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“Left, Right, and Center: Women’s Political Incorporation in the OECD” *

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Abstract

Women’s political incorporation encompasses suffrage as well as election into political office and inclusion in political leadership positions. Standard accounts of political parties’ support for women’s political incorporation differentiate between “the left” and “the right,” expecting that parties viewed left-leaning incorporate more women than those viewed as right-leaning. Drawing from previous research on comparative political institutions, parties, and ideologies, this study argues that we are more likely to find right-leaning parties that have incorporated women at higher rates in some systems than in others. Empirically, this study’s cross-sectional analysis of 281 political parties in 35 OECD member states shows that context matters for *center* and *right* parties’ incorporation of women, while *left* parties are more consistent cross-nationally. These findings controvert a homogeneous portrait of party families across political systems, pointing instead to the salience of context for differentiating among otherwise similar parties.

Key Words

women’s political incorporation, political parties, OECD

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Introduction

Women's political incorporation encompasses suffrage as well as election into political office and inclusion in political leadership positions. "Left" and "right" categories dominate standard accounts of women's political incorporation at the party level. Studies expect, and often find, that parties on the left elect more women than those on the right. However, significant ideological variation exists within these left and right categories, and a subset of parties is situated at the political center. Further, parties' broader context, including institutional arrangements and aggregate beliefs about gender, matters for women's political incorporation, yet less attention has been paid to how variation in political systems affects the salience of standard left-right categories.

This study measures women's political incorporation two ways: women's rates of election in those parties, and whether parties have at least one woman leader. Its analysis of 281 political parties in 35 member states of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) finds that otherwise similar political parties incorporate women at different rates depending upon their wider context.¹ Specifically, *center* and *right* parties vary cross-nationally to a degree that *left* parties do not. This finding challenges a homogeneous portrait of left and right categories across political systems, pointing instead to the salience of finer-grained ideological dimensions in specific country-contexts.

Political scientists appreciate the multi-dimensional complexity of political parties and their ideological composition (Budge, et al 2000; Huber and Inglehart 1995; O'Brien 2018). However, statistical models in political science typically control for "left" or "right," individual voters identify as "left" or "right," political parties campaign as "left" or "right," and so on. As

O'Brien (2018) shows, parties vary considerably within categories of party families. O'Brien's and other research in this vein emphasize ideological variation among political parties, spelling the need for more extensive inquiry (see also Celis and Childs 2014; Celis and Erzeel 2015; Wiliarty and Gaunder 2020). This chapter therefore foregrounds features of parties' broader context in its account of their political incorporation of women. It demonstrates that we are more likely to find "right" parties that include women in some political systems than in others. This finding adds to existing studies showing that heterogeneity among parties typically grouped together produces variation in women's political incorporation.

This study's analyses focus on the OECD for several reasons. OECD member states share relatively high levels of political and economic development yet vary institutionally and ideologically, which presents an opportunity to test whether wider context shapes political parties' incorporation of women. Electoral rules, and correspondingly the structure of their party systems, vary across these countries, as do widely held social attitudes towards traditional gender roles. Finally, the OECD comprise a sample of party systems for which a great deal of data is available, facilitating systematic comparisons.

This chapter first shows variation in parties' incorporation of women, highlighting the heterogeneity within and between standard left, center, and right party family categories. Second, it draws from the existing literature on comparative political institutions, parties, and ideologies to justify the statistical analyses that follow. This discussion emphasizes contextual factors, which are expected to moderate the significance of standard left-center-right party families. Finally, it assesses these expectations with statistical analyses of a party-level dataset of OECD countries for 2017.

Variation in women's political incorporation in 2017 across the OECD

Women's presence in elected office varies considerably globally. As of January 1, 2017, OECD countries' lower legislative houses ranged from 9.3% women (Japan) to 43.6% (Sweden), with an average of 28.6%. This OECD average is higher than the world average for that year, 23.4% (<http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world010117.htm>).

Which parties incorporate women at greater rates? Parties understood to be "on the left" are generally expected to incorporate women successfully. However, there is considerable variation within both left and right party categories, respectively. Some parties on the left incorporate few women, despite a good reputation. Some parties grouped on the conventional right incorporate very few women, as generally expected, while others incorporate women at rates similar to left-leaning counterparts. A category of center party families is often omitted from the narrative of left and right, yet these parties comprise nearly 20% of this study's dataset, and they too offer opportunities to examine the interplay between ideological orientation and system context.

Table 1 offers an initial snapshot of variation in this chapter's two measures of women's political incorporation. This snapshot includes 279 political parties or groups in the 35 OECD members' national lower legislative houses elected in the elections before and closest to January 1, 2017. Observations that correspond with ideologically miscellaneous alliances (as opposed to legislators who are independent/non-inscrit) are not included in this table. Political parties are divided into three party family categories: left, center, and right. Left-center-right designations for party families are drawn from the Database of Political Institutions (DPI), which

defines left as “communist, socialist, social democratic, or left-wing,” center as “when party position can best be described as centrist (e.g. party advocates strengthening private enterprise in a social-liberal context),” and right as “conservative, Christian democratic, or right-wing” (DPI 2015 Codebook, 8). The eight agrarian parties in this dataset are coded as centrist (see Appendix A for details about left-right-center categorization of the parties in this dataset).

Table 1. Women’s political incorporation: comparing party families across the OECD *

	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean proportion of parties’ LLH seats held by women (std. dev.)**</i>	<i>Min / max proportion of LLH seats held by women</i>	<i>Proportion of parties with at least one woman leader (std. dev.) ***</i>
<i>LEFT parties</i>	109	0.346 (0.211)	0 / 1	0.321 (0.469)
<i>CENTER parties</i>	45	0.326 (0.205)	0 / 1	0.200 (0.405)
<i>RIGHT parties</i>	102	0.217 (0.170)	0 / 1	0.162 (0.370)
<i>INDEPENDENT/NON-INSCRIT</i>	23	0.284 (0.284)	0 / 1	-

* This table includes 279 political parties or groups in the 35 OECD members’ national lower legislative houses (LLH) as of January 1, 2017.

** An ANOVA shows that the means of these three party groups are statistically significantly different from one another, Prob > F = 0.000. This result holds with the inclusion of the fourth (independent/not allied) category, Prob > F = 0.000. This result also holds when agrarian parties are coded as “right” rather than “center.” One-tailed t-tests show that left and center parties are not statistically significantly different (Pr = 0.299), while right parties are statistically significantly different from both left and center parties (Pr = 0.000 and Pr = 0.001, respectively).

*** An ANOVA shows that the means of these three party groups are statistically significant different, at Prob > F = 0.022.

Table 1 presents summary statistics for left-center-right party families. ANOVA tests comparing women’s mean rates of election into their lower legislative houses are statistically significantly different across these party categories, a result that holds with the addition of the category of independent legislators. On the one hand, this result corroborates standard expectations about left-leaning parties electing more women than their counterpart parties on the right. On the other hand, this table shows two additional kinds of variation that have

received less attention. First, left and center party families elect women at highly similar rates, a finding that is lost in focusing on the good reputation of “the left.” Although center parties are fewer in number in this dataset, they are not a residual or miscellaneous category, and they rival the left in their election of women. Second, Table 1 indicates important variation within these party families. Parties in all three categories range from electing no women into their national legislatures to having all of their seats occupied by women. Parties on the left exhibit greater variance than parties at the center or on the right, suggesting that their good reputation may rest on visible examples of success rather than consistency.

Women’s rates of appointment as party leaders is also statistically significantly different across these party family groups. However, these patterns are distinctive from rates of election. In terms of party leadership positions, center and right party families are more similar to one another. While left parties have at least one woman leader at rates similar to their rates of women’s election, center parties’ success drops significantly for this second measure of incorporation. Finally, variance in women’s rates of leadership is yet greater within these family groups than variance in rates of election, and still greatest among left parties. As with women’s rates of election, visible successes and visible failures may better explain parties’ reputations.

Overall, Table 1 shows that the story across these 35 political systems is more complicated than left-center-right party family categories. Further, these two forms of women’s political incorporation are distinctive. Subsequent sections investigate the role of broader contextual factors in shaping otherwise similar parties’ incorporation of women.

Previous research and theoretical expectations

In light of the distribution of left-center-right parties in the OECD and their political incorporation of women, this literature review turns to explanations for this variation. It discusses broadly accepted findings in political science for explaining both cross-national and inter-party differences in women's political incorporation, with particular attention to the salience of electoral and cultural systems. This discussion justifies statistical models in later empirical sections that bring together parties' ideological characteristics with the electoral and cultural systems in which they are situated.

System-wide factors

Research in political science clearly demonstrates that more inclusive electoral rules and aggregate social values favoring gender equality are consistent correlates of women's presence in elected office. In terms of institutions, studies have converged upon the importance of proportional representation rules (Matland 1993; Matland and Studlar 1996; Norris 2004; Rule 1987); higher district magnitude, i.e., a higher number of representatives for each constituency (Matland 1993; Matland and Taylor 1997); and gender quotas, i.e., rules stipulating that some portion of candidate slots (or a portion of legislative seats, in the case of reserved seats) be filled by women (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Franceschet, Krook, and Piscopo 2012; Kittilson 2005). Some studies show that quotas are more likely to be adopted, and subsequently implemented to varying degrees of effectiveness, in some settings than others (Davidson-

Schmich 2016; Murray 2007; Schwindt-Bayer 2009; Valdini 2019; Weeks 2018). However, in the aggregate, quotas are associated with higher rates of women's election.

All three of these electoral rules either incentivize the inclusion of women or allow greater space for the inclusion of new entrants into politics. As Valdini (2013) writes, multi-member districts and proportional representation side-step the "zero-sum game scenario, which emphasizes the political risk a party takes by running a certain type of candidate in an environment where there can only be one winner" (78). With the exception of gender quotas, which may be adopted voluntarily by individual parties, these electoral institutions are effectively held constant for all parties in any given election year.

In turn, a rich research program on social and political attitudes shows that some societies are more likely settings for women's political incorporation than others. Alexander and Welzel (2011), Inglehart and Norris (2003), and others demonstrate the strong, positive association between society-wide attitudes in favor of gender equality and women's rates of election. Studies also point to the importance of women's labor force participation rates, which vary considerably across countries and, in interaction with levels of social traditionalism, shape rates of women's candidacy (Iversen and Rosenbluth 2008; Kenworthy and Malami 1999). These aggregate factors are the backdrop for all political parties in a given system.

A structural factor that has received less attention in the women and political literature, but which directly reflects parties' electoral environment, is whether a country is multi-party (more than two political parties regularly win elections and participate in policy making) or primarily two-party. This existing research supports the expectation that parties typically grouped together as party families will not be homogeneous in their political incorporation of

women, depending upon context. Cross-nationally, parties' respective political environments vary, including the number and range of other parties. Recent research in this vein includes Weeks, et al (2022), who argue that right-wing parties strategically recruit and run women candidates when they are under duress or facing losses. This and related research finds that party system features contextualize parties' actions. In short, a wider ideological range of political parties have the potential to incorporate women to a greater degree in multi-party settings. This effect is expected to be most pronounced for parties on the right, because distinguishing themselves from one another is more likely to require diverging from the status quo of women's inclusion. For parties in right party families, this involves promoting women candidates and leaders.

Party-level factors

The discussion thus far has focused on system-wide factors. At the party level, research has identified ideological dimensions that correspond with levels of effort and success at incorporating women. One of these is the single-dimensional measure captured in left-center-right party family categories, and the association between the left and women's political representation is extensively documented (see for example Caul 2001; Xydias 2013). A finer-grained ideological dimension that theoretically corresponds with a party's success at incorporating women is *multiculturalism vs hegemonic ethnic supremacy*. This pair of orientations is commonly used to categorize parties as left or right, yet otherwise similar parties may vary in their level of hegemonic ethnic supremacy. Inspecting this ideological dimension

more closely offers additional insights into the salience of wider context for moderating otherwise similar political parties' incorporation of women.

Hegemonic ethnic supremacy is the belief that one's own ethnicity and cultural practices are superior to others, and that they should have more power associated with them. A core element of this belief is the idea that inequalities among people are natural, and the state should not act to alter them (Bobbio 1994; Mudde 2007). However, not all political parties generally categorized on the right are hegemonic ethnic supremacist. Instead, scholars identify hegemonic ethnic supremacy most strongly with the far-right (Mudde 2007, 91). In turn, multiculturalism is associated with the left. Multiculturalism is the acceptance, celebration, and inclusion of varied cultural practices (Taylor 1994).

Sociological studies of nativism and ideologies of the right show that hegemonic ethnic supremacy corresponds with low valuation of gender equity. This is in part because of a strong connection between hegemonic ethnic supremacy and belief in traditional gender roles, in particular the salience of motherhood as the primary vehicle for nurturing social values. For example, McRae (2018) documents the key role of white mothers as pro-segregationist activists in the mid-20th century United States. More generally, Christley (2021) finds that traditional gender attitudes play a significant role in support for European right-wing parties. Kimmel (2018) goes so far as to argue that hegemonic masculinity is an essential component of the political right.

The literature on political ideologies proposes many more dimensions for distinguishing among political parties beyond *multiculturalism vs hegemonic ethnic supremacy*. Budge et al (2000) and Huber and Inglehart (1995) include this pair of orientations among ten criteria for

categorizing parties as left or right. However, the dimension discussed here is sufficient for exploring whether variation within left-center-right categories is systematically associated with women's rates of political incorporation. This orientation distinguishes between otherwise similar parties in the context of their wider political systems, and it applies both to election rates and women's appointment as party leaders.

Specifically regarding women's appointment as party leaders, studies have found that many party-specific and contextual factors beyond left-right distinctions shape inter-party variation (O'Brien 2015; O'Brien and Rickne 2016). For instance, research shows that opposition or small parties are more likely to appoint women leaders, as are parties facing electoral losses (O'Brien 2015). Further, under some circumstances a candidate gender quota makes it more likely that a woman will serve as party leader by increasing the pool of women viewed as qualified candidates for this post (O'Brien and Rickne 2016).

Summing up theoretical expectations

Some of the factors discussed above are hypothesized to apply to all political parties, and to both forms of political incorporation. These include the effective number of parties as an indicator of the electoral environment in which parties are competing, as well as aggregate levels of support in society for gender equality and women's labor force participation. These factors are all expected to correspond with greater rates of women's incorporation.

Other factors are hypothesized to apply to all political parties, but not to both forms of political incorporation to the same degree. Specifically, electoral system variables are omitted from models of women's appointment as party leaders, because these features are theorized to

play a role principally in the candidate nomination and election process, not in internal leadership appointment processes.

Finally, factors hypothesized to differentiate between political parties include their left-center-right ideological categorization and the finer-grained ideological multiculturalism/hegemonic ethnic supremacy dimension. Standard accounts in women in politics expect the left to incorporate women at greater rates than the right, and in turn hegemonic ethnic supremacy is expected to correspond with lower rates of incorporation.

Data and methods

Case selection

This analysis focuses on the 35 OECD member states in 2017, including party-level data corresponding with these countries' national lower legislative houses, as of January 1, 2017 (i.e., parties winning seats in the elections before and closest to this date). There are nearly 200 national political systems in the world. This subset of 35 countries are relatively democratic and relatively affluent, yet they vary institutionally and culturally, presenting an opportunity to examine the extent to which wider context moderates political parties' incorporation of women.

Party-level dataset

This party-level dataset covers 281 parties or party groups in 35 OECD countries (listed in Appendix A). In some systems, dozens of political parties field candidates and win seats, and some of these parties pool their seat share. Countries' electoral commission websites may report aggregated seat shares for coalitions or alliances rather than for the individual political parties. Seat shares that were reported combined are included here as a single unit.

This dataset includes details from countries' electoral commission websites and parties' websites (to document women's presence among members of lower legislative houses and among party leaders) and from several cross-national datasets that are widely used in comparative politics: the Comparative Political Database (CPDS) for party family categories; ParlGov for finer-grained party-level ideological measures and to cross-check party-family categories with the CPDS; and Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem and V-Party) for party-level ideological measures. Not all countries, nor all political parties, are included in these existing datasets. For example, Chile, South Korea, Mexico, and the United States are not in ParlGov, which otherwise has extensive coverage for party-level ideological measures. For those four countries, ParlGov values were imputed based upon the parties' analogous V-Party values.

In the models presented below, women's political incorporation is measured two ways: women's percentage of their party's seats in the national lower legislative house, and whether the party has at least one woman leader. For example, in 2017 the leader of Germany's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) was Angela Merkel; the CDU is coded "1" for this variable.

The dataset includes two party-level ideological measures: the left-center-right party family variable described with Table 1, above; and the V-Party "cultural superiority" variable as

a measure of hegemonic ethnic supremacy. This latter variable has five values, coded here such that lower values denote greater multiculturalism: 0 means that “the party strongly opposes the promotion of the cultural superiority of a specific social group or the nation as a whole,” and 4 means that “the party strongly promotes the cultural superiority of a specific social group or the nation as a whole” (V-Party Codebook, 27).

Country-level institutional variables include the effective number of parties in the lower legislative house, the electoral system’s average district magnitude, whether the electoral system includes significant PR elements (where 0 denotes plurality elections), and the presence of a system-wide national gender quota for the lower legislative house of at least 20%. Sources for these data include widely used comparative datasets noted above, in addition to consultation with other sources such as the Gender Quotas Database (<https://www.idea.int/>) when needed. Data on the prevalence of pro-gender equality attitudes are not available for all 35 countries in a single existing survey; therefore, attitudinal data are drawn from three sources: the World Values Survey, the European Social Survey, and the Israel Democracy Institute. Finally, data on women’s labor force participation are drawn from the World Bank. Appendix B summarizes descriptive statistics for these variables.

Models of women’s rates of national legislative election include all country-level variables discussed in the previous paragraph. Models of women in party leadership posts do not include electoral system variables.

Statistical results and discussion

Table 2 presents OLS models of parties' political incorporation of women as seat-holders in their national lower legislative house, with standard errors clustered by country. These models' main finding is that context matters more for parties at the center and on the right than for parties on the left. Although Table 1 showed considerable variance among left-leaning parties, the mechanism behind this variation is not visible in these models. By contrast, various system-wide factors co-vary with center and right parties' incorporation of women. Whether a party on the right meets or defies low expectations regarding women's inclusion is in part a story of its broader political context.

Table 2. OLS regression models: women's rates of office-holding

	Model 1 <i>Women's Rates of Office-holding All Political Parties</i>	Model 2 <i>Women's Rates of Office-holding Left Parties</i>	Model 3 <i>Women's Rates of Office-holding Center Parties</i>	Model 4 <i>Women's Rates of Office-holding Right Parties</i>
	coefficient (std. error)	coefficient (std. error)	coefficient (std. error)	coefficient (std. error)
Party-level Variables				
<i>L-C-R</i>	-0.049 (0.013) **	-	-	-
<i>Hegemonic Ethnic Supremacy</i>	-0.020 (0.012) *	-0.059 (0.036)	-0.004 (0.041)	-0.021 (0.013)
Country-level Variables				
<i>Average District Magnitude</i>	0.001 (0.000) *	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.000) *
<i>Effective Number of Parties</i>	0.008 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.013)	0.012 (0.011)	0.024 (0.006) ***
<i>Electoral System - PR</i>	0.003 (0.037)	0.021 (0.090)	-0.205 (0.205)	0.027 (0.049)
<i>National Gender Quota</i>	0.021 (0.025)	0.005 (0.046)	0.041 (0.061)	0.039 (0.037)
<i>Pro-gender Equality Attitudes</i>	0.003 (0.001) **	0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002) *	0.004 (0.001) **
<i>Women's (15+) Labor Force Participation</i>	0.002 (0.002)	0.004 (0.003)	0.005 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.002)
<i>Constant</i>	0.018 (0.119)	0.013 (0.149)	-0.049 (0.383)	-0.060 (0.123)
<i>N</i>	207	85	37	85
<i>Prob > F</i>	0.000	0.015	0.018	0.000
<i>R²</i>	0.312	0.163	0.221	0.381

* p < 0.10; ** p < 0.05; *** p < 0.001

Notes: Reported results are unstandardized coefficients from an OLS model with standard errors clustered by country. Additional diagnostics for these models are in the endnotes.²

As expected, both higher district magnitude and an increase in the effective number of parties in a system are positively associated with a right-leaning party's election of women into legislative office, as is the prevalence of pro-gender equality attitudes. By contrast, wider

context does not similarly moderate the rates at which left-leaning parties elect women. These results are striking: the success of right-leaning political parties in nominating and electing women appears to be distinctively sensitive to electoral and social environment.

It was expected that hegemonic ethnic supremacy would correspond with lower rates of women's incorporation. This is the case for all political parties pooled together, but not for any of the party families alone. This may be because there is less variation in hegemonic ethnic supremacy within a given party family.

Thus the results in Table 2 show that across a wide range of countries, contextual factors contribute to the story of whether and to what extent parties elect women into their national legislatures. These factors contribute in particular to those parties whose more general reputation for women's political incorporation is poor. Right-leaning parties elect women at greater rates in some political systems than others, holding a series of other relevant factors constant.

Table 3 presents the results of logistic regression models of political incorporation of women as party leaders, with standard errors again clustered by country. As in Table 2, the main finding is that context matters more for parties at the center and on the right. Aggregate social attitudes differentiate between otherwise similar parties in their appointment of women into party leadership positions. This effect is as expected for right-leaning parties, for which greater prevalence of support for gender equality in society at large corresponds with more women party leaders. By contrast, center parties appear less likely to have a woman leader in settings where support for gender equality is greater. It is unclear what produces this effect,

suggesting the need for additional research. This includes the need to incorporate the center more fully into standard left-right accounts of women and politics.

In turn, Table 3 shows that greater hegemonic ethnic supremacy corresponds with lower odds of women's party leadership in some parties but not others. This effect was expected for all parties; it obtains here for parties on the left and at the center but not for parties on the right. As noted above, this result may be an artifact of hegemonic ethnic supremacy's variation across party families. Table 1 indicated that left parties appoint women leaders at rates similar to their election of women into national legislative office. However, taken together, results in Tables 2 and 3 suggest that the mechanisms behind these processes are different, even for parties grouped together.

Table 3. Logistic regression models: women’s inclusion as party leaders

	Model 5 <i>Any Women Party Leaders?</i> <u>All Political Parties</u> coefficient (std. error)	Model 6 <i>Any Women Party Leaders?</i> <u>Left Parties</u> coefficient (std. error)	Model 7 <i>Any Women Party Leaders?</i> <u>Center Parties</u> coefficient (std. error)	Model 8 <i>Any Women Party Leaders?</i> <u>Right Parties</u> coefficient (std. error)
Party-level Variables				
L-C-R	-0.152 (0.223)	-	-	-
Hegemonic Ethnic Supremacy	-0.449 (0.203) **	-0.683 (0.373) *	-1.347 (0.567) **	-0.079 (0.342)
Country-level Variables				
Effective Number of Parties	-0.058 (0.087)	-0.061 (0.097)	0.248 (0.286)	-0.331 (0.231)
Pro-gender Equality Attitudes	0.018 (0.021)	0.004 (0.023)	-0.070 (0.036) *	0.091 (0.030) **
Women’s (15+) Labor Force Participation	-0.007 (0.026)	0.001 (0.028)	0.064 (0.049)	-0.029 (0.040)
Constant	-1.083 (1.478)	-0.340 (1.575)	0.742 (4.135)	-5.512 (3.959)
N	203	83	37	83
Prob > X ²	0.039	0.3186	0.000	0.006
Wald X ²	11.70	4.71	22.33	14.30
Pseudo R ²	0.066	0.037	0.222	0.160

* p < 0.10; ** p < 0.05; *** p < 0.001

Notes: Reported results are unstandardized coefficients from a logistic regression model with standard errors clustered by country. Additional diagnostics for these models are in the endnotes.³

Figure 1 provides a visual illustration of the salience of context, showing the marginal effects of greater levels of society-wide support for gender equality for parties on the right (probabilities calculated from Model 8). As aggregate support in society for gender equality increases, a party on the right is more likely to have a woman leader. This effect is statistically significant for support at and above 70%, which is near the mean support for gender equality across these 35 countries (75.3%; see Appendix B). Some parties on the right are more likely to

incorporate women at greater rates than others, and political and social context contribute to this variation.

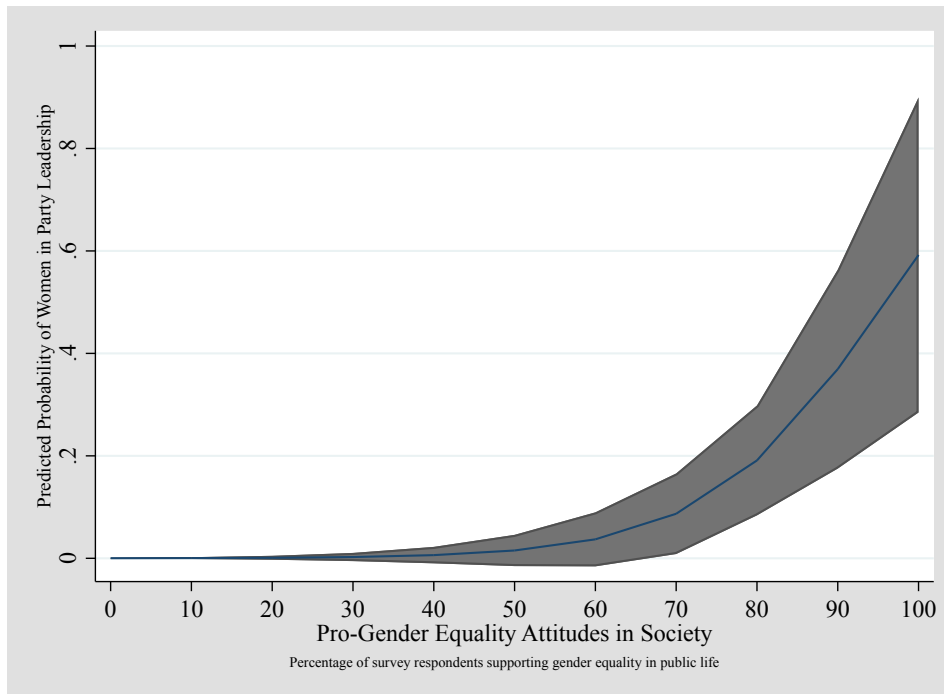


Figure 1. Parties on the right: marginal effects of pro-gender equality attitudes on women in party leadership [95% CIs]

Notes: Predicted probabilities calculated from Model 8 in Table 3.

Conclusions

This analysis has shown the simultaneous salience of party-level and system-wide factors for understanding rates of women’s political incorporation. In particular, parties at the center and on the right, respectively, appear to be more sensitive to context. These findings demonstrate the need to differentiate more extensively between otherwise similar political

parties, and to look beyond party families' generally positive or generally negative reputations for advancing women's political rights and interests.

These findings also underscore that national legislative election and party leadership are forms of women's political incorporation that are shaped by distinctive factors. While both advance women's equity, candidate and party leadership nomination processes often differ even within a given party, and they are likely to be affected by distinctive incentives. This chapter's findings point to the need for greater research into contextual effects on otherwise similar parties' appointment of women into leadership positions.

Finally, center parties are often omitted from the left-right narrative about women in politics, yet their variance is significant and interesting. Mixed results in this study's analyses suggest the need to inspect center parties more closely, and to incorporate them more fully into accounts of women and politics.

Other questions that remain include, for example, whether additional finer-grained ideological dimensions beyond hegemonic ethnic supremacy contribute to variance between otherwise similar political parties in their incorporation of women. Hegemonic ethnic supremacy distinguishes far-right parties, in particular; other dimensions, such as materialism/post-materialism, also differentiate among parties in ways that may have implications for these parties' commitments to women's political inclusion.

Finally, extensions of this study's analytical approach could include non-democratic and developing countries to evaluate the salience of level of democracy or level of economic development, and longitudinal analyses could address whether any of these findings are artifacts of some parties' year-specific lows or highs.

Notes

¹ As later sections will discuss, it is common in some political systems for multiple political parties to undertake allied campaigns and to act in the legislature as a coalition; such political parties are treated as a single unit of analysis here (i.e., total number of seats and total number of women among seat-holders in the coalition).

² Diagnostics for models in Table 2: For Model 1, VIFs are between 1.27 and 2.46 (mean 1.72), and a Breusch-Pagan test indicates some concern regarding heteroskedasticity (Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.003$). For Model 2, VIFs are between 1.35 and 2.51 (mean 1.69), and a Breusch-Pagan test does not indicate concern regarding heteroskedasticity (Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.550$). For Model 3, VIFs are between 1.20 and 2.86 (mean 1.76), and a Breusch-Pagan test does not indicate concern regarding heteroskedasticity (Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.142$). Finally, for Model 4, VIFs are between 1.27 and 2.95 (mean 1.89), and Breusch-Pagan test does not indicate concern regarding heteroskedasticity (Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.167$).

³ Diagnostics for Models in Table 3: Link tests and Hosmer-Lemeshow tests show that Models 5-8 fit the data well. Model 5: $p > \chi^2 = 0.682$; Model 6: $p > \chi^2 = 0.498$; Model 7: $p > \chi^2 = 0.764$; Model 8: $p > \chi^2 = 0.859$.

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Appendix A. Countries and parties in the dataset

The first column lists the 35 countries that were OECD members in 2017. Subsequent columns categorize families of parties that won seats in their national lower legislative house in the election closest to and before January 1, 2017. Parties that did not win seats in that election are not included in the dataset.

Country	Election Year	Party Families		
		Left Parties	Center Parties	Right Parties
Australia	2016	Australian Greens, Australian Labor Party, Katter's Australian Party	Liberal National Party of Queensland, Nick Xenophon Team	Liberal Party of Australia, Nationals
Austria	2013	Social Democratic Party, The Greens	NEOS, Team Stronach	Austrian People's Party, Freedom Party
Belgium	2014	Green, ECOLO, Socialist Party Differently, Socialist Party, Workers' Party of Belgium	Francophone Democratic Front, Party of Liberty and Progress, Reformist Movement	Flemish Christian People's Party, Flemish Interest, Humanist Democratic Center, N-VA/V&W, Parti Populaire
Canada	2015	Green Party, New Democratic Party, Québec Bloc	Liberal Party	Conservative Party
Chile	2013	Communist Party, Democratic Revolution, Ecological Green Party, Humanist Party, Party for Democracy, Social Democrat Radical Party, Social Green Regionalist Federation, Social Convergence, Socialist Party of Chile	Liberal Party of Chile	Christian Democratic Party, Independent Democratic Union, National Renewal, Political Evolution
Czech Republic	2013	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, Czech Social Democratic Party	Yes 2011	Christian Democratic Union/People's Party, Civic Democratic Party, Dawn of Direct Democracy, Tradition Responsibility Prosperity
Denmark	2015	Alternative, Red-Green Alliance, Republican Party, Social Democrats, Socialist People's Party	Danish Social-Liberal Party/Radical Liberal Party, Liberal Party, New Liberal Alliance	Conservative People's Party, Danish People's Party
Estonia	2015	Estonian Centre Party, Social Democratic Party/Moderates	Estonian Reform Party	Estonian People's Party, Free Party, Union of Pro Patria and Res Publica
Finland	2015	Green League, Left Alliance, Social Democratic Party of Finland	Agrarian Union/Centre Party, Finnish Party/True Finns, Swedish People's Party	Christian Democrats, National Coalition Party
France	2012	French Communist Party/Left Front, Greens, Miscellaneous Left (DVG), Radical	-	Democratic Movement, Miscellaneous Right (DVD), National Front,

			Party of the Left, Socialist Party		Union for a Popular Movement, Union of Democrats and Independents
Germany	2013	Alliance '90/Greens, Social Democratic Party, The Left		-	Christian Democratic Union, Christian Social Union
Greece	2015	Coalition of Radical Left (SYRIZA), Communist Party, Panhellenic Socialist Movement/Democratic Alignment, The River	Union of Centrists		Independent Greeks (ANEL), New Democracy, Golden Dawn
Hungary	2014	Hungarian Socialist Party, Politics Can Be Different		-	Christian Democratic People's Party, Hungarian Civic Alliance, Movement for a Better Hungary
Iceland	2016	Left-Green Movement, Pirate Party of Iceland, Social Democratic Alliance	Bright Future, Progressive Party		Independence Party, Reform Party
Ireland	2016	People Before Profit, Labour Party, Sinn Fein, Social Democrats		-	Fianna Fail, Fine Gael
Israel	2015	Alignment, Meretz	All of Us, There Is A Future		Israel Is Our Home, Jewish Home, Likud, Shas, United Torah Judaism
Italy	2013	Articolo 1, Democratic Party, Left Ecology Freedom	Centre-Right Coalition, Civic Choice		Brothers of Italy, Forward Italy, North League
Japan	2014	Japan Communist Party, Social Democratic Party		-	Clean Government Party, Democratic Party of Japan, Japan Restoration Party, Liberal Democratic Party, Party for Future Generations, Putting People's Lives First
Latvia	2014	Harmony Centre	Green and Farmers' Union		Latvian Association of Regions, National Alliance/Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK, Unity
Luxembourg	2013	Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, The Greens, The Left	Democratic Party		Action Committee Pensions/Alternative Democratic Reform Party, Christian Social People's Party
Mexico	2015	Convergence, Ecologist Green Party of Mexico, National Regeneration Movement, Party of the Democratic Revolution	Institutional Revolutionary Party, New Alliance		National Action Party, Social Encounter
Netherlands	2012	Green Left, Labour, Socialist Party	Democrats 66, Party for People Over 50,		Christian Democratic Appeal, Christian

			People's Party for Freedom and Democracy	Union, Party for Freedom, Reformed Political Party
New Zealand	2014	Green Party, Labour Party	ACT New Zealand	National Party, New Zealand First Party, United Future
Norway	2013	Green, Norwegian Labour Party, Socialist Left Party	Centre Party, Liberal Party of Norway	Christian Democratic Party, Conservative Party, Progress Party
Poland	2015	-	Modern, Polish People's Party	Civic Platform, Kukiz '15, Law and Justice
Portugal	2015	Left Bloc, Party for People, Animals, and Nature, Social Party, Unified Democratic Coalition	Popular Democratic Party/Social Democratic Party	-
Republic of Korea	2016	Justice Party	Democratic Party, People's Party	Liberty Korea Party
Slovakia	2016	Direction – Social Democracy	Freedom and Solidarity	Most-Hid, Network, Ordinary People and Independents, People's Party Our Slovakia, Slovak National Party, We Are Family – Boris Kollar
Slovenia	2014	Alliance of Alenka Bratusek, Party of Miro Cerar/Modern Center Party, Social Democrats/United List of Social Democrats	-	New Slovenia – Christian People's Party, Slovenian Democratic Party
Spain	2016	Compromise, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, United We Can, Left Alliance	Citizens	Basque Nationalist Party, People's Alliance
Sweden	2014	Greens, Left Party/Communist Party, Social Democrats	Farmers' League/Centre Party, Liberals/People's Party	Party/People's Party Christian Democrats, Right Party/Moderate Party, Sweden Democrats
Switzerland	2015	Green Liberal Party, Green Party, Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, Swiss Labor Party	The Liberals, Swiss People's Party	Catholic Conservative/Christian Democratic Party, Conservative Democratic Party of Switzerland, Evangelical People's Party, Geneva Citizens' Movement, Ticino League
Turkey	2015	Peoples' Democratic Party, Republican People's Party	-	Justice and Development, Nationalist Movement Party
U.K.	2015	Greens, Labour, Scottish National Party, Sinn Fein, Social Democratic and Labour	Liberal Democratic Party	Conservatives, Democratic Unionists, Ulster Unionist Party,

Appendix B. Descriptive statistics for variables in models 1-8

Variable	Unit of analysis	N	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Proportion of party's seats held by women <i>Countries' electoral commission websites</i>	Political party	281 parties	0.295	0.2185	0	1
Whether one or more party leaders are women <i>Parties' websites</i>	Political party	261 parties	0.234	0.424	0	1
Left-Center-Right party family category <i>CPDS, V-DEM, ParlGov</i>	Political party	256 parties	1.973	0.909	1	3
Hegemonic ethnic supremacy (0-4, where 0=least ethnic supremacist and 4=most ethnic supremacist) <i>V-Dem</i>	Political party	210 parties	1.561	1.139	0	4
Mean district magnitude <i>DPI, ESCE</i>	Political system	281 parties	20.148	34.640	0.9	150
Whether there is a national quota rule <i>GDGQ</i>	Political system	281 parties	0.406	0.492	0	1
Whether electoral rules are proportional <i>DPI, IPU</i>	Political system	281 parties	0.897	0.305	0	1
Effective number of political parties <i>CPDS, Gallagher & Mitchell</i>	Political system	281 parties	4.438	1.812	1.98	8.84
Pro-gender equality attitudes (% of survey respondents) <i>WVS, ESS, IDI</i>	Political system	281 parties	75.333	14.020	45	94
Women's paid labor force participation (% of women 15+ years) <i>WB</i>	Political system	281	53.985	6.985	32.6	73.2

Comparative Political Database (CPDS), Database of Political Institutions (DPI), Electoral System Change in Europe Since 1945 (ESCE), European Social Survey (ESS), Gallagher and Mitchell (2008), Global Database of Gender Quotas (GDGQ), Israel Democracy Institute (IDI), ParlGov, Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), World Bank (WB), World Values Survey (WVS).