# Professional Pipelines and Political Success, Poland 1989-2011

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# Project Summary

It is well established in most democracies that "average" citizens do not get elected for national office. In fact, politicians are generally drawn from a small number of professions including law, self-employed business owners, education and health related fields. Occupational specialization can be an important source of inequality in a democracy if and when professional groups have significantly more influence than other groups in society. While we know a great deal about occupational specialization in established democracies we know a lot less in new democracies. Some have alleged that political parties in post-communist democracies are formed top-down and dominated by rich and well-connected members of society. In this project we will first determine if occupational status matters and how its importance changes over time. We will pay significant attention to the extent to which particular parties are more "open" to occupational diversity than others.

# Research Hypotheses

Overtime, we expect intelligentsia and small business owners to increase in representation among candidates and MPS.

We expect the significance of social class to vary across political parties.

- Higher social classes will be placed in higher list positions across parties.
- Persons of higher social class will receive a larger share of the preferential vote.

Overtime, we expect to find increased occupational specialization in Polish candidates and MPs.

Possibly need to create a GINI coefficient?

We expect electoral lists with greater occupational diversity to receive a larger share of the vote.

# Project Summary

Many have argued that the number of women in politics is influenced by the existence of professional pipelines that prepare, encourage, and support women as candidates across parties. Professional pipelines should make it "easier" for party leaders and party members to identify qualified candidates for public office. Determining the extent to which a professional pipeline exists is difficult. However, we believe that the 2011 election in Poland provides a unique opportunity to determine if a professional pipeline existed and if parties looked to traditional occupations for female candidates when every party was required to have 30% female candidates on their electoral lists. In addition, to determining if professional pipeline existed and how it was used in the 2011 election, our project will also give us the opportunity to consider the extent to which national quota laws increased the diversity among female candidates and if they increased the diversity among female MPS elected.

# Research Hypotheses

We expect to find the professional pipeline for male and female candidates to be different.

We expect the significance of the professional pipeline to vary for male and female candidates overtime.

- We expect the significance of social class will increase overtime for women but not for men in terms of list placement and votes received.
- We expect that women in traditional fields (usually occupied by women) will be placed higher on electoral lists and receive more votes than women in non-traditional fields.

We expect "quota" women to come from different professional pipelines than previous female candidates.

- We expect stronger parties to rely on traditional professional pipelines to recruit more female candidates while smaller and weaker parties will look to non-traditional fields

# Possible Contributions

- Documenting the effect of social class and occupational positions prior to first election experience
  - Does it matter for parties in terms of list placement?
  - Does it matter for voters in terms of vote share?
  - Do parties with more occupational diversity fare well?
- Where will female candidates come from overtime?
  - Does occupation matter for female candidates in the same way it does for male?
  - Are women and men penalized for not being in gender typical field?

# EAST PaC Data

- Poland, 1989 to 2011 Data
  - Focus on Social Class and Occupational Data

# Additional Data

WITHIN EAST PaC Data

- Additional occupational background information for those classified as "politicians" or "parliamentarians"
- Changes in occupational labels overtime (meaningful)
- Where does occupational data come from

OUTSIDE EASTPaC Data

- Prestige Scores for Occupational Data
- Sex distribution across occupations nationally
- Role of "unions" in representing particular occupations
- CBOS collects data prior to elections about the elections if that data is available with geographic identifiers it could be very interesting.

# Professional Pipeline

| CANDIDATES | 2011 | 2007 | 2005 | 2001 | 1997 | 1993 | 1991 | 1989 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Intelligentsia, non-technical | 47.0% | 43.9% | 41.2% | 46.6% | 48.6% | 46.0% | 46.5% | 60.5% |
| 2 Technical intelligentsia, engineers | 7.1% | 9.6% | 9.2% | 10.6% | 13.7% | 15.0% | 16.9% | 16.9% |
| 3 Middle and low-level nonmanual workers | 20.4% | 16.1% | 16.1% | 13.5% | 12.2% | 14.7% | 13.7% | 8.3% |
| 4 Sales and service workers | 2.4% | | | | | | | |
| 5 Manual workers | 5.6% | 6.8% | 8.1% | 5.1% | 3.5% | 3.9% | 4.7% | 2.1% |
| 6 Farmers | 3.3% | 4.9% | 4.1% | 7.6% | 4.9% | 7.9% | 6.7% | 9.9% |
| 7 Business owners, self-employed in sales and service | 8.6% | 8.7% | 9.0% | 6.5% | 6.6% | 5.4% | 5.8% | .9% |
| 8 Not working, without occupation | 5.7% | 10.0% | 12.2% | 10.2% | 10.6% | 7.0% | 5.8% | 1.3% |

| PARLIAMENTARIANS | 2011 | 2007 | 2005 | 2001 | 1997 | 1993 | 1991 | 1989 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Intelligentsia, non-technical | 75.7% | 69.6% | 67.8% | 65.2% | 67.4% | 67.6% | 63.7% | 61.2% |
| 2 Technical intelligentsia, engineers | 7.8% | 13.0% | 9.8% | 9.3% | 10.9% | 11.7% | 13.5% | 18.1% |
| 3 Middle and low-level nonmanual workers | 8.9% | 7.6% | 9.8% | 8.5% | 5.7% | 10.4% | 7.0% | 8.3% |
| 4 Sales and service workers | | | | | | | | |
| 5 Manual workers | .9% | 1.1% | 2.0% | .9% | 1.1% | .4% | 2.8% | 1.8% |
| 6 Farmers | 1.1% | 1.7% | 3.9% | 10.7% | 2.4% | 5.4% | 7.8% | 9.4% |
| 7 Business owners, self-employed in sales and service | 5.2% | 4.1% | 4.3% | 3.5% | 3.3% | 2.0% | 3.5% | .9% |
| 8 Not working, without occupation | .4% | 2.8% | 2.4% | 2.0% | 9.3% | 2.4% | 1.7% | .4% |

# Professional Pipeline: Variation By Gender

| Candidates | 2011 | 2007 | 2005 | 2001 | 1997 | 1993 | 1991 | 1989 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DIFF | DIFF | DIFF | DIFF | DIFF | DIFF | DIFF | DIFF |
| 1 Intelligentsia, non-technical | 8.2% | 9.2% | 13.0% | 16.6% | 16.9% | 17.9% | 20.5% | 19.0% |
| 2 Technical intelligentsia, engineers | -6.2% | -4.8% | -7.3% | -7.7% | -10.8% | -10.0% | -9.7% | -13.7% |
| 3 Middle and low-level nonmanual workers | 5.3% | 4.4% | 0.2% | 2.1% | -2.0% | -4.2% | -4.0% | 1.3% |
| 4 Sales and service workers | 2.7% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 5 Manual workers | -6.3% | -7.3% | -6.3% | -5.5% | -1.9% | -2.4% | -3.9% | -1.9% |
| 6 Farmers | -1.6% | -3.3% | -2.2% | -3.8% | -2.9% | -2.1% | -3.1% | -3.7% |
| 7 Business owners, self-employed in sales and service | -3.9% | -3.1% | -2.2% | -2.6% | -4.1% | -2.8% | -1.8% | -1.0% |
| 8 Not working, without occupation | 1.7% | 4.9% | 4.8% | 1.0% | 4.8% | 3.7% | 2.0% | 0.0% |

| Parliamentarians | 2011 | 2007 | 2005 | 2001 | 1997 | 1993 | 1991 | 1989 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Intelligentsia, non-technical | 11.7% | 6.2% | 11.0% | 18.0% | 10.7% | 20.0% | 17.5% | 25.6% |
| 2 Technical intelligentsia, engineers | -3.1% | -1.7% | -2.9% | -5.0% | -4.8% | -7.8% | -4.9% | -15.1% |
| 3 Middle and low-level nonmanual workers | -1.0% | 3.8% | 1.1% | -5.2% | -4.6% | -8.2% | -2.7% | 0.1% |
| 5 Manual workers | -1.1% | -1.4% | 0.2% | -1.1% | -1.3% | 1.4% | -3.1% | -2.1% |
| 6 Farmers | -1.4% | -2.2% | -4.9% | -3.9% | -2.8% | -6.3% | -3.6% | -7.0% |
| 7 Business owners, self-employed in sales and service | -4.5% | -2.5% | -2.8% | -1.7% | -1.8% | -2.3% | -3.8% | -1.0% |
| 8 Not working, without occupation | -0.6% | -2.2% | -1.7% | -1.1% | 4.6% | 3.0% | 0.6% | -0.5% |

# Among Women Elected to the Sejm, Occupations Within Intelligentsia

| | 2011 | 2007 | 2005 | 2001 | 1997 | 1993 | 1991 | 1989 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2 Female | 2 Female | 2 Female | 2 Female | 2 Female | 2 Female | 2 Female | 2 Female |
| 111 Parliamentarians | 15.1% | 7.1% | 4.2% | | | | | |
| 170 Politicians | | 0.0% | 0.0% | 9.5% | 10.9% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 290 Top management, directors | | | | | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 300 Managers | 2.2% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | | | | |
| 1000 Professionals and specialists | 7.5% | 2.9% | 8.3% | 9.5% | 4.3% | 3.9% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 1110 Artists | 0.0% | 1.4% | 1.4% | 1.4% | | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 1113 Journalists, and commentators in TV and other media | 4.3% | 5.7% | 2.8% | 4.1% | 2.2% | 2.0% | 5.7% | 8.0% |
| 1120 Research scientists and faculty of universities and colleges | 7.5% | 12.9% | 8.3% | 8.1% | 13.0% | 9.8% | 11.4% | 4.0% |
| 1130 Teachers and school inspectors | 19.4% | 22.9% | 19.4% | 20.3% | 26.1% | 31.4% | 25.7% | 42.0% |
| 1141 Sociologists and political scientists | 7.5% | 10.0% | 2.8% | 4.1% | 0.0% | 5.9% | 11.4% | 2.0% |
| 1142 Psychologists | 1.1% | | 1.4% | 2.7% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 2.9% | 2.0% |
| 1144 Economists, and specialists in banking and finances | 12.9% | 14.3% | 18.1% | 10.8% | 4.3% | 13.7% | 5.7% | 4.0% |
| 1149 Specialists in social sciences and humanities | 2.2% | 7.1% | 8.3% | 5.4% | 8.7% | 5.9% | 11.4% | 4.0% |
| 1150 Law professionals | 7.5% | 10.0% | 8.3% | 12.2% | 15.2% | 15.7% | 11.4% | 16.0% |
| 1157 Lawyers, attorneys at law | 1.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 1162 Chemists | 1.1% | | 1.4% | 0.0% | | | | |
| 1173 Physicians (medical doctors) | 7.5% | 5.7% | 13.9% | 10.8% | 15.2% | 7.8% | 11.4% | 14.0% |
| 1185 Veterinarians | 1.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 1187 Agricultural engineers | 2.2% | 0.0% | 1.4% | 1.4% | 0.0% | 3.9% | 2.9% | 2.0% |
| 1190 Clergy | 0.0% | | | | | | | 2.0% |

# Occupational Specializations Candidates in 2011

| MALE CANDIDATES | FEMALE CANDIDATES |
|---|---|
| 8000 Entrepreneurs and business owners (347) | 1130 Teachers and school inspectors (536) |
| 1130 Teachers and school inspectors (338) | 1144 Economists, and specialists in banking and finances (313) |
| 1144 Economists, and specialists in banking and finances (273) | 2300 Specialized office workers (156) |
| 1141 Sociologists and political scientists (201) | 1000 Professionals and specialists (155) |
| 1150 Law professionals (178) | 3120 Nurses and middle-level medical personnel (151) |
| | 8000 Entrepreneurs and business owners (124) |

# Occupational Specializations Parliamentarians in 2011

| Male Parliamentarians | Female Parliamentarians |
|---|---|
| 111 Parliamentarians (42) | 1130 Teachers and school inspectors (18) |
| 1144 Economists, and specialists in banking and finances (34) | 111 Parliamentarians (14) |
| 1141 Sociologists and political scientists (28) | 1144 Economists, and specialists in banking and finances (12) |
| 1150 Law professionals (28) | 1000 Professionals and Specialists (7) |
| 1130 Teachers and school inspectors (26) | 1120 Research scientists and faculty of universities and colleges (7) |
| 1120 Research scientists and faculty of universities and colleges (25) | 1141 Sociologists and political scientists (7) |
| | 1150 Law professionals (7) |
| | 1173 Physicians (Medical Doctors) (7) |