

Introduction

A Theory of Women's Political Representation

Since the democratic transitions of the 1980s, women have gained unprecedented access to governments in Latin America. Four women have been elected president of Latin American democracies—Violeta Barrios de Chamorro in Nicaragua (1990–1997), Mireya Moscoso de Arias in Panama (1999–2004), Michelle Bachelet in Chile (2006–2010), and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in Argentina (2007–2011)—and many others have run for, and seriously contended, executive office. In 2006, the average percentage of presidential cabinet posts that were held by women was 17%, up from 9% in 1990 (Htun 2000; UNDP 2008), and women have been appointed to ministries with high prestige, such as defense, foreign relations, economics, finance, and agriculture (Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005).

Women also have gained access to many national legislatures in growing numbers (see table 1.1). In the region as a whole, the average percentage of Latin American lower houses that were female in 2008 was 20%, second only to the Nordic region's exceptionally large average of 41%. This is a dramatic increase from 12% in 1995 (IPU 1995). The growth in women's representation in several countries has been particularly notable. In Argentina, for example, the first election of the current democratic period in 1983 resulted in only 4% of those in the Chamber of Deputies being female. By 2001, women comprised 31% of the lower house of congress. Costa Rica, one of Latin America's longest standing democracies, had only 3 female deputies (5%) in the 1974–1978 Legislative Assembly but

witnessed a jump from 19% in 1998 to 35% in the 2002 election. Argentina and Costa Rica have been among the top 10 countries in the world in terms of the numbers of women in parliament for several years, currently ranking fifth and eighth, respectively (IPU 2008).¹ Not far behind them are Peru, Ecuador, Honduras, and Mexico with more than 20% of their national congresses being female. Other Latin American countries, however, have not witnessed such substantial gains in women's representation. Brazil and Colombia have the lowest representation of women in Latin America, averaging around 10% across both chambers of their national legislatures. Paraguay, Uruguay, and Guatemala also are near the bottom of the list with only 12% of their lower houses being female. The representation of women in all Latin American countries has increased in the past 30 years but to a much smaller degree in some countries than in others.

The growing number of women in politics in Latin America and the continued wide variation across countries augurs some important questions about women's representation in the region. Why has women's access to politics increased in Latin America, and why does it vary so widely across countries? How does having women in office affect politics? And what are the consequences of women's representation in politics for representative democracy? I answer these questions in this book with a comprehensive study of women's representation in Latin American legislatures. In this chapter, I present a theoretical framework that links all of these questions together and explains why women get elected; what they do in office and why women's representation varies across legislative activities,

TABLE 1.1. Percentage of Legislature that Is Female, as of 2008

Country	Lower House	Upper House	Congress Average
Argentina	40.0	38.9	39.5
Costa Rica	36.8	—	36.8
Peru	29.2	—	29.2
Ecuador	25.0	—	25.0
Honduras	23.4	—	23.4
Mexico	23.2	18.0	20.6
Dominican Republic	19.7	3.1	11.4
Venezuela	18.6	—	18.6
Nicaragua	18.5	—	18.5
Bolivia	16.9	3.7	10.3
El Salvador	16.7	—	16.7
Panama	16.7	—	16.7
Chile	15.0	5.3	10.2
Paraguay	12.5	15.6	14.1
Uruguay	12.1	12.9	12.5
Guatemala	12.0	—	12.0
Brazil	9.0	12.3	10.7
Colombia	8.4	11.8	10.1
Regional Average	19.7	13.5	16.6

Source: IPU (2008).

issue areas, and countries; and what symbolic consequences women's representation has for the electorate. This theory of women's representation applies to a wide range of political settings, but in this book, I test it with an extensive set of original data on Latin American legislatures.

To date, the majority of research on women's representation has focused on industrialized democracies of the West (Thomas 1994; Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995; Rosenthal 1998; Carroll 2001; Rosenthal 2002; Swers 2002; Lovenduski and Norris 2003; Childs 2004; Thomas and Wilcox 2005; Dodson 2006; Kittilson 2006; Childs 2008). Ironically, however, some of these countries have elected only small numbers of women to national legislatures (e.g., the United States, Great Britain). Over the past 30 years, the countries of Latin America have transitioned to democracy, undergone notable cultural and socioeconomic changes in regard to gender equality, and witnessed some of the largest increases in the participation of women in national politics around the world. Despite this, we have little information on just what the influx of women means for political representation in Latin America and what the example of Latin American countries may mean for new democracies and developing countries in other regions of the world.

Research on women and politics in Latin America is not sparse, but most studies have focused on women's participation *outside* of the political system rather than *inside* of it. During the transitions to democracy of the 1970s and 1980s, women's political participation occurred almost entirely outside of political institutions as women's movements pressed for democratic openings and greater participation in political decision making. As a result, most research has focused on women's movements and their role in bringing about democratization in Latin America (Jaquette and Wolchik 1998; Baldez 2002), what has happened to those women and movements in the postdemocratic era (Kampwirth 1998; Bayard de Volo 2001), and how women's groups continue to pressure democratic governments from outside the formal structures of government (Banaszak et al. 2003; Waylen 2007).

Research on women *inside* Latin American political systems has emerged only in recent years. Most work has centered on explaining the growing number of women elected to office in Latin America (Jones 1996; Matland and Taylor 1997; Jones 1998; Htun and Jones 2002; Jones 2004b; Schmidt and Saunders 2004; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson 2005; Marx et al. 2007; Archenti and Tula 2008b; Ríos Tobar 2008a). Some studies have examined what female elected officials do in office, but most of them have done so by looking at women only, rather than comparing women and men, and have been based on qualitative rather than quantitative analyses (Chaney 1979; Marx 1992; Rivera-Cira 1993; Franceschet 2005; Macaulay 2006; Marx et al. 2007; Saint-Germain and Chavez Metoyer 2008). Those studies that have offered systematic empirical tests for gender differences in substantive representation focus predominantly on the policy priorities of legislators or their committee assignments and often have been country-specific (Jones 1997; Taylor-Robinson

and Heath 2003; Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008). Finally, only a few studies have examined the effects of women's representation in office on citizens' attitudes toward engagement in politics (Desposato and Norrander 2009; Zetterberg 2009).

Because women are increasingly participating in formal institutions in the new democratic era, it is imperative to understand why women are more represented in some Latin American legislatures than others, what role women play in Latin American legislatures, and what changes for representative democracy, if any, are brought about by their presence. With its focus on all three of these questions in Latin America, this book offers a comprehensive study of women's representation in a region that has undergone significant changes in gender equality in many of its countries but has received only limited attention. It shows that even in poorer and younger democracies, institutional mechanisms such as gender quotas and proportional electoral rules help to increase women's access to legislative politics (sometimes in larger numbers than in the developed world) but that women in legislatures face many challenges to doing their jobs as representatives once in government. Both their presence and the work they do in office, however, have positive effects on constituents. Citizens view representative democracy more favorably when women and women's issues are represented. Women in Latin America are gaining a voice in politics and positively shaping the way citizens view still-fragile representative democracies. Yet, they are a long way from equality with men inside the legislative arena. Women's representation in Latin America is incomplete.

An Integrated Model of Women's Representation

The questions that this book asks about women in legislatures in Latin America are inherently about political representation. One of the foremost representation theorists, Hanna Pitkin (1967), conceptualized political representation as being composed of four interrelated dimensions—formal, descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation. *Formal* representation refers to the rules that authorize representatives to act and the rules by which constituents hold representatives accountable, specifically elections. *Descriptive* representation focuses on the composition of the legislature and the extent to which its diversity mirrors diversity in society. *Substantive* representation deals with the way those elected "act for" their constituents through the activities of representing and their responsiveness to the political concerns of their constituents. Finally, *symbolic* representation emphasizes that representation is a symbol that generates emotional responses among constituents (i.e., feelings and beliefs about politics or government).

Pitkin's classification of the four types of representation has become a mainstay of research on gender and legislative politics. Numerous studies have built

upon it in an effort to understand why women get elected to office (descriptive representation), what women do once they are in office (substantive representation), and what the symbolic consequences of women's election to office are for the electorate (symbolic representation). Yet, gender and politics scholars often ignore one important point that Pitkin makes about the concept of representation—that it cannot be disaggregated into its component parts, with each dimension studied in isolation from the others. Instead, Pitkin (1967, 10–11) argues that the only way to fully understand representation is by examining all four dimensions and the relationships among them. In other words, representation must be conceived of as an integrated whole (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005).

Specifically, the dimensions of representation relate to one another in three key ways. First, formal representation influences descriptive representation. Electoral rules that determine how elections take place, for example, can have a strong effect on how well a representative body reflects social or ideological diversity in society. Second, formal and descriptive representation can influence substantive representation. Electoral rules provide incentives for representatives to "act for" their constituents in different ways. Further, legislatures that more fully mirror diversity in society provide greater opportunities for representation of society's diverse political interests. Finally, formal, descriptive, and substantive representation influence the way the electorate views government. An underrepresented group, for example, is likely to have greater trust in government if it feels that the institutions electing the legislature emphasize representativeness, if there are members of that underrepresented group in power, and if the legislature passes legislation that addresses their unique concerns and policy priorities. Figure 1.1 illustrates this integrated conceptualization of representation.

In this book, I use this theoretical framework for conceptualizing representation to study women's representation. In the next three sections of this chapter, I define and operationalize the four dimensions of representation, articulate the theoretical links between the dimensions and explain how they apply to women's representation, and develop a set of hypotheses about women's representation to test empirically in Latin America. Each section focuses on a different set of relationships (shown in boxes in figure 1.1)—formal and descriptive representation; formal, descriptive, and substantive representation; and the full model. I conclude with a concise summary of the model and a justification for why an integrated theory of women's representation offers the best theoretical framework for studying women's political representation in Latin America.

Formal and Descriptive Representation

The integrated model of representation suggests that formal representation is a key explanation for descriptive representation. But what exactly are formal and

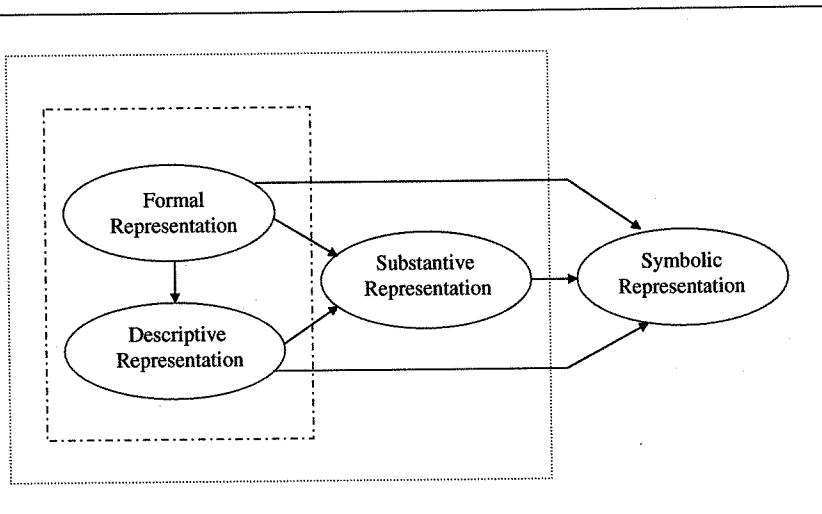


FIGURE 1.1. An Integrated Model of Representation

descriptive representation, and how does formal representation affect descriptive representation of women? Formal representation refers to the institutional arrangements that define the process by which representation occurs. Pitkin argues that formalistic views of representation are about “how it is initiated or how it is terminated,” rather than who the representatives are or the act of representing (Pitkin 1969, 9). Formal representation brings together two distinct views of representation. It captures Hobbes’ view of representation as giving the elected the *authority* to act in the name of the represented alongside the *accountability* view of representation in which representatives must be held responsible for their actions (Pitkin 1967; Przeworski et al. 1999). Formal representation can be operationalized as the rules and procedures regulating the selection and removal of representatives—in other words, electoral rules.

Descriptive representation refers to the extent to which those elected “stand for” their constituents. It focuses on the degree to which the composition of a legislative body provides “an accurate resemblance” of the citizenry (Pitkin 1969, 11). In other words, it refers to the *representativeness* of the system. Legislatures can be descriptively representative based on occupational correspondence between representatives and the represented or on geographic or territorial correspondence (Marsh and Wessels 1997). They can also be representative in terms of social characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, class, and gender (Norris and Franklin 1997). Descriptive representation is arguably the most studied of Pitkin’s four dimensions partly because the composition of the legislature is highly visible and easily measured.

I argue that formal representation affects the descriptive representation of women in legislatures through two types of electoral institutions. First are proportional electoral rules, referring to the proportionality of electoral formula, district magnitude, party magnitude, and the structure of ballots, which all contribute to explaining how representatives get into office and can make it easier or more difficult for women to win office. Second are women-specific electoral institutions, in other words, gender quotas, which require political parties to include a minimum percentage of women on party ballots (or a maximum percentage for any one gender). Quotas are designed specifically to increase the presence of women in politics.

Proportional Electoral Rules

The most prominent explanation for variation in women’s representativeness has been electoral institutions. Proportional electoral rules increase the number of women elected to legislatures by creating incentives for women to run for office, encouraging political parties to nominate women to party ballots, and translating votes into seats in a proportional way. Existing literature has found that proportional representation (PR) electoral rules, large district magnitudes, and large party magnitudes are key factors for increasing the number of women elected to legislatures (Duverger 1955; Castles 1981; Norris 1985; Engstrom 1987; Rule 1987; Matland 1993; Oakes and Almquist 1993; Darcy et al. 1994; Matland and Taylor 1997; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Yoon 2004; Schwindt-Bayer 2005; Paxton and Hughes 2007; Tremblay 2008b). They influence the election of women by making it easier for parties to nominate women without eliminating men from the ballot. This occurs because parties can win multiple seats in any district and because seats get allocated in proportion to the votes that parties receive. Consequently, political parties may be more likely to “risk” the nomination of nontraditional candidates (i.e., women) for the nth seat in multimember districts with proportional representation rather than for the only seat in single member district plurality systems.

In addition, research suggests that the type of party ballot may affect the likelihood that women get elected. For example, proportional representation can be applied in the form of closed lists, in which voters cannot disturb the political party’s predetermined ordering of candidates on the ballot, or open lists, in which voters select individual candidates rather than just mark a political party preference. Similarly, majoritarian systems can allow voters to mark multiple candidate preferences, as in the alternative vote (AV) system used in the Australian House of Representatives, or restrict their vote to a single vote for a party or candidate, as in the U.S. House. Allowing voters to mark candidate preferences could help or hurt women regardless of whether it occurs in a proportional or majoritarian system. In societies that are supportive of gender balance, for example, preference voting could lead to more women in office than would party voting (Kittilson 2005; Schmidt 2008b; Tremblay 2008a).

Gender Quotas

Gender quotas are a relatively recent phenomenon in legislatures around the world (Krook 2004, 2009). In the 1930s, India and Pakistan were the first countries to experiment with what have become known as reserved seat quotas by setting aside seats for women in the national parliament (Krook 2009). In the 1970s, Western European socialist parties started the trend for voluntary party quotas in an effort to increase representation of women in the party's parliamentary delegation (Caul 2001). In the 1990s, countries in Latin America began to adopt legal candidate quotas, which are gender quotas adopted by governments, either as constitutional amendments or legislative changes to electoral or political party codes, that require all parties running candidates for election to the national legislature to ensure that a certain percentage of candidates are women (Krook 2004; Dahlerup 2006b).² Argentina became the first country in the world in 1991 to pass a legal candidate quota requiring all political parties running candidates for the national congress to ensure that at least 30% of the ballot in every district was female (Jones 1996).³ In 1996, Costa Rica and Paraguay adopted similar legislation, and in 1997, another seven Latin American countries adopted quotas—Bolivia, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela.⁴ The last two countries in the region to adopt quotas were Honduras and Mexico, in 2000.⁵ As of 2008, twelve Latin American countries have tried legal candidate gender quotas and fifteen other countries from around the world have followed suit. In total, over 100 countries have experimented with some type of gender quota, most in recent years (International IDEA and Stockholm University 2009).⁶

Quotas are a “fast-track” mechanism for gender equality in politics aimed at increasing women’s representation quickly (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Dahlerup 2006b; Kittilson 2006; Archenti and Tula 2008b; Ríos Tobar 2008b; Tremblay 2008b; Tripp and Kang 2008; Krook 2009). Gender quotas increase women’s representation by providing incentives for parties to put women on the ballot, and they are expected to translate into more women winning legislative seats. However, the effectiveness of quotas depends on the type of quota, how the quota is designed, and where it is implemented (Htun and Jones 2002; Jones 2005; Araújo and García 2006; Dahlerup 2006b; Krook 2007; Marx et al. 2007; Archenti and Tula 2008b; Ríos Tobar 2008b; Tremblay 2008b; Jones 2009; Krook 2009). For voluntary party quotas, the rules provide incentives to nominate women only for the party that adopted the quota. This may lead to some increase in the number of women in office, but the size of that increase will depend on how many seats the party with quotas wins. For reserved seat quotas, the quota limits the ballot to women only and guarantees that women will be elected from those ballots. However, if only 5% of the seats in the legislature are reserved for women, then the gender representativeness of the legislature may still be quite limited. For

legal candidate quotas, the quota requires all parties running candidates for election to put women on ballots. The number of seats that women win, however, depends on whether government enforces the quota, whether parties abide by the quota, where parties place women on the ballot, and the way in which electoral rules distribute seats across parties (Htun and Jones 2002; Jones 2009; Schwindt-Bayer 2009). The adoption of quotas may increase the number of women in national legislatures, but the way that quotas are designed will determine just how much of an increase will occur in different representative bodies.

In chapter 2, I test the effect of formal representation on descriptive representation of women empirically in Latin America. I hypothesize that more proportional electoral formulas, larger district magnitudes, larger party magnitudes, and gender quotas lead to the election of more women to Latin American legislatures. In addition, I expect that the strength of the gender quotas that countries use and the electoral context in which they operate, specifically whether ballots are open or closed lists, influence the number of women elected to office. I test these hypotheses with a statistical analysis of data from multiple elections in all 18 Latin American democracies.

Formal, Descriptive, and Substantive Representation

The integrated model of representation also suggests that formal and descriptive representation can affect substantive representation. Substantive representation is a complex concept with a range of meanings. How representatives do substantive representation and what they are representing can vary widely. In addition, the way in which formal and descriptive representation affects substantive representation is not always straightforward, particularly as it relates to women’s representation. The following sections describe how I define and measure substantive representation (and substantive representation of women, more specifically) and how formal and descriptive representation affects substantive representation of women.

Defining and Measuring Substantive Representation

Substantive representation refers to “acting in the interests of the represented in a manner responsive to them” (Pitkin 1967, 209). Most commonly, this implies *policy responsiveness*, or the extent to which representatives enact laws and implement policies that are responsive to the needs or demands of citizens (Miller and Stokes 1963; Achen 1978). Although Pitkin considers policy responsiveness to be central to this dimension of representation, she points out that “there is still room for a whole range of positions concerning the representative’s role and his relationship to his constituents” (Pitkin 1969, 20). Eulau and Karps (1977), for example, identify three other ways in which representatives can respond to constituents: *service responsiveness*, which refers to the provision of

particularized benefits to individuals or groups; *allocation responsiveness*, which refers to the generation of pork barrel benefits for the constituency; and *symbolic responsiveness*, which refers to intangible gestures made in response to constituent concerns. Other scholars focus on *home style*, which refers to how representatives act in their districts rather than in the capital (Fenno 1978), and the *personal vote*, which focuses on how legislators act to secure constituent rather than party support (Cain et al. 1987), as forms of substantive representation.

In this book, I conceptualize substantive representation broadly. Although much of the research on women's substantive representation focuses on just one or two ways in which substantive representation takes place (such as the policy priorities of legislators, sponsoring bills, sitting on committees, holding leadership positions, roll-call voting, debating, or constituency service), substantive representation actually includes all of these activities (Eulau and Karps 1977; Schwindt-Bayer 2003; Celis 2008; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008). I examine four distinct ways that representatives *act for* and *respond to* constituents—political preferences, policymaking, committees and leadership, and home style. Political preferences refer to legislators' opinions and beliefs about the process of representation and their role in it. It includes the way they view constituents, their policy or issue preferences, and their preferred areas of legislative work.⁷ The policymaking process involves the bills that legislators sponsor and cosponsor and their participation in legislative and committee debates on policy. Committees and leadership refers to the positions that legislators hold in chambers and on legislative committees. Finally, home style refers to the nonpolicy work that representatives do aimed primarily at generating votes and frequently taking place in the representative's electoral district rather than in the capital (Fenno 1978). It includes activities such as casework and constituency service, spending time in the district, attending public forums, participating in activities sponsored by special interests in the district, giving public speeches, and talking to the press.

In addition, I distinguish these four components of substantive representation by whether the activities reflect legislators' attitudes or behavior. The first measure of substantive representation, preferences about representation, is a measure of legislators' political attitudes. Policymaking, committees and leadership, and home style reflect legislative behavior. Although often related, attitudes and behavior are distinct concepts that should be studied separately from one another (Wangnerud 2000b; Dodson 2001; Childs 2004; Lovenduski 2005; Schwindt-Bayer 2006). Political attitudes can translate into legislative behavior and help to determine what kinds of bills representatives sponsor, what issues they promote in legislative debates, on which committees they sit, and with whom they interact in the district (Thomas and Welch 1991; Wangnerud 2000b; Dodson 2001; Lovenduski and Norris 2003; Lovenduski 2005; Schwindt-Bayer 2006). However, behavior does not always reflect attitudes due to an array of constraints produced by the legislative environment, such as political party membership, legislative seniority, constituency

pressures, or existing legislative norms (Rosenthal 1997; Lovenduski and Norris 2003; Childs 2004; Lovenduski 2005; Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008). For example, a legislator may feel that foreign affairs is an important political issue but not sit on the foreign affairs committee because he or she does not have enough seniority to get onto this committee. Similarly, representatives from the governing party may place high priority on certain issues but not sponsor any bills on these issues because the president is responsible for sponsoring legislation in that area. Because preferences do not always translate into legislative action, it is critical to examine both the political preferences that representatives bring to the legislative arena and how they act on those preferences to capture the extent to which substantive representation takes place.

Studying substantive representation *of women* also requires clarification about who and what is to be represented. In this book, I argue that creating a complete picture of substantive representation requires examining how legislators represent women and women's issues in comparison with how they represent issues of concern to other groups in the electorate, more broadly. To do this, it is necessary to determine just what women's issues are and how to distinguish them from other types of political issues.

Scholars have long-debated the notion of *women's interests* or *women's issues*. Some scholars voice a normative critique that classifying women as a group with identifiable interests that are waiting to be represented is essentialist (Mansbridge 1999; Young 2000; Weldon 2002b; Mansbridge 2005). Assuming that women have a common interest means that "members of certain groups have an essential identity that all members of that group share and of which no others can partake" (Mansbridge 1999, 637). This is problematic because it reinforces the idea that women are inherently different from men, that women are a homogeneous group who can be classified together as an interest group, and that their issues are less important than men's. Critics point out that women's differences from men are not innate but socially constructed, that women's issues are as important as men's, and that women have an array of identities, such as those emerging from race, ethnicity, class, religion, or ideology, that may intersect with their gender identity (Weldon 2006). These critics worry that creating a dichotomy of *women's issues* and *men's issues* reinforces subordination of women and women's issues (Peterson and Runyan 1999). To avoid falling into the trap of essentialism, scholars have recently suggested defining women's issues as issues that emerge from women's long-standing status as subordinate to men and the problems that this subordination has produced rather than as emerging from sex differences between women and men (Mansbridge 2005). Women's issues, then, are issues that derive from the long history of gender inequality in society.

Another concern with the notion of women's issues is more empirical. Some scholars argue that it is inappropriate to classify issues as women's issues or men's issues *a priori*. Instead, it is better to let interview subjects define women's issues

or for the researcher to determine them inductively from the political context under study (Celis et al. 2008; Mackay 2008; Zetterberg 2008). These scholars emphasize that women's issues in one country, at one point in time, and as defined by one woman may not be the same as in another country, at another point in time, or as defined by another woman. Consequently, women's issues may be identified more reliably by exploring public opinion toward women's issues, by determining what issues women's groups and social movements are promoting, and by interviewing feminists to determine their view of these issues.

In this study, I take these concerns into account and create a three-part categorization of political issues. Specifically, I distinguish between women's equality issues, social or compassion issues, and men's issues.⁸ Women's equality issues are issues related to gender inequality that deal specifically with feminist concerns, such as women's rights, discrimination, sexual harassment, women's access to education and income, and women's health.⁹ Borrowing from Bratton (2005, 107), they are issues "that directly address and seek to improve women's economic, political, and social status." Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers (2007, 556) provide a comprehensive list of the types of policy issues that fall into this category: "policies liberalizing divorce and reproductive rights; equalizing the civil rights of men and women in terms of education, employment, pay, training, property ownership and inheritance, marriage, mobility, and political representation; providing family and medical leave, subsidizing childcare, addressing domestic abuse, sexual assault, violence against women; and providing for women's health care; among others." The second set of issues is compassion or social issues.¹⁰ These refer to issues that traditionally have been considered part of the "women's domain"—the home or private sphere—and emerge from women's traditionally defined private sphere gender roles as caregivers and homemakers. This category includes issues such as children and family, education, health, public/social welfare, and the environment. Specific examples of policy in these areas are building new schools, modifying education curricula, improving hospital care, providing low-income housing, instituting programs and discounts for seniors, or protecting the environment. Finally, I distinguish women's issues and social issues from men's issues. Men's issues are issues that traditionally have been considered to be in the "men's domain"—the public sphere—and emerge from men's traditional gender role as head of the household. These include issues such as the economy, agriculture, employment, fiscal affairs, and foreign affairs.

This classification scheme takes existing concerns about classifying women's issues into account in several ways. First, it defines women's issues in a nonessentialist way that does not imply that women have unique interests with which all women identify or that all women are defined by one, and only one, identity. Instead, it derives from theories of women's historical subordination and women's socially defined gender roles (Phillips 1995; Mansbridge 1999; Young 2000; Mansbridge 2005), emphasizing issues on which women's experiences of subordination are

likely to make them more similar to one another than to men. Further, it does not mean that *all* women recognize these interests and promote them, but in general, women are *more likely than men* to recognize the nature of women's subordination and the unique issues that have emerged from that subordination.

Second, it addresses some of the empirical concerns with classifying women's issues, such as taking political context into account while still maximizing generalizability across studies and allowing public opinion or women's groups to determine which issues are women's issues. Specifically, this classification is comparable with those used by other scholars working on women's substantive representation in the developed world (Dodson and Carroll 1991; Reingold 2000; Swers 2002), while at the same time providing a classification of issues that is valid in Latin America (Chaney 1979; Molyneux 1985; Zambrano 1998; Craske 1999, 2003; Htun 2003).¹¹ It also builds on public opinion research that finds gender gaps in the way citizens view various political issues (Jaquette and Wolchik 1998; Norrander 1999; Wangnerud 2000a; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Lindgren et al. 2009) and emphasizes women's rights issues that women's groups in many Latin American countries have brought to the political forefront in recent years, such as divorce laws, domestic violence, and women's reproductive rights. Recent studies of women's representation in Latin America have used similar classification schemes (Jones 1997; Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2003; Schwindt-Bayer 2006). Finally, it distinguishes *feminist* women's issues (women's equality issues) from more *feminine* issues (social and compassion issues) and distinguishes both types of issues from men's issues, allowing broader and more accurate conclusions than a focus on just one type of issue would permit (Dodson and Carroll 1991; Thomas 1994; Schwindt-Bayer 2006). Overall, it creates a theoretically driven set of issues from which I can generate hypotheses about how formal and descriptive representation affect women's substantive representation.

Descriptive and Substantive Representation

One of the best-researched areas of the women's representation literature examines how descriptive representation affects substantive representation of women. The majority of this research focuses on how women represent women and women's issues. A smaller but equally important segment of the literature, however, focuses on how women represent other concerns, such as social issues or men's issues. Both of these approaches are part of the integrated model of representation and are necessary to understand the nature of women's representation fully.

WOMEN REPRESENTING WOMEN

A common argument for electing women to legislative office is that women will represent differently than male legislators. They will bring new issues, such as

women's equality concerns, to the legislative arena by sponsoring legislation on these issues, negotiating women's equality bills through to policy passage, sitting on women's issue committees, bringing a women's perspective to legislative debates, and even feminizing the legislature to make it a more cooperative, collegial, and respectable political space. Yet, scholars do not always agree that descriptive representation of an underrepresented group automatically means or even should mean substantive representation of that group's interests (Dolan and Ford 1995; Mansbridge 1999; Tremblay and Pelletier 2000; Dovi 2002; Vincent 2004; Childs and Krook 2006; Celis et al. 2008; Mackay 2008). Even Pitkin had reservations about linking descriptive representation to substantive representation: "We tend to assume that people's characteristics are a guide to the actions they will take, and we are concerned with the characteristics of our legislators for just this reason. But it is no simple correlation; the best descriptive representative is not necessarily the best representative for activity or government . . . a lunatic may be the best descriptive representative of lunatics, but one would not suggest that they be allowed to send some of their numbers to the legislature" (Pitkin 1967, 89).

In regard to why women may not represent women, some scholars note that not just any woman will do because some women have a gender consciousness and feminist attitudes whereas others do not (Dolan and Ford 1995; Tremblay and Pelletier 2000; Dodson 2001; Dovi 2002; Waylen 2008). In other words, substantive representation of women does not simply require women but a set of "critical actors" (Childs and Krook 2006; Celis et al. 2008). Although this is indeed a valid concern, numerous empirical studies point out that women are more likely to be feminist and have a gender consciousness than men (Dolan and Ford 1995; Tremblay and Pelletier 2000; Dodson 2001; Childs 2004). Perhaps partly because of this, women, in general, may be more likely than men to represent women.

Others criticize the argument that women will act for women because it reinforces male assumptions of women's inferiority and reinforces traditional gender stereotypes (Mansbridge 2005). In legislatures that prioritize the masculine over the feminine, women's issues are widely considered by male legislators and party leaders to be less important political issues than men's issues such as economics, finance, agriculture, and foreign affairs. If female legislators are the predominant political actors working on women's issues, this reinforces long-standing stereotypes that these are issues for women only rather than gender issues or human rights issues that should be priorities for both men and women. It reduces women to an inferior status in the legislature (Vincent 2004; Franceschet 2005; Macaulay 2006).

A final counterargument suggests that women may be less likely to represent women unless a *critical mass* of women has been elected to office. However, empirical research on critical mass theory has not found consistent support for this line of thinking. Some scholars have found that women's and men's political

preferences and behavior are more similar to one another than different when only a few women are present in office (Saint-Germain 1989; Thomas 1991, 1994; Towns 2003; Grey 2006). Other critical mass scholars have found the opposite effect—that "token" women do represent women—and that larger numbers of women in office leads to greater similarity in how men and women represent because women's issues become mainstream and enmeshed with traditional legislative concerns (Diamond and Hartsock 1981; Thomas 1994; Crowley 2004; Bratton 2005). These inconsistent findings have led scholars to seriously question the utility of critical mass theory in recent years (Childs and Krook 2006; Dahlerup 2006a; Grey 2006; Tremblay 2006).

In contrast to these critiques of the link between descriptive and substantive representation, there are many reasons to think that descriptive representation of women will lead to greater substantive representation of women in representative democracies (Young 1990; Phillips 1995; Williams 1998; Mansbridge 1999; Lovenduski 2005). According to Mansbridge (1999, 639), descriptive representation of an underrepresented group will allow individuals in that group to represent it under three conditions: (1) when the electoral process intentionally and systematically underrepresents specific groups in the population, (2) when the underrepresented group believes that they can adequately represent themselves, and (3) when there has been a long-standing historical prejudice against the group. She argues that African Americans in the United States and women meet these criteria. Women may be better representatives of women than men because they have faced a common historical discrimination against their participation in politics and in society, more broadly.¹² This does not mean that men cannot represent women and women cannot represent men, but that "particularly on issues that are uncrystallized or that many legislators have not fully thought through, the personal quality of being oneself a member of an affected group gives a legislator a certain moral force in making an argument or asking for a favorable vote on an issue important to the group" (Mansbridge 1999, 648). Weldon (2002b) corroborates this, arguing that women may have a greater interest in representing women not because they have shared interests but because they may be more likely to understand and empathize with women or have a desire to learn about women's concerns.

Drawing on these arguments, female legislators may be more likely than male legislators to focus on women's issues in the legislative arena for three key reasons. First, female representatives may promote women's issues more than men because of the common experiences of subordination that women face (Williams 1998; Mansbridge 2005). Experiences of discrimination could produce a strong gender consciousness in female legislators giving them incentives to work to eliminate gender inequality. Mansbridge (2005) argues that the long history of structural discrimination against women makes it likely that female representatives will represent women's issues more than men because they have greater concern for women and because female representatives are able to communicate with women

better than men. Their shared gender may increase women's empathy for women's concerns and interest in learning about and representing them (Mansbridge 2005). Second, female legislators may see themselves as "surrogate" representatives and feel a special responsibility to represent women, regardless of electoral district, or think that women in society expect them to focus on women's issues (Mansbridge 1999; Reingold 2000; Carroll 2002; Mansbridge 2003; Tremblay 2003; Childs 2004). The belief that women *should* represent women may lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy. Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) point out that this may be exacerbated in countries with gender quotas because campaigns to adopt quotas often emphasize women's differences and the special contributions they could make to politics, generating a *mandate effect* in which women feel obligated to represent women. Third, female representatives may view focusing on women's issues as a way to cater to women in their electoral district (Thomas 1994; Lovenduski 2005). From a rational choice perspective, catering to women could be a way to generate votes for oneself and one's political party.¹³ Although this is less frequently discussed in the literature, the rationality perspective underlies many assumptions about how women's presence may translate into action. Women may be more likely than men to choose representing women as a strategy for ensuring their political future because of a belief that female constituents will vote for them. Indeed, this strategy has been attributed to male presidents and political leaders pushing for the adoption of gender quotas (Krook 2004; Araújo and García 2006; Krook 2009).

A significant amount of research already supports the hypothesis that women represent women's issues more than men do. Female representatives in the U.S Congress and U.S. state legislatures have been found consistently to place greater priority on women's rights issues than men (Leader 1977; Welch 1985; Saint-Germain 1989; Thomas and Welch 1991; Reingold 1992; Thomas 1994; Jones 1997; Swers 1998; Arnold 2000; Reingold 2000; Carroll 2001; Poggione 2004). Similarly, female parliamentarians in the United Kingdom and Scandinavian countries have been found to prioritize issues related to gender equality and more specific women's issues, such as child care legislation, equal opportunity policies, maternity leave policies, and equal employment (Skard and Haavio-Mannila 1985; Norris 1996; O'Regan 2000; Wangnerud 2000a; Bratton and Ray 2002; Lovenduski and Norris 2003; Childs 2004; Childs and Withey 2004; Childs 2008; Kittilson 2008). Even in Latin America and some countries in Africa, studies of women's policy priorities have found support for the idea that women represent women's equality concerns (Jones 1997; Taylor-Robinson 2002; Goetz and Hassim 2003; Bauer and Britton 2006; Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008).¹⁴ Differences in legislators' preferences for women's equality issues also have been found to translate into differences in legislator behavior once in office, specifically the bills they sponsor, the committees on which they work, and the issues on which they speak during floor debates (Thomas

and Welch 1991; Wangnerud 2000a; Dodson 2001; Swers 2002; Walsh 2002; Wolbrecht 2002; Childs 2004; Bratton 2005; Chaney 2006; Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Childs 2008; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008).

Based on the theoretical reasons that women are likely to represent women and existing empirical evidence, I generate two hypotheses for how descriptive representation affects substantive representation of women and gender inequality issues in Latin America. First, I expect that female legislators will place higher priority on representing women and women's equality issues than male legislators. More specifically, I expect gender differences in legislators' *attitudes* toward female constituents and women's issues. Due to their shared historical experiences of discrimination in the region, possibly feeling a special responsibility to prioritize women and women's issues, or a strategic calculation that promoting gender issues will boost their political career, female representatives may be more likely than male representatives to prioritize female constituents and women's issues in their political preferences.

Second, in representative democracies, such as those in Latin America, where mainstream political parties at least pay lip service to issues of gender equality and have electoral incentives to promote women's rights, I expect that female legislators will spend more time than men crafting and sponsoring gender inequality bills, debating these bills, working on women's issue committees, doing casework on behalf of female constituents, and interacting with women's groups in society that are pushing a feminist political agenda. In other words, I expect gender differences in legislative *behavior* on behalf of women and women's issues. If women have distinct preferences from men on representation of women and women's issues, then these differences should translate into the legislative work that representatives do. The job of political representatives is to "act for" their constituents representing their policy concerns and their non-policy needs and demands.

WOMEN REPRESENTING ALL CONSTITUENTS

Much of the research on women's representation is driven by concerns with whether women represent women and, thus, do politics differently than men. Other research, however, emphasizes the equality view of women's representation, which "stresses women's entitlements to be in politics on the same terms and in the same numbers as men" (Lovenduski 2005, 2). Although critics of the equality view fear that it "implies that women representatives will become political men" (Lovenduski 2005, 2), the equality view does not require assimilation (Lovenduski 2005; Squires 2007). Women achieving equality inside the legislature does not have to occur by women giving up their goals of changing the masculine norms on which most legislatures are based. In fact, allowing women equal access to power may generate greater transformation of the legislative arena into a less

masculinized and less male-dominated environment (Lovenduski 2005).¹⁵ Here, I draw on the equality view of women's representation to argue that in addition to bringing legislative attention to women's issues, female representatives have a responsibility to represent other groups of constituents and other, nonwomen-specific political issues (Dahlerup 1988; Thomas 1994; Carroll 2002; Lovenduski 2005; Grey 2006). Just like men, women are elected first and foremost to represent their constituents—both women and men. Just like men, female representatives are rational actors whose primary goal is to get reelected or seek higher office in order to continue representing the interests of the citizenry. Female representatives must walk a fine line between representing women and representing other nongender-based interests to be fully representative of their constituents.¹⁶ One way that female representatives can do this is by placing priority on issues other than women's equality issues and participating in many different parts of the legislative process. Women can be different (represent women) *and* strive for greater equality in the legislative arena (represent a wide array of issues and participate in the full spectrum of legislative activities).

Evidence from Latin America and other countries around the world finds some evidence of equality concerns motivating women in politics. For example, research shows that women in many legislatures do prioritize male constituents just as they do female constituents and place high priority on issues other than women's equality issues (Rodríguez 2003; Childs 2004; Schwindt-Bayer 2006).¹⁷ In Mexico, Rodriguez (2003, 189) found that "gender concerns come in second in the policy agendas of most female officeholders, trailing behind whatever their principal policy priorities may be (labor, human rights, transportation, education, social welfare, health, etc.)." She goes on to point out that "most of the women who are politically active seek to support and promote women's causes when they can fit them in alongside their main goals" (189). Similarly, Childs (2004) reported that MPs to the British Parliament saw themselves as representatives of all constituents first and talked about representing women only when prodded.

This leads to the third set of hypotheses for this study. Because women have a responsibility to be representative of all constituents, not just women, they are likely to recognize all constituents as important to their political work. As a result of this, they should prioritize issues from across the policy spectrum and view a wide range of legislative activities as important. Specifically, I expect that male and female representatives will place similarly high priority on issues that traditionally have been considered "women's domain" (social issues) and those traditionally considered to be in the "men's domain" (economics, foreign affairs, agriculture, fiscal affairs). I also expect that the gender of the representative will not affect the priority that legislators place on the wide array of legislative activities—policymaking, sitting on committees, holding leadership posts, and working in the district. Both of these hypotheses focus on the *attitudes* of legislators toward representation.

If female and male representatives place similar priority on representing a wide array of political issues and legislative activities, are they equally able to translate those preferences into legislative behavior? I argue that turning preferences into legislative action is likely to prove much more difficult for female legislators than male legislators due to one important constraint—the gendered legislative environment.¹⁸ Scholars have recently drawn attention to the institutional constraints that legislatures pose for female legislators, emphasizing that electoral rules, political parties, and informal legislative norms create a gendered institution that prioritizes "the masculine" and marginalizes "the feminine" (Marx 1992; Duerst-Lahti and Verstegen 1995; Rosenthal 1997, 1998; Hawkesworth 2003; Vincent 2004; Htun and Power 2006; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Mackay 2008; Zetterberg 2009). Legislatures are comprised of rules, norms, and values that were created by men, have been dominated by men, and continue to privilege men over women (Phillips 1995; Hawkesworth 2003; Beckwith 2005; Duerst-Lahti 2005; Lovenduski 2005; Chappell 2006; Mackay 2008). Men control a majority of seats in almost all legislatures.¹⁹ They control most positions of leadership in the legislature including committee leaderships, legislative party leaderships, and congressional leadership posts. Men have formal and informal networks that they constructed in the male-dominated legislative atmosphere and in which most of their political allies reside. They also continue to be leaders of most political parties.²⁰ This creates an "atmosphere of discrimination" that leads to marginalization of women in representation (Duerst-Lahti 2005). In other words, women in the legislature may face a "backlash" against their presence (Lovenduski 2005; Mansbridge and Shames 2008; Sanbonmatsu 2008; Thomas 2008). Duerst-Lahti (2005, 234) describes women in legislatures as facing a catch-22: "the gendering of the electoral environment produces atmospheric discrimination against women and structures that entrench male privilege. Under such conditions, even when women win a place in the institutions, they are faced with a catch-22 dilemma: they can perform the masculine better than males and in the process reinforce the masculinist preferences that make it hard for them to succeed, or they can remain outsiders and face enormous challenges to being effective."

In this book, I argue that marginalization of women by the male-dominated legislative environment is a primary obstacle that female legislators face when trying to turn their political preferences into legislative action. Women are likely to recognize electoral demands to promote all constituents, not just women, and a full range of political issues and to participate in a variety of legislative activities to represent their constituents. Thus, their political preferences are likely to be similar to men's. However, the influx of women into the legislative arena may make male representatives feel that their long-standing and unchallenged political power is threatened and lead them to seek ways to minimize women's political influence. They can do this by pressuring or encouraging

women to focus on issues that the male majority considers less important and less prestigious, such as compassion issues, while preserving work on what they consider to be higher value issues, such as economics, finance, agriculture, or foreign affairs, for themselves. They may pressure or encourage women to focus on certain kinds of legislative activities that are less likely to generate political influence, such as constituency service, while preserving prestigious leadership positions and committee assignments for themselves.

Specifically, this yields a fourth set of hypotheses that drive this research. Marginalization of women may result in two behavioral outcomes. First, female representatives are likely to spend more time on home-style activities and less time sponsoring legislation, sitting on committees, and holding leadership posts than men, despite placing similar attitudinal importance on these activities. Second, female and male legislators will have similar political preferences for issues, but female legislators will be more likely than their male counterparts to sponsor and cosponsor bills, participate in debates, sit on committees, and do home style on social issues (education and health) and less likely than men to participate in these activities on traditional men's issues (economics, fiscal affairs, agriculture, and foreign affairs).²¹

Gender differences in legislative activities already have been found in many areas of legislative work and in many different legislatures. For example, female representatives have been found to sponsor bills on compassion issues more often than male representatives, sponsor bills on economics and business issues less often than men, and be more likely to cosponsor bills rather than individually sponsor legislation (Thomas 1991, 1994; Jones 1997; Swers 1998; Wangnerud 2000a; Schwindt-Bayer 2006). Women are more likely to sit on committees such as education, health, and welfare, whereas men are present across the board (Diamond 1977; Johnson and Carroll 1978; Skard and Haavio-Mannila 1985; Thomas and Welch 1991; Norton 1995; Towns 2003; Heath et al. 2005). Women have been found to do more constituency service than their male counterparts and have different home styles (Diamond 1977; Thomas 1992; Richardson Jr. and Freeman 1995; Norris 1996; Friedman 2000), and female legislators are often less vocal on committees and in hearings dominated by male colleagues (Blair and Stanley 1991; Kathlene 1994, 1995; Broughton and Palmieri 1999; Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2003; Catalano 2008). Lastly, they have been much less likely to hold positions of leadership in legislative chambers and on committees (Skard and Haavio-Mannila 1985; Rosenthal 2005; Saint-Germain and Metoyer 2008), although female state legislators in the United States became more likely to hold these positions in the 1990s than in the early 1970s (Dolan and Ford 1997; Rosenthal 1998).

Some scholars view these behavioral differences as evidence of *difference theory*—the argument that men and women have distinct issue preferences emerging from their different genders and traditional gender roles (Chaney 1979; Sapiro

1981). They often put a positive spin on gender differences, viewing them as an indication that women are transforming the way that politics is done and perhaps doing it better than men (Dodson and Carroll 1991; Thomas 1994; Wangnerud 2000a; Marx et al. 2007; Catalano 2008). Women may make politics less competitive and confrontational and more cooperative instead, in effect “feminizing” the legislature (Thomas 1994; Childs 2004; Lovenduski 2005). This line of thinking has been touted as a possible explanation for gender differences in legislator behavior, particularly in Latin America where women's difference from men has traditionally been promoted as justification for feminism (e.g., maternal feminism) and women's movements (Chaney 1979; Jaquette and Wolchik 1998; Craske 1999; Franceschet 2005).²²

Other scholars, however, view gender differences in legislative behavior as an indication that women and women's voices are discriminated against and sidelined in the legislative arena (Marx 1992; Kathlene 1994; Rodríguez 2003; Childs 2004; Franceschet 2005; Heath et al. 2005; Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Zetterberg 2008). In other words, women are being marginalized in the political arena. Lyn Kathlene (1994), for example, found that women were much less likely than men to participate in committee hearings in U.S. state legislatures. She concluded that “as the proportion of women increases in a legislative body, men become more verbally aggressive and controlling of the hearing. Women legislators may be seriously disadvantaged and unable to participate equally in legislative policymaking in committee hearings” (560). Similarly, Heath et al. (2005) showed that when male party leaders or male chamber presidents control committee assignments in Latin American legislatures, women end up on social issue committees and are kept off of power committees. They argue that committees are scarce political resources that the male majority has an incentive to protect, and when male leaders control the distribution of those resources, they can and do marginalize women. Zetterberg (2008) examines whether Mexican female legislators' committee preferences translate into the desired assignment as a measure of marginalization. He finds little evidence of marginalization in his analysis, but he does view the translation of preferences into behavior as an important indicator of it.

One of the difficulties with these two theories is that they offer very different explanations for one phenomenon—gender differences in legislative behavior. In this book, I suggest that one way to distinguish between them is by comparing representatives' political preferences to their behavior. In order for difference theory to be supported, gender differences in behavior should reflect gender differences in representatives' political preferences. Women's distinct gender roles should drive them to both think and act differently than men. For example, women would place higher priority on social issues and spend more time working on those issues in office. In contrast, the marginalization thesis suggests a different pattern of attitudes and behaviors. It suggests that the gendered legislature is intervening in the process of women translating their preferences into behavior

such that they are not able to act on behalf of the issues they prioritize. I argue that this may appear as hypothesized above—women and men placing similar priority on traditional women's domain and men's domain issues but women being more likely to act on behalf of traditional women's domain issues and not able to work on issues traditionally in the men's domain. Marginalization of women may also occur in other ways in legislative politics, but in this book, this is the pattern of marginalization for which I empirically test.

Formal, Descriptive, and Substantive Representation: Explaining Variation across Political Settings

Thus far, this theory of substantive representation suggests that the relationship between descriptive representation and substantive representation will be the same in all legislatures. Yet, women's representation may vary across legislative settings. Indeed, scholars often point out that substantive representation is different in different political contexts (Rosenthal 1997; Carroll 2001; Weldon 2002b; Tremblay 2003; Vincent 2004; Tremblay 2006; Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2007; Dovi 2007; Celis 2008; Celis et al. 2008; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Mackay 2008; Waylen 2008; Zetterberg 2008). Some scholars argue that the explanation for these differences lies in the nature of political parties and the party system (Htun and Power 2006; Macaulay 2006; Tripp 2006). Others have suggested that women's ability to represent women depends on the strength and quality of democracy in the political system (Goetz and Hassim 2003; Creevey 2006; Longman 2006). Still others emphasize the role of societal forces, such as women's movements or international pressures (Goetz and Hassim 2003; Bauer and Britton 2006).

In terms of the conceptual framework of representation that underlies this study, I focus on how formal representation mediates the way descriptive representation translates into substantive representation. Specifically, I argue that electoral institutions may affect the extent to which male legislators marginalize women. Under certain configurations of electoral rules, male legislators may have more power and incentive to prevent women from acting on behalf of their political preferences. I focus on two possible mechanisms by which formal representation may mediate substantive representation—electoral rules that strengthen the power of the male majority and gender quotas.²³

ELECTORAL RULES

Building upon literature that argues that strong parties facilitate powers of marginalization, I argue that marginalization of women will be greater where political institutions give political parties and party leaders significant influence over the behavior of legislators (Goetz and Hassim 2003; Vincent 2004; Tripp 2006; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Mackay 2008; Zetterberg 2008). Specifically,

where electoral rules encourage party-centered rather than personalistic legislative behavior, political parties and party leaders (who are most often male) have greater incentive and power to marginalize women. In party-centered systems, party leaders have substantial influence over the distribution of legislative resources and over the actions of legislators. They often decide who sits on which committees, who will hold which leadership posts in the legislature, who will get nominated to party ballots in future elections, and who will receive appointment to higher political office if the party maintains political power. Indeed, Kittilson (2006) and Caul (1999; 2001) emphasized the importance of parties for women's representation in Western Europe. In these studies, Miki Caul Kittilson showed that the inclusion of women on the national executive committees of political parties leads to more women getting elected to parliaments and increases the likelihood that a party will adopt women-friendly policies, such as gender quotas. Just as the presence of women in party leadership can bring about changes in women's representation, the absence of women from party decision making is likely to further women's marginalization in politics.

If electoral institutions encourage personal vote seeking, however, legislators have more incentive to focus on the needs and demands of constituents in their district, and party leaders have far less influence over legislators (Cain et al. 1987; Carey and Shugart 1995). These rules encourage legislators to act independently from their parties and cultivate their own reputations. Their political future is tightly tied to their support in the electorate, rather than in the political party, making them more independently minded representatives. In personalistic systems, women may still face marginalization from the male majority in the legislature and other gendered legislative institutions, but marginalization may be more limited because party leaders have less control over legislative resources and little influence on the way legislators represent. In personalistic systems, female and male legislators' substantive representation should be more similar to one another (Macaulay 2006).²⁴

Specifically, I hypothesize women's marginalization in the legislature will be greater under party-centered electoral rules than personalistic electoral rules. Male party leaders, like the male majority in most gendered legislatures, are likely to see female newcomers as an incursion into their political space. In party-centered systems, they have sufficient power and influence over elected representatives to sideline women into working on traditional women's domain issues, such as social issues, rather than branching into men's domain issue areas, or appoint women to social issue committees, rather than the more powerful and prestigious men's domain committees. Female representatives have little ability to oppose party leaders if they want to ensure their future political career. Thus, party-centered electoral rules add an additional set of obstacles to women's substantive representation because women face discrimination from the male majority in the legislature and the male-dominated party leadership that controls most legislative resources.²⁵

GENDER QUOTAS

Another possible influence on the extent to which women may be marginalized in legislatures is gender quotas. Only recently has empirical research examined how quotas affect women in office (Vincent 2004; Xydiás 2007; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Zetterberg 2008), but many of the arguments presented in debates over the adoption of quotas express concern that quotas create “token women” who play little role in the legislative process and are easily marginalized (Bauer and Britton 2006). Gender quotas, as a mechanism of formal representation, could generate backlash from male representatives who feel their political future threatened by requirements to put women on ballots and compensate for that by marginalizing women in the legislature and preserving power for themselves (Zetterberg 2008). In legislatures with quotas, women may have a particularly difficult time translating their preferences into behavior.

Although the theoretical reasons for quotas to have a negative effect on women's substantive representation are logical, empirical research finds mixed support for this argument. One study that does support this thinking is by Vincent (2004). She claims that party quotas in South Africa have solidified that “women gain power only through access to men” and have led to women avoiding women's issues in their political behavior, citing changes from the prequota period to the postquota period. In contrast, voluntary quotas have been in place in Western European parties since the 1970s, yet little evidence suggests that they have led to marginalization of women in legislative politics. In fact, the parties that adopted quotas were most often leftist and socialist parties that had progressive political agendas that complemented the quotas they adopted. In Germany, Xydiás (2007) examined transcripts of legislative debates, finding that gender quotas there have led to women participating more frequently in debates, speaking “more meaningfully than men,” and being interrupted less often. This is the opposite of what one would expect were men marginalizing women in the chamber. Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) argued that quotas in Argentina have reinforced male dominance in the Congress and led to more marginalization of women, but the congresses from which they draw these conclusions already had quotas. This makes it difficult to know if quotas produce this phenomenon or if some other aspect of the legislative environment is responsible, such as Argentina's party-centered electoral rules. Zetterberg (2008) also argued that quotas may lead to greater marginalization of women but found few differences among women elected under quotas and those elected without quotas in his study of Mexico. Instead, he suggested that candidate selection rules and the predominance of strong parties in some countries increase the risk of marginalization of women. Devlin and Elgie (2008) also found that quota women and nonquota women are treated similarly in Rwanda. Although empirical evidence finds little support thus far for quotas increasing marginalization of women, the hypothesis still needs further testing.

Summarizing the Theory of Substantive Representation

In sum, this theory of women's substantive representation argues that the election of women brings new issues to the political agenda, specifically women's equality issues, but also results in marginalization of women inside the legislative arena. This marginalization is most likely to appear in the policymaking process, in legislators' committee assignments and leadership positions, and their home-style activities. The extent to which women represent diverse issues and gain access to all parts of the legislative process, however, may depend on the institutional context. Electoral institutions that empower party leaders and the adoption of gender quotas may produce more significant gender differences in legislative activities, even when women and men may be increasingly similar to one another in political preferences. In contrast, fewer gender differences are likely to emerge in personalistic systems and in legislatures without quotas.

I test this theory empirically in Latin America in chapters 3–6. Chapter 3 examines how gender affects legislators' attitudes toward representation, focusing on key political issue areas and the types of activities representatives engage in. Chapters 4 through 6 examine legislator behavior by examining policymaking (chapter 4), committee membership and chamber leadership (chapter 5), and home style (chapter 6). In the conclusion to the book (chapter 8), I compare the findings on attitudes and behavior in these chapters to determine what role formal representation plays in marginalizing women in Latin American legislatures.

Formal, Descriptive, Substantive, and Symbolic Representation

Symbolic representation is similar to descriptive representation in that it refers to representatives “standing for” their constituents (Pitkin 1969). But symbolic representation interprets “standing for” in a different manner. Representatives stand as symbols that can evoke feelings and attitudes about representation among the population. Pitkin makes clear that it is not the symbol itself that is of interest, but the reaction to that symbol that is of particular interest in symbolic representation: “it requires working on the minds of the audience rather than on the symbol itself, and in politics this usually means working on the minds of the represented” (1969, 13). She draws a comparison to the example of a flag as a symbol representing a nation. What matters is not the flag or symbol itself, but “the symbol's power to evoke feelings or attitudes” (Pitkin 1967, 97). Interest in the symbolic or emotive aspects of politics, even beyond representation, has grown into a notable research area of political science (Edelman 1964; Ragsdale 1984).

A common way to measure symbolic representation is public attitudes toward representatives, representative institutions, and government, more broadly. Symbolic representation occurs when the public feels that its elected officials are trustworthy or has confidence in the system of government and how it operates.

A sizeable literature exists that studies public support for government (see, for example, Hibbing and Patterson 1994; Mishler and Rose 1997), and much of this research argues that variation in public support results from the public's perceptions of how well their representatives are performing (Jackman and Miller 1996; Powell 2000). Symbolic representation can also be specific to underrepresented groups and focus on whether these social groups feel represented by their elected officials. Numerous measures of public feelings or support for government are available offering a wide range of ways to assess this fourth and final dimension of the "concept of representation."

Symbolic representation of underrepresented groups, such as women, is critical for representative democracy. Governments that are run by an elite and homogenous group of male representatives who are unresponsive to constituents' problems and concerns are likely to be viewed as unrepresentative and untrustworthy, yielding an electorate with little confidence or engagement in democracy. In contrast, those that are more diverse, that pass policies that deal with citizens' concerns, and provide mechanisms for citizens to participate more in democracy may be perceived as more credible, more trustworthy, more democratic, and in touch with the people. Having an electorate that feels represented, satisfied with, and trusting of democratic institutions is crucial for the quality and stability of democracy. What makes the electorate feel this way, however, is the subject of much debate.

The integrated model of representation suggests that formal, descriptive, and substantive representation shapes symbolic representation. Specific to women's representation, I argue that a country's use of more proportional electoral formula and gender quotas (formal), the presence of women in office (descriptive), and the adoption of female-friendly policies (substantive) will make constituents feel more represented by their government. On one hand, symbolic representation may affect female citizens only, but on the other hand, it may indicate to men that their democracy is more representative and inclusive and improve their perceptions of government as well. Indeed, recent research suggests that variation in political factors, social dynamics, and historical contexts can have important conditioning effects on citizen attitudes toward politics and women's involvement in politics, more specifically (Sapiro and Conover 1997; Morgan et al. 2008).

Formal and Symbolic Representation: Gender-Inclusive Institutions

The idea that formal institutions can directly affect citizens' views of government is not new. Duverger (1954) argued half a century ago that electoral rules have both mechanical and psychological effects on political outcomes. Specifically, he suggested that plurality electoral rules yield two-party systems whereas proportional

rules yield multiparty systems in part because voters in plurality systems realize that their votes for small parties are "wasted" and so they vote for one of the two largest parties in the system. In proportional representation systems, voters realize that they can vote for smaller parties and help those parties win some representation. Since Duverger's Law, the idea of electoral institutions having psychological or symbolic effects on citizens has expanded beyond voting to the way citizens feel about their government, in other words, symbolic representation. A small but growing body of literature looks at how electoral rules, such as proportional representation electoral systems, consensus democracies, multiparty and parliamentary systems, and preferential voting rules, affect the electorate's attitudes and beliefs toward the political system (Anderson and Guillory 1997; Banducci et al. 1999; Lijphart 1999; Norris 1999; Anderson et al. 2005; Farrell and McAllister 2006; Aarts and Thomassen 2008).

For women's representation, electoral institutions may help to explain the fact that men and women in many countries have very different views of government. In the United States, studies have found that American women express greater trust in Congress than do men (Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 1995; Sanbonmatsu 2003). Comparatively, wide variation exists in the gender gap, with men being more supportive than women in some countries whereas women are more satisfied than men in other countries (Karp and Banducci 2008). Electoral institutions, such as proportional representation electoral rules, large district magnitudes, or preference voting, are designed to maximize representativeness and give the electorate a say in the individuals who represent them. The use of these institutions could send signals to the electorate of representativeness and inclusiveness, psychologically triggering positive feelings toward government among the citizenry, especially women (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2008; Kittilson 2010).

Relatedly, the use of gender quotas could affect symbolic representation. Gender quotas are designed to increase women's numbers in office, but quotas can also act as symbols that generate feelings of support for the political system (Kittilson 2005; Zetterberg 2009). Kittilson (2005, 644) argued that gender quotas have two important, but sometimes overlooked, effects: they "reshape attitudes, values, and ideas toward women's roles in politics" and "can be a powerful symbol for democracy and justice beyond national borders." Zetterberg (2009) suggested that quotas could have signal effects on women's political attitudes and activities whereby quotas send signals to women in society that they are accepted as citizens and that the political environment is open to women. Others emphasize the symbolic role that quotas play as part of debates about adopting quotas. A commonly cited motivation for the adoption of quotas is to gain domestic and/or international legitimacy (Htun and Jones 2002; Araújo and García 2006; Krook 2006; Squires 2007). By adopting quotas, governments hope to send signals to their citizens that gender equality is important. This may result

in increased citizen trust in and support for government, particularly among women, and may lead to greater political engagement by female citizens. Thus, formal representation, via gender quotas and other political institutions, may provide important symbols that psychologically improve citizens' attitudes toward politics.

Descriptive and Symbolic Representation:

The Presence of Women

One of the most powerful justifications for the election of more women to political offices has been the symbolic effects that women's presence may have (Phillips 1995; Young 2000). Even where female legislators do not advocate a distinctly "female agenda" or respond to women's policy concerns, a visible presence of women in the legislature may directly enhance public confidence in representative bodies and government through a role model effect (Zetterberg 2009). Role model effects occur because the presence of women in office provides intangible, symbolic benefits to women in society that the presence of men does not (Phillips 1995; Young 2000; Childs 2004). Thus, increased descriptive representation of women may improve the attitudes that female citizens have toward government and their participation, more generally. Indeed, an array of existing research suggests that constituents are more likely to identify with the legislature and to defer to its decisions to the extent that they perceive a significant percentage of "people like themselves" in the legislature (Phillips 1995; Mansbridge 1999; Gay 2001; Banducci et al. 2004). Aarts and Thomassen (2008), for example, find that perceptions of representativeness are directly related to satisfaction with democracy such that those who perceive the system to be more representative have higher democratic satisfaction. Research also provides some evidence that the presence of women in politics has symbolic effects on women in society, making them more politically engaged in and satisfied with democracy (Norris and Franklin 1997; Sapiro and Conover 1997; High-Pippert and Comer 1998; Atkeson 2003; Sanbonmatsu 2003; Atkeson and Carrillo 2007; Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007; Karp and Banducci 2008; Reingold and Harrell forthcoming).

Increased descriptive representation of women also may lead to more positive feelings about democracy among both women and men. The election of women is a direct symbol for women who have previously been excluded from politics and may view increased election of women as evidence that they too can be more involved. At the same time, however, the election of women can serve as a more general symbol of increased representativeness and inclusiveness of the political system, which may spur more positive feelings toward government by men too. Indeed, several studies on how women's increased presence in government affects women in society have found that women's presence improves men's engagement

and attitudes toward politics as well (Lawless 2004; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005; Atkeson and Carrillo 2007; Karp and Banducci 2008; Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2008).

Substantive and Symbolic Representation: Women's Rights Policies

Finally, substantive representation of women may affect the way citizens feel about their government, particularly female citizens. Policy performance, specifically economic and political performance, has long been seen as a key explanation for citizens' evaluations of government (Jackman and Miller 1996; Powell 2000; Mishler and Rose 2001). When the economy is performing poorly, for example, citizens blame government, expressing less satisfaction with democracy and trust in democratic institutions (Mishler and Rose 2001). The passage of other types of policies also could improve citizen affect toward government. I argue that governments that tackle women's issues and produce more policies aimed at gender equality or overcoming gender discrimination should produce greater support among citizens, particularly women who see their concerns being addressed by government. This logic has been used as one reason that getting more women into office is important—it could produce more women-friendly policies and generate greater support for the political system (Phillips 1995; Mansbridge 1999; Atkeson 2003; Karp and Banducci 2008).

Interestingly, however, only one study has tested the intervening role for substantive representation empirically. A co-authored study that I performed (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005) found no direct effect for the link between substantive and symbolic representation, and instead found that it is the electoral system and the percentage of the legislature that is female that influence women's confidence in government. Yet, we focused on the state of existing women's policies in countries rather than recent passage of women's issue policies.²⁶ I suggest here that it is the act of passing women's issue policies that generates press coverage and public discussion of these policies, thereby making the electorate feel more represented by government. The focus on recent policy passage may generate a different outcome.

In chapter 7, I provide a statistical analysis of symbolic representation in Latin America that tests the theory that formal, descriptive, and substantive representation of women affects men's and women's perceptions of their democratic government. Specifically, I focus on the effect of gender quotas and the proportionality of electoral rules, the presence of women in the legislature, and the passage of women's policies on four measures of symbolic representation—citizens' satisfaction with democracy, perceptions of corruption, trust in the legislature, and trust in government. Based on the theory just outlined, each of these should affect symbolic representation by making the Latin American electorate

feel better about their democratic government. Women's representation should make women, particularly, but perhaps men as well, feel more included in and engaged in their democracy.

Summarizing the Theory of Women's Representation

In short, the overarching theoretical model of women's representation articulated here argues that women's representation is comprised of four distinct dimensions that are related to one another in three important ways. First, formal representation should influence descriptive representation in that electoral institutions, such as gender quotas and proportional electoral systems, will facilitate the election of women to legislative office. Second, descriptive representation is related to substantive representation such that the election of women should bring new political issues, specifically women's equality concerns, to the political agenda. At the same time, however, women face a political environment long dominated by men in which it is difficult for women to break into the informal networks that underlie the power structure. This results in women not gaining access to important political resources, such as prestigious committee assignments, leadership posts, or sponsorship of diverse types of legislation, and being marginalized in legislative politics into less important legislative activities and work on traditionally "feminine" policy issues. Marginalization is not universal, however. The degree of marginalization that women face depends on electoral institutions (formal representation). Specifically, it depends on whether electoral rules encourage personalistic or party-centered legislator behavior and whether gender quotas are used to elect legislators to office. Third, the theory suggests that formal, descriptive, and substantive representation will affect symbolic representation. The use of gender-inclusive political institutions, the passage of women-friendly public policies, and a large presence of women in the legislature should generate feelings of being represented among the electorate and result in higher levels of satisfaction with representative democracy and greater trust in representative institutions.

Women's representation is not just about explaining how women get elected or what kinds of policies they produce once there. Instead, it is a multifaceted and integrated concept comprised of the gendered nature of electoral institutions (formal representation), the presence of women in legislatures (descriptive representation), the way in which women represent (substantive representation), and citizen perceptions of that representation (symbolic representation). To fully understand women's representation, it is necessary to examine all of these dimensions of representation and the ways in which they influence one another. Doing so has several benefits.

First, it generates more accurate conclusions about the nature of women's representation. For example, if scholars examine only women's descriptive

representation, they would conclude that women's representation is improving in many countries around the world because the number of women in office has increased in recent years. Yet, focusing on substantive representation may reveal extensive marginalization of women in these very legislatures that prevents them from playing a powerful legislative role. From this, a very different conclusion would be drawn. Similarly, if scholars study only how quotas affect descriptive representation of women, they may conclude that quotas have a positive effect on women's representation because many countries with quotas have seen dramatic increases in the number of women elected to the national legislature. Yet, examining how quotas influence substantive representation may reveal that quotas facilitate marginalization of women, having a negative effect on women's representation. Second, an integrated theory of women's representation makes room for the possibility that although women get elected to office in growing numbers and effect positive evaluations by the electorate, their presence may not translate into equal representation inside the legislative arena. In other words, it allows the election of women to have different effects on the way representatives "act for" constituents in different political settings, and it explains why female legislators' issue preferences are not always reflected in their legislative behavior. Finally, this theory offers answers to the questions that are at the heart of this book—what causes women's growing presence in politics, and what are its consequences?

An Empirical Study of Women's Representation in Latin America

This theory of women's representation answers questions about why women have been elected in increasing numbers in some legislatures but not others, what this means for the legislative process and policy outputs, and how it affects citizens more broadly. In this book, I apply this theory to Latin American legislatures, where we still know relatively little about women's representation (see, however, Chaney 1979; Marx 1992; Franceschet 2005; Macaulay 2006; Marx et al. 2007; Archenti and Tula 2008b; Saint-Germain and Metoyer 2008).

A study in Latin America offers a useful test of this theory for several reasons. First, the region offers wide variation in women's formal, descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation. In terms of formal representation, most countries use some variant of proportional representation electoral rules for their lower chambers, but some upper chambers have majoritarian electoral rules. The size of the electoral districts within countries also vary widely, from those as small as 1 or 2 in Panama to those as large as 100 in the Colombian Senate. Twelve Latin American countries have experimented with gender quotas, but the remaining six have not. Further, the adoption of quotas in most countries occurred in the late 1990s, making it possible to compare politics before and after the implementation of

quotas in many countries. In terms of descriptive representation, women's election to Latin American democracies has increased over the past 30 years but to varying degrees across Latin American democracies (table 1.1). This makes it possible to examine both why women's representation has increased and why it remains low in some countries but is higher in others. The countries also vary in substantive representation. Some countries, such as Costa Rica, have passed several significant policies protecting women's rights. Others are still struggling to fight the influence of the powerful Catholic Church in the region and promote basic protections of women's reproductive or marital rights (Htun 2003; Franceschet 2005; Squires 2007). Finally, in terms of symbolic representation, citizen perceptions of Latin American governments vary significantly across countries. In some countries, citizens are fairly supportive of their representative democracies, but in others, they are incredibly frustrated with democracy. In Uruguay, for example, 80% of citizens were satisfied with the way democracy was working in the country in 2006 (Americas Barometer). In Paraguay, however, only 20% of citizens felt positively about democracy (Americas Barometer). This type of variation in women's representation creates an excellent setting for a test of hypotheses about women's representation.

Second, Latin America is representative of many democracies around the world. It is a region where gender equality is increasingly, though not entirely, seen as status quo. Despite a lingering culture of machismo, society increasingly values women's work outside the home and views women as capable political leaders (Gallup Organization 2001; Latinobarómetro 2004). The characterization of traditional gender roles is also changing as women are moving out of the private sphere and into the public sphere and entering the workforce and institutions of higher education in large numbers (Craske 1999). Women's groups and the women's movement also have become respected entities in civil society and play critical roles pressuring governments to respond to their demands and tackle lingering women's rights problems (Jaquette 1994; Franceschet 2005; Macaulay 2006; Waylen 2007). In addition, religion and state are largely separate in the region. Although the Catholic Church still has a strong influence over politics in some countries (Franceschet 2005), its power has been significantly diminished in many. This has freed governments in these countries to address women's demands for equality. Finally, Latin America today is a region of democracies. In the mid-1970s, only 3 countries in Latin America were democratic (Colombia, Costa Rica, and Venezuela). Today, all but one (Cuba) of the remaining 19 Latin American countries have transitioned from authoritarian states to electoral (and in some cases liberal) democracies. This yields a set of countries whose governments are representative democracies and whose elected leaders are accountable to the electorate (Samuels and Shugart 2003; Samuels 2004). This increases the generalizability of the findings from Latin American legislatures.

A third reason that Latin America is a good locus for study is that it is a region where politics is still a "man's game" (Marx 1992; Franceschet 2005; Macaulay 2006). Despite the influx of women into legislatures and the fact that citizens view politics as being more open to women, Latin American legislatures and political parties are gendered institutions that prioritize men and the masculine over women and the feminine. The vast majority of leaders in Latin American political parties are men, and in no legislature have women become the majority. Legislative rules and norms were designed by men and continue to privilege men over women. It is in this type of setting that the theory above suggests that marginalization of women in legislatures is likely. Latin America also offers variation on the formal institutions, electoral rules that encourage party-centered over personalistic behavior and gender quotas, which may exacerbate women's legislative marginalization.

Finally, a study of Latin America is useful because this theory suggests a different view of women's representation in the region than has traditionally existed. Latin America is a region where scholars have traditionally emphasized *difference* arguments over *equality* arguments for explaining women's political representation (Chaney 1979; Jaquette and Wolchik 1998; Craske 1999). Elsa Chaney (1979) first articulated this view in a study she conducted in the 1960s and 1970s that found that women in politics in Latin America were *supermadres*—super mothers who translate their traditional private sphere roles of caregiver and homemaker into the public sphere. This way of thinking about women in Latin American politics became dominant in the region and complemented similar arguments that emphasized women's identities as mothers and caregivers as justifications for their political mobilization against authoritarian regimes during the 1970s and 1980s (Molyneux 1985; Schirmer 1993; Bayard de Volo 2001). Yet, the cultural, socioeconomic, and political changes of the past 30 years provide reasons to suspect that *difference* is not the only (or even primary) motivation for women in politics in Latin America today. Women entering politics today may still base some of their claim to power on difference theory by using their gender to justify promoting women's rights issues in politics, but they also may see a need for equality in politics and try to attain legislative clout that affords them the political power they need to effectively represent not just women but all constituents. As Lovenduski (2005) suggests, difference versus equality is not an either/or. Indeed, recent research on the applicability of the *supermadre* model to women in Latin American politics suggests that it does not hold over time or across all Latin American countries (Furlong and Riggs 1996; Macaulay 2006; Schwindt-Bayer 2006).

The Cases

In this book, the empirical test of formal representation's effect on descriptive representation (chapter 2) and the analysis of explanations for symbolic representation

(chapter 7) focus on women's representation across almost the entire region of Latin America. The chapters on substantive representation (chapters 3–6), however, narrow the focus of the study to four legislatures in three countries—the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, the Colombian Senate and Chamber of Representatives, and the unicameral Legislative Assembly in Costa Rica.²⁷ The intensive data collection needed for a study of the political attitudes that representatives bring to the political arena, their policymaking behavior, their committee and leadership assignments, and their home-style activities necessitates a narrow study of just three countries. The choice of Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica is not arbitrary. They are representative of many other Latin American countries on these dimensions, increasing the generalizability of findings from these three countries to other countries in the region. Perhaps most important, these three countries minimize variation on culture and socioeconomic factors that could affect how women legislate and maximize variation on legislative electoral rules and gender quotas. This allows a test of how formal representation mediates substantive representation as outlined previously.

Compared to countries in other regions of the world, Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica are very similar to one another in terms of their cultural and socioeconomic environments and have been over time. Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica are all Catholic-dominant cultures and are countries where society has become increasingly tolerant in recent years of women moving out of the private sphere and into the public sphere (Gallup Organization 2001; Latinobarómetro 2004). The three countries have similar scores on the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), indicating that they are similar socioeconomically as well.²⁸

Argentina, Costa Rica, and Colombia are dramatically different from one another, however, in their electoral rules. In terms of gender quotas, Argentina has had quotas since 1991 and Costa Rica has employed them in elections since 1998. Colombia does not have a gender quota for legislative elections. In terms of the incentives that electoral rules provide for personalistic or party-centered behavior, Argentina and Costa Rica have electoral systems that inhibit personal vote seeking, whereas Colombia's rules encourage it (Carey and Shugart 1995). Argentina and Costa Rica have closed-list proportional representation electoral systems in which parties have near complete control over their electoral lists. Political party leaders nominate candidates to ballots and rank candidates in the order in which they want them to win seats. Voters must vote for the party as a whole and cannot change the order of candidates on the party list. Colombia, on the other hand, has a variant of open-list proportional representation, in which parties have almost no control over their ballots. Parties can run multiple lists in any district, and because of this, most candidates who want to run on a party's ballot simply create a new ballot on which they are the first candidate.²⁹ When

voters go to the polls, they are essentially selecting the individual candidates (rather than parties) that they prefer. This creates strong incentives for personal vote seeking and personalistic behavior among representatives (Ingall and Crisp 2001). Thus, Argentina's and Costa Rica's electoral rules provide strong incentives for legislators to be responsive first and foremost to the demands of party leaders, whereas Colombia's rules provide incentives for legislators to be responsive directly to the constituents in their district.

Because Argentina has quotas and a party-centered system whereas Colombia lacks quotas and has a personalistic electoral system, focusing just on these two countries makes it impossible to distinguish which type of electoral rule explains differences in substantive representation. Including Costa Rica eliminates this problem. Costa Rica is party centered and has quotas, but it has used quotas only since the 1998 election. Because some of the analyses in this book are time serial, it is possible to examine pre- and postquota periods in Costa Rica and isolate the effect of quotas from the effect of party-centered electoral rules. Similarly, the use of time-serial data in Argentina allows a comparison of prequota congresses with postquota congresses.

Studying these three countries makes it possible to test whether female legislators represent differently than male legislators, whether these differences vary across countries, and whether electoral institutions are part of the explanation for different patterns of women's substantive representation, as the theory argues. With only three cases, it is impossible to control statistically for country-level characteristics, such as culture, socioeconomics, or electoral institutions. Instead, it is necessary to use case controls. In other words, the use of these three cases approximates Mill's *method of difference* or a most similar systems design (Przeworski and Teune 1970). Culture and socioeconomic factors are near constants across the cases, whereas electoral rules vary.

Conclusion

Latin America is a region that has often been overlooked in research on women's representation. The relatively recent emergence of representative democracy in the region and the attention that women's movements in those transitions to democracy have drawn is part of the reason for this. Yet, it is a region in which we need a better understanding of the causes and consequences of women's growing presence in office. In this chapter, I articulated a theory of women's representation and developed a series of hypotheses that help to answer these questions. The remainder of the book examines this theory in Latin America. In doing so, this book makes several important contributions to our understanding of women's representation generally and women's representation in Latin America more specifically. First, previous research studies women's representation

by focusing on only one or two dimensions of representation rather than recognizing the integrated nature of women's representation and the extent to which formal, descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation are inherently linked to one another. Previous studies provide only disparate pieces of the puzzle of women's representation. By drawing on an integrated model of women's representation, this study suggests a more complete theory of women's representation.

Second, this study broadens the definition of substantive representation beyond its common focus on policy responsiveness to include other aspects of legislative work such as committee assignments, constituency service, interactions with interest groups and media, and presentation of public personas, and it distinguishes between legislators' attitudes and behavior in these areas. It develops a theory of women's substantive representation that explains why gender differences in legislators' work in these areas may vary within any given legislature (male marginalization of women in certain legislative tasks) and explains why women's substantive representation may vary across legislative settings (formal representation). In testing this theory, it draws on original data collected in Latin America—a survey of legislators in Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica, data on 7,000 bills sponsored in these legislatures, and interviews with female legislators conducted in 1999 in Costa Rica, 2002 in Colombia, and 2006 in Argentina.

This book also responds to recent calls for greater attention to how political context and political institutions affect women's representation (e.g., Celis et al. 2008). It does this by bringing institutions to the forefront of women's representation and emphasizing its centrality as a determinant of descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation. Electoral institutions help to explain variation in the gender representativeness of legislatures, citizen perceptions of their representative democracies, and the way in which women are substantively represented. Institutions also are behind the argument that the gendered nature of legislatures mediates women's representation by providing incentives for marginalization of women in office and are a likely explanation for different patterns of substantive representation across political settings. This book brings institutions front and center to the study of women's representation.

Finally, and perhaps most important, this book advances our understanding of representation and democracy in Latin America. The rise of women's participation in government has important implications for the quality and functioning of democracy. This is particularly important in new democracies with still-fragile and malleable institutions. This study offers some answers to questions about representation and democracy, such as, what does it mean for democratic governance that culture, the socioeconomic environment, and institutions can help or hinder the election of women? What does it mean for democracy that women and men do not differ in the types of legislative activities they perform but that they

do differ when it comes to women's issues? How does the presence of women in office affect perceptions of representative democracy, if at all? Similarly, this study answers questions about the reality of women and representative democracy in Latin America. It offers important contributions to our understanding of the growing participation of women in democratic politics in the region and its consequences.