

Contents

List of Illustrations xi

Preface xvi

About the Authors xix

1 Introduction to Women in Politics 1

Arguments for Women's Representation in Politics 2

The Story of Mukhtar Mai: Village Council Justice 4

Wife Beating in Nigeria: *De Jure* versus *De Facto* Law 5

Filibustering in Texas: A Woman Representative Holds Out 6

Justice Arguments for Women's Representation 8

Utility Arguments for Women's Representation 14

A Brief Overview of Women's Participation in Politics 15

Orienting Theories 18

Power 19

The Dimensions of Power: An Example 20

Gender and Gender Stratification 21

Gender and Power Concepts: Patriarchy, Public versus Private, and

Intersectionality 24

Feminist Institutionalism 26

Overview of the Book 27

2 Women Struggle for the Vote: The History of Women's Suffrage 28

Social Movement Concepts 29

Suffrage in the United States 30

Women's Suffrage and the US Constitution 30

Women and the Antislavery Movement: The Struggle Begins 31

The Leadership, Organization, and Tactics of the Early Suffrage Movement 33

"Ain't I a Woman?" by Sojourner Truth, 1851 34

The State Suffrage Movement: Why the West Was Best 35

Partnering with the Progressive Movement 37

Opposition to Women's Suffrage 38

Women Gain the Vote: The Events Leading to the Passage of the 19th Amendment 40

Suffrage Movements outside the United States 41

Movement Size, Composition, and Alliances 45

Goals and Ideology 46

Movement Opposition 47

Tactics and Level of Militancy 49

The International Women's Movement 52**Women's Suffrage after 1945 53****Women Exercising Their Vote 54****3 Positions and Pathways: Women's Representation in Government 57****Government Structures and Positions of Power 57****Women Presidents and Prime Ministers 59**

Paths to Power for Women National Leaders 65

Difficulties Faced by Women Leaders 71

Women in Cabinet Positions 74**Women in Parliaments 79**

Milestones and Historical Trajectories 79

Women in Parliaments Today 83

Women in the Judiciary 84**Women in Subnational Governments 88****4 Intersectionality and Difference 92****Thinking Intersectionally 93****Slower and Lower: Double and Triple Barriers in Politics 94**

Multiple Barriers to Indigenous Women in Politics 97

Multiple Barriers to Transgender, Gender Nonconforming, and Intersex People in Politics 100

The Puzzle of Success: Strategic Opportunities and Complementarity 103**When Identities Collide: The Rights and Representation of Minority Women 106****When All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men: Invisibility and Its Political Consequences 108****But Who Represents Us? Multiple Marginalization and Symbolic Representation 109**

5 Explaining the Political Representation of Women: Culture 113

A Woman's Place in History: Women in Political Philosophy 114

A Woman's Place Today: The Continuing Power of Culture 116

Regional Differences 117

Religion 117

Cultural Attitudes 121

Culture and Women's Representation in Politics 127

Ambition 127

Role Model Effects 131

Media 133

6 Explaining the Political Representation of Women: Social Structure 139

Economic Development 140

Money 141

Time 145

Civic and Political Skills 148

Education 151

Work 153

Networks 155

Beyond Meritocracy 157

Violence against Women in Politics 158

7 Explaining the Political Representation of Women: Politics 161

Democracy 162

Selection Mechanisms 164

Electoral Systems 164

Why Are Proportional Representation Systems Good for Women? 167

Types of Proportional Representation Systems 168

Are the Same Systems and Rules Good for All Women? 169

Political Appointments 170

Characteristics of Political Parties 172

From Candidate to Legislator 176

Quotas 178

What Kinds of Quotas Are There and Which Are Better?	180
Threshold for Representation	180
Candidate Quotas, Political Party Quotas, and Reserved Seats	182
Quotas, Looking beyond Gender	190
¡SOY JUANA, No “Juanita”!: Quota Reform in Mexico	191
Looking beyond National Legislatures	193
The Adoption of Gender Quotas	195
Do Quotas Affect Candidate Quality? Can Quotas Disrupt Men’s Power?	198

8 Explaining the Political Representation of Women: International Factors 200

The International Women’s Movement	201
Women’s Activism: United Nations, WINGOs, and International Protest	202
Women’s Activism Increases the Supply and Demand of Women in Politics	208
Foreign Aid and Women’s Representation	210
The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	212
Armed Conflict and Women’s Access to Power: International Dimensions	215

9 Do Women Make a Difference? 218

Thinking Differently: Women’s Views on Women and Their Policy Priorities	219
Acting Differently: Women’s Voting Patterns, Bill Sponsorship, and Appellate Court Rulings	222
Acting Successfully: Women’s Legislative Effectiveness	230
Legislating Differently: Women’s Legislative Style	234
Do Numbers Matter?	237
Women’s Movements and Women’s Policy Machinery	240
Winning Hearts and Minds: Symbolic Representation	242

10 The West and the United States 245

The Geography of Women in Politics	245
Western Industrialized Countries	245
Success Stories: Early Nordic Growth, Parity, and Imbalanced Cabinets	248

Backlash: Harassment, Violence, and the Murder of Jo Cox	250
Women in the European Union	251

Middle of the Pack: The United States 254

Women in the US Senate and House of Representatives: Growing Slowly	255
Women in the States	259
Women in the State Legislature	259
Women Governors	261
Women and the American Presidency	261
I Just Don't Think She Has a Presidential Look	263
Explanations—Culture	266
Explanations—Structure (Eligibility)	269
Explanations—Politics	270
Gender Gaps in American Politics	272
Party Affiliation	273
Voter Turnout	274
Campaign Activities	275

11 Eastern Europe and Central Asia 277

The Fall of the Soviet Union: Women Fall Too	278
Variation in Recovery	280
Explaining Women's Political Power since 1990	280
Eastern and Central Europe and the European Union	284
Populism and the Far-Right Bring Backslides	286

12 Latin America and the Caribbean 289

Legacies of Culture in Latin America	292
Democratization and Women's Political Empowerment	293
Women's Participation in Guerrilla Warfare and Revolutionary Movements	293
Women's Participation in Protest Movements	295
Participation to Representation?	297
Gender Quotas	298
Women in Subnational Governments Make Big Gains	301
Setbacks and Challenges for Women in Politics	304

13 Middle East and North Africa 307

An Overview and Brief History of the Region	309
What Explains Women's Underrepresentation?	310

Changes Come to Women of the Gulf Coast Region 312

Wins for Women in Bahrain 313

Women's Rights Stall in Kuwait 314

Forces for Change in the Region 316

Gender Quotas: A Look at Early Adopters 316

Raising Awareness about Women's Underrepresentation
in Turkey 317**Women and the Arab Spring 320**

Tahrir Square Brings Little Improvement for Women in Egypt 321

After the Arab Spring 323**14 Asia and the Pacific 327****Cultural Influences on Women in Politics in Asia and the Pacific 330**

Confucianism 331

Honor Culture 332

Women Voters (Not) Supporting Women Politicians 334

Family Ties and Clientelism 335**Party Politics and Local Gender Quotas 338**Local Gender Quotas in India: Women in the *Panchayat Raj* 339**Women in Afghanistan 341****15 Sub-Saharan Africa 347****Colonialism 352****One-Party Rule, Democracy, and Democratization 354****Women, Ethnicity, and Ethnic Politics 357****Gender and Ethnic Quotas in Burundi 358****Armed Conflict: Devastation Yet Hope? 359**

Increasing the Supply of Women Candidates 360

Changing Culture 361

Changing Politics 362

16 Where Do We Go from Here? And How Do We Get There? 365

Where Are We Now? 365

Where Are We Going? 368

How Do We Get There? 369

Furthering Women's Position in the Social Structure 369

Influencing Culture 370

Disrupting Politics as Usual 370

In Conclusion: What Would a 50/50 World Look Like? 371

Glossary G-1

References R-1

Index I-1

Cultural Influences on Women in Politics in Asia and the Pacific 330
Campaign Activities 275

14 Asia and the Pacific 327

Gender Gaps in Asian Politics 277

Party Affiliation 273

Explanations—Politics 270

Explanations—Structure (Eligibility) 269

Explanations—Culture 266

Tahrir Square Brings Little Improvement for Women in Egypt 321

Women and the Arab Spring 320

Raising Awareness about Women's Underrepresentation in Turkey 317

Gender Quotas: A Look at Early Adopters 251

Forces for Change: Women's Rights in Kuwait 255

Family Ties and Clientelism 335
Women Voters (Not) Supporting Women Politicians 334

Party Politics and Local Gender Quotas 338

Local Gender Quotas in India: Women in Decision-Making 338

Explaining Women's Political Power since 1990 in Algeria 341

Women in Algeria 341

Eastern and Central Europe and the European Union 284

15 Sub-Saharan Africa 340

Populism and the Far-Right Bring 340

Colonialism 352

One-Party Rule, Democracy and Democratization 352

Women, Ethnicity, and Ethnic Politics 352

Gender and Ethnic Politics in Burundi 352

Women's Participation in Guerrilla Warfare and Armed Conflict: Deviation Yet Hope? 359

Armed Conflict: Deviation Yet Hope? 359

Increasing the Supply of Women Candidates 360

Women's Participation in Protest Movements 361

Changing Culture 361

Changing Politics 362

Gender Quotas 362

Women in Subnational Governments Make Big Gains 363

16 Where Do We Go from Here? And How Do We Get There? 363

Where Are We Now? 365

Where Are We Going? 368

How Do We Get There? 369

What Explains Women's Underrepresentation? 310

What Explains Women's Underrepresentation? 310