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POLITICAL PARTIES AND GENDER

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Gendering the study of political parties is highly consequential for how scholars theorise, examine empirically and reach conclusions about the central questions of this political science sub-field. Such a major re-evaluation has challenged much of the conventional wisdom and opened up new avenues of research that have furthered the understanding of the actors to whom modern democracies accord linkage, representative and governing functions. Despite the numerous contributions made by feminist political scientists in this field since the 1990s, party politics scholars have been rather slow in engaging with gender in their theoretical and analytical constructs. Gender-blindness has left them unprepared to adequately account for the gender gaps observed in intra-party activities or to investigate the gendered dynamics underlying organisational arrangements or candidate selection processes and the resulting gender-biased descriptive (presence) and substantive (policy) representation outcomes.

The chapter reviews these critical omissions and provides a state of the art of the wide range of topics that have been examined through a gender lens, pinpointing how feminist research has advanced our understanding of political parties. In doing so, the remaining sections discuss the following questions: How are gender power relations wielded within political parties? How does gender shape intra-party democracy? Why is candidate selection still strongly gendered despite increasing numbers of women among party members, officials and elected representatives? How can political parties be re-gendered? The final section concludes and pinpoints the gaps to be filled with further research.

Political parties as gendered organisations

Building on new institutionalism, feminist analyses have made important advances to our understanding of party organisations. In particular, they have shown that the procedures and culture in which party decision-making takes place are far from gender-neutral. Where parties were founded by men and historically populated by men, gender has become an organising principle that distributes advantage and disadvantage on a daily basis (see Figure 9.1). As Lovenduski (2005, 56) states, ‘if parliament is the warehouse of traditional masculinity, . . . political parties are its major distributors’. To understand how power is wielded in gendered ways within political parties – often intertwining with class, race, age, sexuality or ableness – scholars have paid attention to the inscription of gender in the formal (written) rules, such as party constitutions

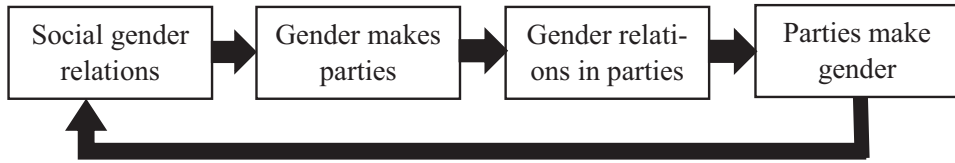


Figure 9.1 Interplay between gender and party

Source: Adapted from Kenny and Verge (2016).

or by-laws, including candidate selection proceedings, and the informal (non-written) rules, such as norms, practices, conventions and rituals (Bjarnegård and Kenny 2016). Research has shown that some of the ‘rules of the game’ are ‘gendered’, because they shape different roles, actions or opportunities for women and men, while others are ‘apparently gender-neutral’ but, nonetheless, produce ‘gendered effects’ due to their interaction with wider social norms (Lowndes 2020, 545).

Political parties do not operate in a vacuum but are embedded in a specific social context and in the broader political system (Norris and Lovenduski 1995). Gender relations in society play a systematic role in shaping political parties, including the unequal distribution of resources (time, money or political capital) stemming from the sexual division of waged and household labour and deep-seated ideas about what it means to be – and behave – like a ‘man’ or a ‘woman’. Parties’ rules, structures and processes are infused by these patterns of inequality and gender socialisation, shaping the experiences of individual and collective actors (Childs 2008, xix). In this vein, as Kenny and Verge (2016, 357) posit, ‘gender makes parties’, as it is routinely enacted within the organisation, for example, through prevailing types of ideal party member, leader or candidate that are biased towards stereotypically male traits – for example, high levels of competitiveness, forceful assertiveness or adversarial styles of debate (Lovenduski 2005, 53) – or participation modes that reflect the needs of individuals with fewer caring responsibilities – for example, continuation of discussions after party meetings end in informal arenas such as bars and restaurants (Bjarnegård 2013; Verge 2015).

The ways in which gender relations are entrenched in political parties can be illustrated by men’s overrepresentation in decision-making bodies (Kittilson 2006), the establishment of gender-appropriate roles – for example, women members commonly perform routine, housekeeping and administrative functions within parties (Bashevkin 1993; Verge and de la Fuente 2014) – or the fact that the global #MeToo campaign has also pointed the finger at political parties and parliaments (Krook 2018). As a result, ‘parties make gender’ (Kenny and Verge 2016, 359) on a daily basis through the institutionalisation of male-centred norms and practices that discriminate against women in either overt or subtler ways. From this perspective, parties can thus be described as ‘institutionally sexist’ organisations (Lovenduski 2005, 52–54). As will be discussed throughout the chapter, within political parties, women members, leaders and candidates face segregation, exclusion and gendered hierarchies; their perspectives are substantially neglected in party policy; and organisational arrangements are strongly biased towards certain kinds of masculinity. Furthermore, reforms in formal rules, such as the introduction of gender quotas, tend to be undermined by the ‘stickiness’ of gendered informal rules, which enables party actors to redeploy ‘old ways of doing things’ (cf. Bjarnegård and Kenny 2016, 387). Finally, since ‘rules inside and outside the political domain interact and co-evolve’ (Lowndes 2020, 555), the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion played out in parties reinforce unequal social gender relations. For example, at the symbolic level, the scarcity of women party chairs (Wauters and Pilet 2015) elicits and reinforces the idea that men are better suited to lead.

Intra-party democracy

Can political parties be judged internally democratic if they continue to discriminate against women (Childs 2013a, 93) and fail to adequately represent descriptively (presence) and substantively (policy) the largest social constituency? To answer this question, feminist political scientists have shown that a gender lens must be applied to key issues of intra-party democracy (IPD), such as legal regulations of political parties, party membership, group representation, leadership selection and policy development.

Legal regulations

With the exception of electoral quotas, which have gradually diffused across the globe,¹ very few countries, most prominently from Latin America, have included measures to further gender equality within political parties in national constitutions or party laws (Childs 2013b). Given the linkage, representative and governing functions political parties perform in democratic regimes, such a widespread lack of statutory mandates is, at the very least, paradoxical. The few existing statutory measures can be listed in just a paragraph.

In Costa Rica, party registration is dependent upon commitment to gender equality in the party constitution, and in a few countries, legislated gender quotas also apply to the composition of parties' decision-making bodies – Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.² A specific share of parties' public funding must be allocated to women's capacity-building and to promoting their political participation in Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico and Panama, and at least ten per cent of the state-subsidised media time for party propaganda must promote women's political participation in Brazil (Roza, Llanos and Garzón de la Roza 2011, 22–23). Parties must adopt an internal gender action plan in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia (Verge 2020a, 238), and only in Bolivia must parties have internal anti-harassment policies.

Party membership

Insufficient social representativeness of the rank-and-file may not only taint parties' social legitimacy but also hamper the diversity of the pool of candidates for public and party office. Furthermore, it may have an impact on policy, as women members are generally more progressive, both on gender and on other issues, than their male peers (Childs and Webb 2012, 176; Devroe et al. 2019, 98). Besides being older, more likely to belong to the ethnic majority group and typically having a higher social status than voters, the composition of the party membership is still skewed towards men, particularly in extreme-right parties (Gauja and van Haute 2015, 195), mirroring gendered patterns of voting behaviour (see also Chapter 27). For example, in 2017, in the UK (Audickas, Dempsey and Loft 2017, 19), women made up almost half of Labour (47 per cent) and Green (46 per cent) members but just about a quarter of the Conservative Party's (29 per cent) and UKIP's (25 per cent).

Studies show that women members are less active than men in speaking at local party meetings, applying for a function or mandate or participating in candidate selection procedures (Cross 2019, 21; Devroe et al. 2019, 95). Several mechanisms linking the gendered functioning of parties to women's lower intra-party participation have been identified. Women members and leaders face continuous 'super-surveillance' and receive less recognition for their work (Lovenduski 2005, 148). Simultaneously, gendered rituals, such as repetitive interventions by men and disregard for women's contributions, often turn party meetings into uncomfortable

spaces for the latter. Moreover, the prevailing tendency to hold meetings in family-unfriendly hours and male venues (e.g. pubs or clubs) reflects how the uses of time and place help men keep power and pose a double bind for women. Devoting evenings to party work can violate social gender norms about caring or family responsibilities and may result in women finding their capacity to accumulate influence and build networks curtailed (Verge and de la Fuente 2014, 72–76).

Group representation

Party women's organisations initially developed as auxiliary groups aimed at supporting parties' everyday activities, mobilising women voters and recruiting new female members. Contemporarily, despite adopting different forms (e.g. including party sub-organisations or sections, specific party secretariats, networks of female elected representatives, or collateral – external – organisations), most of these organisations seek to promote solidarity among party women, help them build political skills and provide a site for claim-making on behalf of women aimed at gendering party by-laws and policy agendas (Kittilson 2011, 70; Roza, Llanos and Garzón de la Roza 2011, 19–26).

Both party age and ideology explain why some parties have women's organisations. Traditional parties (social democratic and conservative/Christian democratic) are more likely to have these organisations than newer parties (Childs and Kittilson 2016, 604), while they are more commonly found in green parties than in radical left parties (Keith and Verge 2018, 401). Their political weight varies across parties with regard to crucial aspects: descriptive representation rights in decision-making bodies; the degree of integration into party policy-making processes; party bodies or persons to whom they are accountable; and material support (funding, personnel, etc.) accorded by the party (Childs and Kittilson 2016, 606).

Party leadership selection

As Childs (2013a, 93) highlights, women 'have not gained power relative to where power lies'. Since the 1960s, only 11 per cent of the national party leaders selected in Europe, North America and Oceania have been women (Wauters and Pilet 2015, 82). The largest, more electorally competitive parties, from both left and right, are less likely to select women to this position than smaller parties, including radical right parties (O'Brien 2015, 1030). Several gendered dynamics and political opportunities underpin the politics of party leadership selection. Women leaders are more frequently selected in contexts of poor party popularity, when the post is least attractive (Bashevkin 2010, 79). They are rarely acclaimed in party contests (O'Neill and Stewart 2009, 747), serve for shorter periods than their male peers and are more likely to step down when their party experiences unfavourable electoral results (O'Brien 2015, 1033).

Vertical segregation also shapes parties' national executive committees (NECs). The share of women NEC members rose from an average of 15 per cent in 1975 to about 30 per cent in 1997 (Kittilson 2006, 42). No further increases have occurred thereafter. Higher proportions of women in this body are found in left parties, especially when gender quotas are used, when the party structure is centralised, and when party women's organisations exist (Kittilson 2006, 46). Local party committees are particularly masculinised, with several scholars pinpointing that 'male power monopolies' are typically built at this level (Hinojosa 2012, 61; see also Bjarnegård and Kenny 2016). For example, in Canada, in 2016, eight-in-ten local party presidents were male (Cross 2019, 21). Moreover, the distribution of mandates in both the NEC and local party committees follows a gendered horizontal segregation. Women are

more likely to be assigned to education and social welfare positions within party secretariats, extending their traditional roles as caregivers to party politics, while men occupy positions with greater influence, such as those related to electoral campaigns and organisational matters (Roza, Llanos and Garzón de la Roza 2011, 30; Verge and de la Fuente 2014, 72). In a similar vein, gender marking informs the distribution of leadership positions, roles and domain areas in both parliamentary party groups and parliamentary committees (Heath, Schwindt-Bayer and Taylor-Robinson 2005; Smrek 2020).

Policy development

Women's agency within parties (women's organisations, share of women in NECs and parliamentary party groups) has been found to instil the adoption of policy agendas that put more emphasis on social justice and gender equality issues such as equal pay, parental leave or childcare policies (Childs 2008; Kittilson 2011). It should also be noted that, while policies for women reflect parties' own ideological stances, the need to attract more women voters or to modernise parties (Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Childs and Webb 2012) also significantly shapes their focus and position on women's issues (see also Chapter 27). By and large, though, there is a critical omission in the literature on how IPD interacts with gender in policy development processes.

One may argue that consultative and direct participation forms may be more advantageous for advancing women's and gender equality claims. Some parties, predominantly from the left, require policy development procedures, including the drafting of electoral manifestoes and legislative or governmental initiatives, to address gender equality concerns (Childs 2013b, 404). To further this aim, formal and informal coordination mechanisms have been established between party women's organisations and the various party committees or secretariats, through either periodical meetings or specific task forces that might eventually include external gender experts (Verge 2020a, 244). By contrast, membership-wide plebiscites seem unlikely to further women's claims, even in parties that define themselves as feminist. For example, when the Spanish left-populist party Podemos (We Can) held its constitutive assembly in 2014, only three out of the almost 100 resolutions submitted by members to define the party's core pledges dealt with gender equality issues.³

Candidate selection and representation outcomes

The study of the relationship between candidate gender, recruitment and selection process within parties and representation outcomes owes much to the seminal work of Norris and Lovenduski (1995). Their analytical framework builds on three sets of factors: (1) the supply of available candidates seeking nomination for public office, shaped by their motivation (drive, ambition, interest) and resources (time, money and experience); (2) the demand of party gatekeepers who ultimately select the candidates, especially in strong parliamentary democracies; and (3) the party context (ideology, inclusiveness of the electorate, degree of centralisation and formalisation of selection processes) and the broader political system (political culture, electoral system, party system). While there has been substantial discussion in the literature on whether gendered outcomes in the vertical ladder of recruitment are due to supply- or demand-side factors, the original framework already pinpointed the underlying interaction between both factors.

Concerning the first interaction illustrated in Figure 9.2, parties' (and parliaments') disregard for reconciliation policies in their inner workings means that having children undermines

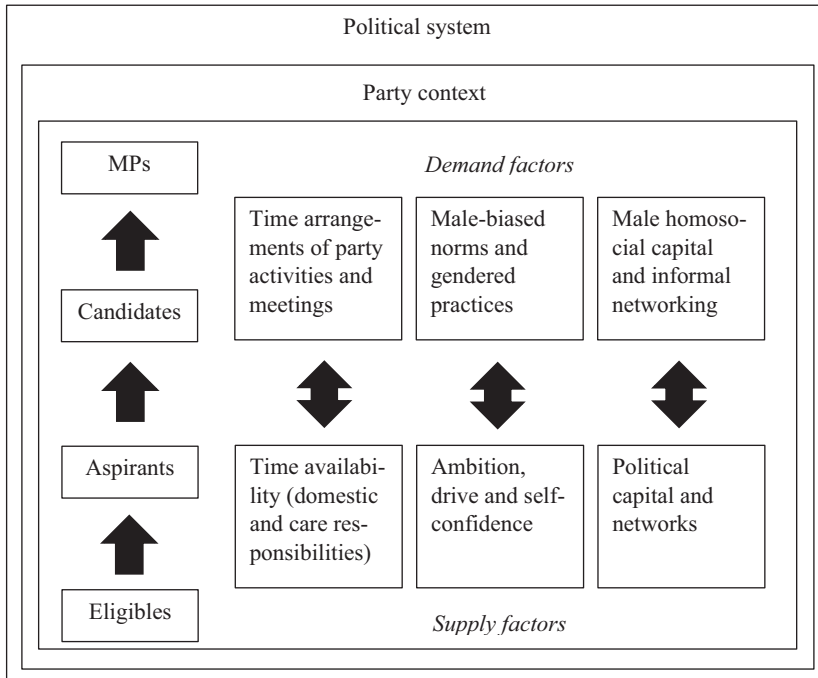


Figure 9.2 The vertical ladder of recruitment and the supply and demand model

Source: Adapted from Lovenduski and Norris (1993), Norris and Lovenduski (1995) and Verge (2015).

women’s opportunities – but not men’s – to be active party members and elected representatives in both parliamentary (Campbell and Childs 2014) and executive office (Verge and Astudillo 2019). The prevailing ‘male politician norm’, manifested in family unfriendly organisational arrangements, reinforces the chronic deficit of time availability imposed upon women by the unequal distribution of household labour in wider society. Furthermore, party gatekeepers often build upon social assumptions to assess married women candidates, especially when having young children, as being less politically engaged (Norris and Lovenduski 1995, 116).

As for the second interaction, the supply-side argument that women have less political ambition than men, which predominantly came from American politics (see Fox and Lawless 2010), has been challenged by several studies. The unequal playing field within parties determines candidate emergence. In the face of direct and indirect discrimination by party gatekeepers (Lovenduski 2005), many women aspirants rationally ‘opt out of candidacy’ (Piscopo and Kenny 2020, 4). Incentivising more women to run or providing leadership training to ‘fix’ women’s (alleged) lower ambition, confidence or skills are, thus, ineffective strategies insofar as ‘gatekeepers are more likely to directly recruit and promote people like themselves’ (Cheng and Tavits 2011, 461). Indeed, men are seen ‘as insiders and as ideal [more likeable and trustworthy] candidates’ and women are regarded as ‘outsiders’ (Bjarnegård and Kenny 2016, 385) and even as a ‘liability’, although empirical evidence finds no systematic voter bias against women candidates (Lawless and Pearson 2008). It has been argued that these gendered psychological aspects stem from the expressive component of ‘male homosocial capital’ (Bjarnegård 2013), which leads male selectors to apply not just higher standards but also double standards. When displaying typically male traits like strong assertiveness or adversarial styles of debate, women candidates

still fail to pass the screening and, more crucially, they may be informally sanctioned for such a breach of feminine character (Kenny 2013).

Concerning the last interaction shown in Figure 9.2, women aspirants are not just less likely to be sponsored by influential outside groups such as trade unions (Norris and Lovenduski 1995, 153), but party gatekeepers' preference for 'localness' is also far from objective. Participation in local business associations or trade unions, more common among men, is more appreciated by party selectors than community activism, more frequent among women, which reveals a narrow, male-biased consideration of what constitutes political experience (Kenny 2013). Furthermore, women candidates are less likely to be well connected to party networks or political mentors (Crowder-Meyer 2013). However, in both parliamentary or executive office selection processes, holding party office is more valued in men candidates, showcasing how women party officers 'remain outsiders on the inside' (Verge and Claveria 2018, 545). Male homosocial capital thus carries an instrumental dimension, too – that of providing crucial access to informal 'old boy networks' that play a crucial role in selection processes (Bjarnegård 2013).

When it comes to party-context factors, centralised selection processes yield higher levels of women candidates, as the party leadership can coordinate party levels to produce more gender-balanced tickets and is held more directly accountable by voters and members for results on women's representation (Kittilson 2006, 46; Hazan and Rahat 2010, 114). More exclusive selection methods also allow the crafting of 'package deals' that distribute a variety of positions (Wauters and Pilet 2015, 78). By contrast, more inclusive selectorates (e.g. one-member-one-vote systems like primaries) heavily rely on name recognition, financial resources or media coverage, all of these resources that tend to benefit more experienced male candidates (Piscopo and Kenny 2020, 6; see also Bashevkin 2010). Women candidates also face 'more crowded primaries' and they 'endure greater challenges' (Lawless and Pearson 2008, 77–78). Furthermore, while less explicit, detailed or standardised candidate selection criteria and procedures may open the door to greater discretion and bias, rules that are formalised in party documents are not necessarily gender neutral – nor neutral to race/ethnicity (Bjarnegård and Zetterberg 2019). Ideology is also a relevant party-related factor. Left ideology, particularly new left ideology, strongly correlates with both women's presence (and influence) within the organisation and parliamentary party groups and the adoption of voluntary gender quotas (Kittilson 2006).

Among political-system factors, electoral systems and legislated gender quotas are of paramount importance. Women are elected in higher numbers in proportional representation (PR) systems than in plurality systems, since larger district magnitude allows parties to nominate women without deposing male incumbents (McAllister and Studlar 2002). This notwithstanding, each electoral system accords political parties different opportunities to display strategic discrimination, even when legislated or voluntary gender quotas are applied. Under plurality systems, women candidates often run in districts where their parties stand no chance of winning the seat (Murray 2010), while under PR systems, men get the lion's share of top positions in party lists. Legislated gender quotas with placement mandates are more effective at partially containing this discrimination in closed-list systems than in preferential ordered-list systems (Luhiste 2015, 110) or in plurality systems.

Statutory gender quotas are nested in parties' candidate selection processes. They are complementary to party rules when voluntary quotas are already in place, with some parties even competing to overcome the statutory requirements to continue championing women's representation in their party system (Meier 2004). Conversely, they require significant accommodation in parties that reject positive discrimination (Verge and Espírito-Santo 2016, 433). Applying a minimal interpretation of statutory quotas is the most common form of resistance deployed by parties, although in some countries parties have even resorted to more blatant forms such as

entering male candidate names under female names or forcing elected women MPs to resign and be substituted by a male alternate (for a review of these practices, see Krook 2016).

Similar gendered patterns are observed for the selection of candidates for executive office. Women candidates frequently run as ‘sacrificial lambs’ in gubernatorial races wherein an incumbent from the opposing party seeks re-election (Stambough and O’Regan 2007, 356), they benefit less than their male peers from the political resources they possess, such as seniority in party or public office, particularly when having children, and are less likely to be reelected when carrying a vote loss, even when being the incumbent (Verge and Astudillo 2019, 736).

Overall, both formal and informal ‘rules of the game’ that shape political recruitment and candidate selection processes are fundamentally gendered, despite being cast as objective and meritocratic (Kenny and Verge 2016). Male dominance in party executive bodies and recruitment panels sustains preferential treatment towards men candidates in selection processes, engineering their over-representation in public office. As several studies have shown, more gender-balanced selection committees (Niven 1998; Cheng and Tavits 2011) and recruitment from broader networks of groups and occupations rather than insular party networks (Crowder-Meyer 2013) produce more gender-balanced outcomes. Simultaneously, being the public face of the party secures men’s positional power within the organisation (Childs and Murray 2014, 81).

Re-gendering political parties

No party efforts to promote gender equality ‘have occurred without an intervention by women making claims’ about power redistribution and policy (Lovenduski 1993, 14). Intra-party gender equality strategies are threefold (Lovenduski 1993, 8). First, rhetorical measures include declarations contained in party rules and procedures, party manifestos, parliamentary resolutions or public statements by party leaders aimed at supporting and promoting equal gender participation. For instance, some parties have incorporated feminism in their party constitution in an effort to make it integral to their identity and have included parity democracy or the reconciliation between political activities and family life as organisational principles (Verge 2020a, 244). Such provisions accord women ‘statutory legitimacy’ when negotiating their demands within their party (Roza, Llanos and Garzón de la Roza 2011, 20).

Second, positive action strategies consist of the training of women aspirants or candidates, the establishment of women’s organisations, or the celebration of party women’s conventions (Childs 2013b, 405–406). While these measures have been adopted across party families, the third type of strategy, namely the adoption of voluntary gender quotas for the composition of decision-making party bodies and/or electoral tickets, is much more common – albeit not exclusive – among left parties. This explains why, in the absence of legislated quotas, voluntary quotas can still produce gender-balanced representation, as most Scandinavian parties show (Freidenvall 2013). Yet it should be mentioned that the participation of party women’s organisations in the committees that draft candidate tickets or supervise list-building processes and strong commitment of party leaders are pivotal to ensuring an effective implementation of gender quotas (Verge and Espírito-Santo 2016, 434).

A fourth strategy based on gender mainstreaming has been more recently adopted by some left-wing political parties. More specifically, this includes the adoption of internal gender action plans that seek to incorporate a gender equality perspective throughout all party processes, targeting both men and women. In the domain of descriptive representation, actions may encompass, for instance, giving visibility to women public and party officers in election rallies or press conferences and promoting women’s (men’s) presence in traditionally masculinised (feminised)

portfolios. Concerning policy-making, actions include training party members and public officers on gender equality or gathering sex-disaggregated data in all areas of party work. Regarding organisational arrangements, these plans contemplate actions such as providing childcare and playrooms during party meetings and conferences (Verge 2020a).

Regrettably, the adoption of anti-harassment policies and other types of gender-based violence perpetrated by party employees, members or public officers (IPU 2016) is a pending task for most party organisations and parliaments, despite having been repeatedly urged to do so by the United Nations, the Organisation of the American States, the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. Moreover, gender has been reinscribed perniciously in some of these policies, as party whips have been entrusted to find internal solutions and inquiries have been run by committees that lack gender expertise, resulting in victim-blaming. More generally, the informal rules that enable sexist and sexual misconduct to occur, such as the gendered segregation of offices and masculinised adversarial styles of doing politics, have been left intact (Collier and Raney 2018; Verge 2020b).

Conclusions and avenues for further research

As has been reviewed in this chapter, a gender lens enhances the understanding of how political parties work and helps explain why, despite an increasing feminisation of party bodies and candidate tickets, the deep-seated sources of male power within these organisations have not yet been subverted. Male dominance in political parties goes beyond the skewed composition of the rank-and-file, decision-making bodies or candidate tickets. While left parties are more likely to adopt measures to guarantee gender-balanced outcomes in terms of descriptive representation and more gender-friendly policies regarding substantive representation, all party organisations are stratified by gender and productive of power inequalities. Gender-neutral organisations simply do not exist, so participation modes or selection processes cannot be neutral to gender either.

As we seek to deepen the knowledge of the operation of gender within political parties, several gaps remain to be filled and research biases need to be addressed. First, both comparative and single-case studies could expand their regional coverage beyond Western countries. Such an expansion would allow testing the generalisability of existing analytical frameworks and identifying how political parties' gendered 'rules of the game' are played out in socio-political structures like sectarianism (Geha 2019) and caste (Jensenius 2016) or how they operate under electoral authoritarian systems (Bjarnegård and Zetterberg 2016).

Second, building on Norris and Lovenduski's (1995) seminal work, studies should pay more attention to how the intersection of gender with other sources of inequality (e.g. race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, ableness) produce specific forms of (dis)empowerment and (under)privilege within parties. For example, party selectorates have been found to be more prejudiced against lesbian than gay candidates (Juvonen 2020). Similarly, parties frequently apply a 'double quota' that renders ethnic minority women candidates as 'the "diversity label" of the party', while the positional power of incumbent senior white men remains intact (Celis, Erzeel and Mügge 2015, 768).

Third, scholars could look more deeply into the ways male homosociality determines access to and survival in party office and how this particular type of capital is (re)produced, including an exploration of whether it is already cultivated in youth party organisations. Simultaneously, while men's informal networking has been vastly documented, works on women's informal networking within and across political parties are scarce (Piscopo 2016), requiring further

examination of how the gender composition of networks shapes participation modes and the aims networks pursue.

Last but not least, while studies on the adoption of gender equality strategies provide valuable insights on dynamics of continuity and change within parties, new insights on intra-party democracy can also be gained with analyses of why and when women's parties emerge, how they organise and how they relate to social movements (Evans 2016; Evans and Kenny 2019), such as the feminist movement.

Notes

- 1 See the online *Gender Quotas Database* created by International IDEA, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Stockholm University. Available from: www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas (Accessed 5 October 2021).
- 2 Only Costa Rica and Honduras impose sanctions for non-compliance with quota regulations in the composition of parties' executives.
- 3 Podemos' members cast 38,000 votes, with the three gender equality resolutions ranking in 16th, 40th and 48th place. Available at: <https://podemosbeta.es/resoluciones/> (Accessed 5 October 2021).

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