

Processo seletivo para aluno regular do Mestrado Profissional em Poder Legislativo

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Leia o texto abaixo e responda, em português, as questões que o seguem:

UNDERSTANDING FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE US CONGRESS

Excerpt from the article “The Career Length and Service of Female Policymakers in the US House of Representatives” [Praino, R., & Stockemer, D. (2016). *Government and Opposition*, 1–24. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2016.37>], published online by Cambridge University Press: 18 October 2016

Abstract

Various studies have outlined the institutional (e.g. the existence of quota laws and the electoral system type of a country) and non-institutional factors (e.g. the political culture of a country) that account for variation in women’s representation, in general, and, in more detail, the low representation of women in the US Congress. However, no study has, so far, compared the Congressional career paths of men and women in order to understand whether this gender gap in representation stems from a difference in terms of the duration and importance of the careers of male and female policymakers. Using data on all US House elections between 1972 and 2012, we provide such an analysis, evaluating whether or not the political careers of women in the US House of Representatives are different from the political careers of their male counterparts. Our findings indicate that the congressional careers of men and women are alike and, if anything, women may even have a small edge over their male colleagues.

1. In comparison to other Western democracies – and arguably to most countries in the world – the United States features a mix of most of the factors that the comparative literature identifies as disadvantageous in terms of female representation (Tremblay 2012). From a cultural point of view, the level of religious activity, coupled with the non-existence of real leftist political movements and parties, is detrimental to the representation of women (cf. Inglehart and Norris 2003; Mateo Diaz 2005; Paxton and Kunovich 2003). Socioeconomically, the gender gap in high-ranking jobs, the almost total lack of welfare provisions designed to keep women in the workforce and the high levels of income inequality generally registered throughout the country are all factors known to contribute to low levels of female representation (cf. Darcy et al. 1994; Reynolds 1999; Rosenbluth et al. 2006). Even most of the institutional makeup of the United States, from its singlemember electoral districts to the

complete lack of gender quotas at all levels of political representation, contribute to make the US a country that lags behind most other Western countries in terms of the representation of women (cf. Henig and Henig 2001; Hughes and Paxton 2008; Kenny and Verge 2016; Krook 2009, 2010; Matland 1998; Paxton 1997; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Stockemer 2011). In fact, despite the fact that the percentage of women elected to state legislatures and the US Congress has 'more than quadrupled' over the past four decades (Cammisa and Reingold 2004: 181), women are currently still underrepresented in US legislatures at both federal and state levels (King 2002). This lack of representation is especially visible at the federal level, where currently women only make up about 18 per cent of individuals serving in Congress, even though they account for 51 per cent of the US population.

2. Even though the US Congress is one of the least female-friendly legislative bodies in the world, a number of women have served in it. According to Gertzog (2002), there are three distinct 'pathways' that women have pursued to enter the US Congress and, more in general, develop political careers. In earlier years, the majority of women elected to Congress were either widows of deceased MCs or women who came from families of great wealth or with well-known regional or national political connections (Foerstel and Foerstel 1996; Kincaid 1978; Solowiej and Brunell 2003). Between 1966 and 1982 this picture began to change, and 58 per cent of all women elected to the US House of Representatives could be defined as 'strategic politicians' (Gertzog 2002). Stating that female MCs are 'strategic politicians' has a number of implications in terms of candidate quality and decision to run (cf. Carson et al. 2007; Jacobson and Kernell 1983; Maestas and Rugeley 2008; Stone et al. 2004). It also requires further thought in terms of determining their objectives, given the assumption of rationality (cf. Black 1972).

3. On the first issue, it has been determined that in the United States fewer women than men decide to run for public office, both in general (e.g. Rule 1981) and in primary elections (Ondercin and Welch 2009). In part, this decision may be a consequence of the fact that women perceive themselves as less qualified to run for office than men do (cf. Burns et al. 2001; Deckman 2004). More interestingly, however, it seems that, acting strategically, women tend to run for office only when open seats are available (Palmer and Simon 2001) and their chances of winning are higher, as no candidate enjoys the incumbency advantage (cf. Abramowitz 1991; Cox and Katz 1996; Gelman and King 1990; Praino and Stockemer 2012a, 2012b; Stockemer and Praino 2012). In fact, scholars have shown that even though women in politics seem to have to work harder than men in order to achieve similar outcomes (Fulton 2012), when women run for Congress they are as likely to win as their male counterparts (Burrell 1994; Palmer and Simon 2005). In this context, the incumbency advantage represents a real political glass ceiling that prevents women from entering Congress. It works like a

gendered barrier in the political opportunity structure (cf. Bjarnegård and Kenny 2016), and is exacerbated by the highly strategic behaviour shown by female MCs (Carroll 1995; Palmer and Simon 2001).

4. Determining the objectives of these strategic female MCs is a slightly more nuanced task. Joseph Schlesinger's (1966) seminal work on congressional ambition, as well as other interesting research on the topic (e.g. Brace 1985; Herrick and Moore 1993; Rohde *Prova de Proficiência em Inglês* 1979), posit that MCs display four types of ambition: (1) discrete ambition; (2) static ambition; (3) intra-institutional ambition; and (4) progressive ambition. MCs with discrete ambition only seek to serve their term and retire from public life. They have no interest in running for office again, including higher office. MCs with static ambition want to create for themselves a long political career within their current office (Schlesinger 1966). They tend to be inactive as legislators and focus most of their attention on their constituents, in a clear effort to secure re-election. MCs with intra-institutional ambition aspire to leadership positions within their current institution. Usually, they are keen to get their own legislation through and on toeing the party line, in an effort to ultimately obtain the leadership positions they aspire to (Herrick and Moore 1993). MCs with progressive ambition want to move on and try to be elected to higher office (Schlesinger 1996). They are usually very active but quite ineffective and keep a very large staff in order to prepare their careers for the move towards a higher office (Herrick and Moore 1993). While many existing works on ambition in the US Congress take into account the cost and/or risk of attempting election to higher office, the assumption that, if offered a higher office without any cost or risk, every MC would take it (Rohde 1979) is virtually ubiquitous in the literature. In other words, most existing works assume that MCs have progressive ambition (Fulton et al. 2006). Recently, Palmer and Simon (2003) have shown, however, that female MCs display all the types of ambition described above

GLOSSARY	
Constituency	one of the official areas of a country that elects someone to represent it in a parliament or legislature
Constituent	a person represented by an elected official
Incumbency	the period during which someone has a particular official position
Legislature	an organization consisting of people who have been elected to make laws for a state, a country or part of a country
MC	Member of Congress

Office	a position of authority and responsibility in a government or other organization
Open seat election	election in which no current officeholder is running for reelection
To run for office	to campaign to be elected to an office
Welfare	money or help that a government gives to people who are poor or do not have jobs

QUESTÃO 1

No resumo do artigo, quais são os três exemplos citados de fatores que responderiam pela diferença na representação das mulheres em geral e, mais detalhadamente, por sua baixa representação no Congresso dos Estados Unidos? (6 pontos)

QUESTÃO 2

No primeiro parágrafo, quais são os cinco fatores apontados, do ponto de vista cultural e socioeconômico, que contribuiriam para a subrepresentação das mulheres nos Estados Unidos? (15 pontos)

QUESTÃO 3

Ainda de acordo com o disposto no primeiro parágrafo, em qual nível do legislativo norte-americano a sub-representação das mulheres é particularmente perceptível: federal ou estadual? Qual é o fato mencionado pelos autores para comprovar essa sub-representação? (7 pontos)

QUESTÃO 4

No segundo parágrafo, qual era o perfil da maioria das mulheres eleitas para o Congresso norte-americano nos primórdios da participação feminina naquele órgão legislativo? Como

isso mudou no período entre meados da década de 60 e o início da década de 80, de acordo com o texto? (18 pontos)

QUESTÃO 5

No terceiro parágrafo, qual é uma possível consequência do fato de as mulheres nos Estados Unidos verem a si próprias como menos qualificadas que os homens para concorrer a cargos eletivos? (10 pontos)

QUESTÃO 6

No quarto parágrafo, discorre-se sobre quatro tipos de ambição manifestados por membros do Congresso. Além da chamada “ambição estática”, quais são as outras enumeradas no parágrafo? Como se descreve o comportamento daqueles membros que apresentam a ambição estática? De acordo com Palmer e Simon (2003), entre os tipos de ambição em questão, quantos são manifestados por membros do Congresso do sexo feminino? (24 pontos)

QUESTÃO 7

Escolha a opção que melhor traduz o trecho em negrito na passagem a seguir:

I – No resumo: “However, no study has, so far, compared the Congressional career paths of men and women in order to understand whether this gender gap in representation stems from a difference in terms of the **duration and importance of the careers of male and female policymakers**”. (5 pontos)

Escolha uma opção:

- a. duração e importância dos formuladores de políticas para carreiras de homens e mulheres
- b. duração e importância dos homens e mulheres de carreira política
- c. duração e importância das carreiras de formuladores de políticas homens e mulheres
- d. duração e importância das carreiras de formuladores de políticas masculinas e femininas

QUESTÃO 8

Escolha a opção que melhor traduz a expressão em negrito na passagem a seguir:

No resumo: “Our findings indicate that the congressional careers of men and women are alike and, **if anything**, women may even have a small edge over their male colleagues”. (5 pontos)

Escolha uma opção:

- a. caso nada
- b. se houver alguma coisa
- c. se for o caso
- d. na verdade

QUESTÃO 9

Escolha a opção que melhor traduz o trecho em negrito na passagem a seguir:

No terceiro parágrafo: “More interestingly, however, it seems that, acting strategically, **women tend to run for office only when open seats are available** (Palmer and Simon 2001) and their chances of winning are higher, as no candidate enjoys the incumbency advantage (cf. Abramowitz 1991; Cox and Katz 1996; Gelman and King 1990; Praino and Stockemer 2012a, 2012b; Stockemer and Praino 2012).” (5 pontos)

Escolha uma opção:

- a. mulheres tendem a concorrer a cargos apenas quando há cargos abertos disponíveis
- b. mulheres tendem a tentar ser eleitas apenas quando há cargos abertos disponíveis
- c. mulheres tendem a correr para o escritório apenas quando há disponibilidade de assentos
- d. mulheres tendem a concorrer somente quando o atual ocupante do cargo não está tentando a reeleição

QUESTÃO 10

Escolha a opção que melhor traduz o trecho em negrito na passagem a seguir:

No quarto parágrafo: “Usually, they are keen **to get their own legislation through** and on toeing the party line, in an effort to ultimately obtain the leadership positions they aspire to (Herrick and Moore 1993).” (5 pontos)

Escolha uma opção:

- a. fazer sua própria legislação seguir
- b. receber através de sua própria legislação
- c. aprovar sua própria legislação
- d. possuir sua própria legislação