

Measuring Women's Political Empowerment across the Globe

Strategies, Challenges and Future Research



Edited by
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and Farida Jalalzai



Gender and Politics

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Amy C. Alexander • Catherine Bolzendahl
Farida Jalalzai
Editors

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*To the friends and family that have empowered us.
To the empowerment of women everywhere.*

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Introduction to Measuring Women's Political Empowerment Across the Globe: Strategies, Challenges, and Future Research

*Amy C. Alexander, Catherine Bolzendahl, and
Farida Jalalzai*

On January 21, 2017, hundreds of thousands of people gathered in Washington, DC, in what is known as the “Women’s March.” Viewed as a call to action in response to Donald Trump’s official inauguration to the US presidency (which occurred the day before), marches were held in 673 cities across the country. Not only did these occur¹ in major urban centers like Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York but marches spread to smaller (and more conservative) settings such as Erie, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma City, and Decorah, Iowa. Even more striking is that parallel women’s marches were held on every single continent worldwide. All told, nearly five million people, mainly women, marched on that day. Representing diverse groups, women and their allies mobilized around various issues

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spanning reproductive rights, environmental justice, and equal pay, among others. As such, women's marches proved to be much more than a Trump counter-inauguration; they were a demand that women's political empowerment take center stage globally. This presents a critical moment, one that calls for the assessment of women's political empowerment worldwide, and builds off many factors leading to this point. By bringing together leading gender scholars in sociology and political science as well as practitioners, this edited volume provides a framework for understanding women's political empowerment on such a global scale.

Few social changes have been as dramatic and rapid as women's increased political representation worldwide (Paxton et al. 2006). Scholars and public figures rightfully tout these gains as remarkable evidence of greater gender equality, yet current academic and policy research faces a large lacuna in theoretical and empirical understandings of women's political empowerment. *Nowhere* do women hold equal power to men in influencing and exercising political authority worldwide and efforts to increase women's political agency are often actively and violently repressed. This combination of opportunity and limitations heightens the need for a comprehensive, global treatment of women's political empowerment. In this volume, we therefore unite leading scholars to develop theoretical frameworks, methodological strategies, and research agendas for addressing these issues at every level of political authority.

Across these different approaches, this volume emphasizes three major axioms. *First*, gains in women's political empowerment directly decrease the role of gender inequality as an obstacle to political incorporation. Women's political empowerment is not a zero-sum game, and gender equality opens, rather than closes, the political domain to all members of society. *Second*, gender is a major organizing force in social relations across the globe, such that sex and gender are used simultaneously to create status inequalities that disadvantage women (Ridgeway 2011). Thus, *women's* political empowerment requires special attention given that women are the largest categorical group today experiencing long-term, ongoing barriers to political incorporation worldwide. *Third*, inequalities in political empowerment cut across multiple statuses and other sources of inequality. Understanding how gender intersects with other barriers to empowerment is a central question, and women's political empowerment should be viewed as a fundamental process of transformation for benchmarking and understanding more general political empowerment gains across the globe (e.g., UN Millennium Development Goals, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>; Hudson et al. 2012).

Responding to these issues means developing a broader research agenda related to women's political empowerment. We must understand how social constructions of gender influence such outcomes and how these can be made relevant to a global scholarly and policy community.

Our efforts to build a comprehensive approach to women's global political empowerment stand on the shoulders of many scholarly giants. Researchers across the social sciences have contributed a great deal of knowledge regarding women's enhanced access to political power. Increasingly, scholars and policy-makers question the factors that induce women to become politically active and the impact politically empowered women have on social and political outcomes. From these questions, answers are beginning to emerge, especially in our understanding of women's elite office holding (e.g., parliament and presidencies). Theoretically and empirically, however, our scholarship on the topic is uneven and incomplete. Before we undertook the research presented in this volume, a theoretically driven definition of women's global political empowerment did not exist. Moreover, while much has been done empirically to understand the causes and consequences of women's economic autonomy, global scholarship on women's political empowerment remains narrow, mainly analyzing women legislators and/or quotas advancing women to the legislature (Krook 2010).

The goal of this volume thus is to bring together scholars to develop a broader vision of women's political empowerment, to understand how social constructions of gender influence such outcomes, and to offer original research relevant to a global scholarly and policy community. Together, we work to improve our global understanding of women's empowerment through cross-national comparisons, a variety of data types and a synthesis of methodological approaches. In particular the volume focuses on developing frameworks that address women's political empowerment among elites, civil society, and in social processes. In doing so, we highlight the complexities and insufficiencies in the definition and measurement of women's global political empowerment in a review of existing cross-national comparisons, data types, and methodological approaches.

In this introductory chapter we identify the complexities in defining women's global political empowerment; critically review prior research on elites and masses to develop definitional and measurement goals; and, tie women's global political empowerment to broader social concerns and processes. We then provide an overview of the chapter contributions from authors recognized as the leading scholars investigating questions related to gender from a global perspective.

WHAT IS WOMEN'S GLOBAL POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT?

The first theoretically driven definition of women's global political empowerment has come out of this project (Alexander et al. 2016: 433):

The enhancement of assets, capabilities, and achievements of women to gain equality to men in influencing and exercising political authority worldwide.

Components of this concept were, of course, major features of social science scholarship, such as gender and politics, power and empowerment, and global/comparative studies; however, while such large bodies of research were useful as building blocks, the literature lacked a cohesive definition. Below we review the influences on our definition and how it builds upon our larger theoretical and empirical goals.

Prior to our research, the closest approach to developing a concept of women's global political empowerment came from the general concept of women's empowerment based in the development literature. The UN has declared women's empowerment as the third of its Millennium Development Goals (<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>). Mainly focused on developing or economically impoverished nations or regions, scholars in international, non-governmental organizations have emphasized that women's empowerment starts from a place of *disempowerment*, is process driven, and agentic (Batliwala 1994; Kabeer 2005; Malhotra et al. 2002; Santillán et al. 2004). For example, Kabeer (1999) notes that a focus on women's empowerment is "inescapably bound up with the condition of disempowerment and refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability" (437). Similarly, Bennett (cited in Malhorta et al. 2002: 4) claims: "Empowerment is the enhancement of assets and capabilities of diverse individuals and groups to engage, influence and hold accountable the institutions which affect them." This approach fits well with our theoretical focus on empowerment, rather than power, as such an approach moves us away from static conceptions of power as something people or systems do or do not *have*, and moves us toward a dynamic understanding of something people or systems *do* (see also Foucault 1986; Fung and Wright 2001). These definitions' emphases on process, choice, and influence underscore the agentic nature of empowerment while the emphases on previous denial and enhancement underscore the dynamic nature of empowerment as a process of change from less to more effective agency.

Prior to this project, in the literature dealing with women's empowerment, *political* empowerment was treated as one of a variety of goals, often less fully articulated and studied in comparison to economic indicators. Furthermore, *women* often remained invisible within the broader empowerment scholarship. Indeed, a Google Scholar search of "empowerment" produces 1,250,000 results, "human empowerment" 850,000, and "political empowerment" 771,000, but "women's empowerment" turns out just 206,000 results and "women's political empowerment" only 145,000.² Thus, only 19% of the results for political empowerment deal with women's political empowerment. This is admittedly a crude indicator for judging the prior state of the field, but as we dug more deeply into the body of work, we were confronted with disparities, finding that research amounted at most to a patchwork of political definitions and disciplinary approaches (e.g., Batliwala 1994; Lopez-Claros and Zahidi 2005; Devi and Lakshmi 2005). One of the most comprehensive approaches was a report for the World Bank (Malhotra et al. 2002) that argued for a broad view of political empowerment. The report advised on inclusion of women's political knowledge, participation, interest group activity, and representation in local, regional, and national offices. This assessment resonated with us. We therefore led the collaborative effort that culminates in this volume to fill key gaps in the literature.

Under our definition of women's global political empowerment as "the enhancement of assets, capabilities, and achievements of women to gain equality to men in influencing and exercising political authority worldwide" (Alexander et al. 2016: 433), we assert a number of corollary issues:

- First, that empowerment denotes a process of transformation from a position of no or limited agency to one of greater agentic opportunity and effectiveness. This captures the transformative essence of empowerment processes writ large under the perspective of women in politics by incorporating the systematic marginalization of women as a group from access to and achievement of equal levels of political influence, representation, and integration that, while to varying degrees, is observed *universally* across our world today.
- Second, women's political empowerment is achieved as part of a political process, not at one particular moment (e.g., women reaching 50% of the legislature). Political empowerment goes beyond the power enjoyed by particular individuals by shedding light on power

configurations positioning groups, and recognizes political authority as the legitimate access to state mediated power.

- Third, women's political empowerment distributes power more evenly between men and women and undermines patriarchal social structures. More generally, however, gains in women's political empowerment directly decrease the role of gender inequality as an obstacle to political incorporation, and *open*, rather than close, the political domain to *all* members of society. Indeed, as the largest group today that worldwide encounters current and historical barriers to political incorporation, women's political empowerment should be viewed as a fundamental process of transformation for benchmarking and understanding more general political empowerment gains across the globe. Thus, women's political empowerment is a political public good insofar as progress legitimates and strengthens a larger commitment to equal political incorporation generally.

Our definition is an important starting point, but truly developing a framework for applying such a definition in work and practice means attending to a variety of complexities. Below we elucidate the central theoretical and empirical issues that must be incorporated into work going forward as it seeks to develop a full conceptualization of political authority, gendered social processes, and innovate measurement approaches.

BUILDING A CRITICAL FRAMEWORK: THREE CATEGORIES OF POLITICALLY EMPOWERED ACTORS

In the existing work on women in politics, there is a focus on women's equality with men in three areas of political influence. Research focuses on women's equality with men as (i) elite actors who hold positions for exercising political authority, (ii) elite-challenging actors who critically engage with elites and the state through informal channels of influence, and (iii) citizens who participate in their political system's formal channels of influence. Here we highlight the unique contributions of each subfield, but go on to explain the ways these may be extended to better inform our understanding of women's global political empowerment in light of the definitional challenges we detailed above.

Elite Inclusion and Authority

The majority of prior work on elites charts cross-national and longitudinal trends in women's presence in national legislatures (Wängnerud 2009). This remains an important focus, but we must do more to understand women's elite involvement and influence. First, contrary to presumptions that women are well represented in elected offices that are "closer to home," comparative research on women's office holding shows considerable variation in women's representation at the national, regional, and local levels across countries (Kenny 2013; Kittelson 2006; Kjær 2010; Ortobals et al. 2012; Sundström 2013). Thus, women's presence at the national level should not be taken for granted as an indicator of similar achievements at lower levels. However, there has been limited systematic research on women's incorporation in regional and local elected offices across countries and over time.

Furthermore, focusing only on women in national legislatures neglects the ways that women may be segregated into certain types of positions within governments. Women may be concentrated into lower prestige positions and therefore excluded from the centers of power and influence. However, only a handful of studies have looked comparatively at women's representation in committee leadership, legislative leadership, or party leadership (Bolzendahl 2014; Cheng and Tavits 2011; Kittelson 2013; Kunovich and Paxton 2005; O'Brien 2012), and none of this research is global. Women may also be concentrated into particular positions or sectors within the government. If women are relegated to just one or two government sectors, their abilities to affect change may be limited (Chappell 2010). Indeed, the creation, implementation, and protection of policies involve all branches of government, working in collaboration and counterbalancing one another (Brush 2003; Krook and Mackay 2011; Lovenduski 2005). However, research on women's representation in executive positions, diplomacy, courts, and security forces is just starting to develop and typically looks at women's representation in one position at a time (Jalalzai 2013; Hoekstra et al. 2014; Krook and O'Brien 2012).

We also lack an understanding of positional empowerment—the extent to which political posts allow one to actually wield power and influence. This may be heavily shaped by the level of democracy in a country where power in non-democratic states may reside outside of formal institutions

including the legislature and the executive and instead rest within the military. Research considering the ways in which political institutions are gendered, shaping the capacities and actions of actors therein, matters a great deal for understanding women's political empowerment, and a global perspective further highlights the social construction of these gendered institutions (Acker 1990; Bolzendahl 2014; Chappell 2010; Jalalzai 2013; Krook and Mackay 2011; Schwindt-Bayer and Squire 2014). Formal and informal rules make a position powerful as do individual actors. Someone may enter a particular post and behave in very different ways based on a host of factors. Moreover, we argue that sometimes power and prestige of position might be different in reality in that some of the most powerful posts might not be viewed as prestigious (e.g., there are important players behind the scenes like key advisors) or that prestigious positions (e.g., symbolic presidents or ceremonial monarchs) do not always possess power. By accounting for a diverse array of political positions (going beyond legislators) and assessing the powers and prestige afforded actors, including women, we obtain a much greater sense of women's political empowerment on a global scale.

Gains in equality with men as political elites is one facet through which women become politically empowered. Elites ultimately hold the positions for exercising political authority. However, a substantial body of evidence suggests that mass attitudes and behaviors strongly influence how elites exercise political authority and what they deliver (Dalton 2013; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Norris 2002; Welzel 2013). Indeed, while they lack the formal authority, individuals can nevertheless be more or less politically empowered in their everyday lives, and this shapes political inputs and outputs. Under the mass perspective, political empowerment is possible via participation in elite-challenging, informal channels and political systems' formal channels of influence.

Elite-Challenging Action

Under elite-challenging political pressure, actors critically engage with political elites through informal channels of mobilization and influence (Abramson and Inglehart 1995; Tarrow 1994; Welzel et al. 2005; Welzel 2013). Activities in this category of political empowerment range from demonstrations, petitions and boycotts to membership in politically active, non-governmental organizations. Such politically empowered agency is broad-based; the empowering capacity is not limited to more formal, system-driven opportunities for mass influence, like elections. Instead, as

associational behavior that originates from civil society, this sort of mass pressure is potentially transformative outside the boundaries of elections and/or the state and their formal opportunities for influence. Thus, this is a source of mass political influence in both autocracies, democracies and transnationally. And, this is a key source of influence for politically marginalized groups that face inertia in the representation of their interests in the formal political arena because it is dominated by an unrepresentative majority.

As we note above, albeit to varying degrees, one observes the systematic marginalization of women as a group from access to and achievement of equal levels of political influence *universally* across our world today. This has negative implications for their historic and current roles in participation in formal political channels, such as through campaign or party activities. Indeed, noting men's dominance of formal channels of influence, many scholars consider elite-challenging actions more effective for mass-driven gains in women's political influence. The literature shows that various activism and advocacy through informal modes of pressure, such as women's movement activities and non-profit activities, are not only key but perhaps the most effective sources of influence (Bourque and Grossholtz 1998; Sarvasy and Siim 1994; Siim 2000; Viterna and Fallon 2008). For instance, research suggests that women's movements are more influential than political parties and female politicians in getting nations to adopt and enforce women's interest policies (Desposato and Norrander 2009; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Weldon and Htun 2012). These types of participation may be easier for women and correspond more strongly to their own definitions of (good) citizenship engagement (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Harrison and Munn 2007). Women's movements may also be key pathways toward more general forms of civic engagement, bridging political participation across informal and formal channels at the mass level (Banaszak 2008; Beckwith 2013; Jalalzai 2013).

Empowered as Citizens: Formal Channels of Influence

In conventional approaches to mass political participation and influence, scholarship generally covers participation in electoral politics (Dalton 2013). Research concentrates on women's involvement in the various modes of participation for pressuring parties and representatives from election cycle to election cycle, including voting, campaign activity, party membership, and contacting politicians (Burns et al. 2001; Burrell 2004; Desposato and Norrander 2009; Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Engeli et al. 2006;

Inglehart and Norris 2003; Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012; Pintor and Gratschew 2002; Rodriguez 2003). Researchers also evaluate the extent to which women are interested, knowledgeable, and engaged in their countries' politics (Burns et al. 2001; Chibber 2002; Frazer and MacDonald 2003).

While women's equality with men in these informal and formal channels of mass influence is indicative of empowering transformations in engagement and behavior, this tells us less about gains in what women value and believe in terms of their political potential as women. From this perspective, women and politics scholars realize the importance of focusing not just on empowering objective gains but subjective gains as well. Under Kabeer's scheme for conceptualizing empowerment, this covers empowering motivations. The literature considers empowering gains in political motivation by studying whether women believe they are equally politically capable as men (Alexander 2012; Inglehart and Norris 2003); are able to identify and support actors, policies, and issues most supportive of their objective interests (Giger 2009; Hayes et al. 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2000, 2003; Iverson and Rosenbluth 2006; Schlesinger and Heldman 2001; Shapiro and Mahajan 1986); and make political claims upon government that better ensure their security, resources, and achievements (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2009; Chafetz and Dworkin 1986; Inglehart and Norris 2003).

Although we have made progress in monitoring gender gaps in political empowerment among masses, much more needs to be done to improve our global measurement of this approach to women's political empowerment. A key resource for evaluating these mass-level domains of empowerment has been and will continue to be large public opinion projects, such as the European/World Values Surveys and the regional barometers: the African Barometer, Arab Barometer, Asian Barometers, and Latin American Barometer. While the existing data are a powerful resource, the focus on gender makes up a small percentage of the questionnaires of these major global survey projects. Thus, central to this improvement will be the continuing development of data collection and methodological strategies for improving global, longitudinal comparison.

WOMEN'S GLOBAL POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

Whether through elite inclusion or increased mass pressure, achieving women's political empowerment is not limited to individuals or single groups but is a process embedded within existing social groups and

institutional influences and definitions. Though of crucial importance, this area of research is the least “settled” in scholarship, with insights from feminist political institutionalism, neo-institutionalism, gender theory, and organizational theory making uneven contributions to our knowledge and theory. The preponderance of systematic attempts at developing a global framework for women’s political empowerment have been actor-focused and, at least from a measurement standpoint, treat women as a *single collective*. Both reductionisms are problematic to the extent that they neglect the global variation in societal boundaries of privilege and marginalization that differ and/or constrain women (1) as a group and (2) within the group.

Embedding Women as a Group in Existing Institutions

Transitioning from a focus on actors to institutions gives researchers the tools to identify which societal environments most enable female political empowerment. Existing literature suggests informal structures affect women’s empowerment, including human development and values (Alexander and Welzel 2011; Inglehart and Norris 2003); peace, intra- and interstate security, and conflict (Caprioli et al. 2009; Hughes 2009); and institutional corruption (Sundström and Wängnerud 2013). Formal structures also enable or constrain women’s empowerment by constructing gender at the institutional level and shaping women’s influence within politics. First, the policies and opportunities for women’s equality within work and family may shape their ability and interest in becoming politically empowered, such as through more or less generous welfare state provision (Misra et al. 2007; McDonagh 2009; Rosenbluth et al. 2006). Second, when women enter political positions their capacity to be influential may be undermined by a lack of power-sharing with regard to formal and informal leadership, utilization as “token” members with little voice or influence, and/or channeling into sex-segregated internal legislative positions (Dahlerup 2006; Jalalzai 2013; Kittilson and Schwidt-Bayer 2012; Krook 2010; Trip and Kang 2008; Bolzendahl 2014; Piscopo 2014).

While much of this research establishes strong relationships between these informal and formal structures and some aspect of female political empowerment, we can improve in three areas. First, to understand which societal environments best enable female political empowerment, we must expand beyond the focus on women’s descriptive inclusion in national

legislatures and include the fuller range of empowering action described above (Alexander and Welzel 2011; Htun and Weldon 2012; Weldon 2006). This will lead to a more accurate assessment of institutions' more limited or comprehensive effects on female political empowerment. Second, we must improve research on the relationship between informal and formal institutions and women's political empowerment over time (for some examples of exemplary work, see Alexander 2012; Alexander and Welzel 2011; 2015; Barnes and Burchard 2013; Htun and Weldon 2012; Paxton et al. 2006; Ramirez et al. 1997). Nearly all of the research cited above is cross-sectional. This is largely an issue of data availability and more complex methodological approaches. We call for a dialogue on strategizing how we can improve longitudinal data and analysis. Third, we must focus on the interplay between informal and formal institutions in countries' achievements in female political empowerment across the globe and over time (Alexander and Welzel 2015; Htun and Weldon 2012). The standard approach in much of the global comparative work is to consider the effects of informal and formal institutions as independent of one another and as similarly implicated across contexts. This is an oversimplified approach to the complex process of female political empowerment. A more accurate approach will consider how informal and formal institutions might interact and under what conditions.

Diversity and Social Processes Within the Category "Women"

Limitations to women's political empowerment stem from the social construction of gender, wherein women are associated with femininity, which is in turn devalued in comparison to men and their association with masculinity (Ridgeway 2011). This binary system sustains inequalities, but nevertheless varies with other systems of stratification and marginalization (McCall 2005; Choo and Ferree 2010). Thus, a societal lens on the process of women's political empowerment must acknowledge the differences among women across the globe and within their societies that bound the potential for some women relative to others to be empowered (Tripp 2015). This is the powerful message of intersectionality research (Crenshaw 1991). Intersectionality research evaluates intersections of identity through which women may experience both privilege and marginalization, or multiple oppressions (Collins 2000; Smooth 2011). Intersections of race, ethnicity, social class, and sexuality, to name some of the most prominent, stratify women's experiences of political empowerment world-

wide (Lowe and DiMola 2015; Hancock 2007; McCall 2005; Paxton and Hughes 2013: 224; Tripp 2011). We also have to recognize the small N problem, however, in that we must ultimately limit the number of categories given the difficulties in interpreting data from very small subsets (Dubrow 2008). Which intersections do we include and exclude, however? Although research is beginning to acknowledge the ways that women differ from one another, we need to better understand if, when, and how the voices of women from marginalized groups are being heard in politics. The international research community must continue to assess women's political inequality from the perspective of multiple minority identities and from quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method approaches (Lowe and DiMola 2015; Dubrow 2008, 2013; Hughes 2015; Weldon 2006). It is our challenge to remain aware of and responsive to these intersecting inequalities, especially from a global perspective. Toward this end, we are working toward a fuller understanding of (1) whether and how women from marginalized groups are able to represent themselves politically, (2) the extent to which the rights of marginalized groups are being articulated by men only (Hughes 2014), and (3) quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method strategies for assessing women's political inequality from the perspective of multiple minority identities.

CHALLENGES IN MEASURING WOMEN'S GLOBAL POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

While the challenges are steep, there is a great deal of positive momentum toward expanding measures of women's political empowerment worldwide. Wealthy international organizations such as the World Bank are slowly prioritizing increased measures related to gender, women's empowerment, and politics (Malhotra et al. 2002); other academic and non-governmental organizations are also working to pool resources so that existing data become electronic, longitudinal, and harmonized, such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union (ipu.org), Cross-National Studies: Interdisciplinary Research and Training Program (CONSIRT) (consiert.osu.edu), and the UN Women program (www.unwomen.org). Currently the bulk of research focuses on economic empowerment however, and thus many gaps remain with regard to political empowerment data. Mirroring the construction of gender as a social structure with individual, interactional, and institutional levels (Risman 2004), measures of women's empowerment must consider women's individual capacities and opportunities (e.g., political knowledge,

access, rights), community-based factors (e.g., political mobilization, campaigning, local representation), and broader arenas (e.g., women's election nationally, women's lobbies and political organizations, women's power and leadership in office) (Malhotra et al. 2002). While the bulk of available information relates to women's formal political power (i.e., election to national office), efforts are underway to expand this, for example, cross-national measures of women's election to local councils (Sundström 2013), approaches to include women's committee and caucus memberships (Bolzendahl 2014; Piscopo 2014), frameworks for linking women's rights and emancipative values in survey research (Alexander and Welzel 2015), broadening international data on women's executive leadership (Jalalzai 2013), measures of the intersection of gender and minority status worldwide (Hughes 2013), and a recent global index on women's civil liberties and participation (Sundström et al. 2017). Moving forward on these measurement issues requires collaboration across disciplines and a commitment by organizations and their resources to prioritize the collection of such data and share it widely. Without reliable, inclusive, and wide-ranging measures, understanding changes in women's political empowerment worldwide will be difficult.

BOOK OVERVIEW

Creating a framework to measure and analyze women's global political empowerment requires and depends upon the collective effort of a large body of scholars and research. This book marshals the expertise of our contributors in response to four key questions:

1. What aspect of women's political empowerment (defined subsequently) are they measuring? Or in a more prospective sense, what aspect of women's empowerment should we measure in their area?
2. Why is this area of research important in moving our understanding of women's political empowerment forward?
3. How much do we know already about women's empowerment? What are some of the regional and global trends in this measure of women's political empowerment? Existing areas of strength or weakness?
4. How does their particular focus in the chapter address or exemplify a promising line of research, and what does it contribute in building the larger comparative framework?

As leading scholars in the fields of gender, political science, and sociology, as well as practitioners, the contributors' answers to these questions provide a foundational framework for understanding women's global political empowerment. Chapters 2 through 5 consider women's political empowerment outside of formal political positions, both as actors and in terms of enabling contexts. Chapters 6 through 8 examine women's election to representative office at various levels of and within the legislature. Chapters 9 through 12 focus on women's power among the political elite and non-directly elected political offices. Together these chapters provide a comprehensive evaluation of women's political empowerment and establish a much needed platform for the development of global and political insights into women's empowerment more generally.

In analyzing women's political empowerment outside of formal political positions, Chaps. 2 through 5 deal with the important complexities of defining political empowerment for women in everyday life, and expand our notions of the political. These issues are the foundation for women's entry into more formal political realms. In Chap. 2, Alexander and Coffé cover global public opinion data from the largest running global public opinion project to measure and describe women's political empowerment in three possible ways: (1) Mainstream political engagement and participation, (2) Political activism, and (3) Attitudes concerning the political empowerment of women. They show that women tend to be less politically engaged in both mainstream and activist ways of engagement and less politically interested than men, though a decline in the gap occurs, with men and women being more likely to engage to a similar level among younger compared with older birth cohorts. Opposite patterns occur when focusing on attitudes toward women's role in politics. Here, women score higher compared with men, and the gap increases when moving from older to younger birth cohorts. In Chap. 3, Ertan and her colleagues provide an overview of the status of women's political empowerment across the world, as a means of improving our conclusions, sharpening our comparisons, and identifying the possibility of developing better measures and theory in this regard. Of course many women lack access to formal political representation or find that the issues that they care about most strongly are not on the agenda. In different ways, Chaps. 4 and 5 address these issues. Hughes and Dubrow emphasize the importance of intersectional perspectives in understanding women's political empowerment, driving home the crucial point that not all women have the same concerns, resources, or sources of oppression. Fallon and Rademacher investigate

the important role of women's movement activity for empowering women politically in different contexts.

Chapters 6 through 8 focus on myriad formal political actors elected to popular positions of political authority. Women's election to national legislatures has been the most thoroughly studied aspect of women's political empowerment, but our focus goes beyond previous research by considering multiple levels of women's representation both in terms of levels of government and within elected positions. Thus, in Chap. 6, Sundström and Wängnerud marshal insights from a completely unique database of cross-national representation of women at the local level. Tying in their observations to previous case studies across the world, this is a path-breaking approach to understanding women's direct political representation in their communities. From there, in Chap. 7, O'Brien and Piscopo give us a global view of women in national legislatures, going beyond regional or case-based studies to identify what we know and how we move forward in understanding women's representation in this powerful and influential governing body. Bolzendahl continues the focus on problematizing women's role in national legislatures in Chap. 8, focusing on the influence and placement of women *within* these bodies, and particularly their power and role in legislative committees. Beyond being elected, women may be disempowered within their role as elected officials, or marginalized from positions of influence.

Chapters 9 through 12 of the book turn away from the traditional focus on women national legislators, and toward new, elite, and/or non-elected actors including women diplomats, cabinet officers, and prime ministers and presidents. In Chap. 9, Towns, Kreft, and Niklasson study a seldom examined group of women elites—diplomats. They provide a survey of existing studies and databases on women's political empowerment in diplomacy and foreign policy, both in order to describe some of the global and regional trends in women's empowerment in diplomacy and foreign policy and in order to identify research frontiers conducive for further study. Though they have made important inroads in diplomatic careers, women are less prone to appointment in states with higher military and economic standing and are still underrepresented compared to their male colleagues overall. They call for more cross-national data collection to better understand women's incorporation as diplomats. Another group outside typical academic focus is women in the judiciary, a subject Kenney examines in Chap. 10. Kenney highlights the importance of tracking the numbers and percentages of women in judicial offices, judicial

leadership, paths to promotion, and qualifications on a global scale. Her work affirms the importance of viewing gender as a process that occurs within myriad political institutions, including the judiciary.

The last two substantive chapters analyze women in executive posts, both in terms of the influence women wield, but also the impacts women's presence in these positions has on women in society. In Chap. 11, Barnes and Taylor-Robinson investigate women in top cabinet posts and their potential symbolic impacts through analyzing various attitudes among the public. They argue that access to the cabinet is imperative for women's political empowerment because ministers have control over how policy is administered within their purview, and often have the capacity to influence policy within their ministry. This furthermore impacts whose interests get represented via policy design and policy outcomes. They find that women are gaining ground in obtaining prestigious cabinet appointments and partial confirmation regarding their symbolic effects. Finally, Jalalzai scrutinizes women at the highest echelons of power, presidents and prime ministers, in Chap. 12. Examining trends in women's attainment of executive office including quantities but also the quality of held offices, she evaluates evidence that women's incorporation in such positions ultimately empowers women in the larger society. While women have made important gains, they still struggle to wield more substantive powers and take limited paths to office, limiting their political empowerment. Global analyses systematically analyzing the empowerment women executives offer their societies through their policy making, appointments, and symbolizing reach varied conclusions. Together, these chapters suggest that scholars still confront important obstacles in unpacking the political influence one exerts in their positions (positional empowerment), the larger benefits these actors offer, the larger societies in which they operate, and highlight the continued need to collect more data globally to generate stronger conclusions.

LOOKING FORWARD

Theoretically and empirically there is a long list of issues driving the debate forward on women's global political empowerment. These issues critically depend on social scientists working across disciplinary boundaries to share data, develop theory, and push further our understanding. We have a critical mass of scholarship providing the launching point for research to expand globally and rethink conclusions across geo-political

areas. Through continued work and data collection, we can develop a broad theoretical framework to understand how women have gained fuller access to political power and where challenges toward equality remain. In our concluding chapter we return to these issues, evaluating our definition of women's global political empowerment and providing a set of recommendations for scholars and policy-makers in the quest to undermine inequality and understand these issues.

NOTES

1. <https://womensmarch.squarespace.com/sisters> Accessed April 18, 2017.
2. Search conducted on October 26, 2015.

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Women's Political Empowerment Through Public Opinion Research: The Citizen Perspective

Amy C. Alexander and Hilde Coffé

INTRODUCTION

Public opinion research gives us powerful insights into how the globe varies in women's political empowerment as citizens. Politically empowered citizens see a role for themselves in the political system, and engage and participate in politics in various formal and informal ways. In terms of citizens' modes of political empowerment, research finds a persistent gender gap, with women being generally less politically engaged, less politically interested, less politically active, and feeling less politically efficacious than men (e.g., Burns 2007; Burns et al. 1997; Coffé 2013; Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Fraile and Gomez 2017; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Norris 2002; Paxton et al. 2007; Schlozman et al. 1999). Because political participation is a central component of democracy and a

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means for achieving greater equality and power, gender gaps in political participation and related attitudes may reinforce existing gender stratification throughout society. Global research confirms this vicious, reinforcing pattern in which lower levels of gender equality create a context in which women are less likely to empower themselves through political participation and related attitudes which, in its turn, affects democracies' responsiveness to gender inequalities (Alexander and Welzel 2015; Inglehart and Norris 2003).

In addition to involvement in various forms of political engagement and participation, women's political empowerment as citizens can also be investigated by focusing on citizens' opinions towards women's role in politics. As a group, women share the experience of disadvantage in acquiring and exercising political power in every country in the world (Alexander et al. 2016a). Their empowerment as citizens can therefore also be investigated from the angle of concerns about their political marginalization. From this perspective, public opinion creates the opportunity to evaluate citizens' rejection of discriminatory ideas concerning women's role in politics, their support for the idea that women's inclusion in politics is indicative of just and fair government, and their confidence in women's movements, which have typically been sources of political activism for positive change in women's disadvantaged status.

In the current chapter, we cover global public opinion data from the largest running global public opinion project, the World Values Survey, to measure and describe women's political empowerment in three possible ways: (1) Mainstream political engagement and participation, (2) Political activism, and (3) Attitudes concerning the political empowerment of women. For each of these three measures, we describe gender gaps across birth cohorts and assess some key cross-national differences.

MAINSTREAM CHANNELS OF INFLUENCE

In conventional approaches to citizen engagement and participation, scholarship generally covers participation in mainstream channels. These often revolve around electoral politics (Dalton 2013), with research concentrating on citizens' involvement in the various modes of participation from election cycle to election cycle, including voting, campaign activity, party membership, and contacting politicians (Burns et al. 2001; Burrell 2004; Desposato and Norrander 2009; Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Engeli et al. 2006; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer

2012; Pintor and Gratschew 2002 Rodriguez 2003). Gender scholars have also evaluated the extent to which gender differences occur in political interest and knowledge (Burns et al. 2001; Chibber 2002; Coffé 2013; Fraile and Gomez 2017; Frazer and MacDonald 2003).

Overwhelmingly, with the exception of voting behavior (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Currell 2005; Parry et al. 1992; Uhlaner 1989; Verba et al. 1997), research tends to show a gender gap in these mainstream channels of participation. While the gap is sometimes small in comparison with other cleavages such as education or age (Burns 2007; Norris 2002; Parry et al. 1992), it is persistent, with women less politically engaged and participatory than men. This is the case for advanced Western democracies (Burns 2007; Burns et al. 1997; Coffé 2013; Coffé and Bolzenhahl 2010; Dalton 2013; Gallego 2007; Norris 2002; Parry et al. 1992; Paxton et al. 2007; Schlozman et al. 1999; Verba et al. 1997), and, while there are fewer studies, the gap is also found among global and non-Western samples (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2011; Coffé and Dilli 2015; Chibber 2002; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012).

ACTIVIST CHANNELS OF INFLUENCE

In addition to mainstream political engagement and participation, citizens may also become political activists and as such empower themselves by critically engaging with political elites through informal channels of mobilization and influence (Abramson and Inglehart 1995; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Tarrow 1994; Welzel et al. 2005; Welzel 2013). Activities in this category of political empowerment range from demonstrations, to petitions and boycotts. This sort of mass pressure is potentially transformative outside the boundaries of elections and/or a state, and is thus a source of mass political influence in autocracies as well as democracies and transnationally. It may also be a key source of influence for politically marginalized groups, as informal channels create new pressure points for circumventing any mainstream channels that may be monopolized by dominant groups (Htun and Weldon 2012).

Similar to the gender gaps in mainstream channels, public opinion research reveals gender gaps in many forms of political activism, though the gender has been found to differ significantly between various types of activism (Bourque and Grossholtz 1998; Burns 2007). Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) distinguish collective types of activism such as demonstrating and attending political rallies from private activism such as

boycotting and signing a petition form. Compared with collective types of activities, the private types tend to be less resource dependent and more easily incorporated in daily life. Using data for 18 advanced Western democracies, the study of Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) reveals that while men are significantly more likely to engage in collective types of activism, women are appreciably more active in more private types of activism. These results highlight the importance of distinguishing different types of activism.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

While citizens' political participation through mainstream and activist channels of influence can help improve their political empowerment, it tells us little about their engagement with combating women's experience of political marginalization. Yet, such attitudes are fundamental to a holistic view of transformations in women's political empowerment. Kabeer (1999), for example, refers to empowering motivations as a key psychological component of women's empowerment in addition to transformations in women's access to resources and their societal achievements. These empowering motivations consist of beliefs supportive of women's autonomy and inclusion that run counter to patriarchal norms. The literature considers empowering gains in political motivation through various measures, including the extent to which (a) citizens believe that women are equally politically as capable as men (Alexander 2012; Inglehart and Norris 2003); (b) are able to identify and support actors and policies most supportive of women's objective interests (Giger 2009; Hayes et al. 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2000, 2003; Iverson and Rosenbluth 2006; Schlesinger and Heldman 2001; Shapiro and Mahajan 1986); and (c) make political claims upon government that better ensure women's resources and achievements (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2009; Chafetz and Dworkin 1986; Inglehart and Norris 2003). In this area of public opinion, gender gaps are once again observed. However, contrary to gaps in mainstream and activist channels of engagement and behavior, women tend to hold stronger supporting views when it comes to combating their group's experience of political marginalization than their male counterparts (Alexander 2012; Alexander and Welzel 2011; Inglehart and Norris 2003).

Overall, the public opinion literature presents an interesting mix of results as concerns citizens' perspectives on women's political

empowerment, with women being overall less participatory but more supportive of a role for women in politics. Based on the existing literature, we anticipate women are less likely than men to engage in mainstream types of politics (except voting) and collective activism. However, we also expect women to participate more in private types of activism, and to be more aware of and concerned about improving women's political marginalization compared with men.

GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES AND CHANGES OVER TIME IN GENDER GAPS

One of the key mechanisms that potentially drives shrinking gender gaps in empowering behavior and attitudes is generational replacement (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004). A confluence of factors has led to variation in people's everyday experiences with gender inequality from one generation to the next. These include domestic factors such as rising levels of human development, increases in women's levels of education and labor force participation, and women's inclusion as political leaders (Inglehart and Norris 2003). They also include global factors such as an increasing concern for improving the status of women and girls among intergovernmental and transnational actors (Boli and Thomas 1999; Gray et al. 2006; Hughes et al. 2009; Ramirez et al. 1997). Despite variation, in general younger birth cohorts have had greater exposure to politically powerful women role models, and to global norms and actors supportive of gender equality (Inglehart and Norris 2003).

These new experiences are potentially transformative for both women and men. Yet, due to women's shared group membership experiences with some form of patriarchal disadvantage, the transformative potential is likely to be even more profound among women compared with men (Inghelart and Norris 2003). Consequently, the gap between younger women and older women is expected to be larger than that between younger men and older men. This also implies that the gender gap in both mainstream and collective activist political engagement is closing among younger birth cohorts.

It is unclear, however, if gender gaps across birth cohorts in attitudes towards women's political empowerment will narrow or widen. On the one hand, younger women may become more mobilized than older women to combat women's political marginalization given the younger women's experience with greater emancipation in their life course. In

other words, experiences of emancipation lead to expectations of emancipation. This could create larger gaps among younger cohorts, and between older and younger women. On the other hand, young men could become more sensitive to and supportive of the political inclusion of women because they experience higher levels of gender equality over their lives as compared to older men. This could result in smaller gender gaps among younger cohorts and bigger gaps between younger and older men, as young men also find women's political marginalization intolerable.

GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES AND CHANGING GENDER GAPS ACROSS COUNTRIES

We have seen rather consistent, positive trends across the globe in a range of areas of human development (e.g., in life expectancy, mean years of education, and GDP per capita), but one must acknowledge that countries vary profoundly in both their current and historical levels of modernization and human development. This has wide-ranging implications for cultural change particularly as concerns the societal treatment of gender (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Alexander et al. 2016a; Alexander and Welzel 2011, 2015). To this effect, gender differences in participation, as well as attitudes towards women's role in politics, may be vastly different across countries. In countries with higher levels of economic and human development, women are more likely to participate in the labor force and to reach higher levels of education, which will increase their levels of political participation and thus decrease gender gaps in participation (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Comparing European countries, Fraile and Gomez (2017) also show how the overall gender gap in political interest is smaller in countries with greater levels of gender equality. Moreover, values of gender equality will be more widespread in affluent societies compared with poorer societies, resulting in smaller gender gaps in attitudes towards women's role in politics in the more affluent societies (Inglehart and Norris 2003).

Generational differences in the size of the gender gaps are anticipated to be stronger in more affluent societies than in less affluent ones. Populations in advanced, post-industrial nations experience a rate of advancing change in gender roles that create dramatic differences in what grandparents experience relative to their grandchildren from childhood into early adulthood (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Welzel 2013). In contrast, populations in less advanced nations,

where production is primarily industrial or agrarian, experience significantly lower rates of advancing change in gender roles which narrows the differences in experience between grandparents and their grandchildren (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Welzel 2013). As a result, the effect of generational replacement on gender gaps varies across countries, with the greatest transformative potential observed in the most advanced countries in the world (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Welzel 2013). Gender differences in our measures of political empowerment between birth cohorts are thus expected to be larger in more advanced contexts compared with less advanced societies.

DATA AND MEASUREMENTS

We assess gender gaps in mainstream and activist political engagement and attitudes towards women's political empowerment. Taking generational replacement into consideration as a key mechanism of change, we focus on gender gaps by birth cohorts. To offer a complete global picture of generational differences and changes over time, we also look at country-level variation in gender gaps by birth cohort with data capturing gendered advances through societal modernization and cultural legacy. We rely on the latest wave (wave 6; 2011–2014) of the World Values Survey (WVS) (www.worldvaluessurvey.org) and include over 50 countries with various levels of human development and gender equality. We evaluate a set of standard indicators under each category of theoretical interest: (1) mainstream channels, (2) activist channels, and (3) attitudes towards women's political empowerment.

Mainstream Channels

Under the category of mainstream channels of political influence, we include political interest and formal political participation. In measuring *political interest*, we work with the commonly used item in the political behavior and public opinion literature: "How interested would you say you are in politics?" Answer options range from (1) very interested to (4) not at all interested. *Formal political participation* is captured with two separate measures: electoral participation and party membership. Electoral participation combines two measures: voting in national elections and voting in local elections. For both variables, the survey asks: "When elections

take place, do you vote (1) always, (2) usually, or (3) never”.¹ The second measure of formal political participation is party membership. Respondents state whether they are an (2) active member, (1) an inactive member, or (0) not a member.

Activist Channels

To measure informal activist participation, two sum scales were created. The first includes two measures of private activism: signing petitions and boycotting. The second comprises two measures of collective activism: demonstrating and striking. For each mode of participation, there were three possible answers indicating the respondent: (1) had done it, (2) might do it or (3) would never under any circumstances do it.

Attitudes Towards Women's Political Empowerment

Attitudes towards women's political empowerment are measured across two categories: (1) the acceptability and importance respondents attribute to women's role in politics and (2) respondents' confidence in the women's movement.

To measure respondents' attitudes towards women's role in politics, we combine two measures. The first measure asks about respondents' support for women as political leaders: “on the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.” Respondents answer range from (1) strongly agree to (4) strongly disagree. The second measure asks respondents whether they believe that women having the same rights as men is an essential characteristic of democracy. Respondents' answers could range from (1) not at all an essential characteristic of democracy, to (10) definitely an essential characteristic of democracy.

To measure citizens' attitudes towards women's political empowerment, we also look at citizens' confidence in the women's movement; a movement which strongly advocates for positive change in women's disadvantaged status. The survey asks respondents how much confidence they have in the women's movement: (1) a great deal of confidence, (2) quite a lot of confidence, (3) not very much confidence or (4) none at all.

All variables and scales have been reversed in such a way that a higher value refers to greater engagement and greater support for women's empowerment. They have also been standardized to run from 0 to 1. We created birth cohorts spanning 10 years according to their years of birth,

Table 2.1 Countries included in our study by region

<i>Region</i>	<i>Countries</i>
Western Europe, US, Australia and New Zealand Eastern Europe	Australia, Cyprus, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, United States, Germany Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan
South/South East Asia Middle East and North Africa East Asia Latin America	Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand Algeria, Bahrain, Palestine, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Qatar, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen China, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay
Sub-Saharan Africa	Ghana, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Zimbabwe

Note: Source is World Values Survey, Wave 6

starting with respondents born in 1921 (1921–1930) and ending with those born after 1990, yielding eight birth cohorts per country. After splitting each cohort by gender we calculated the averages for all our variables measuring women's empowerment for each gender-specific cohort.

The data cover over 70,000 individuals from 56 countries and span 7 global regions. Table 2.1 gives an overview of the countries included in our study per region.²

The data cover a diverse, global sample of countries, and all major regions of the world are covered, though there is variation in the number of countries covered per region.

GENDER GAPS BY BIRTH COHORTS

We now turn to an evaluation of gender gaps in (1) mainstream channels, (2) activist channels, and (3) attitudes towards women's political empowerment. We focus on gender gaps across birth cohorts and look at the global sample to start. To measure gender gaps, we calculate the size of the gender gap between cohorts by subtracting women's score from men's score. A score higher than zero thus indicates a higher score for men than women; a score lower than zero indicates a higher score for women than men.

Starting with the mainstream channels of engagement and participation, Figure 2.1 plots the size of the gender gap per cohort. It shows for

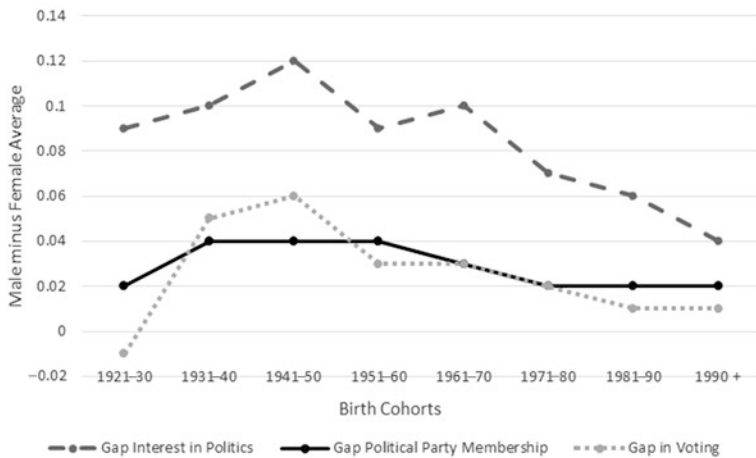


Fig. 2.1 Size of the gender gap per cohort in mainstream political attitudes, global sample, 2010–2014. Note: Source is World Values Survey, wave 6. Size of the cohort gender gap was calculated by the male cohort average minus the female cohort average. Positive values indicate a higher male average compared to the female average. Negative values indicate a higher female average compared to the male average

nearly all measures and all cohorts (with the exception of voting behavior among the oldest cohorts) a higher score for men relative to women. This is in line with our expectations that men will be more engaged and participatory in mainstream channels compared with women. However, it is also important to note that the size of the gaps varies substantially across measures. By far, the gap in political interest is highest across all cohorts, and this is the only significant difference between men and women at the $p \leq .10$ level. Thus, of the measures of mainstream channels of influence, the data on political interest presents the strongest evidence of a gender gap. To the contrary, the gaps in party membership and voting behavior are comparatively rather small, and the differences between men and women are not significant at the $p \leq .10$ level across all cohorts for both modes of participation. The voting behavior results are not entirely surprising as most of the literature finds that this is the one area of mainstream participation where gender gaps are small and/or insignificant. This holds for participation in both national and local elections.

Examining cohort differences, the data reveal that the size of the gaps varies across cohorts, and the direction is in line with our expectations. For the most part, gaps become smaller among younger cohorts. Along these lines, the gaps for all measures are smallest among cohorts born after 1980. Thus, as concerns mainstream channels of influence, we observe gender gaps as expected, with the exception of the rather small differences in party membership, and we also see evidence that generational replacement closes these gaps.

Next, we turn to gender differences across cohorts in political activism. As Fig. 2.2 shows, gender gaps exist with the men's averages higher than the women's averages across both measures of collective and private activism and for all cohorts. In contrast to the previous study of Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) which found women to be significantly more likely to be active in private types of activism but less in collective types of activism compared with men, our analysis, also including non-Western societies, thus reveals that women are significantly less likely to engage in both collective and private types activism than men.

The size of these gaps, however, varies rather substantially across measures. As expected, by far, the gaps in collective activism are higher across

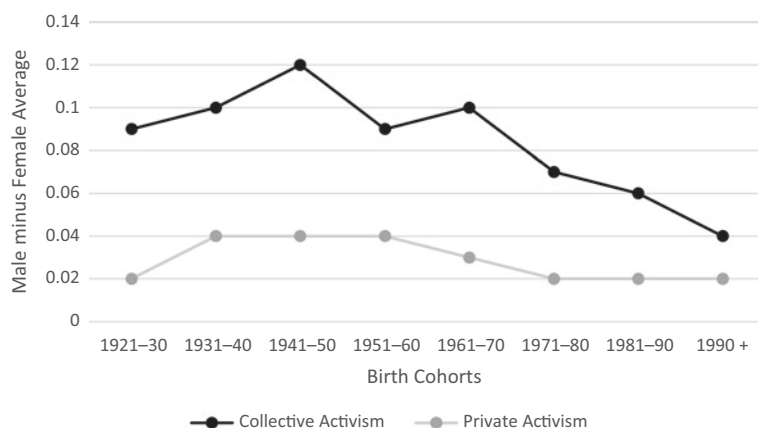


Fig. 2.2 Size of the gender gap per cohort in activist activism, global sample, 2010–2014. Note: Source is World Values Survey, wave 6. Size of the cohort gender gap was calculated by the male cohort average minus the female cohort average. Higher values indicate a higher male average and larger gap compared with the female average

all cohorts compared with the gaps in private activism. Yet, the differences between men and women are significant at the $p \leq .10$ level across nearly all cohorts for both forms of activism. Hence, while we confirm our expectation of a significant gender gap in collective activism, our analysis does not confirm previous research suggesting that the gender gap would be reversed for private activism. Also similar to Fig. 2.1, the size of the gaps in Fig. 2.2 varies across cohorts. For the most part, gaps become smaller among younger cohorts, this decline of the gender gap is particularly strong for the collective ways of activism. Thus, as concerns activist channels of influence, we also observe gender gaps as expected, and we also see evidence that generational replacement closes these gaps.

Finally, we turn to gender gaps in attitudes towards women's role in politics and confidence in women's movement. As Fig. 2.3 shows, gender gaps exist with women's averages higher than men's averages for all cohorts and across both measures of women's empowerment. These gender differences between women and men are significant at the $p \leq .10$ level across all cohorts beginning with the 1941–1950 cohort.

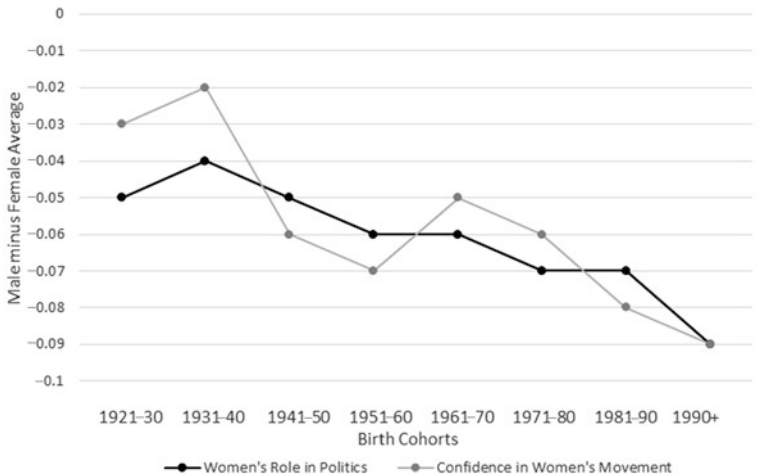


Fig. 2.3 Size of the gender gap per cohort attitudes towards women's empowerment, global sample, 2010–2014. Note: Source is World Values Survey, wave 6. Size of the cohort gender gap was calculated by the male cohort average minus the female cohort average. Lower values indicate a larger gap due to greater female cohort support compared with male cohort support

We also see that the size of the gaps varies across cohorts. Indeed, the size of the gap grows rather consistently for both measures from older to younger cohorts. Along these lines, the gap is by far the largest among the cohort born after 1990. Indeed, the significance of these gaps increases over cohorts and, in the 1990+ cohort, the differences between women and men are significant at the $p \leq .001$ level. Thus, as concerns women empowering channels of influence, we also observe gender gaps as expected. Moreover, we see evidence that generational replacement widens these gaps. Among younger birth cohorts, men and women have thus more diverse opinions about women's role in politics and the women's movement than in older birth cohorts.

Having described gender gaps in various ways of political empowerment across cohorts using global data, we now move on to investigating how these gender gaps, and differences therein between cohorts, may vary cross-nationally.

CROSS-NATIONAL DIFFERENCES: THE IMPACT OF SOCIETAL MODERNIZATION AND CULTURAL CHANGE

Countries vary profoundly across the globe in both their current and historical levels of modernization and human development (Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Welzel 2013). This has wide-ranging implications for cultural change particularly as concerns the societal treatment of women (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Alexander et al. 2016b; Alexander and Welzel 2011, 2015). Various measures have been used to look at country-level variation in societal modernization, such as GDP per capita and the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) human development index. For our purposes, we work with a measure of societal modernization that captures human development with a gender equality perspective. To do this, we work with the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index. This index measures gender inequalities in three areas of human development: reproductive health, empowerment, and economic status. Reproductive health is measured by the maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rates. Empowerment is measured by the proportion of parliamentary seats occupied by women and the proportion of adult women and men aged 25 years and older with at least some secondary education. Finally, economic status is measured by women's and men's labor force participation rate in populations aged 15 years and older (UNDP 2017).

In addition to capturing the influence of modernization, we also attempt to capture the influence of cultural changes related to gender. Recent work on global variation in culture divides the globe into cultural zones based on shared religious legacies and geographic conditions (Welzel 2013). This research reveals that a cluster of countries in Northwestern Europe, labeled the Reformed West (Welzel 2013), have a common cultural legacy based on those conditions most conducive to support for gender equality (Welzel 2013). These countries share the religious legacy of the reformation and adoption of Protestantism. They also share a legacy of advantageous climatic conditions that are supportive of lower child mortality, lower fertility, and higher age of women's marriage. Both the religious legacy and the climatic legacy have a positive effect on early gender egalitarian household formation patterns, giving this cluster of countries the strongest legacy in gender egalitarian culture in the world (Welzel 2013). Thus, we look deeper into cohort gaps among the sample of countries for which we have data from this cultural zone to gain insight into the effect of gender egalitarian cultural legacies.

To assess whether gender gaps in political empowerment vary along societal achievements in gender equality, we divide our sample of cohorts so that one sample covers countries in the lower half of the distribution based on the UNDP's measure of countries' levels of gender equality, and the second sample covers countries in the upper half of the distribution in levels of gender equality (see Table A1 in the Appendix for an overview of the countries categorized by level of gender equality). We then calculate and plot the size of the gender gaps (women's average subtracted from men's average) per cohort.

We begin our investigation of differences between regions with different levels of gender equality with a focus on gaps in political interest, voting, and party membership. Figure 2.4 shows that, contrary to our expectations, there is not much evidence to suggest that the countries' level of gender equality affects the size of the gaps.³ Instead, across cohorts, there is a trade-off in the size of the gap. Sometimes, the differences between men's and women's averages are higher in countries with lower levels of gender equality, and, sometimes, this is the case in the countries with higher levels of gender equality.

For the most part, we continue to see smaller gaps among younger cohorts in countries with both low and high gender equality, with the gender gap being the smallest in political interest and voting among the youngest cohort. In terms of the significance of these gender differences,

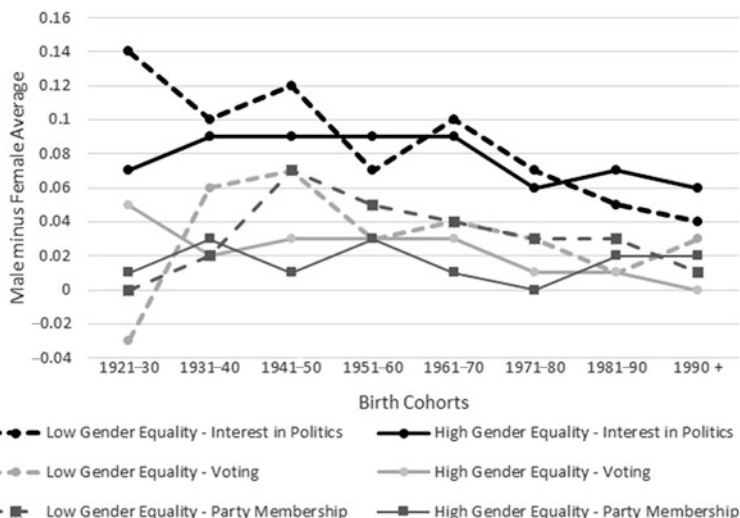


Fig. 2.4 Size of the gender gap per cohort political interest and voting across countries with lower and higher levels of gender equality. Note: Source is World Values Survey, wave 6. Size of the cohort gender gap was calculated by the male cohort average minus the female cohort average. Higher values indicate a higher male average and larger gap compared with the female average

differences between women and men are significant for political interest at the $p \leq .10$ level across nearly all birth cohorts except for those born after 1980. Gender gaps are typically not significant when it comes to voting.

The results for collective activism and private activism are more in line with our expectations. Starting with the gender gaps in private activism, Fig. 2.5 shows that among those born after 1940, the gaps in private activism are smaller across cohorts in the countries with higher levels of gender equality compared with those in countries with lower levels of gender equality. Among those born after 1980, there are small gender gaps in private activism among countries with high levels of gender equality, hovering around 0. In addition, almost all of these differences between women and men in countries with high gender equality are no longer significant among those born after 1940. Yet, the gender gaps are larger and significant in countries with low gender equality.

If we turn to collective activism, among those born after 1960, the gaps are smaller across cohorts in the countries with higher levels of gender

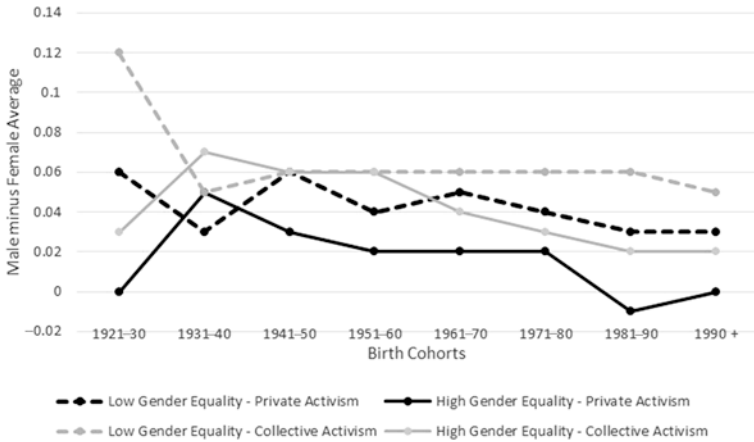


Fig. 2.5 Size of the gender gap per cohort in activism across countries with lower and higher levels of gender equality. Note: Source is World Values Survey, wave 6. Size of the cohort gender gap was calculated by the male cohort average minus the female cohort average. Higher values indicate a higher male average and larger gap compared with the female average

equality compared with those in countries with lower levels of gender equality. Also, almost all of the gender differences in the countries with high gender equality are not significant among those born after 1960. Yet, the gender differences remain substantial, even among the younger birth cohorts, in countries with low gender equality.

Finally, it is important to note that participating in private activism appears to be more conducive to women compared with participating in collective activism, particularly in countries higher in gender equality. The downward slope in the size of the gap in private activism is rather substantial across cohorts in countries with higher gender equality.

Figure 2.6 moves on to the variation in gender gaps across cohorts in the two measures of women empowering channels of influence. As concerns attitudes towards women's role in politics, among those born after 1970, the size of the gaps becomes larger in countries with higher gender equality compared with countries with low gender equality. These differences between women and men are significant at the $p \leq .10$ level across all cohorts starting with 1951–1960 and moving on to younger cohorts among both countries with high and low gender equality.

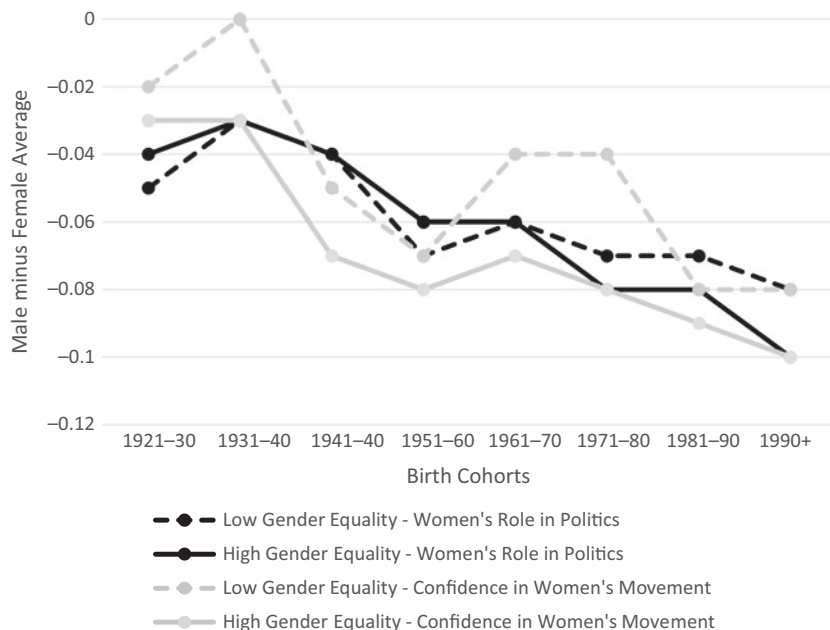


Fig. 2.6 Size of the gender gap per cohort in support for women's political empowerment across countries with lower and higher levels of gender equality. Note: Source is World Values Survey, wave 6. Size of the cohort gender gap was calculated by the male cohort average minus the female cohort average. Lower values indicate a larger gap due to greater female cohort support compared with male cohort support

Turning to respondents' confidence in women's movement, variation in the size of gender gaps between countries with high and low gender equality is observed across all cohorts. The gap is consistently larger in countries with higher gender equality compared with countries with lower gender equality. Indeed, in countries with low levels of gender equality, the gender difference is only significant among cohorts born after 1980. By contrast, in countries with high levels of gender equality, the differences between women and men in confidence in women's movement is significant across all cohorts starting with the 1941–1950 cohort and moving on to younger cohorts. Notably, for both support for gender equality in politics and confidence in the women's movement, among

those born after 1990, the differences between groups in countries with higher gender equality are by far the most significant at the $p \leq .001$ level.

Overall, then, some results suggest that where gender equality is higher, women's political involvement is on the rise with important implications for combating women's political marginalization as a group. In this direction, the results suggest that countries higher in gender equality appear to create a context in which the youngest cohorts are more equal in collective and private political activism. Yet, the results on attitudes towards women's role in politics show that a larger gap between women's and men's support for gender equality in politics and the women's movement exist across countries with higher levels of gender equality compared with countries with lower levels of gender equality, and this gap is larger among the younger compared with older cohorts. While younger women's support for political gender equality and the women's movement is positive and may drive an improvement of their political empowerment, the larger gender gap among younger cohorts is less encouraging and indicates that men are not following women's growing support for gender equality in politics.

Optimism about an improvement of women's empowerment is further tempered by the finding that the variation in countries' level of gender equality matters little for the size of the gender gaps in political interest. This suggests that even in countries higher in gender equality, challenges to women's political empowerment remain in some areas of political involvement. Being interested in politics appears to be an area with a strong legacy of men's continuing dominance, at least when using a traditional measure of political interest. Previous research has shown that while women are less likely to be interested in politics overall than men, they tend to be more interested in local politics and in domestic political issues such as health and education (Campbell and Winters 2008; Coffé 2013).

In addition to countries' level of gender equality, we are also interested in the effect of cultural legacies on gender gaps. Research has identified a cluster of countries, labeled the Reformed West (Welzel 2013), that have the longest cultural legacy most conducive to gender equality. We now turn the sub-sample of three Reformed West countries (Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden) and look at gender gaps in voting, political interest, party membership, collective and private activism, support for women's role in politics, and confidence in the women's movement.

When we focus on this sample of countries, this seriously reduces the number of countries and therefore cohorts available to analyze. Thus, we adjust our cohorts to include a larger time span and, therefore, reduce the cohort sizes to three as opposed to eight cohorts. This gives us a sufficient number of cases for mean comparisons between men's and women's groups.

Figure 2.7 shows that among Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, the gender gap in political interest remains and differences between men and women are significant at the $p \leq .10$ level across all cohorts. To the contrary, the gap in voting is not significant and particularly small across the older cohorts. Surprisingly, the voting gap is considerably larger and significant among the younger cohort, those born 1980 and after. The

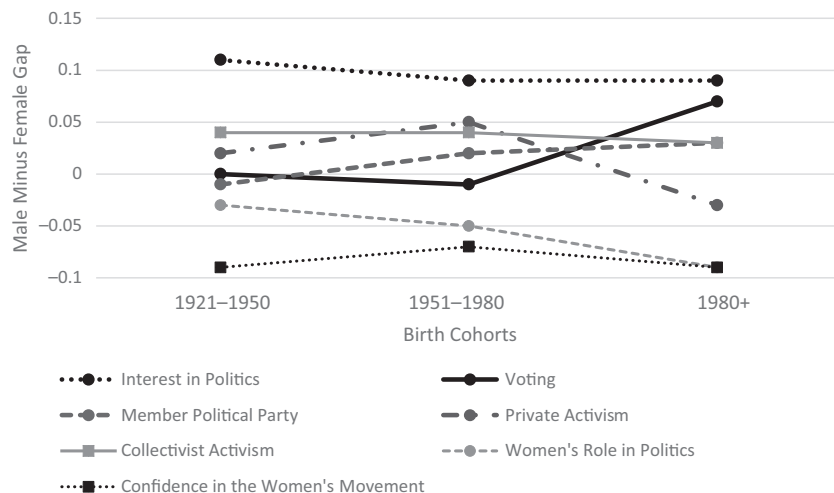


Fig. 2.7 Size of the cohort gender gap in countries with a gender egalitarian cultural legacy. Note: Source is World Values Survey, wave 6. Cohorts are adjusted to include a larger time span and, therefore, reduced to three as opposed to eight time spans because so few countries are sampled from the Reformed West cultural zone. Collapsing cohort categories thus gives us a sufficient N for mean comparisons between male and female groups. Size of the cohort gender gap was calculated by the male cohort average minus the female cohort average. Higher, positive values indicate a higher male average and larger gap compared to the female average. Higher, negative values indicate a higher female average and larger gap compared to the male average

gender gap in party membership is fairly consistent and small across all birth cohorts, as is the gap for collective activism. However, the gap in private activism is low and insignificant only for the two oldest cohorts, and actually reverses among those born after 1980. In the 1980+ cohort, women engage in *more* private activism compared with men.

On average across all cohorts women are more supportive than men regarding women's role in politics, but the gap grows from older to younger cohorts. This shows that newer cohorts of women are becoming more supportive of women's role in politics, while young men are stagnating compared to older male cohorts. Differences between women and men are significant across cohorts, but considerably so ($p \leq .01$) for the youngest cohort, born after 1980.

Women are much more confident in the women's movement. We see sizeable and similar gaps among all cohorts, with average women's support higher than average men's support. All differences between groups are significant, and these are significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.

Thus, among our sample of countries with the longest gender egalitarian cultural legacy, young women appear to be pulling away from young men in terms of their confidence in the women's movement and level of support for women's role in politics. This may potentially have important implications. To the extent that men do not support women's political empowerment, it can create major hurdles for (further) increasing women's empowerment in these countries, despite closing gaps in general forms of engagement and participation over generations. In terms of gender gaps in those general channels, women and men are most equal in party membership and voting. Yet, for both types of engagement, the gender gap is larger among younger compared with older cohorts. By contrast, the gender gap in private activism is appreciably smaller and even reversed, with women being more active than men, among the generation born after 1980 compared with the older birth cohorts. The results in political interest mirror the findings of the analyses presented above and show a persistent and significant gender gap to men's advantage across all cohorts. This suggests that being interested in politics appears to be an area with a strong legacy of continuing men's dominance. Even in a sample of countries with the longest legacy of gender egalitarian culture, there is evidence of a substantial gender gap in interest in politics among the youngest women and men.

CONCLUSION

Engaging in politics through various activities is an important way for citizens to empower themselves. Through participation in politics, citizens can influence policy makers and outcomes. To study this mode of political empowerment among citizens, survey data are a crucial source. Asking citizens to what extent they are involved in a wide variety of political activities, survey data allow us to get an understanding of possible gender gaps in political involvement. This is important to understand since those who participate will have more influence, making equal political participation across gender groups vital for a well-functioning democracy. In this chapter, we have used the most recent wave of the World Values Survey (Wave 6, 2011–2014) and examined gender gaps in mainstream and activist modes of engagement, as well as more general attitudes towards women's role in politics, thereby focusing on differences between birth cohorts and between countries.

Overall, we found that women tend to be less politically engaged in both mainstream and activist ways of engagement and less politically interested than men, though a decline in the gap occurs, with men and women being more likely to engage to a similar level among younger compared with older birth cohorts. The differences between birth cohorts in the size of the gender gaps are strongest for political interest and collective activism, the two measures where the sizes of the gaps are overall also largest. Opposite patterns occur when focusing on attitudes towards women's role in politics. Here, we find that women score higher compared with men, and this gap increases as we move from older to younger birth cohorts.

The sizes of the gender gaps tend to be surprisingly similar between countries with higher and lower levels of gender equality. The main cross-national difference in the sizes of the gaps occurs for private and, to a lesser extent, collective types of activism. While in countries with higher and lower levels of gender equality women tend to engage less in activism and while similar generational patterns occur in both types of countries, the gap is larger among countries with lower levels of gender equality than in countries with higher levels of gender equality. Among the youngest cohorts, those born after 1980, the gap even reverses, with women being more engaged than men, for private activism in countries with higher levels of gender equality. The gender gap in confidence in the women's

movement also differs between countries with higher and lower levels of gender equality. While an overall pattern occurs of increasing gender differences, with women having more confidence in the women's movement compared with men, as we move from older to younger birth cohorts, the gap is across all birth cohorts, larger across countries with higher levels of gender equality compared with countries with lower levels of gender equality.

In sum, while the overall declining trend over generations in the size of the gender gap in political engagement is a reason for optimism, there is a growing gap over generations between women and men in their support for women's role in politics. In addition, while gaps in political activities such as voting, party membership, and private activism are small among the youngest birth cohorts, women are—even among the younger birth cohorts—still significantly less likely to be politically interested and engaged in collective activism. The results underline the importance of looking at the same time at a broad range of modes of participation and at specific measures of modes of participation, rather than combining them in one broad measure of “political engagement.” When using general and broad measures, gender differences in ways of political engagement are obscured.

Therefore, a further improvement of our understanding of gender gaps in women's empowerment among citizens would gain from more specific measures in surveys. This call has, for example, been previously heard in research on political interest. Whereas most surveys are limited to an overall question on political interest, Coffé (2013), relying on British data, revealed that—once political efficacy is controlled for—women are more likely to be interested in local issues. Women are, however, less likely to be interested in national and international issues, as well as politics in general, than men. Further analyses demonstrated that part of the gap in general political interest may be explained by the fact that interest in politics is primarily understood as interest in national politics, an issue in which men are more likely to be interested than women. In other words, the analysis provided evidence that respondents associate interest in politics with national issues to the greatest extent and with local issues to the least extent. This conceptualization of interest in politics among the public implies that research using a general measure of political interest actually measures interest in national issues, which are issues in which women tend to be less interested in than men. In other words, a component of the

gender gap in overall interest in politics can be ascribed to the conceptualization of the word “politics” and gender variation in interest in local, national, and international issues.

In addition to more specific measures in general forms of political engagement and activism, our results also suggest that women are more supportive of women’s role in politics and the women’s movements. Moreover, younger women appear to be increasingly more supportive of women’s role in politics. Yet, all major global public opinion surveys devote little space to questions on the role of women in politics or the engagement with and importance of various forms of feminist activism. This is a serious gendered omission, as it seems that women may be increasingly most engaged and active in this area of citizen politics.

APPENDIX

Table 2.2 Overview of countries according to their level of gender equality

Low level of gender equality	Algeria, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Egypt, Georgia, Ghana, Iraq, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, Uruguay, Yemen, and Zimbabwe
High level of gender equality	Azerbaijan, Australia, Bahrain, Armenia, Belarus, China, Cyprus, Estonia, Germany, Japan, Kazakhstan, South Korea, Kuwait, Libya, Malaysia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Romania, Russia, Singapore, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukraine, and United States

Note: Three countries (Nigeria, Palestine, and Taiwan) are not included in the comparative cross-national analysis due to missing information in the UNDP’s Gender Inequality Index

NOTES

1. Following prior research (Coffé 2013; Norris et al. 2004), we investigated whether gender gaps in electoral participation in our global sample were different for local and national elections. Overall, the pattern was similar. Therefore, we combined both types of electoral participation.
2. Three countries are not included in the comparative cross-national analysis due to missing information in the UNDP’s Gender Inequality Index.
3. This contradicts the findings of Fraile and Gomez (2017) who show in their European comparison that while the gender gap in political interest is similar between age groups in contexts of low gender equality, it increases (and not decreases) significantly with age in contexts of greater gender equality.

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The Status of Women's Political Empowerment Worldwide

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INTRODUCTION

How does women's security constrain or encourage women's political empowerment (henceforth referred to as WPE in this chapter)? How does incorporating women's security variables help us develop a more comprehensive approach to assessing women's political empowerment worldwide? Melanie Hughes summarized the main challenges related to our research: The rise of women to political power in non-Western and less-developed countries is difficult to explain, mainly because women's representation

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does not operate the same way in less-developed states (Hughes 2009). And yet, our goal is to determine the status of WPE globally.

With a view to capturing the situation of women's empowerment worldwide, one must consider factors that enable women to feel or become empowered. We argue that, firstly, women's security often remains invisible in traditional studies on women's empowerment. Secondly, insecure women will neither feel nor become empowered. Alexander et al. previously discussed how the concept of women's political empowerment has emphasized that "women's empowerment starts from a place of *disempowerment*" (2016, 432). We argue that the condition of *disempowerment* is the starting point, and that this is related to insecurity that prevents women from becoming empowered. We also consider that insecurity is a product of prevalent male dominance hierarchies as the primary source of social organization. As researchers for the WomanStats project, we contend that a more equitable treatment of women overall will provide higher opportunities of political empowerment. This is what we demonstrate in this chapter.

Traditionally, global studies focusing on the empirical analysis of women's political empowerment have concentrated on women legislators' analysis, quotas, and an understanding of women's elite office holding (Alexander et al. 2016). In this chapter, we seek to contribute to WPE studies using a broader vision. We argue that since measuring WPE may not be conceived through a unidimensional approach, we need to include new intervening variables if we want to provide helpful inputs to build a comprehensive approach on this subject. We believe new testing is required to relate new variables that may positively impact women's empowerment and that a broader understanding of women's global political empowerment will provide women with greater chances of becoming empowered.

Given Alexander et al. (2016) have stated that inequalities in political empowerment cut across multiple statuses and other sources of inequality, this chapter addresses an empirical understanding of these multiple statuses and sources of inequality that urge us to explore and test intervening variables related to women's security status, with security being considered as a holistic concept. For this reason, we have selected variables on physical, economic, and legal security, as well as women's security in family and education and women's political participation. In this first testing, we related and compared this first set of variables with the more traditional perception of WPE, that is, the one dealing exclusively with the proportion of women holding ministerial positions. To accomplish our objective,

we used the Principal Component Analysis (PCA), a statistical tool used for extracting information from complex datasets: “It presents a roadmap for how to reduce a complex data set to a lower dimension to disclose the hidden, simplified structures that often underlie it” (Liton et al. 2013). We believe that this methodology is more efficient than others because it allows us to determine empowerment from variables related to the women’s security status in an orderly and linear fashion.

Since this research is based on the WomanStats project, we explore direct linkages between the women’s security status and the probability of women becoming empowered. For example, in *Sex and World Peace*, Hudson et al. discuss the boundedness of different measures, such as the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) and the Gender Development Index (GDI). The authors assert that, “pioneering” as the work may be, they are limited because they depend on only a few most commonly used statistics and disregard any measures about violence against women (Hudson et al. 2012). The purpose of this chapter is to expand WPE measures more comprehensively, to include statistical data on factors affecting the security of women to build a more accurate situation of women’s empowerment.

Using this methodological procedure we intend to contribute to the research on women’s political empowerment, by adding a new dimension related to security and equality issues. Potential linkages from socio-economic variables could arise from this study, providing an innovative approach for scholars studying new cases regarding women’s equality and for practitioners engaged in public policy design and decision-making for social development contexts.

TRADITIONAL MEASUREMENTS

How has women’s political empowerment been identified and assessed? For years, several methodologies have been used to measure women’s political empowerment, which can be divided into three categories: measurements used by the United Nations (UN), measurements used by other national and international agencies, and measurements used by academics and universities. The measurements used by the UN are especially important because they are among the earliest. So far, UN agencies have developed three indexes: the Gender-related Development Index (GDI), the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), and the Gender Inequality Index (GII). All these have been widely used by academics and, the GDI and GEM are also valuable as they are the first of their kind. However, they have also been widely criticized because of conceptual, measurement, and methodological

limitations (Klansen 2006; Permanyer 2013; Schüler 2006). The GDI and the GEM in particular do not accurately capture sex disparities around the world and are weak in terms of measurement (Klansen 2006; Schüler 2006; UNPD 2015, 2). On the other hand, the GII has a broader scope because it measures women's disadvantages. It also has problems with its functional form and conceptual foundations (Alsop and Heinsohn 2005; Permanyer 2013). The GEM is a measurement of gender empowerment within a political context. UNICEF (2006) defines five key measures for political empowerment cross-nationally: (1) improving girls access to education; (2) men's involvement and support, especially from male parliamentarians and political leaders; (3) the introduction of quotas for dramatic changes in women's political participation; (4) party politics that actively promote women's candidacies; and (5) participation of women in peace negotiations and post-conflict resolutions (Ogato 2013, 368).

Turning now to the measurements used by national and international agencies such as the Canadian International Development Agency, Social Watch, the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), or the World Economic Forum, these widely adopt quantitative approaches employing a set of variables that either measure the percentage of women in decision-making positions or women's relative position in comparison to men on other issues such as education or health (European Institute for Gender Equality 2012; Lopez-Claros and Zahidi 2005; Oxaal and Baden 1997; True et al. 2012). All these measurements have also been criticized because of measurement errors or limitations caused by their indicators.

When cross-national empowerment measurements are considered, the lack of data availability is frequently the primary obstacle both at the national and individual levels (Zupi 2015, 8). Secondly, commonly used quantitative indicators, such as the number of voting women, or the number of women holding public offices pose a methodological problem because they tell us little about the substance of women's political empowerment. Thus, qualitative research methods such as expert interviews or in-depth case studies are often suggested as the best approaches to understanding the real status of women's empowerment (O'Neil et al. 2014).

Because of the above criticisms, some scholars have developed gender *empowerment* measurements (e.g., Aguayo and Lamelas 2012; Ertan 2016; Harper et al. 2014; Sundström et al. 2015). Most of these studies are noteworthy as they attempt to develop better measurements of women's empowerment by adding new indicators or new measurement patterns. Harper et al. (2014), for example, added uncommon indicators such as the existence of quotas and gender egalitarian attitudes. In doing

so, the authors capture not only the status of women's political empowerment but also the perceptions of future voters and their change of attitude towards female participation in the political spectrum. The V-Dem Project of the University of Gothenburg differs from all other existing datasets on women's political empowerment because it involves assessments from over 2500 local and cross-national experts to rate the countries (Sundström et al. 2015, 11). The UJAT (Universidad Juárez Autónoma de Tabasco) conducted a project in 2005 to measure the process of women's empowerment in Mexico at different stages and from various perspectives. The Instrument for Measuring Women's Empowerment (IMEM) is designed as a questionnaire that can be applied to individuals or groups and involves other aspects than extant global indexes, such as participatory empowerment, external influences, independence, equality, and satisfaction with the Social Security system (Hernández and García 2008).

The traditional measurements described above deserve recognition because they evidence progress in measuring women's political empowerment. However, these measurements are limited in terms of suggesting new tools for innovative analyses testing possible linkages between WPE and other variables. Acknowledging the essence of WPE is understood, in general, as women at decision-making positions. Notwithstanding, in this chapter we argue that considering security variables is an essential step in order to fully comprehend the factors that enable women to become politically empowered. The research also aims to pave the way for further attempts to develop global and international measurements that reflect the women's political empowerment as a multidimensional and multifaceted phenomenon.

FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

An extensive corpus of literature has shown that women's political empowerment worldwide is determined by a complex interaction of factors. Many studies pool these factors into various categories such as political, ideological/cultural, and socio-economic (Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Kivoi 2014; Viterna et al. 2008; Tripp and Kang 2008). It seems that the common indicators of institutions include variables such as level of democracy, electoral systems, or ideology of political parties.

Many studies have examined the relationship between democracy and women's empowerment. A free and liberal atmosphere for the involvement of a pluralist civil society is one of the key factors enhancing the adoption of gender equality policies (Guzman et al. 2010; Waylen 2008).

The structures of a democratic government promote gender equality by improving women's representation in the political sphere and in public institutions. Democratization promotes the integration of women's policy agencies into state institutions and, therefore, leads to the infusion of gender equality issues into institutions. However, those machineries might also be symbolic in some cases, which leads to no or weak policy changes (Waylen 2008). Additionally, it is widely argued that democratic political systems and institutions enable all citizens, including marginalized groups such as ethnic minorities or women, to participate in the governance of their countries through civil society movements. Political liberalization allows civil society groups, including women's groups, to mobilize and demand more gender equality, and, therefore, promote the responsiveness of governments to women's issues.

The discussion on the association between the type of electoral system and women's political empowerment has mostly argued that a proportional representation (PR) system fosters women's representation in politics (e.g., Darcy et al. 1994; Duverger 1955; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Lijphart 1994; Matland 1998; Norris 1987; Paxton 1997; Reynolds 1999; Rule 1987, 1994; Tripp and Kang 2008). The main argument is that a PR system creates more opportunities for women's representation (Rule 1987; Matland 1998). PR systems give more incentives to parties because the number of seats tends to be higher than in plurality-majority systems. Plurality-majority single-member district systems are restrictive for women's chances of being elected to office (Reynolds 1999), because they allow only one party nominee per district, and thus they restrict the entrance to minorities or women into the candidacies.

The structure and ideology of political parties is important for women's empowerment. Concerning the ideological relevance of the party, the literature mostly suggests that leftist ideologies are keener on gender equality issues than right-wing ideologies. Firstly, leftist parties generally espouse more liberal ideas on gender roles and on women's involvement in politics, and are sensitive to social problems. Secondly, women's movements tend to be linked to left-wing parties. When the left holds the power, women's policy agencies are more persuasive and successful than when the right does (Lovenduski et al. 2009; Waylen 2008). On the other hand, some institutional political party structures enhancing women's participation in politics are lacking in most of the parties (Oduol 2011). However, political parties have party rules and doctrines that are a barrier against women entering into politics and holding policy-making positions.

Secondly, socio-cultural factors include mostly social and cultural impediments including the role of religions on the gender egalitarian attitudes of society. Religion, including such dimensions as religiosity, secularity, and religious denomination, is seen as an important determinant of women's empowerment. First, religion is a source of anachronistic cultural beliefs in many communities, and most religious beliefs exclude women from leadership positions (Kivoi 2014). All major world religions such as Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and so on include arguments about women's inferiority, and religion has long been used to exclude women from social, political, or religious life around the world (Paxton and Hughes 2007; Sweeney 2006). It has also been argued that it is not religion but the patriarchal interpretation of religious texts that cause women's oppression. Comparisons between different religions demonstrate that predominantly Muslim countries are less likely to promote women's rights (Hudson et al. 2011; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Paxton 1997; Sweeney 2006; Tripp and Kang 2008), whereas Protestant countries are more women-friendly than others (Tripp and Kang 2008; Viterna et al. 2008). Given all the above discussions on gender equality in religions, countries with a high level of religiosity are expected to have lower government responses to gender equality policies. This, because the public demand for those rights would be lower.

Many scholars argue that it is not religion but the prevailing patriarchal culture that leads to the oppression of women in the world. The rigid understanding of gender roles held by patriarchy, such as men equal breadwinners and women equal homemakers, determines the rights and status of women in society and the division of labor at home and at the workplace (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Thus, in many parts of the world politics has been associated with masculinity and is accepted as "men's only" (Kivoi 2014). Social rules, cultural beliefs, and practices rooted in the patriarchal order have almost always worked against women's empowerment. These factors also block countries' willingness to improve women's situation and to foster the success of various gender equality protocols (Nyanjom 2011). Moreover, "macho" attitudes might be also associated with higher levels of violence against women and to resistance against policies addressing violence against women (Buckley and Anderson 1988; Weldon 2002). Some studies have confirmed that gender egalitarian attitudes foster women's representation levels in the whole world (e.g., Norris and Inglehart 2001; Paxton and Kunovich 2003).

Thirdly, economic factors include indicators such as women's economic status, distribution of wealth, women's participation in the workforce, and level of economic development. Economic status is important because access to means of production and finances has a direct relationship to and influence on women's ability to participate in political institutions and electoral bodies such as senates, national assemblies, and county assemblies (Kivoi 2014). Parties draw their candidates from a pool of those who have high access to financial resources. Thus, improving women's economic conditions would also improve their potential to becoming involved in politics. The distribution of wealth has an impact on poverty levels and health conditions of society, so its inequality creates significant disadvantages for women (Hudson et al. 2011; Jamal 2010). Furthermore, some studies have linked female work to women's political opportunity (Gardiner 1997, 12). The theory underlying this association stems from the argument that women who work outside home would be more self-confident and independent, so they would be brave enough to participate in politics, and to take part in civil society activities. Moreover, they would have more networks and linkages to political parties, business groups, and unions (Kenworthy and Malami 1999, 240).

As we have seen so far, women's political empowerment is a very complex matter. Not only is it problematic in theory, but also in practice. It is not only about the lack of unanimity over what it means, or how it is gauged, it is also about how it reflects on the lives of women, and the external factors that hinder them from being politically empowered. Its multidimensional nature and the reasons why WPE needs to be addressed from a macro-level perspective are now clear. Bearing in mind the multiple obstacles WPE face, a proposed methodology to depict the status of WPE is in order.

AN INDEX FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT: MODEL JUSTIFICATION AND GOALS

Considering that WPE cannot be understood without taking into account the situation of women's security, we propose a measure of WPE that uses a single index built from several women's security dimensions. This single index facilitates comparisons among different states, and provides an understanding of how different factors related to the status of women could produce different results on the status of WPE within a country.

Developing an index that provides country performance is increasingly recognized by public policy analysts and public communicators as a useful tool for making comparisons about the most relevant socio-economic issues (Vyas 2006). The case for measuring WPE is a special and challenging one, because for this particular analysis a variety of dimensions referring to the women's security status were considered as determinants of WPE: Women's physical security, economic security, legal security, security in family and education, and political participation.

The general goal of this index is to demonstrate that empowerment is neither linear nor limited to a single measurement. Therefore, we wish to have a first understanding of possible determinants of women's political empowerment and its relationship with specific contexts of women within each country.

As previously explained, through this methodological procedure we intend to contribute to research on women's political empowerment, adding a new dimension related to security and equality issues. Potential linkages from socio-economic variables could arise from this study, providing an innovative approach for scholars studying new cases regarding women's equality and for practitioners engaged in public policy design and decision-making for social development contexts.

Data Description and Overview

As inputs for this study, we used data from the WomanStats database (WomanStats 2015) and the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Database (WEF 2014). We gathered information from 175 countries from 2010–2014, which was the period with the greatest amount of data. The variables and scales are related to the following dimensions of security:

- Women's physical security:
 - Female life expectancy (id: DACH-SCALE) (WomanStats 2015)
 - Differences between women's and men's health (id: Score_HEAL_SURV) (WEF 2014)
- Women's economic security:
 - Economic participation and opportunity: Sub-index containing three concepts: the economic participation gap, the economic remuneration gap, and the economic advancement gap between men and women (id: ECON_PART) (WEF 2014)

- Women's legal security:
 - Existence of legal contexts and enforcements against violence against women in family. Inversed values (id: MULTIVAR_SCALE_3)¹ (WomanStats 2015)
- Women's security in family and education:
 - Gap between women's and men's current access to education (id: EDUC_ATAIN) (WEF 2014)
 - Births per 1000 population (id: BR-SCALE-1) (WomanStats 2015)
- Women's political participation:
 - Political participation: Ratio of women to men in minister-level positions and ratio of women to men in parliamentary positions (id: POL_PART) (WEF 2014)
 - Ordinal ranking of the degree of representation by women in national government. Inversed values (id: GP_SCALE_1)² (WomanStats 2015)

Table 3.1 summarizes the general trends and contexts on representative variables from each category, for each geographic region. General aspects of each variable are explained in the following part.

- **Life expectancy:** A measure of physical security of women, this variable was extracted from WomanStats Database (WomanStats 2015) and revised with data from the World Bank's World Development Indicators (WB 2016). Studies have shown that women's life expectancy could be determined by factors related to the status of women in a society, including economic, education, and equality aspects, among others (Novak et al. 2015). In turn, life expectancy could have important consequences for a country's economic performance due to its relationship with retirement costs, and it is also related to the aging of population. Regions like North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa have the lowest life expectancy values for women.
- **Educational attainment** (WEF 2014): This variable shows the ratio of female to male literacy rate, where values closer to 1 show a greater situation of equality in literacy opportunities. Values are quite homogeneous, showing the greatest values for countries in the Baltic, Eastern Europe, Latin America, North America, Oceania, and Western Europe regions.

Table 3.1 Status of indicative variables for WPE by geographic region

<i>Region</i>	<i>Life expectancy</i>		<i>Educational attainment</i>	<i>Economic participation and opportunity</i>	<i>Political participation (ministers)</i>	<i>Political participation (parliament)</i>	<i>Legal security</i>
	<i>Ratio</i>	<i>female</i>					
Asia	1.059	74.2	70.0	0.618	0.150	3.087	2.348
Baltic	1.142	80.1	70.1	0.746	0.199	1.333	0.333
Commonwealth of Independent States	1.120	75.3	67.2	0.731	0.108	3.083	1.500
Eastern Europe	1.090	80.2	73.5	0.681	0.167	2.000	0.909
Latin America	1.079	77.2	71.6	0.647	0.203	1.800	1.960
Near East	1.050	77.3	73.7	0.483	0.066	3.643	2.714
Northern Africa	1.057	75.9	71.8	0.429	0.115	3.200	2.400
Northern America	1.049	84.1	80.2	0.81	0.204	1.500	0.500
Oceania	1.070	79.0	74.0	0.686	0.204	2.400	1.800
Subsaharan Africa	1.060	63.1	59.4	0.68	0.191	2.463	3.049
Western Europe	1.056	84.0	79.5	0.725	0.360	0.895	0.474

- **Economic participation and opportunity** (WEF 2014): This variable presents the gap between women and men in economic participation, remuneration, and economic advancement. Values closer to 1 suggest equality, while lower values show greater inequality. While the highest values are typical of the Baltic, CIS, North America, and Western Europe regions, the situation in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Oceania indicates an important contrast: Although there are important conditions for gender equality in education, this circumstance does not necessarily translate into greater economic opportunities, remuneration, and specialization for women, probably explained by asymmetries in labor market conditions and access.
- **Political participation** (WEF 2014): This measures the gap between men and women regarding political decision-making processes, participation, and years of experience. Again, greater values show gender equality is more likely to happen in Latin America, North America, Oceania, and Western Europe. We highlight the low results obtained for the Middle East region, a situation that could be explained by the lack of liberties, civil rights, and restrictive freedom for women among countries in this region, also characterized by low democracy rankings.
- **Women's representation in national governments (GP-Scale-1)** (WomanStats 2015) shows an ordinal ranking of the degree of representation of women in national parliaments. As for political participation, countries from the Middle East show a higher value in the scale, which translates into low or very low representation of women in national legislatures. In this region, as well as in Asia Pacific, and North Africa, men usually dominate the political arena, giving very little or no opportunities for women to stand out on this field.
- **Legal security of women (Multivar_Scale_3)** (WomanStats 2015): It is a scale built from several variables capturing how inequitably family law is conceptualized according to gender. From the average values of this scale, we highlight the cases of sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East as areas with insufficient laws and weak enforcement for the protection of women from domestic violence, rape, or femicides.

Methodology of the Index

Since this chapter focuses on measuring WPE based on a multivariate set of data regarding the status of women's security in several categories, we

identified the need to design a single variable that reunites the main statistical characteristics of our original dataset. According to the Handbook on Constructing Composite Indicators (OECD 2008), the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) is a construct of a single variable, obtained from a statistical procedure that performs a linear combination of the original information, and therefore explains the variance of the original data.

The PCA uses several variables as inputs, aggregating them to perform a linear transformation (also called dimensionality reduction) to create a single output, a one-dimensional result referred to as an “Index”. Because all the variables considered are reduced to one, and since the index retains the most important statistical characteristics of the original variables, the results are much easier to interpret, making this method frequently used for predictive analysis and to explain behavioral trends.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Suitability

After executing a Principal Component Analysis procedure on Math Lab® Software, based on the dataset built with variables from the WomanStats, World Economic Forum, and World Bank databases, we estimated the common variance of the PCA Index. This procedure is the first step in determining the suitability of the result of the PCA Index to represent or explain the statistical characteristics of the original data, mainly its variance. The final single-factor model obtained is associated with a common variance of 60% of the original data, a solution that in social sciences is usually considered satisfactory (Hair et al. 2014).

Index Composition and Interpretation

Table 3.2 shows the weight obtained for each variable used on the composition of the index.

After obtaining the main component scores for each variable, we notice that the highest contributing factors for the WPE Index are legal security, education attainment, and life expectancy. From this result, we can conclude that physical and educational categories, supported by regulatory contexts that protect women, are the most important prerequisite for women's political empowerment.

Table 3.2 WPE Index variable weights from the Principal Component Analysis

<i>Category</i>	<i>Variable ID</i>	<i>PCA weight result</i>
Physical security	DACH-SCALE	0.3803
	Score_HEAL_SURV	0.1608
Economic security	Score_ECON_PART	0.2745
Legal security	MULTIVAR-SCALE-3	−0.4745
Security in family and education	Score_EDUC_ATAIN	0.381
	BR-SCALE-1	−0.0429
Political Participation	Score_POL_PART	0.2868
	GP-SCALE-1/DATA	−0.3178

Moreover, this result could motivate further analyses aimed at determining whether economic security and political participation, which also have a positive correlation with the WPE Index, could be a consequence of physical, educational, and legal security.

Country WPE Index Output

Having estimated the specific values for the WPE Index, it is possible to obtain the corresponding results of WPE for each country analyzed from our database, which are plotted on Fig. 3.1. The lightest color represents countries that exhibit a low performance on the variables used for estimating the multivariate WPE Index common in Africa and some Asian countries including India and Pakistan. In contrast, the darkest color countries on the map represent a high performance, common in Western Europe and Canada.

Figure 3.2 shows the relationship between the WPE Index (represented by the curve) and a variable that has a dimension similar to the original data. In this case, we wished to analyze the relationship between the WPE Index and a variable from the World Bank Database representing proportion of women in ministerial positions (World Bank 2016). Observations for every country are plotted and identified by their corresponding region.

Traditionally, the variable to evaluate political empowerment among women has been the level of political participation. However, from the graph we can observe that the relationship between the WPE Index and the variable “Proportion of women in ministerial positions” is not linear. This is because the WPE Index does not solely evaluate the political dimension, but it includes other scopes such as economic, social and

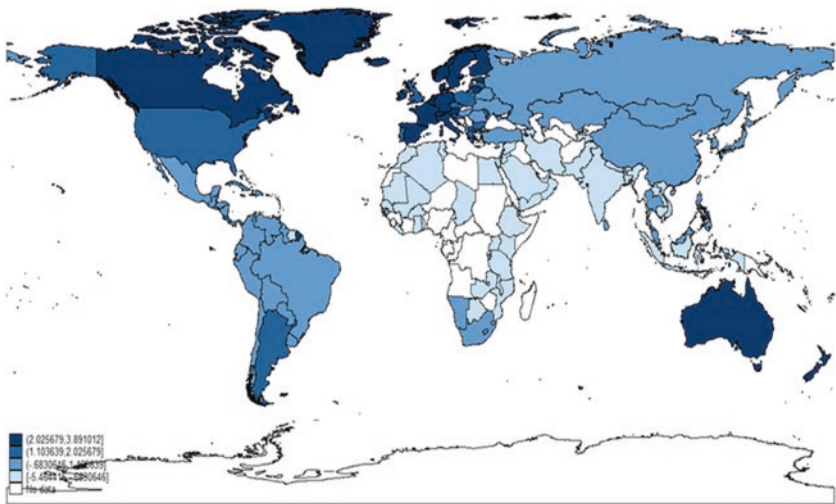


Fig. 3.1 WPE values for each country

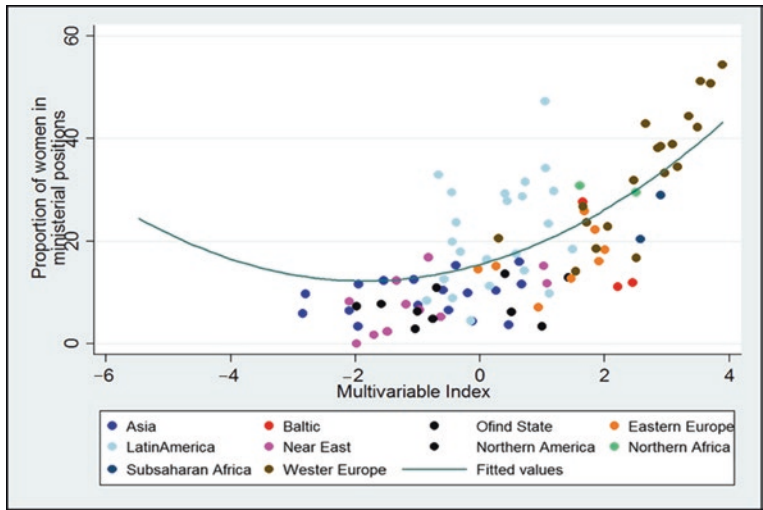


Fig. 3.2 Relationship between the WPE Index and proportion of women in ministerial positions

security. We conclude that even though the increase in the number of ministerial positions occupied by women could have a positive impact on the level of empowerment, this is not enough to assure that a specific country would have higher levels of political empowerment.

An interesting result from this model is the heterogeneity of results on the index between regions. For example, data from Latin American countries reflect that for a country having higher political participation rates of women does not necessarily mean that women are more empowered. Gender quotas could have an important effect on the presence of women in high political positions, but it does not ensure that institutional, socio-cultural, or economic factors promote empowerment among women, a contrast that can be observed when comparing the cases from Brazil and Bolivia, or Chile and Nicaragua.

Some Asian countries (India, Pakistan) and most countries in the Middle East have negative WPE Index values, meaning that they must make important efforts on improving the status of women's security to improve political empowerment. In these countries, as with other negative values from the index such as Chad, Yemen, Mali, or Ethiopia, the proportion of women in ministerial positions does not exceed 15%.

Finally, we highlight the fact that the WPE Index, represented with the curve, has both an indirect and a direct relation with the ratio of ministerial positions occupied by women. This demonstrates that political representation by itself is not an appropriate or indicative measure of political empowerment, and as we have stated, it is determined by other elements of the status of women's security.

CONCLUSIONS

From a global perspective there are a large variety of social, political, and economic aspects that could determine women's political empowerment. However, there is still great controversy about the meaning of the concept of women's political empowerment and even more about how to measure it. Throughout this chapter we proposed a definition of the concept of WPE, highlighting the factors that could result in greater political empowerment of women as well as its socially constructed barriers. Considering gender equality as the main driver of this study, we based our analysis on the rights and liberties women have for achieving a secure environment, with the purpose of demonstrating its linkages with women's political empowerment.

The analysis of the data and the assessment of the several dimensions of women's security prompted us to design a Multivariate Index of Women Political Empowerment, as a methodology that allows for cross-national comparisons. From this model we conclude that the index adequately synthesizes different aspects that explain WPE. This result not only requires gender parity in political participation but also a set of social, cultural, economic, and institutional factors that create sufficient conditions for female political leadership. Although highly correlated, even though not in all cases, greater participation of women in government positions reflect a more empowered group of women in society. For example, factors such as gender quotas do not necessarily translate into a more inclusive democratic process. Accordingly, countries with middle and lower levels in the WPE Index such as African, Middle-Eastern, Asian, and even some Latin American countries deserve special attention from their policy makers in terms of women's security. Exploring different aspects of factors that might affect the status of women's political empowerment worldwide deserves more attention in order to achieve a better understanding of the circumstances in which women may actually achieve more political power. Therefore, it is important to examine and adapt practices of countries that perform better in the index, such as Western Europe or Canada, to identify potential opportunity areas and strengths.

NOTES

1. Womanstats (2015). Multivar-scale-3: (0) Family law is equitable between men and women, and the law is respected. (1) Family law is generally equitable between men and women, with few exception. (2) Family law is somewhat inequitable, and those laws which are equitable may not be enforced. (3) Family law is largely inequitable, and/or there maybe state recognized enclaves of inequitable family law. (4) Family law is grossly inequitable towards women.
2. Womanstats (2015). GP_SCALE-1: (0) Excellent representation of women. (1) Good representation. (2) Mediocre representation. (3) Poor representation. 4 Very poor representation.

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Intersectionality and Women's Political Empowerment Worldwide

Melanie M. Hughes and Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow

When we measure “women’s political empowerment” around the world, it is crucial that we understand that women’s political experiences vary, and that empowerment for some women may not mean empowerment for all. Women’s progress varies across countries and across groups within countries. Some groups—be they racial, ethnic, or religious minorities; indigenous or immigrants; or sexual minorities—elect and appoint women in higher numbers than others (Celis et al. 2014; Hughes 2011, 2013; Reynolds 2013). Within-group differences influence how women and other marginalized groups mobilize, make political claims, and win concessions from the state (Evans 2015; Htun and Ossa 2013; Lépinard 2014; Sainsbury 2003; Strolovitch 2006; Verloo 2013; Walsh and Xydias 2014; Weldon 2011).

In recognizing and unpacking differences among women, contemporary scholars often invoke the word “intersectionality.” Legal scholar

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Kimberlé Crenshaw first coined “intersectionality” to better understand how the legal experiences and outcomes of Black women in the United States are shaped simultaneously by their sex and their race (Crenshaw 1989, 1991). Crenshaw criticized that sexism and racism are artificially analyzed as distinct, or are simplistically added together. Instead, she argued, forces of oppression intersect in complex and often compounding ways. Over the last 30 years, intersectionality has taken feminist scholarship by storm, and has been applied in many countries, in a wide array of disciplines, and across a broad range of intersecting social hierarchies—not only gender and race, but also class, ethnicity, nation, religion, sexuality, ability, and age. Intersectional concepts have even been integrated into United Nations resolutions on human rights (Yuval-Davis 2006).

It is important to recognize that Crenshaw was not the first scholar to theorize the racial and gendered oppressions experienced by Black women (e.g., Beale 1970; Combahee River Collective 1982; Davis 1981; King 1988; Smith 1983), nor are the ideas associated with intersectionality uniquely American. Indeed, for decades feminists worldwide have articulated the ways that women from marginalized groups and women from the Global South face multiple oppressions (Black 2000). As Jennifer Nash (2008, 3) argues clearly, intersectionality “provided a name to a pre-existing theoretical and political commitment.”

In this chapter, we make the case that an intersectional approach is crucial to researching and understanding women’s political empowerment worldwide. We begin by providing a brief introduction to intersectionality as a concept. Then, we consider how an intersectional perspective changes our conceptual and methodological approaches to studying women’s political empowerment. To illustrate our argument, we provide examples of how an intersectional approach contributes to—and complicates—research on women’s political empowerment.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO INTERSECTIONALITY

There is no single, agreed-upon understanding of intersectionality. Instead, intersectionality captures a range of ideas, approaches to scholarship, and social justice projects (Cho et al. 2013; Choo and Ferree 2010; Collins 2015; Hancock 2016; McCall 2005). Intersectionality’s intellectual and practical appeal allowed it to spread far and wide, but has also been a cause of considerable debate among, and criticism from, feminist

and critical race scholars (Alexander-Floyd 2012; Anthias 2012; Bilge 2013; Davis 2008; Erel et al. 2011; Hancock 2016; Knapp 2005). Making sense of what intersectionality has to offer the study of women's political empowerment is therefore not a simple and straightforward task.

We take as our starting point Paxton and Hughes (2016)'s argument that intersectional research aimed at understanding women tends to share four important elements. Intersectionality: (1) recognizes differences among women; (2) sees stratifying institutions as inseparable; (3) explicitly references power; and (4) acknowledges complexity. We briefly explore each of these points, in turn.

1. *Intersectionality recognizes differences among women*

Intersectionality challenges ideas that women are a fixed, monolithic group and instead finds that women from different groups have distinct experiences. For instance, as Crenshaw (1991) articulated that in the United States, "[W]omen of color experience racism in ways not always the same as those experienced by men of color, and sexism in ways not always parallel to experiences of white women" (p. 1252; see also Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996; West and Fenstermaker 1997). When women's differences are not made explicit, it is women from dominant social categories—often White middle-class women from the Global North—who are the implicit object of study (e.g., Davis 1981; hooks 1984). Intersectionality demands us to make explicit 'which women' are being referenced or researched (Smooth 2011), and calls for specific attention to the experiences and outcomes of women of color and women from the Global South, who are marginalized not only in societies, but also in academic scholarship (Alexander-Floyd 2012; Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Luke 2001).

2. *Intersectionality sees stratifying institutions as inseparable*

Intersectional research takes a stand that gender cannot be understood in isolation from other social systems that structure inequality in society. One cannot privilege gender as *the* defining category for identity (Hancock 2007). Instead, gender is "interlinked," "interconnected," "interlocking," and "mutually constructed" with race, class, and other axes of social organization (Adib and Guerrier 2003; Collins 2000; Matsuda 1990; Stasiulis 1999). Yet, it is not always immediately obvious how to look

simultaneously at multiple axes of social organization. Mari Matsuda (1990, 1189) suggests that scholars should “ask the other question”:

The way I try to understand the interconnection of all forms of subordination is through a method I call “ask the other question.” When I see something that looks racist, I ask, “where is the patriarchy in this?” When I see something that looks sexist, I ask, “Where is the heterosexism in this?” When I see something that looks homophobic, I ask, “Where are the class interests in this?”

Thus, intersectionality encourages a “gender and approach” that pays simultaneous attention to gender, race, and class—sometimes called the “big three” or the “trinity” (Anthias 2012, 4; Monture 2007, 199)—but increasingly also to ethnicity, nation, religion, sexuality, ability, and age.

3. *Intersectionality is an analysis of power*

Intersectionality demands that we explicitly account for power relations.¹ Intersectionality scholars theorize that differences such as gender, race, and class combine to form intersecting social hierarchies (Glenn 1999; Weber 2001). These intersections are said to create a “matrix of domination,” through which individuals experience both privilege and oppression or multiple oppressions (Collins 2000; hooks 1984). An intersectional approach reveals that not all women occupy the same position in the social hierarchy, and is specifically interested in the ways that social inequalities are produced, reproduced, and resisted (Baca Zinn and Dill 1996; Dhamoon 2011; hooks 1984). Intersectional analyses understand power operating at multiple levels: at the individual level shaping lived experience and subject formation; at the inter-subjective level in relations among actors; at the organizational level in social, political, and economic institutions; and at the representational level in discourse information flows (Anthias 2012; Yuval-Davis 2006).

4. *Intersectionality acknowledges complexity*

An intersectional perspective is anything but a simple equation. Intersectionality scholars contend that one cannot simply average or add up the experience of being a racial, ethnic, or religious minority to the experience of being a woman and deduce the experience of being a

minority woman (Bowleg 2008; Hancock 2007). That is, the idea of some groups being doubly or multiply oppressed does not fully account for complexities at the intersection (Collins 2000; Walby 2007). Research shows that ethnic minority women may experience outcomes similar to their more privileged counterparts (e.g., Folke et al. 2015), or be afforded certain advantages or opportunities and outperform ethnic minority men or ethnic majority women on some metrics (e.g., Celis et al. 2014; Hughes 2011, 2013), and that women from marginalized groups are often situated in multiple groups that pursue conflicting agendas (Crenshaw 1991). Intersectional research clearly points to patterns that are complex and contingent across groups, contexts, and time.

INTERSECTIONALITY CHANGES THE WAY WE ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

Given these complex and contingent patterns, we next ask how taking an intersectional approach could inform the study of women's global political empowerment. How might intersectionality change the questions we ask, and how we would approach answering them?

First, we know that rather than approaching the study of "women" as a group that shares a common outcome, an intersectional perspective assumes *at the outset* that women's outcomes vary. Instead of asking "To what degree are women politically empowered and why?" our first question should be, "*Which women* are politically empowered and why?" It is insufficient to measure and analyze the category of "women"; we must consider meaningful within-group differences and ask about women from marginalized groups that may otherwise be ignored. In this framework, we might ask: To what degree are women of color, immigrant women, indigenous women, working-class women, and lesbian and bisexual women politically empowered? Which women are empowered by efforts to promote social change and, in particular, to what extent are women from marginalized groups empowered?

Recognizing differences among women also encourages us to consider whether and how political empowerment itself may look different for different women. Authors of this book consider women's political empowerment from various perspectives and, at points, from a wide-angled lens: Empowerment is not only women's greater presence in elected political positions but gains in women's political interest, knowledge, and engagement; improvements in public assessments of women's political

capabilities; women's greater ability to support the actors, policies, and issues that align with their interests; and women's political claims-making to enhance their security, resources, and achievements (see Chap. 1). Intersectionality challenges all of that by demanding close-ups and re-shoots for the specific intersections of which women are a part: What do gains in women's engagement look like for women from different groups? What are the political interests and claims most relevant to different groups of women? Overall, then, intersectionality encourages us to revise our pictures of women's political empowerment if we focus on women of color, immigrant women, indigenous women, and other intersectional groups.

Second, we know that an intersectional approach sees stratifying institutions such as gender, race, and class as inseparable and unranked. Thus, rather than assuming that "gender" shapes the experiences of women in certain ways, we must look to other axes of social organization. Instead of asking "How does gender shape women's and men's political experiences?" we should ask, "How does gender intersect with other stratifying institutions to shape women's and men's experiences?" Although not every study must consider all axes, the study of women's political empowerment cannot and should not ignore the varied forces of oppression that politically disempower women. We must "ask the other question," thinking too about racism, classism, xenophobia, homophobia, and other forms of oppression.

Intersectionality and women's political empowerment are not academic, ivory tower concerns, but rather they are frameworks to reveal the lived experiences of the advantaged and the disadvantaged alike. Consider the widespread horrors of the sexual assault of women refugees. One might see sexual assault as a women's issue and a gender-based problem. Yet, an intersectional analysis reveals that these political acts of aggression are rooted both in the "othering" of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities and the gender ideologies that construct women as the bearers of the culture and the symbols of the nation (Pittaway and Bartolomei 2001). Studying the political empowerment of women refugees may best be done by questioning the ways in which gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and poverty together shape the political vulnerabilities and insecurities of millions of refugee women.

Third, intersectionality is a framework for revealing the bases and exercise of power, and thus directs us to a particular way of thinking about power relations as structural, relational, and multi-level. In this volume, women's empowerment is conceptualized as a process of transformation

from limited to greater agency, whereby women are moving toward equal levels of political influence, representation, and integration that undermines patriarchal social structures. Intersectionality directs us to consider structural dimensions of this process. We should consider: “How is power produced and reproduced?” “Who benefits from the power relations as they are?” We should examine “[H]ow and why particular intersections of power systems become salient and generate inequalities” (Severs et al. 2016, 348). Thinking about power relationally, we must consider resistance: “When, where, and how do some women resist the simultaneous oppressions of sexism, racism, and classism?” “Which women are able to do so, and why?” As power relations are often part of enduring social structures, we should also ask about the duration of inequalities inherent within the relations between intersectional groups: “How long have these intersectional political inequalities been, and how have these unequal power relations behaved across time?” Intersectionality also reveals that power operates at multiple levels simultaneously. Intersectionality allows us to understand how privilege and oppression shape women’s individual political transformations, how power shapes relations among women within political organizations and institutions, and how political divisions are represented in discourse and images.

Fourth, intersectionality acknowledges complexity in the ways that gender intersects with other forms of marginalization. Instead of thinking only of women as oppressed, we should ask, “If/how/when are women from different groups empowered politically, and relative to whom?” An intersectional perspective also takes seriously that the same group may be empowered in one context and disempowered in the next. We should examine the instances in which the simultaneous position of women in multiple social categories may empower and disempower them. The process of women’s empowerment is not simple or linear, but complex, contingent, and varied.

INTERSECTIONALITY CHANGES HOW WE ANSWER OUR QUESTIONS

Asking different questions is also important because it may lead to different explanations for why women remain politically disempowered. To illustrate, consider the composition of national legislatures in Burundi and Romania, countries where ethnic minorities comprise between 15 and 20% of the population. As of January 2017, Burundi ranked 25th in the

world in women’s parliamentary representation; women held 36% of seats. By comparison, Romania ranked 88th in the world with 20% women. The considerable gap in women’s political representation between Burundi and Romania is evident in the first two columns of Fig. 4.1.

Why is Burundi doing so well? Research generally points to Burundi’s civil war and the role of women activists, who took advantage of political openings to press for increased representation through a constitutionally mandated 30% quota for women (Anderson 2010; Hughes and Tripp 2015; Tripp 2016). Alternatively, why is women’s political representation in Romania so low? Research points to the fall of communism, which removed policies that protected women’s participation in the labor market, delegitimized the national rhetoric of women’s political empowerment and the application of informal gender quotas, and encouraged cultural attitudes that politics is a man’s game (Constantinescu 2016; Mihalache and Drăgulin 2016; Turcu 2009; UNDP 2013). Overall, then, research generally explains the differences between Burundi and Romania with concepts or ideas that are about women or gender: *women’s* activism, *gender* quotas, *women’s* economic status, and *gender* ideology.

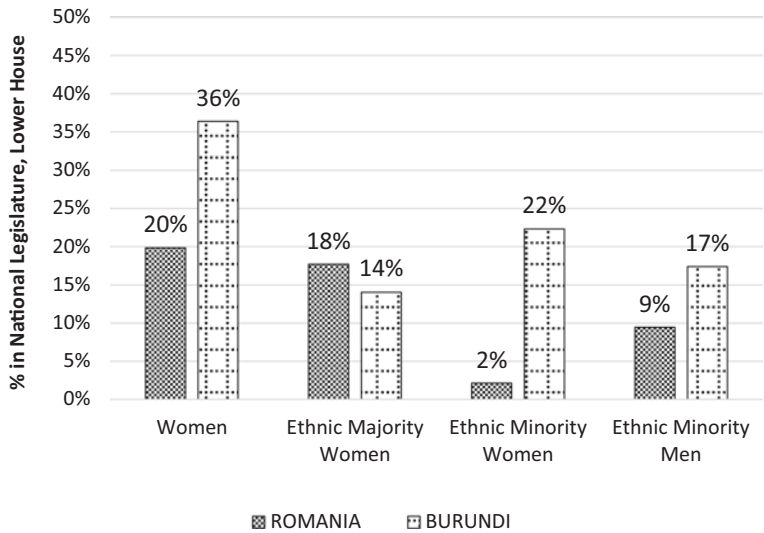


Fig. 4.1 Comparing gender and ethnic representation in Romania’s 2016 and Burundi’s 2015 national legislatures

What would an intersectional perspective offer instead? The remaining columns in Fig. 4.1 break down the legislatures of Burundi and Romania not just by gender but by majority/minority status (the Hutu majority vs. Tutsi and Twa minorities in Burundi and the Romanian majority vs. national minorities in Romania).² Perhaps surprisingly given what we know so far, we see that Romania slightly outperforms Burundi on the political representation of ethnic majority women (18% vs. 14%, respectively). It is when we compare the political representation of women from minority groups that we see where Burundi's advantage comes from—a 20% gap between the two countries. Indeed, ethnic minority women in Burundi are represented at higher levels than both ethnic minority men and ethnic majority women. Explaining differences between Burundi and Romania seems to be not just about gender but about the intersection of gender and ethnicity. The ethnic nature of the conflict in Burundi and rules for incorporating ethnic minority parties in Romania emerge as important areas of study.

This example demonstrates that an intersectional perspective changes not just the questions we ask, but the kinds of answers that might be appropriate. Focusing on the political experiences and outcomes of women from marginalized groups is important not only because they are often ignored but because our ignoring of them means we are missing out on understanding women's political empowerment more fully. To understand women's political empowerment fully, we must consider how power is also structured by other axes of inequality.

Despite all intersectionality has to offer, there are a host of challenges to doing intersectional research at all, and especially to doing intersectional research *well*. In the next section, we introduce some of the methodological challenges to intersectional research, focusing in particular on the specific challenges of cross-national intersectional survey research.

INTERSECTIONALITY CHANGES THE WAY WE DO EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

How should we do empirical intersectional research on women's political empowerment? What methods and measures allow us to recognize differences among women, see stratifying institutions as inseparable, analyze power, and acknowledge complexity? Despite over three decades of intersectional conceptualization and theory, only in the mid-2000s has intersectional research methodology begun to grow (Bauer 2014; Bowleg and

Bauer 2016; Dubrow 2008, 2013; Hancock 2013; Hughes 2015; Else-Quest and Hyde 2016; Weldon 2006). What is clear from this scholarship is both that intersectionality introduces new empirical challenges, but with the weight of robust scholarship leaning on it, these challenges can be overcome.

Given the big umbrella that is intersectionality, it is impossible to introduce and address all the many methodological issues that an intersectional approach to women's political empowerment raises. Therefore, our approach is to focus on a particular method—cross-national survey research—and consider the extent to which existing survey and non-survey data can be used to examine intersectionality. We first introduce some of the specific challenges—the mismatch between identities and demographic survey questions, the perennial “small-N” problem, and the challenges of measuring power relations—but also consider how new data sources can be created to better apprehend intersectional reality.

Measuring Difference and Complexity: The Problem of Using Demographics to Measure Identities

If the goal is to use quantitative survey techniques to understand women's political empowerment around the world—and we want to do it intersectionally—scholars face a host of methodological challenges. We know that women occupy many groups, but what are the salient categories of difference? How do women see themselves and with which social categories do women identify? Measuring identity is no simple task, and standard survey research techniques may not be adequate to capture identity in an intersectional way.

Identities are complex: they involve the perception individuals have of themselves and the characteristics that others project onto the individual. Identity is a subjective phenomenon: how people see themselves, and are seen by others, influences how they think and act. Intersectionality also informs us that the formation and mobilization of identities is about power. In Crenshaw's words: (1991, 1297) “the process of categorization is itself an exercise of power”; “identity continues to be a site of resistance of different subordinated groups.” Thus, a nuanced approach to identity is important to a sound intersectional approach.

Yet, survey research generally uses demographics to stand for identities. Demographics are defined here as characteristics of respondents that influence position in the social structure—gender, age, sexuality, disability,

race, ethnicity, and class, for example. Items that purport to measure the “standard demographics” of gender, age, and so on have been, with minor variations, asked of survey respondents in the same way for decades. This continuity perpetuated by international survey projects illuminates the role of demographics in human thought and behavior across countries and time. The severe downside is that it has inhibited a rigorous scientific exploration of identities with new survey instruments that are potentially better suited to an intersectional approach.

If we take intersectionality seriously, the conceptual mismatch between identity and demographics is especially problematic (Bauer 2014; Weldon 2006). Checking the box for “woman” does not capture important differences in women’s identities. However, it is unclear how to adapt surveys to better capture identities. Indeed, a reasonable question to ask is how quantitative-oriented intersectionality researchers can adequately measure identities without knowing strictly how the respondents see themselves, or how others see them.

Measuring Multiple Axes at Once: The Problem of Too Few Cases

A second challenge for intersectional survey research on women’s political empowerment is the “small-N” problem—when there are too few observations in the sample to permit the desired analysis. Intersectionality asks us to look at multiple categories of difference at the same time. Yet, to perform the multivariate quantitative techniques popular in analyses of survey data, we need an adequate number of people in each group or category we hope to analyze. For instance, if we think that the intersection of gender and class is necessary for our study, and we want a detailed class schema (i.e., more than two nominal categories), then we face the problem of having too few cases in a given gender*class category. Or, if we are studying the experiences and outcomes of women from marginalized groups, we need to be aware that many marginalized groups are numerical minorities. Without specific targeted sampling procedures such as over-samples of categories of interest, there may not be enough men and women from the marginalized group to allow rigorous intersectional analysis with the extant statistical techniques.

Data from statistical agencies has its own problems. Sub-national, national, and cross-national data on individuals and their social categories are often collected by statistical agencies staffed and directly funded by national governments. To get the data needed for intersectional analysis, researchers face several challenges. One, the office may have never

collected data on the intersectional demographic of interest, i.e., insufficient measures. Two, the office could have collected such detailed data, but is reluctant to provide the raw data for researchers to retrospectively construct intersections. There are a couple of reasons for this: (1) the under-funded office perceives a high cost involved, or (2) the office is uncertain about the protocol for releasing micro-data of that type. The office's reluctance to release micro-data could be because they are uncertain as to how to comply with their government's data privacy policies. In some countries, the offices may have never developed a coherent policy of how to release these data to the public. As is typical for governmental offices everywhere, in the face of challenges to their official guidelines, the office may simply decide to not release the data that they have. In the worst case scenario, the office may have had collected these data in the past, but due to military conflict or short-sighted data storage policies created by their government, these data may have been destroyed.

Researchers have options to contend, or not, with the "small-N" problem in cross-national survey research. On the one hand, we can try to do our best with the number of cases we have. We can limit the number of intersections and the content of intersections, i.e., create only those intersectional groups that have a sufficient number of cases. Or, when analyzing a concept with multiple categories, such as social class, we can meaningfully combine those categories, i.e., "pooling categories." On the other hand, we can pursue various strategies to increase our overall sample size. This can be achieved in various ways: (1) Pool countries within one survey wave, i.e., "pooling countries"; (2) Pool the same country across multiple survey waves, i.e., "pooling time"; (3) Pool countries and time; or (4) Harmonize different datasets of the same country, i.e., "pooling international survey projects." At this point, intersectional researchers who pursue quantitative strategies have few best-practices guidelines. It appears that, at the moment, the disciplines of psychology and health sciences—and not sociology or political science—are at the forefront of this kind of research (e.g., Bauer 2014; Else-Quest and Hyde 2016).

Measuring Power Relations in the Social Structure

We know that power relations are at the heart of all intersectional research and their explicit measurement is a requirement to apply intersectionality to women's political empowerment. The approaches commonly used to analyze survey data often assume structural power relations between individuals, groups, and the state—and as such are often not explicitly

measured (a critique also made by Bowleg and Bauer 2016). The obvious problems of quantitatively measuring a power structure abound: Power is notoriously difficult to directly observe, let alone measure. Sexism, racism, classism, ageism, and others, are a description of the structures of power, and some form of them should be directly accounted for in multivariate equations featuring intersectional groups. If we are to explicitly model power relations, we need to devise measures of it that are comparable across nations and that are appropriate to the theoretical model undergoing the empirical test. If intersectionality is about power relations, then it demands a direct measurement of power relations. Quantitative accountants of intersectionality rarely, if ever, measure power relations directly and thus are at risk of not properly contending with a core aspect of intersectionality.

We Are at the Beginning

Researchers have only recently begun to tackle the serious methodological challenges involved in the quantitative empirical analysis of intersectionality worldwide. In this chapter, we can only summarize what is, and speculate a little on its future. In sum, intersectionality can be examined with existing survey data only if the researcher is willing to limit the number of countries and years. The data situation has to be sufficient, i.e., there are data that can approximate intersectional groups and the cases can be embedded in contextual data from which a power structure can be measured. Since the major cross-national surveys emerged only in the 1970s, and only some countries collect and release micro-data from their population census, there are severe limitations in constructing an intersectional, international, and over-time measure of women's political empowerment. Today, the best that can be done is to go in-depth on a few countries within the last few decades.

Given the state of social science methodology, there are a few obvious directions in which to go. One is to design new surveys. There is surprisingly very little research on how to collect survey or other statistical data with intersectionality in mind (for example, the best treatise on the topic remains Warner's 2008 and Bowleg's 2008, articles). With little research on this, we are far even from a best-practices approach. To address the "demographics vs. identities" problem would require a minor revolution in survey design. The obvious answer to solving the "too few cases" problem is to collect far more cases, but would require much more funding for

social scientific surveys, or a methodological breakthrough in how to more efficiently and economically collect more and better survey data. Accounting for power structures is easily solved theoretically, but requires careful attention to the measurement of the power structure, which no one has ever done, or at a minimum, a multi-level approach.

CONCLUSIONS

Intersectionality is important because it forces scholars to focus—first and foremost—on the inherent complexity of women’s political life. Intersectionality points out the ways that women are internally a diverse group, brings other forms of oppression into the center of study, explicitly references power, and acknowledges the complexities of social and political life. Before intersectionality, scholars often ignored the particular experiences and outcomes of women from marginalized groups. The political empowerment of women of color, of immigrant women, of indigenous women, of working-class women, of lesbian and bisexual women, and of women from the Global South deserves attention from social scientists.

The intersectional perspective is a powerful instrument: It encourages us to ask different questions that need asking. It pushes us to look for answers in new places. We more fully comprehend the political life of women from diverse experiences, and thus women’s political empowerment. Yet, intersectional research is not easy. What it means to do intersectional research is contested, and there is surprisingly little methodological guidance for how to do intersectional scholarship—especially quantitatively. This may be because some intersectional scholars see quantitative techniques as wholly inappropriate for intersectional scholarship. As with all methodological tools, quantitative research does not fully embrace all of the insights that intersectionality has to offer; yet, intersectionality is an awesome opportunity to push quantitative scholars to develop new, flexible methods and pursue a wider array of choices for data, measurement, and analysis.

For academics, one way forward is to build connections across disciplines. Hancock (2016) argues that intersectionality is an interdisciplinary endeavor with a long history. Yet, the current boom of intersectionality methodology research in health (Bauer 2014) and psychology (Else-Quest and Hyde 2016) rarely cite the directly relevant work that has been published in political science for the last decade (e.g., Hancock 2007; Hughes 2015; Weldon 2006). For intersectionality to better inform research and

activism in women's political empowerment, for it to advance beyond the endless re-inventing of the wheel; it is time for the various disciplines that discuss intersectionality to read each other.

For policy makers, intersectionality is a new and powerful resource that reveals the deep and hidden political lives of women and girls. With intersectionality as a guide, policy makers can find new paths that lead out of the current state of stale solutions and political deadlock. Intersectional insights meet the breakthroughs in data and communication technology to target specific populations in need. Social policy can be made smarter: more efficient, more effective, and with greater returns to society.

For activists on the frontlines of the battle for women's political empowerment, growing recognition of intersectionality by academics and policy makers may feel like the sunlight that finally broke through the clouds. Shared intersectional insights into the sources of identity, power, and oppression engender a fellowship between protestors, professors, and politicians.

We hope, as many before us have, to push intersectionality from the margin to the center of the study, policy, and practice of women's political empowerment. Its particular focus on power, on forces of oppression and resistance, and its application to multiple levels of analysis make intersectionality a valuable asset for scholarship of all stripes. We emphasize, here, that intersectionality is worldwide—in democracies and totalitarian states, and in republics and kleptocracies. Women and girls are everywhere, and gender remains a forceful institution across time and space; the political lives of women and girls everywhere are best understood as intersections, rich and deep. The complexity that intersectionality recognizes—and the difficulties of applying intersectionality empirically—is a great opportunity for scholars to take advantage of what intersectionality has to offer research on all women's political empowerment.

NOTES

1. However, some scholars argue that recent intersectionality scholarship has been pushing power to the side (e.g., Anthias 2012) and has not been taking full advantage of what intersectionality has to offer when it comes to theorizing power (Severs et al. 2016).
2. In the 2016 elections, minority groups included Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Czechs/Slovaks, Croatians, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Jews, Lipovans, Macedonians, Poles, Roma, Ruthenians, Serbs, Turks, and Ukrainians.

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Social Movements as Women's Political Empowerment: The Case for Measurement

Kathleen M. Fallon and Heidi E. Rademacher

INTRODUCTION

When examining women's political empowerment across all countries, the number of women elected to or placed in legislature is often used. Yet, with few exceptions, women's access to such positions is limited—whether in democratic or authoritarian states. In some instances, especially in non-democratic nations, these legislative positions may not be accurate representations of political empowerment. The election of “token” women with limited political influence and disproportional sex-ratio among elective bodies globally suggests women's legislative representation alone is problematic for understanding women's political empowerment. In fact, given the limitations of formal political institutions, women often turn to social movements to gain access to political power, transform government behavior, and/or impact policies. Measuring social movements that address women's issues thus becomes central in understanding women's political empowerment—particularly since it can be critical in improving gender equality through legal reform and access to such resources as

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financial services, education, employment, property/land, health care, and social protections.

Unfortunately, the means to currently quantitatively measure social movements is limited. Most studies addressing women's participation in social movements are qualitative in nature, making comparisons challenging and analyses of generalizable trends difficult. Although qualitative analyses capture historical and political details and intricacies helping to explain patterns for particular countries, qualitative variations in the shape and structure of women's movements make direct comparative assessments of all aspects of women's social movements complicated across many nations. Creating an appropriate quantitative measurement of women's social movements, however, could more readily capture global trends. Unfortunately, research using quantitative methods is more prolific for developed countries, and limited for developing countries. This leaves a gap in contemporary analyses and impedes a global understanding of the influence of women's social movements (as one facet of women's political empowerment) on improving women's rights and increasing levels of gender equality across developing countries.

In this chapter, we specifically examine how to quantitatively measure women's social movements: women who draw on their identities as women and engage in collective action to target national governments and their laws and policies. We explore how these movements might be quantified to determine their influence on government change and behavior. Specifically, we examine what aspects of women's collective action must be addressed to create a meaningful women's movement independent variable. Since the data for developing countries are inadequate, we choose to focus our attention here. Our approach for this chapter is threefold. First, we begin by examining the existing qualitative literature on politically influential social movements addressing women's rights across developing countries. If we are to understand how to create a quantitative measurement of women's social movements, we must start by understanding the components of women's social movements and what factors are present when women's movements are able to successfully influence government behavior and/or policies. Second, we provide an overview of quantitative studies and examine the existing measurement tools for women's social movements in both developed and developing nations. We discuss both the strengths and weaknesses of quantitative measurements and emphasize what is lacking within the measurements and why we need to include such indi-

cators. Finally, we review the patterns found within the qualitative and quantitative studies and end by calling for new methods to measure social movements.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND QUALITATIVE STUDIES

Qualitative studies form the largest and richest literature on women's social movements. This body of scholarship has been especially important for understanding women's social movements in developing countries. The vast majority are case studies that focus on the intricacies of women's social movements, and they range on a number of topics—whether focusing on their goals in resource re-allocation on the ground (Brownhill 2007; Gouws 2014; Lind 2003), the challenges of coalition formations across organizations (Chowdhury 2009; Geisler 2006; Hassim 2006; Milić 2004), the success or failure in creating movement frames leading to possible broader movement identities (Chaudhuri 2010; Geisler 2006; Subramaniam 2014), confronting and managing diversity within movements (Chowdhury 2009; Tamang 2009; Vargas 1991), contributing to pressures leading to regime changes (Feijoo and Nari 1994; Jaquette and Wolchik 1998; Ray and Korteweg 1999), engaging in civil strife and post civil strife actions (El-Bushra 2007; Mukenge 2013; Viterna 2013), inserting demands during moments of democratic transition (Borland 2004b; Hassim 2006; Waylen 2000), drawing from global or regional networks to address local concerns (Htun and Jones 2002; Moghadam 2005; Piatti-Crocker 2011; Phillips and Cole 2009), localizing demands (Merry 2009; Rinaldo 2013), and addressing environmental concerns (Brownhill 2007; Maathai 2004), among many others. The field is expansive, diverse, and demonstrates the importance women's social movements have on improving women's social, economic, and political status.

In order to work toward a measure of women's social movements quantitatively, we must first outline what has been demonstrated qualitatively—particularly in developing nations, as the data is limited.¹ Qualitative studies help to inform the use and creation of a measure that captures the presence and possible influences of movement activities. We begin by narrowing our focus to social movements that target national governments. Although we recognize the importance of local activism, as well as the dynamics within movements, for the purpose of examining women's political empowerment, we focus on changes at the national level. This is particularly relevant in developing countries, where quantitative data and

access to information at the local level is often unavailable. Many qualitative studies simultaneously focus on movements at the national level, as this is where broad change is most likely to take place. We are specifically interested in how women's social movements and activism contribute to changes in their respective state governments—whether in terms of regime transformation, actuating peace accords, or change in domestic policy. We begin by discussing movement influence on regime change, followed by women's movements actuating peace accords. We then present women's activist influences during moments of democratization, before turning our attention to changes in domestic policy.

In many countries within Latin America, women mobilized as mothers against authoritarian regimes in the 1970s and 1980s contributing to regime change (Feijoo and Nari 1994; Jaquette and Wolchik 1998; Ray and Korteweg 1999). Authoritarian regimes murdered or “disappeared” their husbands and children, yet women were expected to continue to act as mothers for the community by participating in soup kitchens and other community activities (Jaquette and Wolchik 1998). Many Latin American regimes exalted women as mothers, which women subverted by demanding that their children and husbands be returned, so they could effectively act as revered mothers. Because women took on identities promoted by regimes, state actors could do little to stop mothers from demonstrating, as this would challenge the state's own propaganda (Alvarez 1990; Noonan 1995; Ray and Korteweg 1999). The social movement frame women used not only aligned with state propaganda but also resonated with the broader population. This allowed for the creation of broad coalitions across different classes. Through the appropriation of motherhood, women contributed to the toppling of repressive regimes, and, ultimately, to a move toward democratization.

Women in different parts of sub-Saharan Africa similarly drew on their identities as women to contribute to regime change by actuating peace accords. In Sierra Leone, for example, over 50 women's organizations networked together and formed the Women's Forum, which organized public demonstrations, spoke with opposing parties, and gained international attention—all ultimately leading to a negotiated peace settlement (Steady 2006). In Liberia, women's coalitions protested publicly against key powerbrokers (African Women and Peace Support Group 2004; Gbowee 2011; Steady 2006), ultimately placing pressure on warlords to come to resolutions (African Women and Peace Support Group 2004; Gbowee 2011). They further demanded guns be handed over during the

post-conflict period (Gbowee 2011). Similarly, in Somalia and Somaliland, women having ties to both their birth clan and their husband's clan allowed them to better form alliances across clans and eventually became one of the forces behind the reconciliation and peace conference in 1992 (El-Bushra 2007). Whether in Latin America facing authoritarian regimes or sub-Saharan Africa facing civil strife, women were excluded from formal political and warring leadership positions. They, therefore, had to create strong coalitions to place pressure on their respective ruling governments and factions externally to achieve change. These examples represent the need to account for measuring women's political power outside of government structures, and to acknowledge the political power women use through social movements.

The importance of women's movements is particularly evident in examining moments of democratic transition. If women's movements are able to take advantage of political openings during crucial moments of democratization, particularly in countries that experience complete transitions (with no residuals from previous regimes), they have the ability to insert greater gender equality demands within new constitutions and new political institutions (Viterna and Fallon 2008). With the transition to democracy in South Africa, for example, black South African women already had a history of mobilization, and quickly learned from allies in neighboring countries that they needed to make demands during crucial moments of democratization, or women's rights would not be adequately addressed within the new government structures (Britton 2002; Geisler 2000; McEwan 2000). They formed a strong Women's National Coalition, and aligned to address gender equality concerns by gaining representation on democratic transition committees, working toward guaranteeing gender equality within the constitution, and increasing women's legislative representation within political parties (Hassim 2002; Meer 2005). They similarly framed their gender equity goals to align with the broader transition movements—equality for all (Britton 2002; Hassim 2002). If there was going to be race equality, then there needed to be gender equality (among other equalities) to achieve “equality for all” (Hassim 2006; Viterna and Fallon 2008). Through their strong coalition framing of equality, and strategic activism during the moment of transition, South Africa created one of the most progressive Constitutions in the world in terms of gender equity (Walsh 2006).

Similar patterns are demonstrated in the case of Argentina. During the moment of restructuring the constitution, the women's movement, also

drawing on strong coalitions, aligned the framing of gender equality alongside the broader frame of democratic transition arguing for a more “modern” government (Waylen 2000). The authoritarian regime had come to be associated with “tradition” and aggressive masculine tactics. Feminist activists took advantage of this framing by arguing that, if the government of Argentina was to move forward, it needed to embrace both modernity—allowing for greater gender equality—and increased feminization within the state—which further acknowledged the feminine activism of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo opposing the masculine authoritarian regime (Borland 2004a). Through their successful framing, combined with strong coalitions and inserting pressure for gender equality when the constitution was revisited, they were able to institute a 30% gender quota that applied to all candidates running for political office, and they incorporated a measure that assured the government complied with the United Nations Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Waylen 2000). From these examples, we find that women’s movements are successful in inserting gender equality into constitutions and government structures, when they do so within countries that have a complete democratic transition (with no holdovers from the previous regime), when they mobilize across populations to form strong coalitions, when they align their framing with the transition frame, and when women’s demands of past social movements support current demands (Viterna and Fallon 2008).

Beyond regime transitions, women’s movements also place pressure on existing governments to implement policy changes that would allow for increased gender equality. Existing studies that focus on policy transformation focus on a broad array of topics, ranging from domestic violence (Arfaoui and Moghadam 2016; Franceschet 2010; Goetz and Hassim 2003; Tripp et al. 2009), to women’s political quotas (Bauer 2012; Crocker 2007; Gray 2003; Piatti-Crocker 2011), to land/property rights (Chaudhuri 2010; Whitehead and Tsikata 2003), and to reproductive, health, and educational rights (Guzmán et al. 2010), among others. The movements emerge under a number of different contexts. Women’s political quotas became prominent in Latin America, for example, when Argentina first instituted quotas, followed by the United Nations Fourth World Conference preparatory meetings that took place for Beijing 1995 (Beijing 95), and the actual meetings in Beijing 95 (Htun and Jones 2002). The regional and global influences helped to bolster movements across the continent to make demands of their respective governments to

include more women within formal government positions (Htun and Jones 2002; Towns 2012).

In some instances, though, movements distance themselves from the international and place emphasis on the local to gain rights. For example, Morocco passed one of the most progressive family laws in 2004—which restricted polygamy, no longer required women to have a martial guardian, allowed women to initiate divorce and maintain custody of their children—when two women's groups, Islamist and feminist, were able to forge alliances and place pressure on the government to pass the laws (Salime 2011). Similarly, in Indonesia, Islamic activists overlap with secular feminists to work toward improving women's rights, as Islamic women activists use the teachings of Islam as a source for political mobilization (Rinaldo 2013). Regardless of whether the influence is global, regional, or local, the national government as the target remains the same. Most important, though, is the strength and resonance of women's movements as to whether they are successful. Studies demonstrate that movements are often successful when they form strong cohesive coalitions working toward specific goals, and they use movement framing that resonates with the local population. These are often embedded within local histories and experiences of the women's organizations and the broader populations. Therefore, taking histories into account becomes essential to the process.

In reviewing the qualitative literature, there are two patterns that suggest a strong women's movement leading to improved gender equality—whether through change in government structures or through legislation. First, there must be a strong presence of women's organizations, and the organizations must form a consolidated women's coalition to place pressure on the government. Second, the goals of the movements must be framed to resonate with the general population. These two essential components must also be examined alongside: (1) the history of a country, and (2) the country's political status. In terms of history, it is important to understand, for example, whether there have been previous women's movements, how regimes have framed women's concerns, and to what extent successful women's movements dissipated and reappeared. Political status of a country is similarly important as it determines how a women's movement may be successful. Approaches taken by women's movements depend on whether a country is authoritarian, contending with civil strife, undergoing a transition to democracy, or working toward a consolidated democracy. In an ideal world, these would be the means to measure whether or not a strong women's social movement is present within a

country at different moments of time, as movements wax and wane. Unfortunately, the means to quantitatively measure the existence, let alone the success, of women's movements, is a statistical challenge.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND QUANTITATIVE STUDIES

An increasing number of scholars of women's movements began to explore the various ways in which women's movements could be quantified toward the end of the twentieth century. Although, in comparison to the qualitative literature, quantitative studies on women's social movements are sparse, they also cover a variety of aspects of women's mobilization. Quantitative researchers analyze the structure and meaning of network ties (Phillips 1991; Rosenthal et al. 1985), the process of movement recruitment and framing (Carroll and Ratner 1996; Hewitt and McCammon 2004), protest rates (Murdie and Peksen 2015; Soule et al. 1999; Minkoff 1997), the relationship between women's mobilization and non-governmental organizations (Berkovitch 1999; Smith and Wiest 2005; Wotipka and Ramirez 2008; Paxton et al. 2006), suffrage and women's enfranchisements (McCammon et al. 2001; King et al. 2005; Hewitt and McCammon 2004; McCammon 2003), political representation (Paxton et al. 2006; Caul 1999; Fallon et al. 2012), participation in the four United Nations World Conferences on Women (Swiss and Fallon 2016; True and Mintrom 2001), and the influence of women's movements on public policy decisions (Lovenduski 2008). This literature expanded on qualitative studies by illustrating generalizable trends that exist across time and geographic space, as well as the unique differences that exist within populations and subpopulations. Although researchers demonstrate the critical role movements play on large structural changes that often impact women's social, economic, and political position, they produced only a handful of conventionally useful but limited variables to measure women's mobilization and activism in developing nations.

A large portion of the quantitative literature has focused on feminist movements in western nations, particularly the United States, with specific use of count data for women's suffrage campaigns or protest activities as a proxy for women's mobilization. Studies of US women's suffrage campaigns, for example, examine the circumstances in which local social movements bring about political change (McCammon et al. 2001), the impact of women's movements on the legislative process (King et al. 2005), the most useful frames used by social movements (Hewitt and

McCammon 2004), and changes in the strategies of women's movements (McCammon 2003). Scholars also quantify the causes and results of women's protest events as they relate to different repertoires of women's activism in the United States (Soule et al. 1999; Minkoff 1997; Soule and Olzak 2004; Akchurin and Lee 2013). This research explores the direct relationship between women's collective action and institutional outcomes as well as the various mechanisms involved in the structuring of women's movements and their relationship to other social movements. The suffrage and protest research clearly demonstrates the importance of visible campaigns as a dimension of all women's social movements.

With the exception of Murdie and Peksen's (2015) cross-national assessment of the factors that lead to protests, studies of women's protests and suffrage movements tend to be limited to the United States. This is problematic since the measurements used to examine women's suffrage campaigns and protest events in the United States are not always compatible with women's movements in the developing world. First, the vast majority of these studies rely on count data—counts of local campaigns, number of protests, or times a specific movement used various mobilization techniques. As count data requires detailed and accurate records of campaigns and events, this type of measurement is a challenge for researchers focused on developing nations. Historically, scholars have questioned the validity of data from the developing world making it difficult to create accurate datasets for developing countries based on counts alone. Second, suffrage campaigns in the United States occurred within the context of democracy, and therefore, studies of US women's suffrage do not need to take into account the ways in which differences in political regimes influence and impact women's movements. Finally, none of these studies flesh out critical components of women's mobilization such as movement size, networks, or unity, which qualitative literature has shown plays a critical role in the success of women's movements in the developing world.

In the last two decades, researchers began to increasingly explore women's mobilization at the transnational level. A number of new large global datasets emerged, providing scholars with more opportunities to expand on national-level studies that dominated the women's social movement scholarship (Beckwith 2001). These datasets use women's organizations as a proxy for social movements and activism. The strength of this approach is the ability to capture key elements of women's campaigns in an easily identifiable and measurable unit. The majority of studies use one of two datasets: a count of the number of Women's International Non-Governmental

Organizations (WINGOs) founded in a nation during a specific year (Berkovitch 1999) or a count of the number of transnational social movement organizations (TSMO). The latter is a subset of International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) that are explicitly founded to promote some social or political change, active in a nation during a specific year (Smith and Wiest 2005).² Both datasets were constructed by using the *Yearbook of International Associations*.³ The original Berkovitch dataset contains a list of country-level WINGOs founded between 1875 and 1985. Scholars have updated (Wotipka and Ramirez 2008), expanded, and modified (Paxton et al. 2006)⁴ the dataset for use in alternative statistical models. The Smith and Wiest dataset contains data from alternate years between 1953 and 2003 for which data were available in English.

Often research using a WINGO or TSMO variable pairs this measure with national actions, such as official participation in the four United Nations world conferences on the status of women, and/or the ratification of CEDAW.⁵ Quantitative studies have examined the ways in which WINGO membership and conference attendance have a positive and significant impact on CEDAW ratification (Wotipka and Ramirez 2008), the impact of INGOs and CEDAW ratification on women's social rights (Yoo 2011),⁶ the impact of participation at Beijing 95 on quota adoption (Swiss and Fallon 2016), and the impact of women's movements on national policy such as gender mainstreaming (True and Mintrom 2001).⁷ The use of women's organizations data as a proxy for mobilization further allows for a deeper understanding of women's mobilization in the transnational context. Studies use WINGO or TSMO data to explore the outcomes of various women's campaigns including suffrage rights (Ramirez et al. 1997), women's political representation (Paxton et al. 2006), environmental objectives (Shandra et al. 2008), the adoption of women and gender as development assistance priorities (Swiss 2012), global diffusion (Hughes et al. 2015), and gender quotas (Paxton and Hughes 2015).

A recent complementary proxy for measuring women's movements was put forth by Murdie and Peksen (2015). As indicated above, they use counts of non-violent protests across nations as presented in the Reuters Global News Service. Although this variable relies on a different source, it, combined with the WINGO and TSMO variables, remains limited when applied to developing countries. First, as most of these studies focus on global trends, scholars often combine nations in the developed and developing world, failing to account for nations' histories and political regimes (both often tied to levels of economic development, leading to different

patterns in developing countries). Second, measures of WINGOs and TSMOs are count data of international organizations, which cannot account for indigenous local organizations, nor can they measure account for strength or intensity of a movement. Protest counts are also restricted by what news outlets view as important global reporting, and do not encompass all women's activities or movements on the ground.

Moving beyond counts, Htun and Weldon (2012) developed an alternative measure that considers the autonomy of women's movements, since they suggest that this type of mobilization in domestic and transnational contexts is critical in accounting for policy change. The authors define an autonomous feminist movement as a specific "form of women's mobilization that is devoted to promoting women's status and wellbeing independently of political parties and other associations that do not have the status of women as their main concern" (553–554). In addition, the authors argue movements must have the strength to command public support and bring attention to their position and objectives, opening the door for public discussion. To construct this more robust measure, Htun and Weldon first took a count of feminist activities and organizations and examined them to determine if they could be defined as an autonomous feminist movement.⁸ Using both primary and secondary sources, the authors created a dummy variable, coding an organization "1" if it fit the definition of an autonomous movement and "0" if it did not. To assess strength, the authors examined organizational numbers, protests, and public opinion over a four-decade period, giving the most weight to region- and country-specific expertise. The authors coded movements determined to be moderately strong as "1" and movements that were very strong as "2."

Htun and Weldon's measure provided a more intricate quantitative measurement of women's mobilization. However, the measure is limited in addressing the developing world. First, the sample consists of only 70 nations, with the majority of countries being high-income OECD members or middle-income nations. Thus, the measure provides us with little information on women's movements in the poorest nations in the developing world. Second, the use of dummy variables is problematic for researchers interested in variation among autonomous women's movements. Despite these limitations, the measure addresses issues of strength and the relationships between women's movements and political structures, which are key factors that need to be addressed in measuring women's social movements in the developing world.⁹

Although quantitative studies of women's social movements are modest in comparison to the qualitative literature, this research illustrates how women's collective action can impact national decisions and policies. However, current quantitative measurements used in most studies are limited for globally focused research on women's movements in three critical ways. First, the vast majority of quantitative measures only examine women's mobilization in developed western nations. Second, large-scale transnational analyses frequently employ count measures of women's non-governmental organizations as a proxy for women's mobilization and collective action, which cannot account for movement size, networks, or unity. Finally, alternative measurements that account for the autonomy of women's movements constructed with dummy variables make it difficult to examine variation among autonomous women's movements. Taken together these three issues suggest that to analyze women's mobilization in a global context, it is necessary for a more expansive quantitative measurement that moves beyond the confines of western nations, counts, and dummy variables. In the final section of this chapter we outline how an empirical approach based on shared measuring strategies emerging from both qualitative and quantitative studies can provide a foundation for the creation of a more comprehensive quantitative measurement of women's movements.

MOVING FORWARD

Although existing research demonstrates the importance and influence of women's movements on regime transition, policy, peace accords, suffrage movements, and other outcomes, developing comprehensive, comparative empirical measures for women's political empowerment through social movements remains elusive. Nonetheless, since women are often left to demand rights outside formal political systems, creating such a measure would be invaluable to understanding women's political empowerment across nations. The primary drawback, currently, points to data limitations within developing country contexts—as translating contributing factors highlighted within the qualitative literature into a quantitative measure appears impossible with the current available data. Because of these limitations, scholars have chosen to focus on more accessible data, such as counts of WINGOs, TSMOs, or protests. Only Htun and Weldon (2012)

have tried to develop a more comprehensive measure of women's movements by focusing on presence of organizations, autonomy of organizations, and strength of a movement.

In moving forward to empirically measure women's movements, we should continue to build on Htun and Weldon's approach, while also incorporating other existing measures. Clearly autonomy and strength of a movement are important, as currently captured in Htun and Weldon's variable. Yet, the qualitative literature suggests that other measures should be incorporated as well—such as type of government regime, resonance of movement with the population, movement access to government structures (within democratic countries), presence of coalition, in addition to country histories. The measures for TSMOs and WINGOs may similarly be added to understand the role of transnational influences on local women's movements, and protest counts may help to account for movement visibility. Yet, in order to create a more comprehensive variable for women's social movements, all of these factors that contribute to the effectiveness of women's movements should be incorporated. The process of building such a comprehensive measure of women's movements would no doubt be time consuming (most likely involving collecting case studies and quantifying the existence of coalitions or the resonance with the broader population over time, among other measures). Yet, given that women's social movements are a central component of women's political empowerment—particularly within developing country contexts—the time and effort would be worthwhile.

The foundation has been set to expand our current understanding of women's political empowerment through a multifaceted measurement of women's movements. Building on previous qualitative and quantitative research, we foresee a new measurement of women's movements, which explores women's access to rights and entitlements through mobilization in the developing world. While we acknowledge that more factors will emerge as this measurement is developed, the literature has illustrated the need to include a measurement of regime type, movement autonomy and networks, and women's ability to build stable coalitions in any quantification of mobilization. This expanded measure will provide us with a more meaningful way to quantify the circumstances that lead to mobilization, the intricacies of women's movements, and the various ways they lead to women's political empowerment and gender equality.

NOTES

1. We do, however, discuss the existing literature in developed countries when we turn to existing quantitative measures.
2. The Smith and Wiest dataset includes all TSMO in a nation during a given year. The authors code organizations by the organization's goal, such as "human rights," "environmental protection," "ethnic unity," or "women's rights." Smith and Wiest assign multiple codes to organizations with multiple goals and organize them by goal priority.
3. Alternatively, the authors used data from the *Yearbook* to create new variables.
4. Paxton et al. designed their sample to be representative of the growth of WINGOs and country-level associations over time, and therefore, the measure of WINGOs for a single year may not be representative of all country-level associations in a given year.
5. Most quantitative studies create separate variables for WINGOs/TSMOs, conference participation, and CEDAW ratification. However, True and Mintrom measure "transnational networks" by combining WINGOs with conference participation. The authors count all INGOs that attended the four UN conferences on women with the goal of advancing women and women's issues. In addition, the authors accounted for local presence by determining if the included organizations had members or affiliate organizations in a nation during a given year.
6. Yoo uses INGOs rather than WINGOs as an indicator of world polity influence. Future research could look more specifically to WINGOs as a proxy for women's issues within the world polity.
7. The relationship between WINGOs, UN conference participation, and CEDAW ratification has led some research to focus specifically on state feminism and women's movements (Lovenduski 2008). Although Lovenduski's research takes a unique approach to the study of women's mobilization and politics by reflecting on the results of the *Research Network on Gender and the State* project, the dataset only includes a small number of European nations.
8. Htun and Weldon created an original dataset of feminist movements from 70 nations between 1975–2005 by gathering data on activities and organizations and coding historical and other narrative accounts as well as other documents including dictionaries of organizations, web-based materials, and human rights reports on the women's movement in each country. The authors defined a women's movement as a social movement comprised primarily of women and women in leadership positions, where women organize as women. While most feminist movements are women's movements, Htun and Weldon defined a feminist movement as a collective rooted in the

idea of improving women's status, and/or promoting equality, and/or ending patriarchy.

9. Of note, as part of a project with the Varieties of Democracy Institute (V-Dem), researchers created an index for civil society participation. This variable measures if women are prevented from participating in civil society organizations (such as NGOs) and if such organizations pursuing women's concerns are prevented from taking part in the larger associational sphere. Although this does not serve as a proxy for women's movements, it does capture the general social environment, which helps to determine whether movements can form. Additionally, Sundtröm et al. (2017) created a Women's Political Empowerment Index (WPEI), which captures women's civil liberties, civil society participation, and political participation from the V-Dem dataset. Again, although this does not capture all the needed women's movement assessments as outlined in the qualitative literature, it might serve as an alternative proxy in future works.

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Women's Empowerment at the Local Level

Aksel Sundström and Lena Wängnerud

Sweden is recognized as one of the most gender-equal countries in the world. It is well-known that the share of women in the Swedish national parliament, the Riksdag, is high—currently 43.6%—and that the number has been high for quite some time. What is less recognized however is that gender equality, even in a country such as Sweden, varies widely at the subnational level. This is, for example, visible in the number of women elected to local councils which currently varies from a share of 29.3% in the municipality of Örkelljunga to 54.1% in the municipality of Tranemo: a difference of 24.8 percentage points. To put this in perspective one can compare the subnational variation to variation across countries; the span between the two most extreme local councils in Sweden is equal to the span between the national parliament in Sweden (43.6%) and the national parliament in Greece (19.7%).

This chapter focuses on women's political empowerment at the local level. Specifically, we highlight women's descriptive (numerical) representation in locally elected assemblies across Europe. There are two main reasons for this focus. First, the data presented in the empirical part of this

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chapter shows that a substantial number of countries display significant intra-state variation. This is a fact that paves the ground for re-evaluations of some of the dominant theories explaining variation in the number of women elected across time and space. Modernization theories, emphasizing broad socio-economic transformations and value shifts, have mainly been examined using data on national-level patterns. The same goes for theories stressing the role of electoral systems or political strategies such as gender quotas. A second reason for highlighting women's descriptive representation in locally elected assemblies is research showing a link between the number of women elected and outcomes of the political process. Research at the subnational level in Norway and Sweden show that municipalities with a high number of women elected tend to be gender equal also in other respects; that is in policy outputs such as childcare coverage (Bratton and Ray 2002), employment opportunities for women (Wängnerud and Sundell 2012), and public expenditures in areas related to the situation of women citizens (Svaleryd 2009). Studies in the United Kingdom show that women display higher levels of subjective political interest for the local level than the national or global level (Coffé 2013).

There is currently a lack of comparative data on women in local councils. To illustrate, there exists no website or report series that regularly publish such information. The most comprehensive attempts in this regard have limitations as these reports have (1) averaged the share of locally elected women to one national figure, (2) covered a limited number of countries, and (3) used sources with dubious quality (CEMR 2008; United Nations Statistics Division 2011). Similarly, Dolan (2008) identifies that although the local level displays the highest variation of minority representation, there is a lack of comparative data on these institutions. We have therefore, ourselves, been engaged in collecting figures on women's local presence in Europe (see Sundström 2013). The main contribution of this chapter is to present the variation found in this database and to discuss some of the outputs stemming from this project. This data reflect the mean share of female local councilors for 441 regions across 38 European countries. The dataset is unique since most studies on women's descriptive representation reflect either the situation in national parliaments or, concerning local councils, report an average value of a country as a whole. Thus, the variation in women's representation within and between subnational units is rarely studied. As discussed above, the dataset presented in this chapter will allow for a new set of studies enriching research on women's empowerment. Most notably we are, by using this dataset, able to produce fine-grained results concerning socio-economic and political

determinants in the election of female local councilors and to reveal complex interactions involving informal “shadowy arrangements” that hinder women from participating as elected representatives.

The chapter will be structured in the following way: First we present previous research on women in local councils, most of which are single case studies. Thereafter we present the new database and results pertaining to women’s political empowerment. We end by discussing what we perceive as the most pressing issues that this database can help to resolve.

COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON WOMEN IN POLITICS: A BLIND SPOT AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The trends of women’s descriptive representation in national parliaments have received a great deal of attention both in research and in policy documents such as the Beijing Platform for Action (United Nations 1995). The Inter-parliamentary Union collects this data on a regular basis and the trends show that the share of women in national legislative bodies, while still underrepresented, has been on the rise around the world for the past decades (Inter-parliamentary Union 2013).

Although national legislative bodies are decisive for the everyday lives of citizens, they are not the only tier in the political system that matters. In virtually all countries citizens are affected by decisions taken at the local level; in councils where elected members are not legislators yet exert tremendous influence in the local community through municipal taxation and the local provision of public services. Moreover, especially in the Nordic countries, much of the political decisions that particularly affect the situation of women—such as public care for children and the elderly—are taken at the local level. Thus the possibilities for women to successfully combine a paid career with a family can be highly dependent on priorities within the locally elected assembly.¹ Consider also that a majority of the elected politicians in the world are active in local councils rather than national parliaments, and that local assemblies often serve as a springboard to national or international positions (Buckely et al. 2015).

Current Knowledge on Women’s Representation in Local Politics

Despite the importance of local councils, the election of women at the local level has seldom been studied in a comparative perspective. Existing subnational studies tend instead to focus on one country at a time. Early studies from the United States—a country that is the dominating focus in

this field of research—focused on the desirability and importance of office (Karnig and Welch 1979), the competition for these posts (Welch and Karnig 1979), the role of media coverage (MacManus 1992), and the size of councils and cities (Bullock and MacManus 1991) to explain detected variations. More recently, Trounstine and Valdini (2008) focus on the effect of electoral systems and demonstrate that a plurality system increases the presence of white female local councilors but not the proportion of African American women or Latina councilors. Finally, Smith et al. (2012) examine the impact of the local context on the varying presence of female council members and mayors in 239 larger cities in the United States. The findings are that the election of women as council members and the election of women as mayors are interdependent phenomena and, in addition, that the local context, such as locally dominant political ideology, matters a lot. They (Smith et al. 2012, 324) conclude: “Although it is perhaps unsurprising that liberal cities elect more female council members, our results are the first to validate this relationship empirically.”

A recurring theme in the few existing comparative studies is the effect of informal factors on the election of women, which resembles the result from Smith et al. (2012) presented above. Drage (2001) compiles information on women in local government in 13 countries in the Asia-Pacific region in the late 1990s. The study suggests that campaigns by NGOs as well as the presence of international conferences provide a momentum for women to gain local influence. Based on case studies on local councils in a number of established democracies such as Australia, the United Kingdom, and Germany, Pini and McDonald (2011) suggest several obstacles facing women running for office, such as the persistence of “old-boys-networks” that exclude women from elected seats. Pini and McDonald also point to factors that may increase the presence of locally elected women, such as the use of gender quotas and the positive influence of norm change that can be initiated both from “below” through grassroots campaigns and also from “above” through the work of state feminism and having role models in higher leadership positions.

Taking a bird’s-eye view to the literature, we see three trends in scholarship on women in local councils: one strand testing the impact of factors derived from the literature on national-level determinants such as personal motivation for a political career (Briggs 2000) or party recruitment strategies (Bhavnani 2009; Bird 2003; Hinojosa 2009; Yule 2000) and another strand delving more deeply into local cultures such as local norms and tensions between male and female politicians (Bochel and Bochel 2008;

Kokkonen and Wängnerud 2016; Rao 2005; Rincker 2009). A third strand of research, mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, investigates the effects in the everyday lives of citizens of having a high versus low number of women in locally elected assemblies (Bratton and Ray 2002; Svaleryd 2009; Wängnerud and Sundell 2012; see also Brollo and Troiano 2016 for a study on municipalities in Brazil). All of these veins of research would benefit from having access to comparative data on women's descriptive representation at the local level since this would allow for more conclusive reasoning on factors enabling and hindering the empowerment of women: For example, does the emphasis on local culture mean that we end up in a situation discussing idiosyncratic factors valid only for one or two cases at a time? In the next section we will present the data collected by Aksel Sundström at the Quality of Government Institute, University of Gothenburg, and thereafter get back to a discussion on the usefulness of this data.²

COLLECTING COMPARATIVE DATA ON WOMEN IN LOCAL COUNCILS

Using a large-N framework, Vengroff et al. (2003) come closest to studying variation in women's descriptive representation at the subnational level across a global set of countries. However, the authors' focus is on assemblies at state and provincial levels rather than locally elected bodies. Most important to note is that Vengroff et al. average the share of subnationally elected women to the country as a whole. A country is therefore given one mean figure in their dataset and thus the study cannot account for much of the interesting intra-national variation in the share of elected women.

The main reason for the lack of global comparative studies, taking subnational variation into account, is poor data availability. As a first step to remedy this problem, we ourselves engaged in a data collection that to date (June 2016) covers 441 regions in 38 European countries (including Turkey). The first challenge was to decide which bodies to compare since the design of the political system varies tremendously across Europe.³ We collected the most recent figures on the share of women elected at the lowest administrative tier in a country; thus a local councilor is *an individual elected to local deliberative assemblies constituted of councilors elected by direct universal suffrage* (see Egner et al. 2013).⁴ Since some countries, such as Spain, consist of a very large number of municipalities

(around 8000) and other, such as Sweden, of a rather low number (around 290) the next challenge was how to compile this data. The data collected reflect local councils but is, out of practical reasons, aggregated to the regional level. The units reflect statistical regions as standardized by the Eurostat authority, the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS). The data show that there is a large variance with regard to the average share of female local councilors, ranging from 1.86% (the Turkish region Hatay) to 55.23% (the region Mykolaivs'ka in Ukraine). Figure 6.1 gives an overview of the subnational variation in current Europe. The darker the color on the map, the higher is the average number of female local councilors.⁵

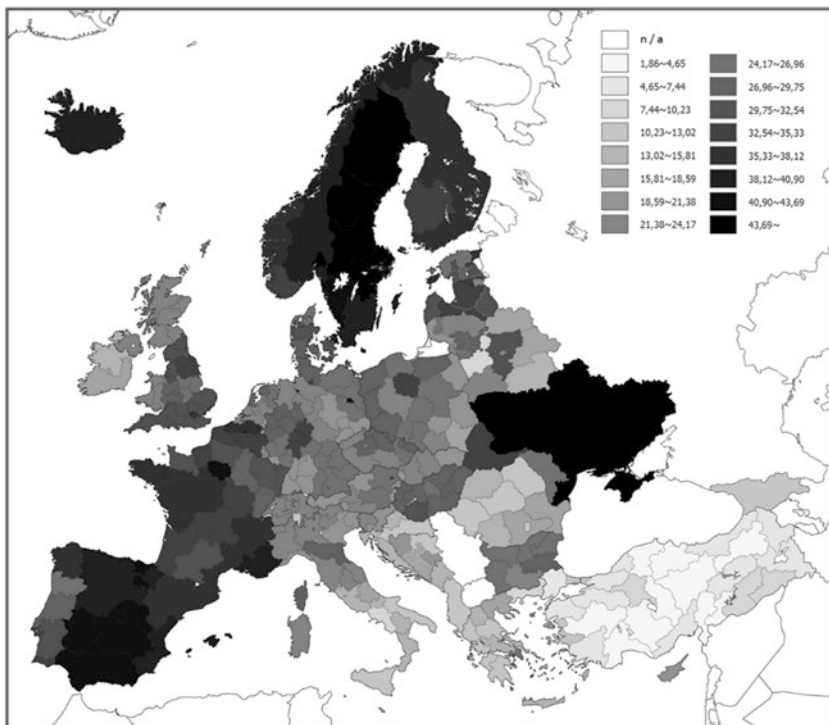


Fig. 6.1 The share of locally elected women in 441 European regions (percentages). Notes: The gray scale denotes the average share of locally elected women in a region (in percentages of the seats). The data is even more fine-grained than illustrated in this image

DESCRIBING WITHIN-COUNTRY VARIATION

The map in Fig. 6.1 shows that differences between the regions in Europe with the highest and lowest shares of locally elected women are striking. This is further illustrated in Fig 6.2. One of the most visible patterns from these boxplots is not only the difference between regions from different countries but a significant within-country variation. In a substantial number of countries, there are visible differences between the region with the highest and the lowest shares of women in local councils. For example, the number of locally elected women varies between 10 and 24 % in Greece. Another illustration is France where the equivalent variation is between 29 and 42 %. France is interesting to highlight since national legislation from

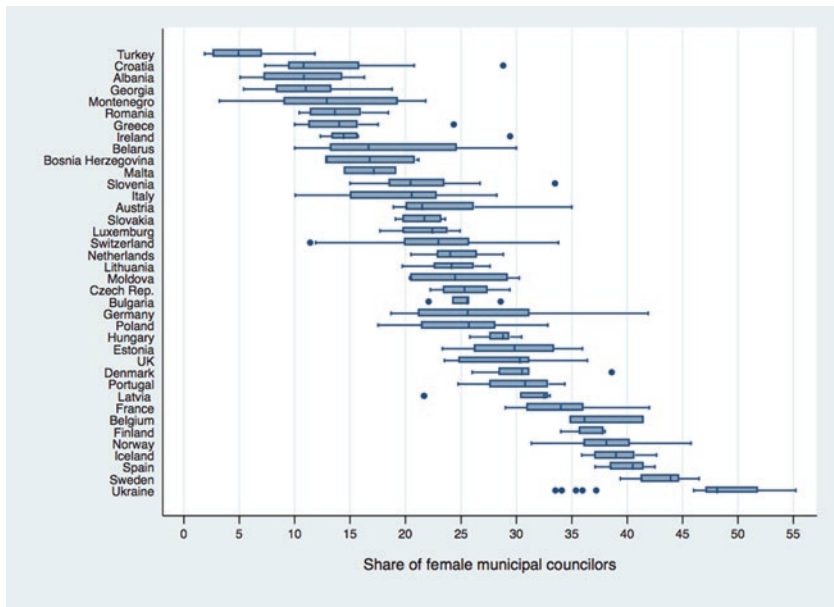


Fig. 6.2 The share (%) of locally elected women in the regions of 38 European countries. Notes: The variable is the share of locally elected female councilors aggregated to a mean of each region. The boxplots are ordered along the mean value of the regions in each country and report the 25th and 75th percentiles of the distribution through the lower and upper hinges of each box. While the whiskers refer to 1.5 of the interquartile range, the single dots are the extreme outliers in this distribution

Table 6.1 Classification of countries per intra-state variation in women’s local representation

<i>High variation</i> (<i>>15 percentage points</i>)	<i>Medium level variation</i> (<i>10–15 percentage points</i>)	<i>Low variation</i> (<i><10 percentage points</i>)
Austria	Albania	Belgium
Belarus	Bosnia Herzegovina	Bulgaria
Croatia	Denmark	Czech Republic
Germany	Estonia	Finland
Ireland	France	Hungary
Italy	Georgia	Iceland
Montenegro	Greece	Lithuania
Norway	Latvia	Luxembourg
Poland	Moldavia	Malta
Slovenia	Netherlands	Romania
Switzerland	Portugal	Slovakia
Ukraine	Turkey	Spain
	United Kingdom	Sweden

2000 stipulates that in municipal elections in towns with more than 3500 residents party lists must include an equal number of women and men. In 2007 this was changed into a requirement that party lists must strictly alternate women and men. Moreover, municipal executives must include an equal number of women and men (Praud and Dauphin 2010, 26).

Yet, not all countries have a similar intra-state variance. In Table 6.1 we have classified the countries in our dataset in three groups: countries with a high level of subnational variation (15 percentage points and above), countries with a low level of subnational variation (below 10 percentage points), and a group with medium level of subnational variation (between 10 and 14 percentage points).

We are not going to comment on the results in Table 6.1 in detail. One thing to point out however is that the Scandinavian countries are found in all three categories: In Norway there is a high level (above 15 percentage points) of subnational variation; in Sweden the subnational variation is low (below 10 percentage points); and Denmark is found in the middle category with a medium level (between 10 and 15 percentage points) of subnational variation.

We have chosen to highlight the results for France and the Scandinavian countries in order to show that this database can pave the ground for re-evaluations of some of the most dominant theories explaining variation in

the number of women elected across time and space. First, the Scandinavian countries are all known for their “passion” for equality (Graubard ed. 1986) but the results from Norway and Denmark speak against the assumption of a common Nordic gender culture that produces a supportive environment for women in politics. Moreover, the Scandinavian countries—and France as well—are all modernized countries with high levels of socio-economic development. In sum, theories suggesting a general “rising tide” where modernization underpins cultural change, that is, attitudinal change from traditional to gender-equal values, which in turn affect the empowerment of women (Alexander and Welzel 2011; Bergh 2007; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Liebig 2000), are less suitable when it comes to explaining subnational patterns. The same goes for theories emphasizing the importance of national legislation prescribing parity—as in France—or the presence of voluntary gender quotas within political parties. The first gender quota was already introduced in 1974 in a political party in Norway, and since 1993 most Norwegian parties employ some type of regulation in order to increase the number of women elected (Bergqvist et al. 2000, 77). Yet, the effect is still not visible across all its regions.

EXPANDING KNOWLEDGE ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

In this section we will give two examples of studies that have used the dataset presented in the previous section. The starting point for our discussion is that women's empowerment is a process that includes transformations of the milieu in which potential female political candidates find themselves. We believe that much could be gained from theorizing more carefully on dynamics in the space between broad socio-economic and cultural transformations on one hand and, on the other, strategic actions on behalf of political parties. The first study discussed below contributes with fine-grained understandings of socio-economic and political factors determining the political recruitment of women, whereas the second study contributes with a discussion on “shadowy arrangements” that hinders women to gain access to elected seats.

A Fine-Grained Analysis of the European Regions

Sundström and Stockemer (2015) ask the question “what determines women's political representation at the local level?” Their test includes a

number of regional-level covariates such as female labor force participation, population density, electoral strength of leftist parties, electoral strength of radical-right wing parties, and economic development (GDP per capita). Their model also includes a number of national-level covariates, such as voluntary party quotas, legislative gender quotas, a proportional representation (PR) electoral system, the years of female suffrage, federalism, and women's descriptive representation on the national level.

To start, the findings show that the mean proportion of women's representation at the local level in Europe (24.96%) is relatively similar to the mean proportion of women's representation at the national level (23.43% for the sample of European countries in the dataset). Interesting to note is that while national-level factors explain around 85 % of the variance in the dataset as a whole, around 15 % is explained by regional-level covariates (Sundström and Stockemer 2015, 12). But despite the fact that the national context accounts for the majority of the variance, there is still within-country variation that can only be captured by covariates at the subnational level. The analysis demonstrates that high levels of female labor force participation, a high support for leftist parties, weak support for radical right-wing parties,⁶ and a high degree of urbanization positively impact the representation of women at the local level.⁷

One of the most important results in this fine-grained analysis is that the proportion of female local councilors does not increase with the general economic development of a region. Instead, regions where women and men contribute roughly equally to the economy have more than six percentage points more female councilors than regions where women, as compared to men, only contribute one-fourth to the economic performance. Causality may run in both directions: A higher level of female labor force participation may lead to a larger pool of female political candidates to select from. However, it may also be the case that local councils with a high proportion of women motivate female citizens to start a paid career through, for example, the provision of public services like kindergarten (cf. Bratton and Ray 2002) or employment opportunities in the public sector (cf. Wängnerud and Sundell 2012).

Another important result is that in countries where women's descriptive representation is high nationally, it also tends to be comparatively high at the local level. In this case causality may also run in both directions. In a previous section, we referred to Smith et al. (2012) who demonstrate that the election of women as council members in larger cities in the United States and the election of women as mayors are interdependent

phenomena. They conclude that the presence of female councilors appears more important to electing a female mayor than vice versa, but they also suggest that it is plausible that certain female mayors recruit, train, and support potential female candidates for the council. In a similar way, the local councils in Europe might serve as a springboard for women to higher levels of political office (Buckley et al. 2015), and women in national parliaments might serve as role models for women at lower ranks.

To conclude, it comes as no surprise that factors at the national level are important for the situation at the subnational level. However, the analysis presented thus far demonstrates that one cannot take for granted that broad socio-economic transformations or value shifts *automatically* trickle down to the local level. There are factors in the local context that modify expected relationships. The conditions for women on the local labor market is one such factor, another is the strength of various parties. In regions where there is strong support for radical right-wing parties, developments in the political empowerment of women may even run in a different direction than in regions where the support for this type of parties is weaker and/or there is strong support for leftist parties.

Shadowy Arrangements that May Hinder Women to Step Forward

We believe that comparative data on women's descriptive representation at the local level is particularly useful for analyses of the interplay between formal rules and informal norms in the empowerment of women. In a previous section we referred to case studies on local councils by Pini and McDonald (2011). They suggest the persistence of "old-boys-networks" that exclude women from elected seats. This is in line with research by Fox and Lawless (2010) who found that highly qualified and politically well-connected women from both major parties in the United States were less likely than similarly situated men to be recruited to run for public office. They point to an "integrated ethos of masculinity" as an obstacle to women. Cheng and Tavits (2011) are a bit more specific when they spell out the potential mechanisms at work that may hinder women who aspire on a political career: political gatekeepers are more likely to recruit and promote people like themselves; there is a lack of women in male party gatekeepers' social networks; and there is an indirect signal effect. If most of the gatekeepers at the national or local level of political parties are men, this signals the existence of male-dominated networks which discourages women who otherwise would be willing to run.

In our study (Sundström and Wängnerud 2016) on corruption as an obstacle to women's descriptive representation we build on research inspired by feminist institutional theory (e.g. Kenny 2013; Krook 2010a). We argue that the influential supply and demand framework of recruitment of women to political posts (see Norris 1993) would gain from refined understandings of the milieu in which potential female candidates find themselves. This refinement includes analysis of informal norms embedded in a broad range of public institutions. At the general level we suggest that corruption indicates the presence of "shadowy arrangements" that benefit the already privileged (Johnson et al. 2013). More specifically we suggest that those shadowy arrangements affect the political recruitment of women in two ways: (1) they pose a direct obstacle to women when male-dominated networks influence political parties' candidate selection, and (2) they pose an indirect obstacle when they influence citizens' everyday life experiences and make women reluctant to engage in political matters.

What is particularly noteworthy in this study on corruption is the attempt to capture indirect effects. The line of reasoning is as follows: In studies of the political recruitment of women, it needs to be recognized that only small parts of most populations interact regularly with elected representatives and very few citizens are aware of who the party gatekeepers are. Instead of focusing on political parties, scholars should try to capture signals from the political system in the broad sense and measure citizen's experiences from encounters with a wide range of public institutions. The idea is to employ a citizen-based perspective and analyze signal effects that stem from how they generally "face the state" (see Lipsky, 1980).

The focus in Sundström and Wängnerud (2016) is the same as in Sundström and Stockemer (2015): the variation in the number of women elected to local councils across Europe. However, in Sundström and Wängnerud (2016) the main explanatory factor, the independent variable, is a regional measure of quality of government. What we want to test is the effect of shadowy arrangements that have the potential to negatively affect the empowerment of women. Arguably, it is difficult to find direct measures of male-dominated networks and norms embedded in public institutions that send out signals hindering women. At the same time, this thought-provoking line of reasoning needs large-N quantitative assessments and rigorous controls in order to develop.

The measure—the European Quality of Government Index, EQI—that we use should be seen as a proxy for an informal regime existing parallel to official political strategies and rhetoric. The EQI was assembled in 2009

by scholars at the Quality of Government Institute, at the University of Gothenburg, with funding from the European Commission (see Charron and Lapuente 2013; Charron et al. 2011, 2014). The investigators focused on the subnational units of 18 European countries and surveyed about 34,000 citizens on three different types of government services that people normally are in regular contact with: law enforcement, health care, and education. Respondents were asked to evaluate three aspects of these services: their quality, impartiality, and corruption.⁸ These indicators were then combined with data from the World Bank's World Government Indicator (WGI) and thus the final index also gauges corruption in the political sphere. In all, the EQI gauges the quality, impartiality, and corruption of government authorities in 167 regions (the number of units for which we have data on both the proportion of female local councilors and EQI). Figure 6.3 shows a scatterplot over the bivariate relationship between EQI and the share of female local councilors. Higher numbers of

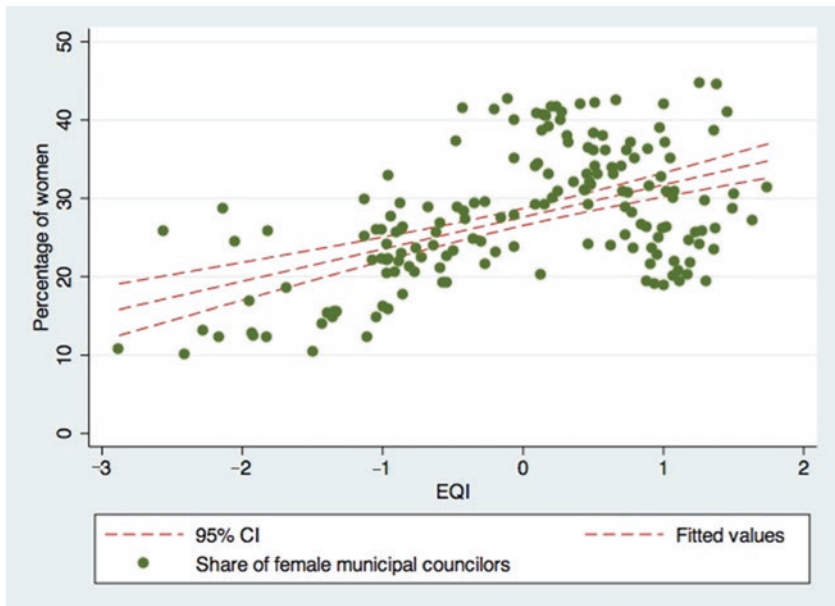


Fig. 6.3 Bivariate relationship: female councilors and quality of government. Notes: The scatterplot includes figures for 167 regions in 18 European countries. The EQI is a measure of quality of government, where higher values equal an improved quality. For a more detailed description, see Sundström and Wängnerud (2016)

EQI correspond with lower levels of corruption, partiality, and ineffectiveness and lower numbers correspond with higher levels of these factors.

In order to rule out alternative explanations for the dependent variable, the proportion of female local councilors, our study included a large number of control variables in a multilevel model where these regions are clustered in countries. First, we included six national-level controls: type of election system, legislative gender quota at the subnational level, voluntary party gender quotas, women's labor force participation, degrees of democracy, and location inside or outside of Central and Eastern Europe. Second, at the regional level we included measures on GDP per capita and the level of education. In total, this is to be considered a rather tough test but the results indicate that our full model, including all controls, has a good fit and explains a substantial part of the variance in the proportion of locally elected women across Europe. The models uniformly show that low quality of government hampers women's presence in local politics. Moreover, to further challenge the robustness of the results we performed extensive tests to disentangle nuanced effects from subcomponents of the regional governance index. The most interesting takeaway from these additional analyses is that the subcomponent related to corruption seems to be the strongest predictor: the higher the level of corruption in public institutions the lower the number of female local councilors.

In this study (Sundström and Wängnerud 2016) we are able to show that there is a significant relationship between the quality of local government institutions and women's descriptive representation. However, we are only able to theoretically argue for plausible mechanisms at work. In most contemporary societies women constitute a disadvantaged group in comparison to men. It is not far-fetched to believe that what we capture is the existence of shadowy arrangements that send out signals of "no equal treatment" to female citizens that otherwise would have been willing to step forward as political candidates. To conclude, we firmly believe that research on the role of political parties in recruitment processes and the election of women needs to take into account the broader context outlined above. The findings presented blur the classical distinction between supply and demand factors since supply, whether women come forward as candidates, seems to be strongly related to qualities embedded in a variety of local institutions. In doing so, this chapter contributes to a discussion on gendered recruitment that recently has incorporated insights from feminist institutionalism (see Krook 2010b; Bjarnegård and Kenny 2016).

DEVELOPING THE FIELD FURTHER

So far, most studies on women's political empowerment at the local level have been carried out as single case studies or very limited cross-country comparisons. Our main contribution in this chapter has been the presentation of a newly collected dataset covering the share of female local councilors across 441 regions in 38 European countries. We have highlighted results from two publications using this database that demonstrate how factors in the local context, such as the quality of government authorities and the conditions for women in the labor market, impact the election of women to local councils. These results are an important part of the story on the empowerment of women since members of local councils, even though they are not legislators, exert tremendous influence in the local community through municipal taxation and the local provision of public services.

We foresee various types of future studies that would gain from using this type of data. First, this data can be used to analyze multilevel access, whether a high presence of women "trickle down" from top positions or "rise from below." As previously discussed, there is an ongoing debate in the research on whether women in national parliaments are role models that inspire women to run for local offices, or if the relationship is the opposite (cf. Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006; Fox and Lawless 2010; Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007). Buckley et al. (2015) find, in a study on Ireland, that when women serve in local government their opportunities for election to national office increase significantly. However, the local experience does not seem to be equally important for men. With new data, researchers can advance the examination of whether or not women's representation is growing from the local level or starts at higher ranks and dissipates to lower elected tiers. They can also, in a more conclusive way, compare patterns for women and men.

Second, we foresee a number of studies that examine the relationship between women's descriptive representation and public opinion on standpoints related to gender equality. There is a growing literature that analyzes whether there is an effect on public opinion from having female political leaders (Alexander 2012; Barnes and Burchard 2013). This issue is best studied taking within-country variance into account, as gender equality attitudes vary dramatically not only across countries but also within countries. Using data on the local level would allow scholars to hold national gender culture constant and get a more

detailed understanding on dynamics between women in political positions and public opinion related to gender equality (cf. Kokkonen and Wängnerud 2016).

A third avenue of research examines the link between descriptive and substantive representation of women. In the introduction to this chapter we referred to a number of studies using subnational variation in Norway and Sweden to study effects of having a large share of female local councilors on gender equality in the everyday lives of citizens. The study from Norway (Bratton and Ray 2002) analyzes childcare coverage in Norwegian municipalities in 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, and 1991 and demonstrates that the number of women elected influenced policy outputs (increased childcare coverage), but that the effect of female representation was not constant, being most obvious in periods of policy innovation. In a similar vein, the study from Sweden (Wängnerud and Sundell 2012) shows that the situation regarding gender equality in the everyday life of citizens (the authors use six different indicators) in 2008 to some extent was determined by the number of women elected to the local councils in the 1990s. These studies suggest that the impact on policy from having women in politics may be bound by context-specific processes and that there are no simplistic relationships between descriptive and substantive representation of women. To capture this nuanced relationship, empirical information regarding women on elected seats should ideally be as detailed and specific as possible. Therefore, the access to new data on the local level outside the Scandinavian countries would certainly be a positive addition to this strand of research.

A final area for future research on women in local politics to touch upon is the entrance of new parties and implications for gender equality. In an earlier section we pointed out that one cannot take for granted that developments at the national level automatically trickle down to the local level. Further research on the role of new political parties such as radical right-wing parties, currently gaining strength in many European countries, could reveal that there is no linear process leading to gender equality. We have already demonstrated that there is significant subnational variation in the share of female local councilors. It might be the case that this variation becomes even stronger in the future: regions where certain political parties dominate the scene may continue to display low numbers, or even start to display diminishing numbers, whereas other regions will show increases in the number of female local councilors. Thus far these types of comparative assessments have been absent from research as data availability have been poor.

In the long run, what we would like to see is data collection at the local level in countries outside Europe. New theoretical insights on the political empowerment of women could be reached from regional success stories. From analyzing certain regions, such as the Middle East and North Africa or the countries within Eastern and Central Europe, it is evident that the data will show surprising patterns. For instance, the authors of this chapter have already noted (see the map in Fig. 6.1) that Ukraine, to our surprise, has one of the absolute highest shares of locally elected women in the world (almost reaching 50%). Importantly the country has reached this goal without gender quotas in the legislation or voluntary schemes within parties. This result is in fact contrary to most theoretical expectations and it is therefore interesting to see what may have led to such outcomes. Similar results and exploratory studies on other regions may prove to generate crucial knowledge on factors seldom examined when discussing women in national parliaments. We are not asking for idiosyncratic factors valid only for one or two cases at a time but for insights that would help to unveil the complex interactions that lead to a strengthened position for women in politics and in their everyday lives.

NOTES

1. Strictly speaking, this is about possibilities for *parents* to successfully combine a paid career and a family. However, in most contemporary societies women are the main care-giver in the family, staying home with small children if there are no other options available.
2. This first dataset was compiled in 2013 (see Sundström 2013). Since then additional data have been collected. Lena Wängnerud is adviser to the project.
3. Regional assemblies were ruled out since they are not really comparable across the various political systems in Europe.
4. See the Appendices 1 and 2 in Sundström and Wängnerud (2016, 366–367) for a description of areas of responsibilities for various local councils and some more details on the data collection.
5. For some countries it is impossible to get data that is disaggregated to each single local council (even though the data collected reflect this level). One should be aware that the procedure of aggregating to regional averages evens out actual differences such as the difference between the Swedish municipalities Örkellunga (29.3%) and Tranemo (54.1%) mentioned in the introduction to this chapter.

6. Party families were coded based on the Party Manifesto project. While the attribution of parties into the left-wing category is relatively straightforward, it is sometimes more difficult to differentiate a (very) conservative party from a radical right-wing party and to correctly attribute regional parties. A party is coded as belonging to the radical right if it comprises three features: authoritarianism, populism, and the issue ownership of national identity against foreign influences.
7. For detailed information on methods see Sundström and Stockemer (2015). The technique used is hierarchical linear modeling where 272 regions are clustered in 29 countries.
8. The survey consisted of 16 independent questions related to the three aspects of good governance. For details on the construction of the index, see Sundström and Wängnerud (2016, 5).

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Electing Women to National Legislatures

Diana Z. O'Brien and Jennifer M. Piscopo

In 1945 women held 3 percent of seats in the world's 26 legislatures. Over the course of the twentieth century, both numbers increased dramatically: by 1995, legislatures existed in 176 countries, with women holding 11.6 percent of seats in these bodies. Women's representation then doubled in the next 20 years, with female legislators occupying 23.4 percent of the seats as of January 2017 (IPU 2017a, b). The percentage of women elected to national legislatures is the most common benchmark of women's political empowerment. This indicator of women's participation in formal, national-level politics informs aggregate measures that define women's empowerment more broadly, such as the United Nations' Gender Development Index or the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report. Scholars exploring how women's political inclusion connects to women's empowerment in society and the economy frequently rely on women's representation in national legislatures to capture women's access to political power.

This focus on women's presence in national legislatures—often called women's descriptive or numeric representation—is well-founded.

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Legislatures pass laws that affect women's well-being across all policy areas, making women's inclusion essential for countries' equitable economic, social, and political development. Even when legislators' power and independence are more circumscribed (as in parliamentary systems or semi-democratic nations), the election of women to lawmaking bodies signals the inclusivity of the political system. If women are systematically excluded from office or discriminated against during electoral campaigns, their political rights are restricted and they are not empowered within the political system.

This chapter assesses women's election to national legislatures and parliaments.¹ Drawing on the definition of women's political empowerment as the assets, capabilities, and achievements of women in gaining political authority relative to men, we first conceptualize women's election to national legislatures as an achievement in and of itself. We highlight cross-national patterns in attaining different levels of women's representation, and we analyze how women's capabilities or assets shape their access to these posts. We argue that demographic factors that place women in the pipeline for elected office matter little: women's access to education and employment does not drive their increased descriptive representation, nor are women less politically ambitious than men. Instead, the institutional and organizational dimensions of politics—such as the electoral system, political parties, and candidate recruitment procedures—condition women's access to parliaments.

These structures also explain *which* women benefit most from election to national parliament. Elected women's personal, educational, and professional backgrounds may reveal certain gendered trends (i.e., female legislators are less likely than male legislators to have young children), but like their male counterparts, women come from the country's elite and bring significant credentials and qualifications to the table. Comparative research further suggests that female lawmakers are as dedicated—or perhaps even harder working than—their male colleagues. Analyzing the types of women who become politically empowered provides another lens for conceptualizing women's assets and capabilities: the talents and qualifications women bring to parliamentary office. And while these talents and qualifications show that women are equal to men in terms of their *résumés*, we find that structural barriers limit their ability to transform these assets and capabilities into influence within parliament.

We then focus special attention on women's greatest asset in raising their numeric representation: candidate quota laws and reserved seats policies.

Now in place in over 80 countries across the globe (Dahlerup and Norris 2014), these affirmative action measures either require that political parties nominate specified percentages of female candidates, or set aside a certain number of electoral districts or parliamentary seats for women. While the numeric impact of gender quotas and reserved seats continues to fall short of parity in most cases, their symbolic, normative, and descriptive effects have been so significant that we argue for viewing their widespread adoption as an achievement in its own right.

Together, these two achievements—women’s increased election to national legislatures and the diffusion of affirmative action—offer reasons for optimism concerning this measure of women’s political empowerment. Women across the globe are gaining access to parliaments, most frequently because states behave as “gender equality activists” (Piscopo 2015), compelling political parties to take women’s inclusion as candidates and legislators seriously. Shifting the lens to women’s assets and capabilities, however, reveals less cause for celebration. Women—especially those from their country’s dominant social groups—have the preparedness and qualifications necessary to win nominations, gain legislative office, and become successful parliamentarians. But their ability to capitalize on these skills and talents remains circumscribed by male-dominated party organizations and legislative environments, which keep the playing field unequal. Our chapter concludes by assessing how the effects of descriptive representation on women’s political empowerment change depending on how “women” is construed. That is, our conclusions vary depending on whether we consider the empowerment of female citizens, individual politicians, or women in different racial, ethnic, class or other identity-based subgroups.

GLOBAL PATTERNS IN WOMEN’S ELECTION TO NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS

Women’s representation in parliaments is as high as it has ever been. The number and type of countries in which women have witnessed the greatest gains have become more diverse over recent years. While Scandinavian and Northern European countries once led the globe in women’s election to national legislatures, Table 7.1 shows that a number of countries from the Global South currently occupy the top positions (but also the bottom spots). Women now hold about one-quarter of seats in the world’s parliaments, yet this average obscures significant country-level variation. Paxton

Table 7.1 Women's representation in national parliaments (lower or unicameral chamber). Countries in the top 20 and bottom 20 as of January 2017

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Percent Women</i>	<i>Quota</i>
1	Rwanda	61.3	LQ
2	Bolivia	53.1	LQ
3	Cuba	48.9	
4	Iceland	47.6	PQ
5	Nicaragua	45.7	LQ
6	Sweden	43.6	PQ
7	Senegal	42.7	LQ
8	Mexico	42.4	LQ
9	Finland	42.0	
9	South Africa	42.0	PQ
11	Ecuador	41.6	LQ
12	Namibia	41.3	PQ
13	Mozambique	39.6	PQ
13	Norway	39.6	PQ
15	Spain	39.1	LQ
16	Argentina	38.9	LQ
17	Ethiopia	38.8	PQ
18	Timor-Leste	38.5	LQ
19	Angola	38.2	LQ
20	Belgium	38.0	LQ
20	Netherlands	38.0	PQ
173	Swaziland	6.2	
174	Thailand	6.1	
175	Iran	5.9	
175	Maldives	5.9	
177	Sri Lanka	5.8	
178	Nigeria	5.6	
179	Nauru	5.3	
180	Belize	3.1	
180	Lebanon	3.1	
182	Comoros	3.0	
183	Papua New Guinea	2.7	
184	Kuwait	2.0	
184	Solomon Islands	2.0	
186	Oman	1.2	
187	Haiti	0	
187	Micronesia	0	
187	Qatar	0	
187	Tonga	0	
187	Vanuatu	0	
187	Yemen	0	

Key: *LQ* legislative quota, *PQ* party quota

Source: IPU (2017c)

and Hughes (2016, 73–82) identify five pathways that explain countries' changing level of descriptive representation from 1945 to 2010. Each pathway encompasses a diverse set of countries.

First, the “flat” pathway captures countries where the descriptive representation of women has not changed over time: this group includes “low-flat” countries in the Middle East and North Africa, where women's representation hovers at 5 percent or lower (e.g., Kuwait and Yemen); an eclectic mix of “middle-flat” countries where women's representation remains at 10 percent (e.g., Liberia and India); and communist “high-flat” countries where women's representation is above 20 percent (e.g., China, North Korea, and Vietnam). Whereas cultural and religious beliefs about women's unsuitability for political office explain their near-total exclusion from legislatures in low-flat countries, political commitments to attaining gender equality in communist regimes explain women's greater inclusion in high-flat countries. Nonetheless, women's representation remains far from parity in these countries.

When compared to the high-flat communist regimes, formerly communist countries have much lower rates of representation. Countries with previous left-leaning authoritarian governments (military dictatorships as well as communist regimes) occupy the second pathway, “the plateau.” In plateau countries such as Poland, Hungary, and Albania, women's representation was below 10 percent before the authoritarian period, increased to 10, 20, or even 30 percent during authoritarianism, and then returned to below 10 percent with democratization. Authoritarian left regimes kept women's numeric representation artificially high, in that single parties or repressive governments determined who sat in parliament. As democratization raised the influence and prestige of the national assembly, women's representation returned to its previously un-manipulated and low levels (Paxton and Hughes 2016, 81).

Indeed, the (re)emergence of electoral competition during democratization—the return to “politics as usual”—has historically been associated with the resurgence of male dominance, and the foreclosure of electoral opportunities for women (Baldez 2002). Yet, unlike formerly left-authoritarian states, several countries in Latin America and Africa explicitly made space for women, adopting affirmative action as they democratized. Legislative quota laws especially appeared in countries where women's human rights or peace activism played significant roles in discrediting the authoritarian regime and thus precipitating democratization.

Quota adoption and implementation pushed Latin American and African countries onto either the third or fourth pathway, depending on

the quota laws' timing and effectiveness. Countries on the "increasing" pathway show steady gains in women's numeric representation in the 1960s, with more steep climbs beginning in the 1980s. Those on the "big jumps" pathway show even more dramatic increases, mostly in the 1990s. Currently, women's descriptive representation ranges between 20 and 30 percent for increasing countries, and between 20 and 50 percent for big jump countries. Rwanda perfectly illustrates the success of big jump cases: due to a gender quota, women's representation doubled overnight, climbing from 25.7 percent to 48.8 percent after the 2003 elections (Paxton and Hughes 2016, 78). Women presently occupy 61.3 percent of seats in the Rwandan legislature, making Rwanda and Bolivia—which has 53.1 percent women in parliament—the only two majority-female legislatures in the world (see Table 7.1).

Northern European countries also followed the increasing pathway, largely because strong traditions of gender equality enabled them to eschew quotas and take the "slow track" to gender equality (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). The slow track has proven especially successful in the Scandinavian countries, which Paxton and Hughes classify as a subgroup of "high increasing" (2016, 76–77). In Scandinavia, women's representation began its initial climb slightly earlier than the rest of the group, in the 1950s rather than the 1960s. Today, women hold 41.5 percent of legislative seats in the Nordic countries, compared to 23.2 percent in sub-Saharan Africa and 26.9 percent in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Latin America (IPU 2017b, c).

Finally, a mixed group of countries follows the fifth pathway, "low increasing." These countries have made gains over time, but less than the increasing countries of Europe, Latin America, and Africa. Women's representation in places as diverse as Uruguay, the United States, and Morocco climbed from less than five percent post-World War II to just 10 or 15 percent by 2010. The reasons for these small gains are neither immediately apparent nor consistent across the group. Uruguay is among the few Latin American countries with no candidate quota law, but enjoys a well-deserved reputation as a social democratic state with liberal gender equality policies.² While the United States has high levels of women's workforce participation and educational attainment, candidate selection procedures and the electoral system represent a challenge for female aspirants. Morocco implemented a reserved seat system in 2002 and enjoys comparatively high female workforce participation rates for the region, yet women's numeric representation remains below the global average.

The five distinct pathways for attaining women's increased descriptive representation—flat, plateau, increasing, big jumps, and low increasing—indicate significant global variation in this basic measure of women's political empowerment. Even the pathways that map onto regional trends, such as the increasing pathway in the cases of Northern Europe and Latin America, and the plateau pathway in the cases of the Middle East and North Africa, have significant outliers. For instance, both Algeria and Tunisia outpace their neighbors, electing over 30 percent women to their parliaments. By contrast, Brazil has a gender quota law but consistently elects less than 10 percent women to its lower house, earning the country the dubious distinction as the worst-performing Latin American country on this measure of women's political empowerment.

Moreover, few countries have raised women's descriptive representation to parity or near-parity. The top 20 countries (see Table 7.1) followed different pathways, from increasing to big jumps. Yet just 12 of these countries have elected more than 40 percent women, many (though not all) through quota laws. Only in a handful of exceptional cases can women's political empowerment, as measured by access to parliament, be considered equal or nearly-equal to that of men. Despite progress in raising the proportion of female legislators, this measure of women's political empowerment suggests that women's full inclusion in the polity remains a distant—but nonetheless achievable—goal.

EXPLAINING NUMERIC REPRESENTATION: BEYOND ASSETS AND CAPABILITIES

Alexander, Bolzendahl, and Jalalzai (this volume) define women's political empowerment as the enhancement of women's assets, capabilities, and achievements in order to gain equality to men in influencing and exercising political authority. Though women have expanded their access to national legislatures, they generally have not attained parity on this measure. Yet the failure to achieve parity does not stem from deficiencies in women's preparedness for public office. Individual women's assets and capabilities are not to blame. Institutions, political party organizations, and social structures combine to restrict women's access to candidacies, even when their educational levels and employment histories position them as well-qualified for careers in elected office. These institutional and organizational barriers likewise erode women's political ambition.

Women and the Pipeline to Legislative Office

Early work explaining women's entry into national legislatures focused on supply-side issues, asking whether a country had sufficient numbers of qualified or prepared women to fill the pipeline. Supply-side factors often emphasized countries' levels of development. As Matland explained, "When women approach men in levels of literacy, workforce participation, and university education—and thus become men's equals in the social sphere, they are more likely to be seen as men's equals in the political sphere and therefore their representation will increase" (2002, 6). In addition to preparing women for office, development also precipitates shifts from the traditional values associated with patriarchal and religious societies to more modern values, including gender-egalitarianism and secularism (Alexander and Welzel 2011; Alexander 2015).

Yet socioeconomic variables such as women's workforce participation and education rates are not always associated with higher levels of women's descriptive representation (Paxton 1997). And while cultural views do affect women's access to legislative representation (Paxton and Kunovich 2003), they are neither perfectly correlated with socioeconomic development nor women's representation. For instance, respondents answering the World Values Survey question "Do men make better political leaders than women" agree *more* strongly in Spain than in Uruguay (Paxton and Hughes 2016, 120–123), even though Spain outpaces Uruguay on the United Nations' Human Development Index and in the percentage of women in parliament (United Nations 2014; IPU 2017c). Countries such as the United States, Canada, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, Japan, and Israel all fall within the top 20 on the UN's Gender Development Index—which examines women's life expectancy, expected years of school, and per capita income—while having average or below average levels of women's legislative representation (United Nations 2015; IPU 2017c). High levels of gender development, then, do not necessarily lead to greater levels of women's numeric representation. Electing more women to national legislatures depends neither on a country's changing attitudes nor incorporation of more women into educational systems and the economy.

Institutional and Organizational Barriers

Given the limited explanatory power of supply-side explanations, current political science research emphasizes how structures and institutions shape women's access to legislative candidacies. The most-cited variable

explaining this system-level “demand” for female candidates has been electoral rules. Women’s political representation is often higher in countries using proportional representation electoral systems (Paxton and Hughes 2016). Proportional systems rely on multi-member districts, which allow political parties to run more than one candidate in each district. Women can thus run for elected office without wholly displacing male candidates, allowing parties to “safely” present lists that more broadly reflect the demographic makeup of the constituency. In majoritarian systems, where parties can nominate only a single candidate, the zero-sum nature of nominating procedures forces women to compete with established men. These systems can also discourage parties from supporting female candidates if they fear that women are less viable contenders.

Recent studies, however, cast doubt on the overarching explanatory power of electoral rules (Roberts et al. 2013). Scholars have increasingly turned their attention to the gatekeepers to legislative office: political parties (Bjarnegård and Kenny 2016). In most countries, political parties control ballot access and distribute (or withhold) resources from candidates. These political parties are male-dominated. In advanced industrialized democracies between 1965 and 2013, only 61 of 441 party leaders (14 percent) were women (O’Brien 2015). In Latin America, of 168 political parties studied between 2004 and 2012, only 25 (15 percent) had a female president or party secretary (Funk et al. 2018). Women’s presence among the party elites bolsters the number of female candidates and legislators in the Global North (Kittilson 2006), though recent research from Latin America shows no such relationship (Funk et al. 2018).

Parties’ procedures for candidate selection may matter more than the gendered composition of the selectorate itself. Institutionalized or rule bound procedures make candidate selection more transparent (Caul 2001), facilitating female aspirants’ ability to put themselves forward while circumscribing party leaders’ ability to bend the rules in favor of certain (male) candidates. From Scotland to Thailand to Latin America, institutionalized candidate selection facilitates women’s access to the ballot (Bjarnegård and Kenny 2016; Bjarnegård and Zetterberg 2016). Whether these institutionalized procedures operate at the national or local level can also matter. On the one hand, community politics provides a pathway to office for many women, so localized (as opposed to national) nomination procedures may boost parties’ proportions of female candidates (Caul 2001). On the other hand, local party chapters may be more parochial than national party organizations: centralization can help national-level

leaders—who may hold more progressive and egalitarian values than their local-level counterparts—enforce norms about women's inclusion (Hinojosa 2012).

Finally, women may attain greater legislative representation in left parties as compared to right parties (Caul 2001). Right parties are more apt to advance nonfeminist and antifeminist claims (O'Brien 2016). Even today, though right parties have made gains with respect to women's representation, in advanced industrialized democracies they are still outpaced by the left (O'Brien 2016). Yet a difference appears in how party ideology shapes access to the ballot when compared to access to office. In Latin America, left parties may nominate more female candidates, but this difference disappears when controlling for other factors, and no pattern emerges for whether left or right parties elect more women (Funk et al. 2018).

Gendered Barriers to Office and the Ambition Deficit

Taken together, institutional rules and party organizations mean that female aspirants confront significant obstacles to landing nominations and winning elections. Women must displace male elites and incumbents who look to preserve their power, and they must overcome organizational practices, norms, and values that privilege male leadership. New research on gender and political ambition suggests that female aspirants correctly perceive these obstacles to building national-level political careers. Research from the United States has shaped scholars' understanding of the ambition gap. Across all levels of government, Lawless and Fox (2010) show that women are less interested in political candidacy than men. Their survey of likely aspirants reveals, for example, that only 41 percent of women had considered pursuing elected office—as compared to 56 percent of men (2010, 321). Women are also less likely to perceive themselves as qualified for office, and place a greater value on having certain qualifications than their male counterparts.

This ambition deficit does not suggest, however, that women are inherently less interested in politics. To the contrary, women observe and respond rationally to gendered barriers to office. Given deep-seated norms about political leadership as an inherently masculine endeavor, women receive less encouragement than men to pursue political posts. This encouragement gap exists not only among family and friends, but also among political elites. Indeed, party leaders have been shown to underestimate women's ability to successfully contest elections (Norris and Lovenduski

1995). This underestimation in turn reinforces the prioritization of men during candidate selection. In Mexico, for example, party leaders protested the 40 percent quota on the grounds that there were no qualified female candidates. In response, women's organizations published the names of over 1000 women with the requisite credentials (Piscopo 2016).

Women recognize that party selectorates and voters hold female candidates to especially high standards. Shames (2017) finds that women in pipeline educational fields in the United States—those receiving graduate degrees in law and public policy—perceive that female candidates experience more sexism than male candidates. Women are correct to place a higher value on their qualifications: research shows that in order to “perform on par with men, women incumbents would need to be approximately one standard deviation greater on the quality scale than their male counterparts” (Fulton 2012, 308). That is, after accounting for candidates’ “performance, service, integrity, and dedication,” a clear gender disadvantage emerges. Holding these non-policy characteristics constant, Fulton (2014) finds a three percent vote deficit for female candidates. In effect, women must be higher-quality politicians in order to overcome their gendered disadvantage in the electorate.

In spite of these barriers, women are still willing to pursue elected office. Women are simply more strategic in their decision to run than men, entering the race only when the expected benefits of office outweigh the costs (Shames 2017). Small nudges can highlight these benefits even further. For example, framing political careers as advancing communal (as opposed to power-related) goals significantly increases women's interest in seeking elected office (Schneider et al. 2015). Likewise, encouragement from personal networks and political elites closes the gender gap in political ambition (Lawless and Fox 2010), as does providing female aspirants with positive feedback about their political knowledge and skills (Preece 2016). Together, these studies highlight how the gender gap in political ambition is neither inherent nor innate. Rather, women's ambition is shaped by significant structural barriers, and can be remedied with encouragement from political elites.

Intersectionality and Access to Office

Institutional barriers disadvantage even the most privileged women, suggesting that women from marginalized groups will face additional challenges to attaining political office. Some countries still formally restrict the

political rights of minority groups (Paxton and Hughes 2016, 245). Even when the full rights and benefits of citizenship exist on paper, minorities may struggle to gain access and voice in practice. Women from ethnically marginalized communities may confront both racial and gender discrimination from the majority group and also patriarchal norms within their own communities. Globally, ethnic minority women are under represented in legislatures and parliaments. Hughes (2013) used data from 81 democratic or semi-democratic countries to calculate the composition of an average national parliament: 72 percent majority men, 15 percent majority women, 11 percent minority men, and 2 percent minority women. These proportions indicate the overrepresentation of minority men and an underrepresentation of minority women, both of whom actually constitute an average of 9 percent of the population (Hughes 2013, 501).

Clearly, male dominance in politics persists across racial and ethnic identities in many parts of the world. At the same time, in some advanced industrialized democracies, minority women win elective office at greater rates than minority men (Paxton and Hughes 2016, 254–255). In the United States, Bejarano (2013) describes the “Latina advantage”: Hispanic-heritage women often benefit from racialized stereotypes (e.g., that Latinas are maternal and community-minded) whereas Hispanic-heritage men confront negative stereotypes (e.g., that Latinos are violent or aggressive). In Europe, ethnic minority women’s presence on electoral lists can symbolize parties’ commitments to inclusion, secularism, and Western values (Mügge 2016). Political parties seeking to diversify their candidate slates thus see minority women as representing both women and their group. This “complementarity advantage” (Celis and Erzeel 2017) can bring more minority women into office relative to minority men, especially when countries have both ethnic quotas and gender quotas (Hughes 2011). Such double-counting can raise minority women’s descriptive representation, but also reflects parties’ efforts to preserve most available candidacies for majority men.

Even when ethnic minority women benefit relative to ethnic minority men, they still remain underrepresented relative to their proportion in the general population. The underrepresentation of minority women poses one challenge to conceptualizing women’s descriptive representation as an achievement. The systematic exclusion of certain subgroups of women suggests that not all citizens benefit equally from this measure of political progress.

FEMALE LEGISLATORS: ASSETS AND CAPABILITIES

Institutional, organizational, and structural barriers—rather than individual women’s assets and capabilities—shape women’s election to national legislatures. Questions about female politicians’ preparedness also matter beyond the candidate selection stage. Once elected to office, concerns about female legislators’ qualifications come to the fore again. Do female parliamentarians have the resources, skills, and networks necessary to legislate effectively? Studies from a broad set of countries suggest that women and men bring the same backgrounds and qualifications to elected office. As legislators they perform as well, if not better, than their male counterparts. Yet these assets and capabilities do not always translate into greater agency. As with female aspirants who must overcome structural barriers to nomination and election, female parliamentarians must confront limitations stemming from masculine institutions and organizational cultures that continue to sideline them and their work.

Parliamentarians are drawn largely from dominant social groups. Female legislators’ elite status may make them unrepresentative of the population as a whole (though the same is true for male legislators). However, their elite status also means they will resemble men in terms of their educational and professional credentials. For instance, Schwindt-Bayer (2011) finds that both male and female legislators in Latin America typically have college degrees; follow traditional career paths in law, business, and the public sector; have prior political experience; and express aspirations to reelection and/or higher political office. From Argentina (Franceschet and Piscopo 2014) to France (Murray 2010) and Uganda (O’Brien 2012), men and women legislators are highly educated and experienced. Across Asia, elected women are likewise well-educated and drawn from upper-class professions (Joshi and Och 2014). Women elected under gender quotas also have talents and qualifications that match those of men (Franceschet and Piscopo 2014; Joshi and Och 2014; Murray 2010; O’Brien 2012). O’Brien and Rickne (2016) show, for example, that quota implementation by the Swedish Social Democratic party led to the election of greater numbers of well-educated women from the party’s pipeline professions.

Women bring the same skills to national legislatures as men. Though female lawmakers’ similarity to men does not shatter established male standards of competency and qualifications, their educational and career backgrounds enhance their practical skills and civic engagement (O’Brien

and Rickne 2016). This allows women to legislate effectively. Murray's study of the French National Assembly shows no gender differences in levels of parliamentary activity, including numbers of bills, reports, and questions introduced (2010). In Italy, women introduce as many bills as male legislators and are no more likely than men to be absent from parliament (Weeks and Baldez 2015). In the United States, female members of Congress secure approximately nine percent more spending from federal discretionary programs for their districts than their male counterparts (Anzia and Berry 2011). Female lawmakers also sponsor and cosponsor significantly more bills than men (Anzia and Berry 2011; Barnes 2016). Essentially, women work as hard as—or harder than—their male counterparts.

Female legislators thus bring significant assets and capabilities to their work in parliaments—though their overall empowerment in these arenas remains unequal. Despite their talents and accomplishments, women remain underrepresented in parliamentary and party leadership posts and prestigious committee assignments (Bolzendahl 2014; O'Brien 2015). Their access to these positions does increase as their descriptive representation rises (Kerevel and Atkeson 2013, O'Brien 2015, O'Brien and Rickne 2016), but their presence in power positions remains far from proportional to their presence in the chamber. Women remain largely outside these posts because they lack membership in political elites' inner-circles: they enter congress with experience, but not the forms of experience that make them among the party's most-valued members (Franceschet and Piscopo 2014). The formal and informal rules shaping the nature, timing, and pace of legislative work can further exclude women from these elite networks (Ballington 2008). For instance, important conversations may happen in male-only spaces (such as workout facilities) or in late-night meetings that female legislators usually cannot attend given their domestic responsibilities.

Consequently, higher levels of women's descriptive representation signals women's empowerment within the political system, but not necessarily their empowerment within the parliament as a workplace (O'Brien and Piscopo forthcoming). Increasing descriptive representation may in fact generate backlash. Male legislators become more verbally aggressive and controlling in committee hearings as women's participation rises (Kathlene 1995), and women find their work generally more devalued as their numbers in Congress increase (Kanthak and Krause 2012). Women elected under legislative quotas especially complain about marginalization and stigmatization

(Franceschet and Piscopo 2008), notwithstanding the absence of empirical evidence that “quota women” are any less qualified or skilled. Recent scholarship has begun examining the upticks in reports of harassment against female parliamentarians, including not just in-person verbal or physical attacks, but virtual assaults such as cyber-bullying (Krook 2017).

Though it remains unclear whether systematic discrimination against and harassment of female legislators is newly occurring or just newly visible, institutional and organizational characteristics clearly limit female politicians’ achievements once in office. Insofar as women’s political empowerment signifies greater agency (Alexander et al. this volume), these barriers suggest an important distinction between descriptive representation as an avenue for empowering women in the society and descriptive representation as a tool for empowering individual legislators. While female citizens may experience women’s increased presence in office as beneficial, female legislators find themselves capable of doing the work—but also stymied by resistance and backlash.

GENDER QUOTAS AS EMPOWERMENT: ELECTING WOMEN, SYMBOLIZING INCLUSION

The persistence or even reinforcement of masculinist organizational cultures may paradoxically reflect progress, as those who would preserve the status quo react negatively to women’s rapidly increasing presence in national legislatures. Indeed, the data overwhelmingly show positive change with respect to descriptive representation, as women comprise one-third or more of parliaments in 33 countries (the top 20 countries shown in Table 7.1, plus Denmark, Germany, Slovenia, Burundi, Tanzania, Costa Rica, Portugal, Belarus, Serbia, Uganda, New Zealand, and Grenada).³ These gains—especially along the increasing, big jump, and low increasing pathways identified by Paxton and Hughes (2016)—are largely due to countries’ adoption of gender quotas, affirmative action measures that either push parties to nominate specific percentages of women or set aside a certain number of seats for women in parliament. Quota *laws*—where the candidate quota or the reserved seats are encoded into statute—have been implemented in over 80 countries around the world (Dahlerup and Norris 2014). Additionally, more than 30 countries have at least one political party that has adopted a “voluntary party quota,” meaning an internal quota that governs candidate selection within the party (Dahlerup and Norris 2014).

Though quota policies alone are neither necessary nor sufficient for guaranteeing female candidates' election to national assemblies, they are among the strongest predictors of women's presence in legislatures (Paxton and Hughes 2016). As a tool for boosting women's descriptive representation, the conventional wisdom holds that quotas' numeric effects are generally most dramatic when applied in closed-list proportional representation systems (because then parties can intertwine or zip-per men's and women's names on the electoral lists); when they are legislated rather than voluntary; and when the state pursues enforcement (for instance, banning noncompliant parties from entering the election). Quotas also constitute a significant achievement for women's descriptive representation in and of itself. The popularity of quotas signals that both national governments and political parties have come to view women's inclusion as essential for democracy (Piscopo 2015). In this sense, quotas are broadly empowering, as they symbolize to female *and* male citizens the importance of women's access to political power.

Quotas as a Tool for Achieving Women's Political Empowerment

Of the top 20 countries for women's descriptive representation (Table 7.1), only 2—Cuba and Finland—attained this status without any form of quota in place. The others used legislative candidate quotas, most with thresholds set at parity (Rwanda, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Senegal, Mexico and Ecuador), or party quotas. In fact, Table 7.1 contradicts the conventional wisdom about party quotas. Long thought to be ineffective due to the absence of statutory enforcement mechanisms and their reliance on party leaders' goodwill for consistent implementation (Hinojosa 2012), party quotas have boosted women's representation to around 40 percent in Iceland, Sweden, South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Norway, Ethiopia, and the Netherlands. The popularity and effectiveness of party quotas thus constitutes a surprising trend (Dahlerup and Norris 2014). However, these party quotas appear to be operating effectively in very specific circumstances: in European countries where traditions of gender equality already predominate (Iceland and Norway), or in African states where a single party controls most or all of the legislature (Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa). This pattern continues for the additional 13 countries with more than one-third women in parliament. Candidate quota laws explain women's success in developing or democratizing countries (i.e., Costa Rica, Burundi, Portugal, and Slovenia), whereas party quotas have

significant numeric effects in more advanced democracies (i.e., Germany and New Zealand).

While some countries have enjoyed significant increases following the implementation of quota laws, others have found quotas leading only to modest changes or even setbacks in the proportion of women elected to parliament. First, to significantly increase women's access to political power, the quota threshold must be high (Paxton and Hughes 2016). While some countries require parity in parties' candidate lists (Rwanda and Bolivia), other countries set much lower thresholds, such as 35 percent (Slovenia) or 30 percent (Argentina). Reserved seats, most common in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia, create even lower thresholds. For instance Bangladesh reserves 50 of 350 seats (14 percent) for women, and Jordan reserves only 15 of 150 seats (10 percent).

Second, even effective candidate quota laws—those with placement mandates and sanctions for noncompliance—can fail to achieve their numeric goals. Consider Costa Rica, where women's representation, though high (35.1 percent), still falls below the parity mandate. This shortfall occurs for two reasons (Piscopo 2018). Women must be placed high enough on the list to comply with the quota (e.g., one in every two spots for a 50 percent quota), but this rule infrequently translates into naming women to the *first* position. Related, an increase in the effective number of parties means that more parties win fewer seats. The farther down the list women appear, even if it's merely the number two spot, the less likely they will be elected. In the 2014 elections, for example, no parties competing in the capital district placed women in the top spot. Only five of the eight winning parties won two or more seats, meaning three parties elected no women from the country's most significant electoral district. (Picado and Brenes 2014, 403).

Moreover, when parties do name female candidates as list-headers, they often send these lists to losing districts. Running female candidates in places where the party does not anticipate winning also occurs when quotas apply to single-member districts, as in Mexico (Piscopo 2016). Countries have largely acquiesced to vertical parity—that is, the alternation of men's and women's names down an electoral list—but continue to resist horizontal parity—that is, the alternation of men and women as the top candidates across an even mix of winning, competitive, and losing districts. Consequently, political parties find ways to resist even well-designed quota laws. Male political elites enact a wide range of strategies to undermine quotas' numeric impact, violating the spirit—if not the letter—of the law. Tactics include filling quota positions with female

relatives of male politicians (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Hinojosa 2012) and even using violence and intimidation to force female candidates to resign (Krook 2017). Yet, when parties have appealed to constitutional and electoral courts to overturn quotas, they have been unsuccessful, with judges determining that the measures constitute essential principles of democratic governance and fair play (Piscopo 2015).

Quotas as an Achievement in Women's Political Empowerment

Quota policies represent not only a tool for achieving women's political empowerment, but also an achievement in and of themselves. Quota adoption acknowledges that women's underrepresentation is not a matter of too few women fit for the job, but rather a reflection of the formal and informal barriers women face in politics. It accepts that large leaps in women's representation are possible and necessary, but also that women's representation does not increase simply by allowing history to unfold (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). Quotas thus recognize that women's presence in national assemblies is important for its own sake.

Beyond their symbolic value, quotas are also an achievement insofar as they raise the quality of legislatures by helping to "disrupt the political forces that maintain the dominance of a mediocre male elite" (Besley et al. 2015, 25). Using a measure of competence based on politicians' earnings outside of politics, Besley and coauthors show that quota implementation by the Swedish Social Democrats resulted in the removal of mediocre male local-level leaders and councilors. Similar effects were found in Italian local-level elections, where gender quotas were associated with an increase in the quality of elected politicians (measured via years of education) (Baltrunaite et al. 2014). Beyond the rank and file, quotas can also disrupt leadership patterns by accelerating women's access to positions of power within their parties (O'Brien and Rickne 2016).

Citizens also respond to the achievement of quota adoption. The application of quotas to leadership positions on Indian village councils improved villagers' assessments of female leaders' effectiveness and reduced stereotypical beliefs about gender roles in the public and private spheres (Beaman et al. 2009). Quota implementation similarly closed the gender gap in adolescent educational attainment and resulted in girls spending less time on household chores (Beaman et al. 2012). Cross-national research finds that quotas are especially likely to influence female citizens' political behaviors and beliefs. With respect to political participation and engagement, Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer (2012) show that compared to non-quota

countries, women in quota systems are even more likely than men to both work on campaigns and also seek to persuade others about politics. Quotas can likewise enhance women's confidence in female politicians' capabilities (Alexander 2012) as well as increase their levels of political interest and political trust (Hinojosa et al. 2017). Focusing on Iraq and Spain, Alexander (2015) finds improvements in female citizens' belief in women's ability to govern after the "big jumps" in descriptive representation that followed quota implementation. In Spain, moreover, these effects also hold for men.

Yet not all quota policies generate similar benefits. Quotas' positive symbolic effects appear contingent on their ability to actually raise women's descriptive representation (Barnes and Burchard 2012). Even when quotas do bolster women's numeric representation, they can fail to positively influence citizens' attitudes and behaviors if they are seen as top-down measures imposed by unpopular parties or technocratic elites (Clayton 2015). In fact, support for quota policies is conditional on the broader quality of governance provided by the state (Barnes and Córdova 2016). Quotas may thus require some minimum buy-in to change public views.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS, FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This chapter posits that women's numeric representation in national parliaments or legislatures indicates women's political empowerment in several distinct yet related ways. Using the definition of women's political empowerment as the assets, capabilities, and achievements of women in gaining political authority relative to men, we first conceptualize increased descriptive representation as an important achievement in the broader quest for women's political empowerment. Likewise, we view affirmative action policies—namely, candidate quota laws, voluntary party quotas, and reserved seats—not only as tools for increasing women's descriptive representation, but also as important achievements, as they represent a commitment to making the political system equitable and inclusive. Though gender parity in legislative representation remains far-off (the cases of Bolivia and Rwanda notwithstanding), and not all gender quotas are equally effective, recent progress on women's descriptive representation offers reasons for optimism about women's political empowerment.

Turning to assets and capabilities tells a more nuanced tale. The available evidence demonstrates that female aspirants, candidates, and legislators compare favorably to their male counterparts: women politicians are as well-qualified and as skilled as male politicians in terms of their educational backgrounds, professional trajectories, and parliamentary work

ethic. On the one hand, these findings are reassuring. In most countries, at least some classes or subgroups of women will have the status and resources to successfully compete for and perform well in elected office. On the other hand, that female politicians with significant talents and qualifications still encounter barriers as both candidates and lawmakers suggests that pernicious factors are working to disempower women who seek and gain elected office. Political institutions, party organizations, and social structures work together to create an uneven playing field. Female aspirants may express greater reluctance to run for office, given the sexist treatment that they are likely to experience, and female legislators may find themselves excluded from the elite power networks that make and pass policy. Even when well-written and well-enforced quota laws are in place, male political elites largely recruit, support, and promote other men.

Taken together, this analysis of women's descriptive representation in terms of women's assets, capabilities, and achievements signals several promising directions for future theoretical and empirical work. First, examining women's numeric representation as an achievement, compared to examining it as an asset or capability, reveals a distinction between the empowerment of female citizens and the empowerment of female legislators. Women's political empowerment matters not just intrinsically, but instrumentally: political empowerment generates agency, enabling women to challenge the systems of oppression that keep them marginalized from (and within) public life. The symbolic effects of high levels of descriptive representation may well convey agency to women as a group, but the structural barriers that shape the day-to-day business of governing may restrict agency for individual legislators. Political empowerment, then, operates in different ways at different levels.

Second, and related, future work into women's descriptive representation as an indicator of empowerment should attend more carefully to intersectionality. Our distinction between female citizens, on the one hand, and individual women politicians, on the other, obscures how other forms of structural inequality—such as those related to race, class, and sexuality—shape experiences of political empowerment. In countries where certain ethnic or religious groups are systematically marginalized, higher levels of descriptive representation may *not* constitute an achievement for women from these minority groups. Researchers must strive to attend more carefully to the differences among groups of women, as the exclusion of certain classes or groups of women from national-level politics will ultimately limit—and perhaps even undermine—the extent to which descriptive representation can empower female citizens as a whole.

NOTES

1. We use these terms interchangeably to refer to countries' lawmaking institutions.
2. Uruguay adopted a one-time gender quota law, in force only for the 2014 elections. In March 2017 the Senate approved legislation to make the quota permanent from 2019 onwards. This legislation did not pass in the lower house, however, so the fate of the quota policy remains uncertain.
3. Countries accurate as of January 2017.

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Legislatures as Gendered Organizations: Challenges and Opportunities for Women's Empowerment as Political Elites

Catherine Bolzendahl

The presence of women in national legislatures has long been viewed as a pinnacle of women's formal political empowerment. Legislatures are the key policy-making bodies in democratic nations, and also typically wield considerable influence in less or non-democratic nations. In democracies in particular, they hold the power to make laws that affect citizens at every level including ameliorating or exacerbating patterns of gender inequality in families, employment, education, health care, and other life chances. A solid body of research shows that having women in legislature matters for policy outcomes (e.g., Bolzendahl 2011; Wängnerud 2009; Lu and Breuning 2014; Moghadam and Haghighatjoo 2016; Thomas 1991). However, scholars also increasingly call attention to the ways in which women's legislative influence is stymied or redirected within legislatures (Bolzendahl 2014; Schwindt-Bayer and Squire 2014; Krook and Mackay 2011). When seeking to measure women's political empowerment, it is crucial to understand that "enhancing the assets, capabilities, and

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achievements of women to influence and exercise political authority worldwide” must take into account the institutional and organizational limitations and opportunities women in politics face. These differentially shape women’s path toward empowerment and policy influence.

In my contribution, I develop the theoretical view of legislatures as gendered organizations by advancing a synthetic approach that pulls from the research above. To illustrate the relevance of gendered organizations for women’s political empowerment, I will offer evidence of legislative committee systems as institutionalizing gender within legislatures. This chapter offers a theoretical and empirical perspective on legislatures as gendered organizations. In doing so, it counters the tendency to look at women’s empowerment as embodied in individuals rather than as a product of interactional and institutional components of gender and politics. My work builds from a quickly growing body of research in Political Science on gendering “new” institutions (Krook and Mackay 2011; Waylen 2014; Chappell 2014; Kenny 2014; Schwindt-Bayer and Squire 2014; Mackay et al. 2010). It also overlaps with important, and at times underutilized, areas of work in Sociology, including theories of gender (Risman 2004; Ridgeway 2011), gendered organizations (Acker 1990; Britton 2000), and gender regimes (Connell 1990, 2006).

Theoretically, I wish to broaden our approach to more inclusively incorporate insights across political science, sociology, gender studies, and policy studies. From an academic perspective, the failure to more fully engage across disciplinary boundaries limits analytical insights, creates conceptual confusion, and unwittingly duplicates findings rather than using research as interconnected building blocks. Pragmatically, strategies for women’s political empowerment can benefit from a coherent and united effort to identify *opportunities* for institutional growth and change in favor of greater gender equality and increased access to women’s voices.

Below, I review the primary bodies of theory and research in this sub-field and suggest ways we can use these theories to better understand gendered legislatures as important fields of women’s political (dis) empowerment. The work is focused mainly on developed democracies, but considers implications for developing democracies as well. I conclude with limitations of work in this area and suggestions for specific steps that can be taken to develop these ideas to understand women’s political empowerment worldwide.

THEORIES OF GENDER IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

In Political Science, feminist work on gender and institutions has coalesced around the concepts of using feminist political science to gender research on “new” institutions (Krook and Mackay 2011; Mackay and Waylen 2014). Decrying the failure of new institutionalism to incorporate gender in its theorizing, Mackay et al. (2010) advance a framework of feminist institutionalism that relies on a set of core concerns: respecting pluralistic approaches, inclusion of formal and informal institutions, and recognizing institutional change as intrinsically related to gender where actors have bounded agency (p. 584). Bringing together leading scholars on the issue, Krook and Mackay (2011) provide a masterful summary of these issues though a detailed definition of feminist institutionalism remains elusive (p. 182). Most recently, Mackay and Waylen (2014) lay out three main foci of this area: the adoption of gender quotas, the creation of women’s policy machinery, and the introduction of gender mainstreaming. The approach, akin to a paradigm shift in the understanding of political institutions, has broad implications for women’s political empowerment. Teams of researchers are addressing questions of how gendered institutional change happens, how institutional design happens, and how change becomes (de)institutionalized, especially from the perspective of gender equality (Mackay and Waylen 2014; Kenny 2014; Lowndes 2014).

The development of a gendered or feminist institutional approach grew from the development of more nuanced understandings of gender and prominent debates on institutionalism in Political Science (Mackay et al. 2010; Krook and Mackay 2011). This work overlaps with several lines of inquiry in the field of Sociology, however; the parallel lines of research have resulted in missed opportunities for cross-fertilization of ideas. For example, in offering a framework for research on gendered political institutions, Kenney (1996) builds from the sociological work of Acker and Kanter on gendered organizations (Acker 1992, 1990; Kanter 1977). In Sociology this line of scholarship on gendered organizations has continued to develop (Britton 2000; Britton and Logan 2008), but seldom considers formal political organizations. Conversely, work in Political Science rarely returns to these sociological insights. As Kenney and Acker note, referring to gendered institutions means recognizing that “gender is present in the processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life” (Acker 1992). What, then, is to

be gained from a closer interplay between Sociology and Political Science in this area?

First, we may gain greater clarity in substantive focus and terminology. The sociological work on gendered organizations argues that organizations have overall patterns of gender relations (regimes) that can be understood by examining the gender division of labor, gender relations of power, and gender culture and symbolism, and human relations and emotions therein. In general, because this perspective does not take institutions or institutional theory as a starting point, it focuses more on processes within relatively self-contained organizational spaces and how individuals and interactions within organizations matter as much as the institutional rules of the organization. In this case, an institutional approach refers to the level of analysis that examines patterns holistically and structurally. Being able to identify a meso-level organizational analysis helps us see political institutions (e.g., “legislature”) as made up of component organizations, each shaped by their own gendered dynamics. Research in Political Science on bureaucracy nicely illustrates the leverage of this approach (Chappell 2002); however, newer approaches to gendered organizations have further implications. Britton (2000) argues that context is the key to understanding gender within organizations so that research can (a) recognize settings when gender is more or less salient, (b) distinguish between the sex composition and gender type of a role/occupation, (c) understand whether certain fields are uniformly gendered or if this varies by specific organization, and why. In particular, Britton notes that we “need to be utterly clear about the levels of analysis at which we are applying the concept of gendering and to recognize that the process at one level does not follow from, or dictate in any clear or predictable fashion, the ways in which [political institutions] and organizations are gendered at other levels” (p. 429). Work by Connell (2002, 2005, 2006) offers suggestions on how to link the organizational and institutional approaches within the political realm with the concept of “gender regimes.” Connell argues that organizations have overall patterns of gender relations (regimes) that can be understood by examining the gender division of labor, gender relations of power, and gender culture and symbolism, and human relations and emotions therein. Thinking about how interactions, symbols, and culture matter within political institutions, and/or explicitly focusing on separate political organizations within larger institutions would help connect feminist institutionalism to other work in political science and sociology on women’s political empowerment.

Second, by bringing these two fields together we can improve our understanding of gender. Gender scholars, particularly sociologists, have a rich, though at times contentious, history of seeking to define and understand gender and how it is constructed and operates in all aspects of society. Despite disagreements, consensus on a number of key issues has emerged. It is correct when Beckwith states that gender is both a category and a process (2005), but understanding this distinction and how it is formed matters a great deal when thinking about women's political empowerment and gendered institutions. Too often, research on women's political empowerment focuses on gender as it is experienced by individuals (or aggregations of individuals) and ignores or underestimates the interactional and institutional components of gender. Ridgeway (2011) highlights the dilemma in her book, noting that despite any woman's or women's achievement of status and power within organizations, so long as women (and men) continue to be "framed" by gender as a social construction, the overarching system of gender differentiation and inequality remains unchanged. It is the systemic, culturally embedded norms and assumptions that continue to guide conscious and unconscious decisions about women's and men's abilities, competencies, and goals. West and Zimmerman (1987) alluded to this in their classic piece on "doing gender" by noting that it is impossible for any of us to avoid doing gender because we are always assessed as belonging to a sex category (male or female) with an associated set of gender expectations. We are constantly being evaluated by the norms that belong to those gendered expectations. In complementary formulation, Risman (1998, 2004) reminds us that gender itself is a social structure—similar to the economy and polity. Gender is constructed and reified at multiple levels: individual, interactional, and institutional. Thus, if we are going to understand political structure or the concept of gendered institutions, we have to grapple with the fact gender exists as its own structure. We must understand how the various levels of gender structure happen within political institutions and how the political institutional rules overlap with institutional constructions of gender. In this way we can understand how to change political institutions to increase women's political empowerment, why some political institutions may offer better or worse pathways to women's empowerment, and how individual and interactional experiences within political institutions support or undermine gendered institutional patterns.

NARROWING THE SCOPE: LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

One of the advantages of focusing on elite, legislative institutions is the direct connection legislatures have to policy-making, policy outcomes, and citizenship demands and influence. Especially in democratic contexts, legislatures represent (albeit often imperfectly) the wishes of the voting public. Once elected, legislators are tasked with making (or not making) policies and political decisions that will affect the entire population they govern (Urbinati and Warren 2008). Legislators are bound by the wishes of the electorate in meaningful ways (Brooks and Manza 2007; Erikson et al. 2002), but politicians mediate these wishes through their own identities and politicians pursue their own goals and values while in office (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000; Thiele et al. 2012; Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004). For these reasons, most scholars agree it matters descriptively and substantively who is elected to legislature. In general there has been a dramatic increase in the percent of women that make up legislatures—both democratic and not (Paxton et al. 2010). If we are to understand women's political empowerment, it is crucial that we understand how it matters when women gain access to legislative seats and how this might matter for other nonelite/non-legislative areas of women's political empowerment.

Unfortunately, we know very little about the *global* patterns in women's power and influence within legislatures. A bounty of case studies suggest that investigating processes within political institutions is crucial (Chappell 2014; Gains and Lowndes 2014; Lowndes 2014; Chappell 2006; Wängnerud 2000). Increasingly, scholars are attempting to offer more generalizable and cross-national insights to these issues (Weldon 2014). Recently, in a worldwide study, Schwindt-Bayer and Squire (2014) show that institutional rules strongly affect the ability of women to get elected. In nations where legislators hold a great deal of personal political power, women are significantly less likely to claim legislative seats. Such findings highlight the important ways legislative institutions are gendered and can work directly against women's political empowerment.

In keeping with the theories reviewed earlier, I define legislatures as political institutions. Not all legislatures are (fully) democratic, but they are a common way of organizing political representatives across the world. In fact, the nation with the highest proportion of women in parliament, Rwanda (61% in the lower house), is not a democracy (freedomhouse.org, 2017), and the USA is ranked 104th in the world for percent women

elected to legislatures (ipu.org, 2017). Within a given country, a legislature is made up of a number of internal organizations: ministries, committees, party groups, upper and lower houses, and so on. Some of these reflect common attributes of legislative institutions. For example, every legislative body has committees to which it delegates work on particular topics. These vary in power, type, and size. Thus, committees can be used to understand both an aspect of political institutions (i.e., legislatures) in a potentially generalizable way, but also operate as organizations that can illustrate how gendered political processes play out differentially across organizational contexts.

A body of literature on gender in legislative committees, mainly in democracies, is growing. My and others' work on committees finds markedly different substantive patterns in legislative committee structures, in women's placement among various committees, and women's access to leadership roles (Bolzendahl 2014; Franceschet 2011; Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Pansardi and Vercesi 2017; Baekgaard and Kjaer 2012). Given the differences in how committees are composed and operate in different legislatures, it can be difficult to draw parallels. Yet, despite differences, committees are often where the "real" work of deliberation takes place (Mattson and Strøm 1995; Strøm 1998). In democratic contexts, they complement the aims of majority rule, but can also serve to protect minority views. Mattson and Strøm describe them as "microcosms of the larger assembly" (1995). Committees have also been recognized as the most significant internal organizational aspects of modern parliaments, and analyses confirm that strong committees are a necessary, if not always sufficient, condition for effective parliamentary influence on legislative processes and outcomes (Mattson and Strøm 1995). For these reasons, they provide an excellent opportunity to better understand women's political empowerment within legislatures (Pansardi and Vercesi 2017; Baekgaard and Kjaer 2012).

Research in multiple nations across the world (Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Bolzendahl 2014; Towns 2003; Heath et al. 2005; Pansardi and Vercesi 2017; Crawford and Pini 2011) shows that women tend to be overrepresented on committees dealing with social issues or committees associated with the home or "private" sphere, reflecting their social construction as being more nurturing, people-oriented, and familial (Ridgeway 2011). By contrast, women are underrepresented on committees concerned with foreign affairs, employment, agriculture, business, and economics. These are issues that traditionally have been associated with the "public"

sphere—and emerge from men’s traditional gender role as head of the household, financially and legally (Pateman 1988 [1970]). Why do these patterns persist? How do they differ cross-nationally? How do they matter for women’s political empowerment?

The differences we see in men’s and women’s committee memberships reflect individual, interactional, and institutional level mechanisms, as we would expect from theories of the social construction of gender (Risman 2004) and the multiple facets of gendered organizations (Acker 1990). Among individuals in postindustrial societies, patterns of gender socialization and life chances often lead to different worldviews among men and women (Epstein 2007; Eagly et al. 2000; Svallfors 1997). Women legislators tend to be more invested in, and vocal about, health care, family benefits, education, and childhood development (Bratton and Ray 2002; Bystydzienski 1992). Looking at Danish city councilors, Baekgaard and Kjaer (2012) find that men and women sit on different committees (men on technical and women on children) largely because they prefer different committees. In the USA, Frisch and Kelly (2003) found that first-term women rarely get their committee requests, though with seniority this is more likely for Democratic women and not for Republican women, suggesting that seniority and partisanship matter.

Identities are not the full story, however. Research shows that interactions can heighten the salience of gender and the use of gendered frames by peers can create outcomes that do not necessarily reflect individual identities or preferences (Eagly et al. 1992). For example, Heath et al. (2005) find that, in Latin-American parliaments, women MPs tend to be marginalized into committees dealing with women’s issues and social affairs by their male colleagues. A reliance on gender stereotypes can enable mechanisms that “push” women to committees seen as related to women’s interests. In the case of the Danish councilors, when no committee preference is lodged, men are more likely to be put on the technical committee and women on the children’s committee (Baekgaard and Kjaer 2012). In an analysis of transcripts of US state legislative committee hearings, Kathlene (1994) found that as more women were in the committee, men became more verbally aggressive and controlling of the hearing, thus undermining women’s ability to fully participate.

Institutionally, access to power and the construction of gender overlap such that legislative committees associated with masculinity/men are

more prestigious and powerful than those associated with femininity/women (Bolzendahl 2014; Schwindt-Bayer and Squire 2014; Crawford and Pini 2011; Heath et al. 2005). Male dominance of the most prestigious committees reifies the de facto gendering of politics as masculine (Bolzendahl 2014; Crawford and Pini 2011). In my comparison of Germany, Sweden, and US committees from 1971 to 2009, I find that institutional factors strongly shaped gendered outcomes. In Sweden, decades of a shared commitment to women's equality led to high proportions of women in legislature. This opened opportunities for women to gain more seniority and more women to place across committees. Committees were treated neutrally by substance, not identity, and experienced greater gender equality over time, though gaps in leadership remained. In Germany, the proportion of women elected increased over time, but the committees were reorganized to offer more low-prestige assignments through the addition of tourism, culture, and human rights committees that became dominated by women MPs. Women were largely excluded from leadership and political parties shifted the women/family/children committee to suit their political needs, which in turn affected women's presence on the committee. Finally, the USA has extremely low levels of women's representation, and the committee system offers none of the types of committees women specialize on in other countries (e.g., family, health care). In this way, we see that social committees may also be an avenue for women politicians to gain a campaign foothold (see also Ennser-Jedenastik 2017). Still women are much less likely in the USA to be placed on the most prestigious committees and rarely hold committee leadership (2% of chair seats went to women). Throughout my comparative case study, I find women's exclusion from leadership (see also Baekgaard and Kjaer 2012), but research on US state legislatures and in British select committees found no gender difference in chairing committees (Darcy 1996; O'Brien 2012).

Overall, this indicates that committee systems are organizations with different rules, symbols, ideologies, and practices. Despite some common patterns, opportunities differed and suggested points of agency for women in gaining empowerment. As institutional systems, committee organizations are remarkably changing and changeable, suggesting that institutional contexts can and should be shifted to enable a more equitable distribution of women in legislature.

EXPANDING THE SCOPE: COMPARATIVE APPROACHES TO GENDER AND LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

Comparative research on gendered organizations and institutions is difficult to conduct. Scholarship that brings together different perspectives provides important insights, but these do not always track the same goals and analytic approaches (Krook and Mackay 2011; Mackay and Waylen 2014). The small body of work on global patterns in gendered political organizations and institutions is slowly growing (Russell 2015; Berkovitch 1999; Paxton et al. 2006), but typically do not consider how organizations within legislatures matter, and may not consider legislatures at all. A movement to a broader global and comparative approach takes time in terms of data collection, collaboration across academic and policy fields, and synthesizing data to find both generalities and useful context-specific findings. Based on data I collected for 30 wealthy democracies¹ from each nation's most recent election in the 2008–2012 time period, I present some broad findings here and provide a launching point measuring women's political empowerment in this area.² Unfortunately, data over time are not available at this point.

Across a diverse sample of countries and committee systems, we can start by first examining the types of committees that tend to overrepresent men and women to see if common patterns emerge. These may tell us about the areas where women hold the most power, but also the range of issues they are included on or excluded from. In Fig. 8.1, the key terms from the titles of the two (or more in cases of ties) committees for each nation where women are over- or underrepresented were used to create a word cloud to visually distinguish between the most and least common areas of focus. In panel A, we see that the most common terms are Finance and Defense. Two closely related terms to finance—economy and budget—suggest that men's specialization on financial committees is a consistent pattern. Defense is also linked to questions of international relations, and it may be useful to note that Security, National, Foreign, and European are common terms. Having a seat on committees that are broadly concerned with the nation's place in the international community, especially with regard to military concerns, is thus also a common pattern. Finally, men's presence is routine on agriculture and similar resource-based committees. These are important economic and trade-based committees in most nations and thus can be seen as also reflecting a greater hand in economic and foreign policy.

Women, however, are much more highly concentrated in a few areas indicating there is more consistency across nations in where women serve within legislative committees.

Beyond these broad patterns, a few notable areas of variation occur. First, committees dealing with the environment are approximately equally likely to be dominated by men and women. When they are dominated by men, they are likely to be combined with other natural resource issues (e.g., Slovenia's Committee on Agriculture, Forestry, Food and Environment). Second, women are more likely than men to be overrepresented on committees dealing with science and with sports. In part, this is reflected in the choice to combine sport with other social committee issues (e.g., the Netherlands' Health, Welfare, and Sport Committee). The association with science may reflect a tendency of women to be involved in education (e.g., New Zealand's Committee on Education and Science), but given that science is a male-dominated field, it is an interesting pattern and occurs even when science is not linked to education (e.g., Israel's Science and Technology committee).

The mechanisms producing these patterns are difficult to disentangle with these data. Research suggests men and women may prefer these different types of committees, which does not bode well for women's and men's equality in influencing policy output. However, if we are to more fully understand the extent to which women are empowered within legislature, we cannot assume that their placement on social committees conveys a lack of power, without also knowing where power lies within each legislative organization, and the relationship between men's and women's segregation. Country-specific case studies and expert surveys are crucial for better contextualizing such broad-based data. Furthermore, preferences are socially constructed and based on women's (and men's) assessment of the gendered power structure. To the extent that a legislator considers the likelihood of getting a preference granted by a party leader and the set of expectations voters and colleagues place upon them, preferences reflect existing inequalities. For example, if a woman wishes to be on the Defense Committee, she has to assess her seniority (typically less than the majority of male colleagues who also want the seat), the expectations of the party leader (who is more likely to be a man), and her expectation that she can use social policy accomplishments to earn reelection from a voter base that generally sees women as more capable of handling social issues. Finally, she may feel that the interactions and mentoring she will get on a committee dominated by men will be less positive than those she will get among one dominated by women.

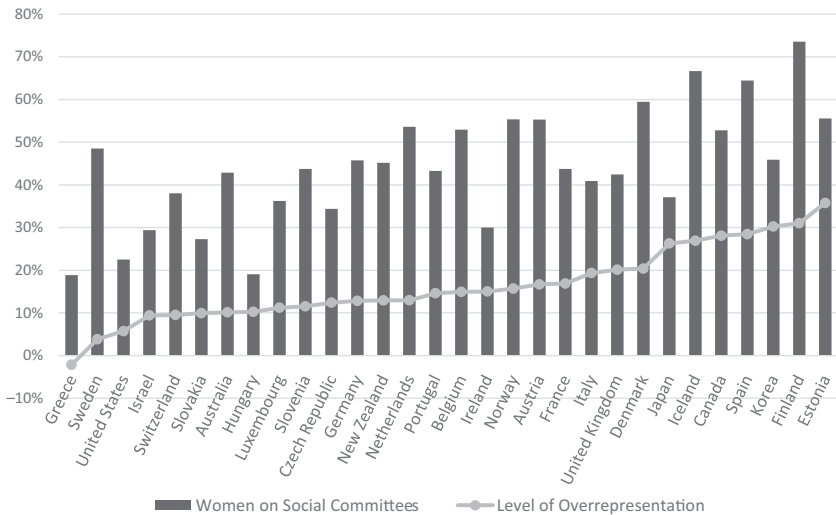


Fig. 8.2 Average percent of women on all social policy committees and degree of overrepresentation relative to percent of women in legislature overall

Institutionally, we can see that looking only at social policy committees is an inconsistent way of understanding women's overrepresentation. In Fig. 8.2, the bars indicate the percent of women who are sitting on social, education, health, and equality committees, *regardless* of whether these committees have an overrepresentation of women. I want to contrast these numbers to the descriptive representation of women—another important measure of women's political empowerment. Therefore, the line represents the difference between women's average representation on these social welfare type committees and women's overall representation in the legislature. In Sweden, approximately 50% of the social committee seats are held by women, but given that women comprise nearly 50% of elected members, overrepresentation is very low. In comparison, women in Japan make up 37% of social committee seats, but given that women make up only 11% of legislature, they are highly overrepresented on social committees. Electing more women does not necessarily lead to drops in women's social policy segregation. The percent of women elected (see Fig. 8.3) is not significantly correlated with women's overrepresentation ($r = .06$) suggesting that factors other than the availability of women

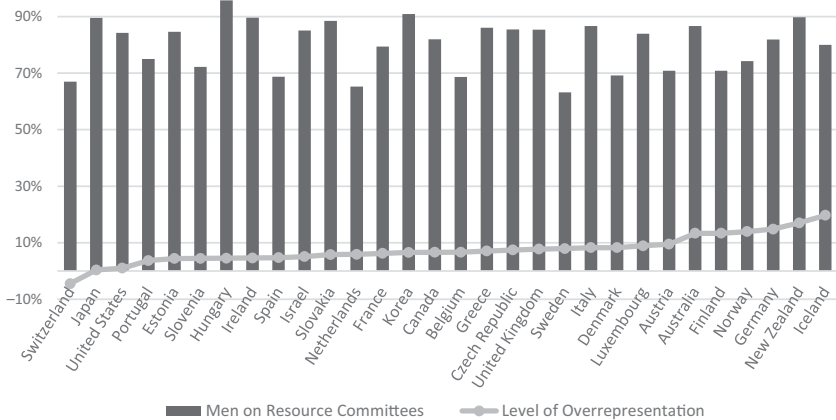


Fig. 8.3 Average percent of men on all resource (financial, agriculture, foreign) committees and degree of overrepresentation relative to percent of men in legislature overall

representatives shape outcomes. Finally, it is important to note that there is a great deal of variation among the nations, suggesting important institutional differences worth further investigation.

Based on the word cloud in Fig. 8.1, men are most likely to be overrepresented on committees with terms: finance, defense, economy, agriculture, foreign, and budget. Looking at these committees (regardless of whether men are overrepresented in that country), we see that there is much less segregation of men into these committees. Men hold a very high proportion of seats on these committees (80% on average), but since men typically hold a high percent of seats overall, the gap is not particularly large. Overall, we can see that in legislative committee systems, the pattern is more of women's segregation within a masculine/men's dominated committee space, rather than some type of gender polarization based on traditional individualized gender roles. This highlights the importance of examining these gender patterns as an organizational outcome—one that can vary in substance and size.

Legislatures tend to be male dominated overall and none of the countries in my sample had gender parity in representation. Given mixed findings about gender parity in leadership, and the role that women's leadership plays in empowerment, Fig. 8.4 illustrates patterns in committee leadership. The panel on the right shows gaps between the percent of women

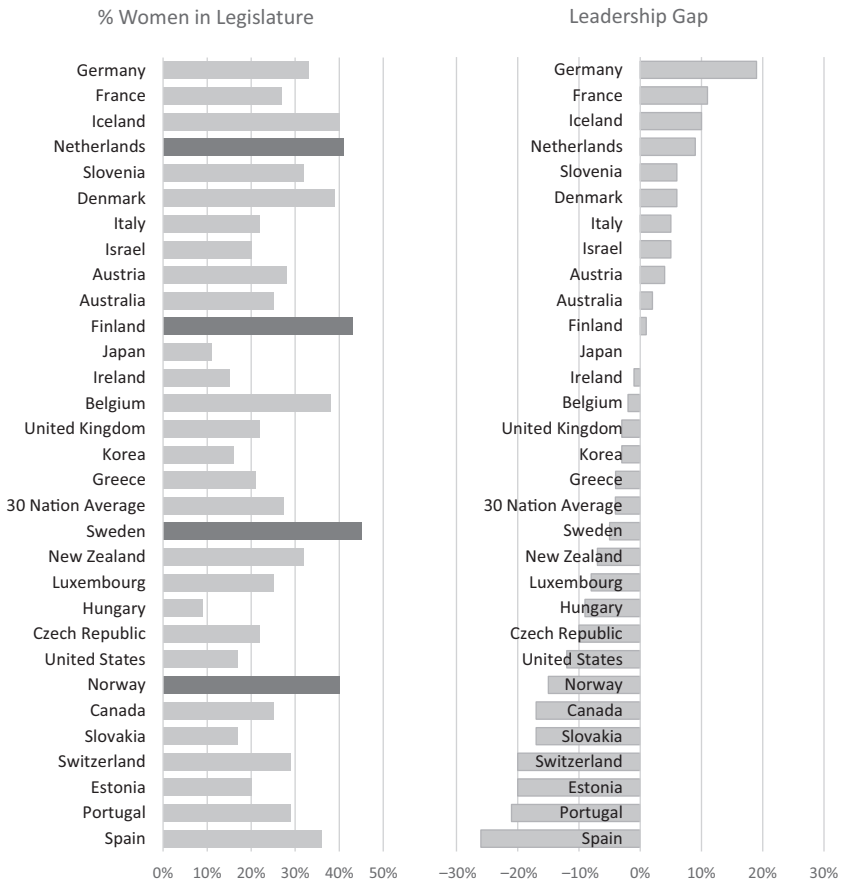


Fig. 8.4 The gap in women's committee leadership as compared to the overall percent of women in legislature

that hold a committee chair position in each nation and the percent of women elected in that legislature. These can be contrasted with the panel on the left which displays the corresponding percent of women in legislature. There is no correlation between the two ($r=.18$). The four nations with the highest percent of women in legislature (dark bars) do not have the most women in leadership or vice versa. On average, women tend to be less well represented in leadership than in the legislature, but this varies

enormously across the sample. In a surprising change based on historical patterns, Germany is at the top, where women hold 52% of all chair positions, 19% over parity. France, Iceland, and the Netherlands trail a bit, but have 11–9% more women as chairs than we might expect. Many of these nations come close to parity, but relatively large gaps among the bottom eight nations skew the distribution. These results demonstrate that patterns of leadership parity found in some case studies are not generalizable to a larger sample.

CONCLUSION: LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES AND WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

In many ways the study of gendered institutions is growing in its global reach. Given the variety of case studies that have focused on this subject across nations, patterns begin to emerge (Mackay and Waylen 2014; Acker 1990). These patterns fit with many of our theoretical assumptions but challenge others (Mackay 2014; Britton and Logan 2008). As this work progresses, it can benefit from taking a more explicitly global approach. This will help in consolidating findings, discovering whether patterns are generalizable, and understanding which variables in institutions matter most in shaping the path toward gender equality and women's political empowerment. More case studies are needed in the non-democratic and less wealthy nations, as the bulk of the evidence does focus on democratic and wealthy nations. A global approach can encourage scholars across disciplines to collaborate and further enrich our knowledge. With such insights scholars may be able to come together to develop global datasets which can be used by scholars and policy-makers worldwide.

In my limited analysis of 30 democracies I find that gendered patterns hold, such that men are in financial, defense, and resource-oriented committees and women are in social, health, and education committees. Nevertheless variation suggested that committees dealing with similar issues are not always tilted toward men and women and that men are given a broader latitude in the type of committees they specialize in. Women's specialization in social committees is not a given, and overrepresentation varies markedly across the nations. This does not depend on how many women a nation elects. Women are often, but not always, underrepresented in leadership positions, and again the proportion of women in the legislature does not predict this outcome. The findings suggest limited

utility for a purely individual-level view of committee differences, and show that patterns vary dramatically across institutional settings and in the patterns they reflect regarding women's and men's equal empowerment in legislature. Unfortunately, these data could not examine change over time. My prior historical work in three nations suggests that countries have very different trajectories and that electing more women cannot guarantee more equitable empowerment for women in committees (Bolzendahl 2014). Future research should aim to study changes over time and globally to more fully understand institutional/organizational change and its implications for women's political empowerment. Finally, more work is needed to understand the contours of substantive power over particular issues in these nations. Research on the US committee system highlights the differential function and prestige associated with committee membership (Deering and Smith 1997), and should be extended to better understand why and how gender segregation matters for women's political empowerment.

Given the theoretical and methodological diversity in frameworks of gendered institutions, broadening this work at the global level will be a serious challenge. Working in this area will require moving toward shared definitions of gender, institutions, organizations, politics, and governance. Even within my own focus on elites within legislatures, it is difficult to fully capture all levels of institutionalization. Work on gendered organization/institutions/regimes identifies important influences across symbolic, interactional, and formal rules and experiences. Understanding the diversity of legislators' place within these different forces is difficult and any global approach will necessarily be limited. It will be important to accurately understand the organization of legislatures and their internal rules in order to accurately interpret any general patterns (Crewe 2014). Mobilizing resources toward these goals will take time, commitment, and money.

Despite challenges, the potential for interdisciplinary growth in the subfield of gendered institutions/organizations is exhilarating. Recognizing our abilities as scholars to cross lines of subfield, training, nationality, and methodology suggests a myriad of creative, compelling directions for work in this area. As we move forward with this area of research, it is an excellent time to evaluate the underlying theoretical and conceptual contributions of this area, and arrive at a shared understanding of gendered institutions.

NOTES

1. Australia; Austria; Belgium; Canada; Czech Republic; Denmark; Estonia; Finland; France; Germany; Greece; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland; Israel; Italy; Japan; Korea; Luxembourg; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Portugal; Slovakia; Slovenia; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; United Kingdom; United States. Data comes from coding committee rosters for all standing committees, available on each legislature's public website.
2. Data collection by Eulalie Laschever was funded by a grant from the Center for the Study of Democracy at the University of California, Irvine.

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The Empowerment of Women in Diplomacy

Ann Towns, Anne-Kathrin Kreft, and Birgitta Niklasson

Foreign affairs is a high-prestige area, offering individuals the potential for sustained “visibility and significant control over policy” (Krook and O’Brien 2011, 14). As such, it is perhaps not surprising that foreign affairs has been particularly resistant to the entry of women. When bans on women from holding public office and working as civil servants began to be lifted in Europe in the early part of the twentieth century, there were three notable exceptions: priesthood (in cases where there was no separation of church and state), the military, and diplomacy (Neumann 2012). Once women were allowed to enter the diplomatic career in an increasing number of states in the 1930s–1950s, a “marriage ban” was introduced, forcing women to choose between their careers and marriage. In Europe, these bans were not lifted until the 1970s (ibid).

At present, in many states around the world, there are no formal barriers to women serving as diplomats or negotiators. What is more, since the 1970s, women’s rights and women’s empowerment have steadily risen on the international agenda, promoted by women’s organizations, individual states and international organizations. Of particular concern to the field of diplomacy, the United Nations Security Council authorized its landmark

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resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2000. Calling for women's increased representation and participation in conflict resolution, peace operations and processes, and the political, economic, and social orders in postwar societies, the resolution intertwined gender and the "hard" realm of international security (Tryggestad 2009). With the historically masculinized bastions of high politics and security permeated by evolving international gender norms, the international system appears poised to become more gender-equal. But what does social science scholarship know about the status of women in international relations? How empowered are women in the realm of diplomacy?

The aim of this chapter is to answer these basic questions. We turn first to the issue of how diplomacy is to be defined. The bulk of this chapter then takes stock of how existing scholarship has addressed the question of the empowerment of women in diplomacy. As we show below, most of the scholarship falls within diplomatic history and explores the informal ways in which women have influenced and shaped diplomatic interactions and foreign policy historically. There are also a number of studies of individual Ministries of Foreign Affairs (MFAs) which chart the entry and positional status of women as well as the professional and organizational norms of the organizations. We then describe our unique cross-national dataset on gender and ambassador appointments, currently being compiled within our Gender and Diplomacy project. The chapter ends by outlining avenues for future research, pointing to the need for more cross-national data and comparative description and analyses. Only then can a more comprehensive portrayal of the empowerment of women in diplomacy emerge.

THE MANY FACES OF DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy encompasses those activities that serve the noncoercive enforcement of a state's (or, increasingly, an intergovernmental actor's) foreign policy objectives and may be carried out by diplomats, politicians, or private persons acting on behalf of a state (Berridge 2002). There are several types of state-driven diplomacy. The most common is conventional bilateral diplomacy via official embassies, that is, "formally accredited resident missions" (Berridge 2002, 105). Career diplomats, but also heads of government or other state representatives, may furthermore engage in multilateral diplomacy at conferences, summits, or within intergovernmental organizations (Berridge 2002, 146–167). Finally, career diplomats or other state representatives may be involved in mediation, that is,

multilateral diplomacy aimed at resolving (military) conflicts between parties highly distrustful of each other (Berridge 2002, 187–204). Diplomacy thus encompasses a number of practices and may involve career diplomats, politicians, or private individuals representing the state.

The complexity of diplomacy has opened up many avenues for analysis, including those from a gender perspective. In this chapter, we primarily focus on Ministries for Foreign Affairs (MFAs)—including their foreign embassies—and Foreign Service Officials. We thus do less to assess the role of women in international negotiation, as negotiations are often carried out by political appointees that are not career diplomats. Below, we provide a picture of the empowerment of women within formal diplomacy worldwide by taking stock of existing social science literature.

TOWARDS WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN DIPLOMACY

A multifaceted and evolving concept, women's empowerment is in most established definitions understood as a process of dismantling the power differential between men and women, centered around women's agency and self-determination (Mosedale 2005). Women's representation and active participation in politics and policy-making are an established indicator of, and means to, their (political) empowerment (United Nations Development Programme 2015). The presence of women in diplomatic positions is thus central as a first indicator of empowerment—it is difficult to envision women as empowered in a field if they are not present. Once present, a number of additional empowerment concerns emerge: what positions do female diplomats hold compared with male colleagues? How much power do they actually wield? What are the obstacles in the way of gender equality?

A fair amount of scholarship addresses these questions on women or gender and diplomacy. And the interest in the topic is on the rise, with a rapidly increasing body of work emerging. Almost all studies are qualitative in nature, focusing primarily on single national MFAs or individual women. Existing accounts of women in diplomacy furthermore largely fall into three categories. First, and most predominant, are diplomatic histories, which outline the active roles women have taken in diplomacy for centuries. Some of these histories take the form of biographies, while others scrutinize developments that occurred in more narrow spatiotemporal contexts. A second strand in the literature covers predominantly descriptive case studies of individual MFAs, which provide thick descriptions of

women's entry into formal diplomacy and contemporary diplomatic practice through a gender lens. More recent work has, thirdly, made attempts at theory-building and explanation of the causes and effects of an increase of women in diplomacy. Most of these accounts are still focused on individual foreign ministries, but they are often (implicitly) considered as representative of a larger universe of cases. Very few studies have approached the question of gendered diplomacy and women in diplomacy from a more comparative perspective. The following subsections discuss each of these three strands in the literature in greater depth. The discussion will then turn to the few existing larger datasets and quantitative analyses, before the concluding discussion of promising avenues ahead.

Diplomatic History

Women have not enjoyed formal access to twentieth-century diplomacy for very long. Much of the scholarship thus takes as its point of departure the absence of women from formal diplomacy, to either show the important informal influences of women on diplomatic interactions or to show that elite women used to occasionally serve formal diplomatic roles prior to the nineteenth century. By tracing the historical roots of women in diplomacy, scholars showcase that women's diplomatic involvement is not a new phenomenon at all. Indeed, the advent of women's involvement in diplomatic activities predates their auxiliary roles as diplomat wives in the context of mid-twentieth-century diplomatic relations by several centuries.

It is clear from many historical studies that women have served important roles in diplomacy for a very long time. Becker-Piriou (2008) discusses the role of women both as pawns or objects and as active agents of Roman-barbarian diplomacy as early as the fifth century. In fact, before the formal bans on women from holding state office that spread in Europe and elsewhere in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Towns 2010), women were sometimes appointed ambassadors and served as diplomatic negotiators. Tischer (2001) focuses on one of the earliest formally appointed female ambassadors: that of Renée du Bec-Crespin, Countess of Guébriant, to Poland in 1645. A new edited volume by Sluga and James (2016) sketches women's diplomatic engagement across Western societies from the 1500s until today, which simultaneously contrasts with and is circumscribed by the legal and cultural constraints predominant in different periods. The contributions draw attention to the manifold ways in

which women have engaged in diplomacy and negotiation, both behind the scenes as diplomatic wives and in their own right, beginning with a study of elite women's foray into the political and diplomatic circles of Renaissance Italy (James 2016).

This literature primarily elucidates the behind-the-scenes influence of women on foreign relations and negotiations between states, often backed by extensive original source material. In this vein, Bastian's (2013) monograph covers early eighteenth-century Spain and France, examining in depth how two educated, elite women—Françoise d'Aubigné, Madame de Maintenon and wife of Louis XIV, and Marie-Anne de la Trémoille, Princesse des Ursins—influenced diplomatic relations between the two countries. The author complements a wealth of written correspondence between the two women with cross-border archival research. Similarly, Dade (2010) provides the reader with an in-depth analysis of how Madame de Pompadour, royal mistress at Versailles, influenced external relations as one of Louis XIV's closest advisors in mid-eighteenth-century France. Studying the same epoch, Hanotin (2014) scrutinizes the informal, behind-the-scenes but consequential roles women played in diplomatic negotiations with Spain at the French embassy in Madrid. Likewise, Mori (2015) details the prominent albeit informal role diplomatic wives—elite and aristocratic women—played at the British embassy in France from 1815 to 1841, leaving their personal imprint upon the conduct of diplomacy and influencing social politics. Finally, Daybell (2011) dissects women's influence—through their informal but substantial roles in the gathering and distribution of news—on male-dominated formal intelligence and diplomatic endeavors in Elizabethan England.

More recent accounts have analyzed the role of women in diplomacy in twentieth-century Europe and North America. This includes a brief overview that traces women's expanding roles in the US State Department and debates about the role of women in the US foreign service from 1900 to 1940 (Wood 2015), a history of women's formal and informal roles in Canadian foreign affairs from 1909 until 2009 (Hughes 2010), an analysis of the actors and issues in the 1919–1946 campaign to allow women equal access to the British foreign service (McCarthy 2009), and a short professional biography of Frances E. Willis, the first US career diplomat who became chief of mission in 1953 (Nash 2002).

An edited volume on women in twentieth-century international relations includes five chapters dedicated to how women were represented in and helped shape foreign policy and diplomacy in different cultural

contexts and societies (Delaunay and Denéchère 2006). Another, focusing specifically on China and Pacific relations, includes several chapters providing evaluative profiles of women foreign policy-makers, practitioner accounts, and a history of diplomatic wives and women in diplomacy in China (Roberts and He 2007). A spatiotemporally more comprehensive edited volume examines the construction of gender in foreign policy and the relative importance of gender compared to other socioeconomic characteristics in different cultural contexts from the late Middle Ages until the twentieth century (Bastian et al. 2014). Like most of the other historical accounts, the contributions dissect the role of women in both informal and formal diplomacy, as wives of diplomats, aristocrats and important actors in royal dynasties, in clerical positions and eventually as career diplomats.

The importance of the diplomat wife has been of interest to a number of scholars (Biltekin 2016; Enloe 2014; Hickman 1999). As Enloe has argued, “the diplomatic wife seems a fixture of international politics” (2014, 182). Enloe (2014) illustrates the fight of US diplomatic wives for recognition of the roles they played as hostesses, that is, as informal facilitators of diplomatic interactions, as volunteers, and as sounding boards for their husbands. Arguing that the role of a diplomatic wife was almost equivalent to a profession, they demanded compensation, their own careers and pensions. Simultaneously, some of the few high-ranking women in the diplomatic service mobilized and pressured the State Department to make changes to the legal status of women, both as career diplomats and as diplomatic wives. The combined efforts of women diplomats and diplomatic wives have produced a number of changes, such as lifting the ban on married women to serve as diplomats in 1972, revisions of the Foreign Service entrance examinations to be less gender-biased, and the recognition of diplomatic wives as autonomous individuals entitled to their own professional autonomy. Parallel patterns of diplomatic wives’ mobilization and articulation of claims for recognition and autonomy, resulting in some legal and procedural changes, have been identified in Great Britain (Hickman 1999) and Sweden in the second half of the twentieth century (Biltekin 2016).

In sum and read together, these studies show that women did serve as formal diplomats and ambassadors prior to the nineteenth century. Such appointments were unusual, but they were not so uncommon as to raise a stir. More often, women influenced diplomacy informally, relying on their roles as mothers, sisters, daughters, wives, lovers, or friends to gather and

convey information, spread gossip and disinformation, or other ways to influence those in formal positions. While not state officials, elite women with access to those in power nonetheless had multiple means to affect outcomes. The diplomatic wife was in turn institutionalized and central to twentieth-century diplomacy, and yet her labor was unpaid and the centrality of her work unrecognized in conventional diplomacy scholarship.

It is noteworthy, and encouraging for the study of gender and diplomacy, that most of this literature was written in the past 10 years. Clearly, shining light on women's previously hidden and disregarded roles in diplomacy is emerging as a research priority for an increasing number of scholars. In contrast to studies with an interest in finding explanations for women's marginalization in diplomacy, however, many of these historic accounts are published in languages other than English. While linguistic diversity in academia is naturally desirable, it also limits the accessibility of many well-researched and detail-rich accounts to a broader audience.

Case Studies of Individual Foreign Offices

A second strand of research in the existing gender and diplomacy literature takes the form of in-depth case studies of individual foreign ministries (MFAs). Some of these adopt a more historical, genealogical account, while others focus on the present situation, working heavily with profiles of diplomats. Several are limited exclusively to the role and influence of women, whereas others treat gender as one factor in a foreign service's genealogy or profile. The geographical range of these studies is unfortunately small, limited primarily to North America, northern Europe, and Australia. Much work remains to be done to understand gender in the emergence and development of Foreign Service and diplomacy in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

One of the first comprehensive, gender-sensitive accounts of a foreign ministry was Calkin's (1977, 1978) 311-page history of women in the US foreign service from 1800 until the 1970s. Subdivided into different epochs, it paints a nuanced picture of women's diverse roles and experiences as diplomatic wives and unofficial employees, formal applicants to the Foreign Service, and as career diplomats. This examination takes place under consideration of the US societal and institutional response to women in the Foreign Service at different points in time, showcasing how women's admission into the Foreign Service as diplomats—especially in higher-ranking position—was slow and reluctant throughout the mid-1970s.

Two other books have also examined the role of women in US foreign affairs. Jeffreys-Jones (1995) analyzes the influence of women on US foreign policy from 1917 to 1994. As there were no women in leading positions in foreign policy-making in that period, he focuses on the indirect channels through which individual women and group actors left their imprint on foreign policy decision-making: within the foreign service and as representatives in Congress, and via civil society activism, public opinion, and lobbying. The most conspicuous gender difference is that women throughout the period under study were on average more supportive of peace than men. McGlen and Sarkees (1991, 1993, 2001) examine both the impacts of the foreign policy process on women and women's influence on foreign policy within US State and Defense Departments, studying societal, organizational, and individual factors. They conclude that societal and organizational restrictions for women and persistent discrimination negatively affect women's representation and standing in the US foreign policy apparatus. At the same time, despite gender gaps in foreign policy attitudes in the general electorate, they find only minor differences in foreign policy beliefs, attitudes towards the foreign policy-making process and in management styles between men and women in the US State Department.

The German, Swedish, and Norwegian foreign services have also been studied in some depth. A collection of more than 50 (autobiographical) profiles of "pioneer" women in the foreign services of the different German states from 1919 until the end of the twentieth century outlines the entry of women into the foreign service, their careers as diplomats, the challenges they faced and how they overcame them (Müller and Scheidemann 2000). Lagging behind other Western and Latin American states, the German Foreign Service began to slowly open its doors to women only after World War II and experienced low representation of women for decades to come. A prominent theme in the volume is thus the scarcity of women in high-ranking positions in the German diplomatic realm (while women cluster heavily in the administrative positions) and the difficulty for women to ascend through the ranks. Klingvall and Ström (2010) provide a similar collection of profiles of women in the Swedish Foreign Service, an MFA which recently has seen much higher numbers of women in top positions of the organization.

Based on three and a half years of ethnographic research in the Norwegian foreign ministry, Neumann (2012) wrote a detailed and historically grounded account of the diplomat's work and how diplomats

understand this work. Dedicating a chapter to questions of class and gender within the Foreign Service, he traces the history of the female diplomat and examines how women have perceived and constructed their identities as diplomats. Three different masculinity and femininity scripts, respectively, have emerged over time that both challenge and reproduce existing classed and gendered hierarchies within the Norwegian MFA. He finds that only one of the scripts—that of the traditional bourgeois, male civil servant—lives up to the full realization of the diplomatic profession as it is commonly conceived (Neumann 2008).

All of these accounts are qualitative in nature, relying on historical analysis (Calkin 1977, 1978), ethnographic research (Neumann 2008, 2012), surveys and interviews (Jeffreys-Jones 1995; McGlen and Sarkees 1991, 1993, 2001), or (autobiographical) portraits of individuals (Klingvall and Winai Ström 2010; Müller and Scheidemann 2000). A case study of a different kind is currently underway about the Brazilian Foreign Service. Rogério de Souza Farias (University of Chicago, Center for Latin American Studies) is compiling a database that contains information on Brazilian diplomats from 1889 to 2010. Currently comprising 2601 entries, it will include data on diplomatic networks, socioeconomic background—including gender—and career and posting details for diplomats, consuls, and home office employees. When data collection and initial analyses are complete, the database will be made available to the public. This data will enable quantitative analyses and thus new ways to address questions about gender and diplomacy.

As with the diplomatic histories discussed in the previous section, some of the case studies (Klingvall and Winai Ström 2010; Müller and Scheidemann 2000; Niskanen and Nyberg 2009) have been published in languages other than English. While it is perfectly sensible for studies of a country's Foreign Service to be published in the national language, translations into English would make the data and analyses accessible to a broader audience of scholars and practitioners. If we want to move towards more comparative analyses, translations are necessary.

Towards Theory, Explanation, and Comparison

A third strand in the literature moves towards explanation and theory-building. Scholarly works falling into this category systematically address questions of gender and diplomacy, primarily the causes and consequences of women's underrepresentation in formal diplomacy. These studies are

less exploratory than those by Jeffreys-Jones (1995) or McGlen and Sarkees (1991, 1993, 2001), taking the lack of women in international diplomacy as the starting point for, and explanandum in, their analyses.

The first set of case studies identifies the causes of women's enduring underrepresentation in foreign services and in foreign policy-making in different countries and settings. Seeking to gain a deeper understanding of the persistent gender hierarchy within diplomacy and how it holds women back, Rahman (2011) examines the UK as an exemplary case. While she identifies a series of legal changes that have enhanced women's access to the Foreign Service, patriarchal values and difficulties of reconciling work and family remain major obstacles for women. Conley Tyler et al. (2014) make similar observations regarding the Australian Foreign Service. In their biography-based investigation of women's underrepresentation in senior positions, they identify three types of formal and informal barriers facing women: direct and indirect gender discrimination, traditional gender norms, and obstacles to work-life balance. Likewise, Linse's (2004) study of 11 international women stationed in Minsk, ranging from secretary to deputy head of mission, concludes that chauvinism, working cultures that perpetuate higher expectations for women, and obstacles to balancing work and family constitute the major challenges for women in the diplomatic service. Jogan and Bozovic (2009), finally, attribute women's lower levels of representation in the male-dominated sphere of diplomacy to historical gender inequality.

Three studies conducted in the Canadian context move from the causes of women's underrepresentation in diplomacy to their policy-related consequences. In her investigation of the Canadian Department of External Affairs during the Mulroney era (1984–1993), Sjolander (2001) finds that although the number of women has increased compared to previous administrations, merely adding women without “stirring,” that is, without distributing them across the range of thematic foreign policy areas, is insufficient. In particular in the area of trade policy, Canadian foreign policy positions in that period did not adequately take account of women, their unique situations and their interests. In a similar vein, Keeble and Smith (2001) conclude that the mismatch between Canada's ostensibly feminist foreign policy (compared to other states) and the simultaneous underrepresentation of women signifies a failure to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment at home. In a follow-up to her first study, Sjolander (2005) argues 4 years later that despite the growing Canadian commitment to gender mainstreaming internationally and nationally,

women cannot gain full equality in the Foreign Service unless the gendered nature of the Canadian MFA is recognized and the persisting ideal of the male diplomat with stay-at-home spouse changes.

The rather bleak outlook on women's representation and roles in diplomacy is not shared by all, however. Two studies identify a positive trend and derive a more (cautiously) optimistic outlook from changing patterns within foreign ministries and international diplomacy. Before the turn of the millennium, Scott and Rexford (1997) identified an upward trend in their analysis of women's roles in foreign policy during the Bush and Clinton administrations while acknowledging that women's underrepresentation in the foreign policy machinery generally, and in higher-level positions in particular, continues to be a problem. The authors attribute the overtime increase in women in diplomacy to the interplay of partisan and individual ideology; societal dynamics (including women's movements and changing gender roles); executive and legislative initiatives; as well as changing dynamics in the international system. Rossetti's (2015) more recent study of international women diplomats registered in Australia paints an even more optimistic picture. Applying feminist neo-institutional theory to examine how transforming diplomatic practice affects women's agency, she finds that women diplomats do not feel marginalized and are actively shaping diplomatic practice by organizing informally and by increasingly engaging in public diplomacy.

While some of the above studies are comparative in that they examine the experiences of women diplomats hailing from different states but stationed in the same location (Linse 2004; Rossetti 2015), only one study to date has adopted a decidedly comparative, cross-national approach. Bashevkin (2014) explores the representation and role of women foreign policy decision-makers in ten industrialized states from the mid-1970s until 2011. She finds an increase over time in women's legislative representation, foreign aid spending on women's programs, and expenditure for gender equality programs. As the quantitative data are analyzed purely descriptively and the number of countries surveyed small, the analysis is neither comprehensive nor does it allow causal inference of any kind. In combination with an analysis of foreign policy rhetoric of representatives from the three most "gender-equitable" states, however, it provides a useful exploratory cross-national insight into the field of women in international affairs.

In sum, this more explanatory strand in the literature on women and diplomacy establishes that women continue to face a number of challenges and obstacles in international diplomacy. These patterns persist across

contexts and extend to ostensibly gender-equal and feminist states like Canada or Norway. Different scholars identify a positive trend towards greater women's representation in foreign services and foreign ministries, although others are more cautious about the gender equality-enhancing potentials of these transformations. While in combination the different case studies help paint a cohesive picture, cross-national comparisons, mappings, and analyses are—with one exception (Bashevkin 2014)—found wanting in the literature. Quantitative data is, accordingly, scarce.

Diplomatic Women in Numbers

Some quantitative data exists for individual foreign services or for specific locations. For Australia, Rossetti (2015, 299) provides an overview of the gender breakdown of foreign representatives in 2013, indicating that women made up 19% of representatives from African states, 13% from Asian-Pacific, 14% from Eastern European, 30% from Latin American and Caribbean, and 20% from Western European and other states. Scott and Rexford (1997) aggregate statistics from different sources to provide a detailed comparison of the George H.W. Bush and Clinton administrations in the USA. Most interestingly, the data reveal that the share of women increased from 5% to 11% among senior foreign policy-makers, from 17.2% to 24.6% among middle, and from 21.6% to 28.2% among junior foreign policy-makers between the Bush and Clinton administrations (p. 36). They list all the different positions in the foreign policy hierarchies occupied by women in both administrations (p. 40–46). In the Foreign Service, the share of women in junior positions declined from 42.3% to 34.7% from 1960 until 1989, while the shares in the middle and senior ranks increased from 11.1 to 20.4 and from 1.6% to 6.9% respectively (p. 35) at the same time.

Müller (2000, 29–31) in Müller and Scheidemann (2000) provides a list of all 42 women who headed German diplomatic missions from 1953 until 2000 (there were no women heading missions during the Weimar Republic or the Third Reich). It is noteworthy that 20 of these 42 held doctoral degrees and four appear to be of aristocratic descent, indicating that these positions were open primarily to highly educated women and possibly upper-class women in the studied period. With the exception of one placement in New York (Dr. Margarethe Bitter in 1953–1956) and one in Brussels (Dr. Renate Finke-Osiander 1986–1990), women's placements were also outside the international “power hubs.” A second

table reveals that between 1950 and 2000, the share of women entering diplomatic training for career diplomats was below 30% in every year except one (41.4% in 1998), with a maximum of 12.5% prior to 1982 (in the years 1954, 1963, and 1967). In six years (1958, 1959, 1961, 1968, 1969, and 1975), no women entered diplomatic training in the German foreign service at all (Müller 2000, 32–33). Similarly, Li (2007, 169–171) in Roberts and He (2007) provides a list of all 44 women who served as ambassadors in 55 postings in 41 states for the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 2006. All of these postings were to relatively small and politically less powerful states.

Women and Diplomacy: Cross-National Data Collection

The studies discussed above each provide numbers of men and women in different positions of individual MFAs. Gathering such data is a laborious task, sometimes particularly so since the information is difficult to access. Using these individual case studies, one can put together a more comprehensive picture of the empowerment of women in diplomacy around the world. However, the case studies are still very few and do not provide enough data to draw more general conclusions.

In an attempt to move beyond single case studies, Towns and Niklasson have begun the work of putting together a cross-national database on gender and ambassador appointments. To date, the database includes almost 7000 appointments made in 2014 by the 50 states with the strongest economies. On average, these states make 96 ambassador appointments, varying between 165 (China) and 33 (Singapore). As a comparison, Comoros, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, and Tuvalu, only appoint an average of four ambassadors each. The 50 strongest economies are thus the states that can afford to make the great majority of ambassador appointments. The aim is to add a number of additional years to the database, to enable comparisons over time, before the database is made public.

One journal article has been published from this project to date (Towns and Niklasson 2016). In it, Towns and Niklasson draw on the database to ask some fundamental questions about where women and men are positioned in diplomacy. The article shows that the overall share of female ambassadors is still glaringly low at 15%. However, the share varies considerably regionally and among states. Not surprisingly, the Nordic countries appoint most female ambassadors (35% on average), in sharp contrast to the Middle East (6%) and Asia (10%). North America (25%) and South

America (18%) fell somewhere in between. Regional patterns do not tell the whole story either, however. For instance, 41% of Philippine ambassadors are women, almost as many as the Finnish ones (44%) and nearly twice as many as Denmark (22%). Russia, as a part of Europe, appoints almost no women at all (1%). South Africa (27%) and Colombia (28%) are other exceptions worth highlighting.

The main question addressed in the article concerns whether women tend to cluster in ambassadorships of lesser power and clout while remaining underrepresented in status positions. Status ambassadorships were defined as those in states of higher economic or military might, and ambassadorships were divided into five status categories. The results, whether looking at the economic or military status of the receiving country, consistently point in the same direction: female ambassadors are less likely than male ones to be appointed to states with the highest military or economic status. Interestingly, the pattern is not gradual but rather takes a glass ceiling form. Female ambassadors are not particularly overrepresented among the lower status postings.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION: CURRENT GAPS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The existing literature has made a number of important contributions to our understanding of the empowerment of women in diplomacy. First, the diplomatic history strand illustrates that and how women have affected diplomatic relations for centuries, either informally as wives or consultants or in formal positions. These accounts showcase both how women's roles and influence are often omitted from official records and how societal and institutional factors have placed restrictions on women seeking a career in diplomacy. Second, the case studies of individual foreign ministries or foreign services are rich in detail and tell the history of women in diplomacy in a more cohesive and comprehensive manner. These accounts trace institutional and organizational-cultural change over time while simultaneously calling attention to the barriers that women in diplomacy still face across national borders. Third, more recent work seeking explanation, building theory, and employing comparison moves beyond description. Studies falling into this strand examine more systematically the causes, and in some instances the consequences, of women's persistent underrepresentation and limited influence compared to men and make recommendations for their elimination.

What is lacking, however, is systematic cross-country description and analysis. Quantitative data on the representation and responsibilities of women in individual national foreign services, let alone in a cross-sectional manner, are extremely scarce. How many women serve as career and appointed diplomats in each state, relative to men? How have these numbers developed over time, both within countries and globally? To what extent do patterns differ across different levels in the diplomatic hierarchy? In order to determine to what extent the patterns of underrepresentation identified in individual case studies hold across states and contexts, a comprehensive mapping of the state of women in international diplomacy would offer valuable insight. This requires collecting a wealth of quantitative data across time and space. Cross-country data on women's representation at the junior, middle, and senior levels and on the types of postings women hold appears to be a precondition for future explanatory studies.

Once spatiotemporal data on women in diplomacy are collected, the field can move more systematically towards causal analysis. The factors undermining women's entry into or advancement in diplomacy that have been identified in different case studies—such as patriarchal organizational culture, formal and informal discrimination, and regulations impeding work-family balance—could then be scrutinized in cross-sectional analyses. What institutional or cultural conditions, for example, make the existence and salience of which obstacles more likely? What institutional changes in what kinds of settings are most promising to enhance women's descriptive and substantive representation in diplomacy? Another avenue for future research would then, of course, be studies investigating the consequences of higher women's involvement in diplomacy on foreign policy outcomes or on the outcomes of negotiations. What factors intersect with the share of women in the Foreign Service to explain more women-oriented or feminist foreign policies?

Naturally, these questions cannot be answered based on numbers alone. Qualitative data collection in the form of interviews or participant observation, similar to the work conducted by Neumann (2008, 2012), will constitute a necessary complement to quantitative data. Gaining deep insight into the workings of MFAs and diplomatic practice, especially if guided by theoretical expectations derived from the existing literature and cross-national patterns, will allow the examination of underlying mechanisms. Do women perceive diplomacy to be gendered, and if so, in what ways? How does day-to-day diplomatic practice constitute and perpetuate diplomacy as a gendered institution? How effectively are women challenging

gendered practices, both formally and informally, and in what ways? There are clearly many questions that still need to be addressed to get a better understanding of the empowerment of women in diplomacy. Our hope is that more scholars will turn their attention to this important arena.

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Measuring Women's Judicial Empowerment as Part of Political Empowerment

Sally J. Kenney

Scholars, activists, and nonprofit organizations measuring women's political empowerment have consistently ignored women's participation in the judiciary, overlooking the third branch of government. The worldwide expansion of judicial power makes omitting the percentage of women judges from indices of women's political representation particularly surprising. In many states in the United States, such as Louisiana, voters elect judges in partisan elections; citizens of other states vote for judges in non-partisan elections or vote whether to retain judges in offices.¹ Judges determine the meaning of legal guarantees of equality. Legislation for women's rights upon the dissolution of marriage, requirements of nondiscrimination in employment, citizenship, or inheritance, guarantees of reproductive freedom, protections against intimate partner violence, or prohibitions against rape as a war crime matter little without a judiciary willing to apply the law. Judges have enormous power to imprison (to order death), to award custody, to determine social reality, to frame meaning, and to declare social norms. Whether countries classify them as civil servants as in civil law systems or select them from experienced legal

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practitioners as in common law countries, judges embody legal rationality and state power. Robed and sometimes wigged, almost always physically raised above those whose fate lies in their hands, judges symbolize power much as commanders in chief do. It is no surprise that the exclusion of women from juries was one of the last sex-based classifications the US Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional (*Hoyt v. Florida*, 368 U.S. 57 [1961]), nor that women began to serve on the highest appellate courts long after they joined national legislatures. Women sitting in judgment over men and women is one very significant form of political empowerment.

Securing women's full representation in the judiciary in and of itself will neither end patriarchy nor guarantee women's rights. Women are not a homogenous group; nor do all women support women's equality or agree on what that entails. Social scientific evidence has not consistently supported the position that women judges decide cases differently from men in favor of women's equality (Kenney 2013a). As Baroness Brenda Hale, the highest ranking woman jurist in the United Kingdom wrote, "The issue is not whether women's presence makes a difference, but what their absence means."² Now that women undergo legal training at the same rate as men, norms of nondiscrimination in employment and democratic ideas about citizenship make it increasingly difficult to justify their profound underrepresentation (Kenney 2004).

WHAT ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S JUDICIAL EMPOWERMENT SHOULD WE MEASURE?

We should measure and track the number and percentage of women in all judicial offices. We have made some progress in tracking women state court judges in the United States (<http://gavelgap.org>) and women on the highest appellate courts cross-nationally (Arrington et al. 2016; Escobar-Lemmon et al. 2016; Gill 2007; Grossman 2012; Grossman 2016; Thames and Williams 2013; UN Women 2011; Vauchez 2015; Williams and Thames 2007). We should also carefully monitor not only overall changes, such as the drop from 15% to 7% of women appointed to federal courts when President Reagan succeeded President Carter or from 29% to 22% when President Bush succeeded President Clinton, but also what I call reversals—when men replace women in individual judicial positions—for example, when Samuel Alito succeeded Sandra Day O'Connor

on the US Supreme Court. We should also track when courts who have had women judges serve on them suddenly have none, or when the majority changes, and whether women hold leadership positions.

Because of the difficulty in collecting data, we do not have good cross-national data beyond the highest appellate court in most countries or states. Nor do we have good data over time as opposed to snapshots. We know that women's representation in the judiciary is not a function of their representation in the legal profession; no natural progression exists, rather women make gains and lose ground and we see enormous variation despite steady increases in the pool of qualified women. We also know that the courts do not function as a recruitment pyramid any more than local offices such as mayor or city councilor do for higher legislative and executive offices (Kenney et al. 2009; Thomas 2009). Women's representation at higher courts is not a function of their representation at lower courts. They will not naturally or automatically work their way up the system in some fixed proportion to their representation on lower courts.

Women can also serve in large numbers on higher courts without comparable representation at lower levels. We need to disaggregate data, not only to see which women serve, but also to see if women are concentrated at lower levels. Data in France show that women are overrepresented at the lower levels of the judiciary but underrepresented on the highest appellate or constitutional courts (Beoigel 2013). The overrepresentation of African-American women on lower courts in Orleans Parish, Louisiana, if aggregated with state-wide data, makes it seem that women and minority men are doing better at lower levels of the judiciary in the state than they are—instead, progress is mostly seen in the two largest cities rather than the rural areas (Shomade and Kenney 2016). In Egypt, despite one high-profile appointment at the Constitutional Court, women are concentrated at the lowest level. Moreover, it may be more difficult for women at lower levels than men to move up; men and women may have different paths to higher office. It is hard to imagine, for example, a woman who has never held political office being elected president of the United States. In common law countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Kenya, men may be selected for high judicial office from private practice more easily than women while women labor away at the lowest levels of the judiciary with little chance of promotion. We should study whether the path to promotion is different for men and women and whether

women need significantly higher qualifications or years of service to move up compared with men.

Such objective baseline measures are only the beginning. Women face many gender-based obstacles in the judicial selection process some of which, such as the length of time to confirmation or likelihood of confirmation, are measurable. Other gender-based obstacles require qualitative analysis. Double standards and double binds abound. Selectors may question women but not men about who will care for their children while they serve, ask probing questions about marital or childless status, or question their competence, temperament, political activities, capacity for fairness, or ability to move a docket. Systems may segregate women into certain areas of practice (such as family law) while only selecting judges from other more prestigious areas of practice (such as appellate judging or commercial practice). Women who hold leadership positions in the judiciary may face especially hostile colleagues who covet their positions, believe it is their turn, and resent being “beaten by a girl” or having a woman “boss.”

Women routinely fail to enjoy the deference men enjoy from colleagues and litigants simply for holding the office. Women face numerous challenges to their authority from refusals of counsel and litigants to use judicial titles when speaking to them (calling women Mrs. rather than Your Honor), interrupting them (sometimes their own colleagues do so during oral argument [Feldman 2016]), or confusing women judges with each other (O'Connor for Ginsburg) while being able to differentiate men judges. I hypothesize that women judges face more challenges to their impartiality evidenced by motions to recuse, although we have only anecdotal evidence because we do not collect data on these motions in the United States. Women who breach ethical standards suffer harsher criticism from journalists, colleagues, and the legal profession and receive harsher punishments (Kennedy et al. 2015). We need more research on the role of gender in judicial elections and retention elections. Women may need more money in judicial offices to be successful and incumbency may give women less of an electoral advantage than men (Reid 2010). Women candidates who have served as public defenders as well as judges who have struck down convictions face heightened scrutiny as lacking toughness and being soft on crime, a gender-based stereotype.

WHY IS THIS AREA OF RESEARCH ON WOMEN JUDGES IMPORTANT IN MOVING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT FORWARD?

Exploring gender as a process in the judicial branch contributes significantly to understanding backlashes against women wielding power. Whether it is father's rights groups facing a women-dominated family law bench in France (Bessiere and Mill 2013) or Senators outraged at the idea of a wise Latina woman (Kenney 2014), we need a more sophisticated understanding of backlash. To understand women's political empowerment we must understand gender as a process that occurs within institutions (Kenney 1996). Notions of rationality, impartiality, and empathy are deeply gendered. Women leaders of judicial institutions face a unique cluster of double binds and double standards.

The judicial branch is also a good vantage point for understanding the importance of outsiders holding judges accountable, making judicial politics visible, "lobbying" the courts through litigation and *amicus curiae* briefs, and pressuring other branches to amend laws or select different judges. Just as legal guarantees of equality matter little unless they are implemented, having a diverse judiciary is necessary but not sufficient. Instead, an organized and vigilant women's movement must continue to be active (Arat 2000). Women's groups were particularly successful during the Carter Administration at working with the White House Counsel on judicial appointments. Similarly, women's organizations in Minnesota made having a woman on the Supreme Court a priority and banded together to ensure she stayed there when faced with three male opponents in the next election. Women social scientists partnered with judges to produce state and circuit taskforce reports on gender bias in the judiciary in the 1980s. In the United States, too, women's groups ensure that their positions are before the courts by bringing litigation and filing *amicus curiae* briefs in cases in which they are not a party (Kenney 1992).

In Hennepin County, Minnesota, and Houston, Texas (Ford 2010), groups of local women have formed court monitoring organizations (modeled on Mothers Against Drunk Driving) to hold judges accountable on cases of violence against women or, in the case of New Orleans, simply to hold them accountable for showing up for work and clearing their dockets.³ In the Eighth Circuit of the US federal system (the least gender

diverse of all the circuits), women's groups came together to form the Infinity Project to advocate for equal justice under law and a more representative bench. During the Obama Administration, progressive groups came together under the moniker Why Courts Matter to press the US Senate to confirm President Obama's diverse and representative nominees and to educate citizens on why the composition of the federal courts matters.⁴ Studying these partnerships shows that women's empowerment increases more rapidly, has a greater impact on women's equality, and is more sustainable and less subject to reversals when a coalition of women's groups inside and outside of government are linked together. Such efforts are not confined to the developed world; instead we see activism to increase the number of women judges in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Studying women's judicial empowerment also reveals how complex the relationship is between the rules of the game and women's representation. Choosing judges from a narrow pool of candidates, for example, only those who are Queen's Counsel in the United Kingdom or judges on the federal appellate courts in the US, ensures that the pools will include few women or minority men and make it difficult to diversify the judiciary. On the other hand, merely changing the selection system from so-called merit to election, or from a "tap-on-the-shoulder" system to judicial nominating commission is insufficient to guarantee a more diverse and representative judiciary (Kenney 2013a, Malleon 2003; Malleon 2009; Malleon 2010) without a commitment to gender balance and training on implicit bias in selection processes (Kenney 2013a). Leaving selection exclusively to judges or granting a vetting monopoly to the legal profession has hindered judicial diversity unless a clear mandate and/or quota requires gender balance. We know for example that men judges have opposed the addition of women members to their bench (Florence Allen [Kenney 2010]; Kenney 2013a, 140). When judges do the choosing, as they do for magistrate judges in the federal system, the judges are half as diverse as when the President picks judges and the Senate confirms. We also know, from our case studies in Egypt, as well as data from the UK and the European Court of Justice, that leaving the selection process in the hands of judges exclusively or predominately leads to a less diverse outcome. Nor is it sufficient to add women to the group of selectors. In fact, evidence from Spain suggests that having women on panels leads them to inflate qualifications of men candidates (Bagues and Esteve-Volart 2010). As the Brennan Center found, selectors need to see them-

selves as active recruiters rather than passive vetters if they are going to change the composition of the bench to make it more diverse (Torres-Spelliscy, et al. 2010).

Studying women's judicial representation comparatively, within and between countries as well as within supranational institutions such as the International Criminal Court (Chappell 2010; Frey 2004), shows how adaptive women are in developing strategies that fit their political culture, even those cultures that seem to have built-in headwinds to women's equality. When you are talking about relatively rare events—the selection of a woman as a chief executive or the appointment of a woman on a country or state's highest appellate court—one may fall into the pattern of seeing women's exclusion as overdetermined. We should instead look precisely at the particularities of individual cases and movements rather than simply declaring some polities as backward or impossible. Moreover, we need to count women, to be sure, monitor setbacks and reversals, yes, and use sex as a variable when we can, but to truly understand the role of gender we need to understand gender as a process and develop more nimbleness in looking at individual cases. We need to draw on the burgeoning field of social psychology and leadership to help understand women's slow ascent in judicial positions. Studies have repeatedly shown how implicit bias works when examining women leaders and how women are penalized if they are not more collaborative than men (Eagly and Carli 2007). The so-called Goldberg test, used in many different settings, proves that both men and women evaluators rate an identical piece of writing, *c.v.*, record, idea, or presentation, more favorably when it comes from a man (Bertrand and Duflo 2016). Women may be harsher on other women than men (Genn 2012). A study of three sets of evaluators found that evaluators redefined the criteria for success at the job as requiring the specific credentials that a candidate of the desired gender happened to have (Uhlmann and Cohen 2005). Evaluators of both sexes are likely to see women leaders as less competent than men, and if they see them as competent, they are not likeable, while men are both (Eagly and Carli 2007; Huston 2016).

CASE STUDIES: EGYPT, KENYA, AND LOUISIANA

To illustrate the contributions, understanding gender and judicial politics can add to an understanding of women's political empowerment, I consider briefly three case studies, Egypt, Kenya, and the state of Louisiana.

Egypt

Only about 80 women out of 12,000 judges serve in Egypt. The only countries that rank lower have zero, as Egypt did prior to 2003. (Out of 20 Arab countries, 17 permit women to be judges: Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Qatar, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. No women are allowed to be judges in Mauritania, Oman, and Saudi Arabia [Ammar 2003, 81 n10; Hamad 2016, 16]). The sacking of the Minister of Justice Ahmed al-Zend for his flippant remark that he would gladly jail journalists who broke the law, even the Prophet Mohammed himself (AFP 2016), nearly scuttled the long-planned conference “Towards Equal Opportunity and Eliminating Discrimination Against Women in the Administration of Justice” sponsored by UN Women and held in Cairo on March 22–25, 2016 (Kenney 2016). That the second part of his comment rather than the first led to his ouster and a cabinet reshuffle speaks volumes about politics in Egypt. When the Muslim Brotherhood came to power in 2012, women largely disappeared from the Egyptian Parliament (IPU 2012, 7), rolling back their modest gains stemming from the introduction of Parliamentary quotas following the Arab Spring.

In Egypt, as in France, judges are career civil servants chosen to be judges through examination after receiving an undergraduate degree in law. Women make up half of all law school graduates and have worked as lawyers since the 1930s (Messieh and Gaber 2015). In 2003, Tahani al-Gebali was appointed Egypt’s first woman judge, following senior Justice Ministry officials’ study tour to Morocco where women have been part of the judiciary since 1961 (USAID 2017). Al-Gebali served on the bench of the Supreme Constitutional Court until 2012. In 2007, 31 women were selected to serve as judges on family courts, 42 total (Human Rights Watch 2010). Twenty-six more were sworn in in 2015 (Dalia G 2015). Popular opinion, among men and women, runs against having women serve with more than 70% of women and more than 80% of men against (Hamad 2016, 27).

The Constitution’s clear legal mandate of nondiscrimination held little sway with the Supreme Council of Judges, 88% of whom in 2009 voted against admitting women to the Supreme Constitutional Court. Civil society organizations mobilized to secure a fatwa by the Mufti of the Republic, Dr. ShawquiAllam, to clarify that Sharia law did not preclude women from serving as judges (Abol-Qomsan 2013). In January 2014,

Shaimaa Adel filed a lawsuit when the State Council refused to give her an application for a judgeship. The State Council considered filing a counter-suit and accused her of bad manners.

Women left nothing to chance in drafting a new constitution. Unlike Kenya, Egypt's 2014 constitution did not call for a quota of women in high judicial office but did, thanks to the persistent efforts of women on the drafting committee, include Article 11 which specifies more than a general guarantee of equal treatment. It states: "The state shall ensure the right of women to hold public and senior management posts of the state and ensure the appointment of women in the judicial bodies and authorities with no discrimination against them."

Egyptian feminists are well aware of the distinction between law on the books and law in action; the challenge is now to implement the constitutional mandate. At the opening panel of the international conference, stepping in for the deposed minister of justice, the current head of the Judges Supreme Council and Court of Cassation stated boldly that the Judges Council had erred: women *should* be judges he said. His bold declaration delighted the conference attendees. Less welcome were his off-the-cuff remarks that women needed to take whatever postings they were given, even if they had to move their families to the rural areas, and needed to show up on time, which, he observed, they had not done for this conference.⁵ The French Justice Minister drew from the same script excusing his country's poor record of women in high judicial office in Argentina nearly 10 years ago when he pronounced to a group of women judges who had traveled to Argentina from across Latin America and a group of women scholars from around the world that women will not travel or accept postings away from home.

The Egyptian women judges, parliamentarians, NGOs, and activists present were organized, prepared, and determined. They had studied the various possibilities for an equality commission carefully and had honed their list of recommendations to include national and international legal norms, drawing on the experience of Arab countries. They cultivated male allies in the professoriate, media, nonprofit community, government, and judiciary. Despite the hopefulness and progress, the path to democratization in Egypt will not be an easy one. Popular support for the Muslim Brotherhood, high rates of illiteracy, worsening economic indicators, and threats to tourism from violence all bode ill for the future of women's rights in Egypt.

State of Louisiana, United States

Louisiana, which typically competes with Mississippi for last place on all measures of equality for women, is similar in some respects to Egypt, which also huddles near the bottom of the equality chart even among Arab countries (Egyptian Streets 2015; World Economic Forum 2015). Louisiana ranks last among the states for its representation of women in its state legislature, with only 15.3% of women in both chambers (CAWP 2015; O'Donoghue 2015) yet women do relatively well in state judicial office where judges are elected by partisan election, running in the middle of the pack of states at 31.6% (George and Yoon 2016; Shomade and Kenney 2016). Former US Senator Mary Landrieu ensured that the President appointed women to open federal judgeships, and the first African-American woman Supreme Court chief justice, Bernette Johnson, now serves succeeding Catherine (Kitty) Kimball, Louisiana's first woman chief justice. If advocates for women's representation and political scientists took more note of judicial elections, they would have to explain why the maxim that women cannot win in the South or hold leadership positions does not apply to judicial office. Just as Southern political culture need not preclude women from elective office, representatives from Tunisia and Lebanon who spoke at the Cairo conference made clear that Arab political culture need not necessarily exclude women who are well represented in other Arab countries.

On a cold, windy, February afternoon, those of us seated outside the Supreme Court Building and a statue of Edward Douglas White, former Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court who as an associate justice sided with the majority who found constitutional Homer Plessy's confinement to a colored rail car,⁶ watched as the first African-American woman to serve as Chief Justice was sworn into office. As Louisiana Attorney General Buddy Caldwell declared, "it was one for the annals [sic] of history." Among the windblown justices of the Louisiana Supreme Court sat the first woman chief justice, retiring Justice Kimball.⁷ No one at the celebration mentioned the hard-fought battle Chief Justice Johnson had fought to secure her position.

Since it adopted a new constitution in 1852, voters have elected judges in the state of Louisiana by partisan election.⁸ The seven justices of the Supreme Court run in electoral districts that divide the state rather than at large as in other states. Article V section 6 of the 1974 Louisiana Constitution requires that the senior justice serve as chief justice. While

scholars have found little evidence to support the proposition that the method of selection affects the numbers of women or minority men who serve as state supreme court justices (Kenney 2014), the method of selection does, however, affect whether women are likely to serve as chief (Kenney and Windett 2012). Those states that select their chiefs by seniority are more likely to have a woman serving than those where the Governor appoints, citizens elect, or members of the court choose.

Voters elected Judge Johnson to a seat on the Court of Appeal for the Fourth Circuit and she was assigned to sit on the Louisiana Supreme Court pursuant to an order signed by Chief Justice Pascal under a consent decree in a federal Voting Rights Act case (*Chisom v. Roemer*, 501 U.S. 380 [1991]). She took her seat on the Louisiana Supreme Court on October 31, 1994, and Justice Victory took office 2 months later on January 1, 1995, after voters elected him to fill the vacant seat on the Supreme Court. She was the second African-American to ever sit on the Court. From the outset, the Court needed to ascertain which justice had seniority for administrative purposes. It took the position that Justice Johnson held seniority but attempted to reserve judgment on the issue of which justice was senior for purposes of succession.

When Chief Justice Kimball announced her retirement, Justice Jeffrey P. Victory asserted that Justice Johnson's service on the Supreme Court should not count toward her seniority for chief, and the six other white justices, including Chief Justice Kimball, agreed. According to Johnson, Kimball told her to wait her turn and let Victory and another justice, Jeannette Knoll, have a turn as chief before their terms expired (Grace 2012). Chief Justice Kimball invited her colleagues (excepting Justice Johnson) to meet and vote on who should be the next chief. In July of 2012, Justice Johnson filed a federal lawsuit and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund filed an *amicus curiae* brief (*Times-Picayune Editorial*, 2012). The event divided the New Orleans legal community. That year, the Red Mass (so-called because robes of that hue are worn to mark the start of the judicial year) divided into separate white and black churches (Gill 2012). Senator Landrieu, the Mayor, the *New York Times* ("Bayou Blues" 2012), the *Times-Picayune*, and others editorialized in favor of Johnson. Federal District Judge Susie Morgan ruled clearly that Justice Johnson's time on the Court counted toward her seniority under the consent decree (*Chisom v. Jindal*, 890 F. Supp 2d 696 [E.D. La 2012]).

The Louisiana Supreme Court, without Justices Johnson, Victory, and Knoll who recused themselves, but with three appeal court judges, ruled that the decision was theirs under the Louisiana Constitution. They insisted that “gender, geography, personality, philosophy, political affiliation, and race” did not provide so much as “a feather’s weight” on the scales of justice (*In re: Office of Chief Justice, Louisiana Supreme Court*, 2012, 3). As one reporter opined, although the justices said “all’s well that ends well” and “no one has been deprived of anything,” he answered, “unless you’re talking of respect. They deprived Johnson of that even as the public was losing respect for them” (DeBerry 2012).

Gender solidarity failed to cross racial lines to create solidarity on the Louisiana Supreme Court. An objective rule that should be easy to apply does not apply when it is an African-American woman’s turn. Curiously, some in the legal community blame Johnson for the acrimony, saying her taking the matter to federal court inflamed the issue. When race, gender, and leadership intersect, women of color fail to enjoy the positional power their office should automatically convey.

Kenya

Women have made enormous strides in the legal profession in Kenya since Kalpana Rawal, a woman of Indian descent, became the first woman to practice law in 1978, especially when one considers how colonial rule circumscribed education for girls and legal education for Africans (Kamau 2013). The 2010 Constitution in Kenya calls for equality, nondiscrimination, and affirmative action for marginalized groups, expressly including women in that group. Article 27(8) requires 1/3 representation of women in public offices. A Judicial Selection Commission (JSC) chooses judges and so “for the first time in Kenya’s history, judicial appointments have been conducted using a public, competitive, and transparent process” (Kamau 2013, 178). Like their counterparts in Egypt and Louisiana, women in Kenya have discovered that laws are not self-executing but instead require continuous vigilance and struggle to be effective. The first Supreme Court under the new Constitution included seven judges, two of whom were women. A former parliamentarian and advocate for women’s equality, Njoki Susanna Ndung’u, was one of the first five associate justices. The Federation of Women Lawyers unsuccessfully challenged this distribution as falling below the Constitution’s mandate of 1/3 (*Federation*

of *Women Lawyers (FIDA-Kenya) & Others v. Attorney General, Petition No 102 of 2011* [2011] eKLR). Women's groups have continued to make their case through the National Gender Commission, but two positions seem to be a ceiling rather than a floor. No woman has ever held the position of chief justice, although it does seem to be assumed that if the chief justice is a man, that the JSC will select a woman as deputy chief justice (Kadida 2013).

In just six short years, there seems to be a lot of turnover and controversy surrounding justices on the Supreme Court. The first woman deputy chief justice, Nancy Baraza, resigned after a constitutional tribunal recommended her removal from office following an altercation with a security guard (Matata 2012). Kalpana Rawal, who had done her legal studies in India and worked for the judge who would become India's chief justice, was one of nine original applicants for the position of chief justice, but came on the Court only later as deputy chief justice, the second woman to hold that office. As she had been appointed to the High Court under the previous constitution's retirement age of 74, she fought unsuccessfully to stay on the Supreme Court after she reached the new retirement age of 70 (#PanamaPapers 2017). Justice Mohamed Khadhar Ibrahim failed to pass his first vetting because of his case backlog (Maliti 2012), although a second vetting cleared him and Chief Justice Mutunga appointed him acting president until a new chief justice was named. That same vetting process ensnared Roselyn Nambuye (Nambuye 2012), the only woman in the final five the Commission considered for chief justice. Those concerns seemed to have swayed the JSC in passing her over for chief justice⁹ or to succeed Deputy Chief Justice Kalpana Rawal (Philomena Mwilu, from the Court of Appeal, was sworn in in October) or Justice Philip Tunoi (the Commission chose Isaac Lenaola, a High Court Judge, instead). Reports suggest that Mwilu's ethnicity (both Kamba and Kalenjin [Kiplagat 2016]) played a part. Judge Mwilu urged the JSC to increase the number of women on the Supreme Court to three during her interview (Moseti 2016).

From a distance, it is hard to do a careful gender analysis of the process. Some have suggested that a gender double standard operated in judging Justice Nancy Baraza's behavior more harshly than, say, the Governor of Nairobi County, Evans Kidero, who slapped a woman worker's representative on camera outside of his office with few repercussions.¹⁰ Were Ibrahim and Nambuye treated differently with respect to their case backlogs?

EXISTING AREAS OF STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS IN THIS SUBFIELD

One of the difficulties in studying women's judicial empowerment is that scholars are spread across many disciplines. Even within political science, scholars are divided between comparativists (and regionalists, like Europeanists, Latin Americanists, etc.), international relations, state and local, and public law, and no clear canon emerges. It is difficult for a legal academic in Australia, for example, to develop connections with a sociologist in Israel. Scholars tend to cluster both within countries and disciplines. In addition, many of those with stronger methodological skills in data collection or comparative methods who use sex as a variable are disconnected from feminist theorists, activists, and women judges themselves. Such scholars' understanding of gender as a social process and gendered institutions tends to be minimal if not deeply problematic. To begin to combat the first problem, we put together a Collaborative Research Network of more than 140 scholars from 17 countries.¹¹ That project was successful in solving the narrow problem that papers on gender and judging at annual Law & Society conferences were scattered among other panels rather than consolidated together and advertised as a track where interested parties could connect. Two special issues of journals ensued (Feenan 2009; Schultz 2008). Cofounder Ulrike Schultz brought together scholars for a symposium at Oñati that resulted in a significant edited book, *Gender and Judging* (Schultz and Shaw 2013), a worthy sequel to the important *Women in the World's Legal Professions* (Shaw and Schultz 2003). Members of the group convened workshops in London (Malleon and Russell 2006), Buenos Aires, and Brussels to continue the conversation.¹² An exciting new anthology has just been published by a group of younger scholars who focus on Africa (Bauer and Dawuni 2016).

The Infinity Project and Why Courts Matter have brought together judges and activists, but collaborations between organizations of women judges and social scientists are weak. Organizations such as the National Association of Women Judges in the United States and the International Association of Women Judges began as groups advocating for more women on the bench, but they have now moved on to other issues, such as training their membership on international treaty provisions, although individual national or regional groups may still focus on the selection of women as a priority, for example, in Egypt, Kenya, and South Africa, and perhaps Africa more generally.¹³ The two most effective general women's groups

advocating for more women judges in the United States have been the National Council of Jewish Women¹⁴ and the Women's Law Center.¹⁵ The Infinity Project has invigorated some of the state organizations of women lawyers, most impressively, North Dakota,¹⁶ but many state organizations are no longer active in advocating for more women judges as a core part of their missions. The larger Why Courts Matter coalition is reconsidering its strategy after the 2016 presidential election (Kenney 2017).

CONCLUSION

This volume defines women's political empowerment as a process rather than a discrete point. Judicial empowerment, then, would entail more than women holding half of all judgeships and leadership positions in the legal profession. Feminist judging is not the same thing as women's equal judicial representation.¹⁷ Given that political scientists have only partially succeeded in getting their colleagues to include the study of judges as part of political science, it is hardly surprising that the general public, too, lags behind in making the full inclusion of women in the judiciary a priority. We need to educate those who want a more gender equal world to pay more attention to the selection of judges and the importance of what they decide, to intervene as parties to litigation and *amicus curiae*, and to be better informed critics and observers. Unfortunately, the level of political knowledge required to do so is much higher than counting legislators, executives, or cabinet members. One of the most beneficial effects of the Why Courts Matter movement and The Infinity Project has been to extend knowledge about courts beyond a narrow swath of the legal profession to progressives more generally. Scholars need to come together to start to create reliable informational measures on judicial progress that are consistent across time, much as the Inter-Parliamentary Union keeps track of women legislators.¹⁸ I am hopeful that a future partnership between UN Women and the Newcomb College Institute will begin to make that possible. Such a project needs considerable resources to maintain. But we must do far more than knit together scholars and keep track of numbers, quotas or gender balance requirements, and troubling episodes. We need a *sustained* political movement to focus attention on courts. In the United States, such movements emerge in times of opportunity but disappear in times of threat. Will the Why Courts Matter coalition, for example, disband as the coalition of women's groups who advised President Carter did once President Reagan was elected? What will happen to The Infinity

Project? It seems improbable that US AID will continue to support the empowerment of women judges in the country of Georgia, for example, given that President-elect Trump already appeared to be interested in ferreting out any women's initiatives underway at the State Department (Rogin 2016). Few foundations have made focusing on courts a priority, other than the Open Society Foundation. Perhaps the one bright spot of the 2016 US presidential election and the retreat of the United States as an agent promoting women's equality worldwide will be that other countries and international bodies will step forward to take the lead.

NOTES

1. Governors appoint judges in very few states [<http://www.judicialselection.com>]
2. <https://www.supremecourt.uk/docs/speech-140627.pdf>
3. <http://www.courtwatchnola.org>
4. <https://whycourtsmatter.org>
5. It seemed to me that both men and women, as well as the conference planners, completely disregarded the printed conference start time.
6. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Douglass_White
7. Tragically, Kimball suffered a stroke in January 2010 only 1 year after she was sworn in as chief. She announced her retirement, effective January 31, 2013, long before her term would have expired.
8. http://www.lasc.org/about_the_court/history.asp
9. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-FnDhbDGJGI>, http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/10/10/nominated-dcj-philomena-mwilu-hailed-by-judges-as-valuable-team-player_c1435581
10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jp6XXkvsznA>
11. <http://www.lawandsociety.org/crn.html#32>
12. <http://droit-public.ulb.ac.be/event/lejugeestunefemme/>
13. <http://www.africanwomeninlaw.com>
14. http://www.ncjw.org/content_50.cfm?navID=248
15. <https://nwlc.org/issue/judicial-nominations/>
16. http://www.theinfinityproject.org/north_dakota.htm
17. <https://sites.temple.edu/usfeministjudgments/>
18. <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

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Women Cabinet Ministers in Highly Visible Posts and Empowerment of Women: Are the Two Related?

Tiffany D. Barnes and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson

Women in public office stand as symbols for other women, both enhancing their identification with the system and their ability to have influence within it. (Burrell 1996, 151)

Burrell, writing 20 years ago, contended that this positive payoff of having women role models in government “makes the election of women to public office important because, for so many years, they were excluded from power” (p. 151). In this chapter we explore whether the appointment of women to top posts in the executive branch may have more of a positive influence on levels of satisfaction and confidence with the government and beliefs of women’s ability to govern than the election of women to the legislature. Whereas previous research studying women’s elite inclusion

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and authority has focused primarily on women's access to national legislatures and cabinet posts more generally (Alexander et al. 2016), we contribute to the study of women's political empowerment by evaluating women's access to the most powerful and prestigious cabinet posts.

If symbolic representation of women in government is expected to empower women outside of government, we predict that symbolic representation in the form of women holding top posts—high visibility, high-prestige posts, and in particular posts that appear to be some of those with the thickest glass ceiling for women—will be associated with increases in beliefs that women can and should govern. In addition, as representation of women in government becomes more visible, because women hold high-ranking, high-prestige, traditionally masculine posts in the cabinet, this means that government projects an image of more diversity and broader inclusion about who can govern. We predict that this broader inclusion in high-profile posts will be associated with greater satisfaction with government, particularly on the part of women citizens. We explore these questions using survey data including countries from around the world, and by examining similar attitude measures to those used in previous studies, to learn whether a woman holding a high-profile cabinet post near the time of the survey influences attitudes and in particular attitudes that indicate empowerment of women.

Exploring whether the presence of women in top cabinet posts influences women's political empowerment as citizens is important for several reasons. First, representation of women in cabinets is increasing in many countries, though the expansion is still concentrated in stereotypically feminine policy areas (see Taylor-Robinson and Gleitz 2017). Women holding full cabinet-rank posts is important because cabinet ministers often control budgets and direct bureaucracies that are charged with implementing policies (policies that often impact women), and they often are a driving force in making policy. In contrast, in many countries the legislature and particularly backbenchers in the legislature receive far less attention from the mass public and often play a reactive role, if not a passive role, in policy-making (Cox and Morgenstern 2001). But beyond appointment of more women to any cabinet posts, appointment of women to high-prestige cabinet posts may be more likely to be noticed by the public (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016; Morgan and Buice 2013, 647). Morgan and Buice (2013, 656) write, "Because cabinet ministers have national platforms and broader influence, appointing a woman minister is a stronger elite cue than nominating women to run for

legislative office, and a woman minister's national stage enhances her ability to set a visible example, providing an opportunity to promote acceptance of women in leadership." We expect the symbolic effects of women in elite political posts on women's political empowerment as citizens to be even more likely when women are appointed to the most high-prestige or inner circle cabinet posts.¹ Appointment of women to high-prestige cabinet posts, while still rare, is becoming more common. Women presidents and prime ministers are the most high-profile government officials, but with only one such post in a country, it is still very rare that women are the chief executives. Although the importance of cabinet portfolios varies across countries,² identifying portfolios which are recognized as important and prestigious in most countries and on a global scale affords an opportunity to explore if a woman in a very prestigious and high-profile government post is related to empowered attitudes for women in that country.

WOMEN IN CABINETS—HOW MANY AND IN WHAT POSTS

Representation of women at top levels of the executive branch is expanding, but the expansion has been slow. It was a big step to move from zero women holding full cabinet-rank posts to a norm that the cabinet should contain one woman as, for example, Borrelli (2010) refers to there being a "woman's seat" in the US cabinet. Adoption of a norm that at least one woman is required has occurred at different times in different countries and parts of the world—for example, in the 1940s and 1950s in Scandinavian countries (Skard and Haavio-Mannila 1985, 78), but not until the late 1990s in Latin American countries (and then not in all countries) (Barnes and Jones 2011, 108; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005, 840; Luna et al. 2008). Cabinet posts are a limited resource, and many male politicians want those jobs (Lovenduski 1986, 3). Even in Scandinavia where substantial incorporation of women into the top levels of government began decades ago, scarcity of posts is still considered to be an obstacle women face for obtaining highly desirable cabinet seats (Leyenaar 2014, 13–14). Yet there are exceptions. A few presidents and prime ministers have named gender parity cabinets, defined as cabinets where women and men hold equal numbers of full cabinet-rank posts. More than 10 years have passed, for example, since the first gender parity cabinets in Latin America—that is, President Michelle Bachelet's cabinet in Chile and President Daniel Ortega's cabinet in Nicaragua. Most recently Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau

announced a gender parity cabinet (a cabinet that also reflected many other aspects of diversity in his country) when he took office in November of 2015. Other cases of gender parity cabinets have been seen in recent years in Bolivia (with the cabinet also reflecting ethnic diversity), Cape Verde, Chile, Finland, France, Grenade, Iceland, Nicaragua, Norway, Spain, and Sweden (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2014).

In addition to women's small numbers in full cabinet-rank posts, women are still typically seen in policy areas that are consistent with societal expectations about "appropriate" policy domains for women: policy areas related to hearth and home and care (Krook and O'Brien 2012; O'Brien et al. 2015). By contrast women remain largely excluded from more masculine arenas such as defense (Barnes and O'Brien 2017). According to a compilation of women ministers by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, as of January 2014 for 189 countries, women most commonly held social affairs portfolios (105 of 1096 portfolios), followed by 82 women in the family/children/youth/elderly portfolio, 78 women holding the environment/natural resources portfolio, 71 in the women's affairs/gender equality portfolio, and 69 women holding the education portfolio.³

Yet again there are exceptions, as some women have held high-prestige posts in the inner cabinet that fit masculine stereotypes for policy domains: defense, finance, foreign relations (Barnes and O'Brien 2017; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016). Thus, in this section, we explore women's political empowerment as elite actors (Alexander et al. 2016) by examining women's access to the most powerful cabinet posts. Figure 11.1 shows the number of women ministers in these three high-prestige posts aggregated by decade for each region of the world.⁴ These figures clearly indicate that appointment of women to these top posts is not the norm, but women's access to these posts has increased substantially over time. To begin with, prior to 1980 only 12 women were appointed to the foreign affairs ministry, 4 to finance, and 3 to defense. Even in the 1980s, women remained largely excluded from the inner circle—occupying only 7 foreign affairs portfolios, 12 finance portfolios, and 2 defense portfolios across the globe. The following two decades, women's access to the finance ministry increased more than fourfold, and women's appointments to foreign affairs and defense posts increased more than 6-fold and 12-fold, respectively. Although these appointments are still far from routine, as of 2016, almost 200 women had been appointed to the foreign affairs ministry, and 131 women were appointed to the finance ministry.

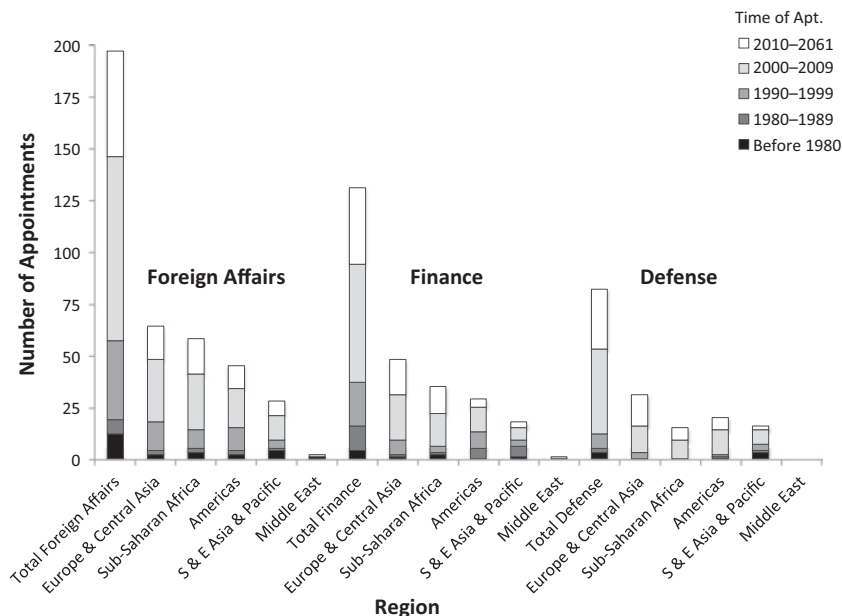


Fig. 11.1 Women ministers holding top cabinet posts worldwide

Women's access to the defense portfolio lags much further behind—with only 82 women having ever been appointed to this male-dominated bastion. As of today, women have held these important posts in every region of the world, except for the defense portfolio. Women remain excluded from the defense ministry in the Middle East.

To further illustrate this trend, Fig. 11.2 maps the appointment of women to these three prestigious posts across the globe. Figure 11.2 indicates that not only is the overall number of appointments to the foreign affairs ministry higher, but also more countries have appointed women to the foreign affairs ministry than to the finance or defense ministries posts. Moreover, there is huge geographical variation in women's access to the inner circle. Whereas leaders in some countries have never appointed a woman to any of these prestigious posts (e.g., numerous countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and the Middle East), leaders in other countries have appointed women to all three of these posts (e.g., multiple countries in South America, Western Europe, and Scandinavia). Further, whereas

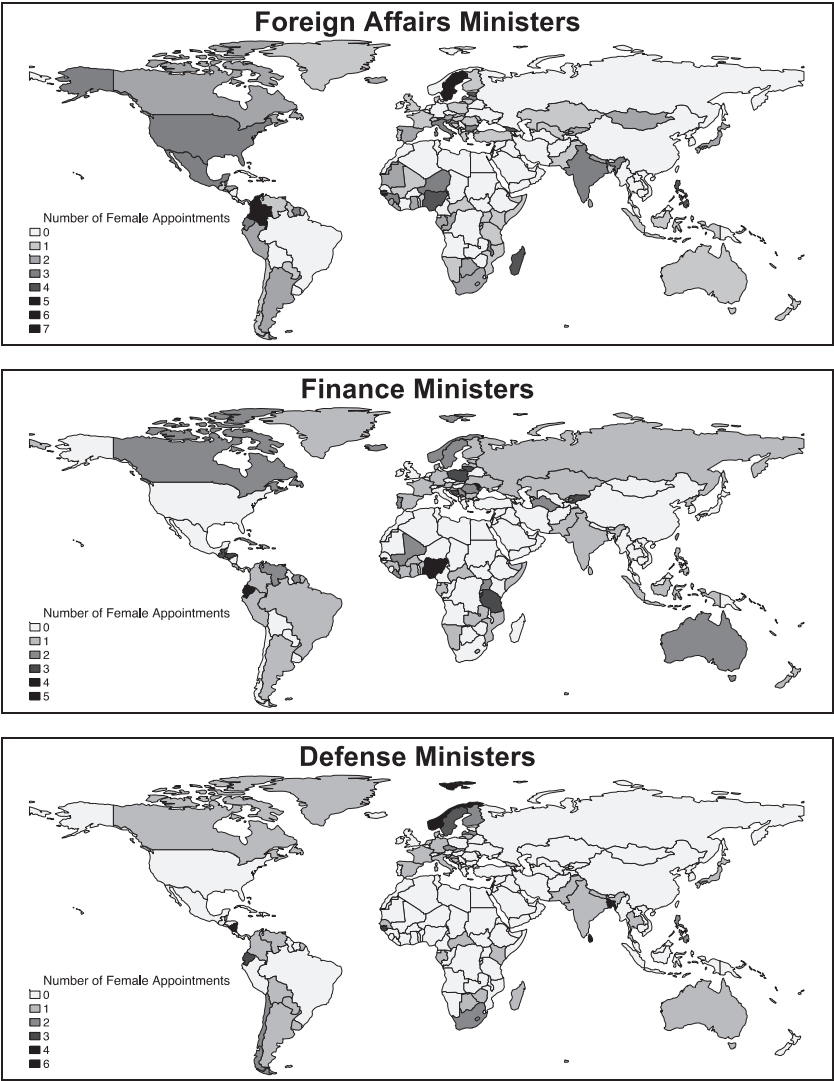


Fig. 11.2 Women's ministerial appointments to top cabinet posts around the world

women remain completely excluded from these powerful portfolios in some countries, in other countries, women have been repeatedly appointed to these positions of power. For example, six different women have held the foreign affairs portfolio in Sweden, five women have held the finance portfolio in Moldova, and six women have held the defense portfolio in Norway.

In this chapter we explore women's political empowerment in the cabinet, as well as the impact of this representation on women in society, using a select set of high-profile, typically masculinized portfolios as our lens. We focus on women holding defense, finance, or foreign policy portfolios because those posts are commonly part of the "inner circle" of cabinets (Dogan 1989).

The ministers who hold these posts represent their country in important international arenas, and these posts are often used by presidents and prime ministers to signal the policy tenor of their government (e.g., hawkish or dovish, a move toward or away from neoliberal economic policy). The defense ministry often oversees a large budget and personnel (Barnes and O'Brien 2017). The finance minister often has to approve policy initiatives by other ministers that require allocation of budget monies. The foreign minister is the global representative of the country.⁵ The literature about the US cabinet views these three posts, along with Attorney General, as the inner cabinet and describes the people who hold these posts as the close advisors of the president, while other cabinet secretaries often are viewed as quite distant from the president or may be appointed to "buffer" the president from constituencies who are unlikely to receive policy benefits during the administration (Borrelli 2002; Cronin 1975; Fenno 1959; Weisberg 1987; Wyszomirski 1989). As such, these high-prestige posts should be posts that male politicians desire, and thus should be particularly challenging for women to obtain, which makes the appointment of a woman to one of these posts a newsworthy event—and one particularly to attract extensive media attention, which, while putting performance pressure on the new woman to hold the post, should also increase the likelihood that people in the country are aware that women (actually a woman) are being placed in a very high-ranking, and likely unusual post, which is the mechanism that we expect to empower women in the country.⁶ For example, the media paid particular attention when Spain's President Zapatero appointed a woman minister of defense in 2008 and

she was photographed inspecting the troops during an advanced stage of her pregnancy. Thus, we focus on these high-prestige cabinet posts because they appear to still constitute a glass ceiling for women—rather like the top post of president or prime minister (Jalalzai 2008; Jalalzai and Krook 2010). As such, we want to explore if there is a particularly strong symbolic representation effect when a woman is appointed to such a post, and whether such appointments are associated with higher levels of satisfaction with and trust in government by women, or by increased acceptance in society of the capacity of women to govern and be viewed as political leaders.

EXPECTATIONS ABOUT REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

One of the outcomes anticipated from increased descriptive representation of women in government is that women and girls will perceive themselves to be politically empowered (Dovi 2002; Mansbridge 1999; Phillips 1995). As Paxton and Hughes (2007, 3) wrote, descriptive representation “symbolizes who is legitimated to make decisions in society.” Barnes and Burchard (2013, 770) explain that descriptive representation of women in government “actuates symbolic representation by sending a signal to the so-called ‘described’ that the political arena represents them and is receptive to their part ... the inclusion of women in politics at an elite level sends messages to women that politics is a woman’s game too (Burns et al., 2001; Carroll, 1994; Reingold, 2000).” Thus, an expectation is that women’s access to elected and appointed posts will foster higher levels of satisfaction with and confidence in government, particularly among women. But will this symbolic effect be actuated if citizens are not aware that women hold government posts?

Another way that inclusion of women in government may be related to empowerment of women in society is by changing attitudes about the capacity of women to govern. Throughout history leaders, especially political leaders, and even more so military leaders, have been men, and leadership is viewed as a masculine trait. Based on role congruity theory from psychology, people are expected to give more positive evaluations to leaders, or potential leaders, who fit their stereotypes about the leader role.⁷ Historically that has meant that people have only thought of men as leaders. But attitudes can change, particularly through exposure to women in leadership posts (Eagly and Karau 2002; Koenig et al. 2011). While the

first women to hold leadership posts may be viewed as odd, incongruous, or ill-fit for the job (see Mansbridge 1999, 648–649), with exposure to more women in government, and in particular to women in high-profile posts, people may also come to view women as capable leaders (Alexander 2012; Beaman et al. 2009; Diekmann et al. 2004; Eagly and Sczesny 2009; Kerevel and Atkeson 2015; Koenig et al. 2011; Sczesny et al. 2004). Thus, a second expectation is that when people can observe women in high-ranking posts, they will become more confident that women can be leaders and that both women and men can govern. This chapter is predicated on the assumption that when women hold the very top posts in the cabinet, citizens will be more likely to be aware of their appointment, and thus it is likely that the presence of those women in government will empower women, even if women holding other, lower-profile posts is not associated with a boost in confidence about government or change in opinions about who can govern.

As Schwindt-Bayer (2010, 155) wrote, “women’s representation may affect the way citizens, both men and women, feel about their democracies.” Satisfaction with the democratic regime may increase because seeing women in government sends the signal that the “government values representation and the participation of diverse groups” (p. 165). Schwindt-Bayer (2010, chapter 7) tests this expectation in Latin American countries with the percentage of women in the legislature as the measure of women’s presence in government. She finds that both men and women have greater satisfaction with government and greater trust in the legislature as women hold more seats in the legislature, though interestingly there is no impact on trust in the government overall. Karp and Banducci (2008) also examined whether increased representation of women in the legislature has a positive effect on attitudes, examining 35 countries from 2001 to 2006 with Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) data. They too found that more women in the legislature are associated with both men and women being more satisfied with the way government works (p. 112). Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) examined an “integrated model of representation” to study the combined impact of formal, descriptive, and substantive representation. To study how these different aspects of representation influence attitudes they used World Values Survey (WVS) data from the 1995–97 wave of surveys conducted in 31 countries, looking at confidence in the legislature. Their initial finding was that increased descriptive representation of women in the legislature is not significantly related to women’s confidence in the legislature (pp. 420–21). However,

they think that could be because women's representation needs to pass some numeric threshold and further analysis supported that explanation. Zetterberg (2009) examined the impact of gender quotas on women's trust in politicians and in the legislature, looking at Latin American countries. His study found no significant relationship between having a gender quota and the trust women citizens express in their politicians or political parties (p. 723).

The impact of representation of women in the legislature on attitudes has also been studied in the USA. Lawless (2004a), using National Election Study (NES) data from 1980 to 1998, and controlling for party congruence between the representative and the constituent, found "little evidence of the independent symbolic effect scholars typically ascribe to women's presence in Congress" (p. 82). Dolan (2006), also using NES data but from 1990 to 2004, controlling for the party of the candidate and the competitiveness of the election, found only "a limited effect" for "presence of a woman candidate" on the respondent's sense of political efficacy (p. 695). Atkeson and Carrillo (2007), also using NES data (1988–98), examined if women's attitudes about government responsiveness are affected by representation of women in the state legislature and/or by the presence of a woman governor. They found the effect on attitudes is positive. More women in the state legislature are associated with women viewing government as responsive (p. 92). A woman governor is associated with both women and men viewing government as responsive (p. 90).

Alexander (2012) examined whether there is a relationship between change in the percentage of women in the legislature and change in attitudes about the ability of women to govern (also see Alexander 2015). Using WVS data from 25 countries (mid-1990s to mid-2000s waves of the survey), she finds that "change in the percentage of women in parliament affects women's beliefs, but not men's beliefs" (p. 456). Morgan and Buice (2013) examined beliefs about the capacity of women to govern in Latin American countries, using the 2008 AmericasBarometer surveys for 19 countries. They found that representation of women in the legislature is not associated with how women are evaluated as governors. Male respondents, however, rate women's ability to govern more favorably when the percentage of women appointed to the cabinet increases, though they also show that support is transitory if political elites do not continue to appoint women to the cabinet.⁸ Alexander and Jalalzai (2016) examine

if a woman head of state or government (recent or current) impacts attitudes about the ability of women to govern, using WVS data (2011–14 wave). They find that the impact of a woman executive is conditional on the level of democracy in the country, with woman executives associated with more favorable evaluations of women’s ability to govern for countries in the low democracy category. Studying attitudes in the USA, Dolan (2010, 76) finds that a “majority of respondents (60%) have a baseline preference for a man candidate.”

Recently, scholars have started examining the symbolic effects of women’s cabinet appointments. Yet, here too, findings are mixed. Using wave 6 of the WVS, Liu and Banaszak (2017) find that increases in women’s numeric representation in the cabinet are associated with higher levels of conventional political participation, petition signing, demonstrations, and unconventional political participation among both women and men. Moreover, the relationship is stronger for women—thereby reducing the gender gap in political participation. Beauregard (2016), by contrast, uses the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems and finds less support for the expectation that women’s cabinet representation incites political participation among women. Beauregard demonstrates what whereas women’s representation in cabinet posts is associated with increases in both women’s and men’s propensity to participate in protest and to work with others, it is associated with decreases in other political activity such as voting (men only), political persuasion, campaign activity, and contacting politicians. Finally, using data from four waves of surveys from 2008 to 2014 from the AmericasBarometer survey, Barnes and Jones (2017) find that increases in women’s appointments to provincial cabinet posts in Argentina are associated with increases in the probability that women (but not men) constituents contact local level government officials. They do not, however, find that women’s representation in cabinets is associated with higher levels of trust in local governments.

Possibly these disparate findings can be attributed to the importance of posts held by women. Yes women’s representation in legislatures is increasing in many countries, but citizens may question how powerful those posts are, or they may even be unaware of the level of representation of women in their country’s national legislature (see Verge et al. 2015). Both Zetterberg (2009) and Morgan and Buice (2013) clarify in their theory that it is women’s presence in *visible posts* or *visible female players* that should have a positive impact on attitudes (also see Fridkin and Kenney

2015; Reingold and Harrell 2010). When women get into government, they are often not in the real centers of power (Putnam 1976, 33, 36; Liddle and Michielsens 2000). Cynically, we might think that it is easier for a country to pass a gender quota law if the legislature is not a major player in policy-making.⁹ If “the political opportunity structure in a country is consistently structured in a way that is gendered, getting more women into the legislature will not be sufficient to change outcomes; broader representation in more venues may be needed” (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2014, 238). Similarly, if the women appointed to the cabinet hold posts far from the president/prime minister’s agenda or with little budgetary power or policy-making autonomy, then the presence of a woman minister may go unnoticed by women or may send a signal that women are still not valued in politics.¹⁰

In this chapter we thus expand the study of women’s political empowerment by introducing a new measure of elite inclusion and authority (Alexander et al. 2016): *women’s access in top cabinet posts*. In doing so, we examine similar attitude measures to those used in previous studies, to learn whether a woman holding a high-profile cabinet post near the time of the survey influences attitudes. Based on expectations developed in the literature, in this chapter we begin to explore if the key to enhancing women’s empowerment is having women holding *top* government posts. We hypothesize:

- H1a: Both women and men will be more satisfied with government when a woman holds a high-profile cabinet post.
- H1b: Only women will be more satisfied with government when a woman holds a high-profile cabinet post.
- H2a: Both women and men will express greater confidence in government when a woman holds a high-profile cabinet post.
- H2b: Only women will express greater confidence in government when a woman holds a high-profile cabinet post.
- H3a: Both women and men will exhibit more favorable attitudes about the capacity of women to be political leaders in countries where a woman holds a high-profile cabinet post.
- H3b: Only women’s assessment of the capacity of women to be political leaders will be affected by a woman holding a high-profile cabinet post.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The first part of the chapter showed that it is becoming more common in more countries for a woman to hold one of the most visible and prestigious, as well as historically masculinized cabinet posts. In this section, we systematically examine whether women's access to top ministerial posts in a country enhances symbolic representation by fostering *satisfaction* with and *confidence* in government and cultivating *beliefs in women's ability to govern* (where higher values correspond to more satisfaction, confidence, and beliefs in women's ability to govern). Using WVS data from 58 countries across 6 waves of surveys from 1981 to 2014, for a total of more than 70 country-years (every country is not included in every wave), we investigate these three possible components of women's empowerment as three dependent variables (see the chapter appendix for operationalization and variable descriptions).

First, to assess whether or not a woman serving in a "top" ministerial post is associated with higher levels of satisfaction, confidence, and beliefs in women's ability to lead, we include a variable *Woman Holds Top Cabinet Post* which is coded 1 if a woman holds the foreign affairs, defense, or finance portfolio in a given country in the year before the survey was fielded (i.e., a 1-year lag). If women's presence in these top-ranking cabinet ministries is associated with an improvement in citizens' attitudes, we expect to observe a positive and significant coefficient for the *Woman Holds Top Cabinet Post* variable.

To evaluate if women's appointments to top ministerial posts are associated with both men's and women's political attitudes, we account for the *Sex* of the respondent (1 = woman; 0 = man) and an interaction between *Woman Holds Top Cabinet Post* and *Sex*. If women's presence in a top cabinet portfolio is associated with improved political attitudes among women only (or a larger improvement among women), we should observe a positive and significant coefficient on the interaction term. But, if women in elite political posts exerts a similar effect on both men's and women's responses, we should observe an insignificant coefficient on the interaction term. This test is crucial because the symbolic representation prediction—that seeing women in top posts in government will empower women outside of government—should only apply to women respondents. If men are also more likely to give positive evaluations to their government when a woman holds a top cabinet post, our results indicate

that a different mechanism—other than symbolic representation—is at work for men (and possibly women). For example, symbolic representation may foster higher levels of satisfaction and trust in the government among women, whereas elite cues may engender these attitudes among men (Morgan and Buice 2013). Nonetheless, we cannot empirically distinguish between these mechanisms with our analysis.

In addition to these key independent variables, we control for important country-level factors including the percentage of women in the legislature, the number of years since women were granted suffrage, and the level of democracy in each country. We also control for a battery of individual-level factors including respondents' ideology, political interest, sexist attitudes, and socioeconomic and demographic characteristics that are common in existing analyses in the literature and thus facilitate comparing our findings, with this new higher benchmark measure of where women are in the cabinet (i.e., high visibility, high-profile posts), to existing literature. Given the structure of our data (i.e., respondents are nested within country-years), we use a multilevel model (with random intercepts for the country-year) to estimate the relationship between women's access to top ministerial posts and men's and women's satisfaction with government, confidence in government, and beliefs in women's ability to lead. The results for these analyses are presented in Table 11.1 in Models 1, 2, and 3. We discuss the significance and magnitude of our findings below.

To begin with, we find that having a woman minister in a top cabinet post is positively and significantly associated with higher levels of satisfaction in government. Indeed respondents are almost twice as likely to report being "very satisfied" with the government when there is a woman defense, foreign affairs, or finance minister (see chapter appendix for predicted probabilities and discussion). Consistent with earlier studies regarding presence of women in the legislature (e.g., Karp and Banducci 2008; Schwindt-Bayer 2010), this relationship is not statistically different for men and women. Rather, the appointment of a woman to a prestigious cabinet portfolio is associated with an improvement in both men's *and* women's satisfaction with government. In sum, the results from Model 1 show strong support for Hypothesis 1a but not for Hypothesis 1b and thus indicate that women holding high visibility, high-profile cabinet posts is correlated with improvements in attitudes, but not that that

Table 11.1 Symbolic consequences of women holding high-ranking cabinet posts

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Confidence</i>	<i>Men are better leaders</i>
Woman (ref: man)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.52** (0.02)
Woman holds top cabinet post	0.51* (0.26)	0.47** (0.23)	0.07 (0.17)
Woman * woman holds top cabinet post	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)
Married	0.04** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Left ideology	0.05** (0.00)	0.05** (0.00)	-0.05** (0.00)
Age	-0.00** (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Education	-0.04** (0.00)	-0.05** (0.00)	0.06** (0.00)
Political interest	0.17** (0.01)	0.20** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Income	-0.01 (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Sexism motherhood	-0.10** (0.02)	-0.14** (0.02)	0.36** (0.02)
Sexism economy	0.06** (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.47** (0.02)
% Women in parliament	0.04** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)
Years since suffrage	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Democracy	-0.46** (0.22)	-0.73** (0.19)	0.47** (0.15)
Cut 1	-1.72** (0.35)	-1.82** (0.31)	-1.17** (0.25)
Cut 2	0.31 (0.35)	0.09 (0.31)	0.41* (0.25)
Cut 3	3.23** (0.35)	2.14** (0.31)	2.64** (0.25)
Random intercepts			
Country-level	0.31** (0.14)	0.32** (0.10)	0.20** (0.07)
Year-level	0.37** (0.11)	0.21** (0.06)	0.12** (0.04)
Observations	46962	47246	46902
Country-years	77	79	78

Standard errors in parentheses; * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$; two-tailed tests

change works through symbolic representation that empowers women but not men.

Next, with respect to Hypotheses 2a and 2b, the results reported in Model 2 show that women's access to powerful cabinet posts is also positively correlated with respondent's confidence in the government. Specifically, women ministers in top posts are associated with a 4% increase in the probability of respondents saying they have "a great deal" of confidence in their government and a 6% decrease in respondents saying that they have no confidence at all in the government. And it is important to underscore that again we see that this relationship is not significantly different for men and women respondents, and thus Hypothesis 2b is not supported. Both men and women exhibit higher levels of confidence in the government when women have recently held top positions in the cabinet—lending support for Hypothesis 2a.

Finally, turning to Model 3, we assess the extent to which the appointment of women to top cabinet posts is associated with improved assessments of women's ability to govern. In contrast to previous research that shows increases in women's numeric representation in the legislature or cabinets is associated with stronger beliefs in women's ability to govern (e.g., Alexander 2012, 2015; Morgan and Buice 2013), we do not find evidence that women's access to top cabinet posts augments perceptions of women in leadership. Future research needs to delve into the reasons why women holding high-profile posts in the cabinet would be associated with both men and women having greater satisfaction with or confidence in government, but not with improved evaluations of women's ability to govern. Possibly broader inclusion in the highest ranks of government promotes a sense of support for government through a signal that government is more broadly representative, but a survey question asking baldly whether men make better governors than women still primes traditional templates of leadership that leaders are men.

In addition to women in the cabinet exerting symbolic effects on citizens' attitudes, our analysis also shows a strong and consistent relationship between women's numeric representation in the legislature and satisfaction with government, confidence in government, and positive perceptions of women in leadership. This is interesting because previous research has reported mixed findings where women's numeric representation in the legislature is concerned. But, our global analysis of political

attitudes from 1981 to 2014 offers strong support for the long theorized relationship between women's legislative representation and improved perceptions of government and women's ability to lead. Together the results from our analysis indicate that *both* women's access to top cabinet portfolios and women's numeric representation in national legislatures may be instrumental in cultivating support in and confidence for government.

CONCLUSION

Less than three decades ago, women were conspicuously absent from three of the most powerful, prestigious, and high-profile cabinet portfolios: foreign affairs, finance, and defense. Access to the cabinet is imperative for women's political empowerment because ministers have control over how policy is administered within their purview and often have the capacity to influence policy within the area of their ministry, therefore impacting whose interests get represented via policy design, implementation, and policy outcomes. In this chapter we explore patterns of women's access to these prestigious posts. In doing so, we move the study of women's political empowerment forward by broadening both the vision and measure of women's elite inclusion and authority (Alexander et al. 2016). We find although women continue to be dramatically underrepresented in these important portfolios, the number of women's appointments has increased notably in recent decades. As of today, a woman has been appointed to the foreign affairs portfolio in over half of the countries in the world. Women are also gaining ground in the finance and defense ministries, as a woman has been appointed, at least once, to these portfolios in approximately 45% of countries and 30% of countries respectively. Moreover, women have been appointed to each of these portfolios in every region of the world, with one notable exception—that is, in the Middle East women remain wholly excluded from the defense portfolio (two women have been appointed to the foreign affairs portfolio [Israel in 1959 and 2006] and one woman has been appointed to the finance portfolio [Lebanon in 2009]).

We then theorize that women's increased access to these high-profile political posts may have important symbolic implications for women's attitudes toward the government and their perceptions of women's ability to

lead, and that it may also be related to men having positive attitudes toward government. Using WVS data from 58 countries from 1981 to 2014 (6 waves of surveys), we find that women's presence in top cabinet posts is positively associated with *both* women's and men's satisfaction with and confidence in government. Nonetheless, women's representation in high-profile cabinet posts is not associated with more positive evaluations of women's ability to lead. Together, these findings provide preliminary evidence that women's presence in highly visible cabinet portfolios may carry important symbolic effects, though it does not have as broad an impact as we hypothesized.

These findings have important implications for our understanding of how women's access to high-profile political posts in some countries may shape citizens' attitudes about the government. Just as women's continued exclusion from powerful posts may signal that government fails to achieve the basic principles of representation—thereby eroding satisfaction with and confidence in the government—our findings suggest the expansion of women's political empowerment into the upper echelons of government fosters confidence and satisfaction. Given these important implications for democracy, future research should further consider the symbolic effects of women's high-profile cabinet appointments in larger samples and across a broader range of political attitudes and also for participation/engagement in politics. Indeed, although the global scope of the WVS offers a major advantage, the survey includes less than a third of the world's countries. As women's access to high-profile portfolios remains limited—particularly the finance and defense portfolios—there are only a small number of countries in our sample where women occupied one of the three most coveted ministerial posts. Thus, future research needs to examine the generalizability of these findings. Another avenue for future research is whether women's appointment to top cabinet posts has an ongoing impact on satisfaction with and confidence in government or whether attitudes “reset” quickly if women do not continue to occupy visible posts. Further research is also needed to examine why appointment of women to high-prestige cabinet posts is, at least in this analysis, not associated with attitudes by either women or men that women are as able as men to be political leaders.

APPENDIX

Dependent Variables—Operationalization and Descriptive Statistics

Here we discuss the operationalization and variable descriptions for the dependent variables in our analyses. The first, *satisfied*, asks how satisfied respondents are with the people in national office. This variable ranges from 1 (very dissatisfied) to 4 (very satisfied) with a mean of 2.2. The second dependent variable, *confidence*, asks how much confidence respondents have in the government. Confidence ranges from 1 (none at all) to 4 (a great deal) with a mean of 2.3. Finally, the third dependent variable, *men lead*, asks respondents how strongly they agree with the statement that men make better political leaders than women. Men Lead ranges from 1 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree) with a mean of 2.7. Given that each of these dependent variables is measured on an ordinal scale (i.e., a 4-point scale), we estimate an ordered logistic regression for each of the dependent variables.

Findings: Predicted Probabilities and Discussion

Whereas our model predicts that 5% of respondents report being “very satisfied” with government when there is a female in a top cabinet post (and 41% are “satisfied”), only 3% of respondents report being “very satisfied” when these posts are all occupied by men (and 33% are “satisfied—an 8% point difference in cabinets with and without women in top posts). By contrast 14% report being “very unsatisfied” when a woman occupies one of the top posts compared to 21% when the posts all remain in the hands of men. In sum, the appointment of a woman to the defense, foreign affairs, or finance post is associated with a 2% increase in the probability of respondents saying they are “very satisfied” with the government and a 7% decrease in the probability of respondents saying they are “very unsatisfied” with the government. This relationship is not statistically different for men and women. Taken together results from Model 1 show strong support for Hypothesis 1a but not for Hypothesis 1b.

With respect to Hypotheses 2a and 2b, the results reported in Model 2 show that women's access to powerful cabinet posts is also positively correlated with respondent's confidence in the government. Whereas our model predicts that 14% of respondents report having "a great deal" of confidence in the government when there is a female in a top cabinet post, only 10% of respondents report having "a great deal" of confidence when these posts are all occupied by men. By contrast, 12% of respondents report having no confidence at all in the government when there is a woman in a top position compared to 18% when women are excluded from the top cabinet positions. Specifically, female ministers in top posts are associated with a 4% increase in the probability of respondents saying they have "a great deal" of confidence in their government and a 6% decrease in respondents saying that they have no confidence at all in the government. As before, we see that this relationship is not significantly different for male and female respondents, and thus Hypothesis 2b is not supported. Instead, both men and women exhibit higher levels of confidence in the government when women have recently held top positions in the cabinet—lending support for Hypothesis 2a.

NOTES

1. Inner circle cabinet posts is a term used in US politics to refer to the Defense, Finance, State, and Attorney General posts (Fenno 1959; Cronin 1975; Weisberg 1987; Wyszomirski 1989). Dogan (1989) also uses the term in regard to concentric circles of degrees of importance of cabinet posts in European governments.
2. The defense portfolio, for example, is more important in some countries than in others (Barnes and O'Brien 2017; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016). Thus, including a general measure of top cabinet posts that we apply to all countries, rather than a country-specific definition, biases our results toward the null—making it more difficult to find support for our hypotheses.
3. The health portfolio was held by 56 women, the same number of women has held the culture portfolio. More women held the labor portfolio (60) and the trade/industry portfolio (64) ("Women in Politics: 2014, situation as of January 2014, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014).
4. Female appointments to these posts are based on data in the Guide 2 Women Leaders database (<http://www.guide2womenleaders.com/>)

- women accessed January 30, 2016). We do not include temporary appointments. These data go back to 1929.
5. As another signal of the post's importance, in the USA the Secretary of State is in line to fill the presidency.
 6. It is important to clarify that the importance of the defense post is contested in comparative politics research. Scholars who study politics in Scandinavian countries, with their emphasis on social welfare politics, explain that the defense post is not a prime way to advance a politician's career, while social welfare posts are good for career advancement (Skjeie 1991). In European parliamentary systems, surveys of elites have been used to determine the prestige of various cabinet posts (see Druckman and Warwick 2005; Druckman and Roberts 2008).
 7. An extensive literature explores traits associated with masculine and feminine, as well as traits associated with leadership. See, for example, Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, b; Fridkin Kahn 1994; Heilman 2001; Sanbonmatsu 2002; Lawless 2004b; Banwart 2010; Dolan 2010; Schneider and Bos 2014; Dittmar 2015.
 8. See also Beaman et al. (2009) for positive but transitory impact of women in government on the attitudes of men. They study the impact of women holding the equivalent of mayor posts in India.
 9. In a study of 17 Latin American countries, Zetterberg (2009) concluded that adoption of a quota is not sufficient to increase political participation by women. Barnes and Burchard (2013, 783) also find in African countries that women's political participation is not increased simply with the adoption of a gender quota. That finding underscores the importance of the question of whether election of women via quotas helps to change societal attitudes about the capacity of women to govern. Further, Clayton (2015) shows that the adoption of quotas in Lesotho is associated with lower levels of women's political engagement in local politics.
 10. Annesley and Gains (2010) present an important argument about whether feminist ministers appointed in Britain have had access to the power and resources necessary to effect real policy change.

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Women Heads of State and Government

Farida Jalalzai

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on actors that have received relatively scant attention in the gender and politics scholarship—women heads of states and governments. While quantities of women executives have noticeably increased globally, academic focus primarily assesses women in parliaments (Alexander et al. 2016; Franceschet et al. 2012). Work examining women executives is growing but more prone to analyze cabinet ministers (Barnes and Taylor-Robinson 2017; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2009; Franceschet and Thomas 2015). Though women’s incorporation in parliaments and cabinets is important, examining women’s attainment of additional political posts, including presidencies and prime ministerships, paints a more comprehensive picture of empowerment through formal office holding. Moreover, some women presidents and prime ministers exert substantial political influence domestically and globally, ultimately empowering women in societies at large.

Globally, women still face obstacles to achieving political empowerment, defined here as “the enhancement of assets, capabilities, and

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achievements of women to gain equality to men in influencing and exercising political authority worldwide” (Alexander et al., Introduction). Through measuring women’s positional empowerment, or the degree to which women hold formal political posts wielding real power and influence, I focus on women prime ministers and presidents worldwide.

This chapter first provides a rationale for focusing more on women presidents and prime ministers given the current state of the gender and politics literature. It then presents trends related to women’s executive office holding such as the quantities of women leaders, paths and positions. An assessment of the potential impacts women presidents and prime ministers exert on women as a group follows. I argue that women executives further women’s political empowerment within the society as a whole and even on a global scale, through mechanisms related to their roles as policy makers, selectors, and symbols. I conclude by highlighting a number of opportunities for future research on measuring the political empowerment hastened by women executives.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INTEGRATING WOMEN PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS

The State of the Literature

Why does the gender and politics’ literature need to focus more on women executives generally and women presidents and prime ministers specifically? Most scholarship focusing on women in politics is research on women in parliaments (Alexander 2012, 2015; Celis et al. 2008; Franceschet et al. 2012; Hughes 2013). The focus on legislatures may be driven by greater quantities of cases of women in these institutions, availability of databases tracking the numbers of women legislators, and the closer connections scholars and practitioners tend to draw between democratic representation and legislative office (see Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012). When scholars consider women in executive positions, most often this is as cabinet ministers rather than as heads of state and government (Annesley 2015; Barnes and O’Brien 2017; Barnes and Taylor-Robinson, Chapter 10; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2009; Franceschet and Thomas 2015). Studies center on factors explaining higher percentages of women in the cabinet but also the types of portfolios women gain.

Research on women prime ministers and presidents is growing. This literature offers either cross-national comparisons of women's backgrounds and their ascension stories (Liswood 2007; Opfell 1992; Jalalzai 2004; Jensen 2008; Skard 2014) or case studies of the behavior of individual women once in power (Saint-Germain 2013; King 2002; Clemens 2006; Franceschet 2016; Hendersen 2013; Jalalzai and dos Santos 2015; Peña et al. 2012; Stevenson 2012; Staab 2016; Thomas 2016; Waylen 2016). Scholars often fail to connect individual paths and powers to broader comparative and regional dynamics and do not sufficiently unpack the political influence offered through these positions both domestically and internationally. My research agenda has attempted to fill this gap and views this exercise as critical to measuring women's political empowerment on a global scale.

My Contributions to the Literature

My contributions to the scholarship explore how women's rise or failure to ascend to executive power interacts with the larger institutional, structural, and cultural backdrops of their countries (Jalalzai 2008). Other research dissects the gendered nature of powers women exercise (Jalalzai 2010; Jalalzai 2013) and if and how women utilize these authorities to represent women (Alexander and Jalalzai 2016; Jalalzai 2016; Jalalzai and dos Santos 2015). I attempt to measure women's incorporation in executive office but, more critically, the powers women executives wield and their ultimate influence on women in society. Positional empowerment is the extent to which political posts afford real power and influence. To accurately assess whether women have achieved positional empowerment requires an analysis of whether more women are gaining executive offices, but also the circumstances hastening their ascensions (popular vote, appointment, succession, personal backgrounds, other country details), the types of positions held in terms of power (within and outside a country), and autonomy and security afforded. More broadly, women's political empowerment may be achieved when women executives use their influence and political authority to generate numerous effects that enhance women's assets, capabilities, and achievements with their male counterparts within the larger society and worldwide. This intellectual pursuit requires a global focus—analyzing contexts more amenable to women's executive leadership, others more resistant and some falling somewhere in between. Examining only where women have managed to crack the

executive glass ceiling leaves out a majority of countries that have failed to bring women to power. This agenda also necessitates engaging comparisons to men, a group that has long been overrepresented in presidential and prime ministerial posts. All of these aspects mentioned are measurable though some more challenging in this regard than others.

MEASURING WOMEN'S GLOBAL POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT THROUGH EXECUTIVE OFFICE HOLDING

Case Selection

This section provides an overview of myriad issues regarding the case selection process in relation to the executive positions analyzed. Executive positions vary depending on context, and titles do not always capture the essence of a post. The German Chancellor essentially performs the same functions of a prime minister while the prime minister of Peru does not.¹ Other women including monarchs and governors generally hold visible executive posts but lack roles and authorities that are equivalent to that of prime ministers and presidents. Some utilize collective presidencies such as Bosnia and Herzegovina where a different executive represents one of three main ethnic groups or San Marino which is led by two Co-Captain Regents.² I tend not to analyze monarchs, governors general, and nontraditional executives in favor of prime ministers and presidents.³

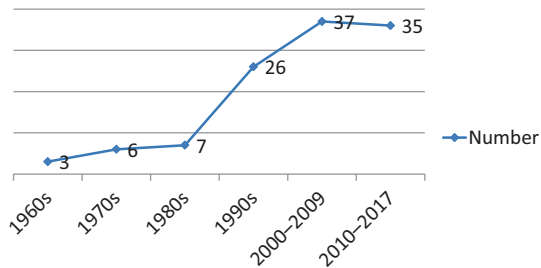
Case selection also requires a consideration of larger systemic variances including level of democracy and political autonomy. Positions within military dictatorships/juntas, one-party communist states, and hereditary monarchies present particular challenges to scholars since these executive offices are essentially closed to contestation. Countries lacking full independence, including Taiwan, prove problematic to deal with since power ultimately lies with another state. While scholars differ on the positions and countries they analyze, these choices shape a first step of measuring women's political empowerment worldwide—tracking quantities—and resulting conclusions about the extent to which women have made inroads into executive office.⁴

When tracking quantities of women executives, I analyze only presidencies and prime ministerships in autonomous countries since 1960 when Sirimavo Bandaranaike first cracked through the executive glass ceiling in Sri Lanka. As of April of 2017,⁵ 114 different women have served as

Table 12.1 Where women have led

<i>Number of different women</i>	<i>Number of countries</i>	<i>Examples</i>
1	45	Chile, Estonia, Liberia, Pakistan
2	21	Iceland, Ireland, Philippines, Sri Lanka, United Kingdom
3	6	Finland, Lithuania, Norway, Peru, Poland, S. Korea
4	1	Haiti
5	1	Switzerland
74 countries have had women executives		

Fig. 12.1 Numbers of women executives over time: 1960–2017.
Update April 4, 2017



executives of their countries, 49 have been presidents (43 percent) and 65 have ascended as prime ministers (57 percent) (Table 12.1).

Where Women Have Led

Women have governed 74 countries (see Fig. 12.1). Thirty-nine percent of countries where women have governed have seen at least two different women executives take power. These settings vary in levels of democracy and include wide ranging contexts such as Finland, Haiti, Argentina, New Zealand, and Bangladesh. Twenty-six of the 114 women served in the capacities “Acting” or “Provisional” leaders (13 presidents and 13 prime ministers). This leaves 88 of the 114 being non-interim, 52 of whom are prime ministers (59 percent) and 36 (41 percent) of whom are presidents.

That empowerment denotes a process of transformation from a position of no or limited agency to one of greater agentic opportunity and

effectiveness (Introduction, this volume), it is imperative to analyze temporal trends in quantities of women executives. I present these findings next.

Numbers of Women Executives Over Time: 1960–2017

Women executives made fairly limited progress in their executive pursuits until the 1990s when their numbers nearly quadrupled. More than three-quarters of all female presidents and prime ministers entered office in the last 20 years and their quantities have climbed faster since 2010 than any decade. Numbers of women executives, however, still prove woefully sparse. Sixty-one percent of countries throughout the world have not had a woman national executive. Women have yet to crack the executive ceiling in other areas. 118 (61 percent) of 195 autonomous countries have not had a woman leader. This includes the Middle East (with the exception of Israel) and North Africa (that have failed to democratize), and notable countries such as Russia, China, Japan, and the United States (Table 12.2).

Women Presidents and Prime Ministers Currently in Power

The dearth of women executives is even more glaring when examining their quantities at the beginning of 2017 compared to their male counterparts. Currently, only 16 women hold executive posts. Overall, a mere 6 percent of all executives worldwide are women.⁶ At the start of 2017, the numbers of women executives is declining rather than growing or holding constant, compared to the previous year.

Analyzing women's political empowerment also necessitates identifying the quality of positions women gain in terms of the powers, autonomy, and security provided within and outside a country as well as the processes facilitating their rise in the first place. If solely focusing on the most powerful presidential positions to gauge women's empowerment through executive office holding, we would be left with a fairly disappointing picture. Few women have ever held power as dominant presidents. Even rarer are those who accomplished these feats through a popular vote and absent blood or marital connections to power. When analyzing heads of state and government, clearly women have not yet achieved political empowerment.

Table 12.2 Women presidents and prime ministers currently in power

<i>Country</i>	<i>Leader</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Powers</i>	<i>Path</i>	<i>In office</i>
Bangladesh	Sheikh Hasina	Prime minister	Dominant	Indirect	1996–2001; 2009–
Chile	Michelle Bachelet	President	Dominant	Popular vote	2006–2010; 2012–
Croatia	Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović	President	Powerful	Popular vote	2015–
Estonia	Kersti Kaljulaid	President	Weak	Indirect	2016–
Germany	Angela Merkel	Chancellor (prime minister)	Dominant	Indirect	2005–
Liberia	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	President	Dominant	Popular vote	2006–
Lithuania	Dalia Grybauskaitė	President	Powerful	Popular vote	2009–
Malta	Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca	President	Weak	Indirect	2014–
Marshall Islands	Hilda Heine	President	Dominant	Indirect	2016–
Mauritius	Ameenah Gurib	President	Weak	Indirect	2015–
Namibia	Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila	Prime minister	Weak	Indirect	2015
Nepal	Bidhya Devi Bhandari	President	Weak	Indirect	2015–
Norway	Erna Solberg	Prime minister	Dominant	Indirect	2013–
Poland	Beata Szydło	Prime minister	Dominant	Indirect	2015–
Switzerland	Doris Leuthard	President	Weak	Indirect	2010; 2017
United Kingdom	Theresa May	Prime minister	Dominant	Indirect	2016–

Last updated April 9, 2017

Taiwan's independence is contested, leading to President Tsai's omission

For names and leaders, findings based on author's analysis of data from *Worldwide Guide to Women in Leadership* and Zarate's *Political Collections*, as well as various media reports. For powers, author analysis of the *Presidential Power database* (Doyle and Elgie 2016), various scholarly articles including Siaroff (2003) and Jalalzai (2013), media analysis and country constitutions

ANALYZING PATHS AND POSITIONS

This section analyzes the paths, powers, autonomy, and security of women executives worldwide. In assessing positional empowerment, my research has evaluated powers afforded to executives. Constitutional designs provide a first glimpse into offices and processes. Integrating varied sources such as country reports, media articles, biographies, and academic country studies provides a more comprehensive picture of power. I select powers affording policy significance and abilities to select key officials (see Jalalzai 2010, 2013). Paths, autonomy, security, and global visibility and powers heavily shape whether women executives truly are empowered and if they can empower women as a group.

Women, compared to their male counterparts, more often ascend to relatively weak posts and gain offices through appointment as opposed to popular election (Jalalzai 2013). I assert that these roles provide a lower degree of positional empowerment. Even with high-profile female executives such as Angela Merkel of Germany and Theresa May of the United Kingdom, women still rarely lead more visible and influential countries. As such, women are seldom visible as important political actors worldwide in contrast to male leaders who remain the norm.

Research reinforces the importance of political institutions. Women disproportionately govern in dual executive systems, with both a president and prime minister (Jalalzai 2008, 2013). Power imbalances often relegate women to weaker positions. Presidents exercising authority within a unified executive system (where the president is the sole national executive) and others governing in dual executive systems with a powerful or weak prime minister are particularly influential.

Few women secure presidencies where they do not share power with a prime minister; those operating in systems where a president dominates almost always occupy the much weaker prime ministerial role (Jalalzai 2010, 2013). Women also disproportionately govern in parliamentary systems (Thames and Williams 2013). Women's tendencies to govern as prime ministers is not a result of there being more of these positions available for contestation as presidential positions are more plentiful. Since they routinely possess fewer powers than presidents, women's greater likelihood of being prime ministers presents important consequences. While a larger segment of women prime ministers hold dominate authority in their systems, they face significant vulnerabilities, namely being ousted from office, and exercising power collaboratively. Several female prime ministers,

particularly those in Africa, hold very weak positions. A major liability facing nearly all of these weak prime ministers is that they can be dismissed by both parliament and the president.

Primaries present hurdles to women's candidacies not necessarily because they cannot win public votes; rather they hesitate to self-nominate and run for office (Hinojosa 2012; Lawless and Fox 2010). Self-nomination strengthens the influence of local power monopolies and clientelism (Hinojosa 2012, 61). Political machines recruiting candidates are closed to women (Bruhn 2003; Helmke and Levitsky 2004). More centralized and selective processes alleviate the problems of self-nomination and limited access to local networks and women typically fare better under these arrangements (Hinojosa 2012).

The extent to which the public vote determines presidential election outcomes in particular also varies. Presidents, especially ceremonial ones, may be indirectly selected by political elites such as legislators. Some countries require that a candidate attain a majority popular vote, particularly in multiparty systems. If not, the top two candidates advance to a second round (Nunez and Theis 2013, 2). Political minorities may consolidate broader support in the next stage when they appear more viable having finished near the top but absent a majority or even a plurality vote in the first round (Carey 2003).

Structural conditions render mixed findings in explaining women's rise to power. Women executives govern in many contexts where women in the general public trail behind men in levels of educational and professional attainment (Jalalzai 2008, 2013; Thames and Williams 2013). One of the ways this puzzle is explained centers on family connections to power. Between 1960 and 2010, nearly one quarter of women executives hailed from political families (Jalalzai 2013, 92). This path has proved especially important in Asia and Latin America. Political transition facilitates women's inclusion (see Montecinos 2017). Major electoral defeats or scandals also open up political space to women (Campus 2013) who can use gender stereotypes of being healers, unifiers, or reformers, when the window of opportunity opens in post-conflict societies (Thomas 2002).

Even in more stable and democratic countries, women leaders benefit from chance openings. Former prime minister of the UK Margaret Thatcher is often identified as an "accidental leader" largely promoted because of the weaknesses of others, rather than her own strengths (King 2002). Angela Merkel's rise has been attributed to auspicious circumstances as a woman who stood outside the inner circle of men undone by

a scandal that left a vacuum she could fill (Thomas and Lennartz 2006). Theresa May is used as an example of the glass cliff phenomenon—women reaching high positions during perilous times, perhaps set up for failure (McGregor 2016). For both women with family ties (who tend now to be highly politically credentialed) and others that benefit from openings to power, their political savvy, qualifications, experience, and agency are devalued.⁷

To date, only 17 (15 percent of the total number of women executives) women have ever held power as dominant presidents. Of these, only ten women initially gained power through a popular vote and a mere four did so absent blood or marital connections to either a former prime minister or president or a major opposition figure. All told, only 4 percent of the 114 female executives have entered office as dominant presidents of their countries absent family connections to power and through a popular vote. Of these, nine are presidents but less than half of them were elected by popular vote. Moreover, only two exercise dominant authority in their capacities. While we see women gaining ground around the world in obtaining executive office, they still struggle to amass power and have fairly restricted paths when they do. Having examined numbers, powers, paths, autonomy, and security, women have not achieved positional empowerment on a global scale.

MEASURING WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT IN THE LARGER SOCIETY

This section examines positive impacts beyond the positional empowerment that women executives demonstrate by their potential inclusion as presidents and prime ministers. The election or appointment of a woman executive facilitates women's political empowerment more broadly. Potentially, women leaders can help implement important policies, appoint key officials, and positively shape views that the public has of women's leadership and political participation. As such, women executives affect women's empowerment in two ways:

1. It signifies women's political gains by virtue of their institutional inclusion (positional empowerment).
2. Their placement in these posts, particularly those that are more influential within that country and on the world stage, creates positive changes to women's status in the larger society (women's political empowerment more generally).

Empowerment Through Policy Making

Women leaders' abilities to propose or implement policies related to women's equality can empower women in the very societies they govern. While we must consider several additional factors such as partisanship, legislative party dynamics, as well as executive authorities to propose and advance legislation, women executives may be particularly poised to facilitate women's empowerment through policy making. While their male colleagues may also empower women through their policy, women executives may be more prone to do so. Their shared status as women hastens their greater awareness of the inequities women face in society at large. As such, women executives may be more likely to promote policies advancing women's equality, addressing women's special needs, or issues central to women's traditional roles as caregivers (see Swers 2002).

Very little research connects women's empowerment through policy making to women heads of state and government. The exceptions usually take the form of case studies of individual women leaders, rather than comparative analysis. Findings suggest mixed tendencies (see Genovese and Steckenrider 2013; Montecinos 2017) for women leaders to promote policies empowering women. Norway's Gro Harlem Brundtland passed family friendly legislation including generous paid family leaves for women and men (Hendersen 2013). Angela Merkel has advocated both funding kindergartens and legislation explicitly promoting equal rights for women in Germany (Wiliarty 2010). Numerous studies suggest Chile's President Bachelet has empowered women through advancing several policies including ones creating legislative quotas, greater access to reproductive rights and promoting pay equity (Peña et al. 2012; Stevenson 2012; Staab 2016; Thomas 2016; Waylen 2016). Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff also used her authorities to expand and reframe existing programs targeting the poor to specifically help women. She did not attempt policy change on some issues, including abortion, placing her at odds with feminist groups (Jalalzai and dos Santos 2015; Jalalzai 2016). President Laura Chinchilla (Costa Rica) tended to advance policies that reinforced women's traditional roles as mothers rather than transcending gender boundaries (Jalalzai 2016). Liberia's President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf struggled to gain legislative support for policies including stronger domestic violence legislation that would positively impact women (Adams 2017). Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi (India) and Margaret Thatcher (United Kingdom) did not even attempt to empower women through their policy-making authorities (Everett 2013; Genovese 2013).

More research should explore whether women executives empower women through their policy making. Of particular significance would be studies that compare the advantages prime ministers or presidents have in leading policy change within specific institutional settings. Prime ministers may benefit in policy implementation given the fusion of executive and legislative powers in parliamentary systems. Yet, presidents exercise significant legislative authorities in some regions, including Latin America and Africa; this may provide them a high degree of policy latitude, sometimes empowering women. Coalition dynamics further complicate the picture since this constrains executive actions. The extent to which governing processes transpire through democratic procedures must be understood as they will shape executive, legislative, and judicial relations. Finally, we also need to more closely analyze the extent to which women executives in particular face demands from their female constituencies to promote specific policies. Together these and many other factors affect the policy-making context and ultimately women's empowerment in the larger society.

More research could analyze women's use of specific powers including public declarations (Jalalzai and dos Santos 2015), executive orders, or decrees (Shair-Rosenfield and Stoyan 2016). Scholars can also examine different influences related to policy design including legislative, cabinet, party, coalition, and constituency demands in relation to executive policy making. Opportunities abound in similarly scrutinizing male executives regarding whether they empower women through policy making. More research analyzes women executives' policy making compared to their male predecessors or successors (Jalalzai 2016) and this literature could be further expanded. The policies of male presidents (even in countries that have not yet been led by a woman) must also be investigated if we want to truly understand the extent to which women in society are empowered (Chhabria 2016).

Empowerment Through Appointment

This segment scrutinizes another way women executives can empower women—through their appointments of key office holders. Women executives appear especially positioned to advance OTHER women to power compared to their female legislative and ministerial counterparts. Moreover, while their male colleagues may also empower women through appointment, women may be more apt to appoint women to positions of power.⁸ This expectation stems from women's greater cognizance of women's exclusion from the political realm (Krook and O'Brien 2012). Women also tend to operate within the same networks as other women. This increased exposure

results in women executives' greater ability to identify potential female appointees (Franceschet 2016; Krook and O'Brien 2012; Reyes-Housholder 2016). Another possibility is that the public expects (or demands) that women executives promote gender diversity. Women candidates pledging to select more women for cabinet positions may fuel this anticipation as well.

Even if seemingly committed to diversifying their cabinets, myriad factors shape an executive's ability to follow through on this goal once in power. Formal rules guide cabinet selection which affects both the supply and demand for women. Some executives select nominees while other actors or institutions formally accept or reject these candidates.⁹ Countries may also formally constrict the eligibility pool. In parliamentary systems, the pool of eligibles often consists of current legislators (Annesley 2015). Women positioned in the legislative pipeline shape the supply of women considered for cabinet appointments; smaller quantities of women legislators are statistically associated with fewer women ministerial appointments (Krook and O'Brien 2012; Reyes-Housholder 2016).¹⁰ If the party governs with a legislative coalition, typically they will allocate a certain number of ministerial posts to their partners (Altman 2008).¹¹ In their global analysis, Krook and O'Brien (2012) find more women ministers associated with unified cabinets. While party exerts an important influence on cabinet structure, we must also assess party ideology. Executives hailing from leftist parties might be more inspired to promote women to cabinets since they may operate with a more egalitarian view of gender roles. Globally, leftist governments tend to integrate more women (Krook and O'Brien 2012). Within Latin America, presidents representing the extreme left have a significantly higher percentage of female cabinet ministers (Reyes-Housholder 2016).

While all of the conditions analyzed thus far shape cabinet appointments, very little research has directly engaged whether the gender of the executive influences subsequent appointments. Studies utilizing statistical analysis prove especially rare though several exceptions now exist. In their global analysis of cabinet appointments, Krook and O'Brien (2012) failed to find a relationship between the proportions of women in the cabinet and executive sex. Focusing on 13 advanced parliamentary democracies, nearly all Western European, O'Brien et al. (2015) find that women prime ministers or coalitions led by women have fewer female cabinet ministers. This is particularly true when analyzing them in reference to leftist governments led by their male counterparts. Moreover, women do not appear to select other women to portfolios providing higher prestige. While these findings are instructive, their focus on mainly Western European contexts sheds little light on these dynamics on a global scale. Barnes and O'Brien (2017) confirm that women

executives worldwide are more likely to appoint women to defense portfolios. This connection, however, is driven by self-appointments to these posts.

Women presidents of Latin American countries have tended to appoint more women to cabinet positions than their male counterparts (Jalalzai 2016; Reyes-Housholder 2016). They have diverged in their tendencies to appoint more women to more prestigious positions, however (Jalalzai 2016). Many appointments tend to be in stereotypically “feminine” portfolios (Reyes-Housholder 2016). Michelle Bachelet’s first cabinet was comprised of equal numbers of men and women. She implemented a “no second helpings” policy, a criterion that fresh faces should comprise the new government (Weeks and Borzutzky 2013). Women were underrepresented as high-ranking players within the coalition, and Bachelet had to challenge some coalition party choices (Staab and Waylen 2014, 6). In the end, parity decreased throughout her first term (Jalalzai 2016; Reyes-Housholder 2016). The objective of cabinet parity did not shape the formation of her cabinet during her second term (Franceschet 2016) and she also tended to place women in more feminine positions (Jalalzai 2016). During her first term, Dilma Rousseff appointed more women to her cabinet than her male predecessors, many of whom served in key posts. In her second term, her appointments of women declined and they held less prestigious positions. With her presidency ending prematurely due to impeachment, her replacement, Michel Temer, did not appoint a single woman to his cabinet. This event signaled the importance of having a woman president at the helm of power in relation to promoting other women to high office. Finally, Johnson Sirleaf appointed far greater quantities of women to her cabinet than her male counterparts (Adams 2017).

Women executives may not always be motivated to empower women through their appointments but some evidence exists that they are. Even when women leaders appoint women to positions of power, this may dissipate. Moreover, any empowerment women gain may be undone upon women’s descent. More research on a global scale must be conducted, however, to reach decisive conclusions. Elite interviews tracing appointment decisions (see Jalalzai 2016) and assessing the powers and prestige of positions specific to administrations and how gender shapes women’s inclusion and placement would be useful.

Empowerment Through Symbolizing

This section analyzes the empowerment women executives generate through symbolizing women. Their presence as women in the highest

political offices can increase women's political agency in society. Women presidents and prime ministers shape attitudinal and behavioral responses among the public as members of excluded groups holding power (Mansbridge 1999; Simien 2016). Members of marginalized groups can "bask in the glory" as they witness people like them pursuing the highest offices (Simien 2016, 3). The visibility offered by the positions analyzed here, presidencies and prime ministerships, may give way to potentially larger impacts than available to other actors that govern within larger institutions such as parliaments or cabinets. Perceptions of presidencies and prime ministerships being synonymous with men may be challenged as women make strides into executive office. Seeing women at the helm of the most "masculine" of domains sends important messages about women belonging in the political sphere. Their examples may also send broader positive cues, signaling that politics is more democratic and even enhance levels of political engagement among the public.

Very little literature specifically analyzes the symbolic empowerment offered by women executives and these usually take the form of country cases studies (Espírito Santo 2011) or regional analyses (Jalalzai 2016; Reyes-Houholder and Schwindt-Bayer 2016). Analyzing public opinion data in Latin America, Reyes-Houholder and Schwindt-Bayer scrutinize whether having a woman president affects political activity and support for women in power. They find that women presidents are positively associated with women's intentions to vote, their involvement in political campaigns, and participation in local meetings. Respondents are also more supportive of women's political role when they have a female president (2016, 105). The authors do not present evidence, however, that the public is more efficacious, interested in politics, increasingly likely to follow the news or believe that the government is more responsive under female presidents (Reyes-Houholder and Schwindt-Bayer 2016, 116).

I offered varied evidence regarding whether women presidents in Chile, Brazil, Argentina, and Costa Rica positively affect views and participation among the general public (Jalalzai 2016). Analyzing surveys, Rousseff's presidency in Brazil offered more consistent, albeit minor, positive shifts, while Bachelet's in Chile showed little stable or significant effects. In interviews, however, respondents easily identified positive influences Rousseff's and Bachelet's presidencies offered. In contrast, survey results and interviews regarding Chinchilla of Costa Rica and Fernández in Argentina tended to confirm negative effects linked to their presidencies (Jalalzai 2016, 210). Espírito Santo (2011) analyzes whether Angela Merkel's rise to power as Chancellor of Germany affects political interest over time. Examining results

from a panel study during a time frame predating and during Merkel's premiership, she finds that women sharing partisanship with Merkel tend to have increased levels of political interest. The effect, however, is limited to only 1 year after Merkel gained power (Espírito Santo 2011, 146).

To date, only two global examinations of the symbolic empowerment related to women presidents and prime ministers exist (Alexander and Jalalzai 2016; Carreras 2016). Carreras (2016) assesses candidates for executive office rather than office holders and does not confirm that visible women candidates offer symbolic benefits to women. Specifically, races with more competitive and salient women candidates are not linked to increased political engagement among women (Carreras 2016, 174). He speculates that this might be related to more successful women candidates asserting a more masculine style and distancing themselves from women constituencies and issues. Moreover, these women tend to have greater associations with political families or their male predecessors which might limit their positive influence.

Alexander and Jalalzai (2016) conducted a multilevel analysis to evaluate the effect of the presence of a female executive on individuals' acceptance of female leaders, interest in politics, and level of voting in national and local elections. Results largely support the hypothesis that female heads of state and government hasten empowerment through symbolizing women. Women and men are more supportive of female leaders and demonstrate higher levels of political interest in countries with a female head of state or government. The presence of a female head of state or government has a stronger, positive effect on women in terms of their likelihood to vote in national and local elections (Alexander and Jalalzai 2016).

Much more work needs to be conducted to confirm women executives' tendencies to empower women symbolically, particularly on a global scale. More data collection can test whether women's executive leadership elicits positive changes in attitudes and behaviors among the public. Global public opinion data rarely exists before and after women executives came to power. Large-scale global surveys do not offer panel data, which could best unpack possible effects generated by women leaders (see Alexander and Jalalzai 2016). Experimental designs, particularly those that are more global in scope, may also prove valuable in assessing symbolic empowerment through executive office holding.

FUTURE RESEARCH ON WOMEN EXECUTIVES

In addition to the topics already mentioned, several fruitful avenues for research on women executives exist. These include more scholarship

developing theory and models linking executives to various effects on society and those examining the gender discrimination and stereotypes that women executives (and candidates) encounter.

Developing Theory on Executive Effects

Scholars need to engage in more debate regarding the application of Pitkin's (1967) model of representation to executives and develop theories specific to prime ministers and presidents. Representation theory primarily references the role of legislators (Pitkin 1967; Runciman and Brito Vieira 2008), though Pitkin notes the role of the executive in symbolic representation (1969, 12): "An idea or a person can be made present, not by a map or portrait, but by a symbol, by being symbolized or represented symbolically...a modern monarch, or indeed any head of state, can be said to 'represent or embody' be a symbol for, 'the unity of the people of the state.'" While representational effects may emanate from executives, perhaps this is clearest when assessing symbolic representation and less so when dealing with descriptive (standing for women) and substantive (acting for women) representation. This chapter's emphasis on women's political empowerment through policy making, appointments, and symbolizing offers an alternative but complementary way to assess the effects of women executives.

Several issues related to measuring effects abound. While examinations of the symbolic effects of women leaders focus on changes among populations within a particular country, we must also learn how to measure the effects offered by women leaders outside of that country. Given their heightened visibility, women's influence likely transcends geographical borders. More survey and experimental research is needed to verify this. Another related opportunity centers on the fleeting aspects of positive effects; benefits may be temporary, occurring when women's participation has not yet become normalized (Espírito Santo 2011; Gilardi 2015). For example, scholars could explore the following questions on global scale: Do women feel less of a need to run for office if women are already present? Are party elites less compelled to ask women to run if women already hold positions (see Gilardi 2015)?

Scholars also do not understand how women's failures as candidates or leaders affect women as a group. Since women are underrepresented as executives, their gender is more salient when generating conclusions about their leadership. Gender, in part, could be identified as contributing to their failures, leading to deteriorations in public perceptions of women's

governance and women's reluctance to throw their hats in the ring. According to Simien (2016), even unsuccessful candidacies provide important benefits for underrepresented groups. Scholars, however, need to scientifically examine the potential disempowerment resulting from failed bids or unsuccessful leaders to draw meaningful conclusions.

Gender Discrimination and Stereotypes

Academics still do not fully understand the extent to which women executive candidates face sexism from the general public. While most research fails to support claims of gender discrimination against women candidates (Dolan 2014; Hayes and Lawless 2016; but see Mo 2015), these studies do not analyze presidential contests and limit their analyses to the United States. Some researchers examining the influence of sexism in national executive races note how women candidates craft specific strategies to troubleshoot for potential discrimination or negative stereotypes (Carroll 2009). Since the public might view women as more honest, women candidates in countries struggling with corruption may highlight their goals of making government more accountable and transparent. Or, given the double bind women regularly face (Jamieson 1995), they might develop more complex strategies by presenting a combination of "masculine" and "feminine" traits and issues (Carroll 2009; Jalalzai 2016). As such, gender remains a relevant factor that shapes women's electoral prospects, though discrimination proves challenging to scientifically observe and measure. Recently, women presidents including Michele Bachelet have encountered plummeting approval, much of which is related to economic travails as well as corruption (Gilbert 2016). Presidents Park of South Korea and Dilma Rousseff of Brazil were even impeached because of corruption claims. Women possibly face greater scrutiny for their lackluster performances or alleged engagement in inappropriate behavior. This, however, remains unknown, and must be grappled with.

While the extent to which gender stereotypes and discrimination affect women's executive pursuits remains contested, less debated is that perceptions of sexism in politics keep women from running for office in the first place (Hayes and Lawless 2016; Lawless and Fox 2010). Though their numbers have grown over time, women executive candidates remain few. Women tend not to run at all in some regions like Northern Africa and the Middle East. While women worldwide have substantially increased their candidacies over the last several years, they rarely secure substantial levels of public support. In fact, the vast majority does not even gain 5 percent

of the vote (Jalalzai 2013). Most victorious women presidential candidates did not garner electoral majorities but were elected through pluralities or majority runoffs. In nearly all cases, triumphant women did not have to spar against incumbents (who remain, almost universally, male). Among candidates elected by the popular vote, women enjoyed a mere 5 percent chance of victory (Jalalzai 2013).

While women waged candidacies in about a quarter of all executive contests (including both presidential and prime ministerial bids) between 2014 and 2016, only five women won their races; all but one of these women were incumbents (Coolidge and Bell 2017). Since that analysis only observed candidates or parties attaining at least 5 percent of the vote, it underestimates women's difficulties at the polls since most women candidates fail to attain this level of support. Women's losses cannot easily be explained by candidate quality as many women lost to less experienced male challengers who ran as "populist" candidates (Coolidge and Bell 2017). While proof that sexism or gender stereotypes drove women's failures remains elusive, these factors likely affect women's presidential candidacies and electoral performance. Again, I call for future research examining these topics on a global scale.

Though studies suggest that women's greater tendency to hold prime ministerships rather than presidencies may relate to their depiction as more consensus-driven players rather than autonomous actors (Jalalzai 2013), no research actually attempts to scientifically verify this claim. Opportunities to investigate this possibility abound and would need to include qualitative and quantitative studies (observations, interviews, surveys, and experimental designs) examining gender stereotypes and how they shape people's (elites and mass) perceptions regarding men and women and types of executive positions worldwide. Existing research (including my own) makes assumptions of political offices in relation to gender stereotypes but many of these remain just that—assumptions. We need to systematically study whether the basis for such claims holds true.

CONCLUSIONS

Scholars must continue to analyze how women's presence in legislatures and cabinets promotes women's political empowerment. More research, however, must also integrate women presidents and prime ministers. As research has grown on all of these topics, we see women's inclusion in one of the three roles—legislator, cabinet minister and president/prime minister—coincide with greater chances of gaining other positions (Bauer and Tremblay 2011; Jalalzai 2013; Thames and Williams 2013).

Including presidencies and prime ministerships paints a more comprehensive picture of empowerment through formal office holding. Moreover, some women presidents and prime ministers exert substantial political influence domestically, globally, and on behalf of women. Women executives further women's political empowerment within the society as a whole and even on a global scale, through mechanisms related to their roles as policy makers, selectors, and symbols. While we see women gaining ground around the world in obtaining executive office, they still struggle to amass power and have fairly restricted paths when they do. Having examined numbers, powers, paths, autonomy and security, women have not achieved positional empowerment on a global scale. Global analyses systematically analyzing the empowerment women executives offer through their policy making, appointments, and symbolizing reach varied conclusions, but much more data needs to be collected to reach firm conclusions. While I have outlined many difficulties in measuring women's political empowerment through executive office holding, several opportunities exist for doing so in subsequent research.

NOTES

1. Three women have served as prime minister of Peru (unofficial title), which is officially termed the President of the Council of Ministers, but holds substantially less power since Peru is a presidential system where the president acts as chief of state and head of government. I have tended to include this position in my analyses, but their inclusion raises some questions about comparability.
2. Switzerland's executive structure also appears unique, its president is elected from its seven-person Federal Council to serve a 1-year term. Due to this seemingly unrivaled power of the president, I retain Switzerland as a case. I also analyze interim or acting presidents and prime ministers, though to a lesser extent than women in office serving on a more permanent basis.
3. I do not include women who serve temporarily if they do so in a capacity that does not conform to a traditional executive structure. For example, Ruth Perry of Liberia was part of the Council of State, a six-person collective presidency led by Ruth Perry, governed during a temporary peace agreement. A more recent example is Acting Head of State Doris Bures of Austria who was Head of the Joint Acting Presidency with two vice-presidents between July 2016 and January 2017 after the second round presidential elections needed to be held again when the Constitutional Court annulled the results.

4. Incorporating nonautonomous states' nontraditional executive positions would noticeably increase the numbers of women executives while integrating military dictatorships/juntas, one-party communist states, and hereditary monarchies would do just the opposite.
5. Of course women like Argentine First Lady Eva Peron lacked formal executive authority, but exerted tremendous influence on politics, particularly women (Weir 2013). Aung Suu Kyi of Myanmar, placed under house arrest throughout two decades, was officially barred from holding the prime ministership upon her release but essentially plays a head of government role. She was disqualified because her deceased husband and their children are foreign citizens, a stipulation specifically adopted to keep her from holding the prime ministership. If we were able to measure the influence of unofficial executive leaders, however, I argue that we would see an even greater entrenchment of men on balance.
6. About 134 presidencies and 118 prime ministerships exist. About 236 men occupied these posts in 2016, while only 16 women did.
7. One could argue, however, that not only do women have to obtain the same credentials as their male counterparts (or more), they usually have to come from important political families to clinch the strongest of executive positions. In this way, the family path can be viewed as an additional burden on women.
8. For example, former Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez, President François Hollande of France, and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada have appointed "parity" cabinets.
9. Actors could include other executives in the case of dual executive systems and institutions include the legislature.
10. Annesley suggests (2015) the pool depends on the particular country. In Germany, only legislators from the lower house are eligible to hold executive portfolios. In the United Kingdom, ministers hail from either the House of Commons or House of Lords (Annesley 2015).
11. According to Annesley (2015), coalitions rarely surface in Westminster parliamentary systems, affording the prime minister greater authority over his or her cabinet choices.

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Conclusions and Further Directions

*Amy C. Alexander, Catherine Bolzendahl, and
Farida Jalalzai*

The major social, economic, and political forces of our world point to the continuing urgency and significance of women's empowerment. Internationally, the United Nations has made improving gender equality and women's empowerment the third of its major millennium development goals. Furthermore, out of a US-based protest—the Women's March on Washington¹—grew an international phenomenon. As a result of the March, 2017 saw millions of women and men of all nationalities, religions, cultures, classes, races, and ideologies come together and reassert the importance of women's right to equality and their inherent value to society's prosperity and stability. Economically, countries increasingly see that investing in women is good for business and good for growth. Change toward equality has slowly emerged from years of struggle, and at times, regression. As such, we readily see the practical importance of women's political empowerment and the heightened salience of this among the

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public, international organizations and policy practitioners. Scholars focused on questions of development, especially in international organizations, increasingly point to the importance of women's political empowerment. Women's political empowerment has been a central feature of these political, economic, and societal changes, but remains under-theorized, and not comprehensively measured or analyzed in our academic and policy literature. This volume is a response to this void. In this conclusion, we reflect on contributions we have made in expanding our base of knowledge of women's political empowerment worldwide as well as what still needs to be addressed in future scholarship.

In this volume we define women's political empowerment as "the enhancement of assets, capabilities, and achievements of women to gain equality to men in influencing and exercising political authority worldwide." This agentic, dynamic, purposively broad approach to political empowerment opens the door to a sufficiently wide array of actions and efforts that culminate in women's progress from disempowered political status to empowered status worldwide. We assert that these efforts are collaborative and not competitive. Viewed in this way, women's empowerment is not a zero-sum game. Empowering women politically results in societies that benefit as whole, something that international organizations and scholars of development have long noted (e.g., Esarey and Schwindt-Bayer 2017; Hudson et al. 2012; Kabeer 2005; Malhotra et al. 2010; Sen et al. 1994; Waring et al. 2000).

Our contributors assert the multidimensionality of the concept of women's political empowerment, providing us with a framework for measuring and assessing this concept in specific ways and across a global context. A focus on women recognizes the categorical creation of a social group that remains the most consistently excluded from political power in all areas of the world. In our first chapter, we emphasized the importance of understanding women in politics through recognizing women's systematic marginalization as a group from access to and achievement of equal levels of political influence, representation, and integration. Moving away from this universal condition is achieved as part of a political process, not at one particular moment or threshold (e.g., women reaching 50% of the legislature). Political empowerment goes beyond the power enjoyed by particular individuals by shedding light on power configurations positioning groups and recognizes political authority as the legitimate access to state-mediated power. Nevertheless a focus on women must acknowledge and incorporate the multiple statuses and sources of inequality that

cross-cut gender, and in this way also include the large impact of political empowerment for disadvantaged persons overall.

Under this conceptualization of women's political empowerment broadly, we asked the contributors to carry out the more nuanced work in the volume by focusing on four central areas of inquiry in their approach to understanding women's political empowerment in their particular lines of research, namely:

- What aspect of women's political empowerment is measured? Or should we measure?
- Why is this important for improving our understanding of women's political empowerment?
- What do we know about women's political empowerment and where do we know it?
- How does this focus contribute in building the larger comparative framework of women's political empowerment?

Looking across this rich diversity of scholarly approaches, we can now assess these questions more broadly. Reflecting on the work of our contributors, we see a number of major takeaway points that apply to all levels of political empowerment and can be utilized in diverse regions of our world. Our contributors have assessed their status of women's political empowerment often through creating original datasets covering a diverse array of countries. At the same time, all recognize that much more data collection needs to continue to truly grasp women's political empowerment on a global scale.

At the conceptual level, scholars and policy-makers can benefit greatly from a more expansive measurement of women's political empowerment. Our first four chapters highlight, among other things, an understanding that empowerment denotes a process of transformation from a position of no or limited agency to one of greater agentic opportunity and effectiveness. For this agentic process to be fully realized, we must start by understanding the extent to which individuals see themselves and others as capable of political influence. Along these lines, it is crucial that we continue to develop and maintain high-quality public opinion surveys about gender and empowerment (Alexander and Coffé), that we work collaboratively and internationally to aggregate and centralize data measuring diverse areas of political action (Ertan et al.), and that we are careful to ensure that all our measures are sensitive to and include opportunities for

analyzing cross-cutting measures of inequality and disempowerment (Hughes and Dubrow). Without this foundation, it becomes extremely difficult to chart an effective course for improving gender equality in political empowerment. These chapters have provided critical details regarding the current state of knowledge and measurement in a wide array of fields, and perhaps more importantly, they have identified continued lacunae in our measures as well.

Our four middle chapters build upon the insights earlier in this volume and detail the specific measurement of women's political empowerment in diverse established political mechanisms of influence. Of course, women's exclusion from political power operates at myriad levels and varies across nations/regions. For this reason, we cannot only examine the formal legislative process. Many nations are not democratic, and even among democracies, full democratic citizenship is often elusive. Thus, measuring the presence and impact of women's grassroots organizing for greater political rights and representation is a fundamental means of understanding the possibility for change (Fallon and Rademacher). Women's grassroots organizing remains one of the least well-measured aspects of women's political empowerment on a global scale. Historically, women's representation in local government has also been overlooked, much to the detriment of understanding how women politically engage (or not) in their communities and have a voice in everyday matters that affect them (Sündstrom and Wängnerud). Efforts are currently underway to assess women at the local level in many industrialized democracies. Again, however, without reliable global data that also includes less wealthy and non-democracies, we risk an uninformed and incomplete approach to framing women's political empowerment.

One of the most thoroughly studied aspects of women's political empowerment has been their representation in national legislatures. Such data are often readily available both historically and worldwide through organizations like the United Nations and the Inter-Parliamentary Union. As a central means of political influence in all democracies, and even in non-democracies, such measures are crucial for understanding women's access to political power and may serve as an important means of shaping the empowerment of women in society writ large. Global stratification in women's legislative presence is vast and progress is incredibly uneven (O'Brien and Piscopo). Continuing to study these changes in one of the key political institutions in the world remains a central task. Along these lines, we must also understand legislatures as political organizations in

their own right, wherein women's political influence is unevenly distributed. Legislatures form their own gendered logic and organize themselves in ways that preserve gender difference and may prevent women from access to power and prestige (Bolzendahl). All together, these broad-based avenues of political empowerment—movements, local government, and legislatures—have been and will continue to be central to students of women's political empowerment. Cooperation between scholars and government organizations can help us advance measures and understanding of these processes.

We also assert that women's political empowerment undermines patriarchal social structures and is a political public good insofar as progress legitimates and strengthens a larger commitment to equal political incorporation generally. One implication of this is highlighting the importance of women's place in the most visible and internationally recognized roles of national and international leadership. Our last four chapters illustrate and elaborate upon this point in important ways. The rise of the nation-state and the often-unquestioned association of men as the leaders of them (nations themselves often referred to as "motherland" and/or in the feminine) have typically treated diplomacy as a man's game. Of course, women have long influenced diplomatic ties, but we continue to lack a systematic set of data understanding whether and how (much) women are being placed in positions of diplomacy, and consequences for women's political empowerment more broadly (Towns et al.). The lack of electoral transparency due to selection by appointment may protect patriarchal structures wherein women serve as symbolic figures under the control of men in power, as may also be true for cabinet positions. Yet, women's appointment to high-profile political posts may be an important means of affirming the commitment to equality and, in very practical ways, provide women access to central dimensions of policy-making (Barnes and Taylor-Robinson). These policy-making levers translate directly into the laws that shape men's and women's lives. Interpreting and enforcing these laws falls to the judiciary, making this branch of political empowerment incredibly influential but also incredibly understudied. Even our most comprehensive datasets of women's political involvement fail to systematically collect or study women's access to the judiciary. The effects of women's access to judicial seats can reverberate throughout societies regardless of levels of democracy (Kenney). Many see the pinnacle of women's political empowerment—even if only symbolically—in their placement or election as heads of state or government.

Often, women's paths to such visible and internationally consequential roles are tied in complex ways to existing patriarchal social structures. Thus, analyzing women as heads of state or government provides insight into questions of women's broader political and social empowerment (Jalalzai). Symbolically, women's inclusion, particularly in these highest-ranking positions, signals their capability to hold and exercise political power. Practically, such positions often come with great potential to shape policies and outcomes for gender equality at every level. Overall, women's access to non-electoral and/or highly visible leadership positions can tell us a lot about women's political empowerment, but the data to measure and analyze these patterns is uneven and inconsistently available over time and globally. Especially with regard to women as diplomats and judges, we must improve our data collection efforts. Increased data would enable scholars and practitioners to more fully understand how women's political empowerment may undermine patriarchal social structures as a whole, and open up opportunities to women and men of all backgrounds.

Having established the key lessons from our contributors, we now connect these to important work being done in international organizations with regard to women's empowerment generally and the specific measurement of women's political empowerment. Opportunities abound for increasing the collaboration across scholars of political science, sociology, and development and those working in various international governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Sharing theories, measures, and experiences will help to more efficiently and effectively achieve shared goals. Many working in the field of development scholarship have written and theorized about empowerment, but this approach has been underutilized within the mainstream work of related academic fields (e.g., political science and sociology). Conversely, researchers in such fields have state-of-the-art tools and training in a variety of methods of data analysis and work across a number of theoretical and conceptual areas that are not incorporated into the development scholarship on empowerment. Working toward collaboration and developing future directions, we suggest building off a number of points.

Over a decade ago, Malhotra et al. (2002) prepared a background paper for the World Bank Workshop on Poverty and Gender. They took up the question of what, why, and how we should measure women's empowerment. Since cited over 1000 times, this report emphasized the

importance of women's political empowerment as one dimension among many, and included the household, community, and broader arena as modes of operationalization (see also Kabeer 2005; Moghadam and Senftova 2005; Mosedale 2005; Vissandjee et al. 2005). Much of this overlaps with the elaboration our contributors have provided, including a focus on individual opinions and behaviors, involvement in political campaigns and representation, and representation of women's interests in decision making. Subsequent work from the World Bank has continued to focus on analyzing the concept of empowerment (Alsop et al. 2006), but most of this research continues to focus on a limited number of countries and/or neglects the importance of political measures (see Ibrahim and Alkire 2007).

Very recently, scholars have made substantial contributions to the goals of improving our measurement of women's political empowerment. Sundström et al. (2017) introduced the V-Dem women's political empowerment index (WPEI), spanning from 1900 to 2012 and over 170 countries. The conceptualization of this index builds from work establishing this volume (Alexander et al. 2016), and provides information about women's civil liberties, civil society participation, and political participation globally. We are excited about the possibilities of using this data to expand our understanding of women's political empowerment and as a means of demonstrating to various groups the value of such measures. Notably, limitations remain, and all stakeholders can work to expand such data in necessary dimensions. We share the authors' conclusion that more can and should be done to measure intersecting areas of disadvantage, nonelite participation, power differences within political bodies, and women's involvement in advocacy networks.

We see our edited volume as just the very beginning of a larger research agenda that defines women's political empowerment and elaborates on how empowerment is evaluated empirically. In doing so, this research views women as a diverse group that continues to strive to achieve equality in myriad realms across the globe. Through increased systematic data collection centered on women's political empowerment, we can better understand both how far women have come and what more needs to be done on a global scale. The benefits transcend women as individuals and as a socially defined group, extending to entire societies that stand to gain when all have the opportunity and capacity to effectively participate and thrive regardless of gender.

NOTES

1. <https://www.womensmarch.com/>; Accessed May 22, 2017.

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