



Women's Representation in Governmental Office in Latin America

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Introduction

The Latin American region has been at the forefront of the inclusion and expansion of women's representation in government offices for the last twenty-five years. During that time, the region saw many changes in women's representation, including the adoption of the world's first national legislative gender quota (Argentina in 1991), which gave way to the near-ubiquitous adoption of quotas across the region, and the subsequent drastic increase in the number of female legislators. In addition, some women in the region have been successful at attaining presidential office: between 2000 and 2018, five women have served as president in Latin America. Women are also gaining access to powerful cabinet posts at higher rates. That said, it is unclear whether women's political gains—particularly in the executive branch—will persist into the future. On the one hand, as of 2018, all women presidents had left office (some via impeachment or with very low approval ratings), and some countries have experienced backslides and stagnation in the levels of women's representation. On the other hand, some countries in the region are forging progress for women by adopting gender parity laws and expanding quotas and parity laws to other branches and levels of government. These changes in women's formal representation have motivated many scholars of the region to devote considerable attention to the topic of women's representation. This bibliography focuses on two distinct substantive areas of research on women's representation in government: women's pathways to power, and the consequences of women's access to representation. The bibliography is organized as follows. First, there is an overview of the Pioneering Works on women's representation in Latin America. Second, there is an outline of some useful Resources for scholars interested in women's representation in the region, including Edited Volumes and Special Journal Issues on Women's Representation in Latin America that provide broad overviews of this topic in the Latin American context, and Data Sources that facilitate past and future research in the field. Finally, relevant research on this topic is outlined, organized into the two main substantive areas listed previously: Pathways to Power and the Consequences of Women's Representation in Latin America.

Pioneering Works

One of the earliest works to examine women's representation in Latin American government was Chaney 1979, a groundbreaking work on the "supermadre." This work influenced the study of women's representation in Latin America in two key ways: first, by elaborating the concept of the "supermadre", a feminine ideal applied to women in legislatures that at once gave women political legitimacy while also limiting their policymaking roles to domestically focused issues—an ongoing tension for women legislators in the region that Craske 1999 and later works built upon (Schwindt-Bayer 2006, cited under Policy Preferences and Priorities; Schwindt-Bayer 2010, cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas). Second, Chaney 1979 made extensive use of elite interviews with female legislators, an approach that opened an entire avenue for research on the consequences of women's representation in legislatures (e.g., Franceschet, et al. 2016, cited under Elite Networks and Social Backgrounds). In addition to the research on women's representation in government (which is the focus of this bibliography), many of the earliest works on women's political roles in Latin America concentrated on women's social movements (Molyneux 1985). This focus was due, in part, to the prevalence of women's social movements and high rates of women's activism during a time with relatively low

numbers of women in political offices. However, conceptual innovation from work on women's movements is still a critical part of the literature on women's representation in government, particularly Molyneux's conception of women's gender interests, which have informed how countless later works conceptualize women's representation (e.g., Schwindt-Bayer 2010).

Chaney, Elsa M. *Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979.

This seminal work on women's role in the politics of Latin America was a first look at women in elected office in the region, and from her work surveying female legislators Chaney derived the concept of the "supermadre." This concept illustrates the regional ideal of woman as policymaker—a "mother" to the whole nation, defining and constraining women's leadership roles to areas of domestic importance and reinforcing expectations of women as nurturing, affectionate, and passive. This concept went on to inform many works studying representation in the region, such as Schwindt-Bayer 2006 (cited under Policy Preferences and Priorities) and Schwindt-Bayer 2010 (cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas), which found that this cultural ideal is still present but has relaxed over time.

Craske, Nikki. *Women and Politics in Latin America*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1999.

Motherhood as an identity has been a powerful mobilizing narrative for women in the region. Critically, motherhood cuts across class, ethnic, and national boundaries, and affords women legitimacy in the public sphere. However, motherhood is only one of many identities women may occupy, and some of those other identities conflict with traditional notions of motherhood. This book documents the growing tension between women's strategies for gaining acceptance in politics and their actual experiences and identities, anticipating the intersectional activism (and scholarship) to come.

Molyneux, Maxine. "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua." *Feminist Studies* 11.2 (1985): 227–254.

Focused on the outcome of the revolutionary movement in Nicaragua, this work provides a landmark analysis of women's interests that many subsequent works have built upon. In particular, the author breaks down the concept of women's interests into three parts: women's interests, or gender interests—things that all or most women have in common; strategic gender interests—more abstract "feminist" interests that women develop as a product of their unique position in society; and practical gender interests—interests that arise from actual women's occupation of their positions (such as women's presumed domestic role creating women's desire for government welfare programs).

Resources

Given the importance of gender to the literature on representation, particularly in Latin America, there are a growing number of resources that scholars interested in the topic can use in their own research. Here, we provide information on some of the most important resources available. These resources are organized into the following categories: Edited Volumes, Special Journal Issues on Women's Representation in Latin America, and Data Sources.

Edited Volumes

A number of edited volumes in the field of women's representation constitute important references, as they bring together leading experts in the field to address a range of issues discussed throughout this bibliography across numerous Latin American countries. Multiple volumes reviewed here focus on the role of women's movements for advancing women's rights throughout the region. Although the focus of this bibliography is women's representation in government, these works are important references for understanding how women's role in and access to politics has transformed over time. To begin with, Jaquette and Wolchik 1998

shows that beyond their instrumental role in ushering in democracy across the region, women continue to mobilize even in the post-transition period, helping to secure and reinforce women's gains in formal representation. Craske and Molyneux 2002, similarly, considers the influence of women's movements on women's representation in government in the 1980s and 1990s, and Jaquette 2009 demonstrates the ongoing need for women's movements, as they interact with women in public office and the bureaucracy to strengthen and deepen women's rights throughout the region. Archenti and Tula 2008 assembles an all-star cast to provide an in-depth investigation of the spread and success of gender quotas across the region. In doing so, the volume provides a nuanced understanding of the success and pitfalls of gender quotas in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and the Dominican Republic. Došek, et al. 2017 brings together scholars and practitioners to consider the presiding obstacles and critical openings for expanding women's representation and involvement in Latin American politics. Finally, Schwindt-Bayer 2018 convenes a panel of experts to consider the causes and consequences of women's access to the presidency, cabinets, legislatures, political parties, and subnational governments across Latin America, with in-depth treatments of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Uruguay. This volume presents a comprehensive and current evaluation of women's representation in government region-wide. Although many of the individual chapters published in these volumes are instrumental in advancing the study of women's representation in government in Latin America, in this bibliography we refer readers to the volumes in their entirety, rather than reviewing individual chapters in these volumes on women's representation in Latin America. We do, however, review chapters on women's representation in government in Latin America that were published in volumes on Latin America more generally, or on women's representation beyond Latin America.

Archenti, Nélica, and María Inés Tula. *Mujeres y política en America Latina: Sistemas electorales y cuotas de género*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Heliasta, 2008.

Using a series of case studies across Latin America, this book examines how gender quotas interact with existing electoral, social, and political conditions to explain the success and limitations of electoral gender quotas.

Craske, Nikki, and Maxine Molyneux. *Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Springer, 2002.

This book focuses on the women's movements in recent history. In the 1980s and 1990s, women's movements worked to spread awareness of women's rights in their political systems, but also helped to shape the legal system of rights itself. However, an overreliance on legality and rights-based language can have costs in time and effectiveness, and may still fall short of securing the practice of full equality for women.

Došek, Tomáš, Flavia Freidenberg, Mariana Caminotti, and Betilde Muñoz-Pogossian, eds. *Women, Politics, and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

This volume addresses a number of underdeveloped themes in the literature on gender and politics in Latin America, thus establishing a new direction for future research on women's representation. In particular, it covers the rise of social media, recent changes in attitudes and perceptions of women in politics, and the changing role of national and international actors.

Jaquette, Jane S. *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.

Generally, mass mobilizations by women declined in the post-democratization period. However, these essays demonstrate that there is a continuing need for mobilization, and that modern women's movements are becoming more pluralistic but simultaneously more fragmented. Continued progress, they argue, will depend on three key groups: grassroots women's organizations, women in political office, and women in government bureaucracies.

Jaquette, Jane S., and Sharon L. Wolchik. *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

This volume contains essays examining the role of women in transitions to democracy and how this involvement shapes policies directed at women in the post-transition phase. Though each chapter focuses on a single country as a case study, the general work finds that Latin American women contributed to democratization by focusing on economic hardships that the regimes failed to redress, and that women have mobilized based on gender in the post-transition period.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. *Gender and Representation in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

One of the most recent edited volumes on the subject of women's representation in Latin America, this book is divided in two. The first half of the book examines various "arenas of representation," with chapters focused on women's roles in the executive branch, cabinets, legislatures, parties, and subnational governments. The second half includes chapters focusing on gender politics in specific countries, particularly Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and Brazil.

Special Journal Issues on Women's Representation in Latin America

We point the reader to several special journal issues, and a special section, that scholars have curated in an effort to bring together those working on the same topic of women's representation in Latin America. To begin with, Ewig 2012 assembles scholars to consider the implications of Latin America's turn to the left for women and gender equality. Next, Forstner 2013 shows how issues such as the diversification of rural economies, migration, and remittances have influenced gender relations in formal and informal political institutions across Latin America. Next, Johnson and Taylor-Robinson 2014 is a special issue focusing on women's legislative behavior and the development of a gendered legislative agenda. Finally, Blofield, et al. 2017 brings together a range of scholars to consider how Latin America's turn to the left has influenced women's representation and women's rights in Latin America.

Blofield, Merike, Christina Ewig, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, eds. *Special Issue: The Left and Gender Equality: Achievements, Setbacks and Variation after Latin America's Pink Tide*. *Social Politics* 24.4 (2017).

This issue joins scholars studying the intersection of gender and politics during the "pink tide." The editors argue that while Latin America's turn to the left created an opportunity for advancing gender equality, most policies and changes were reactionary, rather than an explicit plan from the left to advance gender equality. Contributors address issues ranging from class and ethnicity to policies focused on abortion and violence against women during the pink tide.

Ewig, Christina, ed. "Gender and Latin America's Pink Tide: Critical Perspectives on Gender and Politics." *Politics & Gender* 8.2 (2012): 246–274.

The authors in this edited section of *Politics & Gender* examine the relationship between gender and left-leaning governments in four Latin America countries: Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Peru. They analyze gender, sexual rights, and the intersection of gender and race to explain the implications of Latin America's turn to the left for gender equality in the region.

Forstner, Kathrin, ed. *Special Issue: Gender, Institutions and Rural Transformation in Latin America*. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32.1 (2013).

Articles address issues such as women's roles in formal and informal political institutions, the relationship between gender roles and legal reforms, the influence of NGOs for empowering rural women, and the impact of conditional cash transfer programs on

poor women's lives. Whereas "rural transformations" in some parts of Latin America have increased the power of rural women, the persistence of traditional gender norms continues to limit women's empowerment elsewhere.

Johnson, Niki, and Michelle Taylor-Robinson, eds. *Special Issue: Representación de las Mujeres en los Cuerpos Legislativos de América Latina. Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* 23.2 (2014).

This issue contributes to an understanding of gender differences in men's and women's legislative behavior, legislators' strategies and political practices, and the construction of a gendered legislative agenda. The issue addresses the challenge of how to define "women's interests" and "gender issues" in the Latin American context. The collection includes studies that employ diverse theoretical and methodological approaches and leverages empirical evidence from subnational and national legislatures in Mexico, Costa Rica, and Argentina.

Data Sources

A number of free and publicly accessible data sources are available to scholars of women's representation in Latin America. Indeed, Latin America was one of the first regions to have comprehensive coverage of public opinion data. The Latinobarómetro Corporation has been conducting the Latinobarometer survey since the late 1990s, and today it covers eighteen Latin American countries. The Latin American Public Opinion Project conducts nationally representative public opinion surveys in thirty-four Western Hemisphere countries. In addition to public opinion, there are a variety of data sources cataloging women's access to and presence in elected office. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) catalogues constitutional and electoral law gender quotas. Scholars studying women's descriptive representation in Latin America will also find useful data on women's presence in national parliaments (Inter-Parliamentary Union), as well as in other branches and levels of government (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe).

Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe. *Autonomy in Decision-Making. United Nations Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean.*

The United Nations' Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL) has publicly available data on Women's Autonomy in Decision Making. There are seven main indicators that track women's numeric representation across all levels and branches of government, including in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, as well as local government.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. *Gender Quotas Database.*

Latin American countries were some of the earliest adopters of gender quotas worldwide, and today gender quotas have proliferated across the region. The Gender Quotas Database provides researchers with a comprehensive catalogue of gender quotas worldwide. Users can narrow their search by region—to only examine Latin America, for example—and obtain information about the type of quota, as well as more detailed information about constitutional and electoral law quotas.

Inter-Parliamentary Union. *Women in National Parliaments Statistical Archive.* 2018.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union's Database of Women in National Parliaments is of particular interest to scholars studying women's descriptive representation in Latin America, such as the effect of gender quotas and electoral rules over time. The IPU database covers women in national parliaments—both in the lower and upper house where applicable—from 1997 to present.

Latin American Public Opinion Project. *AmericasBarometer.*

The Latin American Public Opinion Project, out of Vanderbilt University, has been publishing the AmericasBarometer survey since 2008. It provides scholars with nationally representative public opinion survey data from thirty-four countries in the Western Hemisphere, and data sets are available to the public for free with no embargo period. In addition to a core questionnaire that appears in every survey wave, the AmericasBarometer also includes some wave-specific questions related to gender issues, women's representation, and support for female leadership.

Latinobarómetro Corporation. Latinobarómetro.

The Latinobarómetro is an annual public opinion survey that covers eighteen Latin American countries and is conducted by the Latinobarómetro Corporation, an NGO based out of Santiago, Chile. Latinobarómetro has been surveying Latin American citizens since the late 1990s, and in addition to a core questionnaire, surveys occasionally include questions related to women's roles in politics and society, depending on the theme of a given wave.

Pathways to Power

Even though women make up the majority of the population, women's numeric representation in governments worldwide trails far behind men's in most countries. This section highlights research examining the formal rules that either facilitate or hinder women's access to political power. Given that a number of Latin American countries were early adopters of legislative gender quotas, Latin America has been a focal point for scholars investigating how formal rules structure women's descriptive representation. In addition to gender quotas, scholars have also examined how other electoral rules, political parties, and elite networks influence women's access to office. Moreover, once elected, a variety of institutional contexts also shape women's access to power and opportunities for advancement.

Women's Access to Legislative Office

The vast majority of research focused on women's access to formal positions of power in Latin America examines the election of women to legislative office. A number of formal and informal rules and norms explain women's access to legislative power across the region.

The Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas

In order to achieve quality representation for women, women first have to be successful at getting elected into office, and gender quotas are one effective mechanism for achieving this (Schwindt-Bayer 2010). Consequently, many works examine the adoption and diffusion of gender quotas in the Latin American region. In 1991, Argentina became the first country in the world to adopt legislative gender quotas (Jones 1996, cited under Quota Design and Effectiveness), and since Argentina's initial adoption, quotas have spread throughout the region (Jones 2009, Piscopo 2015, cited under Quota Design and Effectiveness, Piscopo 2016). Various works examine the adoption, diffusion, and expansion of gender quota laws (Baldez 2004, Caminotti 2009, Piscopo 2016. Also refer Caminotti and Freidenberg 2016, Jones 1996, Piscopo 2015, Rodríguez Gustá and Caminotti 2010, cited under Quota Design and Effectiveness) and reserved seats (Htun 2016, cited under Public Opinion and Attitudes; Htun and Ossa 2013), to explain when and why governments make efforts to incorporate politically marginalized groups.

Baldez, Lisa. "Elected Bodies: The Gender Quota Law for Legislative Candidates in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29.2 (2004): 231–258.

Examines the conditions under which politicians adopt gender quota laws. Prior research on this topic has tended to focus on the electoral context while overlooking three important factors: the domestic political context, the courts, and cross-partisan support.

Caminotti, Mariana. "En el nombre de la democracia: La invención del cupo femenino y la difusión de cuotas electorales en la Argentina." PhD diss., Universidad Nacional de General San Martín, Escuela de Política y Gobierno, 2009.

Caminotti traces the diffusion of gender quotas across the Argentine provinces. She discusses the origins of the gender quota law in Argentina and demonstrates the widespread success in the adoption of quotas throughout the country.

Htun, Mala, and Juan Pablo Ossa. "Political Inclusion of Marginalized Groups: Indigenous Reservations and Gender Parity in Bolivia." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 1.1 (2013): 4–25.

The indigenous-led government of Bolivia was more receptive to women's political demands than to indigenous demands. This article shows that this is because women presented a unified front, bridging the gaps between urban white feminists and rural indigenous women, and thus won a 50 percent quota for women, whereas the general indigenous movement was divided on the prospect of reserved seats.

Piscopo, Jennifer M. "Democracy as Gender Balance: The Shift from Quotas to Parity in Latin America." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4.2 (2016): 214–230.

Piscopo analyzes the political discourse surrounding the adoption of gender parity legislation in seven Latin American countries—Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama. She finds that parity advocates underscore that equality of outcomes is a fundamental principle of democracy.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Women's representation is a multidimensional concept that can only be fully understood when viewed all at once. The author argues that formal representation (e.g., gender quotas) influences how much descriptive representation women achieve, which influences how much substantive or policy representation women receive, and these factors combined affect how the citizenry perceives the government (i.e., as "representative" or not).

Quota Design and Effectiveness

As quotas spread throughout Latin America, a new research agenda developed to examine how the design of a quota structures its effectiveness at getting women elected. Jones's works demonstrated clearly that not all quotas are equally effective and that design matters (Jones 1998, under the Context of Gender Quotas; Jones 1996; Jones 2004; Jones 2009; Jones, et al. 2012, cited under the Context of Gender Quotas). These works helped to launch a new field of investigation examining the effectiveness of quota designs (e.g., Archenti and Tula 2007, cited under the Context of Gender Quotas; Caminotti and Freidenberg 2016; Marx, et al. 2009).

Caminotti, Mariana, and Flavia Freidenberg. "Federalismo electoral, fortaleza de las cuotas de género y representación política de las mujeres en los ámbitos subnacionales en Argentina y México." *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* 61.228 (2016): 121–144.

Caminotti and Freidenberg develop a new index to evaluate the strength of subnational quotas in Argentina and Mexico. They find that whereas the strength of quota laws in Argentina results in the election of more women to subnational legislatures, in Mexico ambiguities in the quota law give political party leaders substantial influence over women's access to the ballot.

Jones, Mark P. "Increasing Women's Representation via Gender Quotas: The Argentine Ley de Cupos." *Women & Politics* 16.4 (1996): 75–98.

This article examines the strengths and weakness of the electoral impact of the national gender quota law in Argentina, and explains the implications of the Argentine laws for other nations considering adopting a gender quota.

Jones, Mark P. "Quota Legislation and the Election of Women: Learning from the Costa Rican Experience." *Journal of Politics* 66.4 (2004): 1203–1223.

This study leverages a unique election law reform in Costa Rica—over a period of ten years, Costa Rica employed three different gender quota laws—to contribute to scholars' understanding of effective gender quota legislation. Jones finds that quotas perform best when the law requires political parties to reserve a minimum percentage of positions on their list for women, and to comply with placement mandates (i.e., rules that require women to be placed in electable positions on the list).

Jones, Mark P. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence from the Latin American Vanguard." *Comparative Political Studies* 42.1 (2009): 56–81.

Using district-level data from nineteen Latin American countries, Jones demonstrates that gender quotas are effective at improving women's access to legislative office in electoral systems with both open and closed proportional representation lists. But quotas perform better when combined with closed lists, particularly when placement mandates are strictly enforced.

Marx, Jutta, Jutta Borner, and Marina Caminotti. "Gender Quotas, Candidate Selection, and Electoral Campaigns: Comparing Argentina and Brazil." In *Feminist Agendas and Democracy in Latin America*. Edited by Jane S. Jaquette, 45–64. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.

Through an in-depth analysis of gender quotas in Argentina and Brazil, the authors demonstrate how quota design—the use of placement mandates and strict enforcement mandates—determine the effectiveness of gender quota legislation. They further demonstrate how factors such as the cost of political campaigns and political party recruitment efforts contribute to the continued exclusion of women from Brazilian politics.

Piscopo, Jennifer. "States as Gender Equality Activists: The Evolution of Quota Laws in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57.3 (2015): 29–42.

As many countries in Latin America shift from gender quota laws to parity laws, Piscopo surveys the expansion and strengthening of quota laws across the region. She provides an up-to-date inventory of gender quota and parity laws in Latin America.

Rodríguez Gustá, Ana Laura, and Mariana Caminotti. "Políticas públicas de equidad de género: Las estrategias fragmentarias de la Argentina y Chile." *Revista SAAP* 4.2 (2010): 85–110.

In a comparison of Argentina and Chile, the authors demonstrate that whereas gender quotas have improved women's access to legislative office in Argentina, Chile (a country without a gender quota) created mechanisms for advancing gender mainstreaming. They illustrate how electoral quotas and gender mainstreaming address different dimensions of gender inequality in the state.

The Context of Gender Quotas

The internal design of gender quotas alone cannot explain fully how well quotas work, because quotas interact with existing

electoral rules and other factors to shape women's access to office. Subsequently, much of the research on quotas examines how larger institutional and social contexts to help or hurt quotas' ability to elect women. In particular, such works consider how factors such as party magnitude (Schmidt and Saunders 2004, Schwindt-Bayer 2010, cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas), primary elections (Baldez 2007), legislative reelection (Alles 2008), and political and social context (Archenti and Tula 2008) explain variation in women's electoral success.

Alles, Santiago. "Efectos del sistema electoral sobre la representación de mujeres: Argumentos y evidencia a partir del caso argentino (1983–2005)." *Revista SAAP* 3.2 (2008): 313–353.

Alles analyzes electoral outcomes in the Argentine National Congress from 1983 to 2005 and finds that gender quotas, district size, and party fragmentation each exert an independent impact on the election of women. The reelection of legislators to office, by contrast, is not significantly associated with women's access to office.

Archenti, Nélica, and María Inés Tula. "Cuotas de género y tipo de lista en América Latina." *Opinião Pública* 13 (2007): 185–218.

There is an ongoing effort to explore how electoral rules interact with gender quotas to determine how successful quotas are in getting more women elected. In particular, this article examines the impact of list type (closed or open), district magnitude, and quota design.

Archenti, Nélica, and María Inés Tula. *Mujeres y política en America Latina: Sistemas electorales y cuotas de género*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Heliasta, 2008.

Using a series of case studies across Latin America, this book examines how gender quotas interact with existing electoral, social, and political conditions to explain the success and limitations of electoral gender quotas.

Baldez, Lisa. "Primaries vs. Quotas: Gender and Candidate Nominations in Mexico, 2003." *Latin American Politics and Society* 49.3 (2007): 69–96.

Investigates how primary elections and gender quotas interact to shape men's and women's nominations as candidates and eventual election to office in Mexico. Primary elections limit the impact of gender quotas, and the Mexican case suggests the need for enforcement mechanisms in order for quotas to have the intended effect.

Jones, Mark P. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Lessons from the Argentine Provinces." *Comparative Political Studies* 31.1 (1998): 3–21.

Drawing on data from twenty-four Argentine provinces, Jones finds that gender quotas perform best when legislators are elected from districts with large magnitudes using closed-list PR (proportional representation). He explains that election law reformers must be mindful of the way that gender quotas will interact with electoral rules, party centralization, party institutionalization, and campaign finance rules when designing and implementing quotas.

Jones, Mark P., Santiago Alles, and Carolina Tchintian. "Cuotas de género, leyes electorales y elección de legisladoras en América Latina." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 32.2 (2012): 331–357.

The authors update and extend Jones's study of gender quota laws in nineteen Latin American countries (Jones 2009, cited under Quota Design and Effectiveness) to provide further evidence that well-designed gender quotas dramatically increase the

election of women. Quotas perform best when implemented in closed-list PR—particularly when parties win only two seats in a district.

Marx, Jutta, Jutta Borner, and Mariana Caminotti. “Cuotas de género y acceso femenino al Parlamento: Los casos de Argentina y Brasil en perspectiva comparada.” *Revista Política* 46.1 (2011): 61–81.

Previous works on gender quotas have found they are more effective in some situations (e.g., in combination with closed-list PR) than others (e.g., where fines are applied as punishment rather than list rejection). The authors add to our understanding of the effectiveness of gender quotas by examining the role of women's organizations and individual candidates in determining who is selected to run for office.

Schmidt, Gregory D., and Kyle L. Saunders. “Effective Quotas, Relative Party Magnitude, and the Success of Female Candidates: Peruvian Municipal Elections in Comparative Perspective.” *Comparative Political Studies* 37.6 (2004): 704–734.

The authors demonstrate that in the 1998 Peruvian municipal elections the combination of two institutional factors—effective gender quotas and high party magnitude—were the most important determinants of women's electoral success. In Peruvian municipal elections, it is typical that the largest party wins four of the five seats. This, combined with effective quotas (those saving 25 to 40 percent of seats for women) and placement mandates, guarantees women win at least one seat in every five-person district.

Electoral Rules

Beyond gender quotas, electoral rules are critical for defining who has access to political power. In the previous subsection, we reviewed articles that explicitly examine gender quotas and how they interact with other electoral rules to increase women's numeric representation. Yet electoral systems ranging from party magnitude (Matland and Taylor 1997), best-loser rules (Kerevel and Knott 2018) and direct election procedures (Hinojosa and Franceschet 2012), to incumbency advantage (Shair-Rosenfield and Hinojosa 2014) and the use of political alternates (Hinojosa and Gurdíán 2012) are also gendered and exert an independent impact on women's numeric representation.

Hinojosa, Magda, and Susan Franceschet. “Separate but Not Equal: The Effects of Municipal Electoral Reform on Female Representation in Chile.” *Political Research Quarterly* 65.4 (2012): 758–770.

Hinojosa and Franceschet leverage an election law reform in Chile to examine the ways in which electoral reforms are gendered. Using data from both mayoral and city council elections, they demonstrate that women continue to have limited access to executive posts.

Hinojosa, Magda, and Ana Vijil Gurdíán. “Alternate Paths to Power? Women's Political Representation in Nicaragua.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 54.4 (2012): 61–88.

In theory, political alternates can be used to promote women (naming a woman as an alternate when the candidate is likely to step down), or they can be used to minimally comply with quotas and placate advocates of women's representation. Leveraging data from three national legislative elections in Nicaragua, Hinojosa and Gurdíán show that political parties do not use alternates to undermine women's representation.

Kerevel, Yann P., and Cassie M. Knott. "La disciplina partidista en el congreso local del Estado de México, 2012–2015." In *Los congresos en México: La representación política en el contexto de las reformas electorales*. Edited by Sergio A. Bárcena Juárez, Gustavo A. López Montiel, and Rosa María Mirón Lince, 197–219. Mexico City: Senado de la República y Instituto Belisario Domínguez, 2018.

Drawing on election results from Mexico, Kerevel and Knott explain how best-loser rules reduce the effectiveness of proportional representation electoral districts in electing women to state legislative offices.

Matland, Richard E., and Michelle M. Taylor. "Electoral System Effects on Women's Representation: Theoretical Arguments and Evidence from Costa Rica." *Comparative Political Studies* 30.2 (1997): 186–210.

Using data from Costa Rican legislative elections, the authors demonstrate that party magnitude is positively associated with the election of women to office. Further, larger electoral thresholds manufacture higher party magnitudes, which in turn increases women's numeric representation.

Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah, and Magda Hinojosa. "Does Female Incumbency Reduce Gender Bias in Elections? Evidence from Chile." *Political Research Quarterly* 67.4 (2014): 837–850.

Conventional wisdom suggests that high incumbency rates are bad for women because they create fewer opportunities for women to be elected to office in the first place. Yet, using data from Chilean elections, Shair-Rosenfield and Hinojosa demonstrate that once women are elected to office, they are just as likely as their male colleagues to be renominated and reelected.

Political Parties and Party Systems

Political party leaders and party system organizations can either impede or facilitate women's access to the ballot (Macaulay 2006)—even in countries where gender quotas are in place (Araújo 2005). In particular, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2008, Hinojosa 2009, and Hinojosa 2012 demonstrate that the internal selection procedures used by political parties are more important in determining women's access to office than their political ideology. Indeed, even though conventional wisdom suggests that left-leaning political parties are more women-friendly, Funk, et al. 2017 finds that left-leaning political parties did not take advantage of their political power across the region during the pink tide to improve women's access to office, and Rousseau and Ewig 2017 show that not all left-wing parties do an equally good job representing indigenous women.

Araújo, Clara. "Partidos políticos e gênero: Mediações nas rotas de ingresso das mulheres na representação política." *Revista de Sociologia e Política* 24 (2005): 193–215.

Examining the political parties of Brazil, this article looks at how party systems affect the outcome of gender quotas. In particular, the author suggests that party systems are important conditioning factors for gender quota success, both because of how they relate to the political and electoral system and because of their organizational and ideological character.

Escobar-Lemmon, Maria, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. "How Do Candidate Recruitment and Selection Processes Affect the Representation of Women?" In *Pathways to Power: Political Recruitment and Candidate Selection in Latin America*. Edited by Scott Morgenstern and Peter M. Siavelis, 345–368. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

In this book chapter, the authors apply a candidate selection and recruitment schema developed by Morgenstern and Siavelis to

explain how informal selection procedures for legislative candidates and recruitment processes for presidential candidates used across Latin America influence women's numeric representation.

Funk, Kendall D., Magda Hinojosa, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. "Still Left Behind? Gender, Political Parties, and the Pink Tide." *Social Politics* 24.4 (2017): 399–424.

This article demonstrates that left-leaning governments during the "pink tide" were not more women-friendly than right-leaning governments. Specifically, left-leaning governments were not more likely to strengthen quota laws, nominate women, or elect women.

Hinojosa, Magda. "Whatever the Party Asks of Me": Women's Political Representation in Chile's Unión Demócrata Independiente." *Politics & Gender* 5.3 (2009): 377–407.

Hinojosa examines why the most conservative party in Chile has elected more women to local-level office than the liberal parties. She argues that the exclusive and centralized candidate selection procedures employed by the conservative Unión Demócrata Independiente allow women to sidestep other obstacles (such as primary elections) that limit women's access to the ballot.

Hinojosa, Magda. *Selecting Women, Electing Women: Political Representation and Candidate Selection in Latin America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012.

In this book, Hinojosa examines how formal and informal rules in Mexico and Chile shape women's access to office. She argues that women are more likely to be included on the slate of candidates in political systems that use centralized candidate selection procedures rather than democratic primaries.

Macaulay, Fiona. *Gender Politics in Brazil and Chile: The Role of Parties in National and Local Policymaking*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Parties and party systems are important filters for women's movements' demands of the government. Parties are both gendered organizations, in that they reflect the gender ideology of their members, and gendering institutions, in that they act as gatekeepers that can impede or encourage women's participation in politics. This book presents a look at how features of parties, such as ideology or institutionalization, influence their responses to women's movements.

Rousseau, Stéphanie, and Christina Ewig. "Latin America's Left-Turn and the Political Empowerment of Indigenous Women." *Social Politics* 24.4 (2017): 425–451.

Latin America saw a "pink tide" of left-wing governments in recent years. The authors assess how well these left-leaning governments have performed in securing representation for indigenous women, and find that left-wing governments do better than right-wing ones, but that the type of left-wing party involved matters. Continued pressure from the indigenous movement is also critical for successful representation.

Elite Networks and Social Backgrounds

Social identities and political networks are critical to understanding which women gain access to office, and, in turn, how women's opportunity structures compare to those of their male colleagues. Early work on women in politics in Latin America (Chaney 1979, cited under Pioneering Works) emphasized the role of motherhood and caregiving in defining and justifying women's pursuit of political office. Although this narrative still motivates women to pursue political careers (Craske 1999; Franceschet, et al. 2016),

women in politics today have the same social, educational, and career backgrounds as male politicians (Schwindt-Bayer 2011, Franceschet and Piscopo 2012), yet they are frequently denied access to elite political networks (Franceschet and Piscopo 2014).

Craske, Nikki. *Women and Politics in Latin America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

Motherhood as an identity has been a central mobilizing narrative for women in the region. Critically, motherhood cuts across class, ethnic, and national boundaries, and affords women legitimacy in the public sphere. However, motherhood is only one of many identities women may occupy, and some of those other identities conflict with traditional notions of motherhood.

Franceschet, Susan, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. "Gender and Political Backgrounds in Argentina." In *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. Edited by Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, 43–56. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

This chapter investigates the backgrounds of women who are nominated under Argentina's quota law. "Quota women" are similar to their male colleagues in age and marital status, though their educational and professional backgrounds differ significantly. In particular, Franceschet and Piscopo demonstrate that women have less access to influential political networks before entering into office.

Franceschet, Susan, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. "Sustaining Gendered Practices? Power and Elite Networks in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 47.1 (2014): 86–111.

This in-depth look at political advancement underscores the gendered structure of elite political networks, demonstrating that female Argentine national legislators are less likely than their male counterparts to have experience holding executive offices that give them access to the resources they need to cultivate patronage relationships. Instead, female legislators are more likely to be married with children.

Franceschet, Susan, Jennifer M. Piscopo, and Gwynn Thomas. "Supermadres, Maternal Legacies, and Women's Political Participation in Contemporary Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 48.1 (2016): 1–32.

The authors leverage public opinion data, media analysis, and elite interviews to examine how women justify pursuing a political career. They argue that traditional feminine ideals of caretaking still largely structure women's access to politics, as women most commonly advance narratives that emphasize traditional feminine roles of motherhood and caretaking to justify their role in politics.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. "Women Who Win: Social Backgrounds, Paths to Power, and Political Ambition in Latin American Legislatures." *Politics & Gender* 7.1 (2011): 1–33.

Using original survey data, Schwindt-Bayer examines the social backgrounds, paths to power, and political ambition of male and female national deputies in Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica. She finds that male and female legislators are more similar than different, and explains that women who are successful in Latin American politics rise to the top by conforming to traditional male-defined roles.

Descriptive Representation within and beyond the Legislature

Although a large share of the research on women's descriptive representation has focused on women's access to legislatures, more recent work has considered women's access to political power within and beyond the legislature. In particular, as women's

legislative representation grows, scholars have begun to consider if women have access to prestigious and powerful committee and leadership appointments within the legislature. Others have examined women's access to the presidency and executive cabinets. To date, scholars have given very little attention to women's access to the courts in Latin America. This represents a fruitful area for future research.

Access to Legislative Leadership and Powerful Committees

As women gained access to the legislature in unprecedented numbers, they remained excluded from powerful decision-making positions within the chamber. To better understand this phenomena, a new wave of research arose investigating the conditions under which women are marginalized in the legislature and denied access to coveted committee appointments (Heath, et al. 2005) and positions of legislative authority (Franceschet 2005). In particular, this new line of research has examined women's access to powerful committee appointments (e.g., Zetterberg 2008, Kerevel and Atkeson 2013, Barnes 2014, and Granara 2014) and leadership posts—including committee chairs and chamber-wide appointments (e.g., Zetterberg 2008; Schwindt-Bayer 2010, cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas; Granara 2014; and Barnes 2016, cited under Behavior of Political Elites) across Latin America. This body of research contributes to an understanding of when women are more likely to hold positions of legislative power.

Barnes, Tiffany D. "Women's Representation and Legislative Committee Appointments: The Case of the Argentine Provinces." *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* 23.2 (2014): 135–163.

Using an original data set tracking committee appointments in twenty-two Argentine legislative chambers from 1992 to 2009, Barnes evaluates the extent to which women have access to powerful committee appointments, and how women's access to committee appointments has changed over time. She finds that although initially sidelined, once quotas have been in place for a long period of time, women are just as likely as men to gain access to valuable committee appointments.

Franceschet, Susan. *Women and Politics in Chile*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

Focusing on Chile, Franceschet speculates about the reasons for women's continued marginalization in politics. She argues that even as women enter politics in higher numbers, they remain divided by ideology, interests, and uneven access to positions of authority. Nonetheless, she demonstrates the links between the struggles of modern women and the larger fights for democracy and social justice in Chile.

Granara, Aixa. "Representación legislativa de las mujeres en las provincias argentinas, 1989–2011." *América Latina Hoy* 66 (2014): 115–143.

This article examines how increases in women's numeric representation in six Argentine provinces are related to women's representation on legislative committees. Granara finds that women are less likely than men to be members of or leaders on powerful legislative committees.

Heath, Roseanna M., Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. "Women on the Sidelines: Women's Representation on Committees in Latin American Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science* 49.2 (2005): 420–436.

Analyzing committee assignment data from six Latin American legislatures, the authors demonstrate that women are less likely to be assigned to powerful and coveted committee appointments, such as economics and foreign affairs committees, as their share of seats in the chamber increases, when party leaders or chamber presidents make committee assignments, and when the chamber has a women's issues committee. Instead, under these circumstances, women are sidelined onto women's issues and social issues committees.

Kerevel, Yann P., and Lonna Rae Atkeson. "Explaining the Marginalization of Women in Legislative Institutions." *Journal of Politics* 75.4 (2013): 980–992.

Kerevel and Atkeson analyze bill sponsorship, bill passage rates, and committee assignment data in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies both before and after the adoption of gender quotas. They find little evidence to suggest that women are marginalized in the chamber, or that the adoption of quotas was met with backlash against women deputies.

Zetterberg, Pär. "The Downside of Gender Quotas? Institutional Constraints on Women in Mexican State Legislatures." *Parliamentary Affairs* 61.3 (2008): 442–460.

Using committee assignments from two Mexican states (one with quotas and one without), Zetterberg demonstrates that gaining access to office via gender quotas does not increase the likelihood that women are marginalized in the committee assignment process. Rather, both quota and non-quota women have similar probabilities of being assigned to committees of their choice.

Presidents and Executives

In 2014, nearly 40 percent of Latin American citizens lived under a female president, which has afforded scholars a unique opportunity to examine women's different pathways to the presidency (Jalalzai 2015, Valdés 2010). In particular, this literature has examined how gender has structured women candidates' presidential campaigns (Franceschet and Thomas 2010, Thomas and Adams 2010), how women have negotiated gendered definitions of leadership (Thomas 2011), and the intersection of race and gender on the campaign trail (Ewig 2012).

Ewig, Christina. "The Strategic Use of Gender and Race in Peru's 2011 Presidential Campaign." *Politics and Gender* 8.2 (2012): 267–274.

Ewig examines how the presidential candidate Keiko Fujimori, a right-wing woman, leveraged the intersection of her gender and race to appeal to a broader swath of voters. Fujimori used discourses about motherhood, gender equality, and her own identity as a woman in an effort to galvanize women's support.

Franceschet, Susan, and Gwynn Thomas. "Renegotiating Political Leadership: Michelle Bachelet's Rise to the Chilean Presidency." In *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office*. Edited by Rainbow Murray, 177–196. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010.

Of the larger book's three theoretical perspectives, Bachelet's presidency highlights the importance of external factors. In particular, Bachelet's successful campaign hinged on a number of factors outside of her specific candidacy, including the long-run changes in gender perceptions in Chilean society, the power of the feminist movement in Chile's transition to democracy, and the

strong economy. She also benefitted from her credentials as a progressive reformer concerned with social issues.

Jalalzai, Farida. *Women Presidents of Latin America: Beyond Family Ties?* New York: Routledge Press, 2015.

This book analyzes women's pathways to the presidency in Latin America. Drawing on in-person interviews and fieldwork, Jalalzai argues that women no longer have to rely exclusively on family ties to launch their political careers.

Thomas, Gwynn. "Michelle Bachelet's Liderazgo Femenino (Feminine Leadership): Gender and Redefining Political Leadership in Chile's 2005 Presidential Campaign." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (2011).

Thomas offers an in-depth analysis of how three Chilean presidential candidates, Michelle Bachelet, Joaquín Lavín and Sebastián Piñera, used gendered definitions of leadership to advance their claims that they were best suited to lead the country. Michelle Bachelet explicitly framed her leadership style as feminine, and thus better suited to encouraging greater inclusivity in Chilean democracy. This framing was also strategically viable, as it helped her undercut critiques of her candidacy.

Thomas, Gwynn, and Melinda Adams. "Breaking the Final Glass Ceiling: The Influence of Gender in the Elections of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Michelle Bachelet." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 31.2 (2010): 105–131.

Comparing the campaigns of Bachelet in Chile and Johnson-Sirleaf in Liberia reveals important cross-contextual similarities in the ways that women can effectively campaign for presidential office. Notably, both women actively confronted gendered barriers to their success while also seeking to turn their gender into an advantage. In particular, both women appealed to beliefs about women's unique abilities and strengths to argue they could best deal with the most pressing political issues of their respective nations.

Valdés, Teresa. "El Chile de Michelle Bachelet ¿Género en el poder?" *Latin American Research Review* 45.4 (2010): 248–273.

This article traces the processes that led Michelle Bachelet to the presidency in Chile, the conditions that made her election possible, and the tensions that the country experienced after her installation in power at the political and cultural level.

Women in Presidential Cabinets

Although women have made great strides in access to Latin American legislatures, they remain excluded from some of the most coveted ministerial posts in many countries. In a series of groundbreaking works, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson have catalogued and analyzed women's appointments to cabinet posts across Latin America in order to understand the types of cabinet posts that women are most often appointed to (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016b), the types of women that get appointed to cabinet posts (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2009, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016a), how men and women exit cabinet posts (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2015, Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016b), and the political power cabinet appointments afford women (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2016b). This body of research has extended to examine the role that presidents play in promoting women's descriptive representation in the cabinet (Barnes and Jones 2011) and the conditions under which presidents are most likely to appoint gender parity in cabinets (Franceschet and Thomas 2015).

Barnes, Tiffany D., and Mark P. Jones. "Latin America." In *Women in Executive Power: A Global Overview*. Edited by Gretchen Bauer and Manon Tremblay, 105–121. New York: Routledge, 2011.

This book chapter first provides a descriptive analysis of women's presence in the executive branch across eighteen Latin American democracies. Second, it presents a time-series analysis of Argentina and Chile, demonstrating that in these two countries, the most important factor explaining women's access to the executive branch is explicit and informal policies by the countries' presidents to improve women's standing in the executive.

Escobar-Lemmon, Maria, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. "Women Ministers in Latin American Government: When, Where, and Why?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49.4 (2005): 829–844.

Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson analyze cabinet appointments in eighteen Latin American democracies from 1980 to 2003 to understand women's appointments. They demonstrate that women gain access to cabinets in the presence of intense partisan competition, and they are more likely to be appointed to powerful portfolios when left-leaning parties are in power and when women hold a larger share of seats in the legislature.

Escobar-Lemmon, Maria, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. "Getting to the Top: Career Paths of Women in Latin American Cabinets." *Political Research Quarterly* 62.4 (2009): 685–699.

The authors analyze appointments and career backgrounds of cabinet ministers from eighteen Latin American countries from 1980 to 2003, and demonstrate how presidential cabinets are gendered institutions. Not only are women overrepresented in "feminine" and low-prestige portfolios, but these posts are also not useful stepping-stones to more prestigious posts. When women are appointed to high-prestige and masculine posts, however, they are more likely than men to have education or job-related credentials that make them qualified to hold the post.

Escobar-Lemmon, Maria, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. "Sex, Survival, and Scandal: A Comparison of How Men and Women Exit Presidential Cabinets." *Politics & Gender* 11.4 (2015): 665–688.

This article draws on data from presidential cabinets across Latin America to understand how male and female cabinet ministers exit cabinet posts. Using data from eighteen presidential cabinets in five different countries, the authors find that ministers' sex does not predict how ministers exit the cabinet.

Escobar-Lemmon, Maria C., and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. "'First Women' and 'Women's Posts': Examining the Backgrounds and Credentials of Ministers in Five Presidential Democracies." In *The Gendered Executive: A Comparative Analysis of Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Chief Executives*. Edited by Janet M. Martin and Maryanne Borrelli, 229–249. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2016a.

In a comparative analysis of sixteen presidential administrations across five countries, the authors demonstrate that, by and large, women who hold the first female appointment to presidential cabinets enjoy comparable credentials to their male counterparts. Further, women who are appointed to posts in which a majority of the appointments have been women are highly qualified—indicating that even when a majority of women are appointed to a specific portfolio, the post retains its prestige.

Escobar-Lemmon, Maria, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. *Women in Presidential Cabinets: Power Players or Abundant Tokens?* New York: Oxford University Press, 2016b.

This book represents the most comprehensive examination of women in presidential cabinets in Latin America. The authors develop an original data set detailing the backgrounds and credentials of 447 cabinet ministers from five presidential democracies to present compelling evidence that women's appointments to cabinet portfolios position them to exert substantial political power in the executive branch.

Franceschet, Susan, and Gwynn Thomas. "Resisting Parity: Gender and Cabinet Appointments in Chile and Spain." *Politics & Gender* 11.4 (2015): 643–664.

Franceschet and Thomas compare two gender-parity cabinets in an effort to understand when gender equality will be accepted and promoted by political parties in power. They find that parties are more likely to accept gender-parity cabinets when gender equality is promoted by earlier party reforms (and not introduced as a top-down process), and when party leaders have uncontested power.

Consequences of Women's Representation in Latin America

This section highlights work examining the consequences of women's representation in Latin America. Specifically, the topics explored link elites to different types of outcomes. This research explores whether women politicians have different policy priorities than their male counterparts, as well as the ways in which women's descriptive representation interacts with formal and informal institutions to shape policy outcomes. Finally, a growing body of research is highlighted showing that women's representation has a number of symbolic, or nonpolicy, impacts, such as empowering women citizens and closing gender gaps in political engagement.

Policy Preferences and Priorities

Scholars have used a range of indicators to understand whether female politicians have different preferences and priorities than their male colleagues. Whereas early research leveraged bill introduction to demonstrate that women have different priorities than their male colleagues (e.g., Jones 1997, Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2003), later research relied on data ranging from elite surveys (Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Schwindt-Bayer 2010, cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas; Htun and Power 2006) and bill cosponsorship data (Barnes 2012) to presidents' use of executive power (Reyes-Housholder 2016). Although political party affiliation is better than gender at explaining women's policy preferences (Htun and Power 2006), women's preferences still vary from their male copartisans in important ways (Barnes 2012, Reyes-Housholder 2016). Barnes 2012 uses ideal point estimates recovered from cosponsorship data to show that women have different policy preferences than men in the same party, while Reyes-Housholder 2016 compares and contrasts consecutive presidents from the same political party to demonstrate that Chilean president Michelle Bachelet advanced more pro-women policies than her immediate male predecessor. Moreover, even when men's and women's policy priorities converge, women are sometimes sidelined into working on stereotypically feminine issues (Schwindt-Bayer 2006).

Barnes, Tiffany D. "Gender and Legislative Preferences: Evidence from the Argentine Provinces." *Politics & Gender* 8.4 (2012): 483–507.

Although men and women legislators are likely to display some distinct political preferences, these differences are difficult to detect using ideal point estimates recovered from roll call data, as roll calls are highly structured by party influences. To address this challenge, Barnes leverages an original data set of bill cosponsorship to recover ideal point estimates from eighteen Argentina provincial chambers over a sixteen-year period, and finds significant gender differences in legislative preferences among copartisans.

Htun, Mala, and Timothy J. Power. "Gender, Parties, and Support for Equal Rights in the Brazilian Congress." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48.4 (2006): 83–104.

Using elite survey data from the Brazilian Congress, this study shows that party affiliation does a better job predicting support for women's issues than legislators' gender does. Despite high support for a feminist agenda among legislators, institutional barriers

prevent these preferences from translating into policy changes.

Jones, Mark P. "Legislator Gender and Legislator Policy Priorities in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies and the United States House of Representatives." *Policy Studies Journal* 25.4 (1997): 613–629.

Jones tests for gendered differences in policy priorities using bill introduction data from the Argentine Chamber of Deputies and the US Congress. In both countries, female legislators gave higher priority to women's rights and child/family issues, but no major gender differences were found in other areas traditionally of interest to women, such as health care, education, or the environment.

Reyes-Housholder, Catherine. "Presidential Power, Partisan Continuity, and Pro-Women Change in Chile, 2000–2010." In *The Gendered Executive: A Comparative Analysis of Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Chief Executives*. Edited by Janet M. Martin and Maryanne Borrelli, 229–249. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2016.

Reyes-Housholder compares Michelle Bachelet's and Richard Lagos's presidencies to understand whether Bachelet advanced more "pro-women change" than her male predecessor. An analysis of all legislation introduced during Lagos's term in office and Bachelet's first term demonstrates that Bachelet used her executive power to advance a larger and more diverse range of pro-women policies. This article also contributes to the debate regarding how to measure women's interests.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. "Still Supermadres? Gender and the Policy Priorities of Latin American Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 50.3 (2006): 570–585.

Schwindt-Bayer analyzes gender differences in legislators' attitudes and bill introductions across eight thematic issue areas in Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica. Women still place a higher priority on women's issues and family issues. Women's marginalization is evident, however, in lower rates of bill introduction for issue areas where men and women's policy preferences have converged.

Taylor-Robinson, Michelle M., and Roseanna Michelle Heath. "Do Women Legislators Have Different Policy Priorities Than Their Male Colleagues? A Critical Case Test." *Women & Politics* 24.4 (2003): 77–101.

This article investigates whether previous findings on women's legislative preferences are generalizable to less developed countries. Using bill introduction data from the Honduran Congress, the authors find gendered differences with regard to women's rights, though men and women express similar priorities regarding child care and family issues.

Behavior of Political Elites

Whereas earlier work examined patterns of bill introduction to understand if women exhibit policy priorities and legislative behaviors that are distinct from their male colleagues (Jones 1997, Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2003—both cited under Policy Preferences and Priorities), subsequent research has examined how a range of institutional (e.g., Barnes 2016; Funk and Taylor-Robinson 2014; Htun, et al. 2013; Schwindt-Bayer 2010, cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas) and political variables (e.g., Christie 2016, Miguel 2012, Piscopo 2011) condition women's legislative behavior. Political institutions, such as electoral systems that create personal vote-seeking incentives, likewise influence a host of behaviors, ranging from bill introduction (Schwindt-Bayer 2010, cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas) to patterns of legislative collaboration (Barnes 2016). Increases in women's numeric representation also structure legislative behavior, with both men and women being more likely to introduce women's rights legislation (Htun, et al. 2013), women participating more frequently in committee debates (Funk and Taylor-Robinson 2014; Funk, et al. 2017), and women from districts with more personal vote-

seeking incentives being more likely to collaborate with female colleagues in an effort to advance their legislative interests (Barnes 2016). Similarly, political context (Christie 2016) and women's own ideological beliefs (Piscopo 2011) shape women's campaign rhetoric and policy debates.

Barnes, Tiffany D. *Gendering Legislative Behavior: Institutional Constraints and Collaboration*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Using a novel data set from twenty-three Argentine chambers over eighteen years, this book answers three important questions: (1) Can democracy be collaborative? (2) Why are female legislators more inclined to collaborate than their male colleagues? (3) Why do some female legislators collaborate more than others? Barnes finds that women collaborate more than men in order to overcome structural barriers and influence the policymaking process. Moreover, important contextual factors that vary across and within legislative chambers shape collaboration patterns.

Christie, Jane L. *Negotiating Gendered Discourses: Michelle Bachelet and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016.

The author examines political discourses from Michelle Bachelet in Chile and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in Argentina to understand how these candidates use frames of "newness" rather than gender explicitly in their presidential campaigns. In doing so, she demonstrates how gender intersects with the current political climate to shape candidates' political rhetoric.

Funk, Kendall, Laura Morales, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. "The Impact of Committee Composition and Agendas on Women's Participation: Evidence from a Legislature with Near Numerical Equality." *Politics & Gender* 13.2 (2017): 253–275.

Investigates women's participation on standing committees in Costa Rica, where women and men have nearly equal access to formal positions of power. Women are active participants in committees dealing with both "feminine" and "masculine" policy areas. Women are more active when the committee gender balance reaches parity.

Funk, Kendall, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. "Gender Balance in Committees and How It Impacts Participation: Evidence from Costa Rica's Legislative Assembly." *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* 23.2 (2014): 111–133.

Examines the conditions under which women are more likely to participate in legislative committees than their male counterparts. In the Costa Rican legislature, women participate as much as men in committees, and committee leaders are especially active participants.

Htun, Mala, Marina Lacalle, and Juan Pablo Micozzi. "Does Women's Presence Change Legislative Behavior? Evidence from Argentina, 1983–2007." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 5.1 (2013): 95–125.

Using an original data set of bill introductions in the Argentine Congress, the authors explore the extent to which women's presence shapes legislative processes versus policy outcomes. When more women are present in the legislature, both men and women introduce more bills related to women's issues. Women's growing presence, however, decreases the likelihood that women's rights bills actually pass, especially when women sponsor such legislation.

Miguel, Luis Felipe. "Policy Priorities and Women's Double Bind in Brazil." In *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. Edited by Susan Franceschet, Mona Lee Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, 103–118. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

This chapter analyzes discourses in the Brazilian Congress and finds that women tend to focus on “soft” issues in the legislature, which reinforces a less prestigious position in politics. In order to gain prestige, women have to shift their focus to more “masculine,” hard-politics issues.

Piscopo, Jennifer M. “Rethinking Descriptive Representation: Rendering Women in Legislative Debates.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 64.3 (2011): 448–472.

Piscopo analyzes legislative speeches in support of and in opposition to sexual health reforms in Argentina to demonstrate that both conservative and liberal female legislators “stand for” different groups of female constituents by making claims about groups’ varied interests.

Policy Outcomes

Research highlighted in this section examines the ways in which women’s descriptive representation in a variety of political institutions influences the policy outcomes that we observe. Specifically, this research explores the consequences of women’s representation in the legislature at large, within legislative committees, in the executive and bureaucracy, and in local government. In particular, many of the works in this section show that formal and informal institutional constraints prevent women from translating their policy priorities into policy outcomes.

The Legislature

Previous research demonstrates that women have different legislative preferences and priorities than their male colleagues (Barnes 2014, cited under Access to Legislative Leadership and Powerful Committees; Schwindt-Bayer 2006, under Policy Preferences and Priorities; Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2003, under Policy Preferences and Priorities), but female legislators are not always successful in translating their priorities into policy outputs. In particular, women face a number of institutional barriers that can prevent them from shaping legislative outcomes (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, Lopreite 2015, Piscopo 2014). Despite these institutional barriers, however, recent research has demonstrated the importance of women’s caucuses facilitating women’s efforts to achieve substantive representation (Johnson 2014, Johnson and Josefsson 2016).

Franceschet, Susan, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. “Gender Quotas and Women’s Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina.” *Politics & Gender* 4.3 (2008): 393–425.

Investigates the impact of gender quotas on the legislative process and on legislative outcomes. While women have successfully shaped the legislative agenda following quota adoption, formal and informal institutional barriers have prevented them from drastically shaping legislative outcomes.

Johnson, Niki. “La bancada femenina en Uruguay: Un ‘actor crítico’ para la representación substantiva de las mujeres en el parlamento.” *América Latina Hoy* 66 (2014): 145–165.

Highlights the case of the women’s caucus in the Uruguayan Parliament from 2000 to 2010. In particular, Johnson explores how this body allows women in the Parliament to achieve women’s substantive representation in a context of multiparty competition.

Johnson, Niki, and Cecelia Josefsson. “A New Way of Doing Politics? Cross-Party Women’s Caucuses as Critical Actors in Uganda and Uruguay.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 69.4 (2016): 845–859.

Using a comparative case study, the authors investigate how women’s caucuses promote cross-party legislative cooperation to

promote women's representation. Women's caucuses not only promote networking and collaboration among women; they also help women build strategic alliances with their male colleagues.

Lopreite, Deobra. "Gender Policies in Argentina after Neoliberalism: Opportunities and Obstacles for Women's Rights." *Latin American Perspectives* 42.1 (2015): 64–74.

Examines the policy changes surrounding women's rights in Argentina over the last two decades. Lopreite focuses on women's health policy: despite increases in women's numeric representation, both in the legislature and the executive, implementation of these policies has lagged behind rhetoric.

Piscopo, Jennifer M. "Female Leadership and Sexual Health Policy in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* 49.1 (2014): 104–127.

Drawing on a case study from Argentina, this piece investigates the conditions under which women's representation in the legislature, executive, and bureaucracy brings about changes to sexual health policy. Women's numeric representation alone is not sufficient to bring about sexual health reform.

Presidents and Ministers

Presidents and cabinet ministers have extensive influence over the policymaking process, and in recent years women have gained unprecedented access to formal positions of power in governments across Latin America (Jalalzai 2015). Since 2000, women have held the presidency in five Latin American countries, and they are increasingly appointed to prestigious and powerful cabinet posts. Although women presidents have different leadership styles than men, such as being less likely to rule by decree (Shair-Rosenfield and Stoyan 2018), they are not necessarily more likely to enhance women's substantive representation (Jalalzai and dos Santos 2015). Moreover, whereas female presidents are more likely to include women in their cabinets, they are not necessarily more likely to appoint women to high-prestige or masculine posts (Reyes-Housholder 2016).

Jalalzai, Farida. *Women Presidents of Latin America: Beyond Family Ties?* New York: Routledge Press, 2015.

This book examines all Latin American women presidents (*presidentas*) to date. It investigates the conditions under which *presidentas* come to power and asks whether *presidentas* use their powers to enhance different facets of women's representation.

Jalalzai, Farida, and Pedro Dos Santos. "The Dilma Effect? Women's Representation under Dilma Rousseff's Presidency." *Politics & Gender* 11.1 (2015): 117–145.

Investigates how Dilma Rousseff's historic election influenced women's descriptive and substantive representation in Brazil. The impact of Rousseff's presidency was largely confined to women's descriptive representation in the executive branch.

Reyes-Housholder, Catherine. "Presidentas Rise: Consequences for Women in Cabinets?" *Latin American Politics and Society* 58.3 (2016): 3–25.

Explores the conditions under which female executives in Latin America are more likely to improve women's cabinet representation. *Presidentas* are more likely to include women in their cabinets when there is a wide pool of ministerial cabinets, and appointments of women are more common to "feminine" portfolios.

Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah, and Alissandra T. Stoyan. "Gendered Opportunities and Constraints: How Executive Sex and Approval Influence Executive Decree Issuance." *Political Research Quarterly* (Online First, 5 January 2018).

Examines gendered differences in the use of presidential decrees among Latin American presidents. The authors find that female presidents are less likely to rule by decree, so long as their approval rating remains high.

Bureaucracy

Chaney 1979 (cited under Pioneering Works) observed that, historically, women often have access to bureaucratic positions long before they gain access to elected positions. Recent research from Brazil demonstrates that increases in women's access to political posts is associated with increases in women's descriptive and substantive representation in public administrations (Meier and Funk 2017), and with more pay equity for female bureaucrats (Funk, et al. 2017). Women's presence in the bureaucracy is critical, as some bureaucratic positions have substantial influence over the interpretation, implementation, and enforcement of policies that disproportionately influence the lives of women, as shown by local-level rank-and-file bureaucrats (Franceschet 2011), national "women's offices" in Chile and Argentina (Franceschet 2010), and "women's police stations" in Brazil (Santos 2004).

Franceschet, Susan. "Explaining Domestic Violence Policy Outcomes in Chile and Argentina." *Latin American Politics and Society* 52.3 (2010): 1–29.

Compares policy responsiveness to domestic violence in Chile and Argentina. Whereas Chile's National Women's Service has been a success, Argentina's National Women's Council has proven unable to coordinate effective policy responses.

Franceschet, Susan. "Gender Policy and State Architecture in Latin America." *Politics & Gender* 7.2 (2011): 273–279.

Franceschet examines how the widespread decentralization across Latin America influences gender policy. She argues that in a decentralized system, legal protection, and services for women vary dramatically by policy issue and location, depending on the bureaucratic capacity and political will in place.

Funk, Kendall D., Thiago Silva, and Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon. "Leading toward Equality: The Effect of Women Mayors on Gender Equality in Local Bureaucracies." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* (Online First, 21 November 2017).

Using data from Brazilian municipalities, the authors examine the impact of women mayors on the representativeness of municipal bureaucracies, as well as the pay gap between men and women bureaucrats. While women mayors do not create more numerically representative bureaucracies, they do decrease the gender wage gap by increasing the average women's wages.

Meier, Kenneth J., and Kendall D. Funk. "Women and Public Administration in Comparative Perspective: The Case of Representation in Brazilian Local Governments." *Administration & Society* 49.1 (2017): 121–142.

Using Brazilian municipal data, the authors find that electing more women is associated with increases in women's descriptive and substantive representation in public administrations.

Montecinos, Verónica. "Feminists and Technocrats in the Democratization of Latin America: A Prolegomenon." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15.1 (2001): 175–199.

Although women played a critical role during the transition to democracy in most Latin American countries, their participation

since has been limited. This author argues that one reason is the dominance of technocratic elites during the democratization process. Reforms in the economics discipline, however, may help to make democracy more responsive to women.

Santos, Cecilia MacDowell. "En-gendering the Police: Women's Police Stations and Feminism in São Paulo." *Latin American Research Review* 39.3 (2004): 29–55.

Using the case of women's police stations in Brazil, the author examines the factors shaping the relationships between policewomen and feminists. In-depth interviews reveal that policewomen assume one of three positions regarding feminists: explicit alliance, opposition, and indirect or ambiguous.

Local Government

Since the late 1990s, governments across Latin America have been making efforts to decentralize economic and political power—shifting spending and policymaking to the subnational arena. Decentralization has resulted in subnational governments having jurisdiction over policies such as reproductive rights, access to contraceptives, sexual education, child care, maternity and parental leave, and other issues that have a disproportionate influence over women's daily lives (Franceschet 2011, cited under Bureaucracy; Barnes 2016, under Behavior of Political Elites). This political shift has motivated a burgeoning body of research focusing on subnational politics. Indeed, recent edited volumes have devoted special attention to women in subnational governments (Archenti and Tula 2008; Došek, et al. 2017; Schwindt-Bayer 2018—all cited under Edited Volumes), and scholars are increasingly leveraging the rich institutional variation that exists across subnational governments to explain the causes and consequences of women's representation (Barnes 2012, cited under Policy Preferences and Priorities; Barnes 2014, under Access to Legislative Leadership and Powerful Committees; Barnes 2016, under Behavior of Political Elites; Caminotti 2009, under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas; Caminotti and Freidenberg 2016, under Quota Design and Effectiveness; Granara 2014, under Access to Legislative Leadership and Powerful Committees; Jones 1998, under the Context of Gender Quotas; Kerevel and Atkeson 2015, under Public Opinion and Attitudes; Funk 2015; Funk, et al. 2017, under Bureaucracy). Beyond the work on subnational politics reviewed in other thematic sections, research on women's representation in subnational governments has examined women politicians' influence on political participation (Fernandes 2007, Funk 2015) and corruption (Brollo and Troiano 2016). Further, whereas traditional wisdom suggests that women are better represented at the local level, recent work such as Archenti and Albaine 2012 and Domínguez and Pacheco 2018 demonstrates that this is not always the case, as more aggressive gender equity laws have been adopted more frequently (and earlier) at the national level in Argentina (e.g., Caminotti 2009, cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas).

Archenti, Nélica, and Laura Albaine. "Las mujeres en los gobiernos locales: Argentina, 2007–2011." *Revista SAAP* 6.2 (2012): 227–247.

An analysis of 2,222 local governments in Argentina demonstrates that women's access to the decision making process is not substantially greater at the local level than it is at the national level.

Brollo, Fernanda, and Ugo Troiano. "What Happens When a Woman Wins an Election? Evidence from Close Races in Brazil." *Journal of Development Economics* 122.1 (2016): 28–45.

Analyzing mayoral elections in Brazil, the authors find that female mayors are less likely than male mayors to engage in corruption. Female mayors, however, have a lower probability of being reelected than their male counterparts.

Domínguez, Edmé, and Marcia Pacheco. "Beyond Parity in Figures: The Challenges in Reality of Municipal Women Councillors in Bolivia." *Iberoamericana—Nordic Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 47.1 (2018): 1–12.

Bolivia has been quite successful in achieving numeric representation for women at both the national and local level—especially the latter. However, many women mayors face continued discrimination and harassment. Interestingly, an institutional rule called the “rotation principle,” which states that if a candidate is a woman, her deputy should be a man (and vice versa), has been used against the women it was meant to benefit: the desire to replace an elected woman with her male deputy has encouraged violence and coercion to force women out of office.

Fernandes, Sujatha. “Barrio Women and Popular Politics in Chávez’s Venezuela.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 49.3 (2007): 97–127.

Examines how women have created “local spaces of participation” outside of state control. Women draw on their shared struggles to mobilize politically at the community level.

Funk, Kendall D. “Gendered Governing? Women’s Leadership Styles and Participatory Institutions in Brazil.” *Political Research Quarterly* 68.3 (2015): 564–578.

Investigates whether women mayors are more likely than men to increase citizens’ participation in local government in Brazil. Women officials are not necessarily more participatory, as the decision to increase citizen participation appears largely driven by mayors’ strategic choices, rather than gendered differences in leadership style.

Political Participation

The literature on women’s representation in Latin America is pushing scholars to also think about representation in terms of nonpolicy impacts, or symbolic representation. “Symbolic representation” refers to citizens’ feelings of being fairly and effectively represented (Schwindt-Bayer 2010, cited under the Adoption and Diffusion of Gender Quotas), and women’s presence in a variety of political office is associated with decreased gender gaps in political knowledge (Fraile and Gomez 2015). Some recent scholarship has also shown that women’s numeric representation decreases gender gaps in conventional and nonconventional forms of political participation (Reyes-Housholder and Schwindt-Bayer 2016), although others scholars have found no immediate impacts on women’s political engagement (Carreras 2017, Kerevel and Atkeson 2017, Zetterberg 2009, Zetterberg 2012). Understanding these gender gaps in political behavior and opinion is important, for, as Desposato and Norrander 2009 explains, “Gender differentials in political participation translate directly into political power, resources access, and policy outputs” (p. 159).

Carreras, Miguel. “High-Profile Female Executive Candidates and the Political Engagement of Women: A Multilevel Analysis.” *Political Research Quarterly* 70.1 (2017): 172–183.

Using survey data from Latin America, this article tests the conventional wisdom that the presence of a female executive should spur women’s political engagement. Whereas prior research found that women’s presence in the legislature has important symbolic consequences for women citizens, Carreras finds that female executive candidates have no immediate impact on women’s political engagement.

Desposato, Scott, and Barbara Norrander. “The Gender Gap in Latin America: Contextual and Individual Influences on Gender and Political Participation.” *British Journal of Political Science* 39.1 (2009): 141–162.

Explores the determinants of gender gaps in conventional and unconventional forms of political participation. Both individual-level (age and employment) and contextual factors (women’s numeric representation and political freedoms) shape the magnitude of the gender gap in participation.

Fraile, Marta, and Raul Gomez. "Why Does Alejandro Know More about Politics than Catalina? Explaining the Latin American Gender Gap in Political Knowledge." *British Journal of Political Science* 47.1 (2015): 91–112.

Using public opinion data, the authors investigate the determinants of the gender gap in political knowledge in Latin America. Among other factors, the gender gap in political knowledge decreases as women's numeric representation in parliament increases.

Kerevel, Yann P., and Lonna Rae Atkeson. "Campaigns, Descriptive Representation, Quotas and Women's Political Engagement in Mexico." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5.3 (2017): 454–477.

Kerevel and Atkeson postulate that competitive female candidates may motivate political engagement among female citizens, or gender quotas may generate backlash—discouraging female citizens' engagement. Combining data from two nationally representative post-election surveys from Mexico with original data cataloging the number and competitiveness of female candidates, the authors demonstrate that female legislative candidates do not increase female citizens' political engagement.

Reyes-Housholder, Catherine, and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. "The Impact of *Presidentas* on Political Activity." In *The Gendered Executive: A Comparative Analysis of Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Chief Executives*. Edited by Janet M. Martin and Maryanne Borrelli, 103–122. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2016.

This chapter examines public opinion data from seventeen countries over an eight-year period to understand whether women's representation in the presidency incites female citizens' political engagement. The authors find that women in countries governed by a woman president are more likely to participate in campaigns, attend local meetings, and express greater intentions to turn out to the polls.

Rousseau, Stephanie. "Indigenous and Feminist Movements at the Constituent Assembly in Bolivia: Locating the Representation of Indigenous Women." *Latin American Research Review* 46.2 (2011): 5–28.

In Bolivia, indigenous women were highly successful in political maneuvering during the revision of the constitution, managing to secure a strong gender quota. This is because feminist activism in Bolivia could not ignore the specific desires of indigenous women due to their large presence, and the broader indigenous movement also strengthened indigenous women's position.

Zetterberg, Pär. "Do Gender Quotas Foster Women's Political Engagement? Lessons from Latin America." *Political Research Quarterly* 62.4 (2009): 715–730.

Using data from seventeen Latin American countries, Zetterberg tests the conventional wisdom that gender quotas increase women's political engagement. He finds no evidence that quotas increase women's political trust, interest, or knowledge. Among different indicators of political activity, quotas are associated with a slight increase in women's protest activity but have no impact on campaigning or contacting officials.

Zetterberg, Pär. "Political Engagement and Democratic Legitimacy in Mexico." In *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. Edited by Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, 173–189. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

This article investigates the impact of legislative gender quotas on citizens' attitudes and behaviors in Mexico. The author finds inconclusive evidence that quotas enhance political engagement or political support, and suggests that any observed relationships between formal rules and symbolic representation may be spurious.

Public Opinion and Attitudes

Much research on the outcomes of women's increased access to office focuses on the effect women's descriptive representation has on public opinion about women in politics. The symbolic impact of women's presence in elected office results in more favorable attitudes toward women in politics (Kerevel and Atkeson 2015; Morgan and Buice 2013; Schwindt-Bayer and Reyes-Housholder 2017; Smith, et al. 2017), among both men and women citizens, as well as increased support for women candidates (Morgan 2015) and policies meant to increase women's presence in office (Barnes and Córdova 2016).

Barnes, Tiffany D., and Abby Córdova. "Making Space for Women: Explaining Citizen Support for Legislative Gender Quotas in Latin America." *Journal of Politics* 78.3 (2016): 670–686.

Investigates the conditions under which citizens express support for legislative gender quotas. Citizens who support government involvement to improve people's lives are more likely to support quotas, as are citizens who live in countries with good governances.

Htun, Mala. "Political Inclusion and Representation of Afrodescendant Women in Latin America." In *Representation: The Case of Women*. Edited by Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, 118–134. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Afro-descendant women are underrepresented in Latin American legislatures relative to both women and Afro-descendant people as a whole, though their numbers have been increasing. Htun argues that Afro-descendant women provide valuable surrogate representation, compelling members of society to adopt more intersectional viewpoints about gender and race.

Htun, Mala. *Inclusion without Representation in Latin America: Gender Quotas and Ethnic Reservations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Latin America has been at the forefront of efforts to get more women and ethnic minorities into office, typically through quotas and reserved seats. However, Htun suggests that this increase in inclusion has not translated into increased representation for these formerly excluded groups, who are present in increased numbers but lack the ability to hold the political class accountable.

Kerevel, Yann P., and Lonna Rae Atkeson. "Reducing Stereotypes of Female Political Leaders in Mexico." *Political Research Quarterly* 68.4 (2015): 732–744.

Using survey data from Mexico, the authors examine whether the presence of a women mayor alters gender stereotypes. Male respondents in municipalities with female mayors are more supportive of female political leaders, although the effect of female mayors on stereotypes does not last past their tenure.

Morgan, Jana. "Gender and the Latin American Voter." In *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts*. Edited by Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, 143–167. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015.

The chapter explores gender differences in voting behavior and ideology in Latin America. Morgan finds that where gender gaps in ideology exist, they are frequently traditional, with women being more conservative than men. Morgan also finds that female presidential candidates in Latin America draw stronger support from women than from men.

Morgan, Jana. and Melissa Buice. "Latin American Attitudes toward Women in Politics: The Influence of Elite Cues.

Female Advancement, and Individual Characteristics.” *American Political Science Review* 107.4 (2013): 644–662.

Adjudicates between three theories about the formation of attitudes about women's leadership: socialization, status disconnect, and elite cues. Authors find support for status disconnect and elite cues theories and show that men's attitudes about gender equality are especially susceptible to elite cues.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A., and Catherine Reyes-Housholder. “Citizen Responses to Female Executives: Is It Sex, Novelty or Both?” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5.3 (2017): 373–398.

Using a survey experiment from Brazil, the authors investigate the impact of female executives on citizens' attitudes, political participation, and engagement. They hypothesize that both the presence and novelty of a female executive could impact citizens' political attitudes and behavior. The presence of a female executive increased women's symbolic representation more than men's, but the authors found little support for their novelty hypothesis.

Smith, Amy Erica, Katherine Warming, and Valerie M. Hennings. “Refusing to Know a Women's Place: The Causes and Consequences of Rejecting Stereotypes of Women Politicians in the Americas.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5.1 (2017): 132–151.

Investigates how gender stereotypes about leadership affect women's representation. Using public opinion data from the Americas, the authors find that women's workforce participation and presence in the legislature are primary drivers of gender stereotypes about economic leadership. Moreover, citizens who espouse pro-female stereotypes are more likely to support gender quotas and vote for female candidates.

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