Korean National Assembly, 1948-2022

Min Hee Go (Ewha Womans University)

# DAY 2 (NOVEMBER 26, SATURDAY)

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## Morning Sessions

10:00-12:35

### SOUTHEAST ASIA

10:00-11:10 Widening the Base: Women's Representation at the Local Level in Indonesia

Sally White (Australian National University)

11:25-12:35 Getting to the Top: Career Paths of Female Ministers in Post-Suharto Indonesia

Ella S. Prihatini (Bina Nusantara University)

—Lunch Break—

## Afternoon Sessions

13:30-17:00

13:30-13:35 Welcome Remarks

Yuichiro Anzai (CEO, Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research)

### NEW APPROACHES TO STUDYING GENDER

13:35-14:45 The Political Consequences of the Mental Load

Ana Catalano Weeks (University of Bath)

14:55-16:05 The Limited Effects of Gender in Voter Evaluations: Using a Conjoint Experiment in South Korea

Yeosola Kweon (Sungkyunkwan University)

16:20-17:30 Position Congruity Bias: Why Voters in Developing Countries May be Particularly Biased Against Women as Village Leaders

Paul Schuler (University of Arizona)

17:30-17:35 Closing Remarks

Yuko Kasuya (Keio University / Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research)

# JAPAN

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## **Gender Differences in reporting by Japanese Media within Political Election Coverage**

Karen Kaminaga (Waseda University)

The question of gendered reporting within the media in the political arena has always yielded an inconsistent answer, with researchers often ending up with a mixed bag of results. However, while large quantities of gender media coverage of politicians are conducted in the United States and a few others in Europe, not much has been done regarding the Asian context. This study places this contemporary research within the East Asian context: specifically in Japan, a country notorious for having one of the worst rates of female political participation, where in the 2022 World Economic Forum Gender Gap Report was ranked 116th overall and 139th out of 146 countries in the women's political empowerment. This study looks at the differences between the political media coverages in two major Japanese newspapers over the span of three different elections cycles in the 2010s, with the intent of focusing on the potential effects of gender on Japanese politicians and their election coverages as well as the possible implications that this could yield in election outcomes.

## **Intrahousehold Welfare: Theory and Application to Japanese Data (2021, with Pierre-André Chiappori and Costas Meghir)**

Yoko Okuyama (Uppsala University)

Measuring individual-level well-being is crucial when we think about public policy, and existing literature has shown that substantial inequality is hidden within the household (Lise & Seitz, 2011). Earlier work has addressed such intra-household inequality, but it has yet to account for household public goods when measuring it. To shed light on this issue, we develop a new way to measure intra-household inequality that reflects individual well-being derived from household public goods. Using a collective household model, we defined the Money Metric Welfare Index (MMWI), which is essentially a monetary amount that a person would need to reach the current utility level if she were to pay the full price of household public goods. We show that the MMWI is uniquely identified up to an increasing transformation. Then we structurally estimate the collective household model and compute the MMWI using the Japanese Panel Survey of Consumers (JPSC). The JPSC is particularly suitable for our purpose because it provides variables that the MMWI requires, including expenditure for household public goods and time use. Estimated MMWI allows us to see how the intrahousehold inequality evolved in the last 20 years.

# EAST ASIA

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## **The gendering impact of facebook on candidates' self-presentation**

Wan-Ying Yang (National Chengchi University)

Social media changes the way politicians present themselves and communicate with their constituency. With the ubiquity of social media, many scholars increasingly adopt interchangeable concepts – personalization, individualization, privatization, to portray these new forms of inter-communication between

politicians and their voters. This study investigates two questions in Taiwan's legislative elections: First, as social media is a relatively lower-cost and high-interactivity media which is considered to be more supportive of less privileged candidates, are female candidates more likely to use social media compared to male candidates? Secondly, as social media is closely associated with personalization, would female candidates be more likely to post personalized messages, presenting herself in a more individualized way to connect with their voters? This study examines how the candidates of major parties "publicize" their "personas" on facebook and their gender implications during the 2020 legislative election in Taiwan. We downloaded the posted contents of officially registered facebook of legislative candidates for three months prior to the electoral day and analyzed the personalizing patterns for candidates of both sexes.

### **Making Parties Work for Gender Equality: Bounded Political Agency of Party Women**

Ki-young Shin (Ochanomizu University)

Political parties are key players in liberal democracies. They are not only competing entities for political power, but also providing channels for citizens to participate in politics. The most important role of a political party is, above all, to recruit and elect candidates to run for election. The party's choice of which candidates to nominate is fundamentally party's freedom and constitutional rights. That logic became the reason why political parties have adopted a nomination strategy that focuses only on winning elections without taking into consideration of nominating candidates of various backgrounds. It is particularly evident in countries that have adopted a winner-take-all, single-member constituency system. And the result is the election of a majority of elite men from very similar backgrounds. Quotas were introduced to change such nomination system of the parties so that more women could be nominated to run for election. Many previous studies have investigated whether quotas changed the party's nomination patterns as intended. However, the institutional effect of the quota system is determined by the struggle, compromise, and practice of actors within the party. Women within a party fight various male-dominated formal and informal institutions of a party in the position of an insider to enhance women's political representation. When a party organization is closed and male-dominated, that agency of women within the party is often rendered invisible.

The purpose of this article is to theorize the role of women politicians in a party where women are an absolute minority with the concept of "bounded political agency." The agency of female politicians within a party is revealed through the contradictory role of breaking the old customs and rules within the party while simultaneously showing loyalty to the party as a member of the party. To this end, this article examines the various strategies that female politicians take, for example, to connect inside and outside the party and makes visible the roles of female politicians in contributing to a better political representation.

## **Continuity and Change in Women's Issue Evolution in the Legislature: Legislative Debates in the Korean National Assembly, 1948-2022**

Min Hee Go (joint with Yeojin Chung)

Does democracy matter for promoting gender equality? Existing literature shows that women's issues receive greater attention in democratic systems than its authoritarian counterparts, and yet contrasting evidence also exists as to how authoritarian regimes may equally be concerned with women's rights as democracies. Focusing on South Korea, this paper investigates the link between democratization and the representation of women's issues. Tracing the temporal trend of gender equality discussions in legislative debates, we examine whether, and in what ways, democratization has shifted the nature and extent of gender equality debates in tandem with the regime change. In so doing, we consider all speeches from the first plenary session of the Republic of Korea's Constituent Assembly (제헌국회; 制憲國會) in 1948 to the most current session in 2022.

Analyzing the entire corpus of the parliamentary speeches (462,568 in total) from every plenary session meeting (4,898 in total), we found that democratization has a nuanced influence on promoting gender equality in the legislature. Compared to other topics, women's issues received significantly less attention throughout the legislative sessions. After the democratization in 1987, however, women's issue evolution gained greater salience, and legislating gender-related measures was also actively discussed. Finally, such efforts were stabilized at the turn of the century as South Korea reached a stage of consolidated democracy. These findings suggest that the process of institutionalizing gender equality is not linear but dynamic, and structural changes matter for understanding the dynamics of gender debates.

## **SOUTHEAST ASIA**

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### **Getting to the Top: Career Paths of Female Ministers in Post-Suharto Indonesia**

Ella Prihatini (BINUS University)

A growing body of research has shown that more and more women are appointed as cabinet ministers. As of September 2021, the global average of women in ministerial posts has increased to 21%, with only 14 countries having achieved the "parity cabinet" (UN Women, 2021). Furthermore, female ministers are overrepresented in feminine and low prestige portfolios, including family/children/youth, social affairs, environment, labor, and women affairs. However, most studies covering mainly Western and industrialized countries. There is still relatively little research on women in cabinets across countries and time in Asia, for example. To fill this lacunae of research, our paper aims to examine the persistent gender inequalities in the politics of ministerial assignment in post-Suharto Indonesia. Using a unique dataset of ministerial appointments in Indonesia since 1998, we seek to explore different routes and intersectionality in cabinet ministerial appointments in the world's fourth most populous nation and third largest democracy. We have created a unique data set which covers all cabinet members in Indonesia. The time frame of our analyses starts in 1998 and ends in 2021, covering two decades following the fall of Suharto's authoritarian regime. The period selection is critical as the post-Suharto era is often considered as more democratic and open to gender equal norms (Prihatini, 2019). On the other hand, the last two decades witnessed the rise of Indonesia's first female president, Megawati Soekarnoputri.

For the first part of the analysis, we aim to expand the knowledge on the distribution of female ministers by seven post-Suharto administrations. Here, we are particularly interested in observing whether or not female leadership leads to more women being appointed to serve as ministers. We also seek to establish the correlation between the share of women in ministerial posts and in the national parliament. The second part of the findings elaborates the patterns in ministerial appointments. We seek to identify any discernible patterns in terms of ministerial appointments, for example whether women tend to work in feminine and low prestige portfolios. We built on a coding scheme by previous studies that assigned portfolios to levels of prestige and gender traits (Kroeber & Hüffelmann, 2021; Krook & O'Brien, 2012; Prihatini, 2021). We identify portfolios with a low level of prestige as those lacking resources for patronage, a medium level as those with significant financial resources but limited visibility and status, and portfolios with the highest level of prestige as those with strong visibility and control over policy (Krook & O'Brien, 2012, p. 845). Likewise, we followed the coding of feminine, masculine, and neutral portfolios by Krook and O'Brien (2012). The findings suggest that even though women are starting to gain appointments to high-profile and masculine cabinet portfolios, the overall evidence supports prior studies which highlight gendered patterns to cabinet appointments.

## **NEW APPROACHES TO STUDYING GENDER**

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### **The Political Consequences of the Mental Load**

Ana Catalano Weeks (University of Bath)

How do levels of cognitive household labor -- the “mental load” involved in anticipating, fulfilling, and monitoring household needs -- affect political engagement? The mental load is distinct from the physical tasks of e.g., cooking and cleaning, and thought to be disproportionately undertaken by women. Thus far, the few studies addressing the issue have used qualitative methods to document it, and the topic has yet to be studied in political science research. As a result, we may be underestimating household gender gaps and their impact on politics. To investigate this question, I field a descriptive survey on politics and household work to parents in the United States. My survey's novel approach uses a series of questions that ask about who in the household does different cognitive labor tasks. I argue that women have higher mental loads than men, and large mental loads decrease political interest for women. I find support for this theory: women report being mostly responsible for 70 percent of cognitive household labor, while men report being mostly responsible for 30 percent. This 40 percent gender gap is twice as large as the gender gap in physical household labor, and it persists across a range of characteristics. Additionally, I find that the mental load moderates the relationship between gender and political interest, with women, but not men, reporting less interest in politics as the mental load increases. Taken together, my findings offer new empirical evidence about a gender gap too often hidden, and its consequences for equality in democratic life.

## **The Limited Effects of Gender in Voter Evaluations: Using a Conjoint Experiment in South Korea**

Yeosola Kweon (Sungkyunkwan University)

What conditions enable sexism to dominate candidate evaluations? Sexism reinforces gender bias in politics, creating barriers for women running in elections. While literature on gender and politics emphasizes that sexism is held by both men and women, this paper argues that the effect of sexism on candidate evaluations differs by voters' gender. By shaping baseline gendered preferences for candidates, voters' gender identity creates ceiling and floor effects for sexism. Further, we argue that information environments matter in moderating sexism effects. While sexism interacts with candidate gender to produce biased preferences, when voters have opportunities to learn about candidates' political orientations, candidate gender becomes a less important factor in evaluations even for those with strong sexism. Focusing on hostile and benevolent sexism, we test these arguments using a conjoint experiment in South Korea, the country with prevalent sexism in politics. The findings suggest that the effect of sexism on candidate evaluations varies by voters' gender and the types of sexism. Nevertheless, for most groups, high-information environments are effective at reducing gender bias not only against women candidates, but also in favor of women candidates among voters, generally weakening the effect of candidate gender in candidate evaluations.

## **Position Congruity Bias: Why Voters in Developing Countries May be Particularly Biased Against Women as Village Leaders**

Paul Schuler (University of Arizona)

Village leaders constitute vital citizen-state links in developing countries. Do voters bias against women holding these positions more than other positions? I theorize that women face additional bias as village leaders because these positions derive legitimacy from tradition. In patrilineal societies, this means village leaders proxy as lineage group heads, who are traditionally men. Because this bias is specific to the position and not based on "masculine" role expectations, I label this "position congruity bias." I test this theory over three waves of a massive, nationally representative survey experiment in Vietnam. The preregistered findings demonstrate that women face high levels of bias when running as village leaders. Additionally, most results align with predictions that women face greater bias in areas where the position carries more traditional meaning. Finally, results strongly suggest that the source of the bias differs from the prominent role congruity explanation that explains bias for other positions.

# PAPER PRESENTER SHORT BIO

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**Min Hee Go** is associate professor of political science and international relations at Ewha Womans University, South Korea. Prior to joining Ewha, Go earned her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and taught as assistant professor at the City University of New York (CUNY). Her research interests broadly concern key issues in inequality, diversity and sustainability, including gender, race and ethnicity, and sustainable development. Her first book, *Rethinking Community Resilience: The Politics of Disaster Recovery in New Orleans* (NYU Press, 2021) examines how civic capacity may compromise the process of building equitable and resilient communities. For her second project, Go investigates varieties of gender inequality in East Asia. She can be reached at [minheego@ewha.ac.kr](mailto:minheego@ewha.ac.kr).

**Karen Kaminaga** has earned her undergraduate degree at the Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington where her focus of study was on the political opposition and political climate of Japan. She is now pursuing a M.A. in Contemporary Political Science at the Waseda University Graduate School of Political Science with an interest in the relationship of Gender and Media within Japanese Politics.

**Yesola Kweon** is an assistant professor of Political Science at Sungkyunkwan University (SKKU). Her research interests are political economy, political behavior, and public policy with a focus on post-industrial economies, particularly in East Asia. Within these broad fields, she studies how new forms of inequality associated with post-industrialization affect the behavior of political actors and in turn, reshape public policy. Her work is published or forthcoming in journals such as *Political Research Quarterly*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *West European Politics* among others. She is an author of the book, *Democracy Under Siege?* (Oxford University Press, 2020).

**Yoko Okuyama** is an Assistant Professor at the economics department of Uppsala University, affiliated with the Uppsala Center for Fiscal Studies, Uppsala Center for Labor Studies, Center for Research and Education in Program Evaluation at the University of Tokyo, and Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research. Her current research focuses on the intersection of Political economics and Labor economics, particularly relating to gender differences in political and economic behaviors. In particular, her research agenda mainly centers around two themes. One is to understand the causes and consequences of gender disparity in political and labor market participation. The other is to shed light on intrahousehold inequality. Her most recent project also bridges these two themes to understand the interplay between the micro-level of families and the macro-level of national institutions. She completed BA and MA in economics at the University of Tokyo and Ph.D. in economics at Yale University.

**Ella Prihatini** is a senior lecturer of International Relations at Bina Nusantara (BINUS) University. She earned her Ph.D. from the University of Western Australia in 2019 as an Endeavour scholar. Her research interests focus on women's political participation, political dynasties, digital diplomacy, and social media usage in politics. Her works have been published in *Politics & Gender*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *Contemporary Politics*, and *Women's Studies International Forum*. In 2019, Ella was listed by The Australian newspaper as Australia's top 40 researchers who are less than 10 years into their careers. Her book chapter published by Routledge (2022) examines the progress of women's substantive representation following the fall of Soeharto's authoritarianism regime.

**Paul Schuler** is an associate professor of political science at the University of Arizona School of Government and Public Policy. He has published one book and more than 20 articles, primarily on gender, authoritarian institutions, and Vietnamese politics. His work has appeared in journals such as the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Politics*, and *Comparative Political Studies*. He is currently visiting Waseda University.

**Ki-young Shin** is Professor of Political Science and Gender Studies in the Graduate School of Humanities and Sciences and the Institute for Gender Studies at Ochanomizu University. She received Ph.D. in Political Science at University of Washington, Seattle. Her research interests include gender quotas, comparative women's movements and gender policies in East Asia. She is the winner of two best paper awards from International Political Science Association and Western Political Science Association. In 2018 she co-founded the Academy for Gender Parity to train young women's political leadership. Her academic works have been published widely in International Journals such as *International Political Science Review*, *Politics & Gender*, *Pacific Affairs* among others. Most recent article, "Above all, it will boil down to money problems": The impact of gender-targeted public financing on political parties and women candidates in South Korea," is published in *IPSR* (2022, with SH Kwon).

**Ana Catalano Weeks** is a Senior Lecturer (Associate Professor) in Comparative Politics at the University of Bath. She studies the causes and consequences of women's inclusion in politics, with a focus on party politics in OECD democracies. Her book, *Making Gender Salient: From Gender Quota Laws to Policy*, was published in June of 2022 as part of Cambridge University Press' Cambridge Studies in Gender and Politics series. Her research has appeared in journals including *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Political Science Review*, and *Political Behavior*. She can be reached at: [a.c.weeks@bath.ac.uk](mailto:a.c.weeks@bath.ac.uk).

**Sally White** is a Research Fellow in the Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs at The Australian National University. From 2018 to 2021 Sally was a key researcher in the ‘Supporting the Rules-Based Order in Southeast Asia (SEARBO)’ project funded by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), co-heading research components on women’s political participation in Indonesia (with Edward Aspinall), and on polarisation within the Islamic community in Indonesia (with Greg Fealy). Sally’s current research focus is a continuation of her SEARBO work on the factors determining women’s political participation at both the national and local level in Indonesia and on Islamic polarisation. Together with Edward Aspinall and Amalinda Savirani, she edited a special edition of the Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs (Volume 40 Issue 1, April 2021) on Women and Elections in Indonesia.

**Wan-Ying Yang** is professor of the Department of Political Science, currently serving as the dean of the College of Social Sciences, National Chengchi University, Taiwan. Her major research subjects are identity and gender politics, political attitudes and behaviors, electoral studies, and democratization theory. She has published many articles in Taiwan and international journals, including most recently, Social Science Japan Journal, Asian Journal for Public Opinion Research, Asian Women, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, Taiwanese Journal of Political Science, and Taiwan Democracy Quarterly. She has been a visiting professor at University of Göttingen, University of Tübingen, Germany. She can be reached at email: [ywy5166@gmail.com](mailto:ywy5166@gmail.com)