

Book Prospectus
Gender and Representation in Latin America
Edited by Leslie Schwindt-Bayer

Overview

In the late 1970s' and early 1980's, Latin American countries began the process of transitioning to democracy. Democracy took hold in nearly every country in the region by the end of the 1980's with high expectations for long-awaited political and economic modernization. Alongside the transitions to democracy were socioeconomic and cultural improvements in gender equality. The gap between women's and men's participation in the paid labor force decreased by almost half since 1990, and women's enrollment in higher education institutions started to outpace men's throughout the region.¹ The influence of the Catholic Church on politics and society declined after the transitions to democracy and the emergence of new evangelical movements helped loosen traditional gender role expectations and allowed for the development of more supportive attitudes toward gender equality in society and politics.²

According to modernization theories, these developments should be associated with increased representation of women in politics (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Focusing on regionwide averages and some exceptional countries, this appears to be the case. Since 1999, five women have been elected president of Latin American countries—Mireya Moscoso in Panama (1999-2004), Michelle Bachelet in Chile (2006-2010; 2014-2018), Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in Argentina (2007-2011; 2011-2015), Dilma Rousseff in Brazil (2011-2015; 2015-2016³), and Laura Chinchilla in Costa Rica (2010-2014)—with three of them re-elected for a second term. Presidents have increasingly appointed experienced women to cabinets, with a rare cabinet even achieving gender parity (e.g., Chile in 2006). The average percentage of Latin American legislatures that is female has more than doubled since 1995 to 25% (IPU 2016), and five Latin American countries are among the top 20 countries in the world in terms of representation of women in their national parliaments—Bolivia, Cuba, Mexico, Ecuador, and Nicaragua—with all five having women in more than 40% of the seats in their congresses (IPU 2016). Women's presence in subnational governments and in political parties averages about 25%, as well (see Morgan and Hinojosa and Escobar-Lemmon and Funk in this volume).

Yet, exploring variation across government arenas within individual countries reveals that culture and socioeconomic factors are not the full picture. For example, despite significant cultural and socioeconomic improvements in the region, thirteen Latin American democracies have never elected a female president. Of the five countries that have had female presidents, three of them rank near the bottom in terms of women's representation in national legislatures—Panama,

¹ Based on data from the World Bank's World Development Indicators, women's labor force participation was 42% compared to 85% for men in 1990 and has increased to 57% compared to 84% for men in 2014. In 1970, women's tertiary enrollment in Latin America was half of men's, but today it is one-third larger: the Bank's Gender Parity Index averaged 0.59 in 1970 and averaged 1.30 in 2012 for the Latin American countries with data in those years ($n=9$ in 1970 and $n=10$ in 2012).

² As of 2008, only the Dominican Republic had less than half of its population disagree or strongly disagree that men make better political leaders than women (43%). All other countries ranged between 69% (Colombia) and 77% (Bolivia) in supporting women in politics (Morgan and Buice 2013).

³ Rousseff was impeached before her second term was completed.

Chile, and Brazil. Chile is one of the only countries that has had a parity cabinet, but it is also one of the countries with the lowest representation of women in Congress, political parties, and subnational offices. Similarly, whereas women's representation has nearly doubled in national legislatures, it has been almost constant over time in subnational legislatures (see Escobar-Lemmon and Funk in this volume), and in some countries with high representation of women at the national level, subnational representation is low, or vice versa. Inside government arenas too representation is highly gendered with rules and norms that advantage men and disadvantage women, limiting women's access to full political power. This unequal access to power for women working inside the political arena and the inconsistencies in women's representation across different government arenas within countries and cannot be explained by country-level changes in socioeconomic and cultural gender inequality over the last thirty years.

This book argues that gender inequality in political representation in Latin America is rooted in democratic institutions and the democratic challenges and political crises facing Latin American countries. Institutions and political context not only influence the number of women and men elected to office but also what they do once there, how much power they gain access to, and how their presence and actions influence democracy and society, more broadly. This book shows that formal and informal institutions and Latin America's recent crises of representation and democracy advantage men and disadvantage women in Latin American political representation. In doing so, it makes clear that representation in Latin American democracies is highly gendered.

The book provides an analysis of gender and representation in Latin America by drawing upon the expertise of top scholars of women, gender, and politics in Latin America to study the causes and consequences of women's representation in Latin America. Specifically, we analyze gender and representation regionwide in five different "arenas of representation"—the presidency, cabinets, national legislatures, political parties, and subnational governments—and in seven countries—Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, and Uruguay (parts I and II of the book, respectively). These countries were chosen to represent the diversity of Latin America in terms of geography, size, democracy, women's representation, and gender quotas. Countries from North, Central, and South America are included and both the largest (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico) and smallest (Costa Rica, Uruguay) are represented. Although all are democracies, some have struggled with consolidating democracy more than others (e.g., Argentina, Colombia, Mexico). These countries also represent those with longstanding gender quotas that have been among the most successful countries in the world in getting women into government (Argentina, Costa Rica, Mexico) and those with no, very new, or largely ineffective quotas that have been much less successful at increasing women's representation in government (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay). This diversity of cases will allow us to draw much more generalizable conclusions about the causes and consequences of women's representation in Latin America.

This book provides a wealth of new data on women's representation in each arena regionwide and often over time, and where possible, on women's representation as candidates as well as officeholders to document the state of women's representation in Latin America and providing the basis for delving into the causes and consequences of this representation. It also offers detailed analyses on women's representation in arenas of representation that have received much less attention in gender and politics research—political parties and subnational governments—to

provide a more thorough analysis of women's representation in Latin America than currently exists. Finally, it pulls together analysis of causes *and* consequences to present a more holistic analysis of gender and representation in Latin America and the ways in which political institutions and political context play a part in both.

Related Books

Related books fall into two categories—those on Latin American institutions and democracy and those on women, gender, and politics. Much research over the past thirty years has highlighted the importance of political institutions, democratic challenges, and political crises for representation in Latin America. Books on this have asked questions about how executive and legislative institutions in Latin America's presidential systems influence the behavior of elected officials and the policymaking process (Shugart and Carey 1992; Mainwaring and Shugart 1997; Carey and Shugart 1998; Morgenstern and Nacif 2002; Samuels 2003; Carey 2009). They have explored parties and party systems to understand how they operate in Latin America and how they influence who gets elected and what they do once in office (Siavelis and Morgenstern 2008; Mainwaring and Scully 1995; Morgan 2011). More recently, scholars have examined how and why citizen support for democracy has declined, how and why party systems have fragmented, how and why new political actors, particularly leftist parties and politicians, have emerged on the political scene, what new political institutions have been created in response to the weakness of representative democracy, how these institutions operate, and how well, if at all, they have changed politics in the region (Mainwaring et al. 2006; Alcántara Sáez 2008; Kitschelt et al. 2010; Levitsky and Roberts 2011; Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2015; Brinks et al. 2014; Hagopian and Mainwaring 2005; Levine and Molina 2011). These studies have only rarely considered gender in their analysis of institutions and democracy in Latin America, however.

Research on women's representation in Latin America also exists. However, this research has explored individual arenas of representation, most often legislatures, regionwide or in individual countries rather than examining multiple arenas in relation to one another both regionwide and in specific countries. Key books in this research area include Schwindt-Bayer (2010) and Barnes (2016) on legislatures (national and subnational, respectively), Hinojosa (2012) on parties, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson (2016) on cabinets, and Thomas (Forthcoming) and Waylen (2016) on executives. Several important country studies on women's representation also have been published (Franceschet 2005; Rodríguez 2003, 1998; Macaulay 2006) Franceschet (2005) on Chile, Macaulay (2006) on Chile and Brazil, Barnes (2016) on Argentina, and Rodríguez (1998, 2003) on Mexico.

A more holistic analysis of gender and representation across multiple arenas, both regionwide and in individual countries is necessary to provide a more complete picture of the state of gender and representation in Latin America, to evaluate how and why women's representation varies across countries and arenas within countries, to explore what the consequences of women's representation have been inside and outside political arenas, and to determine why gender representation remains unequal in almost all of its facets. As noted above, doing this allows us to show the importance of political institutions and political context as causes of women's representation, as disadvantages to women gaining real political power inside the political arena, and as moderators on the influence of women's representation on society and democracy.

Target Audience

The book aims to reach a broad audience—academics, students, policymakers, and international and non-governmental organizations interested in the topic of women and political leadership in Latin America and beyond. The topic is one that generates interest from both academic and non-academic audiences, and thus, one goal of this book is to be accessible to all of these audiences. As scholars, the authors of this book have a vested interest in producing rigorous scientific research that answers relevant questions about women in Latin American governments. This book will do that, but do it in a way that is open to non-specialists as well as specialists and those with significant background in Latin American politics and those without.

This book should be of interest and use to several different audiences. First, it should have academic appeal to university libraries and scholars of women and gender politics, Latin American politics and society, democracies, and political institutions. The topic should be of interest to them, but the set of authors included in this volume should also be attractive. Second, students will benefit from a book that brings together top scholars in the field to analyze women's representation in Latin America. This book could easily be used in both graduate and undergraduate courses. For years, I have had requests from scholars studying democracy and institutions in Latin America for recommendations of good books on women and gender representation that they could assign in their Latin American politics courses. I have not had very good suggestions for a book that covers the topic in a comprehensive way. This book aims to fill that void, and I believe a wide audience exists for this book in those courses. I also think it can fill a similar void in gender and politics survey courses for faculty using a regional approach and looking for a comprehensive book on women, gender, and representation in Latin America.

Third, policymakers in Latin America as well as those who work with Latin American governments will find this book useful for better understanding how to continue to improve women's access to political leadership, to understand what outcomes women's representation in government produces, and to be aware of the challenges, particularly institutional ones, that women in office in Latin America continue to face. Finally, numerous non-governmental and international organizations have become interested in questions related to women's representation in politics and regularly contract with academics on these kinds of topics or produce their own research in these areas. UN Women, International IDEA, the Inter-American Dialogue, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), to name just a few, have active interest in these areas and should be interested in this book. Many of these groups have even called on the authors writing chapters in this book as consultants.

I look forward to the opportunity to market this book widely to these various audiences.

Book Details

This book is approximately 110,000 words excluding references and figures/tables. In total, the book will have approximately 80 figures and tables. The manuscript has an appendix that can be made into an online, if necessary.

Authors' Credentials

All of the authors working on this book have published extensively on women and gender politics, political institutions, and Latin America. The book brings together the top scholars on women's representation in Latin America, including junior and senior scholars and scholars from institutions around the world.

Editor

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Susan Franceschet is a professor of political science at the University of Calgary (Canada). Her research focuses on women's representation in legislatures and cabinets, gender quotas, and gender and the executive branch. She is the author of *Women and Politics in Chile* (2005) and co-editor of *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (2012, Oxford University Press) and *Comparative Public Policy in Latin America* (2012). Her research has appeared in *Comparative Political Studies*, *Politics & Gender*, *Latin American Research Review*, and *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*.

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Meredith P. Gleitz is a recent graduate from Texas A&M University with a Bachelor of Arts in International Studies and Spanish. Her research interests include gender and politics, particularly in Latin America. While at Texas A&M, Meredith co-founded a committee dedicated to promoting gender equality on campus and was nominated for the Jameson Prize for most outstanding undergraduate research paper on women's issues. She hopes to pursue a career in academic research after serving in Peace Corps Ecuador from 2017-2019.

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Mark P. Jones is the Joseph D. Jamail Chair in Latin American Studies, Professor of Political Science, the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy's Fellow in Political Science, and the Faculty Director of the Master of Global Affairs Program at Rice University. His research focuses on the effect of electoral laws and other political institutions on governance, representation and voting. His work has appeared in journals such as the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies* and *The Journal of Politics* as well as in edited volumes published by Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press and Penn State University Press, among others. He also is a coauthor of *Texas Politics Today*, 2015-2016 Edition.

Jana Morgan is Associate Professor of Political Science and Chair of the Latin American and Caribbean studies program at the University of Tennessee. Her research considers issues of inequality, exclusion, and representation in Latin America. She is particularly interested in exploring how gaps in the representation and participation of economically and socially marginalized groups undermine democratic institutions and outcomes. She is the recipient of the Van Cott Outstanding Book award given by the Latin American Studies Association for her book *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse* (Penn State, 2011), which shows how party systems' inability to provide adequate linkages between society and the state precipitate system collapse. Her work has also been published in numerous journals including *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Politics & Gender*, *Latin American Research Review*, and *Latin American Politics and Society*. Her work has been supported by grants from the Fulbright-Hays program and the Russell Sage Foundation, among others.

Mónica Pachón is Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, Government and International Relations at the Universidad del Rosario in Bogotá, Colombia. She was previously an associate professor at the School of Government Alberto Lleras Camargo at Universidad de los Andes, in Bogotá, Colombia. She received her PhD at University of California, San Diego, and her research and publications have focused on executive-legislative relations in Latin American presidential systems and legislative organization, with great emphasis on the Colombian case.

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Catherine Reyes-Housholder is a Ph.D. candidate in Government at Cornell University. She is researching the use of presidential power by *presidentas* to promote pro-women change for her dissertation and has conducted dissertation fieldwork in Brazil and Chile thanks to a Fulbright-Hays fellowship. She has published in *Latin American Politics & Society*, and has two chapters in a recent edited volume, *The Gendered Executive* (Temple University Press 2016).

Michelle Taylor-Robinson is a professor of political science at Texas A&M University. Her current research focuses on women's representation with a concentration on presidential cabinets in Latin America. She has published her work in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *the Journal of Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, and *Comparative Political Studies* among others. She also has published three books, *Do the Poor Count? Democratic Institutions and Accountability in a Context of Poverty* (2010) with Pennsylvania State University Press, *Negotiating Democracy: Transition from Authoritarian Rule* (1996 with Gretchen Casper) with the University of Pittsburgh Press, and *Women in Presidential Cabinets: Power Players Or Abundant Tokens?* (2016 with Maria Escobar-Lemmon) with Oxford University Press. She also has an edited volume *Representation: The Case of Women* (2014 with Maria Escobar-Lemmon) with Oxford University Press.

Gwynn Thomas is Associate Professor of Global Gender Studies in the Department of Transnational Studies at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York. Her research focuses on gender and politics in Latin America, with a particular focus on Chile. Her first book, *Contesting Legitimacy in Chile: Familial Ideals, Citizenship, and Political Struggle, 1970-1990* (Penn State Press 2011), examines the mobilization of familial beliefs in Chilean political conflicts. Her published work on gender and politics appears in *The Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*, *The International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *the ISA Compendium Project*, and *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. She received the Elsa Chaney Award in 2007 from the Gender and Feminist Studies section of the Latin American Studies Association.

Pär Zetterberg is an associate professor of political science and researcher at the Department of Government at Uppsala University (Sweden). His research interests mainly include candidate recruitment and political representation in a comparative perspective, with particular focus on electoral gender quotas. He has published his research in journals such as *Political Research Quarterly*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *International Political Science Review*, and *Politics & Gender*.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 An Introduction to Gender and Representation in Latin America

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, Rice University

The introductory chapter describes the puzzle noted in the overview above and lays out a theoretical framework for analyzing gender and representation in Latin America. The chapter situates the book in two important literatures—one on Latin American politics and democratic institutions and the other on gender and politics—and then develops the book’s argument as a contribution to both of those literatures. It describes the framework on causes and consequences of women’s representation and develops a set of arguments emphasizing political institutions and the democratic challenges facing Latin American democracies as key to understanding the causes and consequence of women’s representation. This framework underlies all of the chapters in Parts I and II of the book. The chapter also overviews the organization of the volume, explains why the arenas and countries selected were selected, and describes why an edited volume was the most appropriate form for the book to take. Finally, it summarizes each chapter for the contributions it makes to the book as a whole and overviews the book’s main findings.

Part I: Arenas of Representation

Chapter 2 Latin America’s *Presidentas*: Overcoming Challenges, Forging New Pathways

Gwynn Thomas, University at Buffalo

Catherine Reyes-Housholder, Cornell University

Gwynn Thomas and Catherine Reyes-Housholder start off Part I by exploring gender and the presidency. They highlight the unexpected emergence of female presidents and presidential candidates in Latin America over the past fifteen years. The gendered history of the presidency in Latin America has long obstructed women’s access to that office. They point out that theories explaining the election of female executives globally fail to account for the rise of female presidents in Latin America and argue that the transition to democracy and subsequent efforts at democratic consolidation, women’s increasing political experience, the rise of the left, and recent political party crises have provided new opportunities for women in the presidency. Once in office, however, female presidents face challenges as they navigate gendered expectations while governing. On one hand, they have been just as successful governing as male presidents, using re-election rates as a measure of “success.” On the other hand, only one female president (Michelle Bachelet) has made gender equality a central component of her governing agendas. Thomas and Reyes-Housholder argue that female presidents have not used their constitutional powers to enact many gender equality policies, but in certain circumstances, they have been more likely than men to appoint women to their cabinets. Female presidents also have had some positive consequences on women’s participation and engagement in politics. Their gendered analysis of the Latin American presidency reveals that numerous challenges and opportunities remain for women and gender equality in the presidency.

Chapter 3 Women in presidential cabinets: Getting into the elite club?

Michelle Taylor-Robinson, Texas A&M University

Meredith Gleitz, Texas A&M University

Michelle Taylor-Robinson and Meredith Gleitz analyze cabinets in Latin America from a gendered perspective. They show that the overall representation of women in cabinets has increased significantly since the transitions to democracy, but women and men tend to be represented in stereotypically gendered cabinet portfolios (women in “soft” portfolios, such as social affairs and men in “hard” portfolios such as economics), and the gendered nature of the cabinet appointment process has not changed, i.e., the women who get appointed look like men in experience, backgrounds, and other qualifications. They identify the main causes of the increase in women’s presence in cabinets as the recent political crises that have led to outsider, leftist, and female (to only a very small degree) presidents who select more women and cross-arena diffusion of women—as women are getting more represented in national legislatures and subnational governments, they are more represented in cabinets. The consequences presented by Taylor-Robinson and Gleitz of greater gender balance in cabinets for women’s issues and gender equality programs are minimal. Female cabinet ministers find it difficult to promote women’s issues because of the restrictions of their portfolios—they are often in posts with little access to resources or need to implement the president’s priorities, which are only rarely about gender equality. At the same time, however, greater equality in the credentials and skills that male and female ministers bring to the table suggest improvements in gender integration into cabinets.

Chapter 4 Women in Legislatures: Gender, Institutions, and Democracy

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, Rice University

Santiago Alles, Rice University

Schwindt-Bayer and Alles analyze Latin American legislatures and argue that the influx of women into Latin American legislatures has been substantial in many countries, but once in office, women have struggled to attain full access to political power. After describing the variation in women’s representation in Latin American legislatures, they present a statistical analysis that shows that the main explanations for this variation lie with formal institutions, specifically gender quotas, and party system fragmentation, to a lesser extent. They then present evidence from existing literature that shows that women in legislatures have brought women’s issues to the legislative arena through their sponsorship of bills, their committee participation, and their verbal support for these issues, and they provide a new analysis using the Parliamentary Elites of Latin America (PELA) survey to show that female legislators in Latin America are more supportive of liberal gender equality, abortion, and divorce laws. However, they argue that women have not gained access to committee leadership posts on a diverse array of committees or served in top chamber leadership posts to the same extent as men, and they use the PELA dataset again to show that women perceive greater threats to democracy, but we argue that it is not clear that they have acted on those any differently than have men. Finally, they use the Americas Barometer survey to show that the presence of women in legislatures has had important effects on citizen support for female political leaders, political engagement and participation, and supportiveness of representative democracy.

Chapter 5 Women in Political Parties: Seen but not Heard

Jana Morgan, University of Tennessee
Magda Hinojosa, Arizona State University

Jana Morgan and Magda Hinojosa analyze gender representation in Latin American political parties. They present data from a unique dataset that shows wide variation across countries in party representation of women as members, leaders, in women's wings, and as candidates and officeholders, and they argue that the primary explanation for gender inequality in party representation is party selection rules and norms. Gender quotas and party ideology matter less than we often expect. To improve gender equality in parties, they argue for better candidate selection and nomination processes, quotas for women in leadership, training programs for female candidates and aspirants, and increased state funding for female candidates. Moving to some of the consequences of having more gender balance in parties, they conduct an original analysis with data from the Americas Barometer to show that women are less likely to identify with parties than men, and parties frequently fail to offer substantive linkages for women beyond their recent advances in descriptive representation. Poor party representation of women has strong negative substantive consequences. Research on gender and representation inside of political parties is sparse, thus far, but Morgan and Hinojosa make clear that more research is much needed, they move the literature in the right direction, and they offer important suggestions for future research in this area.

Chapter 6 Women in Subnational Governments: Replicating National Institutions or Forging a Unique Path?

Maria Escobar-Lemmon, Texas A&M University
Kendall Funk, Texas A&M University

In the final chapter of Part I, Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Kendall Funk explore gender representation at the subnational level in both state ("meso-") and local governments. They present an impressive amount of original data on subnational legislatures and executives in Latin America, revealing that women's representation at this level has not changed much over time even though it registers about 25% on average. The causes of different levels of representation of women and men vary across level and type of office—legislative and executive—but they make clear with a novel statistical analysis that institutions and cross-arena diffusion are key explanations. Escobar-Lemmon and Funk are positive about the consequences of having more women in subnational legislatures, showing evidence from numerous studies of the ways in which women in local executive and legislative offices have worked to promote gender equality and women's issues and worked to transform political arenas in ways that make them less biased toward women. They do, however, point out some significant challenges for gender equality in subnational politics—women are not getting into local executive offices to the same extent as they are legislative offices, subnational party politics has not been friendly to women, and gender balance is far from assured in local judiciaries and bureaucracies. Much more research needs to be done on both the causes and consequences of increasing gender equality at the subnational level but Escobar-Lemmon and Funk set the stage for future research.

Part II: Country Studies

Chapter 7 Women's Representation in the Argentine National and Subnational Governments

Tiffany D. Barnes, University of Kentucky

Mark P. Jones, Rice University

Tiffany Barnes and Mark Jones provide an analysis of women's representation in the first country in the world to adopt a gender quota for legislative elections—Argentina. Although Argentina initiated the wave of quota adoptions that has overtaken Latin America (and the world) in the past twenty-five years, it no longer retains the title of the most successful case of women's representation in the region. Women's legislative representation today sits just over the quota threshold—33%—which makes it only middle-of-the-pack in terms of women in the national legislature regionwide. Barnes and Jones point out that the country has had more female presidents than any other Latin American country but lags behind in women's representation among subnational executives, in national and subnational cabinets, and in party leadership. Explanations for this vary across arenas of representation. Whereas gender quotas and electoral rules matter most for legislatures, political factors and informal institutions related to party selection processes for candidate and elected leadership positions are key for executives and parties. According to Barnes and Jones, the consequences of women's representation in Argentina have been significant for policy—getting women's issues represented and creating policies that benefit poor women—but societal consequences are also detected—women's representation, particularly at the subnational level, has increased men's and women's trust in government and political engagement of women. Although Argentina is an oft-studied case in literature on gender and representation in Latin America because of its gender quotas, this chapter highlights that quotas have had pros and cons for women in the country and many challenges for women and scholarship on gender and representation remain.

Chapter 8 Informal Institutions and Women's Political Representation in Chile

Susan Franceschet, University of Calgary

Susan Franceschet explores the case of Chile and points out an interesting paradox—the very institutional and political factors that have made Chile one of the region's success stories have limited progress for women. Chile is one of the few countries in Latin America that has not seen large numbers of women enter the political system. Despite electing a female president, Michelle Bachelet, in 2006 (and re-electing her in 2014) and at one point achieving gender parity in cabinet appointments, women's presence in the national congress remains small (less than 20%), is only slightly higher at local levels, and is extremely limited among party and coalition leaders. A primary reason for women's poor legislative representation, Franceschet argues, is the strong formal and informal institutions that limit the size of electoral districts, require large thresholds to win seats, and require coalition negotiation over candidates for elected office. These are the very institutions that helped Chile become the stable two-party (two-coalition) democracy it is today. At the same time, increased public frustration with democracy and recognition of the problems those rules create for politics has helped women's representation in the executive branch, according to Franceschet. Even though women have a mixed record of getting into Chile's five arenas of representation, their presence has had important policy consequences. A gender-focused president has been critical for passage of gender-attentive policies. Women in Chile's legislative arenas have been more likely to bring gender issues to the agenda, even if they

have not always had success getting them passed or implemented. Franceschet points out that Sernam, the women's ministry, has played a critically important role in this. Although challenges for gender equality in Chile remain, much progress has occurred and the 2015 institutional reforms create expectations of continued improvements to come.

Chapter 9 Parity without Equality: Women's Political Representation in Costa Rica

Jennifer M. Piscopo, Occidental College

Jennifer Piscopo highlights Costa Rica as a country that has done exceptionally well in terms of women's presence in various arenas of representation and in terms of women acting for women in office and the passage of female-friendly policies. A well-implemented gender quota and subsequent parity law had much to do with this. Yet, Piscopo also points out that recent political crises in the country over the past decade have put a ceiling on gender equality in representation. Declining citizen confidence in government, decreased trust in parties, economic stagnation, and corruption scandals have led to a restructuring of the Costa Rican party system with the decline of the two traditional parties and rise of new and small parties. This increased party fragmentation makes it more difficult to elect multiple candidates from any one ballot, making top spots more prestigious and more likely to be protected by men (the majority of party leaders who select candidates are men) for men. This has made the election of women more difficult at the national and subnational level, in executive posts and legislative ones, and explains why gender parity has not been achieved, despite a parity gender quota law. Piscopo also points out that, although the election of Costa Rica's first female president, Laura Chinchilla, in 2010 broke the highest glass ceiling, her term in office was much less heralded. Corruption scandals, party breakdown, citizen frustration, and economic problems tainted her presidency, and unlike female legislators, who have often worked to promote women's issues and feminist policies in Costa Rica, Chinchilla did not (although she did not obstruct them either). Her negative legacy may make it more difficult for other women to get into top political offices and could have negative consequences for views of women in politics and Costa Rican representation, more generally. Piscopo notes the need for much more research on this, however.

Chapter 10 Marginalization of Women and Male Privilege in Political Representation in Uruguay

Niki Johnson, Universidad de la República

Niki Johnson draws from her extensive knowledge of and data on the Uruguayan case to show that despite Uruguay being a strong, stable, and institutionalized democracy with laws on equality and significant cultural and socioeconomic gender equality, women have struggled to make numerical progress in politics. Her chapter explores how and why this is the case. After a thorough description of the Uruguayan system and women's representation in all five arenas of representation, she argues that the system is significantly gendered. Formal and informal institutions that are inherently intertwined with political biases limit women's representation. Small district and party magnitudes along with male-biased candidate selection rules hindered women's entry into office until women's groups finally pushed through a gender quota in 2009. Although successful, the main parties applied the quota minimally in 2014 and sought out loopholes, particularly through the election of substitutes (*suplentes*), where they could. Even with a quota, they still do not prioritize gender as a criterion, either formally or informally, for

elected or appointed political offices. Highlighting the consequences of women's limited numerical representation, Johnson points out that substantive representation of women has been historically strong. Uruguay has had a longstanding cross-party women's caucus in the national parliament that has helped pass significant policies to help women. This contrasts with other countries where small numbers of women has meant more limited policy progress for women. Yet women still face numerous challenges both in terms of numbers and operating as women in politics in Uruguay. Parties are perhaps the biggest obstacle, and as Johnson points out, the least studied. Future research on the gendered nature of parties in Uruguay is much needed.

Chapter 11 Maintaining male dominance: Women's conditioned access to political office in Mexico

Pär Zetterberg, Uppsala University

Pär Zetterberg explores the gendered nature of political representation in Mexico. He points out that whereas women's legislative representation at the national and subnational level have increased dramatically (placing Mexico in the top-20 worldwide), and they have gained nearly 1/3 of seats on party executive bodies, women have done poorly in executive offices. Gender quotas have increased women's legislative and party leadership presence, but at the same time, the quota adoption process has brought to light just how reticent male elites are to incorporate women into the political system. Much of this results from unique Mexican rules (term limits) and norms (centralized selection and decision making in parties) that prioritize long-standing male party backbenchers' political careers. These challenges persist when examining the institutional consequences of women's presence in office. Women have to walk a fine line between representing women and responding to formal and informal institutional incentives to protect their own political careers. This has resulted, Zetterberg argues, in a clear gendered division of labor in Mexican politics. Women represent women through policymaking, but they have not gained access to powerful political positions, such as "hard" cabinet portfolios or prestigious committees. Zetterberg also points out that the societal consequences of women's presence in office are unclear—limited research on this exists but that which does shows little effect of women's legislative presence and a small effect at the local level as a result of female mayors—perhaps resulting from citizen frustration with limited democratic changes since 2000 and longstanding clientelistic and corrupt political practices that overwhelm opportunities for women's presence to influence citizens. Zetterberg makes very clear that greater democratization and more inclusive formal and informal rules are necessary to change the gendered nature of Mexico's political system and further incorporate women. Recent institutional reforms may be one step in this direction but only time will tell whether Mexican women's exceptional progress in getting elected to legislative bodies will translate into greater representation in other arenas, greater access to political power, and more impact on democracy and society.

Chapter 12 Women, Power, and Policy in Brazil

Clara Araújo, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro

Anna Calasanti, University of New Mexico

Mala Htun, University of New Mexico

Clara Araújo, Anna Calasanti, and Mala Htun explore women's representation in the Brazilian democracy. Despite its democratic transition in 1985 and increased economic power as one of

the BRIC's, Brazil has struggled more than any other country in this volume with bringing women into politics. Araujo, Calasanti, and Htun use the juxtaposition of the election of a female president in 2010 and the long-standing small number of women elected to the national congress and subnational legislatures and executives to motivate their chapter and explore the causes and consequences of women in Brazilian arenas of representation. They document women's small numbers in elected and appointed office over time and the increased number of female candidates after the revised 2009 quota reform. They argue that the primary explanations for women's limited representation is four-fold—the candidate-centered electoral system, party system fragmentation and weak institutionalization alongside decentralized selection processes, lack of access to financial resources to mount successful campaigns, and the interaction of incumbency and television in campaigns. Despite the challenges that women have had getting into office (and into positions of power in office), they have worked together through a women's caucus in the congress to put some women's issues on the political agenda. Social gender inequality and conservatism in the country, however, make promoting clearly feminist issues a challenge. Thus, Brazil represents a country where arenas of representation, institutions, campaigns, and policy is still highly gendered and significantly disadvantages women. Sadly, recent economic troubles, corruption scandals, and political crises look set to create an even more pessimistic environment for women's representation in the future.

Chapter 13 Female Representation in Colombia: A Historical Analysis (1960 – 2014)

Monica Pachón, Universidad del Rosario

Santiago E. Lacouture, Universidad de los Andes

Pachón and Lacouture examine the case of Colombia and show that women's representation has been low and remains low in most arenas of representation and across national and subnational levels of government. They identify institutions and the highly personalized Colombian political context as the primary reasons for this. No woman has been president and only a few have been credible candidates. This pattern is repeated with governors and mayors. Women's representation in cabinets has increased in recent years, largely as a result of the adoption of a cabinet-level administrative quota law, but the types of posts to which they get appointed remain gendered. In legislatures, Pachón and Lacouture show that slow increases have occurred over time in women's representation in local councils and the national congress, but the pattern has been flat in department-level assemblies. They find that electoral reforms are mostly responsible for this, but institutional change (such as the adoption of a legislative quota in 2011) has had larger effects on women's representation on party ballots than for the actual proportion of women elected to office. Here, they suggest that Colombia's highly personalistic politics are partly to blame. Despite women's small numbers, they do bring women's issues to the political arena. Pachón and Lacouture show that women are more likely to sponsor bills on women-focused topics, which may lead to greater substantive representation of women in Colombia.

Chapter 14 Conclusion: The Gendered Nature of Democratic Representation in Latin America

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, Rice University

The concluding chapter brings together the findings from the arena and country chapters to draw general conclusions about gender and representation in Latin America. The chapter summarizes

the ways in which the findings support the theoretical framework presented in the first chapter. Specifically, it argues that the chapters show the weakness of cultural and socioeconomic explanations for increased women's representation and the importance of political institutions and the current political context in Latin America. The most important causes identified in the chapters are candidate selection rules, electoral and appointment rules, gender quotas, and power/prestige and incumbency norms, as well as political crises, the rise of leftist ideology, party system fragmentation, and the corruption, patronage, and clientelism that remains strong in many countries. Among the consequences of women's representation inside the political arena are that women do promote women's issues in office and have greater opportunity to work on social issues, but they have not had the same impact in economic policy areas, on improving the political context in Latin America, or in transforming arenas to be less gendered. Informal institutional norms that obstruct women's ability to gain access to more powerful posts and traditionally masculine policy areas, such as economics, are a key explanation for this. Outside the arenas of representation, women's presence in some arenas has had positive effects on citizens' attitudes toward gender equality and democracy, more broadly. But why some arenas have more impact than others needs additional research. Building from this, the conclusion ends by describing several areas where future research is needed in an effort to help set a future research agenda on gender and representation in Latin America.

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